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# Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts

VOLUME 1



**Geoffrey Khan, Masoud Mohammadirad,  
Dorota Molin and Paul M. Noorlander**  
In collaboration with Lourd Habeeb Hanna,  
Aziz Emmanuel Eliya Al-Zebari and Salim Abraham



NEO-ARAMAIC AND  
KURDISH FOLKLORE  
FROM NORTHERN IRAQ

VOLUME I

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# Volume I

## Prolegomena and Glossed Texts



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ADD	additive	M	masculine
AUX	auxiliary	NA	not analysed
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
CMPR	comparative	O	affixal object
COMPL	complementiser	OBL	oblique
COP	copula	PERF	perfect
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective
DEIC	deictic	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PN	proper noun
DIM	diminutive	POST	postposition
DIR	direct	PRS	present
DIST	distal	PROG	progressive
DRCT	directional	PRON	pronominal
EMPH	emphatic	PROX	proximate
EP	epenthetic	PST	past
EXIST	existential	PTCL	particle
EXCM	exclamative	PTCP	participle
EZ	ezafe	PVB	preverbal deriva- tional particle
F	feminine	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	REL	relativiser
HORT	hortative	RDP	reduplicant
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
IND	indicative (realis)	SBJV	subjunctive
INDF	indefinite	SBR	subordinator
IPFV	imperfective	TAM	tense-aspect- mood
INF	infinitive	TELIC	telicity
INTJ	interjection		
LVC	light verb complement		

- ChA. Christian Neo-Aramaic
- JA. Jewish Neo-Aramaic
- CK. Central Kurdish
- NK. Northern Kurdish
- St. K. Standard Kurmanji

- | intonation group boundary
- = clitic boundary
- separates segmentable morphemes
- ∅ non-overt, but reconstructable morpheme
- . separates several metalanguage elements represented by a single object language element
- \_ separates several object language elements represented by a single metalanguage element or by a unity of several metalanguage elements

## CONTRIBUTORS

**Dorota Molin** (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2021) is a Research Associate in Hebrew and Aramaic Studies at the University of Cambridge and a Lecturer in Biblical Hebrew Language at the University of Oxford. She has published on language contact in Semitic, Biblical Hebrew phonology and on issues in Neo-Aramaic syntax from a typological and diachronic perspective. Her doctoral thesis is a comparative grammar of a critically endangered Jewish Neo-Aramaic variety.

**Paul M. Noorlander** (PhD, Leiden University, 2018) is a Research Associate in Hebrew and Aramaic Studies at the University of Cambridge. He has published widely on Semitic languages, both ancient and modern. His main research concerns the typology of the endangered Neo-Aramaic dialects from an areal-diachronic perspective. He is the author of *Ergativity and Other Alignment Types in Neo-Aramaic: Investigating Morphosyntactic Microvariation* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

**Masoud Mohammadirad** (PhD, New Sorbonne University, 2020) is a Research Associate in Kurdish language and linguistics at the University of Cambridge. His PhD thesis was a synchronic and diachronic study of pronominal clitics in modern West Iranian languages. His current research focuses on language contact between Iranian languages (Kurdish and Gorani) and Neo-Aramaic. He has published papers on Iranian linguistics in linguistic journals such as *STUF*, *Folia Linguistica*, and *Folia Linguistica Historica*.

**Geoffrey Khan** (PhD, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1984) is Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Cambridge. His research publications focus on three main fields: Biblical Hebrew language (especially medieval traditions), Neo-Aramaic dialectology and medieval Arabic documents. He is the general editor of *The Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* and is the senior editor of *Journal of Semitic Studies*. His most recent book is *The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew*, 2 vols, Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 1 (University of Cambridge & Open Book Publishers, 2020).

**Oz Aloni** (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2018) is a Research Fellow at the Martin Buber Society of Fellows at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has recently published the book *The Neo-Aramaic Oral Heritage of the Jews of Zakho*, Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 11 (University of Cambridge & Open Book Publishers, 2022). He is currently working on a corpus of Neo-Aramaic folktales recorded from Mamo Yona Gabbay in 1964.

## **Collaborators**

**Lourd Habeeb Hanna Chechman** is a native speaker of Neo-Aramaic and fluent in different varieties of Kurdish. She has been working to rebuild trust between the different religious and ethnic communities of the region after the trauma of the invasion of Islamic State. She co-founded and was president of the Middle East Sustainable Peace Organization (2016-17). In 2018 she became the leader of a project on social cohesion for the Catholic

Relief Services and USAID. She has also been a fellow in the United States Institute of Peace. Currently Lourd heads the Civil Society Initiatives Unit at the International Commission on Missing Persons in Iraq.

**Aziz Emmanuel Eliya Al-Zebari** (PhD, Salahaddin University, Erbil, 2018) is a lecturer in the English Department of the Catholic University of Erbil, Iraq. He was born in the village of Upper Gerbish in the area of Nekhla, North of Aqra. For his PhD thesis he documented the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Aqra region.

**Salim Disho Lazar Abraham** is a freelance journalist working currently on a book on the most recent suffering of Assyrians at the hands of the Islamic State organization (ISIS.) He obtained his Master of Science degree in journalism from Columbia University, New York, USA, in 2006. He also holds a bachelor degree and post-graduate degree in English literature and Arabic-English translation from Aleppo and Damascus universities in Syria. He was born in the Assyrian quarter of Qamishli (north-eastern Syria), where almost all Assyrian dialects of Hakkari (south-eastern Turkey) were represented. He himself hails from Birij, Tkhuma, one of the largest tribes of Hakkari Assyrians.



## PREFACE

Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic speaking communities have been neighbours in northern Iraq for centuries long before modern ethnic nationalist politics became dominant. The documentation and analysis of Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish folktales has long been a desideratum in the field of Middle Eastern literature. Like most oral literature today, it is highly endangered and likely to disappear within the next few decades. Recent violent conflicts in northern Iraq, fuelled by religious and ethnic ideologies, have had devastating effects on minority communities, resulting in their mass displacement and the endangerment of their language and oral culture. In northern Iraq the diverse ethnic and religious communities share many folktales, which they tell, often with local variations, in their various different languages. How similar are the shared folktales in their motifs and how have the shared tales been adapted to the particular ethno-religious identity of the community in question?

This book is a comparative collection of folklore as narrated by members of three ethno-religious communities from northern Iraq: Kurdish Muslims, Syriac Christians and—to a lesser degree—Aramaic-speaking Jews. Each story is transcribed to reflect as authentically as possible the language and dialect of the speaker. Several varieties of Northern and Central Kurdish, as well as Christian and Jewish Neo-Aramaic are included. All of these communities are understood here as belonging to a shared, though not homogeneous, cultural space, described here as ‘northern Iraq’, and elsewhere referred to as ‘Iraqi Kurdistan’ and

‘Kurdistan’. The latter terms refer to the ethnically diverse region of northern Iraq, nowadays politically recognised as the ‘Kurdistan Regional Government’. Though now Kurdish-speaking and Muslim in its majority, this region has historically hosted a wide range of ethno-religious communities, including Kurdish-speaking Yezidis, Arabic- and Aramaic-speaking Jews and Christians, as well as Gorani-speaking Shia Shabaks and Yarsanis.

The shared political and social history as well as geography of the region’s communities has led to a significant degree of cultural convergence, along with the preservation of firm boundaries of religion and—to a lesser degree—language. This reality justifies considering the various communities of Iraqi Kurdistan as part of a larger cultural space. For the lack of a better term, this multi-cultural space is referred to as ‘northern Iraq’ in this publication.

With its comparative approach, this volume serves as a case-study of the intimate and long-standing relations between the three aforementioned ethno-religious communities: the Kurds, Jews and Syriac Christians. Many Christians of Iraq who speak Neo-Aramaic, i.e. *surəθ* or *surət* ‘Syriac’, identify themselves as *suraye* ‘Syrian Christians’. The vast majority of them belong to the Chaldean Catholic Church and Assyrian Church of the East. Most speakers, therefore, identify themselves as Chaldeans and Assyrians, respectively.

This volume is the outcome of a collaboration between linguists based at the University of Cambridge and members of the Syriac Christian and Kurdish Muslim communities in northern



Iraq. It has been funded by a grant awarded by the Heritage, Dignity and Violence programme (HDV190229) of the British Academy in 2019 and directed by Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander. The main aim has been to produce parallel corpora of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic folktales and to investigate the exchanges between the two neighbouring communities in order to foster an understanding of shared cultural heritage, and so contribute to the resolution and prevention of conflict.

Our main collaborator in Iraq, Lourd Hanna, was responsible for conducting the fieldwork and collecting the majority of the stories in northern Iraq. Lourd has experience in working with peace-building NGOs in northern Iraq. It was she who had the idea of using the shared cultural heritage of folktales as a means of fostering understanding between the different religious communities of the region. The funding of the project by the British Academy has allowed Lourd and the Cambridge team to make this vision a reality. This open-access publication will be used by Lourd as the basis for peace-building workshops between Christians and Muslims in northern Iraq.

We would like to thank Aziz Al-Zebari and Salim Abraham, both native speakers of Neo-Aramaic, for their assistance with transcription and translation. We are also grateful to Oz Aloni for giving us access to the story *The Princess and the Lazy Boy*, which he had collected in his own fieldwork,<sup>1</sup> and for sharing his own transcription, which served as the basis for the text of the tale in the present volume.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/173/>.

The audio recordings of the corpus of parallel Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish folktales can be accessed at [nena.ames.cam.ac.uk](http://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk), and [kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk](http://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk), which are databases maintained by the University of Cambridge.

The fieldwork and documentation work for this volume was made possible, as remarked, by a grant from the British Academy. Financial support for some of the groundwork of the project came from a grant by the University of Cambridge from the university's Global Challenges Research Fund. The research and preparations for this volume were partly funded by the European Research Council. Some of the native speaker assistants were supported by donations from the Assyrian community in the USA. We would like to thank in particular Francis Sarguis and Rebecca Simon for their generous support.

It is our hope that the stories about universal human experiences passed down over generations and communities will help build bridges across cultural divides.

Geoffrey Khan, Masoud Mohammadirad, Dorota Molin,  
Paul M. Noorlander  
Cambridge, May 2022

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# **PROLEGOMENA**





# 1. INTRODUCTION TO A COMPARATIVE CORPUS OF ORAL LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

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## 1.0. The Aramaic and Kurdish Dialects of Northern Iraq

### 1.1. The Dialects of NENA

The Neo-Aramaic dialects represented in this collection are all subsumed under ‘North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic’ and its acronym NENA, which are most closely related to the Neo-Aramaic dialects of Ṭur ‘Abdin (Ṭuroyo) and Mlaḥsó in south-eastern Turkey, also known as Central Neo-Aramaic, and Neo-Mandaic spoken further south-east in Iranian Khuzestan. The NENA dialects are generally referred to by their geographic location, i.e. the name of the town, as well as the religious affiliation of the community, i.e. Christian (represented in this anthology by the abbreviation ChA., i.e. Christian Aramaic) or Jewish (represented by the abbreviation JA.). The Christian and Jewish stories are thus nar-

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<sup>1</sup> We gratefully acknowledge Masoud Mohammadirad’s helpful comments on Section 1.2. in an earlier draft of this chapter.

rated in the respective Neo-Aramaic dialect of these communities. The Jewish dialects belong to the subgroup *lishana deni* ‘our language’ distinct from the eastern Jewish dialects subsumed under Trans-Zab Jewish NENA (Muftazi 2008). A sample of ChA. Duhok and ChA. Zakho texts with a linguistic commentary may be found in Sabar (1995). For the JA. Duhok dialect, see Molin (2021b), and for the syntax of JA. Zakho, Cohen (2012).

The following varieties of Neo-Aramaic are represented in the corpus and referred to as:

North-Western Iraq		North-Eastern Iraq
Jewish	Christian	
JA. Duhok	ChA. Duhok	ChA. Shaqlawa
JA. Zakho	ChA. Zakho	
	ChA. Dure	
	ChA. Enishke	
	ChA. Harmashe	

The locations of these towns are displayed on Map 1. Some features of these dialects are listed in Table 1. and 2. at the end of this section.

The Christian dialect of Shaqlawa, spoken in north-eastern rather than north-western Iraq, differs from the other NENA dialects in a number of ways. The NENA varieties in this region are known for the alveolar articulation of the affricates that correspond to postalveolar affricates in other dialects, e.g.

ChA. Shaqlawa	Elsewhere	
<i>tsə</i>	<i>ču, čə</i>	‘not any’
<i>’axtsa</i>	<i>’axča</i>	‘only’
<i>xantsa</i>	<i>xanča</i>	‘a little’
<i>tsōl</i>	<i>čōl</i>	‘wasteland’

**ChA. Shaqlawa**    **Elsewhere**

<i>dzwān</i>	<i>jwān</i>	‘beautiful’
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<i>dzwanqa</i>	<i>jwanqa</i>	‘handsome’
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The ChA. Shaqlawa dialect furthermore does not preserve the historical Aramaic interdentalals \*θ and \*ð, which shifted to alveolar plosives *t* and *d* respectively. This shift incidentally also took place in ChA. Zakho, with the exception of the existential particle, e.g. *liθən* ‘there is not’.

The ChA. Enishke dialect furthermore shares an affinity with the varieties from the nearby Barwar region (Christian dialects), represented in this corpus by material from the village Dure,<sup>2</sup> which in some cases also makes it diverge from the nearby ChA. Duhok and/or ChA. Zakho and/or ChA. Harmashe. Both ChA. Enishke and ChA. Barwar lie in the mountains east of Duhok and Zakho. An example of this parallel between ChA. Enishke and ChA. Barwar in contrast to ChA. Duhok and ChA. Zakho is the double marking of pronominal recipients of ditransitive verbs, attested in both dialects, and illustrated here by ChA. Enishke (the double object marking is indicated here in bold):

(1) *yawax xa brata **ṭale diye***

If we [do not] give a girl **to him**. (ChA. Enishke, Text 36: *Mar Giwargis*, §2)

The Jewish and Christian dialects of Duhok are at face value rather similar. Both communities have preserved the interdentalals /θ/ and /ð/ and have the preverb *k-* / *g-* throughout. The historically low vowel /a/ is raised in the indicative stem of the

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<sup>2</sup> For ChA. Barwar, see Khan (2008), vols. 1-3.

historically initial-aleph verbs, e.g. \**kaxəl* > JA. Duhok *kexəl*, ChA. Duhok *kixəl*. Compare:

JA. Duhok	ChA. Duhok	
<i>gəbe</i>	<i>gəbe</i>	‘he wants’
<i>muxðaðe</i>	<i>ʿuxðaðe</i>	‘(with) each other’
<i>θele</i>	<i>θele</i>	‘he came’
<i>ʿaθe</i>	<i>ʿaθe</i>	‘that he come’ (subj.)
<i>keθe</i>	<i>kiθe</i>	‘he comes’ (ind.)
<i>kiʿe</i>	<i>kiðe</i>	‘he knows’ (ind.)

In other respects, the dialects of this town diverge more strongly, for example the possessive suffixes of the third person and the third plural L-suffix, as shown below. It is not unlikely, however, that the Jewish and Christian varieties of Duhok would have been largely mutually intelligible.

JA. Duhok	ChA. Duhok	
<i>šəmmu</i>	<i>šəmmay(hən)</i>	‘their name’
<i>šəmmē</i>	<i>šəmmeh</i>	‘his name’
<i>šəmma</i>	<i>šəmmaḥ</i>	‘their name’
<i>wədlu</i>	<i>wəðlay</i>	‘they did’

The distinct confessional communities betray starker differences further west in the town of Zakho. In JA. Zakho, the interdental fricatives \**θ* and \**ð* have shifted mainly from flat to grooved fricatives, i.e. /s/ and /z/ respectively, whereas they shifted to equivalent stops /t/ and /d/ in the corresponding Christian variety. Contrary to other dialects where the preverb *k-*/*g-* prevails, the Christian dialect mainly uses the indicative preverb *y-*, and only sporadically *k-*:

<b>JA. Zakho</b>	<b>ChA. Zakho</b>	
<i>gəbe</i>	<i>kəbe</i>	‘he wants’
<i>ʔəzɡas</i>	<i>ʔəxdade</i>	‘each other’
<i>sele</i>	<i>tele</i>	‘he came’
<i>ʔase</i>	<i>ʔate</i>	‘that he come’ (subj.)
<i>kese</i>	<i>yate</i>	‘he comes’ (ind.)
<i>kiʔe</i>	<i>yede</i>	‘he knows’

Here, too, the differences are even more drastic in the third person possessive suffixes, but in this case not the 3pl. L-suffix:

<b>JA. Zakho</b>	<b>ChA. Zakho</b>	
<i>didu</i>	<i>diyehən</i>	‘theirs’
<i>dide</i>	<i>diyu</i>	‘his’
<i>dida</i>	<i>diyaw</i>	‘hers’
<i>ʔuzlu</i>	<i>wədlu</i>	‘they did’

Table 1. and 2. at the end of this section offer lists of a few features of the Jewish and Christian dialects of NENA in this book.

## 1.2. The Dialects of Kurdish

Kurdish dialects are generally divided into Northern, Central and Southern Kurdish (Haig and Öpengin 2014, 110–11). The Northern Kurdish varieties represented in this book have been recorded in the Duhok province of Iraq and, together with the Hakkari province of Turkey, comprise a dialect region that is generally referred to as Badini, Bahdinī, or Southeastern Kurmanji

(Öpengin and Haig 2014).<sup>3</sup> This book includes the following varieties of Northern Kurdish: Zakho, Duhok, Dure (in the Barwari Bala region) and Khizava (district of Zakho); see Map 1 for their respective location. These varieties share a number of features that set them apart from the rest of Northern Kurdish or the rest of Kurmanji respectively. Central Kurdish, also more generally known as Sorani, is represented by the dialect of Shaqlawa, which is situated between the regional dialects of Mukri (north-western Iran) and Hewlêr (Erbil).

The aforementioned Kurdish dialects will be referred to as follows:

<b>Northern Kurdish</b>	<b>Central Kurdish</b>
NK. Zakho	CK. Shaqlawa
NK. Duhok	
NK. Dure	
NK. Khizava	

Table 3. offers a list of a few common features of the Northern Kurdish varieties and Shaqlawa represented here. A selection of features will be discussed further below.

Generally speaking, Northern Kurdish is distinct from Central Kurdish by features such as its preservation of nominal gender in the singular, its predominant use of independent pronouns rather than enclitic pronominals, and the lack of a definite article (Haig and Öpengin 2014), e.g.

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<sup>3</sup> A grammatical synopsis of Bahdinî can be found in Haig (2018, 287–295).

**Northern K.    Central K. (Shaqlawa)**

<i>wī got</i>	<i>got=ī</i>	‘he said’
<i>wē got</i>	<i>got=ī</i>	‘she said’
<i>nāvē mən</i>	<i>nāw=əm</i>	‘my name’
<i>gundak</i>	<i>gundak</i>	‘a village’
<i>gund</i>	<i>gundaka</i>	‘the village’

The Northern Kurdish dialects of north-western Iraq differ from the dialects further north in Turkey in a number of respects. For instance, the Iraqi varieties exhibit the pharyngealisation of the consonants /t̤/, /s̤/ and /z̤/, as has been observed *inter alia* by other scholars (MacKenzie 1961, 35–36; Haig 2018, 288). Such pharyngealisation is absent in the rest of Kurdish, as the contrast below demonstrates. The dialect of Shaqlawa, however, may also retain this backing in Arabic loanwords, e.g. *maṭrān* ‘bishop’, and words of Iranian origin, e.g. *ša* ‘dog’.

**Dure (NK)    Shaqlawa (CK)**

<i>t̤ars</i>	<i>tars</i>	‘fear’
<i>z̤ānī</i>	<i>zānī</i>	‘know’ (pres. 2sg.)

The loss of the labial articulation in the sequence /xw/, which is typical of Bahdinī (Haig and Öpengin 2018; Haig 2018, 288), is generally but not always also found in the Northern Kurdish material, and sporadically also in Shaqlawa:

<b>Duhok (NK)</b>	<b>Khizava (NK)</b>	<b>Shaqlawa (CK)</b>	
<i>xārən</i>	<i>xwārən</i>	<i>xwārdən</i>	‘food; to eat’
<i>xodē</i>	<i>xodē</i>	<i>xodā</i>	‘god’

The Central Kurdish dialect of Shaqlawa also deviates from the Northern Kurdish varieties in its alveolar articulation of the

affricates that correspond to postalveolar affricates in other dialects, similarly to the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of the same town (see above):

**Shaqława (CK) Northern**

<i>tsə</i>	<i>čə</i>	‘what’
<i>dzəwān</i>	<i>jəwān</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>tsīrok</i>	<i>čīrok</i>	‘tale’

The velar stops /k/ and /g/ have the palatalised allophones [t͡ʃ] and [d͡ʒ] before front vowels in the dialect of Shaqlawa.<sup>4</sup>

In nominal inflection, the north-western Iraqi varieties exhibit the distinctive plural suffixes *-ē* and *-ēt* characteristic of Bahdinī, e.g.

**Duhok (NK) Standard (NK)**

<i>kuř-ēt mīrī</i>	<i>kur-ēn mīr</i>	‘the sons of the prince’
<i>kuř-ēt wī</i>	<i>kur-ēn wī</i>	‘his sons’

The dialect of Shaqlawa, by contrast, generally follows the pattern typical of Central Kurdish with the generalised linker/*ezafe* *-ī*, but sporadically still shows instances of feminine *-ē*.

As for the personal pronouns, the dialect of Duhok shows the following distinctive second person plural forms:

**Duhok (NK) Standard (NK)**

<i>hīn, hawa</i>	<i>hūn, wa</i>	‘you’ (2pl.)
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A feature unique to the Bahdinī dialects is the use of a construction dedicated to the future, which is otherwise identical to

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<sup>4</sup> Mohammadirad (p.c.).



the indicative present. The future particle *dē* and its alternative *-ē* in the dialects of Duhok and Khizava is followed by the subjunctive to form the future:

<b>Duhok (NK)</b>	<b>Khizava (NK)</b>	<b>Shaqlawa (CK)</b>	
<i>az dē čəm</i>	<i>az=ē čəm</i>	<i>a-čəm</i>	‘I will go’

The subjunctive form of the verb is also combined with the verbal particle *dā* to express the past habitual in Northern Kurdish (cf. Chyet 1985, 246-47), e.g.

(2) *har řo dā bēžē*

Every day he would say. (NK. Khizava, Text 7: *Zanbil-firosh—The Basket-Seller*, §9)

These dialects also generally use the enclitic *-ē*, a reduced form of the oblique third person pronouns, to denote a recipient or addressee. It is attached directly to the inflected verbal form. In other dialects of Kurdish the recipient or addressee is generally expressed by an adpositional phrase:

<b>Duhok (NK)</b>	<b>Standard (NK)</b>	
<i>(awē) got=ē</i>	<i>wē ž-ē ra got</i>	‘she said to him’
<i>(aw) at-bēžt=ē</i>	<i>aw ž-ē ra dā-bēža</i>	‘she says to him’

The Northern Kurdish storytellers use this enclitic more frequently than not with the past base of the verb *gotin* ~ *gūtīn* ‘say’ without an explicit reference to an agent, e.g.

∅ *got=ē* ~ *gūt=ē* ‘he/she/they said to him/her/them’

By contrast, the addressee is generally not expressed with the verb *gotin* in the Shaqlawa narratives. This verb also has the

present stem *bēž* in Northern Kurdish in contradistinction to Shaqlawa *rē*, e.g. *pē-y a-rē* ‘she says to him’.

Features shared between the Northern Kurdish dialects and the Central Kurdish dialect of Shaqlawa are the distinctive 1pl. ending *-in/-yn*, (Öpengin and Haig 2014, 162), which in other dialects merges with the 3pl. and 2pl. suffix *-ən*, and the aspectual and directional particles *-ava / -awa* and *-a* respectively.

Table 1. Selection of features of Jewish dialects of NENA

	Duhok	Zakho
* <i>θ</i> ( <i>t</i> )	/θ/	/s/
* <i>ð</i> ( <i>d</i> )	/ð/	/z/
3sg.m. pronoun	ʾawa	ʾawa
pronoun ‘what’	ma	ma
indicative preverb	k- / g-	k- / g-
indicative stem of *yðy ‘know’	kiʾ-	kiʾ-
past perfective preverb	qam-	qam-
recipient marker	ta / ʔal-	ta / ʔal-
3pl. L-suffix	-lu	-lu
3pl. possessive	-u	-u
3sg.m. L-suffix	-le	-le
3sg.m. possessive	-e	-e

Table 2. Selection of features of Christian dialects of NENA

	Duhok	Harm.	Enish.	Zakho	Shaql.
* <i>θ</i> ( <i>t</i> )	/θ/	/θ/	/θ/	/t/	/t/
* <i>ð</i> ( <i>d</i> )	/ð/	/ð/	/ð/	/d/	/d/
3sg.m. pronoun	ʾaw ʾahu	ʾaw	ʾaw ʾawu	ʾaw	ʾaw
pronoun ‘what’	mi, ma	ma	ma	ma	ma
indicative pre- verb	k- / g-	k-	y- / k-*	y- / k-	k- / č-
indicative stem of *yðy ‘know’	kið-	kið-	yăð-	yed-	čăd-
past perfective preverb	gəm- ʾəm- qam-	ħum-	qam-	kəm-	qam-

\* k- with the verb ‘to want’, e.g. *k-əbe* ‘he wants’.

Table 2. Selection of features of Christian dialects of NENA (cont.)

	Duhok	Harm.	Enish.	Zakho	Shaql.
recipient marker	<i>ta / ʔal-</i>	<i>ta / ʔal-</i>	<i>ta / ʔal-</i>	<i>ta / ʔal-</i>	<i>qa / qat-</i>
3pl. L-suffix	<i>-lay</i> <i>-le(y)</i>	<i>-lay</i> <i>-ley</i> <i>-na</i>	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-lu</i>
3pl. possessive	<i>-ay(hən)</i>	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ey</i>	<i>-ehən</i>	<i>-u</i>
3sg.m. L-suffix	<i>-le</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-le</i>
3sg.m. possessive	<i>-eḥ / -e</i>	<i>-eu</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>

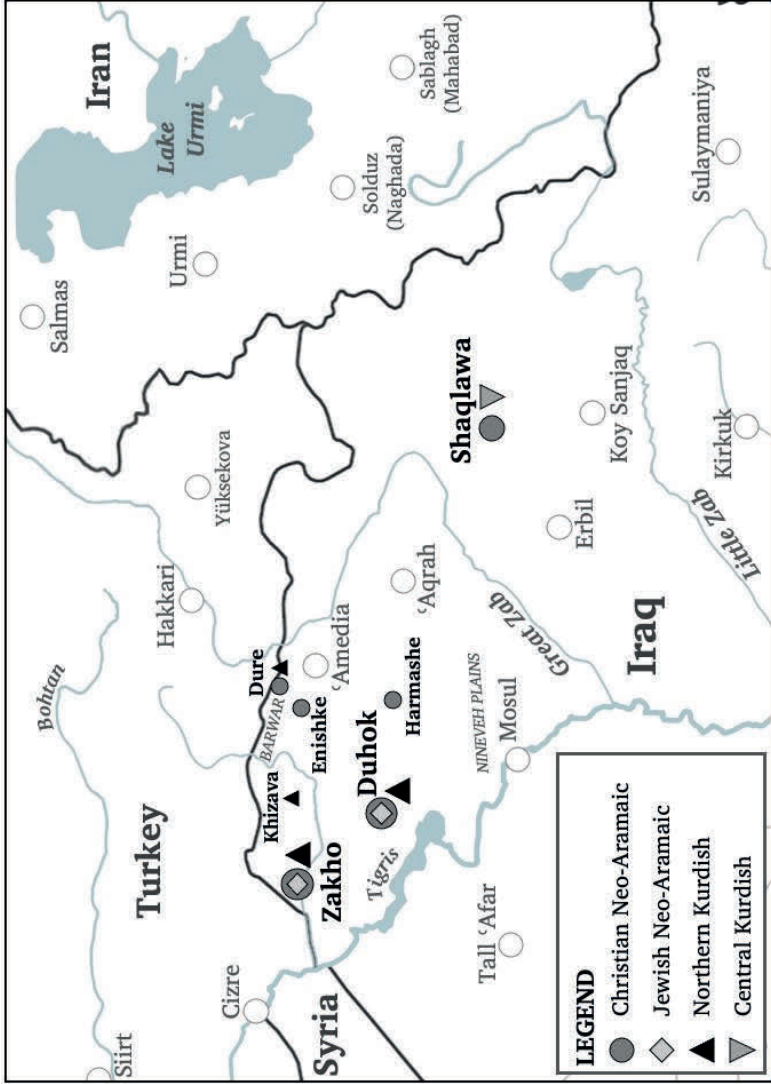
Table 3. Selection of features of Northern and Central Kurdish

	Northern (Duhok, Khizava)	Central (Shaqlawa)
3sg. oblique	m. (a)wī f. (a)wē	(a)wī* (a)wī*
ezafe inflection	sg.m. -ē sg.f. -ā pl. -ē(t)	sg.m. -ī** sg.f. -ē, -ī** pl. -ī**
‘who’	<i>kē, kī</i>	<i>kē</i>
‘my name’	<i>nāv-ē mə(n)</i>	<i>nāw=əm</i>
indicative preverb	(ə)t-	a-
‘I will go’ (future)	<i>az=ē/dē čəm</i>	<i>a-čəm</i>
‘we are doing’ (1pl. ending)	<i>tə-kayn</i>	<i>a-kayn</i>
‘he wants’	<i>wī t-vētən</i>	<i>da=y-hawē</i>
aspectual particle	-(a)va	-awa, -o
directional particle	=a	=a
prefect particle	--	=a
past habitual particle	<i>dā</i>	--

\* This is generally expressed by a series of enclitic pronouns in Central Kurdish.

\*\* In Central Kurdish, the plural morpheme *-ān* as well as the definite article *-ak(a)* are generally added before the linker *-ī*, e.g. *gund-ak-ān-ī dawrī Xošnawati* ‘the villages around Khosnaw’, or added to the following adjective, e.g. *haqāyat kurdi-ak-ān* ‘the Kurdish stories’.

Map 1. The respective locations of the dialects of Aramaic and Kurdish represented in this book



## 2.0. Transcription

### 2.1. Common Transcription

The general transcription practices that are common to both the Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic texts in this collection are summarised in Table 4. The more language-specific transcription practices are discussed in the next subsections. Throughout the corpus, unaspirated stops are indicated by a circumflex accent below or above the relevant consonant, e.g.  $\underset{\sim}{k}$  [k] as opposed to  $k$  [ $k^h$ ]. Palatalisation is indicated by a superscript  $y$ , e.g.  $g^y$  [ $g^j$ ] as opposed to  $g$  [ $g$ ]. Additional backing, manifested in pharyngealisation or velarisation respectively, is marked by a dot below the respective consonant, concurring with the so-called ‘emphatics’ in Semitic languages, e.g.  $\underset{\cdot}{t}$  [ $t^{\sim}$ ]. When a speaker prolongs a consonant or vowel for considerable time, this may be reflected in the transcription by a series of three or more letters, e.g. *aaa*.

Furthermore, enclitic constituents are separated from the preceding host by the short equals sign (=). This applies to the enclitic copula and other enclitic argument markers, the cliticised codordinator ‘and’, and the directional particle *-a*.

(1) Neo-Aramaic

<i>ma=y</i> <i>le</i>	‘what is it?’
<i>bréle=llan</i>	‘it happened to us’
<i>kayf=u şafay</i>	‘pleasure and jollity’
<i>’arwe=w tawre</i>	‘sheep and cows’

## (2) Kurdish

<i>čī-ya</i>	‘what is it?’
<i>got-ī</i>	‘he / she said’
<i>jəl-ū barg</i>	‘clothes and covering’
<i>čēlā-w gāyā</i>	‘of cows and bulls’
<i>hāt-a mālē</i>	‘he / she came back home’

These elements are written separately when they do not cliticise to the preceding word, e.g.

## (3) Neo-Aramaic

<i>ʔu brele ʔallan</i>	‘and it happened to us’
<i>ʔu ʔana ʔiwən</i>	‘and I am’

## (4) Kurdish

<i>ū awī gōt</i>	‘and he said’
<i>ū az</i>	‘and I’

The hyphen (-) used in transcription does not serve the same purpose as in glossing (see §4). Hyphens have been added to aid the reader in the identification of bound elements often consisting of merely one consonant or vowel. It is convenient to distinguish these from the core lexeme, for instance, to match this with the translation or to search for a particular verbal form. These elements are mainly prefixal prepositions and preverbal Tense-Aspect-Mood modifiers, e.g.

## (5) Neo-Aramaic

<i>b-aw waqəṭ</i>	‘at that time’ (preposition <i>b-</i> )
<i>l-qašra</i>	‘to the palace’ (preposition <i>l-</i> )
<i>b-qaṭəllan</i>	‘he will kill us’ (future preverb <i>b-</i> )
<i>qam-šaqaṭllan</i>	‘he took us’ (past perfective preverb <i>qam-</i> )
<i>d-ənna</i>	‘of such-and-such’ (attributive <i>d-</i> )
<i>d-zale</i>	‘that goes’ (subordinator <i>d-</i> )
<i>t-ile</i>	‘that is’ (subordinator <i>d-</i> )

## (6) Kurdish

<i>l-gundaḵə</i>	‘in a village’ (preposition <i>l-</i> )
<i>a-čəm</i>	‘I go’ (indicative preverb <i>a-</i> )
<i>na-t-ḵam</i>	‘I don’t do’ (negative <i>na-</i> and indicative <i>t-</i> )
<i>bə-xom</i>	‘I eat’ (subjunctive preverb <i>bə-</i> )

Neo-Aramaic prepositions and linking particles that serve as a basis for a respective independent series of pronouns are not separated by a hyphen in transcription, e.g.

