CURRENT TRENDS IN CAUCASIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND INNER ASIAN LINGUISTICS
PAPERS IN HONOR OF HOWARD I. ARONSON

Edited by

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Chişinău, Moldova, 17 May, 1996.
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Chişinău, Moldova, 21 May, 1996.

LAK FOLKTALES: MATERIALS FOR A BILINGUAL READER:
PART TWO
VICTOR A. FRIEDMAN
University of Chicago

1. Forward
This contribution represents the second installment of an on-going work,
the first part of which appears in The Annual of the Society for the Study of
Caucasia. (1997, vol 8). In order for this work to be usable alone, some
material from the first installment is repeated. This entire endeavor is inspired
by Howard I. Aronson, who first suggested I work on it many years ago, who
taught me my first Caucasian language, and who has been unfailing in his
encouragement of my scholarly work. It is with respect, affection, and
gratitude that I dedicate this to him.

2. Introduction
Lak is a member of the Daghestanian branch of the Northeast Caucasian
family. Attested since the seventeenth century and having official literary
status since the early twentieth, at present Lak has over 100,000 speakers, most
of them in the Republic of Daghestan. The language presents interesting
features at every linguistic level, and the Lak nominal and verbal systems are
among the most complex in Daghestanian. As is the case with most indigenous
languages of the Caucasus, the study of Lak is accessible almost exclusively
through Russian. The purpose here is to make Lak folklore texts available to
linguists and other interested persons without requiring a knowledge of
Russian. The texts are given in original Lak orthography and morphemic
transliteration with glossed and free English translations. A cumulative
vocabulary follows. The materials are thus be suitable both for research and
classroom study. The ultimate goal of this series of materials is to produce a
textbook of Lak for those who know English. The source of the tales is the Lak
section of Xalil M. Xalilov and A. A. Axlakov’s edited collection Satira i
humor narodov Dagestanja “Satire and Humor of the Peoples of Dagestan”

The following table presents the sound system of Lak and the Cyrillic
orthographic equivalents. Features not indicated in the orthography such as length, labialization, and automatic alternations are not indicated. The status of these features in literary Lak is somewhat variable for reasons that will be explained in a later installment.

**CONSONANTS**

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Pharyngealized vowels are lower and more fronted than their non-pharyngealized equivalents. In the case of pharyngealized vowels, the orthographic form to the left of the slash is used initially, the one to the right is used elsewhere. The letters ̀ and ́ are pronounced /ja/ and /ju/ initially. When a pharyngealized vowel occurs next to /h/, pharyngealization is indicated by the consonant letter (x). The hard sign is also used at morpheme boundaries to separate two identical letters that might otherwise be read as an emphatic. In Russian words, Cyrillic letters are pronounced as in Russian.

3. **Abbreviations**

Lak has four noun classes (1 male human, 2 female human, 3 most other animates and some inanimates, 4 the remaining inanimates and a few animates), three persons and two numbers. Noun-class agreement can occur in any inflecting part of speech and is indicated numerically. A hyphen separates morphemes, a slash indicates more than one meaning in a morpheme. In some cases, stem vowels and suffixes or suffixes that could be broken down further etymologically are given as single (synchronic) morphemes. When an infix breaks up a root, the continuation of the root is indicated with an -R-. When zero serves as a marker, it is indicated by Ø in the morphemic transliteration. When a verb with the basic meaning “be, become” or “do, make”, etc., consists entirely of affixes, i.e. the root is a zero morpheme, the meaning is indicated in square brackets. When a class or stem marker is plural it is so indicated, when singular, it is not except in pronouns.

| ADJ | adjective | NEG | negation |
| ADV | adverb | NREF | nonreferential |
| AP | addressive-possessive | OBL | oblique |
| APLA | apudative | p | person |
| ARPF | archaic perfect | PA | past |
| ASFU | assertive future | PG | progressive |
| C | commitative | PL | plural |
| D | dative | POAB | post-ablative |
| DU | durative | PR | present |
| EMPH | emphatic | PT | participle |
| G | genitive | QT | quotative particle |
| GER | gerund | R | continuation of a root after an infix |
| IMPF | imperfect | REF | referential |
| IMPV | imperative | REP | reported |
| INAB | in-ablative | SUAB | super-ablative |
| INES | inessive | SUES | super-essive |
| INF | infinitive | SG | singular |
| INLA | in-lative | SUAB | super-ablative |
| INPR | in-prolative | SULA | super-lative |
| INT | interrogative | SUPR | super-prolative |
| MAS | masdar, verbal noun, abstract noun | UPRF | unmarked perfect |
| MO | motivational | N | nominative |

