

Udi Texts*

Udi is a language of the Lezgian subgroup of the North East Caucasian language family. Udi has diverged a great deal from Proto-Lezgian, developing in unique ways.

Until 1921, Udi was spoken primarily in two villages in Azerbaijan -- Vartašen and Nij. In 1921 a group of Udis from Vartašen founded a new village, Zinobiani (named Okt'omber in Soviet days) in the eastern part of the Republic of Georgia. In 1992 many of the Udi residents of Vartašen fled the village, and they now live scattered in various parts of the former Soviet Union. Thus, the language is now largely restricted to Zinobiani and Nij, and in both villages there are many residents who do not speak Udi. According to one estimate, there are only about 150 speakers in Zinobiani in the years when I worked on it, 1989, 1998.

The Vartašen dialect (including the variety spoken in Zinobiani) diverges rather strongly from the Nij dialect -- in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. The texts presented here are in the Vartašen dialect of Udi, as spoken in the village of Zinobiani.

In 1998, the recipe texts were dictated to me in Udi by Luiza Nešumašvili, and she subsequently did her best to repeat the same in Georgian. We then went into her house and made each dish. In transcribing and translating them, I was helped by Luiza and her granddaughter, Šorena Jeiranišvili.

Many texts of Udi have been published, including Bezanov (1888, 1902), Schiefner (1863:47-73), Dirr (1904:84-101, 1928), Jeiranišvili (1971:169-191), and Schulze (1982:15-53), which provides a more complete glossing of selected texts collected before 1928. The purposes of making the texts below available are to provide more recent examples of the language and to provide texts glossed in English, since the use of the published texts depends upon one's knowing German, Russian, Georgian, or Udi.

For more information on the language, the reader is referred to one of the grammars or grammatical sketches -- Schiefner (1863), Dirr (1904), Jeiranišvili (1971), Gukasyan (1974:251-297), Pančvize (1974), Schulze (1982, 1994) -- or to my *Endoclititics and the Origins of Udi Morphosyntax* (2002).

Udi text with glosses is immediately followed by a running translation.

RECIPES

Recipe 1: (1) q'a^sq'a^spun

(2) alisa, aq'-a qo qoqla. (3) xa^sxa^s-p-a^s.
Alice take-IMP 5 egg break-LV-IMP

(4) ba-p-a jam-n-a boš. (5) häveč'-ax
in-LV-IMP bowl-OBL-DAT in coriander-DAT

k'ac'-p-a jam-n-a boš. (6) malak'-in-en la^sp'-t'-a. (7) bačuk-t'-a
cut-LV-IMP bowl-OBL-DAT in spoon-OBL-INST beat-LV-IMP light-LV-IMP

gaz-n-u. (8) lax-a sk'avarot'k-in-a, ič boš ba-p-a c'et-n-u. (9) c'et
gas-OBL-DAT put-IMP pan-OBL-DAT self in in-LV-IMP oil-OBL-DAT oil

šel žal-q'a-n-p-i. (10) qoql-in-a šelgär la'p'-t'-a
well hot-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI egg-OBL-DAT thorough beat-LV-IMP

haveč'-axo sagala, ba-p-a sk'avart'k'-in-a.
coriander-ABL with in-LV-IMP pan-OBL-DAT

(11) šono č'oč'a-bak-al-le šelgär, oša
that.ABSL red-be-FUTII-3SG thorough then

malak'-in-en tara-d-a čo oq'-a. (12) e-č-a t'alek-a
spoon-OBL-INST turn-LV-IMP face bottom-DAT here-CARRY-IMP plate-DAT

lax-a. (13) ene hāzir-re bitin.
put-IMP already ready-3SG everything.ABSL

(1) [A recipe for] *q'a'q'a'pun*. (2) Alice, take 5 eggs. (3) Break them. (4) Put them in a bowl. (5) Cut up coriander in [another] bowl. (6) Beat them with a spoon. (7) Light the gas. (8) Put on a pan, in it put oil. (9) The oil should get hot. (10) Beat the eggs well with the coriander [and] put it in the pan. (11) It will brown (lit. redden) thoroughly, then turn it face down with a spoon. (12) Bring a plate, put it on it. (13) Everything is already ready.