## (7) Neo-Aramaic

<i>ʿabbe</i>	‘(with) me’
<i>ʿalli</i>	‘(to / for / on) me’
<i>dide</i>	‘his’
<i>diyyi</i>	‘mine’
<i>daw</i>	‘of him; of that (one)’
<i>dað</i>	‘of him; of this (one)’

Finally, a speaker’s hesitation is indicated by ellipsis (...). A reconstruction of barely audible segments or instances of unclear speech are placed between square brackets []. Inserted

words and phrases from another contemporary language such as (Iraqi) Arabic are added with the initial in supercript, e.g.

(8) Neo-Aramaic

<sup>A</sup>*al* <sup>A</sup>*asās* from Arabic على أساس

<sup>E</sup>*okey* from English *okay*

## 2.2. Kurdish Transcription

The Kurdish transcription in this collection largely follows that of MacKenzie (1961). An overview is provided in Table 5. at the end of this section with the corresponding romanisation in a widely accepted form of Kurdish orthography. The main differences are the absence of the macron in <o>, and the use of <ə> to represent the centralised front unrounded vowel to make the transcription more uniform across the two languages.

## 2.3. NENA Transcription

The transcription of NENA is based on earlier approaches, relying mainly on more recent grammars of Khan such as ChA. Barwar (Khan 2008). The correspondences between Kurdish and NENA vowels as well as the alveolar trill [r] and velarised lateral approximant [ɫ] are given in Table 6. The main difference is reflected in the indication of length by means of the macron, e.g. *ā* [a:] as opposed to *a* [æ]. The quality and length of NENA tense and lax vowels are more or less predictable in inherited Aramaic words, and, depending on the dialect, the difference between tense and lax vowels is largely neutralised in post-tonic open syl-



lables. The tense vowels [a~ɑ], [i], [e], [o] and [u] typically occur in open syllables and are pronounced longer in stressed syllables,<sup>5</sup> e.g.

*naše* ['na:ʃe]

*broni* ['bro:ni]

*nura* ['nu:.ræ]

The lax counterparts [æ], [ɪ] and [ʊ] typically occur in closed syllables and are always short, e.g.

ʔ*axni* ['ʔæx.ni]

ʔ*upra* ['ʔʊp<sup>h</sup>.ræ]

*pəšle* ['p<sup>h</sup>ɪʃ.le]

In NENA transcriptions, the macron, e.g. *ā*, is only used when the respective tense and long vowel occurs in contexts contrary to the aforementioned tendency, namely in a closed syllable. The breve, e.g. *ă*, by contrast, is used when the lax and typically short vowel occurs in a stressed or pretonic open syllable, e.g.

*ħălāl* [ħæ.'la:l]

*Dŭhok* ['dɔ.hok<sup>h</sup>] ~ ['dʊ.hok<sup>h</sup>]

*čōl* ['tʃ<sup>h</sup>o:l]

Many of the instances where the lax vowels occur in an open syllable in inherited Aramaic words are historically closed syllables, for example, in ChA. Shaqlawa:

ʔ*ăra* < \*ʔ*ar*<sup>ʕ</sup>*a*

<sup>5</sup> For the morpho-phonological rules that govern the distribution of vowel quantity, see Khan (2008, 66–76) and Molin (2021b, 79–88).

*kūla* < \**kulla*

Hence, the NENA transcription of the words below would correspond to the Kurdish ones as follows:

<b>NENA</b>	<b>Kurdish</b>	
<i>xandaq</i>	<i>xandaq</i>	‘ditch’
<i>naxwa</i>	<i>naxwa</i>	‘otherwise; indeed’
<i>gālak</i>	<i>galak</i>	‘very; much’
<i>wārāqa</i>	<i>waraqa</i>	‘paper’
<i>dargāvana</i>	<i>dargavān</i>	‘gatekeeper’
<i>sāwāl</i>	<i>sawāl</i>	‘livestock’
<i>jwān</i>	<i>juwān</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>gəra</i>	<i>gər</i>	‘hill’
<i>xēr</i>	<i>xēr</i>	‘good’
<i>hedī</i>	<i>hēdī</i>	‘slow’
<i>žī</i>	<i>žī</i>	‘also’
<i>Dūhok</i>	<i>Duhok</i>	‘Duhok’
<i>čōl</i>	<i>čol</i>	‘wilderness, wasteland’
<i>’u</i>	<i>’ū</i>	‘and’ (non-enclitic)

An exception to these rules are short monosyllabic words—typically particles and prepositions—that have an open syllable, for instance:

<i>la</i>	[læ]	‘no, not’ (verbal negator)
<i>ču</i>	[tʃu]	‘not any’ (nominal negator)
<i>ta</i>	[ta]	‘to, for’ (prep.)
<i>gu</i>	[gu]	‘in’ (prep.)
<i>xa</i>	[xa]	‘one, a certain’ (indef. article)

The vowel in these words tends to be short. Since this shortness in monosyllabic words is predicable, however, it is not indicated with the breve sign. Similarly, word-final open syllables generally have a short vowel, which is left here without a breve sign. Thus, it is

*dargāvana* [dær.gæ.'va:.næ] 'gatekeeper'

## 2.4. Prosody

Intonation unit boundaries of utterances are indicated by a vertical line in superscript ('). The nuclear accent of the prosodic unit is marked with a grave accent (̀) on the stressed syllable of the respective word. Such intonational phrases need not correspond to syntactic units. To illustrate, in example (9) below taken from the Kurdish dialect of Duhok, the phrases *az Bižān Xošavî 'Àhmat* 'I am Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad' and *kuřē Šukriyāyē* 'son of Shukirya' each constitute their own intonation unit separated by means of a vertical line ('). The same holds for the independent pronoun 'ana 'I, me' in (10) below, taken from the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Duhok, which occurs with its own prosodic contour, coinciding with the function of topicalisation.

(9) *az Bižān Xošavî 'Àhmat, | kuřē Šukriyāyē.*<sup>|</sup>  
 'I am Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad, son of Shukriya.' (NK Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §1)

(10) 'ana<sup>|</sup> šəmmi Yawsəp brōnd 'Eliša 'Išəq Mîxo.<sup>|</sup>  
 'My name is Yawsəp, son of Elisha Išəq Mikho.' (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §1)

Sporadically, one prosodic unit may be characterised as having two instances of a nuclear accent, often because two concepts are represented as two alternatives such as *āxāftənaḵā kərēt* ‘an offensive word’ and *āxāftənaḵā saqāt* ‘an inappropriate word’ in (11) below.

- (11) *ū bēyi kū āxāftənaḵā kərēt ān āxāftənaḵā saqāt bēžit-a mən.*<sup>1</sup>  
without telling me an offensive word or an inappropriate word (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §22)

Lexical stress is generally penultimate in NENA dialects. A deviation from this general rule of stress placement is indicated using the acute accent (*á*). In (12) below, for example, there are two intonation unit boundaries; the nuclear accent falls on *ḥàkəm* in the first, and on *yàle* in the second. Since the words *ʔəθwale* ‘he had’ and *ṭlaθá* do not follow the penultimate stress rule, their deviating lexical stress is indicated by means of the acute accent.

- (12) *ʔəθwa xa ḥàkəm<sup>1</sup> ʔəθwale ṭlaθá yàle.*<sup>1</sup>

There once was a ruler who had three children. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §3)

## 2.5. Transcription Tables

Table 4. General transcription of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic

Transcription	IPA	Transcription	IPA
<i>k</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>ḥ</i>	[ħ]
<i>ḵ</i>	[k]	<i>ş</i>	[s <sup>y</sup> ] ~ [s <sup>s</sup> ]
<i>k<sup>y</sup></i>	[k <sup>j</sup> ] ~ [c] ~ [t̪ç̪]	<i>z</i>	[z <sup>y</sup> ] ~ [z <sup>s</sup> ]
<i>g<sup>y</sup></i>	[g <sup>j</sup> ] ~ [j] ~ [d̪ʒ̪]	<i>ž</i>	[ʒ]
<i>ḡ</i>	[ɣ] ~ [ʁ]	<i>š</i>	[ʃ]
<i>x</i>	[x] ~ [χ]	<i>č</i>	[tʰ]
<i>p</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>j</i>	[ç]
<i>ḡ</i>	[p]	<i>ç</i>	[ʕ]
<i>t</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>ç</i>	[ʔ]
<i>t̪</i>	[t <sup>y</sup> ] ~ [t <sup>s</sup> ]	<i>ə</i>	[ɪ ~ i ~ ə]
<i>t̪</i>	[t]	<i>o</i>	[o:]

Table 5. Basic transcription of Kurdish in this collection

Standard Orthography	MacKenzie (1961)	This book	IPA
a	ā	ā	[a: ~ a ~ ɔ]
ê	ē	ē	[e:]
o	ô, ô	o	[o:]
û	ū	ū	[u:]
î	ī	i	[i:]
o	ø	ö	[œ ~ ø]
--	û	ü	[y:]
e	a	a	[ɛ ~ æ ~ a]
i	i	ə	[i ~ ɪ]
u	u	u	[ʊ]
ş	š	š	[ʃ]
j	ž	ž	[ʒ]
ç	č	č	[tʰ]
c	č	j	[ç]
r (rr)	ṛ	ř	[r]
l (ll)	l	l	[ɫ]

Table 6. Correspondence between Kurdish and NENA transcription

Kurdish	NENA	IPA
<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	[a(:)~ɑ(:)]
<i>ē</i>	<i>e</i>	[e(:)]
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	[o(:)]
<i>ū</i>	<i>u</i>	[u(:)]
<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>	[i(:)]
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> (ǎ), <i>ε</i>	[æ~a~ɑ], [ε]
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i> (ǔ)	[ʊ~ɔ]
<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	[i ~ ɪ]
<i>ř</i>	<i>rr</i>	[r]
<i>ł</i>	<i>l</i>	[l]

### 3.0. Texts

#### 3.1. Organisation

The thirty five texts in Volume II are organised thematically. The seven themes are as follows:

- I: Zambilfrosh (The Basket Seller)
- II: The Bridge of Dalale
- III: Animals and Humans
- IV: Social Status
- V: Family Relations
- VI: Mirza Muhammad
- VII: Religious Legends

The texts are numbered 4–38 and each assigned to one of the themes above. They are arranged by author and subsequently by language and dialect. The title of the story has been added by the respective author, not the storyteller. The Christian and Jew-

ish dialects of Neo-Aramaic are abbreviated to ChA. and JA. respectively before the name of the respective dialect, e.g. ChA. Duhok and JA. Duhok. The abbreviations of Northern and Central Kurdish are placed before the relevant toponym, e.g. NK. Duhok and CK. Shaqlawa.

Texts are divided into numbered paragraphs at the discretion of the author. Reference to the paragraphs of the folktales is given using abbreviations, accompanied by the story title and a number indicating the specific paragraph being referenced. For instance, (ChA. Duhok, Text 14: *A Man and a Lion*, §7) refers to the 7th paragraph of the story *A Man and a Lion*, narrated in the Aramaic dialect of the Christians of Duhok.

### **3.2. Genre of the Texts**

The corpus represents a wide array of genres, and sometimes multiple categorisations are possible. Table 7. below lists the stories according to genre. Nevertheless, the genre of some stories is not altogether clear, as is further discussed in Molin, Chapter 2 this volume. A list of the international folkloristic motifs which are attested in the Aramaic and Kurdish stories is given in Table 9 (Molin, Chapter 2, this volume).

Table 7. The stories categorised according to genre

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Story</b>
<b>Legends (including saint stories)</b>	4–7: <i>Zambilfrosh (The Basket-Seller)</i> 35: <i>Mar Yohanan (St. John)</i> 36: <i>Mar Giwargis (St. George)</i> 8–11: <i>The Bridge of Dalale</i> 37: <i>The Prophet's Horse</i>
<b>Folktales</b>	17: <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> 14: <i>A Man and a Lion</i> 16: <i>A Man and a Wolf</i> 15: <i>A Man and a Snake</i> 20: <i>A Family Horse</i> 30: <i>The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch</i> 23: <i>The Poor Girl and Her Horse</i> 24: <i>A Woman Builds her Home</i> 31: <i>Firyat and Khajija</i> 25: <i>As Precious as Salt</i> 16: <i>The Girl Pomegranate Grain</i>
<b>Monster Narratives</b>	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i> 30: <i>The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch</i> 36: <i>Mar Giwargis (St George)</i>
<b>Sung Stories and Ballads</b>	9: <i>The Bridge of Dalale (ChA. Duhok)</i> 4: <i>Zambilfrosh (ChA. Shaqlawa, by A. Sher)</i>
<b>Epic</b>	32–34: <i>Mirza Muhammad</i>
<b>Proverbs</b>	At the end of: 17: <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> 14: <i>A Man and a Lion</i> 16: <i>A Man and a Wolf</i>



Table 7. The stories categorised according to genre (cont.)

Genre	Stories
<b>Fables</b>	22: <i>A Talking Goat</i>
	12 & 13: <i>A 'Pious' Fox</i>
	18: <i>A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe</i>
	19: <i>A Ewe and a Wolf</i>
<b>Aetiology</b>	8–11: <i>The Bridge of Dalale</i>
	31: <i>Firyat and Khajija ('The Spring of Sorrow')</i>
<b>Anecdotes</b>	38: <i>The Foul-mouthed Priest</i>
	28 & 29: <i>Two Mullahs</i>
	27: <i>The Indecent Neighbour</i>
	21: <i>A Man and his Dog</i>

### 3.3. Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Versions

Several stories have different versions<sup>6</sup> and are presented in multiple dialects of Neo-Aramaic as well as (corresponding) Kurdish

Table 8. Stories with multiple versions in the corpus

Story	Language	Dialects	No.
<i>Zambilfrosh</i>	NENA	ChA. Shaqlawa (by A. Sher)	4
		ChA. Shaqlawa (by W. Toma)	5
		ChA. Enishke	6
<i>The Bridge of Dalale</i>	Kurdish	NK. Khizava	7
		NENA	ChA. Dure
	NENA	ChA. Duhok	9
		ChA. Zakho	10
		Kurdish	NK. Zakho

<sup>6</sup> There are also stories that overlap with other narratives in a less overarching way, but still in a fashion that suggests a shared origin. For further details, see Molin (Chapter 2, this volume).

Table 8. Stories with multiple versions in the corpus (cont.)

Story	Language	Dialects	No.
<i>A 'Pious' Fox</i>	NENA	ChA. Shaqlawa	12
	Kurdish	CK. Shaqlawa	13
<i>A Human and a Beast</i>	NENA	ChA. Duhok ( <i>A Man and a Lion</i> )	14
		JA. Duhok ( <i>A Man and a Wolf</i> )	16
	Kurdish	NK. Dure ( <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> )	17
<i>A Wolf and a Ewe</i>	NENA	ChA. Duhok	18
	Kurdish	CK. Shaqlawa	19
<i>Two Mullahs</i>	NENA	ChA. Shaqlawa	28
	Kurdish	CK. Shaqlawa	29
<i>Mirza Muhammad</i>	NENA	ChA. Duhok	32
		ChA. Harmashe	33
	Kurdish	NK. Duhok	34

### 3.4. List of Speakers with Notes on Idiolect and Style

#### 3.4.1. Neo-Aramaic

##### *ChA. Duhok*

**Madlen Patu Nagara** (Texts 9, 24) uses *qam-* as a transitive past perfective preverb against *gəm-* in the speech of the other informant of ChA. Duhok, and *mi* as opposed to *ma* for 'what'. She has an elaborate story-telling style, though tends to leave some sentences unfinished, which sometimes impedes comprehension.

**Yawsep Elisha Yishaq** (Texts 14, 15, 18 and 32) has a slightly different dialect from M.P. Nagara (see above). Unlike M.P. Nagara, he uses the transitive perfective preverb *gəm-* alternating with *ʔm-*. The interdental fricatives *θ* and *ð* sporadically shift to their respective stops *t* and *d* before L-suffixes, e.g. *məθle* ‘he died’ alternates with *mətle*. He often uses the filler *hənnə* or *ʔənnə* ‘thingy, what’s-it-called’, and feels the need to clarify Kurdish words with an Arabic equivalent, e.g. K. *dargāvana* alongside Arab. *ḥarəs* ‘gatekeeper; guard’. His speech is clear overall and at a variable pace. Occasionally, he speaks slowly but dynamically, accenting every word in a sentence, and at other times he can speak rather fast.

*JA. Duhok*

**Sabi Abraham** (Text 16) was interviewed in Jerusalem in 2018 by Dorota Molin. Despite having lived in a predominantly Hebrew-speaking environment for 70 years, he remembers in great detail many Neo-Aramaic folktales.<sup>7</sup> He learnt these from his father—a story teller—and he, in turn, had learnt some stories from his Kurdish neighbours.

*ChA. Dure*

**Dawid Adam** (Text 8) was interviewed in Turku, Finland, in 2005 by Geoffrey Khan. He was a storyteller in his native village of Dure in Barwar-i Bala. He tells stories with a fluent style and often includes sung ballads in his narratives. The dialect of

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<sup>7</sup> For another folktale by Sabi Abraham, see Molin (2021a).

Dure belongs to the ChA. Barwar cluster, whose distinctive features include the following (see Khan 2008). The diphthong \*ay shifts to /ɛ/, e.g. *bεθa* < \**bayθa* ‘house’. When a historically long \*ī occurs in a closed syllable and is shortened, it retains its tense quality /i/, e.g. *ʾiθwa* ‘there was’. The past perfective preverb has the form *qəm-*, which is formally distinct from the preposition *qam* ‘before’.

*ChA. Enishke*

**Zarifa Toma** (Texts 6 and 36) has a very elliptical narrative style, so that her stories are for the most part simply summaries of the original creations. Her speech is interspersed with narrator questions (e.g. ‘What did he do?’).

*ChA. Harmashe*

**Salim Daniel Yomaran** (Text 33) was interviewed on site by Khan, Molin and Noorlander on a field trip in Iraq in 2019. He is a fluent speaker of the dialect and an animated storyteller. The interdental /θ/ is preserved before L-suffixes, e.g. *məθle* ‘he died’. The diphthong /ay/ can be raised to [ɛy], and the vowels [o] and [u] are not always clearly distinguished in his speech, e.g. *zura* ‘little’, *hule* ‘there is’, but *smoqa* ‘red’, *gora* ‘big’, *xona* ‘brother’. The transitive past perfective preverb *qam-* (or *qām-*) alternates with *ḵum-* and *ḵəm-* and may also be omitted. He tends to construct a negative imperative with *lakun* followed by a subjunctive starting with the morpheme ʾət, e.g. *lakun ʾət ʾamrutu ta ču naša* ‘Do not tell anyone!’.

*ChA. Shaqlawa*

**Ayshok Yalda** (Text 35) was recorded by Geoffrey Khan and Nineb Lamassu in Shaqlawa 2017.

**Warina Toma** (Text 5), **Sare Sawrish** (Text 23), **Angel Sher** (Text 4) and **Sayran Sher** (Text 12 and 28) were all recorded by Lourd Hanna in Shaqlawa between 2019 and 2020.

They are all lively storytellers and typically speak very fast when they become animated. Some distinctive features of the ChA. Shaqlawa dialect include the following (Khan 2022). The 3sg.m. and 3pl. possessive suffixes both have the form *-u*. There are some asymmetries in the inflection of the various types of copula, e.g. in the 3pl. enclitic positive copula *-ina*, negative copula *lewu*, past enclitic *wənwa*. The particle *na* is used by speakers to express epistemic contrastive focus. It is used to correct what the speaker assumes the hearer believes or presupposes to be the case. Most of the storytellers introduce numerous Arabic and Kurdish words into their speech. A notable loan from Turkic is the particle *gorin*, which is placed after a noun and functions as a definite article, e.g. *yala gorin* ‘the boy’. Embedded within the story of Zambilfrosh told by Angel Sher there is a sung ballad that is in the ChA. Alqosh dialect rather than the ChA. Shaqlawa dialect.

*ChA. Zakho*

**Ameen Essa Shimoun**’s (Text 10) speech contains a significant amount of Arabic material, not only loanwords, but also entire phrases with Aramaic-Arabic code-switching. This includes many Modern Standard (as opposed to dialectal) Arabic phrases

and expressions (e.g. *wa-laysa* ‘and not’ or ‘*ʿalmiyan* ‘scientifically (speaking)’, which probably serve to elevate the register.

*JA. Zakho*

**Samra Zaken** (Text 25) was recorded by Oz Aloni in July 2011 in Jerusalem, in conversation with **Batya Aloni**. As is the case with most Jewish speakers, her speech includes Aramaic—Modern Hebrew code-switching and loanwords. Samra Zaken was born in Zakho around 1930. She moved to Jerusalem in 1951.

### 3.4.2. Kurdish

*NK. Dure*

**Herish Rashid Tawfiq Beg’s** (Texts 20, 37) speech contains significant pharyngealisation of native words, e.g. *ħaʃp* ‘horse’. His speech features only a few Arabic loanwords. He consistently uses the 3pl. impersonal form of the verb ‘to say’ *at-bēžžan* ‘it is said’ to signal episode transition in both of his stories.

*NK. Duhok*

**Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad’s** (Texts 17, 26, 30) speech is characterised by only limited influence from Arabic, which could be an indication of his education in Kurdish. Occasionally Central Kurdish elements are found in his speech, (e.g. *lā* ‘at the place of’), reflecting the sociolinguist situation of Kurdish varieties in Iraqi Kurdistan, namely CK being the official language and the one associated with more prestige. His speech is also characterised by free variation between /ū/, and /o/ in some lexical items,

e.g. *bo* vs. *bū* ‘was’. Bizhan’s dialect contains the largest number of what appears to be unaspirated stops among NK speakers.

**Viyān Ramazan’s** (Texts 34) speech exhibits considerable variation from that of Bizhan. Her speech contains little influence from Standard Bahdini Kurmanji taught in schools and features more Arabic loanwords than Bizhan’s. She has an elaborate story-telling style. She uses frequently the verb *inā* ‘S/he brought’ to mark transitions in the episodes of the tale. She uses a variant of 3pl. oblique pronoun *wāna*, not attested in the speech of other NK story tellers.

*NK. Zakho*

**Saeid Razvan’s** (Texts 11) speech exhibits distinctive features of NK. Zakho, e.g. lack of heavy verb stems. He uses Arabic words such as ‘*arrāf*’ ‘fortune-teller’ rather than the Kurdish equivalent *xēvzānk* to reflect his literacy in Arabic and the high prestige associated with it among older speakers of Kurdish.

*NK. Khizava*

**Ahmad Abubakir Sleman’s** (Texts 7, 31) speech contains a considerable number of Arabic loanwords, which also include discourse markers such as *muhām* ‘anyway’, *tab’an* ‘indeed’. His dialect shows similarities with the dialect of Zakho, e.g. the (occasional) lack of heavy verb stems, lack of directional particle after verbs of speech. He is from Gulli’s tribe, for which a scant grammatical sketch and a text are provided in MacKenzie (1961; 1962).

### CK. Shaqlawa

**Hawsar Najat Bapir's** (Texts 13, 19, 22, 29) speech exhibits some influence from Standard Central Kurdish, e.g., the occasional use of the near singular demonstrative *ama* instead of the distance-neutral *awa* form. He tends to elaborate on the Kurdish culture and folktales associated with Shaqlawa in his tales.

**Jalal Sher** (Texts 21, 27, 38) is a Neo-Aramaic speaker who is bilingual in Kurdish. His speech is characterised by the use of the impersonal verb 'to say' to mark transition between episodes of the tale. His speech is less influenced by Standard Central Kurdish than that of Hawsar.

## 4.0. Glossing

A sample of partly glossed texts is given at the end of Volume I, one for each dialect represented here. The glossing is consistent with the Leipzig Glossing Rules, except in the following cases. A few terms have been taken over from Iranian linguistics in the glossing of Kurdish, notably:

EZ for the so-called *ezafe*, i.e. nominal annexation morphemes, and DIR and OBL for the so-called *direct* and *oblique* case, i.e. the unmarked form in contrast to the case that is used in a broad range of other contexts otherwise subsumed under accusative, dative, genitive, and ergative cases. The abbreviation DRCT stands for the 'directional' particle used typically when verbs of movement are followed by goal arguments. The abbreviation TELIC stands for the 'telicity' distinctions, most crucially the endpoint of an action, expressed by the particle (a)va-/(a)va in Northern Kurdish and the cognate -(a)wa in Central Kurdish. The



particle can be used in alternations marking a change in verbal deixis such as counterdirectionality, e.g. *čūn* ‘to go’ vs. *čūn-ava* ‘to go back’, or a shift in lexical semantics, e.g. *xwārdən* ‘to eat’ : *xwārdən-ava* ‘to drink’, *kəraṇ* ‘to make’ : *va-kəraṇ* ‘to open’. The abbreviation NA is used to indicate that a morpheme has not been analysed, i.e. the author refrains from judgement on the analysis of the corresponding morpheme.

In the glossing of NENA texts demonstratives, independent personal pronouns, and pronominal affixes on prepositions and nominals are glossed lexically. OBL is used to refer to a dedicated set of genitive third person pronouns corresponding with so-called oblique pronouns in Iranian used in the *ezafe*. Object suffixes on verbs are tagged with ‘O’, while other grammatical relations, such as subjects, are left unmarked. The participle (PTCP) specifically means the resultative participle, also used in perfect/anterior constructions. The tag INV for ‘invariable’ is used for non-inflectable adjectives.

## 5.0. English Translation

The English translation of texts aims to reflect faithfully the original text narrated in the source language with a combination of more formal and dynamic approaches. The outcome of this blending may vary from one translator to the next.

Where the translator has opted for periphrasis, the more literal equivalent rendering is given in footnotes or round brackets (). The frequent use of the verbs literally equivalent to English *rise* and *stand/get up* to express the transition to a new sequence

of events is often rendered with the conjunction ‘then’ or left untranslated. The translation may deviate from the literal equivalent to show stylistic variation. The particles *yāni* or *ya’ni*, for instance, may be translated ‘I mean’, ‘you know’, ‘indeed’, ‘that is’ and so forth. Similarly, the Neo-Aramaic phrase *mhaymən* or *hemən* may be rendered as ‘believe me’, ‘truly’, ‘really’ and so forth. Frequently used discourse markers such as *ži* or *-(i)š* are left untranslated, unless an English equivalent readily presents itself. Repetition in the original language is not always reflected in the English translation.

Finally, words that are missing or implicit in the original text but required for proper use of English and/or for understanding the text have been added between square brackets []. To aid the reader in following the discourse, the referents of pronouns are added in parentheses or directly in the text with a footnote expressing the literal equivalent.

## 2. THE FOLKLORISTIC HERITAGE OF KURDS, JEWS AND SYRIAC CHRISTIANS OF NORTHERN IRAQ: SHARED MOTIFS, INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENTS<sup>1</sup>

*Dorota Molin*

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The folklore presented in Volume II is a testament to the intimate and long-standing relations between three ethno-religious communities from northern Iraq: the Kurds, Jews and Syriac Christians.<sup>2</sup> The folklore of these three communities is closely intertwined—not just through folkloristic motifs, which are often uni-

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Dr Michael Chyet for his valuable comments on this chapter, and especially on cross-cultural parallels of folkloristic motifs. My sincere thanks also to Lourd Hanna, our Iraqi fieldworker, for insights and information about the communities and their folklore.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, Yezidi folklore is not included in this publication. This seems a great shame, since a comparative study with Yezidi folklore would doubtless illuminate the larger extent of northern Iraq's shared cultural history. See, for instance, the discussion on 'Zanbilfirosh'. The overlap of this story's values with those praised in the Yezidi community is striking, and could suggest a Yezidi origin of this tale.

versal, but also with regard to specific narrative units ('motifemes') and even entire shared stories. In several cases, very similar stories are told by several different communities, with a greater or smaller degree of overlap in details. This chapter traces both folkloristic parallels as well as independent strands in the present corpus, focusing especially on themes, character types and cultural–religious frameworks in which the stories are set.

In general, the oral literature of northern Iraq demonstrates that social and geographic proximity can produce a degree of cultural convergence perhaps as strong as a shared national or ethnic identity and/or religious affiliation.<sup>3</sup> For instance, the *Bridge of Dalale* legend (Theme II) is highly popular throughout the whole region. There are also several animal stories (Theme III; §3.1) told by Muslims, Christians and Jews whose striking similarities suggest a common source. The folktale *As Precious as Salt* (§4) has an even wider trans–communal connection, as this theme occurs also in European folklore.

At the same time, some stories are apparently unique to particular ethno–religious communities.<sup>4</sup> Naturally, therefore, the religious stories in Theme VII introduce figures and/or sets of values that are specific to particular sacred traditions. Moreover,

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<sup>3</sup> A similar conclusion is reached by Chyet (1995, 233) who—as in the present chapter—uses the term 'Kurdistani folklore' to refer to this trans–communal tradition of oral literature of the region of northern Iraq in which there is a Kurdish majority

<sup>4</sup> That is, our Iraqi fieldworker Lourd Hanna and myself are not aware of another version. In this corpus, see, for instance, the Christian *Mar Yohanan* and the Kurdish–Muslim *The Prophet Muhammad and his horse Dildil* (both §5).

stories such as *Zanbilfirosh* (Theme I) are shared, but nevertheless differ in ways that hint at distinct cultural values. For instance, the Chaldean-Catholic variants praise ascetic piety (a celibate, hermit lifestyle), while the Kurdish-Muslim version has the protagonist married and with a family, focusing instead on the restoration of justice. These points of divergence highlight the limits of cultural convergence among the Christians, Muslims and Jews of northern Iraq, and reflect the persistence of some degree of cultural-religious independence.

Sometimes, however, a story is 'borrowed' along with its culture-specific realia; see for instance, the anecdote *Two Mullahs* told by the Christians of Shaqlawa and, conversely, *The Foul-Mouthed Priest* told by the Muslims of the same town (Theme VII). On other occasions, communities adopt not only each other's folklore, but also religious traditions. In the case of *Zanbilfirosh* (Theme I), both Jews and Christians apparently draw from the story of Joseph and Zulaykha in the Quran (e.g. *Joseph or Zanbilfirosh*, ChA. Enishke), despite having their own Biblical variant of this narrative (Joseph and Potiphar's wife). Nevertheless, the moral virtues and behaviour patterns extolled in these stories are not in conflict with the norms of the community telling the story (save the reference to religion-specific devotional practices etc.). The existence of such conflicts in a narrative would be likely to discourage a community from borrowing it, at least without adaptations.

The existence of such distinct cultural tendencies, however, should not be equated with complete cultural homogeneity, even in the oral literature of a single community. Thus, for instance,

several stories concerning social status (Theme IV) praise resilient, independent women who challenge official, male authority. At other times, the same character in a parallel story (e.g. the builder in *The Bridge of Dalale*, Theme II) receives a drastically different portrayal that makes the character once a villain, then a victim. This variety of behaviour patterns doubtless reflects the unique aesthetics or personalities of the narrators, as well as the fact that folklore is performed with a whole series of different functions and for diverse audiences (see below).

Given the broad approach of this chapter, a brief excursus on folklore theory will suffice. The basic structural units invoked here are themes and motifs, as well as the more specific motifemes. ‘Motifeme’ is understood here as a motif with a specific function. It is thus used to refer to scenes, narrative units, scene or character types that are shared across a group of closely-related folktales (often of shared origin, at least in part). For instance, while a talking, human-like animal is a universal folkloristic motif, the present corpus includes a specific application of this motif: a wise animal who meets a human on its territory and teaches the human a moral lesson (see Theme III).<sup>5</sup> A list of international folkloristic motifs which are attested in the stories is given in Table 9 below.

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<sup>5</sup> For the theory of folklore structure and function, and for the distinction between a culture-internal (‘emic’) and scientific (‘etic’) analysis, see especially Dundes (1962). See also the useful overview of Elstein & Lipsker’s analytical model in Aloni (2022, 187–97). When possible, the motifs discussed here are given indexes according to Stith Thompson’s

Table 9. Folkloristic motifs occurring in the stories (categorised with Aarne-Thomson-Uther's and Thompson's indexes)

<b>Motif group</b>	<b>Motif name (number)</b>	<b>Story</b>
<b>Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales</b>		
ATU 1–299: <b>Animal tales</b>	1–69: The clever fox (other animals)	12–13: <i>A 'Pious' Fox</i>
	154: The Jackal and the Farmer	18: <i>A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe</i> 19: <i>A Ewe and a Wolf</i>
	160: Grateful animals; ungrateful man	17: <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> 14: <i>A Man and a Lion</i> 16: <i>A Man and a Wolf</i> 15: <i>A Man and a Snake</i> 21: <i>A Man and His Dog</i>
ATU 300–749: <b>Tales of magic</b>	301: The three kid- napped princesses	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Mon- sters</i> 33: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Three Prin- cesses</i>

*Motif Index* (1922–1936) and/or Aarne-Thompson-Uther's *Tale Type Index* (2004). Thompson's motifs are referred to with a letter and a number (e.g. S200). A *Tale Type Index* reference has a number preceded by the abbreviation 'ATU'.

Table 9. Folkloristic motifs occurring in the stories (categorised with Aarne-Thomson-Uther's and Thompson's indexes; cont.)

	300: Slaying the dragon	24: <i>A Woman Builds her Home</i> 32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i> 36: <i>Mar Giwargis (St George)</i>
	510: Cinderella and Cap o' Rushes	16: <i>The Girl Pomegranate Grain</i>
	514: The shift of sex	23: <i>The Poor Girl and Her Horse</i>
	532: The speaking horsehead	23: <i>The Poor Girl and Her Horse</i>
	301: The three stolen princesses	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i> 33: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses</i>
	400: The man on a quest for his lost wife	34: <i>Mirza Muhammad's Adventures</i>
ATU 750–849: <b>Religious tales</b>	831: The dishonest priest	38: <i>The Foul-Mouthed Priest</i>
ATU 850–999: <b>Realistic tales</b>	923: Loving the salt	25: <i>As Precious as Salt</i>
	850–869: The man marries the princess	25: <i>As Precious as Salt</i> 24: <i>A Woman Builds her Home</i>
ATU 1200–1999: <b>Anecdotes and jokes</b>	1725-1849: Jokes about clergymen and religious figures	38: <i>The Foul-Mouthed Priest</i>



Table 9. Folkloristic motifs occurring in the stories (categorised with Aarne-Thomson-Uther's and Thompson's indexes; cont.)

