

The tale of the pumpkin

Langue: Tsakhur

ID: tsak1249_08_pumpkins_tale

Locuteur: Ahmed Davudov

Chercheur: Gilles Authier

- (1) *къабах-табах-на меххва*
pumpkin- vessel-H/A tale
'The tale of the pumpkin'
- (2) *са во-рна-ний са деш-да-ний*
one COP-H-PST one COP.NEG-N-PST
'Once upon a time...'
- (3) *шенки-ни вахт-бы-шы-л са къабах во-б-на-ний*
ancient-OBL time(A)-PL.NOM-PL.OBL-SUPER one pumpkin COP-A /HPL-H/A-PST
'In olden times there was a pumpkin.'
- (4) *хъазаакан аЛгъааI вухъа*
A.roll.IPF go.IPF A/HPL.be.PF
'That pumpkin used to go rolling down the road to wherever it might end up.'
- (5) *йаIккъъ-аI са аIмаIлей-схъа хъызаха-на*
road.OBL-OBL one donkey-lat meet.PF-H/A
'On the road it encounters a donkey.'
- (6) *аIмаIлейн хъидгIын гъаъа-н*
donkey.ERG N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
'The donkey asks the pumpkin.'
- (7) *- къабах-табах нйаа-хъа не вуIккъъаI*
- pumpkin- vessel where-lat Q/neither/what A/HPL.go.IPF
'-Pumpkin-platter, where are you going?'
- (8) *къабах хъаIлламыш вухъа-на*
pumpkin angry A/HPL.be.PF-H/A
'The pumpkin gets angry.'
- (9) *- къабах-ыб гъу во-б табах-ыб*
- pumpkin-also.A/PL 2 COP-A /HPL vessel-also.A/PL
'-I'll give you pumpkin-platter!'
- (10) *мез-д аIмаIлейн хъидгIын гъаъа-н*
other-N donkey.ERG N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
'So the donkey asks.'
- (11) *- бес гъуджоо не ва-кIле ийгъе*
- enough what Q/neither/what 2.OBL-aff say.IPF

‘What should I call you then?’

- (12) *къабах-ын аІмаІлей-кІле эйгъа-н*
pumpkin-ERG/N donkey-aff say.IPF-N
‘The pumpkin says to the donkey.’
- (13) - *йызын до чІаІраІ-н мерзий-бы аІяазу-на мерзахан бабай во-дун*
- my.N name red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-N/A M. *** COP-N
‘Red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan.’
- (14) *мед аІмаІлейн эйгъа-н*
again donkey.ERG say.IPF-N
‘The donkey asks again.’
- (15) - *эй чІаІраІ-н мерзий-бы аІяазу-на мерзахан бабай нїахъа*
- *** red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-N/A M. *** wheretō
не ьІкъкъаІ
Q/neither/what M.go.IPF
‘Red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan, where are you going?’
- (16) *къабах-ын шад-да эйгъа-н*
pumpkin-ERG/N glad-N/A.NOM say.IPF-N
‘The pumpkin says cheerfully.’
- (17) - *къарий-ни къодже-йн хеккар хъоІхъаІ-с*
- woman-OBL old_man-ERG/OBL.N nut.PL N.steal.IPF-inf
‘To steal nuts from an old couple.’
- (18) *аІмаІлейн къабах-ы-ке таваккъъы гъаза-н*
donkey.ERG pumpkin-OBL-contelbeg M/N.do.IPF-N
‘The donkey begs the pumpkin.’
- (19) - *зы-на-б гъамбаз гъавъез*
- 1-N/A-A /HPL friend A.do.cond
‘Make me your travelling companion.’
- (20) *къабах-еэ эйгъа-н*
pumpkin-IN/ERG say.IPF-N
‘The pumpkin says.’
- (21) - *гъамбаз деш чодж джар*
- friend COP.NEG brother foc.N
‘Not a companion but a brother.’
- (22) *гъи-йб къабах хъегъна аІмаІле ма-нче эгъна аІгъааІ-мы*
dem-also pumpkin behind donkey DIST-el down go.IPF-PL
‘They set off from there, with the pumpkin in front and the donkey behind.’

