7 Language Profile

Tsez
The Hen and the Rooster

This Tsez folk tale was first published, in Tsez (in Cyrillic transliteration) and Russian translation, in A. K. Abdulaev and I. K. Abdullaev, *Cezyas folklor/Didojskij (cezskij) folʹklor* (*Dido (Tsez) folklore*), Makhachkala-Leipzig, 2010: "Lotos". The publication was financed by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, which retains the right to the materials for scientific and educational purposes and authorizes their use on this web site.

Note that the dialect represented by this version is the Mokok dialect, which differs slightly from the Asakh dialect described in the accompanying textbook chapter. In particular, the Mokok dialect distinguishes two long vowels, one more back and transliterated <ā>, one more front and transliterated <ǟ>. There are some other minor differences between the text as given here and illustrative sentences in the textbook chapter.

Note: The first line of every unit (blue text with a line number) is a hyperlink that will play an audio file.

onočun, mamalayn
onoču-n   mamalay-n
hen-and   rooster-and
the hen and the rooster

1   zownλax, zown ānuλax onočun, mamalayn.
    zow-n-λax   zow-n   ānu-λax   onoču-n mamalay-n
    be.NPRS-PST.UNW-QUOT   be.NPRS-PFV.CVB   be.NEG-QUOT hen-and   rooster-and
    'Once upon a time there was a hen and a rooster.'

2   žedā sadaqay ʕumru boyx zown.
    žed-ā   sadaqay ʕumru   b-oy-x   zow-n
    DEM1.IIPL-ERG   together life   III-do-IPFV.CVB be.NPRS-PST.UNW
    'They where living together.'

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3 mamalay ɣudes ciqāɣor qaciλ'or bik'ix zown, onoču iduzā beynoyx, iduzāsi royx bičix zown.

mamalay	ɣudes	ciq-āɣor	qaci-λ'or	b-ik'i-x	zow-n	onoču
rooster	daily	forest-IN.VERS	firewood-SUPER.LAT	III-go-IPFV.CVB	be.NPRS-PFV.CVB	hen

idu-z-ā	b-eynoy -x	zown	idu-zā-si	r-odi-x
home-PL-IN.ESS	III-work-IPFV.CVB	be.NPRS-PST.UNW	home-PL-IN.ESS-ATTR	IV-do-PRS

b-iči-x	zow-n
III-be-PRS	be.NPRS-PST.UNW

'Every day the rooster went into the forest for firewood, and the hen was at home doing the housework.'

4 netintow mamalayā at'iwt'a qaca rayrxo zown, nełaqgon c'i era onočar isałxo zown.

netin-tow	mamalay-ā	at'iw-t'a	qaca	r-ayr-x	zow-n
always-EMPH	rooster-ERG	wet-DISTR	firewood	IV-bring-IPFV.CVB	be.NPRS-PST.UNW

neła-q-gon	c'i	er-a	onoča-r	isał-xo	zow-n
DEM1.IISG.OBL-POSS.ESS-CNTR	fire	put-INF	hen-LAT	be.difficult-IPFV.CVB	be.NPRS-PST.UNW

'The rooster always brought wet firewood, and it was difficult for the hen to light a fire with it.'

5 šidā mi yaqˤułgon at'iw qaca rayrāλin onoču c'ok'inayzaλ', mamalayā di kecno λexunλint'a žawab teλxo zown.

šidā	mi	yaqˤuł-gon	at'iw	qaca	r-ayr-ā-λin	onoču	c'ok'inay-zaλ'
why	you	today-CNTR	wet	firewood	IV-bring-PST.WIT-INT-QUOT	hen	scold-CSL.CVB

mamalay-ā	di	kec-no	λexu-n-λin-t'a	žawab	teλ-xo
rooster-ERG	me	sleep-PFV.CVB	remain-PFV.CVB-QUOT-DISTR	answer	give-IPFV.CVB

zow-n
be.NPRS-PST.UNW

'When the hen scolded, "Why have you brought wet firewood again, today?" the rooster answered, "I slept in."'

6 onočas pikru boqno, ciqāɣor ža bik'inosi, nełał xizāy xal bodin bičanλin

onoča-s	pikru	b-oq-no	ciq-āɣor	ža	b-ik'i -nosi
hen-GEN1	idea	III-become-PFV.CVB	forest-IN.VERS	DEM 1.SG	III-go-ANT.CVB

neła-ł	xizāy	xal	b-odi-n	b-ič-an-λin
DEM1.IISG.OBL-CONT.ESS	behind	examination	III-do-PFV.CVB	III-be-FUT.DEF-QUOT

'The hen had the idea, "When he goes to the forest, I will follow him."'