Recipe 2

(1) alisa, ye sere-b-a gogin paxla. (2) aq'-a sa-n-qi'
Alice day make-DO-IMP green bean take-IMP one-OBL-half

k'ilo paxla. (3) šelgär xa'xa'-p-a, č'ak'-p-a. (4) oc'-k'-a,
kilo bean thorough break-LV-IMP sort-LV-IMP wash-LV-IMP

ba-p-a levet'-un boš, (5) oša ba-p-a sa-n-qi'
in-LV-IMP pot-GEN in then in-LV-IMP one-OBL-half

st'akan xe. (6) usin-usin gār-d-ä. (7) xe te
glass water quick-quick stir-LV-IMP water that

q'ari-ne-bak-sa, t'e-vād-in-a k'ac'-p-a šik'lam, k'ac'-p-a
dry-3SG-BE-PRES that-time-OBL-DAT cut-LV-IMP onion cut-LV-IMP

hāveč', sal gülähän. (8) šöt'-xo oša, ba-p-a č'äyn --
coriander a.little basil that-ABL then in-LV-IMP butter

(9) bu-wa-q'-sa karak-č'äyn-en b-a, bu-wa-q'-sa
 want₁-INV2SG-want₂-PRES butter-butter-ERG do-IMP want₁-INV2SG-want₂-PRES

xe-bak-i č'äyn-en. (10) kat-xo oša, duγ-a p'a' dana
 water-BE-PSTP butter-ERG that-ABL then break-IMP two COUNT

qoqla, (11) šelgär gār-d-a, vic' minut'-uxa oša, hazir-re
 egg thorough stir-LV-IMP ten minute-ABL then ready-3SG

paxla.
 bean

(1) Alice, today make green beans. (2) Take one and a half kilos of beans. (3) Thoroughly snap (break) them, sort them. (4) Wash them, put them in a pot, (5) then put in one and a half glasses of water. (6) Quickly stir them. (7) When the water dries up, then cut up an onion, cut up coriander, and just a little basil. (8) After that, put in butter -- (9) if you want, regular butter, if you want, clarified butter (either regular butter or clarified butter). (10) After that, break two eggs, (11) stir thoroughly, after ten minutes the beans are ready.

Recipe 3

(1) alisa, t'q'emali ser-b-al-un? (2) bo'q'-a γoγ,
 Alice plum.sauce make-DO-FUTII-2SG gather-IMP plum

etärä buq'-sa -- (3) haisa uk-sang yoγsam izəni-kena
 as.many want-PRES now eat-to or winter-for

oša. (4) boq'-a sak'ici γoγ, šelgär oc'-k'-a, ba-p-a
 then gather-IMP few plum thorough wash-LV-IMP in-LV-IMP

levet'-a, iš-boš xe ba-p-a. (5) but'-k'-ama γoγ-n-ux
 pot-DAT self-in water in-LV-IMP cover-LV-CV plum-OBL-DAT

γoγ-n-ux but'-k'-ama, iš-laxo xe ba-p-a. (6) γoγ šel
 plum-OBL-DAT cover-LV-CV self-on water in-LV-IMP plum well

box-eγ-al-le. (7) oša ba-p-a süzäg-ä. (8) süzäg-ä ba-p-a.
 boil-GO-FUTII-3SG then in-LV-IMP colander-DAT colander-DAT in-LV-IMP

(9) süzäg-ä te ba-p-i čax-ne-d-e, šelgär č'ek'-a,
 colander-DAT that in-LV-PSTP cold-3SG-LV-AORII thorough sort-IMP

c'an-ux t'i šet'ux bos-a. (10) be'γ-a agenäm boču-ne,
 seed-DAT ? them.DAT throw-IMP look-IMP if fat-3SG