<b>Thompson's index</b>		
<b>B. Animals</b>	B 530: Animals nourish men	17: <i>A Woman and a Leopard</i> 14: <i>A Man and a Lion</i> 16: <i>A Man and a Wolf</i> 15: <i>A Man and a Snake</i>
<b>D. Magic</b>	D 150: Transformation: man to bird	30: <i>The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch</i>
	D 1540: Magic object controls the elements	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i>
<b>F. Marvels</b>	F 628: Strong man slays monster	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i> 36: <i>Mar Giwargis (St George)</i>
<b>G. Ogres</b>	G 100: Giant ogre G 610: Theft from ogre	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i>
<b>K. Deceptions</b>	K 1300–K1399: Seduction or deceptive marriage	4–7: <i>Zambilfrosh (The Basket-Seller)</i>
<b>L. Reversal of Fortune</b>	L 10: Victorious youngest son	32: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters</i> 33: <i>Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses</i>
	L 50: Victorious youngest daughter & L61: Clever youngest daughter	25: <i>As Precious as Salt</i> 24: <i>A Woman Builds her Home</i>

Table 9. Folkloristic motifs occurring in the stories (categorised with Aarne-Thomson-Uther's and Thompson's indexes; cont.)

<b>N. Chance and Fate</b>	N343: Lover kills self believing his mistress dead	31: <i>Firyat and Khajija</i>
<b>R. Captives and Fugitives</b>	R 10: Abduction	34: <i>Mirza Muhammad's Adventures</i>
<b>S. Unnatural Cruelty</b>	S 31: Cruel stepmother	16: <i>The Girl Pomegranate Grain</i> 30: <i>The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch</i>
	S 261: Foundations sacrifice	8–11: <i>The Bridge of Dalale</i>
<b>T. Sex</b>	T 80: Tragic love T 338: Virtuous man seduced by woman T 481: Wife seduces husband's servant	31: <i>Firyat and Khajija</i> 4–7: <i>Zambilfrosh</i> 6: <i>Joseph or Zambilfrosh</i>
<b>V. Religion</b>	V462. Kingship renounced to become an ascetic	35: <i>Mar Yohanan (St John)</i> 4–7: <i>Zambilfrosh</i>

Several folkloristic genres feature in this corpus, including folktales, legends and anecdotes. Legends—narratives presented as history—are represented by stories of saints and religious figures (Theme VII), the *Bridge of Dalale* (Theme II) and *Zambilfrosh* (the basket seller; Theme I), at least in its Kurdish variant. Stories of humans and animals (Theme III) are for the most part folktales (creations presented as fiction), including the sub-genre of fables (Theme III.C)—stories with a moral, in which human characteristics are taken on by animal protagonists. However, some animal

stories (e.g. *A Talking Goat* and *A Family Horse*, Theme III.B) are most likely anecdotes—short (amusing) stories often considered true by the narrator. The boundary between these folkloristic genres is highly fluid, as has long been recognised by folklorists (Shuman & Hasan-Rokem 2012).<sup>6</sup> Statements about genre categorisation, therefore, are simply shortcuts for referring to the characteristic features of the story in question (e.g. presentation as history for legends, sung/poetic elements for ballads, shortness for anecdotes etc.).

The question of genre interacts closely also with the issue of *audience* (cf. Allison 2010, 132; Shuman & Hasan-Rokem 2012). In the culture of northern Iraq, folklore was performed in a variety of contexts for a wide range of audiences. Stories and poetry entertained people during manual labour, which would typically be gender-segregated. This meant that work folklore would be produced, for instance, by and for women. Social and religious occasions such as weddings, too, had their specific genres, such as *epithalamia* (songs in praise of marriage). In village guest houses (*dīwānxāna*), folklore was performed for and by men. The stories that filled the long winter evenings spent with family and neighbours were intended for a mixed audience, though generally performed by men.<sup>7</sup> Folk poetry and prose were also performed in urban tea houses and even at the courts of

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, a single creation can have features characteristic of several different genres, and can pass from one genre to another in the course of its transmission.

<sup>7</sup> My Jewish informants from Duhok who left Iraq in the 1950s report that they knew no female storytellers performing for a mixed audience.

emirs—typically by professionally-trained men for other men (Allison 2010). Sung performance especially was the domain of men. Folk singing required specialist training, which was less easily accessible to women. Additionally, female sung performance was considered immodest in many communities (cf. Allison 2010, 143 and the references there).<sup>8</sup>

It is useful to bear in mind the specifics of audience and performance in our discussion, though needless to say, it is not always possible to determine unequivocally the original audience of a given folk creation.

When a story or a part of it exists in both a Kurdish and a Christian Aramaic version, it is most likely to have been taken over by one community from the other, and then re-told. Such sharing and re-telling of stories, in turn, would have been most likely in a context in which the two communities lived near each other. Members of at least one of the communities must have understood or spoken the other's language. Furthermore, the two communities would typically have spent extensive amounts of time together in amicable interaction.<sup>9</sup> Such relations doubtless continued for centuries, surviving even in the living memory of the folktale narrators themselves. The elderly among them de-

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<sup>8</sup> For women and folklore performance among the Kurds, see Marlene Schäfers, e.g. 2018.

<sup>9</sup> As shown above, folklore was performed in a variety of rural and urban contexts. The region's different ethno-religious communities would interact with each other in a variety of these situations, perhaps especially during manual labour and winter evenings spent with the neighbours.

scribed, for instance, how during the long winter evenings without modern media and electricity, the Muslims, Jews and Christians of a given town or village would visit each other and listen to stories. My Jewish informants report that they were especially close to their Muslim Kurdish neighbours.

Today, folklore performance among communities of northern Iraq—as in many places around the world—is endangered, and indeed on the brink of extinction. For instance, the vast majority of the Jews of northern Iraq now live in Israel, where their traditions and language are no longer transmitted.

There has been some previous scholarly work on the folklore of the region, which includes documentation and analytic research. A collection and classification of Kurdish folktales may be found in the doctoral dissertation of Amani (2021).<sup>10</sup> Several volumes of Kurdish folklore have also been published by Celîl and Celîl (2014–2018). An anthology of Jewish Neo-Aramaic folklore has been published by Sabar (1982), and many grammars of (Jewish and Christian) Neo-Aramaic include text corpora with folkloristic material.<sup>11</sup> A folkloristic analysis focusing on the Jewish community of Zakho has been published by Aloni (2022).

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<sup>10</sup> See, however, the research by Robins (née Allison), e.g. 2001, 2010 and 2016. See also Chyet (1991) for the romance of Mem and Zin, which he collected in a series of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic varieties. Existing collections of Kurdish folklore include *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, vol. 13 (Thackston 1999).

<sup>11</sup> The largest corpora are found in Khan's work on ChA. Urmi (north-western Iran; 2016, vol. 4) and ChA. Barwar (north-western Iraq, 2008, vol. 3). See also Mutzafi (2008a) for a corpus of JA. Betanure (north-western Iraq).

More work, however, is urgently needed, especially documentation, given the endangered state of these folklore traditions.

## 1.0. Zambilfrosh (Zambilfrosh) and Joseph the Egyptian

Text 4: *Zambilfrosh*, narrated by A. Sher (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 5: *Zambilfrosh*, narrated by W. Toma (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 7: *Zambilfrosh* (NK. Khizava)

Text 6: *Joseph or Zambilfrosh* (ChA. Enishke)

*Zambilfrosh* tells the story of a pious basket-seller who gives up his royal status (V462)<sup>12</sup> after he has witnessed death and his values are shaken to the core. The story climaxes when the basket-seller successfully resists the seduction of a wealthy married woman.<sup>13</sup> This tale is also the example *par excellence* in our anthology of the fluid boundary between oral and written literature in northern Iraq, as is shown below. The variants included here further subdivide into ‘Zambilfrosh proper’—which includes the

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<sup>12</sup> ‘Kingship renounced to become an ascetic’.

<sup>13</sup> *zambilfrosh* in Kurdish means simply ‘basket-seller’. This Kurdish title of the protagonist, adapted to ‘Zambilfrosh’, also occurs in the Neo-Aramaic versions of the tale (i.e. is left untranslated). In other words, it is apparently functioning as the protagonist’s name. In this chapter, ‘Zambilfrosh’ is used when speaking of the character in folklore in general, or of the Kurdish variants of the story, while ‘Zambilfrosh’ is used for the Neo-Aramaic stories. For further examples of the interaction of oral and literary written traditions in Kurdish culture, see Allison (2010, 131).

two *Zambilfrosh* stories in ChA. Shaqlawa Aramaic<sup>14</sup> and *Zambilfrosh* (NK. Khizava)—and the tale of *Joseph or Zambilfrosh*. The latter stands apart because it draws chiefly from the Qur'anic story of Joseph the Righteous, yet its protagonist also self-identifies as *zambilfrosh* (i.e. 'basket-seller').<sup>15</sup> Moreover, in contrast to his Qur'anic counterpart and in parallel with the folkloristic *Zambilfrosh*, the protagonist is of royal descent (ChA. Enishke, *Zambilfrosh*, §1). Presumably, therefore, *Joseph or Zambilfrosh* in ChA. Enishke is informed by both stories. It is a new oral tale formed by the fusion of a sacred (written) tradition, on the one hand, and a popular oral tradition, on the other.

The story of *Zambilfrosh* has long inhabited the imagination and formed the collective identity of the various ethno-religious communities of northern Iraq, with many communities considering it a legend. In the present corpus, this certainly applies to the Kurdish version. It is set in Mosul and names the place where the basket-seller was buried; on the road between Zakhō

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<sup>14</sup> The ChA. Shaqlawa tale by A. Sher also contains a sung version (§44–63). It bears a strong resemblance to the spoken one, while also being more concise and open-ended (it is unclear whether the protagonist manages to escape unharmed). For comparative purposes, it is the spoken version which is referred to in this section.

<sup>15</sup> For instance, when offered the king's crown by the woman who tries to seduce him, he responds that he is 'a mere basket-seller' (ChA. Enishke, *Zambilfrosh*, §7), implying that he does not desire any greater honour.

and Batifa in north-western Iraq (NK. Khizava, *Zanbilfirosh*, §3).<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, none of the Christian Aramaic versions give proper names of places or even people, making it unclear whether the story is treated as a legend. In the case of ChA. Enishke, the categorisation as a legend is further problematised by the clear Qurʿanic inspirations.

Several written versions of the story also exist, perhaps most famously by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Kurdish Faqīyē Tairān.<sup>17</sup> The Yezidis have also claimed the story as their own. This project’s Iraqi fieldworker Lourd Hanna has informed me that the five domes of the famed Yezidi Lalish temple are named after the five sons of Zanbilfirosh—that is, the names that they carry in the Yezidi version(s) of this tale. The Yezidi origin of ‘Zanbilfirosh’ is in fact not unlikely, considering also the obvious overlap in values praised in the two. The life of the pious, ascetic (though not necessarily celibate) folkloristic basket seller resembles the Sufi-influenced lifestyle of the celebrated Yezidi *faqirs*.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, the story overlaps with the Qurʿanic Joseph story in a way so striking as to suggest a shared history (see below). And indeed, the story of Joseph and Zulaykha in the Qurʿan is itself based on an even older story of Joseph in the Hebrew Bible, doubtless familiar to the Jews and Christians of northern Iraq. Among the Kurds and their Jewish (and other?) neighbours,

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<sup>16</sup> The communities of Turkey have their own place that is claimed to be the tomb of Zanbilfirosh, near Farqin in Diyarbakir (NK. Khizava, *Zanbilfirosh*, §2).

<sup>17</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zemb%C3%AElfiro%C5%9F>.

<sup>18</sup> See Arekalova (2021) and the references therein.



the story of Joseph and Zulaykha (see below) enjoys a great popularity (Chyet 1995, 233–34), transmitted in prose and poetry in both written and oral media. The poem ‘Yusuf and Zulaykha’ by the Persian poet Jami (d. 1414) is perhaps the most famous variant.

Considering the origin of Zambilfirosh, therefore, it seems likely that at some point, one of the creative re-tellings of the Joseph and Zulaykha narrative merged with or morphed into the story of the Kurdish basket-seller, Zambilfirosh. The Jews of northern Iraq too had their own, rhymed (para-)religious stories about Joseph (Sabar 1976, 171, footnote 61). Interestingly, these were based on the ‘Moslem Kurdish traditions’ of Joseph (*ibid.*), rather than on their Biblical counterpart.

#### Zambilfirosh: basket-seller, prince, monk, father and Joseph the Egyptian?

The Kurdish version in the present corpus diverges somewhat from the two Christian ‘Zambilfirosh proper’ variants (see below). This distinction is likely indicative of a wider typological split between the Christian and Muslim(/Yezidi) versions of this legend. On the other hand, the three ‘Zambilfirosh proper’ tales agree that the protagonist grows up as a prince oblivious to suffering and death, until the day when he witnesses death and this turns his life upside down. Shaken to the core because of a sense of vanity of this world, he gives up his wealth and makes a living as a humble basket-seller.

This general similarity notwithstanding, the three ‘Zambilfirosh proper’ tales differ on what exactly the prince turns *from*

and *towards*. In the ChA. Shaqlawa version by W. Toma, the protagonist simply wants to live a simple life. Since all human successes and pleasures are fleeting and fragile, they are not worth pursuing (§5). In the ChA. Shaqlawa version by A. Sher, Zambilfrosh goes a step further. He desires to replace the vain with something more enduring. He seeks to enter the kingdom of God and worship the Creator (e.g. §23). Still, both stories are explicitly Christian. Zambilfrosh lives with hermit monks and the tales assume a culture in which strict ascetic piety is celebrated. In other words, the response to corruption in society is a life in seclusion from society—which also includes celibacy—and the worship of God.

In the Kurdish-Muslim version, the celebrated value is not strict ascetic piety or a hermit lifestyle, but rather the restoration of justice. Zambilfrosh leaves his father's house when a mullah tells him that if he remains, he is complicit in his father's unjust policies (§12–13). He then decides to make a living independently, by weaving baskets. This does not mean, however, that he leaves everything behind. On the contrary, he already has a family (§15), and his motivation is to provide for them. The Yezidi versions of Zambilfrosh likely resemble the Muslim ones in this regard. As mentioned above, the names found at the Lalish temple suggest that the Yezidi Zambilfrosh had children. This difference highlights the fact that ascetic piety as manifested in hermit lifestyle and celibacy is not valued or institutionalised among the Muslim (and Yezidi?) communities to the extent it is among the (Chaldean-Catholic) Christians (see further the discussion on religious stories (Theme VII) below).

When he has established his new lifestyle, Zambilfrosh faces a temptation that will prove his moral virtue. One day, a ruler's wife (or daughter) locks the basket-seller inside her palace and tries to seduce him, but he resists. In all the versions of this corpus, this episode closely parallels the Qur'anic story of Joseph and Zulaykha and the Biblical account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. In the sacred stories and the tales of 'Zambilfrosh proper', for instance, the woman accuses the young man of assault after her pursuits turn out to be unsuccessful. The motif of attempted seduction by a powerful woman is well established,<sup>19</sup> known from the Bible and the Quran, but also in Kurdish folklore. In King Ahmad (Thackston 1991, 91–92), the prince is tempted by his step-mother, who rips his clothes from his back in pursuit of him, as does Zulaykha in the Qur'an.

The protagonist's temptation becomes the ultimate test of his new-found piety. Thus, in the Christian versions, Zambilfrosh must resist a woman's charms as well as the promise of life of luxury and indeed royal status (e.g. ChA. Shaqlawa, *Zambilfrosh* narrated by A. Sher, §36–7 and *Zambilfrosh* narrated by W. Toma, §21). By now, he has experienced both privilege and poverty, life as a royal son and celibacy, and must confirm his dedication to one of these. If he were to yield, he would convey an implicit regret over his conversion. This double temptation (with pleasure in a woman's arms and royal status) occurs also in the ChA. Enishke version. This feature doubtless originates in the folkloristic (or written-poetic) tradition, since there is no mention of the

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<sup>19</sup> See K1300–K1399 ('Seduction or deceptive marriage') and T481 ('Wife seduces husband's servant') in Thompson's index.

promise of wealth in Joseph and Zulaykha, and Zulaykha is not the queen.

In the end, the Khizava Northern Kurdish version is the most naturalistic one. In the Christian Shaqlawa versions, Zambilfirosh is miraculously saved from the queen's palace by an angel (the version by A. Sher: §43; by W. Toma: §31). In the Kurdish version, by contrast, he prefers to throw himself down from a tower than succumb to the seduction, and dies as a result of his injuries (§25, 30). Here, the message is, therefore, that virtue is worth pursuing no matter what the cost.

As mentioned above, the 'Zambilfirosh proper' tales in this corpus are culturally adapted. Most importantly, in the Christian Shaqlawa versions, the protagonist lives with a hermit monk, while in the Kurdish Khizava one, he learns about religion from a mullah. This indicates that the transfer of the story from one community to another most likely took place centuries ago, after which it underwent cultural adaptations.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, the Christian Enishke *Joseph or Zambilfirosh* story draws from a similar religious Joseph narrative, but apparently from the Qur'anic rather than the Biblical one. For instance, the protagonist is reluctant to share his prophetic dream about his future glory and his brothers' subjugation to him: 'I won't tell, I am not comfortable telling' (ChA. Enishke, *Zambilfirosh*, §3). This parallels the Qur'anic version where Joseph's father cautions him not to relate his dream to his brothers (12:5) fearing ridicule, and contrasts with the Biblical account, in which Joseph boasts about his dreams to his

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<sup>20</sup> Contrast this with the unadapted—and therefore likely the more recently 'borrowed'—anecdote *The Two Mullahs*, §4 below.

brothers—all the while knowing that they already despise him (Gen. 37.4–11).

The three stories of Zambilfirosh proper go to great lengths to emphasise the protagonist's piety, making him an example of modesty, steadfastness and justice or asceticism for all those who tell and hear his story. In the Christian Enishke story, the exemplary pietistic role of the protagonist is arguably less central. For instance, he leaves his house simply because of an argument with his family (ChA. Enishke, *Joseph or Zambilfirosh*, §1).

In general, the story of Zambilfirosh illustrates the shared nature of the folk literature of northern Iraq as well as the preservation of a distinct cultural-religious imprint on the stories. It also bears witness to the complex and doubtless long-standing interaction with sacred, written and folkloristic traditions. Though the present corpus only includes Christian and Kurdish tales of the pious and humble basket-seller, Yezidi and Jewish versions also exist, as mentioned earlier. Likely, many—if not all—of these communities have claimed Zambilfirosh as their own.

At the same time, this tale suggests that the communities adapted not only each other's folklore, but sometimes also religious traditions. In this case, both Jews and Christians apparently retold the Qur'anic version of Joseph, or at least used some of its elements.

Finally, the story of a pious (and poor) man resisting the seduction of a powerful woman has likely passed back and forth

through oral and written media.<sup>21</sup> Thus, in the Christian Enishke *Joseph or Zambilfrosh* story, for instance, an oral and a written source have been merged together to give rise to a new oral tradition.

## 2.0. The Bridge of Dalale Legend (and Ballad)

Text 8: *The Bridge of Dalale* (ChA. Dure)

Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 10: *The Bridge of Dalale* (ChA. Zakho)

Text 11: *The Bridge of Dalale* (NK. Zakho)

*The Bridge of Dalale/Dalal* (also ‘The Bridge of Zakho’) narrates the story of a builder who sacrifices his female relative (called Dalale) to ensure that the bridge is completed. This legend occupies a unique position in the folklore of northern Iraq. It is bound inextricably to the landscape of region—through one of the local architectural icons, the Bridge of Zakho. It serves as an etiology for this unique construction, which is several centuries old. This, in turn, serves those who tell the story to claim the physical landscape as the habitat of their own cultural life.

Though grafted onto the landscape of northern Iraq, however, *The Bridge of Dalale* bears similarities with stories grouped under ‘The Bridge of Atra’ (ballad), describing a foundation sacrifice (S261). Versions of ‘The Bridge of Atra’ are attested from the Balkans all the way to India. This has led scholars such as Shai (1976) to propose that the JA. Zakho ballad ‘The Bridge of

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<sup>21</sup> See further Jakobson and Bogatyrev (1980, 13–14) for the interaction between oral and written literature.

Dalale' which she published is in fact a variant of 'The Bridge of Atra'.<sup>22</sup> This shared origin is possible, but the differences between 'The Bridge of Atra and 'The Bridge of Dalale' also license a hypothesis about independent developments.

In this volume, Christian and Muslim versions of *The Bridge of Dalale* are documented,<sup>23</sup> but as mentioned above, Jewish Neo-Aramaic versions also exist (cf. Shai 1976). A feature that is apparently unique to the Jewish variants is the incorporation of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter from the Hebrew Bible (Shai 1976, 307–8). Another Northern Kurdish version in the Zakho dialect is found in MacKenzie (1962, 356–359). Many of the Aramaic versions of 'The Bridge of Dalale'<sup>24</sup> end with a short ballad.

The origin of the Dalale legend is not entirely clear. On the one hand, the ballad that features in some Aramaic versions<sup>25</sup> contains Kurdish expressions, suggesting a Kurdish origin, at least as far as the ballad is concerned. On the other hand, during this project, it has proved impossible to find Kurdish versions of the

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<sup>22</sup> See Dundes (1989) and the references there. I thank Michael Chyet for drawing my attention to this publication.

<sup>23</sup> Several other Aramaic versions of the ballad have been documented. See, for instance, Talay (2008; a community living today in the Khabur region) and the arrangement by *Mesopotamian Fusion*, sung in the dialect of Bohtan (south-eastern Turkey) at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6Ue4YyH2D4>.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. the ChA. Duhok and ChA. Dure versions in this corpus and the JA. Zakho version in Shai (1976).

<sup>25</sup> For instance, ChhA. Duhok, *The Bridge of Dalale*, 16 and the ChA. Bohtan version at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6Ue4YyH2D4> with the Kurdish phrase *Dalale brindare*, 'Oh Dalal, you wounded!'

ballad. In fact, the Aramaic (Christian and Jewish) versions of the legend are generally more extensive and poetically developed, which at least suggests that the legend (and the ballad) have been better preserved among the Christians and the Jews, even if they do not originate among them. The Zakho narrator who tells the Kurdish version of the story presented here claims that the Kurds took this story over from the Jews (NK. Zakho, *The Bridge of Dalal*, 24).<sup>26</sup> In any case, there are clear sub-types of the legend (see below), which shows at least that the story has developed in a few separate traditions.

Outside northern Iraq, this legend also possesses a close Mandaean parallel from Khorramshahr (south-western Iran; cf. Häberl 2009, 280–89). On the other hand, ‘The Bridge of Dalale’ is reportedly not known among the Jews of north-eastern Iraq and western Iran (east of the Great Zab), which suggests their relative isolation from the communities in the region west of the Great Zab.<sup>27</sup>

The exact origin of the actual bridge standing Zakho is also somewhat uncertain. There was a bridge in this town likely already in Roman times, but this original construction has since been rebuilt several times. The extent to which the Roman bridge is preserved is uncertain. Some Iraqi archaeologists maintain that most of the modern bridge was erected by one of the Bahdinan princes who ruled the region from the 13th to the 19th centuries (cf. Pavelka 2009).

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<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, I was unable to get access to the full legend mentioned in Shai (1976) in order to judge their closeness.

<sup>27</sup> Hezy Mutzafi, personal communication.



### A villain, a martyr or a victim? The portrayal of the characters

The versions included in this volume constitute three sub-types that differ in striking ways with regard to the character of the protagonists—Dalale and the builder, and, in one case, also the local *agha*. These points of divergence have implications for the identity of the true hero(s).

Both of the stories from Zakho, the Christian Aramaic one and the Kurdish one, belong to the same category, and they clearly draw from the same source. Here, the builder himself is a victim: his hand had been cut off after he had built another bridge, and now has to work impaired on the Zakho bridge. In the Christian variant, he is also under the threat that his whole family will be killed if he fails. When he sacrifices Dalale, therefore, he does so not to save his reputation as a successful builder, but rather to save his and his family's life. The sacrifice is accompanied by considerable remorse and anguish:

‘Oh, my God, may it not be my daughter-in-law, because I’ll have to put her inside the bridge.’ (ChA. Zakho, Text 10: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §34).

The builder, therefore, is a tragic hero forced to murder because it is a lesser evil. Dalale, on the other hand, is a martyr whose death proves redemptive. Her sacrifice is in fact an independent decision taken to save the lives of others, or for the sake of the city:

‘No, I must be in your stead.’ (ChA. Zakho, Text 10: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §35)

The Kurdish version from Zakho differs from its Christian counterpart in the absence of a threat for the builder, but the voluntary and redemptive nature of Dalal's sacrifice remains. In a move of sheer heroism, she refuses to be saved from the bridge by her husband (23), content to be a sacrifice for the sake of the city (18).

In the ChA. Duhok story, by contrast, Dalale undoubtedly holds the moral high ground, while the builder does not shy away from cold calculations. He considers which of his daughters-in-law he should kill for the bridge, so that his reputation in Zakho would suffer the least damage. Dalale is chosen as the least 'harmful' in this regard:

'If I put my daughter-in-law Hane,  
her father's family belongs to this community  
and I will be ashamed to sit in their midst.  
If I put my daughter-in-law Hane,  
her family are village chiefs,  
I will be ashamed to sit in the diwan.  
I'll put my daughter-in-law Dalale. Her family come from  
afar so I'll not be ashamed.' (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §3–9).

Dalale, therefore, is unmistakably the victim, being discriminated against in both actions and language. The other daughters-in-law are introduced through rhymed verse—Dalale is mentioned in simple prose (cf. above—ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §3–9). The sacrifice of the other daughters-in-law is introduced as a possibility—through a conditional clause. The sacrifice of Dalale is stated plainly using the future tense (*ibid.*)—her fate is sealed the moment she appears on stage.

When Dalale approaches the bridge unsuspecting, she is seized and killed by her father-in-law. Her life is cut off suddenly, so that she leaves behind a crying baby and bread dough rising (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §19). She becomes both the tragic hero and the martyr.

It is also difficult to miss the ironic mismatch between the builder's name and his moral character, which in fact applies to all Neo-Aramaic versions in the corpus. He is referred to as *xamy-ana*. This word means 'father-in-law', but its lexical root *x-m-y* has the general meaning of protection, reflecting the legal-social protective role of the family patriarch in traditional Middle Eastern societies.

The lexically related verb 'to protect' features in fact in the version of this story as told by the Gargarnaye Christians (southeastern Turkey). There, the builder himself tells Dalale that if she agrees to become a sacrifice for the bridge, he will become the guardian for her son: *'ana b-xamanne* 'I will protect him.'<sup>28</sup> In a twist of cruel irony, therefore, Dalale is betrayed by the one who should have protected her, and the builder is *de facto* condemned by his own name.

The brief ChA. Dure version in this corpus is more neutral in its portrayal of the builder. Here, it is the local ruler who is asked to make a sacrifice, which he does—we may assume—out of a commitment towards his community. As well as sacrificing one of his seven daughters-in-law, he also has to give up a part of his wealth (one of his seven horses and mills).

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<sup>28</sup> Source: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/147/> (audio only).

The versions known from other sources such as the NK. Zakho story in MacKenzie (1962) are also less psychologically developed, and do not narrate any inner turmoil of the protagonists. The builders decide to sacrifice the first person whom they see and the girl does not appear to have a choice, just like in the ChA. Duhok version but in contrast to the ChA. Zakho tale. The Zakho Kurdish legend in MacKenzie (1962), however, diverges from the versions in this corpus in that the builders take a considerable risk: the girl whom they choose to sacrifice is the local chieftain's daughter. This is precisely the opposite to the ChA. Duhok version where the girl is chosen because her sacrifice would not pose a risk for the perpetrator. It is likely that all of these points of divergence in the portrayal of the characters reflect different implicit attitudes to particular social groups.

Finally, the motif of a dog—which features in all of the versions included here—arguably also contributes to the moral evaluation of the protagonists. In the ChA. Duhok version, the dog is noble and ‘clever’, apparently attempting to save Dalale from the builder's trap by getting ahead of her, despite the fact that dogs are generally considered impure or even evil in many traditional Middle Eastern (Muslim) societies. In this way, he would arrive at the bridge first and thus become the sacrifice instead of the girl (ChA. Duhok, *Bridge of Dalale*, 13). The builder, by contrast, lives up to the stereotype of a dog as a curse-worthy being:

‘My father-in-law is a black dog,  
May the sun never again shine upon him.’ (ChA. Duhok,  
*Bridge of Dalale*, 21–22)

### 3.0. Animal Stories (Animal-Human Relations and Fables)

#### 3.1. 'Man is Wolf to Wolf': Moral Role Reversal of Beasts and Humans

Text 14: *A Man and a Lion* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 15: *A Man and a Snake* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf* (JA. Duhok)

Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard* (NK. Duhok)

Among the stories with animal protagonists, one distinctive group consists of tales in which the stereotypical attributes of humans and wild animals are reversed. A human behaves in a beastly way, while the beast is noble, caring for the human<sup>29</sup> and in the end imparting to them a moral lesson. The story's message is thus opposite to that conveyed by the European folktales with the ATU 154 motif,<sup>30</sup> where the animal is ungrateful towards a human that shows it kindness.

All four stories in this collection are close and doubtless come ultimately from the same source. Especially close are the Christian and Jewish Aramaic stories *A Man and a Lion* and *A Man and a Wolf*, both of which come from Duhok. It seems, therefore, that the Jews adapted the story from their Christian neighbours or vice versa, rather than from the Kurds. The Christian

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<sup>29</sup> Like in B530 ('animals nourish men'). The motif of 'man is wolf to wolf' is also akin to—though not identical with—ATU 160, 'Grateful animals; ungrateful men'.

<sup>30</sup> 'The jackal and the farmer'; for instance, 'Man, Snake and fox'.

Duhok story *A Man and a Snake* is also close. All three narratives tell of a poor man who finds an animal that helps him earn a living.

The NK. Duhok story *A Woman and a Leopard* differs from these Neo-Aramaic stories in the identity of its protagonist (a woman) and in the favour performed by the wild animal. In this tale, the favour is not to make a living, but to protect the human from the dangers lurking in a forest. In all four stories, the human hurts the animal, either by haughty words (*A Man and a Lion*, *A Man and a Wolf* and *A Woman and a Leopard*), or by trying to kill the animal for profit (*A Man and a Snake*).

The extent of the overlap between the two Duhok Neo-Aramaic stories, *A Man and a Lion* and *A Man and a Wolf*, is striking (cf. the story summaries). Aside from the animal's identity (lion vs wolf, Christian and Jewish versions respectively), the only significant divergence between them concerns the character of the animal. The lion in the Christian version is philanthropic, but ultimately driven by enlightened self-interest. In the Jewish version, the animal is highly altruistic and forgiving. In the Christian version, the beast agrees to help the human on the condition that the man brings back some food for it (ChA. Duhok, *A Man and a Lion*, 8). By contrast, the wolf in the Jewish variant simply volunteers to give the man a golden coin—on top of the wood which the man cuts to earn his living (JA. Duhok, *A Man and a Wolf*, §4). Similarly, at the end of the Christian folktale, the lion devours the man in revenge (ChA. Duhok, *A Man and a Lion*, §18). The wolf in the Jewish version, on the other hand, forgives the

harmful words, but warns the man that he should not come back to the wolf's forest (JA. Duhok, *A Man and a Wolf*, §27).

The three stories *A Man and a Lion*, *A Man and a Wolf* and *A Woman and a Leopard* end with the moral that words can scar more deeply than 'sticks and stones'. In all three tales, the human is commanded to hit the beast with his/her axe/dagger in order to learn a lesson: after some time, the animal heals from the blow, but the disrespect it has suffered still causes pain:

šawpa, šawp-ət saypa g-nâyax-Ø.<sup>1</sup>  
 impact impact-of sword IND-heal-3SG.M

šawp-ət xabra lâ-g-nayax-Ø.<sup>1</sup>  
 impact-of word NEG-IND-heal-3SG.M

'The impact, the impact of a sword heals. But the impact of words does not heal.' (ChA. Duhok, Text 14: *A Man and a Lion*, §19)

šwir-ət dərba<sup>1</sup> naša g-naš-è-le.<sup>1</sup> šwir-ət  
 wound-of blow man IND-forget-3SG.M-O.3SG.M wound-of

xàbra<sup>1</sup> hál mòθa<sup>1</sup> naša lâ-g-naš-e-le.<sup>1</sup>  
 word until death man NEG-IND-forget-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

'A wound [caused by] a blow [a] man forgets.' [But] a wound [caused by a] word until death [a] man does not forget. (JA. Duhok, Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf*, §25–26)

žē ət-čət nîš-ā šîn-ā xanjar-â<sup>1</sup>  
 removed IND-go.PRS.3SG sting-EZ.FS trace-EZ.FS dagger-OBL.PL

bas žē nā-č-ītən šîn-ā xabar-â<sup>1</sup><sup>31</sup>  
 but removed NEG-go.PRS-3SG trace-EZ.SG.F word-OBL.PL

<sup>31</sup> I thank Masoud Mohammadirad for providing the Kurdish gloss for this saying.

‘The trace of grief caused by daggers will go away, but the grief caused by words will not go away.’ (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §37)

As Michael Chyet has pointed out to me, there is also a Turkish version of this proverb.<sup>32</sup> This suggests that this is a well-known saying throughout the region, as is probably the folktale which it appears in.<sup>33</sup>

The characters in the Jewish version—in contrast to the Christian story of *A Man and Lion*—speak partly in Northern (Bahdini) Kurdish:

*g-emər-ø,*      <sup>NK</sup>*xer-a*      *xudê*<sup>NK</sup>      = *la,*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M    <sup>NK</sup>goodness-EZ.SG.F    God.OBL<sup>NK</sup>    = COP.PRS.3SG.F

‘He said, ‘It is God’s favour.’” (JA. Duhok, Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf*, §4)

This phrase could be an innovation to the story, serving to locate it in a Kurdish milieu.

