

## Aunt Beetle

Langue: Tsakhur

ID: tsak1249\_07\_aunt\_beetle

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- (1) *хала -йн боІкъ*  
aunt-ERG/OBL.n bug  
'Aunt Beetle'
- (2) *иенкий -ни гагъ -быши -л хаа къаІс хъийхъа*  
of\_old-OBL time-PL.OBL-SUPER house.IN old F.recover.PF remain.PF-H/A one girl  
*айху -на са ичий йихъа*  
F.be.PF  
'Once upon a time, in a house there was a girl who remained an old maid.'
- (3) *хъвачІе -ра чуркІа -ра -ва шава джар гыдеэйзы*  
lazy-ADV.H dirty-ADV.H-and/quot who.ERG foc.H NEG.F.do.PF remain.PF F.be.PF  
*айху йихъа*  
'Nobody had claimed her because she was ugly and lazy.'
- (4) *ма -на ичий дже -ни йеди -ква эехва йихъа*  
DIST-H/A girl REFL.F.OBL-OBL mother.OBL-with F.stay.IPF F.be.PF  
'That girl was staying with her mother.'
- (5) *са цывылий -ни йигъ -ы -л ма -нбиш -аІ*  
one autumn-OBL day-OBL-SUPER DIST-PL.OBL-OBL-when one shepherd guest-H/A H.come.PF  
*-нкъаІ са чобан мигъман -на ары*  
'One autumn day, a shepherd visits them.'
- (6) *гаф -ни йыІкънеэ чобан -еэ зигара гъаага -на*  
word(A)-OBL among shepherd-IN/ERG moan A/HPL.do.IPF-H/A  
'Between conversations, he complains.'
- (7) *- хъунашише -р деи -да хъийкІу во -рна*  
- woman-H COP.NEG-N F.die.PF COP-H  
'I don't have a wife myself, she is dead.'
- (8) *хаа -дын иш -бы -д отІул-отхул во -дунбы*  
house.IN-N work(A)-PL.NOM-N scattered COP-npl  
'Our household affairs are in a bad state.'
- (9) *зы -нар бакІий -ке джур -хъес эйхъи деи*  
1-top.H pasture-contel separate-be.inf be.IPF COP.NEG  
'and I can't leave the flock.'

(10) *къарий -кӀле къедже -н и -нкъу -хъа хъунашишэ*  
 woman-aff M/N.see.IPF-N prox-N-lat woman.ERG NEG.COP start.IPF-H/A daughter good  
*дешор гийгъал -на йиш йуг гъеэа*  
 F.do.IPF  
 'The old woman sees that he has no wife, and starts to praise her daughter.'

(11) *эквал -еэ ма -нкъы -ка хъооӀ*  
 quickness-IN/ERG DIST-F.OBL-with M/N/A.come.IPF-H/A COP.NEG-N prox-N-OBL-N- med-N-OBL-N  
*-на деш -да и -н -ы -д-ше -н -ы -д*  
 'There is no job that my daughter can't handle, there is no one who can match her in life, what else, what...'

(12) *чобан гъаӀйе ыхъа ма -на ичий гъеэхъа -на*  
 shepherd believing M/N.be.PF DIST-H/A girl F.ask.IPF-H/A  
 'The shepherd believes her and claims the girl'

(13) *никагъ гъаӀу алертӀу хъеэка -на сува*  
 marriage M/N.do.PF H.take.PF F.bring.IPF-H/A mountain-superlat- REFL.OBL/PL-OBL  
*-лхъа-джо -ни хив -еэхъа*  
 village(A)-illat  
 'They marry and hetakes her into the mountains and to his village.'

(14) *чобан -ы -хъа аазыр -ылхъа абкъыр -на*  
 shepherd-OBL-lat thousand-superlat A.reach.PF-H/A sheep A/HPL.be.PF  
*ваӀкъаӀ вухъа*  
 'The shepherd had about a thousand sheep'

(15) *хъейибле \*зоз -не -н хав -ы -д ыхъа -йн*  
 three \*\*\*-OBL-N house-OBL-N M/N.be.PF-msd/ptcp.N  
 'and a three-room house.'

(16) *чи -на -б къоӀбле \*зоз хъа -й -ын гӀавуӀу вухъа*  
 nh.own.OBL-H/A-A /two.A \*\*\* wool(A)-OBL-ERG/N A.fill.PF A/HPL.be.PF  
 'Two of the rooms were full of wool.'