4. **Tale Two**

1. Шамсул ккачи
2. ИвкИун ур аavadансса Шамсу тисса яттил заллу. Ванал чявысса яттуъгаттара бивкIун бур.
3. Цал ванан яла ххирумур ккакчи бивкИуну бур. Къума лавгсса Шамсу хьукъу бувну бур ганиха ахирданисса хьурмат бан. Ванал амрулъу бууну, ккакчи къаркъалла суруравух дыркъуну дур, инсанааллса кунна, къуран ккалан бивкIуну бур, дуакъту дууллан бивкIун бур ва хьурматрачал бууччуну бур.
4. Ганил гьаттар малла шанна хьхьууну ва къини къуран ккалан ивкIун ур. Гания щадаъа буллай, Шамсу шраай-буккулт, мискинтал-пақьртал дукун буллай ивкIун ур. Яла къулъу ган бувну бур.

6. Mu būhān k̀wʃawissə, malla awcnu yr Šamsucūn, ganyn ŋ tinniŋi bān būv bată hāl băn. Malla nānissə ḳaŋma bawss, Šamsul ṭiŋm būnu būr, yttill tтрuŋḍalvilla yla būchī hḥočαllv lā bīlčī bān, kūn. Gāygu būvčnu, mαllαn h̄yńwucūn ȳvkkcnu yr. Mαllα h̄hał shāyhtu, h̄ynnu h̄yũttaray iŋkkram būnu, mαllαnαx kùn būnu:

7. — ᬄgg tttul ḥuńnənun, Ḫuł dinddulul ch̄p bũ̄ya sə tttarj! Ttuł dusc, ᵃk tįlįssəsə γyālmahçu, t̄ttl h̄uș̄iil k̄ūr̄aɭu, t̄ttul yttill zalnû, tttun ȳla h̄ȳhīm̄ūr̄m̄ūr̄ k̄ačhī bīvčuγγnun. Ga ṭīnnu ȳck̄l̄u būssu, ᵃk tįlįssəsə, būlawrm bīya, ᵃγ̄n̄ mαllαl̄tūl h̄yũttat̄ū bāya. Gαn̄i mαllαl̄tūl h̄yũttat̄ū bāya. Cγ̄p̄p̄a bīv̄č̄ųn̄ h̄ȳɨɔ ɭt̄ū h̄ȳɨɔ ɭt̄ū, w̄n b̄ūl̄u k̄ūnu.

8. W̄l̄ q̄ȳt̄r̄l̄ x̄ūn q̄aɭ̄τ̄l̄ j̄aɭ̄ mαllαnăɭ eɭ̄j̄aɭ̄ ɭ̄j̄aɭ̄:

9. H̄aɭj̄! Ga-ɭi n̄ n̄ k̄ačī m̄aɭ-ən̄a! … Z̄uɭu-dus uɭ-uɭ, z̄uɭu uɭ-a! T̄uɭu n̄ k̄aɭ˘ən d-a ga-ɭi nαɭ l̄ haw. Na ga-ɭi n̄ h̄aɭ-ə-j̄ ga-ɭi nαɭ r̄uɭ-iɭ aɭ j̄aɭ q̄ uɭaɭ b̄uɭ-˘n̄n̄n̄l̄ — k̄ūnu.

1. Šamsu-G dog-N
2. 1-be-1-R-PA/GER 1-is rich-NREF Šamsu-Ν say-PR/GER sheep-OBL-G owner-N this-OBL/SG/1-G much-NREF sheep-cattle-N be-3-R-PA/GER 3-is.