- (23) *аЛгъааI-аЛгъааI ма-мбы-шы-схъа йаIкъкъаI са дадал*
 go.IPF- go.IPF DIST-HPL-PL,OBL-lat road,OBL-OBL one
хъызаха-на
 rooster meet.PF-H/A
 'As they are going along, a rooster encounters them on the road.'
- (24) *дадал-еэ ма-мбыш-ке хъидгъын гъаза-н*
 rooster-IN/ergdist-PL,OBL-contel N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
 'The rooster asks them.'
- (25) *- къабах-табах нйахъа-не вуIкъкъаI*
 - pumpkin- vessel whereto-OBL A/HPL.go.IPF
 '-Pumpkin-platter, where are you going?'
- (26) *къабах дадал-ылхъа-б хъаIлламыш вухъа-на*
 pumpkin rooster-superlat-A /HPL angry A/HPL.be.PF-H/A
 'The pumpkin gets angry with the rooster.'
- (27) *- къабах-ыб гъу во-б табах-ыб*
 - pumpkin-also.A/PL 2 COP-A /HPL vessel-also.A/PL
 'I'll give you pumpkin-platter!'
- (28) *дадал-еэ хъидгъын гъаза-н*
 rooster-IN/ERG N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
 'The rooster asks.'
- (29) *- бес гъуджоо не ийгъе ва-кIле*
 - enough what Q/neither/what say.IPF 2.OBL-aff
 'What should I call you then?'
- (30) *- чIаIраI-н мерзий-бы алыагу-на мерзахан бабай*
 - red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-H/A M. ***
 'Red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan.'
- (31) *- эй чIаIраI-н мерзий-бы алыагу-на мерзахан бабай нйахъа-не*
 - *** red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-H/A M. *** whereto-OBL
ыIкъкъаI
 M.go.IPF
 'O red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan, where are you going?'
- (32) *къабах-еэ джываб хъела-н*
 pumpkin-IN/ERG answer N.give_back.IPF-N
 'The pumpkin answers.'
- (33) *- къарий-ни къодже-йн хеккар хъоIхъаI-с*
 - woman-OBL old_man-ERG/OBL.N nut.PL N.steal.IPF-inf
 'To steal nuts from an old couple.'

- (34) *дадал-еэ тавакккы гъаъа-н*
 rooster-IN/ergbeg M/N.do.IPF-N
 'The rooster begs.'
- (35) - *зы-на-б шо-с гъамбаз гъеъе*
 - 1-N/A-A /HPL 2pl.OBL-datfriend M/N.do.IMPER
 'Make me your companion.'
- (36) - *гъамбаз деи чодж-джар-ва эйгъа-н къабах-еэ*
 - friend COP.NEG brother-foc.H-and/quot say.IPF-N pumpkin-IN/ERG
 'Not a companion but a brother, says the pumpkin.'
- (37) *гъи-йб къабах хъегъна аМаЛе хъегъна дадал йаКкккыИ-л*
 dem-also pumpkin behind donkey behind rooster road.OBL-superhpl.enter.IPF-PL
эбачИа-мы
 'They go on their way, with the pumpkin in front, the donkey behind, and the rooster behind.'
- (38) *аЛгъааИ аЛгъааИ йаКкккъ-аИ са йау-а-схъа хъызаха-мы*
 go.IPF go.IPF road.OBL-OBL one ox-OBL-lat meet.PF-PL
 'As they are going along, they meet an ox on the road.'
- (39) *йау-ын ма-мбыш-ке хъидгъын гъаъа-н*
 ox-ERG/N DIST-PL.OBL-contel N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
 'The ox asks them.'
- (40) - *къабах-табах нйахъа не вуКкккъаИ*
 - pumpkin- vessel whereto Q/neither/what A/HPL.go.IPF
 'Pumpkin-platter, where are you going?'
- (41) *къабах-ы-с хъаИл вухъа-на*
 pumpkin-OBL-datanger(A) A/HPL.be.PF-H/A
 'Getting angry, the pumpkin says.'
- (42) - *къабах-ыб гъу во-б табах-ыб-эйгъа-н*
 - pumpkin-also.A/PL 2 COP-A /HPL vessel-also.A/PL- say.IPF-N
 'I'll give you pumpkin-platter!'
- (43) *ма-нке йау-азы-н хъидгъын гъаъа-н*
 DIST-A/N.oblox-N.aux.PF-N N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
 'The ox asks.'
- (44) - *бес ва-кЛе гъуджоо не ийгъе*
 - enough 2.OBL-aff what Q/neither/what say.IPF
 'What should I call you then?'

