

## BH2-049

sogo haš da ča aħde?en. ča yoħ yare. ese txeču yax. lomu vec'ras vaxa<sup>n</sup> dartluie eħnas me lamu xiħen yexeni. aħi<sup>n</sup> sog me co xiħesen. eħnas co xiħe yaxħe, ħal yik'os ħo lomen. ħal yo veen, aħi<sup>n</sup> sog<sup>w</sup>. ħalo dexnatx dartlui. šin-qa deni daratx osi. dxeob dar. yaze<sup>n</sup> meq yaq'uila dar, yaze<sup>n</sup> letxa<sup>n</sup> ixuila dar. yaze<sup>n</sup> amind bar. šin-qa deni osi ču dianatx. qe<sup>n</sup> šarn det'ratx daxk'ane. psarlui is:en t'q'a c'ut yar dartlolna nřay?a delnatx. ši daratx mankanev. dartlo nřay? dale<sup>n</sup>, cer mak uk've, daħ učna xiħen txo<sup>n</sup>. cer mak so dexk'če eq penix bare laxuyš t'ap leqor. č'ax kux dor. dak'livnas me kast'e yotx me naq'a q'ar co ya yol txonene. laxuš aħ dexk'čedoli<sup>n</sup>, lečuren laqiš qa?, ħal yolyali, uk've buysa yar. q'ar yatxanati<sup>n</sup>, q'ar yatxanatine, ħal lat'ie<sup>n</sup> q'arov. č'ax kux dore, t'ap leqor. mos:i<sup>n</sup> amind ba zoreš. yuq'reyuq' set'q'oe revadyor. nřayn mankanev daratx daxene. mok'let, zoreš yot'i<sup>n</sup> q'are, ču ot:arego max co bar. osilna kast'valinas. xu, q'ar dore, oq q'arox ħalo ve?nas ese. šiit':en t'q'a c'ut ešor, txeču dexk'če. deyni t'at'e<sup>n</sup> daratx, kortilna kok'i gomci<sup>n</sup>. e mankanere so duysče, c'q'arc'q'aren xi qasi<sup>n</sup> mičqo?ena. ču daxe<sup>n</sup> abnui. daħ dit:dalie<sup>n</sup>, qe<sup>n</sup> se pst'uinčo nřay?i daq'ar kħekdien txo<sup>n</sup>. nřay? dalenčuiš čat-šis araq' maħentx axši gonadaxentx. e zoreš lamzur de dar osi, e lamzur buysa yar. daq:o<sup>n</sup> yituin ambui ya zoreš. oq penix, lamun divħ penix, divħ reč cere, matx be?natx šarn. qe<sup>n</sup> učna xiħče, eq penix magram zoreš mos:i<sup>n</sup> q'ar ai, mos:i<sup>n</sup> amind bare. dak'odituin amind be?natx aħe. mok'let yaziš damtavrbadalin denie. šilyeč deni, vašbax dilnatx moħe daxk'e ve, moħe daħ t'at'dien ve. ai išt'un ča lamzur buysa yar txogo čay.

- (1) so-go            ħaš            d-a            ča            aħ-d-e?-en  
1SG-LOC/ALL    guest(d/d)    CM-be.PRES    one            down-CM-come-PTCP  
'I had a guest come.'  
У меня гость, одна приехавшая.  
00:00:15.72 - 00:00:18.24
- (2) ča            yoħ            y-a-r=e  
one            girl(y/d)    CM-be-IMPF=&  
'She was a girl.'  
Одна девушка.  
00:00:18.48 - 00:00:19.50
- (3) ese            txe=ču            y-ax  
here            1PL.EXCL=at    CM-live  
'She lives here with us.'