### 3.2. Anecdotes about Animal-Human Relations

Text 20: *A Family Horse* (NK. Dure)

Text 21: *A Man and his Dog* (CK. Shaqlawa)

Text 22: *A Talking Goat* (CK. Shaqlawa)

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<sup>32</sup> *Kılıç yarası geçer, dil yarası geçmez.* ‘A sword wound heals, a tongue wound does not.’

<sup>33</sup> Masoud Mohammadirad has recorded a story that closely resembles the NK. Duhok tale *A Woman and a Leopard* in Davani (a south-western Iranian language used in the Zagros Mountains area).



These three Kurdish stories also address animal-human relations, but in a more anecdotal way. No directly parallel Aramaic stories were found, but the themes are nevertheless universal.

*A Talking Goat*, for instance, is an anecdote about a goat that started talking and this drove the man carrying it out of his wits.<sup>34</sup> *A Man and His Dog* resembles in one key aspect the stories of moral 'role reversal' of animals and humans. Here, a dog proves loyal to his master despite the severe and apparently undeserved beating that it receives from him. *A Family Horse* is concerned with family honour. A majestic horse of apparently special strength that is the pride of the family is stolen. The father uses his normal riding horse to pursue the thief, who is fleeing on the special horse. When he is about to reach out for the thief riding the special horse, however, he realises that if the horse is not caught, this will better support the idea of the horse's special strength. This would indicate that it was faster than any other horse and could not be caught. He, therefore, decides to let the horse go to reinforce the myth of the mighty horse. In this way, even though the horse was stolen, its reputation was strengthened, and continued to be a source of pride for the family.

### 3.3. Fables

Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf* (CK. Shaqlawa)

Text 18: *A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 12: *A 'Pious' Fox* (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 13: *A 'Pious' Fox* (CK. Shaqlawa)

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<sup>34</sup> This motif bears a distant similarity to ATU 212 ('The lying goat').

The folktales *A Ewe and a Wolf* and *A wolf, a Dog and a Ewe* are two very close versions of the same story, despite the fact that they come from different areas of northern Iraq; the former comes from Shaqlawa within the Central Kurdish area, the latter from Duhok of the Northern Kurdish region.<sup>35</sup> This story also shows similarities with the Arab folktale documented in Algeria ‘How the Ewe Outwitted the Jackal’ (ATU 154).

Both stories in the present corpus tell of a ewe defended by a dog from a wicked wolf. The wolf wants to devour the sheep (or its lamb), and so brings a fox to swear falsely that the pasture belongs to the wolf and the sheep has no right to graze there, which would legitimise punishing the ewe and killing it (or its young). In the Christian Duhok tale, the relationship between the ewe and the dog is very familial: the two have been living together and the dog looks after the sheep ‘like a brother’ (ChA. Duhok, *A wolf, a Dog and a Ewe*, §2). In the Kurdish Shaqlawa version, the sheep has lost its flock and is now living alone with its lamb. The dog appears as a helper when the ewe is threatened by the wolf (CK. Shaqlawa, *A wolf, a Dog and a Ewe*, §15–16).

This difference notwithstanding, the two versions exhibit striking overlaps. In both, for instance, the ewe is vindicated when the dog attacks the wolf (ChA. Duhok, *A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe*, §12; CK. Shaqlawa, *A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe*, §22).

These two fables as well as several other animal stories in this volume share the theme of trespass on land claimed by a wild

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<sup>35</sup> Contrast this with the Bridge of Dalale story, which apparently did not spread widely in the Central Kurdish area, or at least did not reach the Jewish communities in this area (cf. §1 above).

animal as their territory. This theme seems to be popular in folktales of northern Iraq, which features here in *A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe* (ChA. Duhok, §12), *A Wolf, a Dog and a Ewe* (CK. Shaqlawa, §11), *A Woman and a Leopard* (NK. Duhok, §10) and *A Man and a Lion* (ChA. Duhok, §2). Interestingly, in both *A Man and a Lion* (ChA. Duhok, §4) and *A Woman and a Leopard* (NK. Duhok, §11), the human trespasses knowingly, reasoning that even a violent death ‘at the incisors of’ the beast is better than their current life in misery.

The story of a *‘Pious’ Fox* from Shaqlawa also exists in a Kurdish and a Neo-Aramaic version and both variants are set in Muslim realia. This lack of adaptation to a Christian context along with the strong similarities of the two variants suggest that the Christian version has been adapted from Kurdish relatively recently. The Christian Shaqlawa version even contains a short Kurdish poem calling for repentance (ChA. Shaqlawa, *A ‘Pious’ Fox*, §8). The main protagonist is a starving fox who assumes the appearance of a religious person—a Sunni cleric—to convince other animals that it is now religious and is, therefore, harmless. The fox convinces two birds of its conversion to Islam and lures them into a trap to eat them. In the Kurdish version, it manages to eat one of the birds while in the Christian tale, the bird escapes.

#### **4.0. Social Status (Marriage, Class, Independence etc.)**

Text 23: *The Poor Girl and Her Horse* (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 24: *A Woman Builds Her Home* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 25: *As Precious as Salt* (JA. Zakho)

Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain* (NK. Duhok)

Text 27: *The Indecent Neighbour* (CK. Shaqlawa)

The folktales in this category deal with different responses to hardships and interact in several ways with social class and gender. Issues such as social status, poverty, marriage and gender roles are universal to human culture; the differences concern the ways these issues are dealt with. Thus, the question that arises for this analysis is what the folktales discussed here reveal about the values of the community that tell the story.

No direct Aramaic-Kurdish parallels occur in this collection, but they likely exist. In fact, the Zakho Jewish Aramaic tale *As Precious as Salt* is based on the international motif of ‘love as strong as salt’ (ATU 923). The fact that this motif is especially popular in Central and Western Europe (though attested also in Berber languages and in India)<sup>36</sup> suggests that we are dealing with an ancient Indo-European motif. It is likely, therefore, that the Jews adapted this story from their own Indo-European neighbours, the Kurds.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> <http://www.maerchenlexikon.de/at-lexikon/at923.htm>, accessed 14/12/2021 and

<http://www.mftd.org/index.php?action=atu&src=atu&id=923>, accessed 21/09/2021.

<sup>37</sup> For other original Indo-European themes preserved among the Iranian peoples, see Thackston (1993, i). For a phylogenetic study tracing back a series of Indo-European folktales, see da Silva and Tehrani (2016). They argue that some stories originated as far as 2500–6000 years ago.

The Jewish Aramaic tale *As Precious as Salt* relates—in parallel to, for instance, the German story of ‘Princess Mouse Skin’—the story of a princess who tells his father that she loves him as much as salt. The king takes this as an insult and expels her, but she manages to make a living alone. In the end, she becomes wealthy and is vindicated in front of her father, who confesses that it is indeed impossible to eat saltless food (served to him by his daughter herself).

There are three Aramaic stories in this collection that are particularly close: *A woman Builds Her Home*, *As Precious as Salt* and *The Poor Girl and her Horse*. All three tell of girls who in one way or another lose their family, but manage to take their fate into their own hands to turn their situation around. In the first two, moreover, it is the youngest daughter who proves to be more resourceful and wiser than her older sisters (L50 and L61),<sup>38</sup> and marries a poor man whom he eventually lifts to her station (cf. ATU 850–862).<sup>39</sup>

In *A Woman Builds Her Home*, a princess marries a pauper and together with him sets off to prove his father wrong. She shows him that a woman is also capable of providing for her family and for herself. The protagonist in *The Poor Girl and her Horse*

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<sup>38</sup> Respectively, ‘Victorious youngest daughter’ and ‘Clever youngest daughter’.

<sup>39</sup> ‘The man marries the princess’.

disguises as a boy in order to be able to get work as a royal servant.<sup>40</sup> This story features the motif of gender disguise<sup>41</sup> and aid from a magical, talking animal horse (B401). Finally, in the Jewish story *As Precious as Salt*, the princess teams up with a lazy youth to gain wealth and outshine the king in grandeur.

This last tale, *As Precious as Salt*, includes two motifs— one akin to *A Woman Builds Her Home*, the other parallel to ‘love as strong as salt’ (see above). More specifically, the princess in *As Precious as Gold* has two missions, which correspond respectively to the other two aforementioned tales. First, the protagonist has to provide for herself, which she does with the help of a ‘servant’ boy and of extraordinary luck or magic (cf. *A Woman Builds Her Home*, §36–38 and *As Precious as Salt*, §35). In both stories, in the course of this change the heroine also raises her ‘servant’ boy from poverty. Her second mission is then to prove to her father that salt is indeed priceless, and therefore that she does love him (*As Precious as Salt*, §55–56).

*Dindik Hinar...* is a variant of the ‘Cinderella’ story—an orphaned girl oppressed by her evil step-mother, but eventually vindicated and married to a prince. In this story and in a (partial) contradistinction to the previous three, magic replaces human determination and creativity to help the heroes in overcoming

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<sup>40</sup> See e.g. the story of a poor boy driven away by an evil stepmother and helped by a talking horse(head) attested in Hungarian (ATU 532).

<sup>41</sup> Compare this also with the theme of sex transformation (D10 and ATU 514), apparently relatively rare cross-culturally, but attested in (at least one) story told by the Jews of Zakho (Aloni 2022, 284–96).

difficulty. When in peril, the orphan Pomegranate Grain is delivered by magical bones that belonged to the girl's beloved cow, previously killed by the evil stepmother.

The 'Cinderella' motif appears in variant forms from Europe all the way to South-East Asia (ATU 510A; cf. Dundes 1988).<sup>42</sup> For instance, the enchanted bones of Pomegranate Grain's dead cow correspond to the magical bones of a beloved fish in the South-East Asian versions.

The final story of this collection, *The Indecent Neighbour* in CK. Shaqlawa, also touches on the issue of social status, but in a much lighter, anecdotal way.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the parameters here are reversed in comparison with the stories in the sense that the protagonist is an ordinary man, not a girl of noble birth (CK. Shaqlawa, 5–7). In this case, moreover, the problem here is not with destitution, but rather its appearances. The protagonist meets a woman bringing his family a gift of fruit. However, the man takes offence, presuming that the woman thinks him poor and in need of her charity. He refuses the gift and drives the woman away.

Yet the story's subtle irony lies in the fact that the man seemed more than happy to receive in another sense (CK. Shaqlawa, §5–7). When he first meets the woman, he is dazzled by her beauty and is apparently expecting an erotic encounter. Soon, it transpires, however, that the woman simply came with

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<sup>42</sup> A Neo-Aramaic version is also known among the Christians of Urmi (north-western Iran); cf. Khan (2016, 215–18).

<sup>43</sup> Compare this with ATU 1459 ('Keeping up appearances') and W165 ('False pride').

a little gift, but he rejects it, worried that this would make his family appear poor. In its light-hearted way, therefore, this anecdote critiques a culture in which public reputation is valued over actual moral integrity. The man had no problem with the prospect of being unfaithful to his wife, likely as long as this remained a secret, but felt greatly ashamed when thinking that others think him a pauper.<sup>44</sup>

### Independent Women in a Patriarchal Culture

In the context of the patriarchal cultures of northern Iraq, the ‘emancipation’ stories discussed above are noteworthy, at the very least. In the three stories *A Woman Builds Her Home*, *As Precious as Salt*, *The Poor Girl and her Horse* and *The Indecent Neighbour*, the woman is the resourceful and clever one. The male characters, on the other hand, are biased about women (e.g. the king in *A Woman Builds Her Home*), arrogant (*The Indecent Neighbour*) or downright lazy, like the boy who waits for figs to fall into his mouth from the tree (JA. Zakho, *As Precious as Salt*, §11).

The stereotypical gender roles are, therefore, reversed: the woman takes the initiative in providing for herself and for others, even taking on male appearance to legitimise her ‘male-like’ behaviour (e.g. ChA. Duhok, *A Woman Builds Her Home*, §52–53; ChA. Shaqlawa, *The Poor Girl and her Horse*).

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<sup>44</sup> For other anecdotes of northern Iraq, often with implicit social critique, see Mutzafi (2008a). For instance, ‘A Foolish Pauper’ (ibid, 282–285; with audio at <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/214/>) tells of a thick-headed poor man who drives his wife to insanity.



Interestingly, in *As Precious as Salt*, the princess even takes advantage of her social class to achieve her goals. Initially, she treats the boy whom she finds in her father's vineyard very much as a servant, even punishing him as a servant would be punished (JA. Zakho, *As Precious as Salt*, §12). On her way to what we could call emancipation, therefore, she is still content to rely on a male of a low social class to do the bulk of the hard manual labour.

All in all, such stories remain striking. On the one hand, female resourcefulness, physical strength and entrepreneurship are certainly valued among the patriarchal communities of northern Iraq. Still, their authority and degree of independence has traditionally remained subject to male guidance and benevolence, and their educational and economic opportunities have often been limited.<sup>45</sup>

In their seminal article on the nature of folk literature, Jakobson and Bogatyrev (1980) argue that any folk creation must earn a degree of approval by their community to be passed on because—in contrast to written literature—it relies on the community for its transmission.<sup>46</sup> As a result, folklore production is, according to Jakobson and Bogatyrev, driven by communal values, rather than by a desire to change the *status quo*. As they put it, 'the folk poet (...) does not create a new environment' (ibid, 11).

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<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, Brauer (1993, 149) for the treatment of women in the Jewish communities, about a century ago.

<sup>46</sup> This is known as 'the preventive censure of the community'.

Still, stories such as those discussed here caution us before oversimplifying the mechanism of folklore transmission. In the vast majority of human societies, the cultural *status quo* is not homogeneous, even though some attitudes might predominate or be considered normative (at least by those with social or political authority). The very existence of folktales such as these means that there must have been space for the diverse attitudes that they represent.

It is possible, for instance, that folktales like those discussed above were created in response to overly rigid gender roles, perhaps by female narrators. They could have been intended for a mixed audience, since female narrators did at times perform for a mixed audience, but this was relatively rare (Allison 2010, 143).<sup>47</sup> Alternatively, the stories of independent women discussed here could have been performed as work stories (see the introductory section) by women for other women.

## 5.0. Family Relations (Conflict, Intrigue)

Text 28: *Two Mullahs* (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 29: *Two Mullahs* (CK. Shaqlawa)

Text 30: *The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch* (NK. Duhok)

Text 31: *Firyat and Khajija* (NK. Khizava)

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<sup>47</sup> See Allison (2001) for how the portrayal of women in Kurdish folklore interacts with real-life gender roles etc. See also Ashliman (2004, 148–145) for ‘emancipated’ women in European folklore. In a minority of cases, which are nevertheless far from exceptions, a female protagonist rebels against a decision imposed on her and perceived to be unjust, and is vindicated (*ibid.*).

Like the previous group of folktales, these stories address social issues—here, in particular, conflict and intrigue within the family.

The anecdote of *Two Mullahs* appears in this corpus in a Christian and a Kurdish Shaqlawa version,<sup>48</sup> once again showing the readiness of the Christian community to adopt a story along with its Muslim setting. This tale warns men against taking a second wife—it causes much strife and tension in the house. While this anecdote is written from the male perspective, narratives with the female viewpoint also exist. For instance, the Jews of Duhok told an anecdote describing the emotional suffering that the second wife experiences.<sup>49</sup>

The story of *The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch* is similar to *The Girl Pomegranate Grain* (cf. Theme IV above) in that it includes the well-known theme of a girl mistreated by her stepmother (S31).<sup>50</sup> There is also an evil old witch-woman Pirhavar (NK. Duhok, *The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §28), who conspires with the stepmother to kill Fatma and her brothers.

*Firyat and Khajija* is a tragic story of love that could not be (T80), because the community of one of the lovers conspires to keep them apart. Khajija's family does not allow her to marry the prince Firyat, because they are from different religions. At first, the girl's community gives Firyat a hope of marriage to Khajija.

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<sup>48</sup> As demonstrated by Lourd Hanna, this story is also known among the Kurds of Duhok.

<sup>49</sup> My own fieldwork.

<sup>50</sup> It also features motif D150, 'Transformation: man to bird'.

However, this is simply a pretext, used to get him to build a canal for them and thus take advantage of Firyat's wealth (§11–12).<sup>51</sup> In the end, Firyat is made to believe that his beloved Khajija is dead, and dies of despair as a consequence.<sup>52</sup>

Some elements in the story resemble other Iranian tragic love tales of the wider region. Perhaps the most important parallel is 'Khosrow and Shirin', a tragic romance written by the 12<sup>th</sup>-century poet Nezami Ganjavi. Khosrow and Shirin is a legend, based on the historical romance between the Armenian (Christian) princess Shirin and the Sassanian (Zoroastrian) king Khosrow II (Orsatti 2006). As in *Firyat and Khajija*, the lovers are divided by communal-religious lines. Another obvious parallel is the tragic love-story epic 'Mem u Zin' told by the Kurds of the greater Kurdistan region and their neighbours (Chyet 1991).

## 6.0. *Mirza Muhammad*

Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses* (ChA. Harmashe)

Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures* (NK. Duhok)

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<sup>51</sup> I thank Masoud Mohammadirad for drawing my attention to 'Khosrow and Shirin'.

<sup>52</sup> This can be seen as a variant of motif N343 ('lover kills himself believing his mistress dead'), though in this case, the death is not actively caused, but rather the result of despair.

Mirza Muhammad is the youngest, but most heroic of three princes who experiences fantastic and heroic adventures.<sup>53</sup> The protagonist Mirza Muhammad is a hero of the ‘Hercules’ type—an adventurer who goes around slaying monsters and outwitting foes. The number of the adventurous episodes and their character, differ radically across the versions, showing that narrators have often invented new episodes, or perhaps borrowed from other stories.

Despite these differences in the adventures, however, the Mirza Muhammad story is apparently a variant of the widely-attested tale of the three princes-brothers and their quest for the three stolen princesses, occurring also in Europe.<sup>54</sup> This story type is typically categorised under ATU 301 ‘The three stolen princesses’. This exact description is not entirely fitting for the northern-Iraqi variants of the tale, despite the existence of the parallels. For example, in the NK. Duhok version in this corpus, only one woman—who at the time is already married to the protagonist Mirza Muhammad—is stolen (cf. ATU 400), and this deed is done by a king, rather than by magical creatures. Nevertheless, the *Mirza Muhammad* tales have other points of overlap with the stories of the three stolen princesses. For instance, the ChA. Duhok version features the motif of defeating monsters (ogres; ATU

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<sup>53</sup> I thank Paul Noorlander for sharing with me his knowledge of the various forms of the Mirza Muhammad tale, which I drew from in writing this section.

<sup>54</sup> Known as, for instance, ‘The Golden Apples’ in European folklore.

300),<sup>55</sup> often included within the story of the three stolen princesses.<sup>56</sup> The connection of these stories to the ATU 301 type is corroborated by the existence of tales in which the presence of elements from both tale variants (Iraqi and European) is very explicit. For instance, the ChA. version published by Lazarev (1974)<sup>57</sup> includes the motif of the king's prized apple being stolen (as in European variants), while also sharing the name of the youngest prince ('Mirza Mamed') with the northern-Iraqi variants in the present corpus.

The more specific variant of this international motif is very popular among the communities of the region, including in Armenia.<sup>58</sup> As our Iraqi fieldworker Lourd Hanna has confirmed, however, the protagonist does not always carry the name Mirza. A version in Central Neo-Aramaic<sup>59</sup> has also been published, where the three brothers remain nameless (Jastrow and Talay 2019, 273–281). In this Central Aramaic version, the story of the three princes precedes the story of *Gūlo Zīlo Bando*. The hero's

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<sup>55</sup> For the ogre motif elsewhere in Kurdistan folklore; see, for instance, Mutzafi's corpus of JA. (2008a, 274–277).

<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, the three stories presented in this publication do not include the motif of the golden apples, attested in the European (e.g. Romanian, Bulgarian, French) variants of the related tale.

<sup>57</sup> I could only access the online edition of the publication at [https://archive.org/stream/B-001-014-246/B-001-014-246\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/B-001-014-246/B-001-014-246_djvu.txt).

<sup>58</sup> For the Armenian version, see Mouse (2018; page numbers missing in the online PDF).

<sup>59</sup> Turoyo; south-eastern Turkey, ʿAbdin, the provinces of Mardin and Şırnak.

(i.e. the wife of the prince otherwise known as Mirza Muhammad) asks for this story before she allows him to marry her. Another Central Neo-Aramaic version recorded in Ritter's collection (1969, Text 61) also closely parallels the ChA. Duhok version (Text 32) with slight differences, for instance the younger hero fights fourteen instead of forty monsters and also collects the ears of lions and foxes in his pocket. A Northern Kurdish version (from Gulli) has been published by MacKenzie (1962, 348–357). A similar story to that of Mirza Muhammad is available in Mohamadirad (2021, text A), a corpus of Central Kurdish of the Sanandaj region.

A key motifeme in most of the stories about an adventurous young prince is the death of the king—the father of the brothers—and/or the issue of his royal succession. This death, moreover, (almost) always coincides with the adventures of his three sons, in all of which Mirza Muhammad clearly excels. Still, the details of this royal succession motif and the role of the king-father differ significantly across the versions.

In the ChA. Duhok version, the last will of the father is for him to be buried in the place where a mare would bring them to (§7–13).<sup>60</sup> The journey to bury their father marks the beginning of their adventures. In the ChA. Harmashe tale, the king's death is only mentioned in passing at the end (§33), and coincides with the marriage of his sons to the three princesses. In a symbolic way, where one life (and apparently one reign) ends, another begins. The princes meet the princesses in the palace of the late

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<sup>60</sup> This is also the case in the above-mentioned Turoyo version, except that it is a camel that carries the king's body.

king (where Mirza Muhammad had brought them). In the NK. Duhok tale, the father warns his sons to guard his throne after he dies, because the king's brother envies it. Indeed, when the king dies, his brother seizes the opportunity of the time of mourning to usurp his throne. The Armenian version resembles the Kurdish one in this regard; the brother of the late king usurps the throne and expels his nephews (Mouse 2018).

A striking feature of the *Mirza Muhammad* tales is that the hero is the youngest of the brothers, and, therefore, not the rightful heir of his father's throne.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, the adventures of the story demonstrate that Mirza Muhammad is the most resourceful one and the bravest of them, and thus the most 'throne-worthy', as per Thompson's 'Victorious youngest son' motif (L10). In other words, the story deals with the reversal of the law of succession, or at least suggests that it is not always the eldest who excels in his leadership skills and justice.<sup>62</sup> In the ChA. Duhok story, for instance, Mirza Muhammad faces forty monsters and they promise him that if he wins the challenge presented to him, they will consider him 'their older brother' (90–100). In the Armenian variant (Mouse 2018), the brothers themselves present a challenge to Mirza and recognise him as their eldest brother when he succeeds. In the NK. Duhok narrative, Mirza Muhammad is the one who acts like a responsible and just leader, protecting his own brothers as well as victims of war (e.g. 11–20; 38–40).

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. the Armenian version (Mouse 2018), where—as expected—the oldest brother inherits the throne at first.

<sup>62</sup> Compare this also with the motif of primogeniture reversal, e.g. in the Biblical book of Genesis (Borysov 2020).



As regards the details of the adventures, the ChA. Duhok version contains (at least) one episode with a direct parallel in the Armenian story (Mouse 2018). In both, Mirza Muhammad meets an old person (a woman in the Aramaic and a man in the Armenian variant) who represents the deity Time. This figure causes it to be either day or night by unrolling respectively a white and a black clew (ChA. Duhok, *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §64–1). In both variants, Mirza Muhammad binds this person in order to lengthen the night, so that he can complete his tasks (ChA. Duhok, *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §72–74). The motif of an encounter with Time is reportedly very popular in Armenian folklore (Abeghyan 1899). This raises the possibility that the tale of *Mirza Muhammad*, or at least part of it, is of Armenian origin. The abduction of Mirza Muhammad's wife by the ruler and the motif of bathing is also reminiscent of ATU 465 ('Man persecuted for his beautiful wife'), attested, for instance, in Armenian.

The protagonist Mirza Muhammad carries the name of a historical figure: a 15th-century Timurid ruler, governor of Samarkand (Woods 1990, 35). This historical Mirza Muhammad married a daughter of the Hakkari Kurd's chief, who had formerly been his adversary. In this way, Mirza Muhammad formed a political alliance with the Hakkari Kurds. Other protagonists of Kurdistanian oral literature (of northern Iraq and south-eastern Turkey) were also named after prominent (non-local) political-military leaders.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Another example is the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud (Thackson 1999), responsible for the wide islamisation of central-western Asia.

The lives of the historical and folkloristic Mirza Muhammad, however, likely have little in common, except that both have the status of a chieftain/prince who goes on to marry the daughter of another ruler. It is noteworthy that the protagonist of *Mirza Muhammad* is named after the Kurds' former enemy. The motivation for this naming cannot be recovered, but it may have to do with legends that Mirza was a great warrior.

## 7.0. Religious Legends (and other religious stories)

Text 35: *Mar Yohanan (St John)* (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 36: *Mar Giwargis (St George)* (ChA. Enishke)

Text 37: *The Prophet's Horse* (NK. Dure)

Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest* (CK. Shaqlawa)

Like all religious societies, the Muslims, Jews and Christians of northern Iraq too have stories about pious individuals who set a moral example<sup>64</sup> and stories of miracles. A few of these are represented in this corpus.

*Mar Giwargis* (ChA. Enishke) tells the legend of Saint George slaying the dragon (F628) and rescuing the princess (see Ogden 2013). The tale of *Mar Yohanan (St John)* celebrates ascetic piety (V462)—one in which life in poverty comes at the expense of everything else. The prince Yohanan is ready to be cut off from his parents despite the grief that it causes them, and to disappoint them over giving up his heirship (ChA. Shaqlawa, *Mar Yohanan*, §8). He leaves them behind and becomes a monk.

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<sup>64</sup> Though see *The Foul-Mouthed Priest* below for an anti-hero.

Yohanan clings to his vows of poverty even after he becomes ill and is taken back to his parents' palace, refusing to be recognised by them and receive care. He believes that his perseverance until the very end will guarantee him a reward from God (ChA. Shaqlawa, *Mar Yohanan*, §28).

Mar Yohanan's asceticism arguably highlights the difference between Christian (Chaldean Catholic) and Kurdish Muslim saint types. For instance, in the (Chaldean) Catholic church, celibacy is institutionalised (obligatory for priests) and held in high esteem, so the faithfulness of Mar Yohanan to his monastic vows does not surprise us. It is different in the Kurdish Muslim communities, where even among the mystic movements such as the Sufi *derwishes*, celibacy is by no means the norm.<sup>65</sup>

Arguably, this divergence in the ideal of piety is also apparent in the previously discussed story of Zanbilfirosh—the humble basket-seller (which is in fact very popular among Sufi *derwishes*; cf. Sabar 1976, 171, footnote 61). As shown above, the Christian-Aramaic Shaqlawa versions (Texts 4–5) have Zambilfrosh become a monk—in a way that suspiciously resembles the life of Mar Yohanan. In the Kurdish variant (Text 7), there is no mention that Zanbilfirosh lived as a hermit or a monk.

The story of *The Prophet's Horse* (NK. Dure) is a Kurdish variation on the Muslim story of Muhammad and his flying horse Buraq. Here, the Prophet's miraculous journeys are deliberately placed in the realia of northern Iraq. The narrator also says that

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<sup>65</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/celibacy/Islam-Judaism-and-Christianity>.

the horse Dildil left a hoofprint near the village of Sararo (north-western Iraq).

In the anecdote *The Foul-Mouthed Priest* (CK. Shaqlawa), the religious figure—the priest—is an anti-hero; an impatient, unkind and rude religious leader.<sup>66</sup> In the end, his malice is exposed—perhaps deliberately—by a simple woman. She offers him hospitality, but he is too impatient to receive it. The tale is told by Muslim Kurds, but set in a Christian environment.

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<sup>66</sup> See ATU 1725–1849 ('Jokes about Clergymen and Religious Figures') and ATU 831 ('The Dishonest Priest').

### 3. NARRATIVE STYLE AND DISCOURSE IN KURDISH AND NEO-ARAMAIC ORAL LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

*Paul M. Noorlander and Masoud Mohammadirad*

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Northern Iraq is the homeland of a wide range of linguistic minorities with closely intertwined traditions transmitted orally over numerous generations of bi- and multilinguals. The Neo-Aramaic speaking communities—both Jews and Christians—used to be an integral part of this once vibrant, multilingual oral culture, now disappearing rapidly. The resulting commonalities of their coexistence with the Kurdish speaking communities can be found in almost every aspect of linguistic structure (e.g. Noorlander 2014; Haig and Khan 2018), including their oral literature and its stylistic features.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the shared folkloristic traditions of the Kurds, Jews and Christians of Northern Iraq are also reflected in the parallel style of storytelling and use of idioms. This chapter provides a succinct overview of some of the stylistic and linguistic devices found across the Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic oral

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<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to Dorota Molin and Geoffrey Khan for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Garbell (1965), Chyet (1994), Coghill (2009, 2020a), Khan (2009). See also Molin, Chapter 2 in this volume.

narratives in this collection, and demonstrates how these devices can converge in genetically distinct languages.

The Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish stories were transmitted orally and thereby exhibit characteristic features of oral literature. While the linguistic devices used by the storytellers are thus sometimes typical of orality in general, they are also indicative of shared traditions through areal diffusion, sometimes spanning the whole of West Asia and even extending beyond it. Among them are the shared opening and closing traditions (Section 1), including the insertion of the moral lesson before the concluding formula.

Various discourse connectors can be used in the organisation of the narrative (Section 2), such as conjunctive adverbs as well as various other discourse markers are at the narrator's disposal to. The event linkage through the inchoative verb 'to rise', the additive particles and tail-head recapitulation demonstrate striking areal parallels. Storytellers also embed parallel songs, proverbs and idioms into their oral narrative (Section 3). Figurative language and symbolism are common literary and rhetorical devices (Section 4), of which sound symbolism is typical of oral narratives *par excellence*.

Repetition (Section 5) in general is a stylistic device and/or discourse strategy found throughout stories and oral literature. It comes in different types and may involve individual lexical items as well as whole sentences. Some functions of repetition are also discussed under the relevant sections, notably clause linkage in narrative discourse (Section 2.4. and 7.1.1.), to serve as a figure

of speech (Section 4.1.3), as well as to express verbal aspect (Section 7.2.1). Deictic elements and characterise the narrative style and discourse structure (Section 6), and the same holds true for devices on a syntactic level, such as word order changes and verbal syntax (Section 7). Finally, we conclude with a few remarks on storytelling techniques (Section 8).

## 1.0. Opening and Closing Formulae

Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish speaking storytellers have similar introductory and concluding formulas.<sup>3</sup> In what follows we offer a few examples of such formulas found in our collection.

### 1.1. Opening Formulae

#### 1.1.1. There Once Was / There Was One

Introductory formulas involving an existential construction and the numeral ‘one’ or an adverbial phrase ‘once’ are similar to the well-known opening expressions of fairy tales like Danish *der var engang* and Dutch *er was eens* conveying ‘there was once’. This type occurs in both Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish texts, for instance in the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Harmashe and the Central Kurdish dialect of Shaqlawa:

- (1) ʿamriwa ʿəθwa xàʿa, | xa malka ʿəθwale ʿīlaθà bnone.<sup>1</sup>

They said there was one, a king who had three sons. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §1)

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<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Chyet (1995, 237) and Coghill (2020a, 2020b, 394).

- (2) *got-ī zamānē xò-y<sup>l</sup> qašâk ha-bū,<sup>l</sup> aw qaša zāmān-ī galak pîs bû.<sup>l</sup>*

It was said that there once was a Christian priest. He was a very foul-mouthed priest. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest*, §1)

### 1.1.3. There Was, There Was Not

The affirmative and negative past existential are generally used together as opening formula typical of the region:<sup>4</sup>

- (3) *’ətwa=w lətwa<sup>l</sup> xa mām-telona ’ətwa.<sup>l</sup>*

There was and there was not, there was an Uncle Fox. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A ‘Pious’ Fox*, §1)

- (4) *a-rē ha-bū na-bū Mām Dzardāk ha-bū.<sup>l</sup>*

It is said that once upon a time (lit. there was and there was not) there was [a man called] Uncle Jarda. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 22: *A Talking Goat*, §2)

### 1.1.4. There was None Greater than God

The existential phrase ‘there was there was not’ can be expanded by a phrase asserting the maximal greatness of the one God. For example:

- (5) *aḷē ha-bo na-bò<sup>l</sup> kas la xwāy gawratər nà-bo.<sup>l</sup>*

It is said that there was and once there was not, but there was no one greater than God. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 29: *Two Mullahs*, §3)

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<sup>4</sup> See §2.4.



In the Neo-Aramaic stories of this collection, this is only attested in the narrative of *Two Mullahs*, where the storyteller adds a distinctly Christian dimension:

- (6) ʾətwa=w lətwā<sup>l</sup> mən bāb ʾAlaha=w ʾoda Maryam baš raba lətwā=w qāt=iš la k-awe.<sup>l</sup>

There was, there was not, there was no one greater than Father God and Mother Mary and there never shall be. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 28: *Two Mullahs*, §2)

This formula can also be further extended in Kurdish with a phrase about humanity or sometimes the storyteller being a liar.<sup>5</sup>

- (7) ha-bū na-bū kas šə xudē maztər na-bū<sup>l</sup> kas šə banīyā dərāwīntər na-bū.<sup>l</sup>

Once there was, once there was not, there was no one greater than God, no bigger liar than man. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §2)

#### 1.1.5. Impersonal Use of ‘to say’

The above examples (1)–(2) and (4)–(5) also illustrate the impersonal use of the reporting verb ‘to say’ for story openings. The reporting structure suggests to the reader that the storyteller repeats a story as handed down to them without revealing the identity of the source.

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<sup>5</sup> See Chyet (1994, 237) for more examples, some taken from Mackenzie’s (1962) collection.