- (45) *къабах-еэ эйгъа-н*
pumpkin-IN/ERG say.IPF-N
'The pumpkin says.'
- (46) - *чIаIраI-н мерзий-бы аIяазу-на мерзахан бабай-ва ийгъе*
- red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-H/A M. ***-and/quot say.IPF
'Call me Red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan.'
- (47) - *эй чIаIраI-н мерзий-бы аIяазу-на мерзахан бабай нIахъа*
- *** red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-H/A M. *** whereto
не ыIккъаI
Q/neither/what M.go.IPF
'O Red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan, where are you going?'
- (48) - *йау-ын хъидгIын гъаа-н*
- ox-ERG/N N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
'the ox asks.'
- (49) *къабах-еэ эйгъа-н*
pumpkin-IN/ERG say.IPF-N
'The pumpkin replies.'
- (50) - *къарий-н ий къодже-йн хеккар хъоIхъаI-с*
- woman-ERG/attr ADD old_man-ERG/OBL.N nut.PL N.steal.IPF-inf
'To steal nuts from an old couple.'
- (51) - *зы-на-б гъамбаз гъеъе*
- I-H/A-A /HPL friend M/N.do.IMPER
'Make me your companion.'
- (52) - *гъамбаз деш чодж джар*
- friend COP.NEG brother foc.H
'Not a companion but a brother.'
- (53) *гъи-йб къабах хъегъна аIмаIле хъегъна дадал хъегъна йау аIлгъааI-мы*
dem-also pumpkin behind donkey behind rooster behind ox go.IPF-PL
'They set off, with the pumpkin in front, the donkey behind, the rooster behind, and the ox behind.'
- (54) *аIлгъааI аIлгъааI йаIккъъ-аI са тохмах-ы-схъа хъызаха-мы*
go.IPF go.IPF road.OBL-OBL one hammer-OBL-lat meet.PF-PL
'As they are going along, they encounter a hammer on the road.'
- (55) *тохмах-ын къабах-ы-ке хъидгIын гъаа-н*
hammer-ERG/N pumpkin-OBL-conteln.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
'The hammer asks the pumpkin.'

- (56) - *кѡбаѡх табаѡх хайѡрола аІлѡааІ во-б*
 - pumpkin vessel good_luck go.IPF COP-A /HPL
 ‘Pumpkin-platter, where is good fortune taking you?’
- (57) *кѡбаѡх мейб хѡаІлламыш вухѡа-на*
 pumpkin again.A/HPL angry A/HPL.be.PF-H/A
 ‘Again the pumpkin gets angry.’
- (58) - *кѡбаѡх-ыб гѡу во-б табаѡх-ыб*
 - pumpkin-also.A/PL 2 COP-A /HPL vessel-also.A/PL
 ‘I’ll give you pumpkin-platter!’
- (59) *тохмах перт-ехѡа-н*
 hammer quick-aux.PF-N
 ‘Surprised, the hammer says.’
- (60) - *ай чодѡж бес ва-кІле гѡудѡжо не ийгѡе*
 - *** brother enough 2.OBL-aff what Q/neither/what say.IPF
 ‘What should I call you then?’
- (61) *кѡбаѡх-еѡ эйгѡа-н*
 pumpkin-IN/ERG say.IPF-N
 ‘The pumpkin says.’
- (62) - *ийзын до чІаІраІ-н мерзий-бы-на-на мерзахан бабай во-дун*
 - my.N name red-N dress-PL.NOM-H/A-H/A M. grand_dad COP-N
 ‘My name is Red-Garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan.’
- (63) *тохмах-еѡ хѡидгІын гѡаѡа-н*
 hammer-IN/ERG N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
 ‘The hammer asks.’
- (64) - *эй чІаІраІ-н мерзий-бы-на-на мерзахан бабай нйахѡа не*
 - *** red-N dress-PL.NOM-H/A-H/A M. grand_dad whereto Q/neither/what
ыІкѡкѡаІ
 M.go.IPF
 ‘Red-Garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan, where are you going?’
- (65) - *кѡарий-ни кѡодѡже-йн хеккар хѡІхѡаІ-с*
 - woman-OBL old_man-ERG/OBL.N nut.PL N.steal.IPF-inf
 ‘To steal nuts from an old couple.’
- (66) - *зы-на-б гѡамбаз гѡеѡѡ*
 - 1-H/A-A /HPL friend do.IMPER
 ‘Make me your companion.’
- (67) - *гѡамбаз деш чодѡж дѡжаб*
 - friend COP.NEG brother foc.A/HPL

‘Not a companion but a brother.’