Она здесь у нас живёт.  
00:00:21.23 - 00:00:22.48

(4) **lomu** v-ec'-r-as v-ax-a<sup>n</sup> dartlu-i=e et-n-as  
mountain(b/d).DIR CM-should-IMPF-1SG.ERG CM-go-INF dartlo-LOC=& say-AOR-1SG.ERG

me lamu xiɬ-en y-ex-en=i  
COMP mountain(b/d).LOC go-PTCP CM-go-AOR=Q

'I was supposed to go to the mountains to Dartlo, and I said, have you ever gone to the mountains?'  
Я должен был поехать в горы в Дартло, и я сказал, в горах когда-нибудь была?  
00:00:24.67 - 00:00:31.14

(5) aɬ-i<sup>n</sup> so-g me co xiɬ-e-s=en  
say-AOR 1SG-ALL COMP NEG be-AOR-1SG.ABS=QUOT

'She said to me that she had not.'  
Она мне сказала, что не была.  
00:00:31.14 - 00:00:32.63

(6) et-n-as co xiɬ-e y-ax-ɬe ɬal y-ik'-o-s ɬo lom-en  
say-AOR-1SG.ERG NEG be-AOR CM-go-COND up CM-take-FUT-1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS mountain-DAT

'I said, if you haven't been, I will take you up to the mountains.'  
Сказал, если не была, я возьму тебя в горы.  
00:00:33.25 - 00:00:35.89

(7) ɬal ɣo ve=en aɬ-i<sup>n</sup> so-g<sup>w</sup>  
up go.FUT 1PL.INCL=QUOT say-AOR 1SG-ALL

'Let's go, she said to me.'  
Поехали, она мне сказала.  
00:00:36.75 - 00:00:38.02

**Commented [BH1]:** I haven't figured out why this speaker sometimes has *lom* as the base for mountain and other times *lam*.

**Commented [BH2]:** The morphemes here sound identical to me, so I don't know if they should both be AOR, or whether one should be a participle and the other aorist. This text is the only place I've encountered multiple inflected verbs in my data so far.

(8) ħalo d-ex-n-atx dartlu-i  
 up CM-go-AOR-1PL.ERG dartlo-DIR  
 'We went up to Dartlo.'  
 И поехали в Дартло.  
 00:00:39.20 - 00:00:40.67

(9) šin qa den-i d-a-r-atx osi  
 two three day(d/d)-PL CM-be-IMPF-1PL.EXCL.ERG there  
 'We were there two-three days.'  
 Два-три дня были там.  
 00:00:42.15 - 00:00:43.88

(10) dʏeob d-a-r  
 holiday(d/d) CM-be-IMPF  
 'It was a holiday.'  
 Праздник был.  
 00:00:44.06 - 00:00:45.06

(11) ʏaze<sup>n</sup> meq ʏ-aq'-uila d-a-r ʏaze<sup>n</sup> letx-a<sup>n</sup> ix-uila d-a-r  
 good bread(y/y) CM-eat-NMLZ(d/d) CM-be-IMPF good dance-INF go-NMLZ(d/d) CM-be-IMPF  
 'The food was good, the dancing was good.'  
 Хороший стол был, хорошие танцы были.  
 00:00:47.17 - 00:00:50.51

(12) ʏaze<sup>n</sup> amind b-a-r  
 good weather(b/d) CM-be-IMPF  
 'The weather was good.'  
 Хорошая погода была.  
 00:00:51.28 - 00:00:52.72

**Commented [BH3]:** I'm not actually sure what this -uila suffix is, but it seems like it's creating deverbal nouns with d/d agreement.

(13) šin qa den-i osi ču d-šit?-n-atx  
 two three day(d/d)-PL there in CM-stay-AOR-1PL.EXCL.ERG  
 'We stayed there two-three days.'  
 Два-три дня мы там остались.  
 00:00:52.94 - 00:00:55.08

(14) qe<sup>n</sup> šarn d-et<sup>1</sup>-r-atx d-axk<sup>1</sup>-an=e  
 then home CM-CROSS-IMPF-1PL.EXCL.ERG CM-come.PL-INF=&  
 'Then we were getting ready to come back.'  
 Потом собирались обратно приехать.  
 00:00:55.99 - 00:00:58.36

(15) psarlui<sup>n</sup> is:-en t'q'a c'ut y-a-r dartlo=<sup>na</sup> nšay?a d-el-n-atx  
 in.evening nine-GEN twenty minute(y/y) CM-be-IMPF dartlo=from out CM-go-AOR-1PL.EXCL.ERG  
 'It was 8:20pm when we left Dartlo.'  
 8:20 вечером было когда из Дартло выехали.  
 00:00:58.82 - 00:01:03.12

(16) ši d-a-r-atx mankan-ev  
 two CM-be-IMPF-1PL.EXCL.ABS vehicle(y/y)-INS  
 'We were two, (going) by car.'  
 Двоём были, на машине.  
 00:01:03.39 - 00:01:05.22