7 hudayziko onoču mamalaył xizāy biynč'ey ciqāɣor bik'in.

hudayziko	onoču	mamalay-ł	xizāy	b-iy-nč'ey	ciq-āɣor	b-ik'i-n
the.next.day	hen	rooster-CONT.ESS	behind	III-know-NEG.PST.CVB	forest-IN.VERS	III-go-PST.UNW

'The next day, the hen secretly followed the rooster into the forest.'

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8   iħuxor bik'in mamalayā̃ c'iw-li-wit'λin łox q'aλinosi, wit'-wišλin eλix łā̃łā̃zay łoħro boλixno.

iħu-xor	b-ik'i-n	mamalay-ā̃	c'iwliwit'-λin	łox	q'aλi-nosi
river-AD.LAT	III-go-PFV.CVB	rooster-ERG	tsiwliwit-QUOT	thrice	shout-ANT.CVB

wit'wiš-λin	eλi-x	łā̃-łā̃zay	słoħro	b-oλix-no
witwish-QUOT	say-IPFV.CVB	water-CONT.ABL.DIST	frog	III-appear-PST.UNW

'The rooster went to the river and after shouting "Tsiwliwit!" three times, a frog appeared out of the water, saying "witwish".'

9   žedā eλixosi šebinon rok'λ'o ričirno, yoł yāłzā žeduλ žedun xecin, onoču xizo-q'ˤimer butin iduɣorno bik'in, nełā nełas beyni boda boqno.

žed-ā	eλi-xosi	šebinon	rok'-λ'o	r-iči-r-no
DEM1.IIPL-ERG	say-PRS.PTCP	something	heart-SUPER.ESS	IV-be-CAUS-PFV.CVB

yoł yāł-zā	žedu-λ	žedu-n	xeci-n
be be-LCV.CVB	DEM1.IPL.OBL-SUB.ESS	DEM1.IPL.OBL-TOP	leave-PFV.CVB

onoču xizor-q'ˤimer	b-uti-n	idu-ɣor-no	b-ik'i-n
hen back	III-turn.back-PFV.CVB	home-IN.ALL-TOP	III-go-PFV.CVB

neł-ā	neła-s	beyni	b-od-a	b-oq-no
DEM1.IISG.OBL-ERG	DEM1.IISG.OBL-GEN1	work	III-do-INF	III-begin-PST.UNW

'Remembering what they were saying, the hen left them where they where and returned home to do her work.'

10 neširur howožatow at'iw qacan rayrno mamalay xizor butin baynosi, onočā esirno:

neširu-r	howoža-tow	at'iw	qaca-n	r-ayr-no	mamalay	xizor
at.night-LAT	DEM4.SG-EMPH	wet	firewood-TOP	IV-bring-PFV.CVB	rooster	back

b-uti-n	b-ay-nosi	onoč-ā	esir-no
III-turn.back-PFV.CVB	III-come-ANT.CVB	hen-ERG	ask-PST.UNW

'At night, when the rooster came back bringing this wet firewood again, the hen asked:'

11 sadaq ʕon rižā̃si zowzaλ', yaq'ˤułgon šidā mi at'iw qaca rayrā̃λin?

sadaq	ʕo-n	r-iž-ā̃si	zow-za-λ'	yaq'ˤuł-gon	šidā	mi	at'iw	qaca
together	axe-TOP	IV-carry-RES.PTCP	be.NPRS-CSL.CVB	today-CNTR	why	you	wet	firewood

r-ayr-a-λin
IV-bring-PST.WIT.INT-QUOT

'"Why did you bring wet firewood today again, although you carried the axe with you?"'

12 "kecno λexunλin," eλin mamalayā̃.

kec-no	λexu-n-λin	eλi-n	mamalay-ā̃
sleep-PFV.CVB	remain-PST.UNW-QUOT	say-PST.UNW	rooster-ERG

"I slept in," said the rooster.

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13 nedur resunā̃yλin, eλin onočā, sasaq qaciλ'or di bik'a yołλin.

nedur	r-esu-nā̃y-λin	eλi-n	onoč-ā	sasaq	qaci-λ'or	di
so	IV-exist-COND.CVB-QUOT	say-PST.UNW	hen-ERG	tomorrow	firewood-SUPER.LAT	me

b-ik'-a	yoł-λin
III-go-INF	be-QUOT

'"If that's the case," said the hen, "I will go for firewood tomorrow."'

14 nełaquł sasaq č'urqˤotow bizin onoču qaciλ'or bik'in.

nełaquł	sasaq	č'urqˤo-tow	b-izi-n	onoču	qaci-λ'or
on.that.day	tomorrow	in.the.morning-EMPH	III-get.up-PFV.CVB	hen	firewood-SUPER.LAT

b-ik'i-n
III-go-PST.UNW

'The next day, in the early morning, the hen got up and went for firewood.'