(17) *сабара гагъ -ыле хъийгъа чобан -еэ хъунашише -й -кӀле*  
 some time-el after shepherd-IN/ERG woman-OBL-aff say.IPF-N  
*эйгъе -н*  
 'After a while, the farmer says to his wife:'

(18) *- зы аӀлгъаӀ -на аӀраӀн -еэхъа бакӀе -эхъа*  
 - 1 go.IPF-H/A Aran-illat pasture.OBL-ad  
 'I'm going to Aran's pasture.'

- (19) *ухара гъагъу сабара шал -бы -ийй галбаI -бы*  
 yarn M/N.do.PF some veil-PL.NOM-ADD/PST carpet-PL.NOM weave.IMPER  
*хъехе*

'By the time I return, you will spin as much wool as you can, make thread, and weave shawls and carpets.'

- (20) *йигъ -бы ваз -бы илгъече -нбы*  
 day-PL.NOM moon/month-PL.NOM pass.IPF-ptcp.PL.NOM  
 'Months and days pass.'

- (21) *и -нкъы -ссе гъиччут гъагъас аIхаI ыхъа деш*  
 prox-F.OBL-than/asa nothing do.inf can.IPF M/N.be.PF COP.NEG  
 'This bride could not do anything.'

- (22) *ма -ни къыIдим -на джин -ааш -ди паччагъ -на йиш*  
 DIST-OBL winter-N/A Jinn-PL.OBL-OBL king-N/A daughter F.fall\_ill.PF  
*йикIийкIыр*

'That winter, the daughter of the demon king fell ill.'

- (23) *быIгъыIтI -е ыIхнаI ыхъа*  
 throat-IMPER boil M/N.be.PF  
 'She had a boil in her throat.'

- (24) *ни -меэ -на дохтур ареэ -йи -р*  
 what.OBL-until-N/A doctor interval.OBL-OBL-N heal.inf NEG.can.PF-N/A  
*хъуваркеэъес даIйхъI -на*

'No matter how many doctors came, she could not heal.'

- (25) *ичий йигъ -ыле йигъ -ылхъа къартIу аIлгъааI йихъа*  
 girl day-el day-superlat N.perish.PF go.IPF F.be.PF  
 'Day by day, the girl wilted and withered away.'

- (26) *са хаIмд -еэ джин -ааш -ди паччагъ -еэ*  
 one night.OBL-IN/ERG Jinn-PL.OBL-OBL king-IN/ERG servant-PL.OBL-aff say.IPF-N  
*нукар -ааши -кIле эйгъе -н*

'One night, the demon king said to his servants:'

- (27) *-ма -на ичий ийкар -ас хъыгъайше*  
 - DIST-N/A girl M.walk.IPF-inf F.take.IMPER  
 'Take the girl for a walk.'

- (28) *сикIырма гъара йихъе -джен ыкIар -бы*  
 a\_little relax F.be.IMPER-opt ache.IPF-PL.NOM forget.opt forget.opt(Suvagil)  
*кIелихнеджен йикIелихнеджен*

'May she relax a little and forget the pain.'

(29) *ыӀгъыйкар ыхъа*

F.walk.IPF M/N.be.PF

'Demons used to walk through its chimney and its window.'

(30) *ма -нбы чобан -ни хаа -схъа гъвийхъар*

DIST-ptcp.PL.NOM shepherd-OBL house.OBL-lat A/HPL.arrive.IPF-PL

*-анбы*

'They reach the shepherd's house.'

(31) *ма -ни вахт -а -л чобан -на издагъ хъа*

DIST-OBL time(A)-OBL-SUPER shepherd-H/A fiancée wool(A) A.card.IPF F.be.PF

*гитлоохъа йихъа*

'At that time, the shepherd's wife was spinning wool.'

(32) *иш гъаагъа-гъаага итту -ка гъней отхъан йихъа*

work(A) A/HPL.do.IPF- A/HPL.do.IPF sweet-with bread N.eat.IPF F.be.PF

'She used to eat bread with honey.'

(33) *ма -на джура -й -ни джад кар -а -к*

DIST-H/A different-msd-OBL foc.N thing-OBL-cont/sub resemble.IPF F.be.PF

*акар йихъа*

'She looked like an unusual pet, with wool clinging to his honey-smeared hands, face and lips.'