3. Once this-OBL/SG/1-D most dear-REF/3 dog-N 3-die-3-R-PA/GER 3-is. Sad go-1-R-PT Šamsu-G decision 3-make-3-PA/GER 3-is this-OBL/SG/3-POAB end-OBL-SUES-NREF respect 1-[make]-INF. this-OBL/SG/1-G order-OBL-D 3-make-3-PA/GER, dog-G corpse-N shroud-OBL-INPR 4-put-4-R-PA/GER 4-is, person-OBL-G-NREF as-4-R, Koran read-INF 3-be-3-R-PA/GER 3-is, prayer-PL/N 4-make/DU-INF 3-be-3-R-PA/GER 3-is and respect-OBL-C 3-buried-3-R-PA/GER 3-is.

4. This-OBL/SG/3-G grave-OBL-SUES mullah-N three-4 night-N and day-N Koran-N read-PR/GER 1-be-1-R-PA/GER 1-is. This-OBL/3-SUAB charity 3-do/DU/PRI/GER, Šamsu street-SUPR-1-PL-wanderer/N/PL poor-N/PL-helpless-N/PL 4-eat-INF 3-do/DU/PRI/GER 1-be-1-R-PA/GER 1-is. Then wake-and 3-[make]-INF 3-do-3-PA/GER 3-is.

5. This news 3-hear-PA/GER 3-is big-REF/1 mullah-OBL-D. Faithful-OBL-G biggest-1-REF sheep-OBL-G master-OBL-G 4-be-PT honor 4-be-NEG-PT act-OBL-SUES anger-OBL-G-ADV 1-be-1-R-PA/GER 1-is. 3-[make]-INF-3-leave destroy-go-1-R-PA/GER 1-be-1-R-PA/GER 1-is. Say this-GER 1-be-1-R-PA/GER 1-is: This-N what shame 4-be-NEG-MAS-is! This-OBL/1-G all-1 faith-OBL-G people-N filth-INLA throw-1/PL-R-UPRF/3-EPH! This-N what laugnter-is
faith-OBL-SUES-NREF. Dog-G corpse-N grave-INES 4-bury-INF and this-OBL/3-G grave-OBL-SUES Koran-N 3-read-INF dare-1-R-PT person-ONL/PL-D thousand-3 death-and little-is» say-PR/GER.

6. That 3-endure-INF not-happen-PT, mullah-N 1-go-1-R-PA/GER 1-is Šamsu-APLA, this-OBL/1-D what punishment 3-[do]-INF 3-is-INT see 3-[do]-INF. Mullah-N come-PT self-D/1-PL hear-3-PA/PT, Samsu-G order 3-make-3-PA/GER 3-is, sheep-OBL-G pen-OBL-INAB most fat-REF/N/PL fifty-3 ewe separate 3-[do]-IMPV/PL!, say-PA/GER. This-PL-and 3-select-3-R-PA/GER, mullah-OBL-G before-D 1-go/out-1-PA/GER 1-is. Mullah-N see happen-PR/GER-as/soon/as, good-ADV respect-OBL-SUES bow-and 3-make-3-PA/GER, mullah-AP say-PA/GER 3-is:

7. — Oh, me-G biggest-REF/1, us-G faith-G support 3-plant-PR/GER column! Me-G friend-N, heart true-NREF comrade-N, me-G wealth-G guardian-N, me-G sheep-G master-N, me-G most dear-REF/3 dog-N 3-die-3-3-R-UPRF/3P. This-N good-ADV smart 3-be-PT, heart true-NREF, Muslim 3-[is]-UPRF. This-OBL/3-G mullah-OBL/PL-G respect-and 3-[do]-IMPF. Self-3 3-die-3-3-R-PR/GER-when, select 3-do-3-PA/GER fifty-3 most fat-REF/N/PL ewe-N/PL leave-3-3-R-3-R-ARPF, you-D 3-give-IMPV say-PA/GER!...