(11) iš-laxo xe abuz-b-a. (12) agenäm te bart-a. (13) oša
 self-on water add-DO-IMP if not set.free-IMP then

gena aq'-a sema mu'ja' ken, sak'ic'i häveč', sak'ic'i
 CONTRAST take-IMP a.few sweet garlic a.little coriander a.little

gülahän, šelgär mašink'-i laxo č'e-bak-es-t'-a. (14) ba-p-a iš
 basil thorough machine-GEN on out-BE-INF-LV-IMP in-LV-IMP self

boš. (15) sa el-a ba-p-a, šelgär gār-d-ä, be'y-a iš
 in one salt-DAT in-LV-IMP thorough stir-LV-IMP look-IMP self

t'am-n-u. (16) agenäm etär-te vi išt'ay-en a-ne-q'-sa,
 taste-OBL-DAT if as.much-REL your appetite-ERG take₁-3SG-take₂-PRES

ene hāzir-re.
 already ready-3SG

(1) Alice, are you going to make plum sauce? (2) Gather plums, as many as you want -- to eat now or later for winter. (4) Gather a few plums, wash them thoroughly, put them in a pot, in it put water. (5) Before covering the plums, before covering the plums, put water in on them. (6) The plums will boil well. (7) Then put them in the colander. (8) Put them in the colander. (9) When, having been put in the colander, they have gotten cool, sort them thoroughly, throw away the seeds from them. (10) See if they are plumped up (fat), (11) add water on them. (12) If not, discard them. (13) Then, however, take a few sweet garlies, a little coriander, a little basil. Make it pass thoroughly through the machine. (14) Put it in it. (15) Put in one [measure of] salt, stir well, look at (test) its taste. (16) If you find it appetizing, it is already ready.

Recipe 4

(1) alisa, ye yan box-en č'äyn-a xup'. (2) č'ak'-en sa k'ilo,
 Alice, today we-ERG boil-HORT butter-DAT pilaf sort-HORT one kilo

bu-wa-q'-sa pa' k'ilo birinc'-ax. (3) hāzir-b-en. (4) oša
 want₁-INV2SG-want₂-PRES two kilo rice-DAT ready-DO-HORT then

hāzir-b-en c'abul-ax, eq'ara göle c'abul bak-a-y-n
 ready-DO-HORT chestnut-DAT however.many many chestnut be-SUBJVI-PAST-3SG

hat'ema šel-le. (5) hāzir-b-en čamič-ax (q'ari-b-i t'ul-ux).
 more good-3SG ready-DO-HORT raisin-DAT dry-DO-PSTP grape-DAT

(6) k'ac'-k'-en sak'ic'i häveč', hāzir-b-en. (7) hāzir-b-en sa
 cut-LV-HORT a.little coriander ready-DO-HORT ready-DO-HORT one

st'akan naq'el. (8) hāzir-b-en xib qoqla. (9) met'ux-te
 glass yogurt ready-DO-HORT three egg this.DAT-REL

hāzir-yam-b-e, levet'-un boš ba-k'-en xe. (10) levet' šel-le
 ready-1PL-DO-AORII pot-GEN in in-LV-HORT water pot good-3SG

šono, mano-te iš tum ost'avar-re. (11) xe-ne te
 that.ABSL this.ABSL-REL self bottom strong-3SG water-ERG that

žal-le-p-i, ba-k'-en birinc'-ax. (12) be'γ-en usin-usin gār-d-en
 hot-3SG-LV-AORI in-LV-HORT rice-DAT look-HORT quick-quick stir-LV-HORT

birinc'-ax. (13) be'γ-en birinc' agenām say box-ec-i te-ne.
 rice-DAT look-HORT rice if a.little boil-LV-AORI NEG-3SG

(14) göle ma-q'a-n box-ec-i. (15) sak'ic'i box-ala-ne,
 much NEG-SUBJV-3SG boil-LV-AORI a.little boil-FUTP-3SG

