

Udi (East Caucasian, Lezgian, Nizh dialect)

Tarak'ala xaxal [The Walking Sieve] [Nizh (~ 2000); Keçaari 2001:125-126]

Glosses and translation: Wolfgang Schulze (7/2003)

- (1) *nex-t'un ayiz-e sa karnu čuhux šo-t'-ay sa bin bin-e-al bip' äyel-t'ux bu-y*
say:PRES-3PL village-DAT one old woman DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 one daughter=in=law daughter=in=law-GEN-FOC four child-3SG:IO be-PAST
- (2) *bip'-alin xüyer.*
four-COLL girl
- (3) *kalna-y ğar-a kala davi-n-a-t'un taš-er-e-y.*
grandmother-GEN2 son-DAT great war-SA-DAT-3PL carry-PAST-PERF-PAST
- (4) *k'ož-in äš-ur mand-e-ne-y bin-e ozan-e.*
house-GEN affair-PL stay-PERF-3SG-PAST daughter=in=law-GEN neck-DAT
- (5) *bip' äyel sa-al mac'i kürüx q'aynako.*
four child one-FOC white haired mother=in=law
- (6) *täk äš-b-i qo tan-a uk-est'un lap-est'un zor äš-e-y.*
only work-LV-PART:PAST five person-DAT eat-LV:CAUS:MASD2 put=on-LV:CAUS:MASD2 power work-3SG-PAST
- (7) *i'ženi-n girvälä šü-n-urx-oxun so-ğö-ne-y.*
winter-GEN windy night-SA-PL-ABL one:REF-REF:ABS-3SG-PAST
- (8) *karnu-al xüyär-mux-al biyäsın sum-a kä-yi bas-k'-e-t'un-iy.*
old=woman-FOC girl-PL-FOC evening bread-DAT eat:PAST-PART:PAST lie=down-LV-PERF-3PL-PAST

- (9) *bin-en qoš mand-i äš-urx-o bel-e duğ-i.*
 daughter=in=law-ERG outside stay-PART:PAST work-PL-DAT head:SUPER-3SG hit-PAST
- (10) *buxari-n beś bok'-al-a püsüs-ä oq'a-ne b-i.*
 oven-GEN in=front burn-PART:nPAST-ATTR kerosene=lamp-DAT under-3SG make-PAST
- (11) *oša šo-no-al bas-k'-i nep'-ax-e-c-i.*
 then DIST-REF:ABS-FOC lie=down-LV-PART:PAST sleep-DAT2-3SG-LV:MP.PAST-PAST
- (12) *sa-al šü-n-e bi^šğ-exun oša-ne muğur bak-i.*
 one-FOC night-SA-GEN middle-ABL after-3SG awake be-PAST
- (13) *pul-muğ-o śar-p-i tağay mağay-e be^šğ-i.*
 eye-PL-DAT press-LV-PART:PAST DIST:ADV PROX:ADV-3SG see-PAST
- (14) *äyl-ux nep'-ax-t'un-iy ik'-oğ-oy loxol-xun-al but'-e-y.*
 child-PL sleep-DAT2-3PL-PAST blanket-PL-GEN2 on-ABL-FOC closed-PERF-PAST
- (15) *bin-en läyif-ä bel zap'-i bas-k'-sun ċur-eğ-at'an*
 daughter=in=law-ERG hem-DAT head:SUPER pull-PART:PAST lie=down-LV-MASD2 stand-LV:MP:FUT-CV:POST
- pul-mux buxari-n beś bak-al-a xaxal-a-ne lamand-i.*
 eye-PL oven-GEN in=front be-PART:nPAST-ATTR sieve-DAT-3SG wait-PAST
- (16) *xaxal sa ta-ne-sa-y sa-al ċur-e-ne-y.*
 sieve one go-3SG-\$.PRES-PAST one-FOC stay-3SG-LV:PRES-PAST
- (17) *šo-t'-ay oq'a-xun-al t'iktuk' t'ikt'uk' säs-e ċ'ey-sa-y.*
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 under-ABL-FOC taptap taptap voice-3SG go=out-PRES-PAST
- (18) *šo-no gele haq'-e-c-i.*