(17) dartlo nšay? d-al-e<sup>n</sup> cer =mak uk've dañ učna xiṭ-en txo-<sup>n</sup>  
 dartlo outside CM-go-PTCP summit(y/y)=on already away darkness(y/y) be-AOR 1PL.EXCL-DAT  
 'Having gone out of Dartlo, already on the mountain pass, it got dark on us.'  
 Из Дартло выехали, уже на перевале, уже темно стало нам.  
 00:01:06.55 - 00:01:13.12

**Commented [BH4]:** I am struggling to understand how the individual elements of this sentence add up to the translation RO gave me.

**Commented [BH5]:** I haven't been able to confirm this form in the dictionary. I would also believe -nla, or that this is some allomorph of =ren 'from' but with the l/r rule from Georgian.

(18) cer=mak           so                   d-exk'-če           eq           penix           bar-e                   laxuyš           t'ap.leq-or  
 summit(y/y)=on   toward.speaker   CM-come.PL-CVB   this.OBL   on.side   valley(b/d)-LOC   down   lightning-IMPF  
 'When we got to the summit, on this side in the valley below, there was lightning.'  
 Когда мы приехали на вершину, на этой стороне внизу, молния была.  
 00:01:13.86 - 00:01:18.50

(19) č'ax.kux                   d-o-r  
 thunder.crack(d/d)   CM-make.PRES-IMPF  
 'Thunder cracked.'  
 Была гроза.  
 00:01:18.60 - 00:01:19.58

(20) dak'liv-n-as           me           kast'e           yo-tx                   me           naq'-a           q'ar           co           y-a  
 think-AOR-1S.ERG   COMP           quickly   go.FUT-1PL.EXCL.ERG   COMP   road(b/d)-LOC   rain(y/y)   NEG   CM-be.PRES  
  
 yo-l                   txo-n=en=e  
 go.FUT-OPT           1PL.EXCL-DAT=QUOT=&  
  
 'I thought, we'll go quickly, so that on the road it won't rain on us.'  
 Подумал, быстро поеду, чтобы по дороге дождь не пришёл нам.  
 00:01:20.66 - 00:01:24.62

(21) laxuš           aħ           d-exk'-če-d-ol-i"  
 down(ADV)   down(PVB)   CM-come.PL-CVB-CM-PFV-AOR           lečur-en           laqiš           qa?           ħal           y-ol-y-al-i  
 lechuri-DAT   upwards   get.to           up           CM-start-CM-INTR-AOR  
  
 uk've           buysa           y-a-r  
 already   night(y/y)   CM-be-IMPF

'Having gone down, reaching just upwards of Lechuri, (the rain) started, it was already night.'  
 Когда мы спустились вниз, за Лечури, (дождь) уже начался, и уже темно было.

00:01:25.68 - 00:01:32.30

- (22) q'ar      y-atx-anati<sup>n</sup>      q'ar      y-atx-anatin=e      ħal      lat'-y-e<sup>n</sup>      q'ar-ov  
rain(y/y)      CM-fall(liquids)-???      rain(y/y)      CM-fall(liquids)-???= &      up      add-CM.CAUS-AOR      rain(y/y)-INS  
'It rained, it rained, and it rained some more.'  
Дождь шёл, дождь шёл, и прибавился дождь.  
00:01:33.31 - 00:01:36.34

**Commented [BH6]:** Not sure what this morpheme is. Maybe this is infinitival *y-atxan* plus some other verb?

- (23) č'ax.kux      d-o-r=e      t'ap.leq-or  
thunder.crack(d/d)      CM-make-IMPF=&      lightning-IMPF  
Thundered cracked, lightning flashed.  
Гроза была, и молния была.  
00:01:36.34 - 00:01:38.58

- (24) mos:i<sup>n</sup>      amind      b-a      zoreš  
bad      weather(b/d)      CM-be.PRES      very  
'It was really bad weather.'  
Плохая погода была, очень.  
00:01:39.01 - 00:01:40.77

- (25) yuq'reyuq'      set'q'o=e      revad-y-or  
here.and.there      hail(y/y)= &      mix-CM-IMPF  
'Sometimes hail also mixed in.'  
Иногда град был.  
00:01:42.06 - 00:01:43.73

- (26) nɕayn      mankan-ev      d-a-r-atx      d-ax-en=e  
open      car-INS      CM-be-IMPF-1PL.EXCL.ABS      CM-come-PTCP=&  
'And we were riding in an open vehicle.'  
Мы на открытой машине были.