### 1.1.6. Blessing of the Parents

Another common opening and closing formula<sup>6</sup> consists of a blessing on the listeners' parents, which presupposes a younger audience:

- (8) *jārakē aḏ jārā řahmat əl day bāv-ēt gohdārā*<sup>l</sup>  
 Once upon a time—blessings on the listeners' parents. (NK.  
 Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §2)

### 1.1.7. Sung Introduction

In one of the stories, the introduction consists of a rhyme that is sung by the storyteller, e.g.

- (9) *mašitun ya xanwàta.*<sup>l</sup> *maḥkənoxun da qəşəttta,*<sup>l</sup> *bər mālka,*<sup>l</sup>  
*bronət ʿazùta,*<sup>l</sup> *tiwa=wewa l-kursi ʿət malkùta.*<sup>l</sup>  
 Listen, oh brothers. I am going to tell you the tale of a  
 prince, a child of power, who sat on a kingdom's throne.  
 (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh* by A. Sher, §1)

## 1.2. Closing Formulae

### 1.2.1. It is finished

The originally Arabic verb *خلص* *xalaṣa* 'to be finished' or interjection *خلاص* *xalāṣ* 'enough; it is over' is generally used in concluding formulas:

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<sup>6</sup> See §1.2.3.

- (10) *Dālale məθla,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu ʔayi qəşsa diyyah xləşla.*<sup>1</sup>  
 Dalale died, and her story ended. (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *Bridge of Dalale*, §24)
- (11) *babay məθle; xləşla.*<sup>1</sup>  
 Their father died; the story is over. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §47)
- (12) *amn=iš hātm-aw*<sup>1</sup> *hīts-əm pē na-bəřā.*<sup>1</sup> *xalās-ū řoy.*<sup>1</sup>  
 I came back, nothing was given to me. It is finished (lit. It is finished and gone.) (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf*, §22)

### 1.2.2. I have come back from there

A common closing formula, especially in the CK. Shaqlawa tales of our collection, has the narrator take part in the story, as if they returned from the events of the tale but were not given the opportunity to attain the protagonists' happy ending.

- (13) *am gahəştin-a dumāhikā čřrokā xo*<sup>1</sup> *az hātm-ava čə na-dā mən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 We have arrived at the end of our tale. I have come back, but they (i.e. the protagonists in the tale) gave me nothing. (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §37)
- (14) *amn=iš gařām-awa=ū hīts-əm pē na-bəřā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 As for me, I have come back [from these events] and they [i.e. the characters of the story] have given me nothing. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 22: *A Talking Goat*, §10)

This formula occurs also in the ChA. Shaqlawa stories in the corpus:

(15) ʿana-š ʿitèli tsə məndi la wəlu qati.<sup>1</sup>

I have come back, but they have given me nothing. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: A 'Pious' Fox, §38)

This closing formula is also shared by the neighbouring community that speaks Gorani, spoken in the Iran-Iraq border east of Sulaymaniyah:

(16) wa mən-ič āmānē, hič-šā na-dānē.

And I too have come, they gave me nothing. (Gorani Luhon; MacKenzie 1966, 78)

In one of the Neo-Aramaic texts, the storyteller receives three apples that belong to the storyteller and usually two members of the audience, a typical feature of Iraqi oral literature but also found in Kurdish and Azeri Turkish (Garbell 1965, 176) and Armenian (Surmelian 1968),<sup>7</sup> for example:

(17) m-tama θèli,<sup>1</sup> məθeli t̄laθa xabùše,<sup>1</sup> xa ta Mādu,<sup>1</sup> xa t̄ali ʿu xa tad mera ḥakkòθa.<sup>1</sup>

I have come from there with three apples, one for Madu,<sup>8</sup> one for myself and one for the storyteller. (ChA. Duhok, Text 24: A Woman Builds Her Home, §54)

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<sup>7</sup> See the discussion in §1.4.

<sup>8</sup> The narrator's name.

### 1.2.3. Blessing of the Parents

Another common closing formula is the blessing of the listeners' parents.<sup>9</sup> This is, for instance, attested at the end of both the Kurdish and Aramaic version of the Mirza Muhammad epic:

(18) *kut šmele raḥmaṯa gawət yəmmeh.*<sup>1</sup>

Mercy on the mother of whomsoever listened. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §235)

(19) *o ṛahmāt əl day bābēt gohdārā*<sup>1</sup>

May blessing be on the audience's parents. (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §113)

This is also attested in the Kurdish tales collected by MacKenzie (1962):

(20) *hazār ṛaḥmat la tū ū la dāy-bābē tū. xalās.*

A thousand blessings on you and your mother and father. It is finished. (NK. Surchi, MacKenzie 1962, 238)

The audience themselves may also be blessed, see line 12 of *A Dog, A Ewe and A Wolf* narrated in ChA. Duhok.

### 1.2.4. Ballad

The Neo-Aramaic versions of *The Bridge of Dalale* story end with a ballad:

Text 8: *The Bridge of Zakho* (ChA. Dure)

Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale* (ChA. Duhok)

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<sup>9</sup> Blessings of listeners are also found in Azeri Turkish (see Garbell 1965, 176) and Arabic (e.g. Talmon 2001, 216).

### 1.3. Moral Lessons

The moral of the story is sometimes added at the end, occasionally in the form of a proverb.<sup>10</sup> Several stories convey moral lessons, including:

Text 12: *A 'Pious' Fox* (ChA. Shaqlawa)

Text 14: *A Man and a Lion* (ChA. Duhok)

Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf* (JA. Duhok)

Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard* (NK. Duhok)

Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf* (CK. Shaqlawa)

Text 28: *Two Mullahs* (ChA. Shaqlawa)

For example, in the Neo-Aramaic narrative the *Two Mullahs* from Shaqlawa, the storyteller adds the following moral of the story before the closing formula:

- (21) ʾāya ḥūçîta<sup>|</sup> k-əmrila qa daw našət rešu là hawe mara-w<sup>|</sup> rešu mamrèle.<sup>|</sup> ʾawdza ʿàbra mən de naša k-šaqlîla.<sup>|</sup> k-əmrila qa dān naše<sup>|</sup> ʾaxtsa gu qūšət naše là ate-w ʾazəl,<sup>|</sup> gu moxət jānu ʾawəd,<sup>|</sup> ʾaxtsa gu tānayatət naše la qayəm-u yātu.<sup>|</sup>

This story is told about those who do not have a headache but cause themselves to have a headache, so that people will learn a lesson from the story of this man. The story tells people that one should not act<sup>11</sup> according to what other people say, but one should act using one's own wit, rather than stand and sit according to what other people say. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 28: *Two Mullahs*, §20)

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<sup>10</sup> See Section 3.3.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. come and go.

Similarly, in the Kurdish narrative *A Ewe and a Wolf* from Shaqlawa the narrator elaborates on Kurdish culture:

(22) *jā a-rē law hālatay dā ūdzāg awanda pîròz boa<sup>l</sup> la nāw ko-  
malgāy kurdî<sup>l</sup> ya'nî sûnd-î pē xorā=ya.<sup>l</sup> har loya=š a-binîn  
haqāyata kurdiyakān baw amānjay a-ban.<sup>l</sup>*

It is said that the clan was so holy in Kurdish society that one took an oath on it. That is why we see that it has been referred to in Kurdish tales. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf*, §22)

#### 1.4. Discussion

Some of the formulas such as ‘there once was’ are found across the world, and others such as ‘there was, there was not’ are part of standardised story openings in Asian and Eastern European folklore occurring in Persian as *yeki bud yeki nabud* ‘there was one, there was not one’, in Turkish as *bir varmış bir yokmuş* ‘there was one, there was not one’ (Zeyrek 1993, 169) and in Azeri as *bir varmış bir yoxmuş* (Garbell 1965, 175), and in Armenian, Georgian and Romani (Matras 2014) and languages of the Balkans (Sandfield 1930), as well as Czech and Hungarian. The latter opening also has a more elaborate version with an affirmation of faith in the one God and his maximal greatness, as in the Arabic *Takbīr*, i.e. *اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ* *allāhu ʾakbaru* ‘God is greater’, and the magnifications of Yahweh above all other gods found in the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For example, *מֵאַיִן כְּמוֹךָ יְהוָה גְּדוֹל אַתָּה*, ‘There is none like you, O LORD, you are great’ (Jer. 10.6), *גְּדוֹל יְהוָה מִכָּל־הָאֱלֹהִים*, ‘The LORD is greater than all gods’ (Ex. 18.11).

It is unclear where this formula originated. Sandfield (1930, 162), referring to an article by M. Östrup in 1925, considers it to be a calque from the Arabic *kān mā kān*<sup>13</sup>, which could be rendered either '(there) was, (there) was not' or '(there) was what (there) was', rhyming with other common Arabic words ending in *-ān* such as *fī 'awwal* or *qadīm z-zamān* 'in the past' (Ferguson and Rice 1960; Ingham 2005, 173). Asmussen (1968; Marzolch 2010, 220) also assumes it made its way into Persian folklore as *yeki būd yeki nabūd* 'there was one, there was not one' via Arabic. Incidentally, one finds the formula with the existential construction *fī* 'there is' typical of Colloquial Arabic also in Anatolian Arabic:

(23) *kə-fī mə-kə-fī < \*kān fih mā kān fih*

There was, there was not. (Anatolian Arabic; Akin, Jastrow and Talay 2020, 89)

Ingham (2005), however, traces this introductory phrase back to Sanskrit poetry found in the so-called *Hymn of Creation* in the Rigveda, which reads *nāsad āsīn no sad āsīt* conveying something in the vein of 'the nonbeing is not nor the being is'. The connection with this Sanskrit verse, however, seems questionable. Since the poem ponders the unknowable origin of the cosmos, and plays with a whole series of negations of antitheses,

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<sup>13</sup> See also Coghill (2020b, 394). Variants of this Arabic formula are *kān wa-mā kān* 'there was and there was not' with coordinator *wa* 'and' and *kān yā mā kān* 'there was or there was not' using the coordinator *yā* 'or' of ultimately Iranian origin. The latter would be identical to the vocative particle *yā*, which would often also follow the opening formula addressing the listeners *yā mustami* 'in 'Oh, listeners!'



the style and genre cannot be equated with the aforementioned story openings. The structure of the formula is also different in that it involves double negation, i.e. *nāsad* < *na a-sat*<sup>14</sup> ‘not non-being’ vs. *no sad* < *na u sat* ‘nor being’. Moreover, as far as we know, the formula is not common to Indo-Aryan folklore.

Be that as it may, the core commonality between Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic is the use of a dedicated existential construction involving an existential element and past tense marking derived from the past tense form of the verb ‘to be’ (Stilo and Noorlander 2015, 470).

The use of the existential ‘there was’ in the opening coincides with the general use of existential expressions to introduce new information, and thereby serve to introduce one of the main protagonists in the story (*There once was someone who* etc.). The formula ‘there was, there was not’ also signals to the audience the beginning of the oral narrative set in an alternative reality about to unfold, featuring someone somewhere sometime. The negated counterpart like the English phrases *in the middle of nowhere* and *Never Neverland* convey spatial, temporal and epistemic distance between this world and that of the story. The narrator remains noncommittal to the truth of their story (Zeyrek 1993, 169), i.e. the narrated events may or may not be fictional, thus expressing the narrator’s prerogative to guide the listeners’ imagination and narrating events that are half true, half lie.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The words *asat* ‘nonbeing’ and *sat* ‘being’ are related to Latin *absent-*.

<sup>15</sup> The same type of syntagm occurs with verbal predicates ‘they did and did not do X’, see §7.2.7, meaning ‘whatever they did’. Thus, the opening formula could also be understood to mean ‘whatever there was’.

The opening and closing formulas may also involve the blessing of the parents of the audience, suggesting this was once part of a widespread repertoire of blessings at the beginning and end of children's stories. These and other closing formulas are also presumably more widespread through Eurasia, being also attested at least in Armenian folklore (Mouse 2018), Iraqi Arabic children's rhymes (Ferguson and Rice 1960) as well as Italian (Beckwith 1987) and Serbo-Croatian folktales (Bošković-Stulli 1966). The use of the Arabic verbal root *xlš* 'to finish, to be over' in proclaiming the end of the narrative presumably betrays its Arabic source.

Finally, the mentioning of the storyteller's return with three apples—usually one for the storyteller—is one of the key elements of concluding formulas in Iraqi folktales (Ferguson and Rice 1960), but also occurs in Kurdish and Azeri (Garbell 1965, 176) and Armenian (Surmelian 1968). Beckwith (1987) mentions several closing rhymes in folktales collected by Italo Calvino that involve the phrase 'they gave me nothing', referring to the narrator not having been able to join in their happy ever after. This same phrase is part of closing formulas recorded in a collection of Serbo-Croatian folktales (Bošković-Stulli 1966, 312), where the narrator attended the festival at the end as a guest, but was given nothing. Thus, these concluding formulas add a relativising touch of humour and element of playfulness, sometimes also involving members of the audience.

## 2.0. Discourse Dependency and Clause Linkage

Narrative discourse can be organised into connected thematic units called paragraphs or episodes. As the narration progresses, the storyteller may draw attention to the shift from one scene to the next. While transitions generally need not be marked by specific formulas or discourse connectives, there are several linguistic expressions in particular that seem to be geared towards the organisation of narrative structure into interdependent parts while maintaining coherence.

### 2.1. The Verb ‘to Rise’

The change of position verb conveying ‘to rise, to stand up, to get up’ is used in a type of serial verb construction where it functions as a subordinate verb conjoined with often an immediately following verb of motion, indicating the beginning of a new action, for example:

- (1) *qəmle plət̄le mən beta.*<sup>1</sup>

**He rose** and left the house. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh* by A. Sher, §19)

- (2) *řā-bī dār-kat.*<sup>1</sup>

**He rose** and left the house. (NK. Khizava, Text7: *Zanbilfirosh—The Basket Seller*, §15)

This initiation of a new action often coincides with a new scene in the chain of events, establishing event cohesion. The verb can thus be stripped of its original lexical meaning of a change of position and undergo semantic bleaching into a more

abstract discourse connective much like conjunctive adverbs such as English *then* and *thereupon*, for example:

- (3) *q̄amle* ʾay masəqθa kùlla šitale b-reše dānne ḥambušaye.<sup>1</sup>  
**Then** he threw the entire torch over the heads of these monsters. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §80)
- (4) *řā-t-bən* awē žənē āzād ət-kan<sup>1</sup> ū ət-gal xo ət-ban=a əškaftē.<sup>1</sup>  
**Then** they freed the woman and took her with them to the cave. (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §83)

These constructions are found across our collection of tales, except for those narrated in the Kurdish of Shaqlawa.

The integration of the verb ‘to get up’ in a serial verb construction is widely attested across Semitic languages including Biblical Hebrew where it is said to express ingressive aspect (e.g. Dobbs-Allsopp 1995; Chrzanowski 2011, 356ff.)<sup>16</sup>. Whether this is motivated by a shift in event viewpoint thereby focusing on the beginning of the event, e.g. *He got up to go*, or by pragmatics to mark consequent action, e.g. *Then off he went*, the construction is characteristic of Semitic languages in general and a hallmark of oral narratives. The cognate of the Neo-Aramaic verb *qym* ‘to rise’ has the same function in several Arabic dialects, notably Egyptian, Levantine and Mesopotamian Arabic (e.g. Fischer and Jastrow 1980, 76; Lahdo 2009, 170), where this verb in the suffix conjugation—with dialect-specific variants such as *qām*, *ʾām*, *gām* etc.—precedes another verb as a preverbal modifier. It is also attested in Ṭuroyo, the Neo-Aramaic dialects of Ṭur ‘Abdin (e.g.

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<sup>16</sup> For example, ךַּׁוּׁוּ םׁׁוּׁוּׁוּ wayyāqom wayyélek ‘he arose and went’.

Jastrow and Talay 2019, 16), closely related to NENA. The use of this serial verb construction in Northern Kurdish is therefore likely ultimately of Semitic origin, possibly Aramaic and/or Arabic.

Furthermore, in both Arabic and Turoyo, the same verb has further grammaticalised to an invariant particle based on its past form without agreement, often coinciding with the 3sg.m. form with a  $\emptyset$  morpheme. This is also attested in our NENA corpus, where the subject agreement marked by the L-suffix of the past perfective of the verb *qym* ‘to rise’ is elided, e.g.

(5) *qəm hām aw zälle dməxle.*<sup>1</sup>

**Then** he also went and fell asleep. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §37)

The Neo-Aramaic verb *qym* and its phonetically reduced variant can also indicate unexpectedness in NENA dialects such as ChA. Harbole (SE Turkey; Khan 2021, 169–72) as well as the progressive aspect in yet other dialects such as JA. Bəjil (NW Iraq; Mutzafi 2002, 70).

Finally, the same verb has been suggested as one of the possible etymologies of the preverbal TAM modifier *qam* and its dialectal variants—ranging from *qām*, *qəm*, *gəm*, *kəm* to *tam*—shared by the majority of NENA dialects to construct a transitive past perfective verbal form, e.g. *qam-šaql-a-le* ‘she took him’, which possibly first emerged on the Nineveh Plains partially due to Arabic influence.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See Noorlander (2021, 211–14) for a discussion and further references.

## 2.2. Additive Particles (*ži* / *-š*)

The Kurdish particles *ži* (NK) and *-iš* (CK) generally placed after a (pro)nominal element, sometimes after a verbal element, have been fully integrated into NENA discourse. In her typological study of additive markers, Forker (2016) distinguishes between several prototypical functions, which also capture the use of the particles *ži* or *ži* and *-(i)š* or *-ž* in Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic.

### 2.2.1. Additive Focus ('too')

- (6) *ʔiba ʔarbi həmbušaye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu yəmmay ži ʔiθ tama,<sup>1</sup> yəmmət həmbušaye.<sup>1</sup>*

There were forty monsters inside. And their mother was there **too**—the mother of the monsters. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §76)

- (7) *aw āgəray la mārē tū bū<sup>1</sup> da mārē mən-iš-ət bar-dā<sup>1</sup>!*

The fire that existed in your house, you threw it at my house **too** (meaning: Your life was hell and you inflicted the same hell upon me!) (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 29: *Two Mullahs*, §12)

### 2.2.2. Scalar Additive ('even')

- (8) *tsə məndi litən.<sup>1</sup> ʔixalāne-š litən.*

There was nothing. There was not **even** food. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A 'Pious' Fox*, §5)

- (9) *goti, ʔawa bo ma hə ži bāštər.<sup>ʔ1</sup>*

They said, 'It's **even** better for us. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §145)

## 2.2.3. Concessive ('even if')

- (10) ʔu g-əbət ži,<sup>1</sup> ʔana hun ʔəθya m-majburùθi<sup>1</sup> d-máʔyəsən ʔəyàl<sup>1</sup> diyi.<sup>1</sup>

**Even if** you want to eat me, know that I have come out of the need to feed my children. (ChA. Duhok, *Man and Lion*, §7)

- (11) agar az hatā hatāyè ži<sup>1</sup> ət kułki-va bə-nəvəm<sup>1</sup> bo mən nà məškīla-ya<sup>1</sup> bo mən ʔādī-ya.<sup>1</sup>

Even if I live till the end of my life in the barn, it is no issue for me. It is fine by me. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §94)

## 2.2.4. Topicalisation

Contrastive:

- (12) ʔaniži qámlay<sup>1</sup> drelay ʔixala ʔlaθá yomaθa ʔlaθá lelawaθa l-xaşət sùstay.<sup>1</sup> ʔu bàbay ži gəm-markəwile xa xərta,<sup>1</sup> xa susta xərta.<sup>1</sup>

So they put food for three days and three nights on the back of their mare, **but** their father they mounted on another mare. (ChA. Duhok, *Mirza*, §8)

- (13) amən la mārē d-ēm-a darē-o ba āsānī-o<sup>1</sup> atò-š har la mārē-y-o taʔxīr a-bī.<sup>1</sup>

I'm already out of the house heading towards the mosque, but you keep being delayed. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 29: *Two Mullahs*, §6)

Switch of topic:

- (14) *aw pīražə̀na čū-a žorē,| har dar-nà-hāt| har dar-nà-hāt. | zor-i pē čū. | maṭrān=iš tahamūl-i kərd.*<sup>1</sup>

The old woman went inside. She did not come out of the house for a while (lit. she did not come out; she did not come out). It took her a lot of time (lit. a lot went to/with her). The bishop tolerated her delay. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest*, §8)

Topic reactivation:

- (15) *ʔila xaze hola tōta, | yəmmət ḥambušáye ži hola tàma.*<sup>1</sup>

Look, he sees the old woman there, the mother of the monsters is there. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §136)

- (16) *wàxtakī sah tə-kat-ē | bəṛāyē wī hatā nīvaḳā šavē yē hāt-o čo. | pəštī hīngē aw ži čū sar jəhē xo | ū nəvəst.*<sup>1</sup>

At one moment he realised that his brother had kept watch (lit. came and went) only until midnight, and after that had gone to bed and slept. (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's adventures*, §16)

### 2.2.5. Constituent Coordination

The additive particle can also function as a coordinator. It can appear only once within the coordinating phrase (17), or separately on each constituent (18).



- (17) *flaha qupyàta=w<sup>l</sup> xa ʔawa=š qa de baxta xşùşi wədwale.<sup>l</sup>*  
 He made three baskets, **as well as** one special mat for the woman. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 5: *Zambilfrosh by W. Toma*, §18)
- (18) *ū žənbābē wē žī ū kəčē wē žī čə jārā əš wērē dar-nā-xītən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 Also, he decided not to set free **either** the stepmother **or** her daughter from the prison at all. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §120)

### 2.2.6. Conjunctive Adverb

While their basic function is the expression of additive focus equivalent to that of English *too* and *also*, one of the functions most relevant for narrative style and discourse organisation is that of a conjunctive adverb, linking one discourse unit with the preceding. This is an optional effect of additive markers common to several languages across the world (Forker 2016), and also characteristic of additive markers in the languages in the area. This function, however, is not easily distinguished from other pragmatic functions, such as topicalisation where the particles are added to a clause-initial noun phrase to indicate a contrastive topic, a switch of topic or to reactive a topical referent.

- (19) *kamər: ʔpsu gawət batrət ʔurxət duglana hāl xazəx l-eka gmatpəlux.<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔəmər.<sup>l</sup> kəlābāb=iš xa ʔaqla=w xa qəma bizale-le xa ʔaqla bədʔare-le qa bətra.<sup>l</sup>*

Uncle Fox said, 'Go down the road of the liar until we see where he will lead you.' So he said. **Then** the rooster went one step forwards and one step backwards. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A 'Pious' Fox*, §17–18)

- (20) *k-ìmər,*<sup>1</sup> ‘yaba, ‘àti<sup>1</sup> *kābira lè maḥkət.*<sup>1</sup> *hayyu ‘àxxa<sup>1</sup> ‘u mšāpuxla ‘ana w-ati m-uxḏaḏe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘àwa *žī<sup>1</sup> zəlle<sup>1</sup> nxətle laxù gəra.*<sup>1</sup>

He said, ‘Fellow, don’t talk so much. Come here and let’s settle it, I and you together.’ **So** he went down towards the bottom of the hill. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §26–27)

- (21) *ət-bēžt-ē,* ‘wara sari<sup>1</sup>! wara sari hagar dē ta pərčē xəšnəm<sup>1</sup> ū dē ta inm-a sari<sup>1</sup>!<sup>1</sup> *Dəndək Hənārē žī zikā manjalokā xo ət-hāvēžit-a wērē.*<sup>1</sup> ū *ət-ḵat-a gārē čit-a daf<sup>1</sup>*

She said, ‘Come upstairs! Come upstairs, otherwise I will crumple your hair and bring you upstairs myself!’ So Dindik Hinar immediately threw away her milk-pail, ran towards her. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §45-46)

- (22) *got-ī,* ‘wā hēwāra dā hāt<sup>1</sup> aw jā waxtī nūstəni-ya.<sup>1</sup> *bas kas kas iz‘aj nà-kā<sup>1</sup> čūnka řē-n dūr-a hatā gayn-a hadzē.*<sup>1</sup> *karabāb-ū kotər-iš goti-yān,* ‘basar hār dū čāwān!<sup>1</sup>

The fox said, ‘It’s getting near evening; it’s time to sleep. But no one should disturb anyone since we’ve a long way ahead of us until we reach Mecca.’ Then the rooster and dove said, ‘All right! (lit. on both eyes)’ (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 13: *A ‘Pious’ Fox*, §10)

The same generally holds for the additive particle *ham* in NENA—ultimately from Persian and found throughout the area, which precedes the focal referent:

- (23) *hârəs* | *hole kəlyə=w hole t̄wìʔa*. | **ham** ʔawa qəmle mə-wədle? |  
*gəm-tayəpla xòrta*. |

A guard was standing though asleep. **So**, he, then what did he do? He bent the poplar. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §122–123)

### 2.3. Other Adverbials and Discourse Conjunctions

Temporal adverbials can also serve as a device to structure the narrative and mark episode transitions. Their usage is pragmatically motivated to connect discourse units rather than grounded in the clause itself. Adverbials like ‘once’ and ‘one day’ are a case in point, where the start of a new day coincides with the start of a new thematic unit and thereby a type of opening formula, as illustrated in (24)–(25) below.

- (24) **xà yoma** | *mālà xa ʔizəle l-xəlmət raʔisət dəra*. |

**One day** an angel appeared in a dream of the abbot of the monastery. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 35: *Mar Yohanan*, §14)

- (25) **řožak la řožān** | *malāy yakàm la malāy duam-i pərsī*. |

**One day**, the first Mullah asked the second Mullah. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 29: *Two Mullahs*, §4)

Other conjunctive adverbs that may be used in NENA are *naqla*, ʔannaqla, ʔannāqa ‘now, then’, composed of the near deixis demonstrative \*aḏ and dialectal Arabic *naqla* ‘round, trip’, and *žnu*, composed of originally Kurdish *žə* ‘from’ and *nū* ‘now’, e.g.

- (26) ʔay xona zora là maḥkele ču məndi, | *Mərzá Mḥammad*. |  
 ʔannaqla pəšla yoma kulle. | *mğudelay, mʕušelay, xənnə pəšle*  
 θàni yom | *b-làyle*.

The youngest brother did not say anything—Mirza Muhammad. **Then** the whole day passed. They had dinner and had supper. It was the second night of holding watch. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §33–34)

- (27) *q̄ilili ʔlaθá ʔambušaye t-θelay l-qawrət bābi,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwalan qawrət bābi.<sup>2</sup> ʔnu θelay xunwaθeḥ Mərzá Mḥāmad hole q̄tilay ʔambušaye t̄ama.<sup>1</sup>*

I killed the three monsters who came to my father's grave; they would take us to my father's grave. Mirza Muhammad's brothers **now** knew that he had killed the monsters there. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §224–225)

Both adverbials also occur in the Neo-Aramaic dialects of Ṭur ʿAbdin, but, as far as we are aware, are not found in Arabic or Kurdish as such.

The Kurdish conjunctive adverb *vējā, ijā* 'now, then' has the same linking function:

- (28) *az-ē bə řēkē dā čəm dā b-čəm=a mālā bābē xò.<sup>1</sup> vējā hamā haga tu žī dē mə xòy<sup>1</sup> dē təštakī lə mə k̄ày,<sup>1</sup> hamā mən bə-xò!<sup>1</sup>*

[The woman said,] 'I'm on the road to my father's house. Now, if you intend to eat me or do any harm to me, then go ahead eat me! (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §11)

In addition, in the Kurdish Mirza Muhammad tale, the particle *inā*,<sup>18</sup> is used to link the narrative unit with the preceding:

(29) *aw haspē xo dē bələnd kət-o<sup>l</sup> dē pəšt-o pəšt zəvəřət.<sup>l</sup> āvē nā-va-xot.<sup>l</sup> inā řožakē duā hār av hāla bo.<sup>l</sup> inā sułtānī aw řaspē sułtānī=ya.<sup>l</sup> inā sułtān ət-bēžt=ē, ‘būçî av řaspa yē lāwāz=a=w<sup>l</sup> yē bē-xòlk=a=w?’<sup>l</sup>*

On seeing the hair, the horse rose to his feet and reared up; it did not drink the water. **Then** for one or two days it went on like this. **Then** the sultan—the one-eyed horse belonged to him—**then** the sultan said to him, ‘Why is this horse weak and left without care?’ (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §63-64)

## 2.4. Tail-Head Linkage

In the unfolding story line, the final clause of the preceding chain can be partially or completely repeated as the first clause of the next chain to connect an unbroken series of events.<sup>19</sup> This is arguably a conventionalized technique of clause lineage for the sake of thematic continuity and event cohesion.<sup>20</sup> For example:

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<sup>18</sup> This particle is presumably demonstrative in origin (cp. English *then* with the same historical base *\*tha-* as in *this* and *that*), the proximal demonstrative base *in* being found in, for instance, *inā* ‘this’ in the Gorani of Gawraju (Bailey 2018, 156, 559) and *in* in Persian, or derived from the past form of the Kurdish verb *inān* ‘to bring’.

<sup>19</sup> See Thurman (1975) and de Vries (2005).

<sup>20</sup> See the discussions on repetition in Khan’s grammars, e.g. C. Barwar (Khan 2008, 943–945). See also Coghill (2009, 277) and Molin and Noorlander (2022, 247).

- (30) *qām-šaqla-w matula baθrət xaşeu=w nàbəla ʿaya.ᵛ nabəla, kum-darela gu xà gurfa.ᵛ*  
 He lifted her, put her on the horseback and **took her along**. **After he took her**, he put her in a room. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §10)
- (31) *zəlle yomaᵛ θəle yomaᵛ—lā g-əbən marxənna ʿəllawxunᵛ—  
 ḥakəm məθle.ᵛ ḥakəm mətle,ᵛ yale zòreᵛ k-əmri,*  
 As the days passed by—I do not want to make it too long for you—the **ruler died**. **After the ruler died**, his little children said, (ChA. Duhok, *Mirza*, §6)
- (32) *damē t-dan-a bar xanjaràᵛ Pîrhavîr nà-mərîtən.ᵛ wakî hændak  
 pařēt qalařaşkē ət nāv hawāyē dā barzà t-bît-ava.ᵛ ət nāv  
 hawāyē dā barzà t-bît-ava.ᵛ t-ə-bēžîtən, ʿo, ava çə çē bû?ᵛ*  
 They stabbed Pirhavir with daggers but she did not die. She disappeared into the sky in the form of something like feathers of a black raven. She disappeared into the sky. They (the brothers and Fatma) said, ‘Oh, what has happened?’ (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *A Girl, her Evil Stepmother, and the Old Woman*, §79)
- (33) *pəştî bəhorînā sē çār řožakāᵛ Hənār žî bə sar kàftᵛ barē xo datē  
 māl yā çòl-a.ᵛ māl yā çòl-aᵛ bə tənēᵛ xəşkàkā wē yā ž qasr  
 hāzər.ᵛ*  
 After three, four days, Hinar went upstairs, looked around and saw **the house was empty**. **The house was empty**. Only one of her sisters was home. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §71)

### 3.0. Poetic and Formulaic Language

Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic share similar phraseology in other formulaic language and poetic techniques. After a discussion of a selection of idioms and fillers, this section offers a few examples of proverbs, end rhyme and parallelism and alliteration found in the corpus.

#### 3.1. Idioms and Phraseology

Among the manifold idioms are:

##### *There is Fire in Your House*

The idiomatic expression ‘there is fire in your house’ describes that the person’s life is hellish and that he has trouble in his house.

- (1) *aw āgəray la mārē tū bū<sup>1</sup> da mārē mən-iš-ət bar-dā!<sup>1</sup>*  
 Your life was hell and you inflicted the same hell upon me  
 (lit. The fire that existed in your house, you threw it at my house too.) (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 29: *Two Mullahs*, §12)
- (2) *’āt betux nura ’itən gu betux ’arqətwə mənə ’āna šəne,<sup>1</sup>*  
 Your home was like hell (lit. There is fire in your house)  
 from which you fled all these years. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 28: *Two Mullahs*, §17)

*A Day Came A Day Went*

The idiomatic expression ‘a day came and a day went’ or the equivalent in the plural is found in both Kurdish and NENA to denote the passage of time:

- (3) *řož hātən-o řūž čòn*<sup>1</sup>

Several days passed by (lit. days came and days went). (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §16)

- (4) *zàlle yoma<sup>1</sup> θèle yoma<sup>1</sup>*

As the days passed by (lit. a day went a day came). (ChA. Dohok, *Mirza and the forty monsters*, §6)

*Coming Going*

Combinations of the verbs ‘to come’ and ‘to go’ provide background to the following foreground action, denoting preparation, both physical and mental, before doing an action. Interestingly, the order of the verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ is reversed in the two languages, i.e. Kurdish *hāt-o čo* ‘came and went’ and NENA *zàle-w θele* ‘went and came’, compare:

- (5) *hāt-o čò<sup>1</sup> hāt-o čò.<sup>1</sup> nà-zānī dē čə kətən.<sup>1</sup> bar-av xārè va čū.<sup>1</sup>*

She went back and forth. She did not know what to do. She went downstairs. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §74)

- (6) *zàle-w θèle<sup>1</sup> zàle-w θèle-w<sup>1</sup> šitàle ganeu l-aw bara xəna.<sup>1</sup>*

He went back and forth, back and forth, and flung himself to the other side. (ChA. Harmesha, *Mirza and the three Princess*, §24)



### *It Is Not in My Hands*

This formula expresses inability to do something in facing of an unpleasant situation.