DIST-REF:ABS much take-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST

- (19) *ay buxažux, mo-no hikä xaxal-al tara-ne-k'-o?*
oh god PROX-REF:ABS what:3SG:Q sieve-FOC walk-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
- (20) *šo-t'-ay äyit-äxun xaxal sa čur-e-p-i.*
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 word-COM sieve one stand-3SG-LV-PAST
- (21) *oša bur-e-q-i p'urun tay-sa.*
then begin-3SG-LV-PAST again go-PRES
- (22) *čuğ-oy yeq' ü'q'-en t'ut'u-ne-p-i.*
woman-GEN flesh bone-ERG>INSTR tremble-3SG-LV-PAST
- (23) *šo-t'-o čax ap'-en-e čax-p'-i.*
DIST-REF:OBL-DAT cold sweat-ERG>INSTR-3SG pour-LV-PAST
- (24) *alloy säs-en q'aynako-ne k'al-p-i*
loud voice-ERG>INSTR mother=in=law:DAT-3SG call-LV-PAST
- (25) *nana, ay nana sa hayz-a be'ğ-a me k'oya hikä bu?*
mother oh mother one rise-IMP:2SG see-IMP:2SG PROX house:DAT what:3SG:Q be
- (26) *bin-e säs-ä xuyär-mux čağ-p-i muğur-t'un bak-i.*
daughter=in=law-GEN voice-DAT girl-PL tremble-LV-PART:PAST awake-3PL LV-PAST
- (27) *xaxal-i tara-p-sun-a ak'-i bur-t'un-q-i c'irit'-ä.*
sieve-GEN walk-LV-MASD2-DAT see-PART:PAST begin-3PL-LV-PAST cry-DAT
- (28) *kalna usun hayz-er-i har-e:*
grandmother quickly rise-PAST-PART:PAST come:PAST-PERF

- (29) *axar, ay bin, ay xüyär-mux, mo-no he c'irit'-e?*
 finally oh daughter=in=law oh girl-PL PROX-REF:ABS what cry-3SG
- (30) *kalu te-nan bar-e bas-k'-a-yan?*
 why NEG-2PL let-PERF lie=down-LV-MOD-1PL
- (31) *xuyär-muğ-on-al, bin-en-al kul-muğ-o xaxal-ač'-t'un boxo-d-i.*
 girl-PL-ERG-FOC daughter=in=law-ERG-FOC hand-PL-DAT sieve-ADESS-3PL long-LV-PAST
- (32) *sa... sa... be^ʃ...eğ-a xaxal hetär-ä tara-ne.*
 one ... one .. see....-IMP:2SG sieve how-3SG:Q walk-LV:PRES
- (33) *iz-i oq'a ar dovul-e bu.*
 REFL-GEN under devil-3SG be
- (34) *kalna-n buxari-n-ač' pul čur-ev-k'-i bur-e-q-i axsum-a.*
 grandmother-ERG oven-SA-ADESS eye stay-CAUS-LV-PAST begin-3SG-LV-PAST laughter-DAT
- (35) *ay vä^ʃn aq'ananci! zu-al nex-zu k'oya he-t'-aynak'-t'un ič-oğ-oy bel e^ʃx-t'-e?*
 oh you:PL coward I-FOC say:PRES-1SG house:DAT what-REF:OBL-BEN-3PL REFL-PL-GEN head:SUPER take-LV-PERF
- (36) *sa šip' bak-a-nan, vä^ʃx bex bad-a-z:*
 one quite be-MOD-2PL you:pl:DAT2 head:DAT2 put=into-MOD-1SG
- (37) *xä^ʃy-uğ-o šad-b-i k'oya eğ-at'an*
 dog-PL-DAT free-LV-PART:PAST house:DAT go:FUT-CV:POST
- be-z-ğ-i sa c'iyäq' k'ok'oc' q'ac'q'al-i oq'a q'ič'-ec-i čur-p-e-ne.*
 see-1SG- $\$$ -PAST one weak hen stairs-GEN beneath press-LV:MP:PAST-PAST stand-LV-PERF-3SG
- (38) *šo-t'-o biq'-i eč-er-i buxari-n bers' la-z-x-i.*
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT seize-PART:PAST bring-PAST-PART:PAST oven-GEN in=front put-1SG- $\$$ -PAST