00:01:44.93 - 00:01:46.97

- (27) mok'let zoreš y-ot'-i<sup>n</sup> q'ar=e ču ot:-ar-ego max co b-a-r  
in.short very CM-go.over-AOR rain=& in stop-NMLZ(d/d)-LOC/ALL price(b/d) NEG CM-be-IMPF  
'In short, it was raining hard, and it wasn't worth it to stop.'  
Короче, дождь сильно шёл, и останавливаться не стоило.  
00:01:47.24 - 00:01:52.47

- (28) osi=lna kast'-v-al-in-as  
there=from fast-CM-INTR-AOR-1S.ERG  
'From there I sped up.'

Оттуда побыстрее поехал.  
00:01:53.55 - 00:01:55.34

- (29) xu q'ar-o-<sup>n</sup> d-o-r=e oq q'ar-ox ħalo v-eʔ-n-as ese  
? rain(y/y)-OBL-GEN CM-make-IMPF=& that.OBL rain(y/y)-CON up CM-come-AOR-1S.ERG here  
'It was raining hard, and in that rain I arrived here.'  
Сильный дождь был, и в этом дожди приехали сюда.  
00:01:57.11 - 00:02:01.01

**Commented [BH7]:** Possibly χοῦ 'bunch,' for the meaning "a lot of rain"

- (30) ši-it':-en t'q'a c'ut eš-or txe=ču d-exk'-če  
two-ten-DAT twenty minute(y/y) lack-IMPF 1PL.EXCL=at CM-come.PL-CVB  
'At twenty to midnight, we arrived home.'  
Без двадцати двенадцать, мы приехали домой.  
00:02:01.35 - 00:02:04.16

- (31) deyni t'at'e<sup>n</sup> d-a-r-atx kort-i=lna kok'-i gomci<sup>n</sup>  
whole wet CM-be-IMPF-1PL.EXCL.ABS head(b/d)-PL=from leg-PL up.to  
'We were all wet from head to toe.'  
Мы все мокрые были, с головы до ног.

00:02:04.29 - 00:02:07.64

- (32) e mankan-e-re so d-uys-če c'q'ar-c'q'ar-en xi qas-i<sup>n</sup> mičqoʔena  
& car-OBL-from toward.speaker CM-get.down-CVB REDUP-spring(y/y)-GEN water(d/d) pour-AOR everywhere  
'When we got out of the vehicle, water poured out everywhere (as if from a spring).'  
Когда мы из машины вышли, вода стекла повсюду.  
00:02:08.64 - 00:02:12.57

- (33) ču d-ax-e<sup>n</sup> abnu-i  
in CM-go-AOR bath(y/y)-DIR  
'We went inside into the bath.'  
Мы зашли в баню.  
00:02:13.41 - 00:02:16.25

- (34) daḥ d-it:-d-al-ie<sup>n</sup> qe<sup>n</sup> se pst'uin-čo nʔayʔi daq'ar kḥek-d-ien txo-<sup>n</sup>  
away CM-wash-CM-INTR-AOR then my.OBL wife-OBL(y/d) outside food(d/d) prepare-CM-AOR 1PL.EXCL-DAT  
'We washed up, then my wife outside made us food.'  
Мы помылись, потом жена приготовила нам еду.  
00:02:16.83 - 00:02:21.08

- (35) nʔayʔ d-al-en-ču-iš ča-t ši-s araq' maṭ-en-tx axši gon-a-d-ax-en-tx  
outside CM-go-PTCP-OBL-ADVZ one-REDUP two-REDUP vodka(d/d) drink-AOR-1PL.EXCL-ERG ?? mind-?-CM-go-AOR-  
1PL.EXCL  
'Coming out, we drank one or two shots of vodka each, and we recovered.'  
Когда вышли, пару стакана водки выпили, и вылечились.  
00:02:21.59 - 00:02:25.15

- (36) e zoreš lamzur de d-a-r osi e lamzur buysa y-a-r  
& very beautiful day(d/d) CM-be-IMPF there & beautiful night(y/y) CM-be-IMPF  
'And it was a very beautiful day there, and it was a beautiful night (here).'  
Красивый день был там, и красивый вечер здесь.