(34) *джин-паччагъ -ни йишише -кӀле кзул -е*

Jinn- king-OBL girl.OBL-aff slave-OBL-el H.stand.PF-OBL-msd.DAT DIST-H/A

*-ле гъорзул -и -йс ма -на къеэдже -на*

F.see.IPF-H/A

'The demon king's daughter sees her when she looks out the window.'

(35) *дже -ссе маӀх -дун аӀхъаӀн*

REFL.F.OBL-than/asa such-N laughter-OBL F.burst.IPF DIST-OBL.F/nh-ERG/attr

*-аӀ къиттийхъан ма -нчи -н быӀгъыӀтӀ -е -н ыӀхнаӀ хъохан*

throat-OBL-ERG/attr boil play.IPF

'She laughs so hard that the wound in her throat bursts.'

(36) *джин -ааш -еэ джо -ни паччагъ -ы -с*

Jinn-PL.OBL-IN/ERG REFL.OBL/PL-OBL king-OBL-DAT gift M/N.do.IPF-N

*муштулугъ гъагъа -н*

'The demons send the good news to their king.'

- (37) *йиши хэйиэхэ -ва джин паччагъ геэ -д шад -ехъе -н*  
 daughter F.recover.PF-and/quot Jinn king much-N glad-be.PF-N  
 ‘The demon king was very happy at the girl’s recovery.’
- (38) *маI -нкъы -с гьиджоо йе ыккан кумаг гъеъе*  
 dem-F.OBL-DAT what Q M/N.want.IPF help M/N.do.IMPER  
 ‘Go to her house and fulfill her wish, her desire! - he says.’
- (39) *джин -аар хъады чобан -ни хаахъа кIейккан -бы*  
 Jinn-PL N.come.PF shepherd-OBL home.lat npl.rush.IPF-PL.NOM  
 ‘The demons go to the shepherd’s house.’
- (40) *са мынтеэ гыргы -на хъа гъобгъул ухара -бы гъаъу*  
 one minute.IN all-N/A wool(A) A.wash.PF yarn-PL.NOM M/N.do.PF  
 ‘They quickly washed all the wool, spun yarn.’
- (41) *шал -бы -йий галбаI -бы гъаъа -нбы*  
 veil-PL.NOM-ADD/PST carpet-PL.NOM M/N.do.IPF-ptcp.PL.NOM  
 ‘and wove shawls and carpets.’
- (42) *хайбы хъатхъу гыргы -ни гозй -ааш*  
 house N.sweep.PF all-OBL room(A)-PL.OBL-IN/ERG floor.IN-lat carpet-PL.NOM  
*-еэ джыла -хъа палас -бы гедачча -нбы*  
 spread.IPF-ptcp.PL.NOM  
 ‘They cleaned the houses and spreaded carpets on the floors of all the rooms.’
- (43) *аху -йнбыд чичы -лхъа саъу авайкIан -анбы*  
 stay.PF-ptcp.npl recip-superlat (N)gather.PF A/HPL.go.IPF-PL  
 ‘They gathered the remaining carpets in a pile and then left.’
- (44) *йухъхъан ваIкъаI -бы сува -лхъа аIлхъаI*  
 spring sheep-PL.NOM mountain-superlat return.IPF-when shepherd home.lat  
*-нкъаI чобан хаахъа хъайIйа -на*  
 come\_back.IPF-N/A  
 ‘In the spring, when the flocks of sheep go up into the mountains, the shepherd returns to his house.’
- (45) *хав-уджагъ маIх -уI -д къаджу улеппыши*  
 house- hearth(A) such-OBL-N (N)see.PF eye.PL.OBL-superlat believing  
*-лхъа гъайе дехъе -на*  
 NEG.be.IPF-N/A  
 ‘He can’t believe his eyes when he sees the houses like this.’
- (46) *хъидгIын гъаъа -н-гъай -ын гыргы -н ши -бы гъу*  
 N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N- med-ERG/N all-N work(A)-PL.NOM 2 Q/neither/what M/N.do.PF  
*не гъаъу*

'- Did you do to all these things? - he asks.'