či-č-en šot'ux, ba-k'-en süzäg-un boš. (16) süzäg-ä
 away-carry-HORT that.DAT in-LV-HORT colander-GEN in colander-DAT

lax-en levet'-un laxo, hamer, ba-k'-en süzäg-un boš.
 put-HORT pot-GEN on thus in-LV-HORT colander-GEN in

(17) me biric' c'or-ey-al-le. (18) t'etär b-en te
 this rice drain-GO-FUTII-3SG that.way do-HORT that

mano say čax-q'a-ne-c-i, oša levet'-ax oc'-k'-en,
 this.ABSL a.little cold-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI then pot-DAT wash-LV-HORT

q'ari-b-en, lax-en ary-o laxo. (19) gaz-ne yoxsam arux-ne --
 dry-DO-HORT put-HORT fire-DAT on gas-3SG or fire-3SG

sa-ne. lax-en. (20) iš boš ba-k'-en sa-baš gram č'äyn
 one-3SG put-HORT self in in-LV-HORT one-hundred gram butter

(21) met'ux šelgär gār-d-en, či-šč-an, gam-q'a-ne-c-i,
 this.DAT thorough stir-LV-HORT away-CARRY-HORT warm-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI

ba-k'-en saema malak'a birinc'. (22) me č'äyn-in boš šel
 in-LV-HORT a.few spoon rice this butter-GEN in well

gār-d-en, me č'äyn-un boš gār-d-i-t'-xo oša, ary-o-laxo-te
 stir-LV-HORT this butter-GEN in stir-LV-PSTP-NOM-ABL then fire-on-NEG

oq'-a yam-k'-en. me birinc'-ax šelgär düz-b-en.
bottom-DAT correct-LV-HORT this rice-DAT thorough smooth-DO-HORT

(23) birinc'-ax te düz-yam-b-i, t'e-väd-in-a ba-k'-en
rice-DAT that smooth-1PL-DO-AORI that-time-OBL-DAT in-LV-HORT

c'abul-ax. (24) sak'ic'i haveč'-ax
chestnut-DAT a.little coriander-DAT

muša-d-en k'ic'i. (25) oša sak'ic'ial q'ari-b-i
scatter-LV-HORT little then a.little dry-DO-PSTP

t'ul ba-k'-en, p'uram birinc'-ax düz-b-en hamer.
grape in-LV-HORT again rice-DAT smooth-DO-HORT this.way

(26) p'uram c'abul ba-k'-en, haveč' ba-k'-en, čamič ba-k'-en
again chestnut in-LV-HORT coriander in-LV-HORT raisin in-LV-HORT

(q'ari-b-i t'ul ba-k'-en), oša haketär sa pa'. (27) levet'-un čux
dry-DO-PSTP grape in-LV-HORT then again one two pot-GEN opening

but'-k'-en, lax-en k'ic'k'i ary-u-laxo. (28) usin-usin q'apay-a
cover-LV-HORT put-HORT little fire-GEN-on quick-quick lid-DAT

aq'-en, c'oro-b-en buy č'e-r-i-q'a-n. (29) tara-d-en
take-HORT drain-DO-HORT steam out-R-AORI-SUBJV-3SG turn-LV-HORT

t'eter te t'e xup'-en oq' č'oč'a-q'a-n-bak-i. (30) me
that.way that that pilaf-GEN bottom red-SUBJV-3SG-BE-AORI this

xup'-en oq' č'oč'a-bak-ama t'e q'eri k'ast'ulk-in boš balaja
pilaf-GEN bottom red-BE-CV that other pan-GEN in small

karak-č'äyn-en lax-en. (31) šono šelgär žal-q'a-n-p-i,
butter-butter-GEN put-HORT that.ABSL thorough hot-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI

č'oč'a-q'a-n-bak-i, levet'-a či-č-än ary-oxo. (32) sak'ic'i
red-SUBJV-3SG-BE-AORI pot-GEN away-CARRY-HORT fire-ABL a.little