8. This-N finish happen-INF NEG-let-DU-PR/GER mullah-OBL-G say-IMPF-QT:

9. Pity! He-OBL/3-SULA dog-N NEG-say-IMPV/PL!/... Us-G-EMPH friend say-IMPV, us-G-EMPH brother say-IMPV!. Me-D show-INF 4-[do]-IMPV this-OBL/3-G grave. I-N this-OBL/3-G grave-OBL-SUES this-OBL/3-G soul-OBL-SUAB Koran 3-read-ASFU! say-PA/GER

There was a rich householder named Shamsu. He had lots of sheep and cattle. One [day] his favorite dog died. The grief-stricken Shamsu decided to pay it last respects He had the dog’s corpse wrapped in a shroud, as if it were a person, and had the Koran read over it and prayed for it and had it buried with respect. A mullah read the Koran over its grave for three days and nights. Shamsu gave out charity and fed the homeless and the poor. Then he held a wake.

The chief mullah heard news of this. He was angry at the dishonorable act of the greatest of the householders. He was beside himself [with rage]. He said: “What shamelessness is this! He has polluted all the faithful! He has mocked the faith! A thousand deaths would not be enough for people who bury a dog’s corpse in a grave and have the Koran read over it!”

Unable to stand it, he went to Shamsu to decide what punishment to give him. Hearing that the mullah was coming, Shamsu gave an order to select the fifty fattest ewes in his fold. Having selected them, he went out to meet the Mullah. When he saw the Mullah, he made a deep, respectful bow and said to him: “O my superior, pillar of the faith! My best friend and comrade, the guardian of my wealth, the master of my sheep, my dearest dog has died. He was a very intelligent, faithful Muslim. He had great respect for mullaks. When he died, he had the fifty fattest ewes selected and set aside for you!” Without letting him finish, the mullah said: “What a pity! Do not say “dog” of him! Say “our friend, our brother! Show me his grave! I shall read the Koran over his grave for the sake of his soul!”

5. **Vocabulary**

Nouns are given with stem formants for OBL/SG, N/PL, OBL/PL, and class, verbs with class 3 PA/GER and other forms if warranted. The cross hatch (#) indicates the slot where a class marker is required and the class 1 formant is zero.