- (47) *хьунаишиез гьор -бы гьагъа -нбы-гьоџо*  
woman.ERG theft-PL.NOM M/N.do.IPF-ptcp.PL.NOM- yes  
'- I did! - the wife lies.'
- (48) *чобан гезр шад -ехье -на*  
shepherd very.H glad-be.PF-H/A  
'The shepherd was very happy.'
- (49) *некке хъийгъа эйгье -н*  
most after say.IPF-N  
'He praises his wife a lot and finally says.'
- (50) *- ваIкьаI -бы сикIыл -да -д гезэ -д хъагъа -с эйхьы*  
- sheep-PL.NOM small-N-N much-N re.M/N.do.IPF-inf be.IPF  
'Apparently we can increase a bit the number of sheep!'
- (51) *хьунаишиез фькьырламыш йеэхье -на и -ни*  
woman.ERG think F.be.IPF-H/A прох-OBL work.OBL-contel how-H-OBL  
*ишы -ке наIхуI -р -не гаттийхъанас*  
F.escape.inf  
'The wife considers how to get out of this business.'
- (52) *са -йыд илеэжка -ссе джыла са кьурдий вод*  
one-N F.look.IPF-than/asa floor.IN one cockroach COP.N  
'Suddenly she sees a beetle on the floor.'
- (53) *эки -да ма -н кьурдий хьыл -агъа аIяатIу*  
quick-H/A.NOM DIST-N cockroach hand-illat A.take.PF mattress-superlat N.put.PF say.IPF-N  
*душак -ылхъа гихъхъы эйгье -н*  
'She quickly takes it and puts it on the mattress and says.'
- (54) *- халай ма деш душак -ы -л гивзур -е*  
- aunt DIST COP.NEG mattress-OBL-SUPER A/HPL.sit.PF-IMPER  
'"Aunty, don't sit there, sit on the mattress."'
- (55) *\*- огы гезр -не орзул*  
- sigh(A) very.H-OBL H.be\_tired.PF  
'Oh-oh are you so tired?'
- (56) *чобан -еэ маIгъаIттал -хъа хъидгIын гьагъа -н*  
shepherd-IN/ERG surprised-aux.PF N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N  
'The shepherd asks in surprise.'
- (57) *- гьиджоон во -дун йидж гьу йушан гьагъа*  
- what.N COP-N F/N.REFL 2 word M/N.do.IPF

‘What are you talking about?’

- (58) *хьунаишиез эйгье -н-ма -на йиз -да халай -ний во -рна*  
woman.ERG say.IPF-N- DIST-H/A му-Н/А.NOM aunt-PST COP-Н  
‘His wife says: - She was my aunt.’

- (59) *гээр эл -на кар -ний во -рна*  
very.H quick-H/A thing-PST COP-Н  
‘She was very lively person.’

- (60) *хайна иш гавзува болкь -ул -лхъа сайкьы*  
too\_much work(A) A.do.PF 2.OBL bug-OBL-superlat F.turn.PF  
‘Because she worked too much, she turned into a beetle.’

- (61) *чобан хьаиркьын кьели -л-хыле -л эхъана*  
shepherd fear.PF leg.OBL-SUPER- hand.OBL-SUPER M.be.PF  
‘The shepherd leapt to his feet in fear.’

- (62) *- джан кьарий гьаман палас -бы ша -с чаг -одунбы*  
- soul woman such.N carpet-PL.NOM 1pl.OBL-DAT enough-COP.npl  
‘Dear wife, this much carpeting is enough for us.’

- (63) *дегье ишлемиш меэхьы*  
anymore work .F.be  
‘Don’t work any more.’

- (64) *гьу -нар болкь -ул -лхъа сайкьыл -еэ за*  
2-top.H bug-OBL-superlat F.turn.PF-cond 1.OBL-DAT 2 wherefrom Q/neither/what F.be.inf  
*-с гьу ненче не йихьес*

‘If you turn into a beetle, where will I find you again?’

## Abbreviations

**1** first person

**A** animate

**ADD** additive

**COP** copula

**DAT** dative

**DIST** distal

**ERG** ergative

**F** feminine

**H** human

**HPL** human plural

**IMPER** ???

**IN** inessive

**IPF** imperfective

**M** masculine

**N** neuter

**NEG** negative

**NOM** nominative

**OBL** oblique

**PF** perfective

**PL** plural

**PST** past

**Q** question particle

**REFL** reflexive

**SUPER** superessive