čax-q'a-n-ec-i. (33) čax-ec-i oša aq'-en blud-u al-axo
cold-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI cold-LV-PSTP then take-HORT platter-DAT above-ABL

ba-k'-en birinc'-ax. (34) oša yan-uxo aq'-en me č'oč'a
in-LV-HORT rice-DAT then side-ABL take-HORT this red

k'orompuz-a, lax-en blud-un laxo mer t'e žal-p-i
crust-DAT put-HORT platter-GEN on this.way that hot-LV-PSTP

č'äyn-ax ba-k'-en iš laxo ta-š-en st'ol-n-un t'oš'yo'l.
butter-DAT on-LV-HORT self on away-CARRY-HORT table-OBL-GEN to

(1) Alice, today let's boil butter pilaf. (2) Let's sort one kilo, if you want [or], two kilos, of rice. (3) Let's get it ready. (4) Then, let's prepare chestnuts, the more chestnuts there may be the better. (5) Let's prepare raisins (dried grapes). (6) Let's cut up a little coriander, and prepare it. (7) Let's prepare one glass of yogurt. (8) Let's prepare three eggs. (9) When we have prepared this, let's put water into a pot. (10) That pot is good which has a strong bottom. (11) When the water has boiled, let's put in the rice. (12) Let's watch and stir the rice often. (13) Let's see if the rice hasn't boiled a little. (14) It should not boil much. (15) It is to be boiled a little. Let's take it off, put it in a colander. (16) Let us place the colander on a pot, thus, let's put it [rice] in the colander. (17) This rice will drain. (18) Let's do it in such a way that it cools a little, then let's wash the pot and dry it and put it on the fire. (19) Whether it is gas or it is fire, it is all the same. Put it on. (20) In it let's put one hundred grams of butter. (21) Let's stir this well, let's take it off, it should have gotten hot, let's put in a few spoonfuls of rice. (22) Let's stir it well into this butter; after stirring this butter in, let's even the bottom [of the rice when it is] not on the fire. Let's smooth this rice thoroughly. (23) When we have smoothed the rice, then let's put in the chestnuts. (24) Let's scatter [in] a little of the coriander, a bit. (25) Then let's put in a few dried grapes, and again smooth the rice this way. (26) [Let's put in another layer of rice,] let's put in chestnuts again, let's put in coriander, let's put in raisins (let's put in dried grapes), then again twice. (27) Let's cover the opening of the pot, let's put it on a low fire. (28) Let's very quickly take [off] the lid, let's drain it that the steam may go out. (29) Let's turn it that way, so that the bottom of that pilaf may brown [become red]. (30) While the bottom of the pilaf is browning, let's put a bit of butter in that other pan. (31) It should heat thoroughly, it should brown, let's take away the pot from the fire. (32) It should cool a little. (33) After it has cooled, let's take a platter down, let's put in [on] the rice. (34) Then from the edge let's take this red crust, let's put it on the platter this way, let's pour the warmed butter on it, let's carry it to the table.

Notes on Presentation

Every effort has been made to make the glosses synchronically meaningful ones. I have left the bare stem form of nouns unglossed; this is the absolutive case. The absolutive of pronouns is, however, glossed. The simple dative, formed with a vowel suffix, and the complex dative, formed with the same vowel plus *x*, are both glossed 'dat' here. In simplex verbs (verbs with a stem consisting synchronically of a single morpheme) parts of a discontinuous morpheme are glossed twice; glosses are identical except for subscript numbers.

My consultant repeated the identical words sometimes, and I have edited this out of the written text, feeling that she would want it so. But in two instances (Recipe 3, line 5 and lines 7/8), she changed the word order. Thinking that this repair provided information that could be helpful to understanding the language, I have left this in.

I follow Pančvize's system of naming tense-aspect-mood categories, and the glosses are derived from these names. However, each gloss refers only to a particular morpheme, though some tense-aspect-mood categories are formed with two or more such morphemes. For example,

the so-called particle subjunctive is formed with the subjunctive clitic, *-q'a*, and the aorist I suffix, *-i*. The subjunctive II is formed with the subjunctive I suffix, *-a*, plus the past clitic, *-i*.