15 iħuxor baynosi, nełā łox c'iw-li-wit'λin qˤaλin.

iħu-xor	b-ay-nosi	neł-ā	łox	c'iw-li-wit'-λin	qˤaλi -n
river-AD.LAT	III- come-ANT.CVB	DEM1.IISG.OBL-ERG	thrice	tsiwliwit-QUOT	shout-PST.UNW

'When she came to the river, she shouted "tsiwliwit" three times.'

16 boλixno łoħrā wit'-wišλin eλinosi, onočā nełaz bˤuλ'in bok'no ozuri roɣno, k'ox ā̃λirugon bok'no k'onč'u yecurno

b-oλix-no	łoħr-ā	wit'wiš-λin	eλi-nosi
III-appear-PFV.CVB	frog-ERG	witwish-QUOT	say-ANT.CVB

onoč-ā	neła-z	bˤuλ'i-n	b-ok'-no	ozuri	r-oɣ-no
hen-ERG	DEM1.IISG.OBL-GEN2	beak-and	III-beat-PFV.CVB	eye	IV-take.away-PFV.CVB

k'ox	ā̃λiru-gon	b-ok'-no	k'onč'u	y-ecu-r-no
twice	ORD-CNTR	III-beat-PFV.CVB	leg	II-break-CAUS-PST.UNW

'After the frog appeared and said "witwish", the hen struck its eye out with her beak and with a second hit broke its leg.'

17 onočā quqā̃si qacan resu-riqirno xizor butin iduɣor nexno.

onoč-ā	quqā̃si	qaca-n	r-esu-r-iqir-no	xizor	b-uti-n	i	du-ɣor
hen-ERG	dry	firewood-TOP	IV-find-IV-bring-PFV.CVB	back	III-return-PFV.CVB		home-VERS

nex-no
come-PST.UNW

'The hen found dry firewood and brought it back home with her.'

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18 onočaqor p'estow boɣinč'ey, hudāyzikogon łoħrodāɣorno bik'in mamalayā̆ łox c'iw-li-witλin qˤaλinosi, wit'-wišλin eλix yecāsi k'onč'un, sis ozurin ānusi łoħro boλixno.

onoča-qor	p'es-tow	b-oɣ-inč'ey	hudāyziko-gon	łoħro-dāɣor-no
hen-POSS.LAT	voice-EMPH	III-take.away-NEG.PST.CVB	day.after.tomorrow-CNTR	frog-APUD.VERS-TOP

b-ik'i-n	mamalay-ā̆	łox	c'iwliwit'-λin	qˤaλi-nosi
III-go-PFV.CVB	rooster-ERG	thrice	tsiwliwit-QUOT	shout-ANT.CVB

wit'wiš-λin	e λi-x	y-ec-āsi	k'onč'u-n	sis	ozuri-n	ānu-si łoħro
witwish-QUOT	say-IPFV.CVB	II-break-RES.PTCP	leg-and	one	eye-and	be.NEG-ATTR frog

b-oλix-no
III-appear-PST.UNW

'Without saying anything to the hen, the next day the rooster went to the frog, shouted "tsiwliwit" three times, and the frog appeared saying "witwish", with a broken leg and a missing eye.'

19 łu mi nediw bodā̆λin? esirno mamalayā̆.

łu	mi	nediw	b-od-ā̆-λin	esir-no	mamalay-ā̆
who.ERG	you	such	III-do-PST.WIT.INT-QUOT	ask-PST.UNW	rooster-ERG

'"Who did this to you?," asked the rooster.'

20 ħuł bayn debez onočā boysλin, žawab teλno łoħrā.

ħuł	b-ay-n	debe-z	onoč-ā	b-oy-s-λin	žawab	teλ-no	łoħr-ā
yesterday	III-come-PFV.CVB	you-GEN2	hen-ERG	III-do-PST.WIT-QUOT	answer	give-PST.UNW	frog-ERG

'"Yesterday your hen came and did this," answered the frog.'

21 mamalay qaciqorno, yił-nełqorno bezux bičinč'ey durimoλ' bik'in onočaλ' biħanayn, nełasno łoħros yiłetown k'onč'un yecurno, nełdāy bat'an boqno, nełā nełaz ɣˤutkāɣor bik'in.

mamalay	qaci-qor-no	yił-neł-qor-no	b-ezu-x
rooster	firewood-POSS.LAT-and	DEM2.IISG.OBL-DEM1.IISG.OBL-POSS.LAT-and	III-look-IPFV.CVB

b-iči-nč'ey	durimoλ' b-ik'i-n
III-be-NEG.PST.CVB	running III-go-PFV.CVB

onoču-λ'	b-iħanay-n	neła-s-no	łoħro-s	y-iłe-tow-n	k'onč'u-n
hen-SUPER.ESS	III-fight-PFV.CVB	DEM1.IISG.OBL-GEN1-and	frog-GEN1	II-as-EMPH-TOP	leg-and

y-ecu-r-no
II-break-CAUS-PFV.CVB

neł-dāy	bat'a-n	b-oq-no	neł-ā
DEM1.IISG.OBL-APUD.ABL	separation-TOP	III-become-PFV.CVB	DEM1.IISG.OBL-ERG

neła-z	ɣˤutk-āɣor	b-ik'i-n
DEM1.IISG.OBL-GEN2	house-IN.VERS	III-go-PST.UNW

'Without looking for firewood or any other things, he ran off to the hen, had a fight [with her] and broke her leg just like the frog's, separated from her and went to his own house.'