**Commented [BH8]:** Not sure of this form. I think maybe the =ren postposition, but I can't hear or see any nasalization in the recording.

**Commented [BH9]:** Dictionaries have this as "throw" - I also have examples of that use. I can only find one example in the dictionaries where base *qas* used with liquids to mean something like, 'pour out everywhere, spread everywhere (of liquid)'

**Commented [BH10]:** I'm sure this can be broken down morphologically, but the only element I recognize is *mič*. I wrote what I heard in the recording. In my notes, it looks like RO asked me to spell this *mičmarena*.

**Commented [BH11]:** What is this?

**Commented [BH12]:** Not sure I'm breaking this down correctly, but it should mean "we recovered"



00:02:25.74 - 00:02:30.75

(37) d-aq:o<sup>n</sup> y-it-uin ambui y-a zoreš  
CM-big CM-remain-PTCP conversation(y/y) CM-be.PRES very

'??It was a very good conversation to remember.'

Очень хорошо вспоминать был.

00:02:31.98 - 00:02:38.75

(38) oq penix lamu-n divh penix divh reč cer-e matx  
that.OBL on.side mountain(b/d)-DAT beyond on.side beyond ?? summit(y/y)-LOC sun(b/d)

b-e?-n-atx šarn  
CM-come-AOR-1PL.EXCL.ERG home

'On the other side of the mountain, on the other side of the pass, we brought home sun.'

На той стороне горы, на той стороне перевале, солнечная погода была.

00:02:38.75 - 00:02:43.38

(39) qe<sup>n</sup> učna xi+če eq penix magram zoreš mos:i<sup>n</sup> q'ar ai  
then darkness(y/y) be-CVB this.OBL on.side however very bad rain(y/y) here

mos:i<sup>n</sup> amind b-a-r=e  
bad weather(b/d) CM-be-IMPF=&

'Then when it was dark, on this side, however, there was, you know, very bad rain and bad weather.'

Потом когда стемнело, на этой стороне, однако, очень плохой дождь был, плохая погода была.

00:02:43.38 - 00:02:49.19

(40) dak'-o-d-it-uin amind b-e?-n-atx aḥ=e  
heart(d/d)-?-CM-leave-PTCP weather(b/d) CM-come-AOR-1PL.EXCL.ERG down=&

'We brought down memorable weather.'

**Commented [BH13]:** Is this an agreement error, or is 'big' agreeing with a different noun?

**Commented [BH14]:** RO said this is impossible to translate exactly and gave me an approximation of what he meant.

**Commented [BH15]:** Is the -o- just a linking vowel? Does it mean something? Is this a CM agreeing with 'heart'? Does it even make sense to morphologically break down this word, when together it means 'remember'?

Память в сердце долго будет, мы принесли плохую погоду.  
00:02:49.54 - 00:02:53.77

- (41) mok'let      yaziš      damtavrba-d-al-in      den-i=e  
in.short      well      end-CM-INTR-AOR      day(d/d)-PL=&  
'In short, the day ended well.'  
Короче, день хорошо закончился.  
00:02:54.16 - 00:02:55.94

- (42) ši-lʸe-č      den-i      vašba-x      d-il-n-atx      moñe      d-axk'-e      ve  
two-ORDN-OBL      day(d/d)-LOC      each.other-CON      CM-laugh-AOR-1PL.EXCL.ERG      how      CM-come.PL-AOR      1PL.INCL
- moñe      dañ      t'at'-d-ien      ve  
how      away      wet-CM-AOR      1PL.INCL

'The next day, we laughed at each other, how we arrived, how we got wet.'  
На второй день, мы друг над другом смеялись, как мы доехали, как мы промокли.  
00:02:56.48 - 00:02:59.79

- (43) ai      išt'un      čha      lamzur      buysa      y-a-r      txo-go      čha-γ  
here      such      one      beautiful      night(y/y)      CM-be-IMPF      1PL.EXCL-ALL      one-ADV  
'Such was one beautiful evening we had together.'  
Вот такой один красивый вечер был у нас вместе.  
00:03:01.04 - 00:03:05.91