Abbreviations used in glosses:

ABL = ablative case
 ABSL = absolutive case
 AORI, II = aorist I, II
 CAUS = causative
 CV = converb
 DAT = dative case
 ERG = ergative
 FUTII = future II suffix
 FUTP = future participle
 GEN = genitive
 HORT = hortative
 I = past clitic
 IMP = imperative
 INST = instrumental case (same as ergative case)
 LV = light verb (or verb formant)
 NOM = nominalizer (formant of nominals)
 OBL = oblique stem formant
 PAST = past clitic
 PRES = present tense
 PSTP = past participle
 Q = clitic used for third person singular subject in content questions
 SUBJV = subjunctive clitic
 SUBJVI = subjunctive
 1PL = first person plural subject clitic
 3SG = third person singular subject clitic

The chart below gives the transcription of Udi consonants spoken by my consultants.

	Labial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Aspirated stops	p	t		k	q	
Ejective stops	p'	t'		k'	q'	
Voiced stops	b	d		g		
Aspirated affricates		c	č			
Ejective affricates		c'	č'			
Voiced affricates			j			
Voiceless fricatives	f	s	š	x		h
Voiced fricatives	v	z	z	ɣ		
Nasals	m	n				
Liquids		r, l				
Glides	w	y				

(The fricatives written here as *x* and *y* are post-velar.)

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i ^ɕ ü		u u ^ɕ
Mid	e e ^ɕ ö	ə	o o ^ɕ
Low	ä		a a ^ɕ

Vowels marked with ^ɕ are pharyngeal(ized).

Descriptions of the both dialects can be found in the grammars: Schiefner (1863), Dirr (1904), Jeiranišvili (1971), Gukasyan (1971), Pančviže (1974), Schulze (1982, 1994).

Notes:

-b- ‘make, do’ is glossed as ‘do’ for brevity.

-bak- ‘be, become’ is glossed as ‘be’ for brevity.

ba-p- ‘put in’ is composed of the light verb *-p-* ‘say’ (which has a very general meaning in many complex verbs of this sort) and the locative preverb, *ba-* ‘in’. In the recipes, it is often used in the sense ‘pour in’.

box- ‘cook by boiling’ is translated ‘boil’ for brevity.

č’äyn is more accurately translated as ‘shortening’, but the shortening used when these recipes were demonstrated for me was consistently butter.

e-č- contains the synchronic preverb *e-*, which however originated as part of the monomorphemic verb ‘come, go’.

ye ‘day’ is also used to express ‘today’.

ič, iš are used interchangeably. They are usually described as a reflexive pronoun, and I have glossed them ‘self’. Clearly their use does not parallel that of reflexive pronouns in European languages. There are other third person pronouns in Udi (cf. *t’e* below).

la^ɕp’-t’-, here ‘beat’, in other contexts means ‘roll’ (of dough) or ‘crush’.

lax- ‘put’ in these recipes is often used for putting a pot on the stove.

-p- is glossed as as light verb when it functions in that way, because the meaning it has as an independent verb, ‘say’, can be confusing. The light verb and the independent verb are both suppletive, with *-p-* forming the aorist stem, and *-exa* replacing it in the present stem and *-(u)k’-* in the future stem.

-q’a, together with an aorist I verb suffix (*-i*), forms the so-called particle subjunctive; *-q’a* is glossed simply ‘subjv’ here.

ser-b-al-un ‘you will make’ is actually heard as [serbaɫɫ].

šelgär ‘thorough, thoroughly’ is composed of *šel* ‘well’ and a morpheme whose meaning cannot be identified.

te translated ‘that’ is a conjunction.

tum ‘root, bottom’.

t’e ‘that’ is a deictic indicating distal in a three-way contrast with *me* ‘this’ (proximate) and *ka* ‘that’ (medial).

usin ‘quick, quickly’ is used alone, not only in its reduplicated form.

žal-p- ‘become hot, come to a boil’ is based on *žal* ‘hot’. It is used also to mean ‘cook’ or ‘boil’.

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