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22 šomoλa ɣudi rik'inosi, mamalay onočadā̆r bik'a bayn.

šomo-λa	ɣudi	r-ik'i-nosi	mamalay	onoču-dā̆r	b-ik'-a	b-ay-n
how.many-INDF	day	IV-go-ANT.CVB	rooster	hen-APUD.VERS	III-go-INF	III-come-PFV.CVB

'After some days had passed, the rooster came to the hen.'

23 onoču sosisi begirxānuλin inkarno boyn bičā̆si zown, yaqˤułno łoħrodā̆r bik'iλin.

onoču	sosi-si	b-egir-x-ānu-λin	inkar-no	b-oy-n	b-ič-ā̆si
hen	at.first-ATTR	III-let-IPFV.CVB-NEG-QUOT	rejection-TOP	III-do-PFV.CVB	III-be-RES.PTCP

zow-n	yaqˤuł-no	łoħro-dā̆r	b-ik'i-λin
be.NPRS-PFV.CVB	today-TOP	frog-APUD.VERS	III-go.IMP-QUOT

'"I won't let you in," the hen rejected [him] at first, "Go to the frog again, today!"'

24 mamalayā̆ nełar t'ok'ow bik'ā̆č'inλin rexuxānusi rožin teλno, nece bayn čerayzaλ' onočā̆ ža idur begirno.

mamalay-ā̆	neła-r	t'ok'ow	b-ik'-ā̆č'in-λin	r-exu-xānusi
rooster-ERG	DEM1.IISG.OBL-LAT	anymore	III-go-NEG.FUT.DEF-QUOT	IV-break-NEG.PRS.PTCP

roži-n	teλ-no
word-TOP	give-PFV.CVB

nece	b-ay-n	čerad-zaλ'	onoč-ā̆	ža	idu-r	b-egir-no
so.much	III-come-PFV.CVB	beg-CSL.CVB	hen-ERG	DEM1.SG	home-LAT	III-let-PST.UNW

'The rooster gave his unbreakable word, "I will not go to her anymore," and since he begged so much, the hen let him home.'

25 nełλ'āy soder žedur žedu bič'zin boqno, t'ok'ow mamalay iħuxor łoħroderno bik'ix zown ānu, netin quqā̆si gurow qacan rayrxo zown ānu.

neł-λ'āy	soder	žedu-ržedu	bič'zi-n
DEM1.IISG.OBL-SUPER.ABL	after	DEM1.IPL.OBL-LAT DEM1.IPL.OBL	understand-TOP

b-oq-no
III-become-PFV.CVB

t'ok'ow	mamalay	iħu-xor	łoħro-der-no	b-ik'i-x	zow-n	ānu
anymore	rooster	river-AD.LAT	frog-APUD.LAT-TOP	III-go-IPFV.CVB	be.NPRS-PFV.CVB	be.NEG

netin	quqā̆sigurow	qaca-n	r-ayr-xo	zow-n	ānu
always	dry	exceptfirewood-TOP	IV-bring-IPFV.CVB	be.NPRS-PFV.CVB	be.NEG

'After that, they understood each other, the rooster didn't go to the frog at the river anymore and always brought dry firewood only.'

26 p'es-p'aqˤ ānusi sadaq ʕumru boyx ričin.

p'es-p'aqˤ	ānu-si	sadaq	ʕumru	b-oy-x	r-iči-n
hubbub	be.NEG-ATTR	together	life	III-do-IPFV.CVB	III.PL-be-PST.UNW

'And they lived peacefully together.'

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List of morpheme gloss abbreviations

I-IV	(noun genders)
ABL	ablative (where from?)
AD	position at
ANT	anterior
APUD	position near
ATTR	attributive
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional (converb)
CNTR	contrastive
CONT	position among
CSL	causal (converb)
CVB	converb
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive (where at?)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IN	position in
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
IPFV	imperfective
LAT	lative (where to?)
LCV	locative (converb)
NEG	negative
NPRS	non-present
OBL	oblique
ORD	ordinal
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	position on vertical surface (also idiomatic uses relating to possession)
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
QUOT	quotative
RES	resultative
SG	singular
SUB	position under
SUPER	position on, above
TOP	topic
UNW	unwitnessed
VERS	versative (where towards?)
WIT	witnessed