- (68) *йаІкэкъыІ-л эбачІа-мы*
road.OBL-SUPER HPL.enter.IPF-PL
‘They go on their way with the pumpkin in front, the donkey behind, the rooster behind, the ox behind, and the hammer behind.’
- (69) *аІлгъааІ аІлгъааІ иІяаака-мы йаІкэкъ-аІ са демана во-б*
go.IPF go.IPF A/HPL.look.IPF-PL road.OBL-OBL one big_awl(A) COP-A /HPL
‘As they are going along, they see that there is an awl in the road.’
- (70) *хъооІ-мбушы-ке демана-йн хъидгІын гъаъа-н*
M/N/A.come.IPF-ptcp.PL.OBL-contel big_awl(A)-ERG/OBL.N N.ask.PF M/N.do.IPF-N
‘As they approach, the awl asks.’
- (71) - *къабах табах нйахъа не вуІкэкъаІ*
- pumpkin vessel whereto Q/neither/what A/HPL.go.IPF
‘Pumpkin-platter, where are you going?’
- (72) *къабах-еэ себкІыл ма-нчы-кІле эйгъа-н*
pumpkin-IN/ERG A.turn.PF DIST-OBL.nm-aff say.IPF-N
‘The pumpkin turns and says to it,’
- (73) - *инахъа ылааке къабах-ыб гъу во-б табах-ыб*
- whereto A/HPL.look.IMPER pumpkin-also.A/PL 2 COP-A /HPL vessel-also.A/PL
‘Look here, I’ll give you pumpkin-platter!’
- (74) *демана-йн эйгъа-н*
big_awl(A)-ERG/OBL.N say.IPF-N
‘The awl asks.’
- (75) - *бес гъуджоо не ва-к-ле ийгъе*
- enough what Q/neither/what 2.OBL-cont/sub-el say.IPF
‘What should I call you then?’
- (76) - *чаІраІ-н мерзий-бы аІяаъу-на мерзахан бабай*
- red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-Н/A M. grand_dad
‘Red-garbed Grandfather Mirza-khan.’
- (77) - *чаІраІ-н мерзий-бы аІяаъу-на мерзахан бабай нйахъа*
- red-N dress-PL.NOM N.put_on/build.PF-Н/A M. grand_dad whereto
не ыІкэкъаІ
Q/neither/what M.go.IPF
‘Red-garbed grandfather Mirza-Khan, where are you going?’
- (78) - *къарий-ни къодже-йн хеккар хъоІхъаІ-с*
- woman-OBL old_man-ERG/OBL.N nut.PL N.steal.IPF-inf

'To steal nuts from an old couple.'

- (79) - *зы-на-б гьамбаз гьезэе*
- 1-H/A-A /HPL friend A.do.IMPER
'Make me your companion.'

- (80) - *гьамбаз деи чодж джар*
- friend COP.NEG brother foc.H
'Not a companion but a brother.'

- (81) *гьама-нче ма-мбы сабы-хэабы йаIкэжкыI-л эбачIа-мы*
dem-el DIST-HPL HPL.gather.PF- A.come.PF road.OBL-SUPER HPL.enter.IPF-PL
'Then, all gathered, they go on their way.'

- (82) *гьивийхьар-амы*
A/HPL.arrive.IPF-HPL
'As they are going along, during the night they arrive at the old couple's house.'

- (83) *ма-мбыш-еэ гьувэур са джыгее нIылан кэурмуш-аэа-н*
DIST-PL.OBL-IN/erga.sit.PF one place.IN plan organize-do.IPF-N
'On the spot they make a plan.'

- (84) *аIмалее кьыIтаIбыш-еэ уIйозар-на*
donkey.ERG stairs.OBL-IN/ergm.stand.IPF-H/A
'The donkey stands on the stairs.'

- (85) *тохмах акка-ни оэа гийэар-ан*
hammer gate(A)-OBL on M.sit.IPF-N
'The hammer sits above the door.'

- (86) *демана душаг-ылхэа кIывхы уIйозар-на*
big_awl(A) matrass-superlat A.plant.PF M.stand.IPF-H/A
'The awl sticks upright in the mattress.'

- (87) *дадал бухарее дьугул вухэа-на*
rooster chimney.IN hide A/HPL.be.PF-H/A
'The rooster hides in the chimney.'

- (88) *йац-ыб чардах-ылхэа илхэевчиIу бухара-йни гIал-еэ джыга*
ox-also.A/PL barn-superlat A.climb.PF chimney-(ptcp)OBL mouth-IN/ERG place(A)
авхэакэжкэа-на
A.hold/shut.IPF-H/A
'And the ox climbs on top of the barn and stops up the opening of the chimney.'

- (89) *кьабах-еэ чардах-ы-л кьоче-эхэа хеккар саэа гивигэал-на*
pumpkin-IN/ERG barn-OBL-SUPER bag-ad nut.PL gather.IPF A.start.IPF-H/A
'In the barn the pumpkin begins to gather up nuts into a bag.'