(7) *b-idati lèwa?*<sup>1</sup>

I cannot help it? (lit. It is not in my hands.) (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: A 'Pious' fox, §34)

(8) *ma çà dastē ma dā nī-na!*<sup>1</sup>

We—we cannot manage it! (lit. there is nothing in our hands.) (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §109)

### *Fall in Love*

Falling in love is rendered literally by the phrase 'one's heart fell' and/or 'something fell to one's heart'. Examples:

(9) *jāhē dā vīyānā kuṛkī kat dālē kačkē.*<sup>1</sup>

She was filled with love for the boy (lit. The longing for the boy fell into the girl's heart.) (NK. Khizava, Text 7: *Zanbilfirosh—The Basket Seller*, §19)

(10) *har dzwān pešàwa<sup>1</sup> har har ləbu pəle.*<sup>1</sup>

She grew more and more beautiful and he fell in love with her (lit. his heart fell.) (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 23: *The Poor Girl and her Horse*, §27)

## **3.2. Fillers**

Narrators also have linguistic expressions that are used repetitively, often to signal hesitation or pause, or to mark salient points in the story. NENA and Kurdish speakers have a wide

range of fillers at their disposal, most of which ultimately go back to Arabic such as *ya'ni*, *yă'ăni* or *yani* from *يعني* *ya'nī* '(he/it) means', which fulfils a wide range of pragmatic functions, for instance indicating that the speaker seeks to offer clarifications, modifications or corrections equivalent to English *I mean, that is or in other words*. Also common are the connector *'alla* from *إلا* *'illā* for 'but, except', which introduces a contrast or exception, and the interjection *walla* or *walā* 'by God' from *والله* *wallāhi*, which generally adds assertive force or expresses surprise.

A frequent substitute for when a speaker cannot think of the word is *hanna* or *'anna* cognate with Arabic *هن* *han* (or *هنا* *hanah* 'thing'), which can be equivalent to English *thingy* or *what's-it-called*. It can be inflected like a noun and even be converted into a verb, i.e. *hnele* 'he Xed'.

(11) *'aw hole qīma*<sup>|</sup> *xəzya gu hanna*,<sup>|</sup> *ḥawš dīyeh=ila*.<sup>|</sup> *'anna*.<sup>|</sup>

He is already up and has seen what is in—**what's-it-called**—his garden. **The thing**.

The cognate *hno* occurs in the Neo-Aramaic of Ṭur 'Abdin (Jastrow and Talay 2019, 15–16). The Kurdish narrator from Khizava uses *awādī*, which is most likely a combination of demonstrative *aw* + ezafe feminine form *\_ā* + *dī* 'other', 'lit. the other one', as an equivalent to NENA *hanna*.

(12) *əš bənamālā awādī bī ... Bahninè bī*.<sup>|</sup> *əš bənamālā Faq*  
*əbrāhīmī bī*.<sup>|</sup>

She was from that **so-and-so** family in Bahnin; she was from Faq Ibrahim's family. (NK. Khizava, Text 31: *Firyat and Khajija*, §6)

Furthermore, NENA and Kurdish dialects also have the particle *flān* or *flan* from Arabic فلان *fulān*,<sup>21</sup> which can serve as a noun substitute or nominal attribute when the referent is unknown.

(13) ʾāna jūlu šmàṭṭe-wan mānu<sup>1</sup> **flan** dukta mtù tu-wan.<sup>1</sup>

The clothes that I have taken from them, put them in **such-and-such** a place. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 35: *Mar Yohanan*, 33)

In the following Kurdish example, the particle *fālān* has been combined with *kas* ‘person’ to substitute the nominal.

(14) èḵ šə wānā t-bēšt-ē,<sup>1</sup> ‘arē **fālānkas** mā ta čə zārok nā-bən?<sup>1</sup>

One of them said, ‘Hey **so-and-so!** Won’t you have any children? (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §3)

A typical narrator-oriented discourse marker in Neo-Aramaic is the fossilised imperative form of the stem II verb of the root *hym* ‘believe’, which can occur as *mhaymən* or *mhemən* ‘believe!’. It adds assertive force and emphasises salient events.

The particles ʾe in NENA and *a* in Kurdish, otherwise expressing affirmation, agreement or approval like English *yes*, may be used in the narrative to express assertiveness and thus intensification or rhetorical salience, especially when it occurs in its own intonation unit. The particle can also fulfil the function of a sentence connector and indicate the end of a paragraph, as for instance in the concluding sentence of the story given below.

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<sup>21</sup> Compare Syriac *plān*.

- (15) 'e, qày, | šawpa, šawpət saypa g-nàyx. | šawpət xabra là g-nayəx. | xabra nàxwaš, nàxwaš-ile, 'e. |

**Indeed**, therefore, the impact of a sword heals, but the impact of words does not heal. Words can be very evil, **indeed**. (ChA. Duhok, Text 14: *A Man and a Lion*, §19)

- (16) xarək ba kārwanē safar-i kərdīya. | dzā kārwanakān zīyātər ba payān būwa, | wa zəyātər-iš ba kār būwa. | à! |

People would travel with caravans. The caravans were mostly on foot, but also with donkeys. **Yes!** (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 22: *A Talking Goat*, §3)

An impersonalised form of the narrative or reporting verb 'to say' literally conveying 'he says' can be used as a reportative or quotative particle, which is usually added at the beginning of a new clause but can also be placed at the end. The particle can permeate an entire story between and across narrative units, and arguably functions as a filler. There is a subtle difference from the above fillers in that this seems to be particular to narrative discourse rather than part of everyday use of language. It is possible this is an emergent evidential strategy, but this would require further investigation. Examples:

- (17) 'amər xà yoma | 'izəle 'àwa | kārta qam-ṭa'əna l-xàšu. | mxuškunta 'azəl zambilu mزابènu. | 'amər bax mālka | qam-xa-zyàle. |

**It is said that** one day one day he went off carrying a load on his back. He went at dawn to sell his baskets. **It is said that** a king's wife saw him. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh by A. Sher*, §29)

- (18) *a-rē* řož *hāt-ū* řož řòy<sup>l</sup> *mař* *har pərsyārī a-kərd*, ‘*da-bī*<sup>l</sup> *šāhēd-ī*  
*gurg’ī k’ē bī?*’<sup>l</sup>

**It is said that** dawn broke [lit. the sun came and the sun went]. The ewe kept asking herself, ‘Who is going to be the wolf’s witness?’ (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf*, §15)

The same filler occurs in Anatolian Arabic, where *qāl* literally ‘he said’ can permeate a story, for example in the text from Qartmīn in Mardin (SE Turkey) recorded by Jastrow and Fischer (1989: 165–169).

### 3.3. Proverbs

- (19) *šwirət xābra*<sup>l</sup> *lā k-eθe nšaya*.<sup>l</sup>

*šwirət dārba*<sup>l</sup> *naša g-našēle*.<sup>l</sup>

*šwirət xābra*<sup>l</sup> *ħəl mōθa*<sup>l</sup> *naša la g-našēle*.<sup>l</sup>

A wound caused by words is not forgotten.

A wound caused by a blow a man does forget.

But a wound caused by words—a man does not forget it until death. (JA. Duhok, Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf*, §24–27)

- (20) *šawpət saypa g-nāyax*.<sup>l</sup> *šawpət xabra lā g-nayax*.<sup>l</sup>

The impact of a sword heals, but the impact of words does not heal. (ChA. Duhok, Text 14: *A Man and a Lion*, §19)

- (21) *žē ət-čət nišā šinā xanjarā*<sup>l</sup> *bas žē nā-čətīn šinā xabarā*.<sup>l</sup>

The trace of grief caused by daggers will go away, but the grief caused by words will not go away. (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §37)

### 3.4. End Rhyme

- (22) ʔurxət maṛya ta-t malpilè=w<sup>l</sup>  
 ʔurxət malkuta maxwilè=w<sup>l</sup>  
 ʔadi ʿalma ta-t šawqilè.<sup>l</sup>

to teach him the path to the Lord and  
 to show him the path towards the heavenly kingdom and  
 so that they may abandon this world.

(ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh* by A. Sher, §52)

- (23) Fāt Fātokè!<sup>22l</sup>  
 təl mēžūkè!<sup>l</sup>  
 yān žī bārākožūkè!<sup>l</sup>

O little Fatma!

Your fingers to be sipped blood from!

Or your brothers to be killed!

(NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §61)

- (24) muhabtè kəč mubtalā kər.<sup>l</sup>  
 səř lə jāriyē āškərə kər,<sup>l</sup>  
 ʿlāwaqè qalb-əm jədā kər.<sup>l</sup>  
 mən žə ʿašqān xaw na-tē<sup>ʔ</sup>

Love overtook the girl.

She disclosed her story to her maid:

‘The boy broke my heart

I cannot sleep because of [his] love.’

(NK. Khizava, Text 7: *Zanbilfirosh—The Basket Seller*, §39)

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<sup>22</sup> The ending *-kē* consists of the diminutive suffix *-k* followed by the oblique affix *-ē*.

(25) *Atmān! siyārē Dāndālē!*

*pāžo hara Mūsālē!*

Atman! The rider on Dindil!

Ride it, go to Mosul!

(NK. Dure, Text 37: *The Prophet's Horse*, §9)

### 3.5. Alliteration

(26) *kma iwat šar-u šapàle ... xəmyani kalba kòma.*<sup>1</sup>

How **weary and worn out** you are... My father-in-law is a **black dog**. (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §17, §21)

(27) *gundak yē bē-dang-a<sup>1</sup> nà dang-a<sup>1</sup> nà dūr-a.*<sup>1</sup>

It was a silent village. It was not full of sound, nor was it remote (from civilization). (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §35)

### 4.0. Figurative Language

Certain figurative uses of language are common stylistic devices of oral narratives, especially the mimicry of sounds. Narrators can also transform ordinary sentences into questions as figures of speech. This section lists examples of figures of speech typical of the Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic oral literature found in our collection, starting with onomatopoeias and ideophones as well as the use of repetition, lengthening and reduplication.

## 4.1 Sound Symbolism

### 4.1.1. Onomatopoeias

- (1) *θele xa xənna mnaħmòre.*<sup>1</sup> *kepət tura hole b-qale mzarzòye,*<sup>1</sup>  
*làyť?*<sup>1</sup>  
‘Another came **blustering**. The rocks of the mountain were already **shaking** at the sound of his voice, weren’t they?’  
(ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §40)
- (2) *dīti-yān kotərak lasār dārē bū<sup>1</sup> bərga bərg-ī bū.*<sup>1</sup>  
They saw a dove was in the tree. He was **cooing**. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 13: *A ‘Pious’ Fox*, §7)
- (3) *řəp řəp*  
‘clip-clop of horses’ (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §71)
- (4) *qəř qəř*  
‘cracking noise’ (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §60)

### 4.1.2. Ideophones

- (5) *řupurta ʾəmra:*<sup>1</sup> *wəj wəj wəj!*<sup>1</sup>  
The sparrow said, ‘**Chirp, chirp, chirp!**’ (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A Pious Fox*, §35)
- (6) *xəre ʾəla xandaq xpərta.*<sup>1</sup> *zəle xðəre xa, tre čarxe<sup>1</sup> xðəre,<sup>1</sup> xðəre<sup>1</sup>*  
*ʾu-fiiit šitəle ganeu l-aw bara xəna.*<sup>1</sup> *ḵum-šawəra.*<sup>1</sup>  
He looked at the trench that had been dug. He went and walked round one, two times, walked round and round, and **woosh** he flung himself to the other side. He had jumped over it. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A Pious Fox*, §35)



- (7) *mxèle,<sup>1</sup> taq, tàq.<sup>1</sup> wele dewa ... hənna, 'àrya k-šame qala g-nàxəθ 'əlle.<sup>1</sup>*  
 He started cutting, **crack, crack**, and a wolf... I mean, lion heard the sound and came to him. (ChA. Duhok, Text 14: *A Man and a Lion*, §6)
- (8) 'owà!<sup>1</sup> mux məlxa g-əbatti bàs?! ... 'anya tre bnási-lu, 'ahat leat bràti,<sup>1</sup> wiii!<sup>1</sup>  
 'Oh! You love me only as much as salt?!' ... Those two are my daughters, you are not my daughter, **oh!**' (JA. Zakho, Text 25: *As Precious as Salt*, §7)
- (9) *gāzē mārīšk-ū barxàk,<sup>1</sup> dū sē bār-x-ī ha-būn:<sup>1</sup> (ṭp, ṭp, ṭp, ṭp, ṭp-ū, ʕ<sup>23</sup>, ʕ, āwā=y kərd: ṭp, ṭp, ṭp, 'warən!<sup>1</sup> mārīšk hātən àw lā.<sup>1</sup>*  
 He called for the hens and sheep—he had two, three sheep: **Cluck! Cluck! Cluck! Cluck! Cluck! Ba! Ba!** He did this, **Cluck! Cluck!** 'Come!' The hens came to eat the berries. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 27: *The Indecent Neighbour*, §6)
- (10) *ns! ns! bēhn t̄ə-ḵatən.<sup>1</sup>*  
**Sniff! Sniff!** She smelled. (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §53)
- (11) *qomāšaka=y har-a-dāt-awa a-bīnī tūf!<sup>1</sup> tū wəḷāhi!<sup>1</sup> 'asabī bū.<sup>1</sup>*  
 She removed the cloth on the tray to show him what was in the tray. He said (lit. he saw), '**Wow!** Indeed the tray was full of berries!', he became furious. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 27: *Indecent Neighbour*, §4)

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<sup>23</sup> That is, a bilabial click.

## 4.1.3. Repetition

Repetition stands in an iconic relationship to the extensive amount, size or distance of the activity or property:

- (12) *psèle<sup>l</sup> psù,<sup>l</sup> psù,<sup>l</sup> psù,<sup>l</sup> psù,<sup>l</sup> psù,<sup>l</sup> psù,<sup>l</sup> psù.<sup>l</sup> ʾani ʾan qāmàye ʾam-riwa, k-amri, l-Bàğdad.<sup>l</sup>*

He **went off, on and on and on and on**—to Baghdad, as they, the old folks, used to say. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambūfros̄h* by A. Sher, §20)

- (13) *rkule l-xaşət susa xwàra.<sup>l</sup> ga ʾarta zàle=w zàle=w zàle=w, qam-šawàra ga ʾarta xandaq.<sup>l</sup>*

He rode on the back of a white horse. Once more **he went on and on** and then jumped over the trench again. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza*, §14)

- (14) *har bənamālakē<sup>l</sup> hàspaḳē makənē,<sup>l</sup> jəhēlē<sup>l</sup> galà gala gala gala lāv ha-bū.<sup>l</sup>*

Each family had a young, reliable horse that was **very very** strong. (NK. Dure, Text 20: *A Family Horse*, §2)

- (15) *hēdī hēdī hēdī hēdī<sup>l</sup> qūnāxā dārəstānē darbās ḳər.<sup>l</sup>*

**Slowly, slowly, slowly, slowly**, they crossed the wild forest. (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §14)

- (16) *baḷàm<sup>l</sup> kotər zor zor zor zor la řiwī zīraktər bū.<sup>l</sup>*

The dove, however, was **much much** cleverer than the fox. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 13: *A Pious Fox*, §14)

## 4.1.4. Lengthening

Similarly, the prolongation of the pronunciation of a consonant or vowel coincides with intensification and rhetorical salience, thus symbolising the larger extent to which the relevant semantic content applies.

(17) ʿən ʿamruxle, **bəššš** b-âwux ʿâzat.<sup>ʾ</sup>

If we tell him, we are going to be **far more** free. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §107)

(18) gūtî, **ʿharêêê!**<sup>ʾ</sup>

She said, **‘Come on!’** (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §73).

Such lengthening can also be combined with repetition, as illustrated below, to build up suspense. Often the stressed vowel of the last element of the repeated word is lengthened.

(19) kûlay hune **bizâla,**<sup>l</sup> **bizâla-w,**<sup>l</sup> **bizâaala,**<sup>l</sup> lène biyara.<sup>l</sup>

Everybody **was going back and forth,** but they did not dare to jump. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §5)

(20) inā aw pârçā wê<sup>l</sup> aw ā dārke ālāndî<sup>l</sup> āv **ət-bat ət-bat ət-bàaat<sup>l</sup>**  
**ət-bat ət-çət-a bərka sultānakî<sup>l</sup> dā.**<sup>l</sup>

Her (Gulizar’s) hair—the one which was twisted onto the stick—the water **took it away and took it away, took it all the way** to the lake of a sultan in another city. (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §61)

#### 4.1.5. Reduplication

Reduplication is the repetition of a word or a part of a word in the formation of a lexeme or idiom. The full reduplication is typical of onomatopoeias consisting of closed syllables.. Complete and partial reduplication is thus a regular process in the lexicalisation of animal cries such as ‘bleating’ (of sheep) Kurdish *bāřabāř* and NENA *mbarbore* as well as ‘wailing, barking’ (of dogs) Kurdish *čalačal*<sup>24</sup> and NENA *mčalwole*. In the Kurdish examples, reduplication serves both to augment the quantity of a word, and to intensify the meaning expressed by it.

(21) Total reduplication:

a. *got-got*

‘sayings’ (lit. said-said) (NK. Zakho, Text 11: *The Bridge of Dalal*, §13)

b. *pəšt-o pəšt*

A continuous backward movement (lit. back and back) (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §63)

In the partial reduplication, the word’s initial consonant is replaced by another consonant, usually labial like /m/, to express the continuation of an indefinite number of the same set with a similar effect to English *and so forth*, *etcetera* or *whatever*, e.g. NENA *xabuše mabuše* ‘apples and so forth’. This *m*-reduplication ultimately originated in Turkic languages, e.g. Turkish *gözüne mözüne* ‘eyes and so forth’, and spread to Persian, Kurdish, NENA,

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<sup>24</sup> See Chyvet (2003, 103).

Ṭuroyo and local Anatolian Arabic dialects, e.g. Mardini Arabic *rās-māš* ‘heads and other body parts’ (Grigore 2007, 319–330).

(22) Partial reduplication

a. *hāl-o māl*

‘(mental) state and such’ (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §41)

b. *lat-ū pat*

‘torn and destroyed’ (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf*, §17)

In many NENA dialects total reduplication involves adding the particle *ma* between reduplicated forms. An equivalent construction with the particle *mā(n)* occurs in Kurdish:

c. *xabuše ma xabuše*

‘apples and so forth’

d. *dūr mār dūr / dūr mā dūr*

‘surroundings, all around’ (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad’s Adventures*, §6, §82)

## 4.2. Use of Questions

Questions can be used for various literary effects and engagement with the audience without expecting an answer, often to express a character’s state of mind.

### 4.2.1. Rhetorical Questions

A statement can be put in the form of a question to prompt a debate, for example:

- (23) ‘è,<sup>1</sup> *k-imər*, ‘*āla kùllən, de qumu!<sup>1</sup> ma fṭarta <sup>A</sup>hawn<sup>A</sup>?<sup>1</sup> xo là maṛəšənnawxun hēš layle?<sup>1</sup>*

‘Yes,’ he said. ‘Anyway, come on wake up! Isn’t breakfast here? Should I not have woken you up while it was still night?’ (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §30)

- (24) *ya‘nī čūnko az žənək-əm<sup>1</sup> hīn mə bə čāvaki nērīnī əl mə ət-fəkərən?<sup>1</sup>*

Just because I am a woman, do you have a false belief in me (lit. You think of me through a negative eye? (NK. Zakho, Text 11: *The Bridge of Dalal*, §18).

#### 4.2.2. Question in the Narrative

The narrator can highlight an event by introducing it in the form of a question, as if to refresh the audience’s memory, for example:

- (25) *mī k-iwəḏwala ta Dālale?<sup>1</sup> g-nabəlwala kùdyum laxma-w mīyya.*

**What did he used to do for Dalale?** He would bring her bread and water every day. (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §15)

- (26) *bərāyē mazən čə t-bēžt-ē? ət-bēžt-ē, ‘na bərə!<sup>1</sup> balā àz avroka bə-mīnəm.<sup>1</sup>*

**What did the elder brother say to him?** He said, ‘No, brother! Let me stay home today.’ (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Stepmother, and the Old Witch*, §31)

The narrator of *The Bridge of Dalale* story in the Christian Neo-Aramaic of Zakho adopts this strategy several times to

switch to one of the leading characters, i.e. the prince, putting him in the spotlight and giving prominence to his actions, for instance:

(27) ʾokey, ʾənnuhu b-zale-w ʾati-w šula palxi b-rəš jəsr,<sup>1</sup> fa-mà wədle ʾamír?<sup>1</sup> ḥatta ʾənnuhu ʾawedwa xa hədiya řabta řa ʾawwa muhàndəs,<sup>1</sup> Tòma,<sup>1</sup> mkarəmwale,<sup>1</sup> mà wədle biyu?<sup>1</sup>

OK, then people were coming and going, working on the bridge. So, **what did the prince do?** Instead of giving this architect Toma a huge gift, in order to honour him, **what did he do to him?** (He summoned him to his side and cut off his right hand.) (ChA. Zakho, Text 10: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §12–13)

#### 4.2.3. Expression of Doubt

A question can describe a character's state of mind, as if they were prompting for help.

(28) mere mà b-awđən?<sup>1</sup> ma t-ile bədraya hole mpàla.<sup>1</sup>

'What shall I do?', he thought. 'Whatever he puts there, it falls down.' (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §2)

(29) žənakē žī həzrā xo kər, ʾaz čə b-kam?<sup>1</sup> čə nə-kam?<sup>1</sup> kī-và bə-čəm?<sup>1</sup> az žənkakā-ā b tanē<sup>1</sup> ət vān čol-ū čtyà řā!<sup>1</sup> dē bar-av kī-và čəm?<sup>1</sup>

The woman thought, 'What should I do? Where can I go? I'm a lonely woman in this wilderness, in these mountains! Where can I go?' (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §4)

## 5.0. Repetition

Repetition is a common stylistic device of oral literature as well as a common storytelling technique. Not only individual words, phrases and clauses can be repeated, but also entire sentences and even whole episodes that encapsulate the main theme or a recurrent theme as the so-called *Leitsätze* (Pinault 1992: 21; see §8.1.). This section provides a brief typology of repetition found in the NENA and Kurdish texts with illustrative examples. Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish narrative discourse can seem highly repetitive. The particular function of recapitulation can vary from one case to the next, and is sometimes chiefly a matter of style. Some of these are also mentioned in the relevant sections, see Section 2.4 on tail-head recapitulation, Section 4.1.3. on symbolism, Section 7.1.1. on inverted word order and 7.2.1. on aspect. As a discourse strategy, repetition can be used to recapitulate, to keep track of major themes in the story, to give the speaker time to think, and/or to establish a bridging linkage between core events for the sake of event cohesion.

### 5.1. Thematisation

The successive occurrence of the same word, as illustrated in (1)–(2) below, can be characterised as an instance of thematisation, the development of a thematic unit around a core and highly topical constituent.

- (1) *nîhàye,*<sup>1</sup> **ṭāmā‘uθət** *barnāša,*<sup>1</sup> *xzi hātxa-yla.*<sup>1</sup> *ya‘ni ‘awa kud yoma b-yawəllux trây lire*<sup>1</sup> *’u šwaqa labole qàysux.*<sup>1</sup> *’e, ṭāmā‘ùθa*<sup>1</sup> *g-əbe, hənna, šaqəlwala xāzəntət hənna, ’e.*<sup>1</sup> *ya‘ni ‘ay ṭāmā‘hum qatəllu,*<sup>1</sup> *dàx k-əmrila.*<sup>1</sup>



In the end, **the greed** of mankind, see what it is like. This is to say, he gives you two coins every day and even lets you take some wood. Indeed, **greed**: he wanted to take the whole treasure. That is, it is **their own greed** that kills people, as they say. (ChA. Duhok, Text 15: *A Man and a Snake*, §7)

- (2) *bāb gala galak ʿājəz bitən.*<sup>1</sup> *Sorā Čavšīn žī husā xo diyār ət-katən*<sup>1</sup> *ʿalasās yā ʿājəz-a.*<sup>1</sup> *xuškēt wē žī husā xo diyār ət-kan ʿalasās yā ʿājəz-ən.*<sup>1</sup>

The father was very **upset**. Sora Chavshin pretended to be innocent, as if she was **upset**. Her sisters too pretended to be innocent, as if they were **upset**. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §146)

## 5.2. Stylistic Variation

The successive occurrence of the same word at the beginning of a sentence for stylistic variation is known as anaphora and at the end of a sentence as epiphora. Anaphora and epiphora can be combined, as in the follow case in Neo-Aramaic where the repetition seems to be a matter of style:

- (3) *qam-darilu gu day ʿərxe.*<sup>1</sup> *kma d-qam-taxnīle*<sup>1</sup> *lā mətle,*<sup>1</sup> *kma d-qam-mazwerile lā mətle.*<sup>1</sup>

They put him in that mill. **No matter how hard** they made him grind, **he did not die**. **No matter how hard** they made him spin the millstone, **he did not die**. (ChA. Enishke, Text 36: *Mar Giwargis*, §6)

### 5.3. Event Cohesion

Recapitulation can also serve as a bridge between constituents for event cohesion. In the following example from Kurdish, for instance, the adverbials are added successively and the verb is repeated to maintain event cohesion, thus conveying ‘They went secretly in a group to the bishop’.

- (4) *čūn ba jamā‘ât, | čūn ba dazî, | čūn-a kən maṭrân.*<sup>1</sup>

**They went** in a group, **they went** secretly, **they went** to the bishop. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest*, §2)

It is common for the narrator to repeat the last word or phrase at the beginning of the next sentence for the sake of event cohesion. This type of reiteration is a general strategy to organise narrative discourse and connect clausal chains through so-called tail-head linkage (see §2.4.).

### 5.4. Foregrounding

A duplicate can be placed both at the beginning and at the end creating, as it were, a frame around particular clause(s), as the head and tail clause are the same. This type of recapitulation seems to be used to return to the foreground after having switched to background information. For example:

- (5) *ʔəθwa xa ʔarya mšītera wewa l-tūra. | lā qabəlwa čū barnašət zəlwale l-tura, | maxewa qàyse | ʔu ʔawəðwa xà mändi. | hār zəlwale, | g-naxəθwale, k-ixəlwale. | lā qabəlwa ču xa zawale.*<sup>1</sup>  
 There was a lion who controlled a mountain. **He did not allow any humans to enter** the mountain to cut wood or

to do anything else. If someone went there, he would come down on them and eat them. **He did not allow anyone to go there.** (ChA. Duhok, *Man and Lion*, §2)

- (6) *řā-bī čo got, 'tə-vēt hīn vè kəčē bə-dən mən. | mən nāv-ū dangē wē gò lē bī. | kəčakā yā pēškēš-ū barkatī-ya. | tə-vēt hīn vè kəčē bə-dən mən.*<sup>1</sup>

He rose and went to Khajija's family and said, **'You must give me this daughter of yours in marriage.** I have heard about her fame. I have heard that she is a beautiful and gifted girl. **You must give me this daughter of yours in marriage.'** (NK. Khizava, Text 31: *Firyat and Khajija*, §6)

### 5.5. Synonymous Repetition

In the NENA texts it is not uncommon for the multilingual speaker to repeat a Kurdish loanword with its Arabic equivalent. One could analyse this type of synonymous repetition as an instance of codeswitching, inserting a word from among the multilingual repertoire into the Neo-Aramaic frame for the sake of clarification. In (7) below, for instance, the speaker first says *dargāvana* adapted from Kurdish *dargavān*, i.e. *dergevan* or ده‌رگه‌وان in Kurdish orthography, meaning 'gatekeeper, guard', then immediately repeats the same concept through the Arabic equivalent *ħarās*, i.e. حارس *ħāris*, meaning 'guard, guardian'. The speaker does not do this only once, but several times in the story whenever he uses the word *dargāvana*.

- (7) *man manxətle dargāvana, <sup>A</sup>ħarās<sup>A</sup>, mən š-xòrta?<sup>1</sup> | lāybe manxətle,<sup>1</sup> ḡàyka manxətle?<sup>1</sup>*

Who gets down **the gatekeeper, the guard**, from the poplar? He could not get him down. Where would he get him down? (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §193)

The NK Duhok example below reflects a similar phenomenon. The storyteller, a native speaker of Badini Northern Kurdish from Duhok, first uses the more prestigious Central Kurdish *dəl̄niya* ‘sure, certain’ then switches to the equivalent Northern Kurdish *pištrāst*.<sup>25</sup>

- (8) *bərayē wē yē dəl̄niā=ya, | yē pištrāst=a | Fātmā sababī bo nā-bēžitān |*

The brother was sure and certain that Fatma would not tell him the cause of her wounded hand (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, Her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §69).

Similarly, in (9) the bilingual speaker from Zakho repeats the Arabic loanword ‘*arrāf*’ ‘fortune teller’ with its Kurdish equivalent *xēvzānk*.

- (9) *got-ē, ‘hāl-ū masalēt ‘arāfi yēt xēxzānkī avā-na | ət-vēt az tà bə-kəm haykalē pərē dā. ʔ |*

He said, ‘The fortune-teller’s saying is like this; I must put you into the construction of the bridge.’ (NK. Zakho, Text 11: *The Bridge of Dalal*, §17)

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<sup>25</sup> See Haig & Mustafa (2019) for a sociolinguist study of Bahdini Kurdish in Duhok.

## 6.0. Demonstratives, Indefinites and Deictic Particles

### 6.1. Indefinite Suffixes and Particles

Indefiniteness is expressed by the prenominal *xa* derived from the numeral ‘one’ in NENA, e.g. *xa malka* ‘a certain king’, and the suffix *-ak* derived from *yak* ‘one’ in both Northern and Central Kurdish varieties, e.g. *sag-ak* ‘a certain dog’. Indefinite marking tends to be associated with specific nominals that have a prominent role in the discourse structure, especially when first introduced in the narrative, e.g.

- (1) *k-amər ʔətwa xa malka gu de mātā.*<sup>1</sup>

It is said there was **a king** in the village. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 5: *Zambilfrosh by W. Toma*, §2)

- (2) *got-ī zamānē xo-y qašāk ha-bū.*<sup>1</sup> *aw qaša zamān-ī galak pīs bū.*<sup>1</sup>

It was said that there once was a Christian priest. The priest was very foul-mouthed. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest*, §1)

The indefinite suffix tends to be absent on nominals which have an incidental role in the discourse, cf. Neo-Aramaic *ʔida* ‘hand’ in (3) and Kurdish *musalahā* ‘police car’ in (4).

- (3) *ʔida wəre l-adya ʔələt šūpurta gōrīn.*<sup>1</sup>

He stretched out **a hand** to the sparrow. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A ‘Pious’ Fox*, §18)

- (4) *suwārī musalahâ-yân kerd-û lo Hawlêrê.*<sup>1</sup>

They put him into a **police car**, and headed towards Erbil.

(CK. Shaqlawa, Text 21: *A Man and His Dog*, §4)

## 6.2. Near Deixis Demonstratives

Near deixis demonstratives can be used anaphorically to refer to the main protagonist in the tale, in addition to the deictic function, i.e. pointing to referents in the extra-linguistic situation. The forms are given in Table 10. below.

Table 10. Near demonstrative pronouns in NENA and Kurdish

	NENA		NK.		CK.
	NOM	GEN	DIR	OBL	
sg.m.	<i>ʾawwa</i>	<i>dawwa</i>		<i>vî</i>	<i>aw</i>
sg.f.	<i>ʾayya</i>	<i>dayya</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>vê</i>	
pl.	<i>ʾanna</i>	<i>danna</i>		<i>vân</i>	<i>(a)wân</i>

As anaphora, the near deixis demonstratives forms are used for nominals whose referents are the centre of attention at a particular point in the discourse, for example *ʾāna* (< \* *ʾanna*) in ChA. Shaqlawa:

- (5) *ʾatwa trê malaye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾāna tre malâye,*<sup>1</sup> *malayət xà mata=wənwā,*<sup>1</sup> *xā məzgaft-u xā mātā.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾāna tre malâye*<sup>1</sup> *xəzmətət dè məzgaft*<sup>1</sup> *ʾudiwā*<sup>1</sup> *gàwət*<sup>1</sup> *maşròxe*<sup>1</sup> *qatət mşalòye=w*<sup>1</sup> *gu hđarət gu taziye=w*<sup>1</sup> *məndyàne.*<sup>1</sup>

There were two mullahs. **These** two mullahs were mullahs serving the same village, the same mosque and the same village. **These** two mullahs served the mosque by calling to prayer, attending funerals and so on. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 28: *Two Mullahs*, §2–3)

- (6) *āwān ži nà-vīyāt bə-də-yē,<sup>1</sup> diyānatā wān nà ēk bī.<sup>1</sup> av lə Bahnīnē bəsəlmān bī.<sup>1</sup> avē dītərə —nə-zānəm—,<sup>1</sup> ijā ān ān masihī bī<sup>1</sup> ān zaradaštī bī.<sup>1</sup>*

They did not want to give her to him in marriage, since their religion was not the same. **The one** from Bahnīn was Muslim. As for **the other one**—I do not know [for sure]—he was either Christian or Zoroastrian. (NK. Khizava, Text 31: *Firyat and Khajija*, §7).

In CK. Shaqlawa the forms singular *aw* and plural (*a*)*wān* are used for both near and far demonstrative, thus having a similar function, as shown in (7) below, and contrasting with NK. *av* (near deixis) and *aw* (far deixis).

- (7) *got-ī zamānē xo-y qašāk ha-bū.<sup>1</sup> aw qaša zāmān-ī galak pīs bū.<sup>1</sup>*

It was said that there once was a Christian priest. **This/that priest** was very foul-mouthed. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest*, §1)

### 6.3. Zero Anaphora

Throughout the Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic the main characters of the story and thus highly topical arguments are often reduced to zero anaphora, as they are presupposed to be easily retrieved from the context. The majority of subject referents in the narratives, especially in dialogues, are only marked on the verb via person indexes and agreement, and thus verbal person marking is the core morphological device to construct referential coherence. This reflects universal bias against lexical NPs in A (transitive subject) function (Du Bois 1987), and their low

referential density (Bickel 2003). The verb with its generally obligatory subject inflection constitutes the core around which the discourse is organised, while the other arguments can be considered more or less optional.

The following passage from *A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain* narrated in the Kurdish dialect of Duhok contains a dialogue between an evil stepmother and her daughter, which illustrates the use of zero anaphora. The switch in referents, i.e. the stepmother and the daughter, is generally not indicated and zero anaphora are used instead. Only once the ambiguous independent pronoun *aw* is used in combination with the additive marker *ži*, but the pronoun itself is ambiguous.