- (39) *xaxal-a-al tara-z-d-i iz-i loxol.*
sieve-DAT-FOC turn-1SG-LV-PAST REFL-GEN on
- (40) *sa-mal gam-ec-i bur-q-e-ne tara-p-sa.*
one-litte warm-LV:MP:PAST-PART:PAST start-LV-PERF-3SG walk-LV-PRES
- (41) *vä^hn-al amc'i ga-l-a baf-t'-e-nan sun-a.*
you:PL-FOC empty place-SA-DAT fall-LV-PERF-2PL one:REF-DAT
- (42) *oša-al kul-a boxo-d-i xaxal-a tara-ne-d-i.*
then-FOC hand-DAT long-LV-PART:PAST sieve-DAT turn-3SG-LV-PAST
- (43) *šo-t'-ay oq'a-xun sa k'ok'oc' č'er-i bur-e-q-i bul-a gal-gal-st'un tara-p-sa.*
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 under-ABL one hen go=out:PAST-PART:PAST start-3SG-LV-PAST head-DAT shake-shake-LV:MASD2 walk-LV-PRES
- (44) *bin-e, bačan-exun-al xüyär-muğ-oy axšum-i säs-en k'oya e^hx-e-d-i bel.*
daughter=in=law-GEN back-COM-FOC girl-PL-GEN2 laughter-GEN voice-ERG>INSTR house:DAT take-3SG-LV-PAST head:SUPER
- (45) *šo-t'-oğ-oy axšum käy bak-amun te-ne bot'-bak-i.*
DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN2 laughter dawn be-CV:UNTIL NEG-3SG end-LV-PAST
- (46) *äyč'indäri ayizlu-ğ-on-t'un i-bak-i axšum-p-i.*
morning villager-PL-ERG-3PL ear-LV-PAST laugh-LV-PART:PAST
- (47) *ba-ne-k-o, vä^hn-al hekyät-ä k'al-p-i čär-k'-at'an axšum-k'-al-nan.*
be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD you:PL-FOC story-DAT read-LV-PART:PAST end-LV-CV:POST laught-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC-2PL

Translation (Literal)

(1) They say that in a village (there was) an old woman, SHE had a daughter-in-law (and) the DAUGHTER-IN-LAW had four children. (2) All four (were) girls. (3) They had taken her son to the Great War. (4) The house affairs remained on the neck of the daughter-in-law. (5) Four children and a white-haired mother-in-law. (6) Only having worked, it was hard work to feed and dress five persons. (7) It was one of the windy winter nights. (8) Having eaten the evening bread, the old woman and the girls went to bed. (9) The daughter-in-law stayed outside (and) finished the work. (10) She turned off the burning kerosene lamp (that was) in front of the oven. (11) Then she too lied down (and) slept. (12) Just after midnight, she awoke. (13) She pressed (her) eyes together (and) looked around. (14) The children were sleeping (lit.: in sleep) covered by (lit.: from on) the blankets. (15) When the daughter-in-law wanted to sleep after having pulled the hem (of the blanket) to (her) head, (her) eyes rested upon the sieve which was in front of the oven. (16) The sieve moved a little, stopped for a while. (17) From under it (the sieve), a voice (making) taptap came out. (18) She really was astonished (lit.: taken). (19) Oh my God, whats this? The sieve would move! (20) When she said these words, the sieve stopped at once. (21) Then it again started to move. (22) The womans flesh and bones trembled. (23) Her cold sweat poured. (24) With a loud voice, she cried for (her) mother-in-law. (25) Mother, oh mother! Just rise and see whats in this house! (26) By the voice of the daughter-in-law, the girls woke up shivering. (27) Having seen the moving sieve, they started to cry. (28) The grandmother quickly rose and came. (29) Oh daughter-in-law, oh girls, whats now this crying? (30) Why didn't you let us sleep? (31) The girls (and) the daughter-in-law pointed with their hands to the sieve. (32) Just, just look how the sieve moves! (33) There's a devil under IT. (34) Having looked at the oven, the grandmother started to laugh. (35) Oh you cowards! I say: Why have they taken the house on their heads? (36) Be quiet! I should explain it to you! (37) After having set free the dogs (and after) having come back into the house, I saw a weak hen (that) stood cowered down under the stairs. (38) Having taken (and) having brought it I put it in front of the oven. (39) I turned around the sieve (and put it) on IT. (40) Having become too warm, it started to move. (41) Each of you has made a fuss about nothing (lit.: has fallen into an empty place). (42) Then, she seized (and) turned around the sieve. (43) From beneath it, a hen came out (and) started to walk around shaking (its) head. (44) The laughing voices of the daughter-in-law (and) of the girls with their shoulders filled the house to its roof. (45) Their laughter did not end till dawn. (46) In the morning the villagers, having heard (the story), laughed. (47) May be that you, too, will laugh after having finished reading the story.