*Šamsu* (-l-) man’s name
ka:či (-O-, -w-a- 3) “dog”
awadens:a “rich”
jat-u (-i- 3) “sheep (pl)”
zallu (-nna, -qru, -qrunna- 1)
“mother”
é:šuwa:s “much”
ycap[a] (-l-, -du, -da- 3) “cattle”
jala “very, most; then”
xi:ira “dear”
#i:wc an (iw’unu; pl. lit’un) “die, kill”
quma: “sad, narrow”
lagan (lawgun) “go”
hu’kmu (-lu-, -rdu, -rda-, 3)
“decision”
#an (#uwunu) “do”, transitivizer
-č “behind”, postessive
-a “from”, ablative
axir (danu- 4) “end, finish”
uh’rmat (-ra-, -ru, -irta- 3) “respect”
Amur (-lu-, -rdu, -rda- 3) “order”
q’ar’qal-a (-lu-, -lu, -la- 4) “corpse”
suruw (-ra-, -rdu, -rda- 3) “shroud”
-w[u] “in”, inessive
-[u]k “via”, prolatitive
-wux impolitative
#išin (#iwaunu) “put, lay, lie”
kunša like, as if
q’uran (dal-u-, -nu, -na-, 3) “Qur’an”
k:alan (dur’v) “to read”
dua (-lu-, -rdu/-rtu, -rda- 4)
“prayer”
wa “and”
#uči:in (#uwč:unu) “bury; eat one’s fill”
Ga (-na, -ni) “he”
ha-w (-t-a, -rdu, -rda- 4) “grave”
(-lu- “cold wind”)
malla (-na-, -tal-, -tura- 1) “mullah”
šamša “three”
xi:u (-ni-, -rdu, -rda- 4) “night”
q’ini (-lu-, -rdu, -rda- 4) “day”
cadaq’a (3) “charity”
#ułlan “do (dur’v)”
ša’ra (-O- 4) “street; (-lu- 4) “head”
cold"
#uk:an (#u wk:un) “go out”
ša:rajšuk:u (-ô-, -it) “vagabond, beggar”
miskin (-na-, -tal-, -tura- 1) “poor”
paq:ir (-na-, -tal-, -tura- 1) “helpless”
#ukan (#u kw:nu) “eat” (dukiya 4 “food”)
q:ulhu (-lul- 3) “wake”
šawar (-danu-, du-, -da- 3) “news”, ~ ban “inform”
bajan (ba wnu) “hear” (+dat.)
qun “big”
din (-dalu-, -nu-, -na- 4) “faith, religion”
-či (-na-, -tal-, -tura- 1) “person” (< Turk.)
adaw (-ra-, -rdu-, -rda- 4) “honor, politeness, propriety”; ~ daq:uj “you boast”
q:iš (-lu-, -lu-, -la- 4) “act, deed”
s:i (-lú- 3) “anger, bile, rust”
ban-bituš bušk:ag “to lose one’s head with rage”
#itan “leave, keep, shoot, shine, dedicate”
bušk:agán (bušk:lawgun) “finish, disappear, perish”
hašya (-lu-, -rdu-, -rda- 4) “shame”
-r “is”
d-a-q:ši:wi:ru (4-be-not-ness-is)
cina:ži “all”
q:ār:q:i (-arawu- 4) “filth”
bučin (biw:čunu) “throw”
-unni 3rd unmarked perf
-š:a emphatic particle
qa:n “laugh” (dur’v)
aw-u (-ri- 3) deverbal noun, masdar
buči:n (buw:k:unu) “read”
sisin (siw:sunu) “dare, be bold, certain”
azar’a “a thousand”
bušk:u (-lu-, -rdu-, -rda- 3) “death”
čan “small”
-ni “is”
mu “this/that”
b-u:u-a:n (bu wnu) “bear, endure; sew on”
šaj: present stem of xuš
#ačin (#awčunu) “go, head for”
-č an “near-to”, apudlative
tammiǔ: (ra-, -ru, -irt:a- 3) “punishment”
buriw 3rd pres “be” + intransitive
š:a:š (-lu-, -lu-, -la- 4) “thread, telegram”, ~ dan “watch, seek”, ~ xuš “see, notice” (dat. subj.)
nan (dur’v) “come”
canma (dat. pl. 1 cuwa)
cu[w]a (ci- pl. ciw) 3sg “self”
baws:a “heard”
turzan (-dalu-, nu-, -na- 4) “fold, pen”
-wa “from-in”, intransitive
bučmi “fat[ened]”
š:u:ć:al# “fifty”
t:a (-ô-, -rdu, -rda- 3) “ewe”
lēš:ij ban “select”
bara “do!”
gaj (pl. ga)
#ucin “bring, reach”
-un “to”, passive
qinnu “very”
iki:rumu (= i:kran “respectful bow” + -gu “and”) ah “oh!”
žu “we”
cul (-u-, -lu-, -la- 3) “support”
biš:un (buwš:unu) “plant, hit, wound, multiply”
t:arč (u-ra-, -ru, -u:-ardi- 4) “column”
dus (-na-, -tal, -tura- 1) “friend”
dak’ (-ni-, -ru, -urd:di- 4) “heart”
t’ajla “upright”
halma:ču (-na-, -tal, -tura- 1) “comrade”
quo (-li-, -ru, -a- 4) “wealth, goods”
q:arači (-na-, -tal, -tura- 1) “guardian”
bus:a (pt. of “be”)
busurman (-na-, -tal, -tura- 1) “Muslim”
bija (impf. of “be”)
bajwa = 3sg impf. “ban”
cuppa (nom. sg. 3 cuwa)
q:a:šitan (q:abiwtun) “leave (behind)”
-ni “when” (on verb)
bulu:n (bullunu 3) “give”, impf ‘v bula
qurtal (ban/xunu) “finish, complete, kill, die”
xunu “be done, become”, intransitive
q:a:šitiq = q:a:šitan (durative, progressive)
q:a: negative marker
c:aja-t’ar (3 sg impf rep učin)
hajp “pity, for shame”
ma- “don’t!” (neg ‘v imp ‘v)
mačara (neg ‘v imp ‘v učin)
uča (imp ‘v učin)
us:u (-l-, -rwal, -rwaru- 1) “brother”
k:ak:an (k:ak:un) “see”, ~ an “show”
ru:š (-ra-, -ru, -rda- 4) “soul”
-ja superablative
-n a 1/2 sg future