- (8) *damē dā dad=a kūrē xo<sup>1</sup> žənbābē dastē kəčā xo gərt got=ē,<sup>1</sup>*  
*‘həstoyē ta bə-škētən!<sup>1</sup> mā ava šūl bū tà kəri?<sup>1</sup> mā ava ta čə bə*  
*sarē ma inā!<sup>1</sup> mā ava čə darmāna tà ināy?<sup>1</sup> gūt=a kəčā xo yā*  
*žə rəst rā.<sup>1</sup> gūt=ē, ‘ava har àw=a awē ta š<sup>1</sup> Hənārē sətāndi.<sup>1</sup>*  
***gūt=ē, ‘na na ava na àw=a!<sup>1</sup> gūt=ē, ‘balē bāwar ka àw=a<sup>1</sup> gūt=ē,***  
*‘awa čə bū?’—hāšārē wa—**gūt=ē, ‘pisātī bū.<sup>1</sup> aw ži galà gala***  
*‘ājəz bū.<sup>1</sup> har tə wē dami dā damē wa **goti=ē<sup>1</sup>** waki gēžbūnaqē*  
*bū čək **bū<sup>1</sup>** ū hēl əf ‘ardi **kāt.<sup>1</sup>***

When he gave the medicine to his son, the stepmother grabbed her daughter’s hand and said, ‘May your bones be broken! What have you done? Why did you do this to us? What is this medicine that you’ve brought?’ **She said** these words to her real daughter. **She (i.e. the daughter) said**, ‘This is exactly the one you took from Hinar.’ **She (i.e. the stepmother) said**, ‘No, this is not the one!’ **She (i.e. the daughter) said**, ‘Yes, believe me this is the one!’ **She (i.e.**



**the daughter) said**, ‘What was that then?’—May it be far from you the audience—**She (i.e. the stepmother) said**, ‘It was animal’s dirt.’ Then **she** (i.e. the daughter) got very troubled. As soon as **she** (i.e. stepmother) **said** those words, **she** (i.e. her daughter) **experienced** some dizziness and **fell** to the ground. (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §63-64)

The same holds for the following dialogue between a father (the king) and his son (the prince) from the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Shaqlawa, where the narrative verb is expressed by means of *ʿamər* lit. ‘he says’ and the only indication of a switch, e.g.

- (9) *har yeksar mən tã ɾa wəre,| babu tele b-qàmu. | mən rãw bitáye=le. | ʿamər: yà babi, | ʿaxtsi janux gu fãhì ma=w | ʿadya mutwe=wət. | ʿamər: mà bəxdare=wət? | ʿamər: madam bar naša gənsakū la mayù te=le, | tsə ɾəma lət gu de dūnye. | xayə lət gawaw. | ʿamər: ya bròni | qamà ʿatxa səhla lux? | mdiwəne? | mà =ile? | bròni | ʿamər: ʿitù | xur ʿàta. | kursiyi çyawəna qātux. | malka k-udənu x l-dùki. | ʿatxa k-udən qatux, | ʿatxa k-udən qatux. | ʿamər: kùle be fàyde=na ʿāna. | là g-nafʿili. | ʿamər: matənu x bəxta, | mustàqbal. | yàle k-awelux. | gu yàle k-pašxət, | gu bəta k-pašxət. |*

The moment he entered through the door, his father came to meet him. He was coming back from hunting. **He said**, ‘Father, you consider yourself to be a wise person.’ **He (the king) said**, ‘What are you wondering about?’ **He said**, ‘Since all the human race is mortal, this world has no longer any taste. There is no life in it.’ **He (the king) said**, ‘My

son, why has this feeling come over you? Has he gone mad? Or what?’ ‘My son,’ **he said**, ‘sit and look here. I shall give my throne to you. I shall make you a king in my place. I shall do such and such things for you.’ **He said**, ‘These things are all without benefit. They are no use’. **He (the king) said**, ‘I shall bring you a woman and a future. You will have children. You will have joy in your children. You will have pleasure in a family.’ (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh* by A. Sher, §12–15)

#### 6.4. Deictic Particles and Copulas

The Neo-Aramaic dialects—as well as the *qəltu*-Arabic dialects of the region— have developed various presentative copulas out of presentative particles and/or deictic elements combined with the (pronominal) copula. The third person singular forms of such presentative copulas can, in turn, further grammaticalize into invariant particles. In the Neo-Aramaic texts in our collection, such presentative copulas can be used to express mirativity, for example in (10) below, and are often combined with verbs of perception either before the verb, as shown in (11), or after it, as shown in (12). The presentative copula and its related particles can thus be used by the narrator for the purpose of suspense sometimes through their identification with the surprise of the unsuspecting character, adding a sense of anticipation at crucial moments in the story.

(10) *qam-šarela mən* ‘*aqəle*,<sup>1</sup> **wela** *trəšta*.<sup>1</sup>

He untied it from its bandages and **look, it has** healed! (JA. Duhok, Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf*, §21)

(11) **wele k-xaze** b-ʿaynət ʾənnə,<sup>1</sup> ʿaynət kàlba<sup>1</sup> mbalboşe gawət kèpa  
(So he went to tap the rock with his hand) and **look**, he  
saw the dog's eyes glinting under the rock (ChA. Duhok,  
Text 18: *A Dog, a Ewe and a Wolf*, §12)

(12) xəre ʾila xa ʿaqərwə<sup>1</sup> hola bənxata kùmta,<sup>1</sup> ʾəš-malka dād-  
nasàle.

He looked and—**lo and behold!**—a scorpion was coming  
down—black—onto the king to bite him. (ChA. Duhok,  
Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §124)

In Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Shaqlawa, the deictic  
copula based on wəl- or wāl-, targeting the addressee in a dia-  
logue, can express impatience and irritation:

(13) **wəlux** yəmu!<sup>1</sup> bratət mà ʾəl ʿurxət ʾalaha?<sup>1</sup>

**Come on**, my son! What girl for God's sake?! (ChA.  
Shaqlawa, Text 23: *The Poor Girl and her Horse*, §19)

In Kurdish tales the presentative particles *ā*, and *ahā* are  
used to express mirativity. They convey the speaker's surprise  
upon experiencing an unexpected situation. In the tales these par-  
ticles also serve as an attention-drawing strategy.

(14) barē xo dat-ē wērī galakā bē-sar-ū-bār-a.<sup>1</sup> **ahā**, bəryaqi<sup>1</sup> t-  
bīnītən,<sup>1</sup> sar ēk šə wān taxtā yē nəvəstī-ya.<sup>1</sup>

She looked around the cave and saw that it was very messy.  
**Lo**, she saw a brother sleeping on one of the beds. (NK.  
Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old  
Witch*, §14)

- (15) *bārāyē mazə̀n jo t̄-kavitən.*<sup>|</sup> *ət̄-bēžt-ē,* ‘*ā* *ava čan təštəkī sàyr-a*  
*čē boy!*<sup>|</sup>

The eldest brother bludgeoned his way through his brothers and said to them, ‘**Oh**, what has been happening here is indeed surprising!’ (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §19)

## 7.0. Syntactic Stylistics

### 7.1. Word Order

#### 7.1.1. Repetition and Inversion

As a stylistic device, an entire clause or part of the clause can be repeated in the reverse order. One of its effects is to draw attention to a certain event in the narrative and establish event cohesion with the preceding clause through tail-head linkage.<sup>26</sup>

- (1) *bāle šqulle nāra dīdox!*<sup>|</sup> *nāra dīdox šqulle,*<sup>|</sup> *g-emər, mxīle go*  
*reši,*<sup>|</sup> *kmà ʔibox!*<sup>|</sup> *ʔu tūrre reši bət nāra.*<sup>|</sup>

‘But **take your axe! Take your axe,**’ he says, ‘and hit my head with it as hard as you can. And crack my head with the axe.’ (JA. Duhok, Text 16: *A Man and a Wolf*, §17)

- (2) *fa-mà wədle ʔamír?*<sup>|</sup> *ʔāmír mà wədle?*<sup>|</sup> *ʔamər...*<sup>|</sup>

So, **what did the prince do? What did the prince do?** He said... (ChA. Zakho, Text 10: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §19)

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<sup>26</sup> See §2.4.

- (3) *babay məθle.*<sup>1</sup> *babət Mərzá Mħámád-u ʾAħmád Čálābi-w Mħámád Čálābi,*<sup>1</sup> *məθle bəbay.*<sup>1</sup> *malka məθle.*<sup>1</sup>

**Their father died.** The father of Mirza Muhammad, Ahmad Chalabi and Muhammad Chalabi—**their father died.** The king **died.** (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza*, §17)

- (4) *šīr-o matālēt xo řā-t-kan-o*<sup>1</sup> *t-hēn-a šařē xo t-kàn.*<sup>1</sup> *tə-hēn-a šařē*<sup>1</sup> *ət-kan-o*<sup>1</sup> *šařē xo t-kàn-o.*<sup>1</sup> ... *ət wī šařē dā*<sup>1</sup> ... *xəškēt wī*<sup>1</sup> ... *t-ēn-a koštən,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ēn-a koštən xəškēt wī.*<sup>1</sup> *hatā də-zəvřət-a qasrē*<sup>1</sup> *aw yē dargāhē pəštē řā čoyñ.*<sup>1</sup>

They picked up their swords and shields and went (lit. came) to fight. They went and fought. They fought their fight. In that battle **his sisters were killed.** **His sisters were killed.** By the time he came back to the palace, the ones from the back gate had gone away. (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §78-79)

### 7.1.2. Word Order in Kurdish

In Kurdish the word order is by default SOV. In the following example, the direct object moves from its default position to the post-verbal slot to create a link with the following relative clause of which it is the head:

- (5) *kāfərà gərt av payxambara-w,*<sup>1</sup> *awē lə siyārē Dəndəlī-ya.*<sup>1</sup>

The villains waylaid **the prophet**, the one who was riding Dindil. (NK. Dure, Text 37: *The Prophet's Horse*, §6)

A change in the position of O relative to S is triggered by factors such as topicalisation. In the following example, the SOV order is observed in the first clause. In the second clause though,

the order changes to OSV due to the topicalisation of the direct object, marked by the additive particle *ži*.

- (6) *tu dē išāra darmānī bēži-ya ma<sup>l</sup> ʾardiži tē bū mà dastnišān kay<sup>l</sup>*  
 You shall tell us about the whereabouts of the medicine. In addition, you shall show us the exact place in which you have hidden the medicine. (NK. Duhok, Text26: *Dindik Hinār—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §106)

### 7.1.3. Word Order in NENA

In the majority of NENA dialects of northwestern Iraq and south-eastern Turkey,<sup>27</sup> word order is relatively more flexible and more sensitive to pragmatics than word order in Kurdish. The clause-initial slot or left periphery is generally used for topicalisation. Thus, the most frequent position of independent personal pronouns is clause-initial, which coincides with their high topicality. In (7) below, however, rather than occurring in its more frequent clause-initial position, the independent personal pronoun *ʾana* is postposed to clause-final position, as a stylistic variant to show event cohesion with the preceding and draw the listener's attention to it.

- (7) *ʾàmər:<sup>l</sup> ʾana māḥammād=iwən.<sup>l</sup> ʾe gət mære māḥammād=iwən, kəmu ptəxle<sup>l</sup> šūpurta ʾərəqla.<sup>l</sup> ʾawhū!<sup>l</sup> ʾana qa mà məri māḥammadi?<sup>l</sup> hawənwa mira jərjəs=iwən ʾāna...<sup>l</sup>*

He said, 'I am Muḥammad.' When he said, 'I am Muḥammad', he opened his mouth and the sparrow fled away. 'Oh! Why did I say I was Muḥammad? If I only had

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<sup>27</sup> See Noorlander and Molin (2022) for a comparison of word order typology in NENA dialects.

said I was George...’ (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: A ‘Pious’ Fox, §37)

Since the most common order is topic-comment, SVO order is characteristic of these NENA dialects. There is, however, a tendency for discourse-new subjects to follow the predicate, especially inthetic sentences, e.g.

(8) *qəmle θele xà qala. | mère, |*

‘Then a voice came and said,’ (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §3)

In NENA dialects where indefinite objects are generally postverbal, preverbal position, i.e. OV, is an optional stylistic variant of definite object placement. In the example below, for instance, the object *xanjart ’aqərwa* ‘the dagger of the scorpion’ is placed before the verb *gəm-garəšle*, which takes the L-suffix *-le* and indexes the object. Fronting as such serves to provide event cohesion with the preceding and draws attention to the fronted object.

(9) *ham ’awa gəm-mapə̀qle xanjar diye. | malka gəm-yawə̀lle t̃àleh, |*  
*’u xanjart ’aqərwa gəm-garə̀šle. | ’aqərwa ñpə̀lla t̃àma m̃ə̀θta. |*

So he drew his dagger. The king gave it to him and he pulled off **the dagger of the scorpion**. The scorpion fell down dead right there. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §216)

There is a far stronger tendency for OV word order in the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Shaqlawa (NE Iraq), however, which converges with the word order in the local Kurdish variety. Even discourse-new arguments, such as indefinite objects and

newly introduced protagonists in the story, will tend to be placed before the predicate, e.g.

(10) *m-xúška qādamta qəmlē. | xa karta wədwale qātu. | ʔlaha qupyàta=w | xa ʔawa=š qa de baxta xšùsi wədwale.*<sup>1</sup>

He woke up early next morning. He made **a load of baskets** for himself. He made **three baskets and a special mat for the woman**. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 5: *Zambilfrosh* by W. Toma, §18)

## 7.2. Verbal Syntax

### 7.2.1. The Narrative Function of Verb forms

As will be seen in this section, the following table shows the convergence between NENA and Kurdish in the functions the verb forms express. The 3sg. form of the verb ‘to go’ in Kurdish and the verb ‘to take’ in NENA has been given for ease of comparison:

Table 11. Main discourse functions of verbal forms in Kurdish and NENA

	NK	CK	NENA	Function
<b>Present</b>	<i>ət-čə-t</i>	<i>a-čē-t</i>	<i>k-šaqəl</i> or <i>y-šaqəl</i>	Narrative present
<b>Past Perfective</b>	<i>čū</i>	<i>čū</i>	<i>šqalle</i>	Narrative past
			<i>qam-šaqalle</i>	Transitive narrative past (NENA only)
<b>Present Perfect</b>	<i>čūy</i>	<i>čū-a</i>	<i>šqila=yle</i>	Evidential (Kurdish only); Anterior
<b>Imperative</b>	<i>hař-a</i>	<i>bə-řo</i>	<i>šqūl</i>	Narrative imperative (NENA only)



### 7.2.2. Narrative Present

Narrative (or historical) present is the use of present tense forms to refer to past events. It is a common device in oral narratives, and its use is linked with making past events vivid and increasing the dramatic impact of the story (Schiffrin 1981). The narrative present has the same referential function in Kurdish and Aramaic narratives. In so doing, it can alternate with the past tense, mainly to foreground special events with respect to other events. In the following example from Neo-Aramaic, for instance, a surprise triggers the use of present tense forms:

- (11) *nxàtle ʾəl darta.* | *ʾila xàze* | *darga bàra;* | *hole kalya qam-tàra,* |  
*yaʿni hārəs.* | *hole kalya-w hole t̄wìʾa.* |

He went down into the garden. Look! He **saw** (lit. he sees) a front door; he **was** (lit. is) **standing** at the gate, I mean, a guard. He **was** (lit. is) **standing** though asleep. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §122)

In the Kurdish excerpt below, the narrative present expresses new information. In other words, it foregrounds the events expressed earlier by the narrative past:

- (12) *Mîrzà Məhamadî šîr-û matālēt xo înan-a darē.* | *o aš ... pičakē*  
*š wān dîr kat-o lə wārā har hāt-o čo.* | *dît du sê sîyārakē t-*  
*ēn-o.* | *yē b-sar t-ēn.* |

Mirza Muhammad **took out** his sword and shield. He **went some distance** from them and kept walking around (lit. He **came and went**) there. He **saw** that two or three riders

**came** (lit. come). They **came** (lit. come) to him. (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §17-18)

In NENA, the indicative present form, i.e. *k-šaqəl* or *y-šaqəl*, and occasionally also the unmarked form, i.e. *šaqəl*, can be used instead of the past perfective, i.e. *šqəlle* and *qam-šaqəlle*, to express the narrative past (Khan 2009, 171–172). This is especially common with the reporting or narrative verb ‘to say’, e.g. *ʾamər*, *k-imər* or *y-amər* for ‘he said’, where generally the form that would express the imperfective present in conversational speech is used in the narrative to denote a punctual event completed in the past.

Likewise, the narrative present in Kurdish is common with reporting and narrative verbs. The use of the narrative present is excluded from subordinate clauses, which typically express background events.

### 7.2.3. Narrative Imperative

The so-called Narrative Imperative is only attested in the NENA texts of the present collection. The narrator, as it were, commands the character in the story and typically adopts this technique with verbs of motion (Khan 2009, 172).<sup>28</sup> This notwithstanding, verbs of motion are also the more frequent ones to occur in the imperative in general.

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<sup>28</sup> The narrative imperative also occurs in Arabic folktales, e.g. Talmon (2001, 224–225).

(13) *psèle<sup>|</sup> psù,<sup>|</sup> psù,<sup>|</sup> psù,<sup>|</sup> psù,<sup>|</sup> psù,<sup>|</sup> psù,<sup>|</sup> psù!<sup>|</sup>*

He went off. Off you go and on and on and on and on! (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh* by A. Sher, §20)

#### 7.2.4. Evidentiality

In the Kurdish dialect of Shaqlawa, the perfect can also express a habitual situation in the past which the speaker knows about through hearsay, i.e. the speaker has not witnessed the event themselves, for example:

(14) *aw jâ xarkakà dā-nīštī-na.<sup>|</sup> šaw=iš dərēž bûa.<sup>|</sup> ba tāybatī šaw-ē hāwīn-ān.<sup>|</sup> dā-nīštī-na hatā dawrī sa‘āt da-ū yāzday.<sup>|</sup> la iš-ū kārī hātī-na-wabàw<sup>|</sup> aw jâ sawzà=w mīwà=w masalan<sup>|</sup> qaysī-ū məšməša=w aw xwārnānay ka ha-bûa.<sup>|</sup> dā-yān-nāy-aw haqāyat=yān gērāy=n-awa<sup>|</sup> hatā řoyīštī=ya.<sup>|</sup>*

Back then, people **would sit together**. The nights **were** long. They **would sit around**, especially during summer nights until 10 p.m., 11 p.m. People **would come back** home from their daily work. It **was** the custom that vegetables and fruit, such as dried apricot, apricot, and such **would be put** in front of the guests while they **would narrate** the tales until they **would leave** the party. (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 19: *A Ewe and a Wolf*, §6)

This evidential function of the perfect is also attested in NENA (Khan 2012, 2020) and other languages in the region such as Turkish, Persian and West Armenian (e.g. Lazrad 1999).

## 7.2.5. Repetition of Motion Verbs

Individual motion verbs can be repeated to indicate that the action denoted by the verb reiterated or continued for some time.

- (15) *ga ʿarta zāle-w zāle-w zāle-w, qam-šawəra ga ʿarta xandaq.*<sup>1</sup>  
Once more he **kept going** (lit. he went and went and went) and then he jumped over the trench again (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza*, §14)

- (16) *ū hāt-ū hāt-ū mantaqa hatā hātī kalhā šābāniyē.*<sup>1</sup>  
He **kept coming** (lit. he came and he came) until he arrived at the gate of the Shabani citadel. (NK. Khizava, Text 7: *Zanbilfirosh—The Basket Seller*, §16)

The following examples with the repetition of the motion verb have the same durative function.

- (17) *dīv dā cītən bərayē wē.*<sup>1</sup> *dīv dā t-čī, dīv dā t-čī, dīv dā t-čī, barē xo dat-ē pīražənàḵ ā lə wērē.*<sup>1</sup>

Her brother followed her. He **kept following her** all the way and noticed that an old woman was there. (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §70–71)

- (18) *aw pīražəna čū-a žorē,*<sup>1</sup> *har dar-nà-hāt*<sup>1</sup> *har dar-nà-hāt.*<sup>1</sup> *zor-ī pē čū.*<sup>1</sup>

‘The old woman went inside. **She did not come out of the house for a while** (lit. She did not come out; she did not come out.) (CK. Shaqlawa, Text 38: *The Foul-Mouthed Priest*, §8)

### 7.2.6. Negation of the Predicate

Both Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish make use of a construction that conjoins an affirmative and negative polarity of the same predicate, literally meaning ‘he did and did not do X’. The context in which this idiom is generally used is that of a failed attempt or uncertain outcome.<sup>29</sup>

In Kurdish this idiom indicates incomplete action equivalent to English *not yet*, as in the following case:

- (19) *nānē xo k̄ar k̄ar na-k̄ar<sup>l</sup> sībarāk̄-ā gala galak-ā m̄azən  
p̄əž dīyār k̄ar<sup>l</sup>*

She had not completely cut the bread into pieces yet (lit. **she cut her bread into pieces; she did not cut her bread into pieces**), when a very big shadow appeared from behind. (NK. Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §8)

In NENA, the same idiom expresses an indefinite series of events without delivering the desired results,<sup>30</sup> for example:

- (20) *mà ̄ele<sup>l</sup> ʾu là ̄ele<sup>l</sup> là wādla b-xabreḥ.<sup>l</sup>*

Whatever happened (lit. **what came and did not come**), she did not listen to him. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters*, §72)

This feature also occurs in narratives recorded in the Neo-Aramaic dialects of Ṭur ʿAbdin (e.g. Jastrow and Talay 2019, 24).

<sup>29</sup> This syntagm also occurs in Arabic where it expresses dilemma (Talmon 2001, 222).

<sup>30</sup> This function of a similar construction is a typical trait of the languages of the Balkans (Joseph 1992).

### 7.2.7. Modal Particle *de*

Both Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic can use the particle *dā*, *da*, *de* or *də* to intensify an imperative verb, for example:

(21) *b-kèpux,| də sî!*

As you wish, go **then!** (ChA. Duhok, Text 18: *A Dog, a Ewe and a Wolf*, §5)

(22) *dā řā-bîn žə vē rē bə-čîn!*

Let us rise and leave this place! (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §30)

## 8.0. Notes on Storytelling Techniques<sup>31</sup>

### 8.1. Repetition as Storytelling

Thus far we have observed that recapitulation is both a stylistic device and a discourse strategy. Repetition can also be a storytelling technique, for instance to create a pattern within the tale, as in a repetitive tale like the *The Three Little Pigs*. Consider for instance the Mirza story in the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Harnashe (Text 33). Once upon a time there were three princes and three princesses. This already establishes a base for the pattern that the narrator will develop in his short tale. Mirza, the youngest of the princes, claims the three princesses for himself and his brothers by meeting the challenge set forth by their father, the king. The overall plot of the story is thus based on the reiteration of the same event for each princess, with only slight variation, such as the colour of Mirza Muhammad's horse (black,

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<sup>31</sup> On thematic patterning, see Molin, Chapter 2, this volume.

white, red) and the fact that Mirza, the youngest brother, gets to marry the youngest princess.

Repetition, however, can also serve to designate objects or characters which appear insignificant when first mentioned but reappear frequently and or intrude suddenly in the narrative (Pinault 1992: 16). To illustrate, in the Kurdish Mirza tale (Text 34), Gulizar, Mirza Muhammad's wife, has beautiful golden hair. The old woman who hosts Mirza Muhammad's family, advises Gulizar to tie her hair strands, which fall out while taking a bath in the river, to a stick. The recurring statements about her hair create a background for its later significance in the tale, where the rain washes away Gulizar's hair strands to a lake in a neighbouring region, and the hair strands make the lake golden. Upon seeing the golden hair strands, the sultan of that region orders the owner of the hair to be found in order to marry her to his son. This triggers later events in the narrative, including the sultan's men attacking the old woman's castle, Gulizar's abduction by sultan's men, Mirza Muhammad's bid to bring back his wife, who has been married to the sultan's son, etc.

Another example comes from the Mirza epic narrated in the Christian Neo-Aramaic dialect of Duhok (Text 32). Every time Mirza killed a monster, he took their ears and put them in his pocket. At first, this recurring event seems random and insignificant, but later it turns out that this is the one piece of evidence he could show to the king as well as his brothers to prove that he was the one who had killed them and saved everyone.

The principle of *Leitworstil*, i.e. intentional repetition of a core word or word root key to unlock the meaning of the story,

which has been applied in Biblical studies, can also be applied to other narratives such as *The Arabian Nights* (Pinault 1992: 18). By extension, the principle of *Leitsätze* involves the repetition of entire phrases, clauses or sentences for a similar purpose (Pinault *ibid.* 21). In introducing the Mirza story, the narrator announces he will tell a story from the time when people used to be *mar ġiratta*,<sup>32</sup> where *mar* goes back to the construct state of the Aramaic word *mare* ‘master, owner’ and *ġiratta* to Arabic غيرة *ġayra* from the root *ġyr* ‘to be jealous’. The phrase *mar ġiratta* can be rendered as ‘possessor of zeal’, which captures the hero prototype. The hero is brave, virtuous, fearless, and devoted to the cause. The phrase *mar ġiratta* recurs with respect to Mirza and provides the rationale for his actions. He is not simply a hero who is powerful and clever enough to overcome all challenges, but he also acts with dignity. For instance, carrying out his father’s last wishes was a matter of honour. When it was his turn to keep watch, there was no more fire and he could not get the fire started again. He was afraid to wake his brothers and asked them for help, as this would make him, the youngest, come across as the weakling. At the same time, when he wanted to take the fire from the monsters’ cave, his dignity did not allow him to steal the fire stealthily, since stealing is wrong. He also did not want to leave the old woman, the goddess Time, tied up, but intended to untie her as soon as he got the fire, as this would not be honourable etc. etc. His heroic qualities are a recurring theme and the repetition of the word *ġiratta* thus epitomises this.

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<sup>32</sup> The cultural significance of this term was pointed out to me by Lourid Hanna.



## 8.2. Dramatic Visualisation

Dramatic visualisation is one of the devices used in folktales through which an object or a character is described in detail in order to make the scene ‘visual’ and tangible to the audience (cf. Pinault 1992, 25–29), for example:

- (1) *barē xo dat=ē. | barē xo dat=ē čə t-bīnītən? | pīražənàk=a. | pəštā wē yā xār. | dəfnā wē yā mazən. | xəzēmaḵ ət dəfnā wē dā=ya, | kū hāndī təblakā mārūvī tēdā=ya. | hāndī təblakā mārōvī yā va-ḵārī=ya xəzēm. | ū gala galak yā kərət=a. | yā zaʕf=a. | nūkēt wē dərēž=ən.*

She looked around. She looked around; what did she see? There was an old woman there. She was a hunchback. Her nose was big. A nose-ring was on her nose, on which there were some human fingers. The nose-ring was the size of a human finger. She was very ugly. She was very thin. Her fingernails were long. (NK. Duhok, Text 30: *The Girl, her Evil Stepmother and the Old Witch*, §51)

## 9.0. Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented an overview of the common features of the oral narrative style found in the texts in this collection, the main ones listed in Table 12. below. Our primary aim has been to show that this collection of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic narratives proves a fruitful starting point for further investigation of the convergence between the languages not only in terms of shared linguistic structures, but also in terms of common traits of oral narratives, including stylistic devices, discourse strategies and storytelling techniques. Some of these features we have seen

are common to many other communities in the world, such as the opening formulas, some of which are paralleled by introductory formulas in the Balkans, the Caucasus and beyond. A number of features, such as repetition, the use of fillers and sound symbolism can be considered typical of oral narratives in general. Tail-head linkage—for instance, an areal pragmatic feature of New Guinea (de Vries 2005)—may be a more common trait of oral literature throughout the world, e.g. it is also found in Amazonian languages (Guillaume 2011). Other features tend to group Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic with immediately neighbouring languages such as Arabic, Azeri and Armenian. Some of these are typical of Semitic oral traditions, such as the use of the verb ‘to rise’ in discourse linkage, which spread into the Kurdish narrative style. Many fillers, idioms and phrases ultimately come from Arabic. The concluding formula involving the three apples is a typical trait of Iraqi Arabic narratives, but also occurs in Kurdish, Aramaic, Azeri and Armenian.

Table 12. Overview of some shared narrative hallmarks

	<b>Feature</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>Formulas</b>	There was there was not	§1.1.1.
	There was none greater than God	§1.1.4.
	Impersonal use of 'to say'	§1.1.5.
	Blessing of parents	§1.1.6.
	It is finished	§1.2.1.
	I came back from there	§1.2.2.
	They gave me nothing	§1.2.2.
	They gave me three apples	§1.2.2.
<b>Repetition</b>	Recapitulation and tail-head linkage	§2.4.
	Repetition and inversion	§7.1.
	Repeated motion	§7.2.5.
<b>Sound symbolism</b>	Reduplication in onomatopoeia	§4.1.5
	<i>m</i> -Reduplication	§4.1.5
<b>Discourse markers</b>	The verb 'to rise'	§2.1.
	Additive particles <i>ži</i> and <i>-š</i>	§2.2.
	' <i>e</i> / <i>a</i> 'yes'	§3.2.
	<i>ya'ni</i> 'it means'	§3.2.
	<i>wallā</i> 'by God'	§3.2.
<b>Verbal syntax</b>	Narrative Present	§7.2.2.
	Narrative Imperative	§7.2.4.
	Modal particle <i>de/ dā</i>	§7.2.7.
	V not-V	§7.2.6.
	Evidentiality	§7.2.4.



## **GLOSSED TEXTS**



# CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF DURE

## TEXT 8: §1–9

*Geoffrey Khan*

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### Speaker: Dawid Adam

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/231/>

(1) *gu Zàxo<sup>|</sup> bnaya we-wa xa gəšra<sup>|</sup>*  
in Zakho build.INF COP.3PL-PST one bridge

In Zakho, they were building a bridge.

*gəšra y-amr-əx-le gəšr-ət Dalàle,<sup>|</sup> b-zon-ət*  
bridge IND-say-1PL-O.3SG.M bridge-of Dalale in-time-of

‘Abbašīye.<sup>|</sup> kəmət ban-í-wa-le ta-t qaṭər-Ø-wa  
Abbasids how.much build-3PL-PST-O.3SG.M to-SBR arch-3SG.M-PST

We call the bridge the bridge of Dalale. [This was] in the time of the Abbasids. However much they built the bridge in order for its arch to be completed,

*’o gəšra,<sup>|</sup> là qaṭər-Ø-wa.<sup>|</sup> ya’ni la*  
that.M bridge NEG arch-3SG.M-PST it.means NEG

*maxe-Ø-wa l-ğðàðe.<sup>|</sup>*  
hit-3SG.M-PST to-each.other

its arch was not completed, it was not put together.

(2) *xa yòma*<sup>|</sup> *’o gòra*<sup>|</sup> *’àğa*<sup>|</sup> *xze-le*  
 one day that.M chief agha see.PFV-3SG.M

*b-xàlm-e*<sup>|</sup>  
 in-dream-his

One day, the chief, the agha, saw in his dream

*’aw zàngîn-we-wa*<sup>|</sup> *xelàn-a*<sup>|</sup> *’iθ-wa-le* *šawwà*  
 he rich=COP.3SG.M-PST powerful-SG.M EXIST-PST-3SG.M seven

*’arxaθa*<sup>|</sup> *’iθ-wa-le* *šawwà* *kalaθa*<sup>|</sup> *’iθ-wa-le*  
 mills EXIST-PST-3SG.M seven daughters.in.law EXIST-PST-3SG.M

*šawwà susyaθa*<sup>|</sup>  
 seven mares

that he was rich and powerful. He had seven water mills. He had seven daughters-in-law. He had seven mares.

*malaxa mār-e* *’all-e dīye*<sup>|</sup> *’mən kul xa*  
 angel say.PFV-3SG.M to-him OBL.3SG.M from every one

*mən dānna*<sup>|</sup> *lazəm xa mbàtl-ət*<sup>|</sup>  
 from OBL.these necessary one eliminate-2SG.M

An angel said to him (in the dream), ‘You must get rid of one of each of these.

*mən kalaθ-ux* *ða kalθ-ux* *qàtl-ət*<sup>|</sup>  
 from daughters.in.law-your one.F daughter.in.law-your kill-2SG.M

*mən susāwaθ-ux xa susta qàtl-ət*<sup>|</sup>  
 from mares-your one mare kill-2SG.M

*mən ’arxaθ-ux xa ’arxe mākkl-ət*<sup>|</sup>  
 from mills-your one mill stop-2SG.M

You should kill one of your daughters-in-law. You should kill one of your mares. You should stop one of your water-mills.’



(3) *ʿanna malaxa mār-e ʿall-e diye ta*  
 these angel say.PFV-3SG.M to-him OBL.3SG.M to  
*ṭ-awəd-Ø-la<sup>1</sup> ta-t ʿo gəšra<sup>1</sup> maxe-Ø l-ğəðəde,<sup>1</sup>*  
 SBR-DO-3SG.M-O.3PL to-SBR that.M bridge hit-3SG.M to-each.other  
*qətər-Ø.<sup>1</sup>*  
 arch-3SG.M

The angel told him to do these things, so that the bridge would come together and its arch would be completed.

*mara ʿo gəšra<sup>1</sup> b-šənne,<sup>1</sup> b-šənne,<sup>1</sup> šurye-la*  
 say.INF that.M bridge for-years for-years begin.PFV-3PL  
*bnaya ta-t maṭe-Ø l-ğəðəde,<sup>1</sup>*  
 build.INF to-SBR reach-3SG.M to-each.other  
*ləle məšy-a.<sup>1</sup>*  
 NEG.COP.3SG.M be.able.PTCP-SG.M

Indeed, they had started building the bridge (and had been working on it) for years and years in order for it to come together, but it could not (be completed).