- (90) *къарий-кЛе сес-бы къайхъы къодже уза хъаъа-на*
 woman-aff voice-PL.NOM hear.PF old_man M/A.stand.ipfre.M/N.do.IPF-H/A
 ‘Hearing noises, the old woman wakes up the old man.’
- (91) - *къодже къодже уза йишин хеккар вод хъоІхъаІ*
 - old_man old_man M/A.stand.ipfour nut.PL COP.N N.steal.IPF
 ‘Old man! Get up, they are stealing our nuts.’
- (92) *къодже тикы хъыхъа душаг-ылхъа гъуъур-и-с авгъа-нче демана*
 old_man rise re.be.PF matrass-superlat sit.PF-OBL-inf lower-el bigawl(A)
оота-на
 A.plant.IPF-H/A
 ‘The old man gets up, and when he sits on the mattress the awl pierces him from beneath.’
- (93) *гъаъа бухара-й-схъа хъехъа-на*
 M/N.do.IPF chimney-OBL-lat M/N.be.IPF-H/A
 ‘He goes over to the chimney.’
- (94) *уфулти цІуІкъкъаІр вод-еэва кІйорзун-и-йс*
 blow sparks COP.N-Q.quot H/bend.PF-OBL-msd.DAT
 ‘When he bends over to blow on the glowing coals,’
- (95) *дадал-ын хъл-ы-быш-ква фатар- фатар*
 rooster-ERG/nhand(A)-OBL-PL.OBL-with ideoph face-OBL-superlat eye.IN-ad
акъв-а-лхъа уле-эхъа йыІхъ агъа-на
 ashes??? M/N.throw.IPF-H/A
 ‘the rooster flaps its wings and sends ash into his face and eyes.’
- (96) *гъама гъуджоо-йеэва бухарайке алла гъойзар-на*
 dem what-Q.quot chimney.el on/because H.stand.IPF-H/A
 ‘He [does something] to see what is the matter.’
- (97) *и-ни зарбас йац-ан къодже-йни акъвай-лхъа хъид-ын пахъ-бы*
 proх-OBL time.DAT ox-N old_man-(ptcp)OBL face.OBL-superlat dung-ERG/N dung-PL.NOM
гекка-мы
 N.go_down/plundge.IPF-PL
 ‘Then the ox lets his dung fall down on to the old man’s face.’
- (98) - *вай адей-вай аман гъуджоо йе йидж эехъи*
 - *** mummy- *** please what Q F/N.REFL N.be.IPF
 ‘-Ау мама, ау аман, what is this?’
- (99) - *увгъа къодже akka-й-схъа къадайхъан-на*
 - say.PF old_man gate(A)-OBL-lat M.run.IPF-H/A
 ‘says the old man, and runs towards the door.’

- (100) *акка-й-схъа гырхъын-и-с къом-ахъа тохмах улайойссан*
gate(A)-OBL-lat H.go.PF-OBL-inf head/start-illat hammer N.strike.IPF
‘As he goes through the door, the hammer hits him on the head.’
- (101) *къодже вукле-лхъа хулайопты гыхъхъы къахъа къадайхъван-на*
old_man head.OBL-superlat hand.PL.NOM put.PF outside M.run.IPF-H/A
‘Holding his hands to his head, the old man runs outside.’
- (102) *къылтI-ааIш-еэхъа гыхъар-на*
stair-PL.OBL-illat M.arrive.IPF-H/A
‘When he gets to the stairs,’
- (103) *ма аIмаIлейн ма са мькI гъама-нкъу-ле*
DIST donkey.ERG DIST one foot/dance dem-H-el
‘our donkey gives him a kick.’
- (104) *гъама-нче эгына хъаъайкIан-на*
dem-el down go_back.IPF-H/A
‘Then he falls down.’
- (105) *гъамбаз-ар хеккар аIятIу увайкIан-амы хаахъа*
friend-PL nut.PL N.take.PF A/HPL.go.IPF-HPL home.lat
‘The friends collect up the nuts and go home.’

Abbreviations

1 first person	IPF imperfective
A animate	M masculine
ADD additive	N neuter
ADV adverbial	NEG negative
COP copula	NOM nominative
DAT dative	OBL oblique
DIST distal	PF perfective
ERG ergative	PL plural
F feminine	PST past
H human	Q question particle
HPL human plural	REFL reflexive
IMPER ???	SUPER superessive
IN inessive	