(4) *qim-ε-le<sup>1</sup> xa ʿarxe*  
 rise.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M one mill  
*mbūt-l-ə-l-la.<sup>1</sup> ʿu xa mən susyaθ-e*  
 stop.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M-O.3SG.F and one from mares-his  
*qtil-ə-l-la.<sup>1</sup> ʿu Daləle,<sup>1</sup> kalθ-e*  
 kill.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M-O.3SG.F and Dalale daughter.in.law-his  
*diye zur-ta šəmm-a Daləle-we-wa,<sup>1</sup>*  
 OBL.3SG.M small-SG.F name-her Dalale=COP.3SG.M-PST

He went and stopped a water-mill and killed one of his mares. Now, Dalale—his youngest daughter-in-law was called Dalale—

ʔε Dalàle<sup>|</sup> qím-ε-le mšùdr-a<sup>|</sup> mənn-a  
 that.F Dalale rise.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M send-PTCP-SG.M with-her  
 ʔixala ta-t nábl-a ta-palàxe<sup>|</sup> t̤-ila plàxa<sup>|</sup>  
 food to-SBR take-3SG.F to-workers SBR-COP-3SG.F work.INF  
 rəš gəšr-ət Dalàle.<sup>|</sup>  
 on bridge-of Dalale

he sent food with Dalale for her to take to the workers who were working on the bridge of Dalale.

(5) ʔanna mīr-ə-l-la,<sup>|</sup> ʔku nəšma<sup>|</sup>  
 they say.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M-O.3SG.F every soul  
 t-màty-a<sup>|</sup> rəš gəšr-ət Dalàle<sup>|</sup> ʔε nəšma  
 SBR-arrive-3SG.F on bridge-of Dalale that.F soul  
 bəd-pèš-a<sup>|</sup> prīm-ta,<sup>|</sup> q̤īl-ta.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 FUT-become-SG.F slaughter.PTCP-SG.F kill.PTCP-SG.F

They said to her, ‘Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed.’

ʔit-la kalba mən-n-a.<sup>|</sup> ʔən hawe-Ø-wa kalba  
 EXIST-3SG.F dog with-her if be-3SG.M-PST dog  
 zil-a qāmày-a,<sup>|</sup> qaṭl-i-wa kàlba.<sup>|</sup>  
 go.PTCP-SG.M first-SG.M kill-3PL-PST dog

She had a dog with her. If the dog had gone first, they would have killed the dog.

là qaṭl-í-wa-la Dalàle.<sup>|</sup>  
 NEG kill-3PL-PST-O.3SG.F Dalale

They would not have killed Dalale.

qím-e-la<sup>|</sup> kalba šqil-le rixa<sup>|</sup> t-xa kàlləš.<sup>|</sup>  
 rise.PTCP-PL=COP.3PL dog take.PFV-3SG.M smell of-one carrion

But the dog picked up the scent of carrion.

*kalləš yăḏ-əṭ mōdi-la?| xa ʿərba miθ-a. |*  
 carrion know-2SG.M what=COP.3SG.F one sheep dead-SG.M

Do you know what a carrion (*kalləš*) is? It is a dead sheep.

(6) *zil-le kalba rəš dē kalləš. |*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M dog on OBL.that.F carrion

The dog went to the carrion.

*ʿayya Dalale piš-la qam-èθa. | zīl-la, |*  
 this.F Dalale become.PFV-3SG.F first-SG.F go.PFV-3SG.F

Dalale became the first one. She went,

*mṭe-la l-gəšra, | qəm-dawq-ì-la. |*  
 arrive.PFV-3SG.F to-bridge PFV-seize-3PL-O.3SG.F

she reached the bridge and they seized her.

*qəm-parm-ì-la. | matt-i-la gu gəšra. |*  
 PFV-slaughter-3PL-O.3SG.F place-3PL-O.3SG.F in bridge

and slaughtered her. They put her in the bridge.

*gəšra qtīr-re. | mxe-le l-gəḏāḏe. |*  
 bridge arch.PFV-3SG.M hit.PFV-3SG.M to-one.another

The arch of the bridge was completed. It came together.

*bena y-àmr-i. |*  
 so IND-say-3PL

So, they say:

(7) *Dalal, Dalal, Dalale,*  
 Dalal Dalal Dalale

Dalal, Dalal, Dalale,

*gəšr-ə Zaxo raman-a*  
 bridge-of Zakho high-SG.M

The high bridge of Zakho

*sel-ət xoθ-e milan-a*  
 river-SBR under-it.M blue-SG.M

The river under it is blue (with grief).

*Dalle dwiq-a l-xəmyan-a.*  
 Dalle seize.PVF-3SG.F by-father.in.law-her

Dalle (= Dalale) has been seized by her father-in-law.

(8) *gəšr-ət Zaxo daqiq-a*  
 bridge-of Zakho narrow-SG.M

The narrow bridge of Zakho,

<sup>ʔ</sup>*u sel-ət xoθ-e raqiq-a*  
 and river-SBR under-it.M narrow-SG.M

The river under it is narrow.

<sup>ʔ</sup>*u Dalle l-xəmyan-a dwiq-a.*  
 and Dalle by-father.in.law-her take.PFV-SG.F

Dalle has been seized by her father-in-law.

(9) *m-o kalb-ət pərruš we-le*  
 from-that.M dog-SBR treacherous be.PFV-3SG.M

On account of that dog which was treacherous.

*šle-le rəš kalləš kle-le*  
 go.down.PSV-3SG.M upon carrion stand.PFV-3SG.M

It went down and stood over carrion.

*xəmyan-ət Dalle bxe-le.*  
 father.in.law-of Dalle weap.PFV-3SG.M

The father-in-law of Dalle wept.

# CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF SHAQLAWA

## TEXT 28: §1–21

*Geoffrey Khan*

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### Speaker: Seran Sher

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/230/>

(1) ʾana šəm-i Serān ʾAdday Šēr-ile.<sup>|</sup>  
I name-my Seran ʾAday Šer=COP.3SG.M

My name is Seran Adday Sher.

brāt Ḥane ʾAwdū-iwan.<sup>|</sup> naš-ət Šaqlāwe-wan.<sup>|</sup>  
daughter.of Ḥane ʾAwdū=COP.1SG.F people-of Shaqlawa=COP.1SG.F

I am the daughter of Hane Awdo. I am [one of the] people of Shaqlawa.

šāt ʾalpa-u təša ma-u ʾəšti-u xamša  
year.of thousand-and nine hundred-and sixty-and five

hwè-te-wan<sup>|</sup> gu Šaqlawa.<sup>|</sup>  
be.PTCP-SG.F=COP.1SG.F in Shaqlawa

I was born in 1965 in Shaqlawa.

(2) ʾət-i xa ḥūčita šəm-aw trè malaye-le.<sup>|</sup>  
EXIST-1SG one story name-its.F two mullahs=COP.3SG.M

I have a story called ‘The Two Mullahs’.

ʾət-wa-u    lət-wa<sup>|</sup>    mən bāb    ʾalaha-u    ʾoda  
 EXIST-PST-and    NEG.EXIST-PST    than    father    God-and    mother

Maryam    bəš    rab-a    lət-wa-u    qāt-iš    la  
 Mary    more    big-SG.M    NEG.EXIST-PST-and    never-also    NEG

k-awe-Ø,<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-be-3SG.M

There was and there was not, there was no one who was greater than God the Father and Mother Mary and shall never be,

ʾət-wa    trè    malaye.<sup>|</sup>    ʾāna    tre    malàye,<sup>|</sup>    malay-ət  
 EXIST-PST    two    mullahs    these    two    mullahs    mullahs-of

xà    mata-wən-wa,<sup>|</sup>    xa    mæzgaft-u    xa    mātā.<sup>|</sup>  
 one    village=COP.3PL-PST    one    mosque-and    one    village

there were two mullahs. These two mullahs were mullahs serving the same village, the same mosque and same village.

(3) ʾāna    tre    malàye<sup>|</sup>    xəzmət-ət    dè    mæzgaft  
 these    two    mullahs    service-of    OBL.that    mosque

ʾud-i-wa<sup>|</sup>    gāwət<sup>|</sup>    maşròxe<sup>|</sup>    qatət    mşalòye-u<sup>|</sup>  
 do-3PL-PST    in    call.INF    to    pray.INF-and

gu    ḥdar-ət    taziye-u    məndyàne.<sup>|</sup>  
 in    attend.INF-of    funerals-and    things

These two mullahs served the mosque by calling to prayer, attending funerals and so on.

(4) *xa mən dāna malāye,<sup>|</sup> qāmət wəxt-ət šlot-ət*  
 one from OBL.these mullahs before time-of prayer-of  
*xuškānta hawe-∅-wa,<sup>|</sup> baraw bāyani ʿawa ʿəl*  
 dawn be-3SG.M-PST towards morning he at  
*məzgāft hawe-∅-wa.<sup>|</sup> hawar mašrəx-∅-wa=u<sup>|</sup> qū*  
 mosque be-3SG.M-PST call call-3SG.M-PST=and rise.IMP  
*mšaloye=u<sup>|</sup> məndi=u<sup>|</sup> bāng yawəl-∅-wa.<sup>|</sup>*  
 prayer.INF=and thing=and call give-3SG.M-PST

One of these mullahs used to be in the mosque at dawn before the time of morning prayer. He would make a call to prayer crying ‘Rise to pray’ and so forth.

(5) *ʿaw malā xət<sup>|</sup> gālak mətʿəsər payəš-∅-wa.<sup>|</sup>*  
 that.SG.M mullah other very upset become-3SG.M-PST

The other mullah used to get very upset.

*ʿamər-∅-wa<sup>|</sup> ma<sup>c</sup>qūl=ila ʿāt<sup>|</sup> qāmet-i l-ṭāma*  
 say-3SG.M-PST possible=COP.3SG.F you before-me to-there  
*haw -ət?<sup>|</sup>*  
 be -2SG.M

‘How is it possible for you to be there before me?’

*naše lōm wəd-lu.<sup>|</sup> ʿamr-i ʿāt ʿəl ma mēndi*  
 people blame do.PFV-3PL say-3PL you for what thing

People began to blame him saying ‘Why

*ʿaxni ʿəty-e-wət lāxa?<sup>|</sup> la xəzmət-an*  
 we come.PTCP-SG.M=COP.2SG.M here not service-our  
*k-ud-ət<sup>|</sup>*  
 IND-do-2SG.M

have you come to us here? You do not offer us service

*la bāng ĩ-aw-ət.*<sup>|</sup> ʔe qa tsə məndi  
not call IND-give-2SG.M yes for no thing

*bāš lew-ət.*<sup>|</sup>  
good NEG.COP-2SG.M

nor do you call to prayer. You are not good for anything.’

(6) *fà*<sup>|</sup> *gālak mətʔàsər pəš-le.*<sup>|</sup> *xàr-e*<sup>|</sup>  
and very upset become.PST-3SG.M look.PST-3SG.M

So, he became very upset. He thought to himself (lit. he saw).

ʔamər-Ø: ʔaz-ən baqr-ən mən de  
say-3SG.M go-1sg.M ask-1SG.M from OBL.that

*xàwr-i*<sup>|</sup> ʔaw mən didi qəša haya k-àte-Ø.<sup>|</sup>  
friend-my he than OBL.1SG little early IND-come-3SG.M

He said, ‘Let me go and ask my colleague, who comes before me a little earlier.

ʔana kut tira dərang,<sup>|</sup> gu tsə məndi  
I every time late in no thing

*la g-matp-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
NEG IND-reach-1SG.M

I am late every time, I do not catch up with anything.

(7) ʔamər-Ø:<sup>|</sup> *māla.*<sup>|</sup> ʔamər-Ø: hā ʔaxoni-i,<sup>|</sup>  
say-3SG.M mullah say-3SG.M yes brother-my

*mà=ila?*<sup>|</sup>  
what=COP.3SG.F

He said, ‘Mullah.’ He said, ‘Yes, brother, what is the matter?’



ʿamər-Ø: mur qāt-i,| gu mà mändi ʿāt qāmət  
 say-3SG.M say.IMP.S to-me in what thing you before  
 waxt-ət mṣaloye lāxe-wət?| ʿamər-Ø: qa mà?|  
 time-of pray.INF here-COP.2SG.M say-3SG.M for what

He said, ‘Tell me, how is it that you are here before the time of prayer?’

ʿamər-Ø: hemən naš-ət ʿawayi lèw-u  
 say-3SG.M believe.IMP.SG people-of village COP.PST-3PL  
 mən-i razi.|  
 with-me happy

He said, ‘Believe me, the people of the village are not happy with me.’

k-əmr-i àt| dràng k-at-ət=u| qat qal-ux  
 IND-say-3PL you.S late IND-come-2SG.M=and to voice-your.SG.M  
 là k-šām-əx-le.|  
 NEG IND-hear-1PL-O.3SG.M

They say ‘You come late and we never hear your voice.’

dyara la yan qal-ux bāsim-a lèw-e|  
 seems NEG either voice-your.SG.M pleasant-SG.M NEG.COP-3SG.M  
 yan tām̄bal-iw-ət,| là k-at-ət.|  
 or lazy=COP-2SG.M NEG IND-come-2SG.M

It seems you do not come either because your voice is not good or because you are a lazy person.”

(8) ʾāmər-Ø: | mhēmən, | ʾana xā mēndi  
 say-3SG.M believe.IMP.S I one thing  
 ʾamr-ən-ux ʾāxon. |  
 say-1SG.M-O.2SG.M brother

He said, 'Look, let me tell you one thing, brother.'

ʾamər-Ø: čād-ət māt? | ʾana trè ʾišunyata ʾət-i. |  
 say-3SG.M know-2SG.M what? I two wives EXIST-1SG

He said, 'Do you know what? I have two wives.'

(9) ʾāna tre ʾišunyāta | xa har māye g-maşxən-a  
 these two wives one always water warm-3SG.F  
 qat-i, | xa pəštumāl g-dawq-a-la qat-i, |  
 for-me one cushion IND-hold-3SG.F-O.3SG.F for-me

These two wives, one of them always warms water for me [to bathe], one holds a cushion for me,

xa gòr-i g-matw-a-lu qat-i, | xa jàle  
 one sock.PL-my IND-put-3SG.F-O.3PL for-me one clothes  
 ḥazər k-ud-a-lu | xa qundər-i-š şūbuğ  
 ready IND-make-3SG.F-O.3PL one shoes-my-also polish  
 k-ud-a-lu. |  
 IND-make-3SG.F-O.3PL

one puts out my socks for me, one prepares my clothes, one polishes my shoes.

qa ḥādax | xa-u tre ʾana ḥazər k-peš-ən. |  
 for thus one-and two I ready IND-become-1SG.M  
 qa ḥadax qāmet-ux k-ṭap-ən. |  
 for thus before-you.SG.M IND-reach-1SG.M

That is why I get ready in a moment, and this is why I get here before you.'

(10) ʔamər-Ø: mātū?|  
say-3SG.M how?

He said, 'But how?'

ʔāmər-Ø| yaʿni raʿy-ux māt=ile?|  
say-3SG.M it.means view-your.SG.M what-COP.3SG.M?

He said, 'I mean, what is your advice?'

ʔāmər-Ø:| raʿy-i-le ʔawd-ət-u trè ʔišunyata.|  
say-3SG.M view-my=COP.3SG.M do-2SG.M-O.3PL two wives

'My advice is for you to have two wives.'

ʔamər-Ø: mətʔakkəd=iwət?| ʔamər-Ø: ma de mdzàrəb!|  
say-3SG.M sure-COP-2SG.M? say-3SG.M well well try.IMP.SG

He said, 'Are you sure? He said, 'Just give it a try!

ʔaxon-ux māt mare=le qat-ux?|  
brother-your.SG.M what say.INF-COP.3SG.M to-you.SG.M

ʔamər-Ø: ha halʿān k-az-ən.|  
say-3SG.M well now IND-go-1SG.M

This is your brother's advice to you.' He said, 'I shall go immediately [and marry another woman].'

(11) har pləṭ-le mən məzgəft ʔizəl-e  
just leave.PFV-3SG.M from mosque go.PFV-3SG.M

xa baxta mte-le.|  
one woman bring.PFV-3SG.M

As soon as he left the mosque, he went and married another woman.

ʔite-le qam-yawəl-Ø-a| qam-matù-Ø-la l-beta.|  
come.PFV-3MS PFV-give-3SG.M-O.3SG.F PFV-put.3SG.M-O.3SG.F at-house

He came and put her, he helped her settle at the house.

ʿamər-Ø: ʿāna<sup>|</sup> šloθ-ət ʿašə̀rte-la,<sup>|</sup> b-izāl-ən  
 say-3SG.M I prayer-of evening=COP.3SG.F in-go.INF=COP.1SG.M  
 qa məzɡaft.<sup>|</sup>  
 to mosque

He said, ‘It is time for the evening prayer. I am going to the mosque.’

(12) hātà dər-e<sup>|</sup> qâl-ət<sup>|</sup> ʿāna tre ʿišunyāt-u<sup>|</sup>  
 until return.PFV-3SG.M voice-of these two wives-his  
 l-dāw bal-ət Zaba ʿtape-Ø-wa.<sup>|</sup>  
 to-OBL.that side-of Zab reach-3SG.M-PST

By the time he returned home, the cries of these two wives were reaching the other bank of the Zab River.

xà ʿamr-a-wa:<sup>|</sup> kalba xəry-ət mālā.<sup>|</sup>  
 one say-3SG.F-PST dog defecated.PTCP.SG.M-of mullah

One said, ‘May a dog shit on the mullah!’

ʿaw xət ʿamr-a-wa:<sup>|</sup> ʿatxa ʿələt riš-ət mālā.<sup>|</sup>  
 that.M other say-3SG.F-PST thus on head-of mullah

Another said, ‘May this [dog’s shit] be on the head of the mullah.’

ʿe xət ʿamr-à-wa:<sup>|</sup> kalba l-qawr-ət mālā  
 that other say-3SG.F-PST dog on-grave-of mullah  
 xare-Ø.<sup>|</sup>  
 defecate-3SG.M

Another said, ‘May the dog shit on the mullah’s grave.’

bejəga mən xatwat-u=u ʿòd-u,<sup>|</sup>  
 besides from sisters-his-and mother-his

Besides his sisters and his mother,

ʿani kùl-u qam-mat-i-lu l-gor.<sup>1</sup>  
 those all-them PFV-bring-3PL-3PL to-situation

they included them all in their curses.

(13) ma ʿàwəd-Ø?<sup>1</sup> wàr-e<sup>1</sup> ʿamər-Ø:  
 what do.3SG.M entered.PFV-3SG.M say-3SG.M

mà=ila?<sup>1</sup>  
 what=COP.3SG.F

What could he do? He entered [the house] and said, ‘What is the matter?’

ʿamər-Ø: bāš=ila,<sup>1</sup> ʿaxtun qa mà ʿəli  
 say-3SG.M good=COP.3SG.F you.PL for what me

mšawore=witun?<sup>1</sup>  
 curse.INF=COP.2PL

He said, ‘All right, why are you swearing at me?’

ʿana mà?<sup>1</sup> ʿamr-i: xer ʿāt muty-an-iwət?<sup>1</sup>  
 I what say-3PL but you bring.PFV-O.1PL=COP.2SG.M

What have I done?’ They said, ‘But it was you who brought us [here].’

(14) ʿàl-mühəm<sup>1</sup> là ʿide-le<sup>1</sup> màtu<sup>1</sup> tre  
 the-important NEG know.PFV-3SG.M how two

tlaha sāʿāt fəṭ-lu.<sup>1</sup>  
 three hours pass.PFV-3PL

Well, he did not know how the next two or three hours passed by.

*qāmət yoma bāyəz-Ø, | ʔərəq-le | mən qam ʔidāt*  
 before day pour-3SG.M flee.PFV-3SG.M from before hands.of  
*dan trè ʔišunyata | ʔət mara qat-u:*  
 OBL.those two women SBR say.INF to-him

Before dawn broke, he fled from the hands of the two women as they were saying to him,

*ʔāt ʔatxa wəd-lux | ʔāt ʔatxa wəd-lux, |*  
 you thus SO.PFV-2SG.M you thus do.PFV-2SG.M

‘You did this, you did that’,

*b-e ga mšawore l-ʔəgdàde. | reš-u*  
 at-that time swear.INF at-each.other head-his  
*gälak gälak mrè-le. |*  
 much much hurt.PFV-3SG.M

at the same time swearing at each other. He had a big headache.

(15) *ʔizəl-e. | lèle-le, | lebe tsə mändi*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M night=COP.3SG.M cannot.3SG.M any thing  
*ʔawəd gu məzgaft. |*  
 do.3SG.M in mosque

He went away. It was night time and he could do nothing in the mosque.

*la ʔib-e mäsraḫ-Ø | la ʔib-e mälā*  
 NEG can-3SG.M call-3SG.M NEG can-3SG.M mullah  
*bang ʔawəd-Ø. |*  
 call make-3SG.M

He could not call to prayer. The mullah could not make a call [to prayer].

*la tsə mendi lèb-e ʾawəd-Ø.ʾ ʾizəl-eʾ tǎra*  
 NEG any thing cannot-3SG.M do-3SG.M go.PFV-3SG.M door  
*qam-patəx-Ø-le.ʾ ʾitù-le ʾələl.ʾ*  
 PFV-open-3SG.M-O.3SG.M sit.PFV-3SG.M above

He cannot do anything. He went and opened the door. He sat on the upper floor.

(16) *ʾitu-le ʾələl.ʾ ʾamər-Ø qatət mǎla.ʾ*  
 sit.PRF-3SG.M above say-3SG.M to mullah

He sat on the upper floor. He said to the mullah,

*ʾàmər-Ø.ʾ wəxt-ət mṣalòye-le.ʾ xaz-əx mən-u*  
 say-3SG.M time-of pray.INF=COP.3SG.M see-1PL with-him  
*mən jàn-u maḥçoye-le mǎla.ʾ k-àmər-Ø.ʾ*  
 with self-3SG.M talk.INF=COP.3SG.M mullah IND-say-3SG.M  
*wəxt-ət mṣalòye-le?ʾ*  
 time-of pray.INF=COP.3SG.M

It is said that it was prayer time and the mullah began to talk to himself saying ‘Is it prayer time?’

*la wəxt-ət mṣaloye lèla.ʾ ʾe ga xa gəfwa*  
 no time-of pray.INF NEG.COP.3SG.F that time one nap  
*ṣəql-ən-iʾ xantsa ʾèn-i matw-ən-u.ʾ*  
 take-1SG.M-O.1SG a.little eyes-my put-1SG.M-O.3PL

No, it is not prayer time. So let me take a nap and close my eyes for a bit.’

(17) *k-àmər-Ø.ʾ xzè-leʾ xa ṭəpəṭəp ʾitè-le.ʾ*  
 IND-say-3SG.M see.PFV-3SG.M one tapping come.PFV-3SG.M

It is said that he heard some footsteps coming.

*xze-le*      *ʔe mālā xət ʔite-le.*<sup>|</sup>  
 see.PFV-3SG.M    that    mullah    other    come.PFV-3SG.M  
*ʔəmər-Ø:*<sup>|</sup>    *ʔitè-lux?*<sup>|</sup>  
 say-3SG.M      come.PFV-2SG.M

He saw the other mullah come. He said, 'Have you come [already]?'<sup>1</sup>

*ʔəmər-Ø:*<sup>|</sup>    *naša xoš nāša! madam ʔāt bet-ux*  
 say-3SG.M    man    good    man    if            you.SG    house-your.SG.M  
*mşuṭəm-wa-le,*<sup>|</sup>    *qa mǎ bet-i qam-mşuṭm-ət-e?*<sup>|</sup>  
 ruin.PFV-PST-3SG.M    for    what    house-my    PFV-ruin-2SG.M-O.3SG.M

He said, 'My friend, if your life was ruined, why did you ruin my own life?'

*ʔāt bet-ux nura ʔitən gu bet-ux*  
 you.SG    house-your.SG.M    fire    EXIST    in    house-your.SG.M  
*ʔarq-ət-wa mən-e ʔāna šāne,*<sup>|</sup>    *qa mǎ bet-i*  
 flee-2SG.M-PST    from-it.M    these    years    for    what    house-my  
*qam-awd-ət-e?*<sup>|</sup>  
 PFV-do-2SG.M-O.3SG.M

Your home was like hell from which you fled all these years, so why did you make my home [the same]?'<sup>1</sup>

(18) *ʔəmər-Ø:*    *qa ma bas ʔāna mər-ux?*<sup>|</sup>  
 say-3SG.M    for    what    only    me    say.PFV-2SG.M

He said, 'Why have you blamed me?'<sup>1</sup>

*ʔāt la tlab-lux mən-i māsà'āda?*<sup>|</sup>  
 you.S    NEG    ask.PFV-2SG.M    from-me    help

Did you not ask for help from me?

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. why have you said [this] only to me?



ʿay mäsā<sup>ʿāda</sup> dāx lèw-ət bəxzaya?<sup>l</sup> qǎmet-i  
 this help how NEG.COP-2SG.M IN-see.INF before-me  
 l-məzgaft=iw-ət,<sup>l</sup> hāta par-ux hālāl  
 at-mosque=COP-2SG.M so.that money-your.SG.M legitimate  
 ʿawdət-u.<sup>l</sup>  
 do.2SG.M-O.3SG.M

Do you see how I have helped you? You are at the mosque before me, so you will legitimately earn your money.’

(19) wəlux ʿamər-∅ ʿāt bet-i nura  
 DEIC.2SG.M say-3SG.M you.SG house-my fire  
 qam-awd-ət-e.<sup>l</sup> ʿamər-∅: bas bət-i k̄āwla  
 PFV-do-2SG.M-O.3SG.M say.3SG.M only house-my ruin  
 payəš-∅,<sup>l</sup> mǎ?<sup>l</sup> ʿāye=la ʿeš-an weta xā,<sup>l</sup>  
 become-3SG.M what? this=COP.3SG.F life-our be.PTCP.SG.F one

‘But you,’ he said, ‘have turned my home into a hell.’ He said, ‘Should only my house be in ruins? So our life has now become the same.’

(20) ʿāya hūčīta<sup>l</sup> k-əmr-i-la qa daw naš-ət  
 this story IND-say-3PL-O.3SG.F to OBL.that man-who  
 reš-u là (ha)we-∅ mara=u<sup>l</sup> reš-u  
 head-his NEG be-3SG.M ache.INF=and head-his  
 mamrè-∅-le,<sup>l</sup> ʿawdza ʿabra mən de naša  
 cause.to.ache-3SG.M-O.3SG.M thus lesson from OBL.this man  
 k-šaqł-i-la.<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-take-3PL-O.3SG.F

This story is told about those who do not have a headache but cause themselves to have a headache, so that people will learn a lesson from [the story of] this man.

*k-əmr-i-la*      *qa dān*      *naše<sup>l</sup>*      *ʾaxtsa gu qūṣət*  
 IND-say-3PL-O.3SG.F    to    OBL.those    people    thus    in    story.of  
*naše*    *lā*    *(a)te-∅=u*      *ʾazəl-∅,<sup>l</sup>*    *gu mox-ət*  
 people    NEG    come-3SG.M=and    go-3SG.M    in    mind-of  
*jān-u*      *ʾawəd-∅,<sup>l</sup>*    *ʾaxtsa gu tānayat-ət*    *naše*  
 self-3SG.M    do-3SG.M      thus    in    speeches-of    people  
*la*    *qayəm-∅=u*    *yātu-∅.<sup>l</sup>*  
 NEG    stand-3SG.M=and    sit-3SG.M

[The story] tells people that one should not act<sup>2</sup> according to what other people say, but one should act using one's own mind, rather than stand and sit according to what [other] people say.

(21) *ʾawdza*    *ʾite-li*      *ʾitè-li<sup>l</sup>*      *tsə mändi-š*  
           so            come.PFV-1SG    come.PFV-1SG    no    thing=also  
*la*    *wəl-u*      *qa-ti.<sup>l</sup>*  
 NEG    give.PFV-3PL    to-me

So, I came back [from the scene of the story], but they gave me nothing [to prove that I saw it].

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<sup>2</sup> Lit. come and go.

# CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF DUHOK

## TEXT 14: §1–19

*Dorota Molin*

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### Speaker: Yawsep Elisha Ishaq

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/224/>

(1) ʿana Yawsəp ʿEliša ʿIshàq mən Dūhok-iwən.<sup>1</sup>  
I Yawsep ʿEliša ʿIshàq from Duhok-COP.1SG.M

I am Yawsep Elisha Ishaq, from Duhok.

yamm-i naš-ət Mar Yàqo-la,<sup>1</sup> šəmm-aḥ Maryam  
mother-my people-of Mar Yaqu=COP.3SG.F name-her Maryam

Toma Jubràʿəl.<sup>1</sup>  
Toma Jubràʿəl

My mother is from Mar Yaqo her name is Maryam Toma Jubrail.

g-əb-ən ʿamr-ən-nux xa maḥalūke-la,<sup>1</sup>  
IND-want-1SG.M tell-1SG.M-O.2SG.M one tale=COP.3SG.F

d-àrya<sup>1</sup> ʿu barnàša.<sup>1</sup>  
of-lion and man

I'd like to tell you a story, about a lion and a man.

(2) ʿəθ-wa xa ʿarya  
EXIST-PST one lion

There was a lion

*mšīter-a*      *wewa*      *l-tūra.*<sup>1</sup>  
 rule.PTCP-3SG.M    COP.PST.3SG.M    on-mountain

[who] controlled a mountain.

*lā-qabāl-∅-wa*      *čū*      *barnaš-ət*      *zəl-wā-le*      *l-tūra,*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-accept-3SG.M-PST    no      human-SBR      go.PFV-PST-3SG.M    to-mountain

*māxe-∅-wa*      *qāyse*<sup>1</sup>      *ʔu awəð-∅-wa*      *xà-məndi.*<sup>1</sup>  
 cut-3SG.M-PST    wood.PL    and do-3SG.M-PST    some-thing

He did not allow any humans to enter the mountain to cut wood or to do anything [else].

*hār*      *zəl-wā-le,*<sup>1</sup>  
 if      go.PFV-PST-3SG.M

*g-nāxəθ-∅-wa*      *ʔəll-e*      *k-ixəl-∅-wā-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-descend-3SG.M-PST    on-him    IND-eat-3SG.M-PST-O.3SG.M

If someone went there, he would come down on them and eat them.

*lā-qābāl-∅-wa*      *čū*      *xa*      *zəl-wā-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-accept-3SG.M-PST    no    one    go.PFV-PST-3SG.M

He did not allow anyone to enter.

(3) *ʔu xa*      *faqira*      *ʔəθ-wa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and one    poor.man    EXIST-PST

There was also a poor man.

*pəš-le*      *majbūr*      *d-za-le*      *maθe-∅*  
 become.PFV-3SG.M    desperate    SBR-go-3SG.M    bring-3SG.M

*qāyse*<sup>1</sup>      *d-mzābən-∅-nay*      *gyan-e*<sup>1</sup>  
 wood.PL    SBR-sell-3SG.M-O.3PL    self-3SG.M

He had to go and get wood to sell it



*šqal-le*            *xmar-eḥ*    *ʔu mändi*    *dīyeh,*    *xàwl-eḥ,*<sup>1</sup>  
 take.PFV-3SG.M    donkey-his    and thing    his            rope.PL-his

So he took his donkey and his equipment, his ropes.

(5) *qəm-le*            *ham*    *ʔaw*  
 arise.PFV-3SG.M    also    he

*ʔu zəl-le*            *d-awəð-Ø*    *qayse*    *ʔu àṯe-Ø.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and go.PFV-3SG.M    SBR-do-3SG.M    wood    and come-3SG.M

He got up and went to get wood before going back.

*ṯe-le,*            *lā-ṯe-le,*            *b-nayax-Ø*    *m-gyan-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
 come.PFV-3SG.M    NEG.come.PFV-3SG.M    FUT-rest-3SG.M    of-self-his

Whether or not [the lion] would come, he would find relief.

*mhàymən-Ø,*<sup>1</sup>    *zəl-le,*            *mṯe-le*            *l-tura*  
 believe.IMP-SG    go.PFV-3SG.M    arrive.PFV-3SG.M    to-mountain

*ʔu nâr-eḥ*<sup>1</sup>    *d-qate-Ø*    *qâyse.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and axe-his    SBR-cut-3SG.M    wood

Believe it, he went and climbed the mountain [with] his axe to cut wood.

*mxè-le,*            *taq,*    *tàq.*<sup>1</sup>  
 hit.PFV-3SG.M    crack    crack

He started cutting, *crack, crack*.

*wele*            *dehwa...*    *hænna*    *ʔàrya*  
 DEIC.COP.3SG.M    wolf            thing    lion

*k-šame*            *qala*    *g-nàxəθ-Ø*            *ʔəll-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-hear-3SG.M    voice    IND-descend-3SG.M    to-him

Look, a wolf... I mean, a lion heard the sound and came to him.

(6) *'ha, barnàša,*<sup>1</sup>  
 ha human

*'ati l-ēθ šəmy-a gāw-i?*<sup>1</sup>  
 you.SG NEG-COP.2SG.M hear.PTCP-SG.M about-me

'Hey, human, haven't you heard of me?

*dax k-iθ-ət 'ati d-qaṭ-ət*  
 how IND-come-2SG.M you.SG SBR-cut-2SG.M

*'u māndyane d-g-əb-ət 'u lā-g-əb-ət.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and things SBR-IND-want-2SG.M and NEG-IND-want-2SG.M

How dare you come here and cut whatever you like, and so on?

*l-ēθ šmiy-a*  
 NEG-COP.2SG.M hear.PTCP-SG.M

*gu da tura dīyi-le?*<sup>1</sup>  
 in OBL.that.F mountain mine=COP.3SG.M

Haven't you heard that this mountain is mine?

*k-imər-∅, 'bāle, bāle,<sup>1</sup> wən šmiy-a*  
 IND-say-3SG.M indeed indeed COP.1SG.M hear.PTCP-SG.M

*'u 'ana ta hədax-ən 'əθy-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and I for such=COP.1SG.M come.PTCP-SG.M

He said, 'Indeed, I have heard, and that is why I have come.'

*'dāxi ta hadax-ət 'əθy-a?*<sup>1</sup>  
 how for such=COP.2SG.M come.PTCP-SG.M

'What do you mean that this is the reason you have come?'

(7) *k-imər-∅, 'mhəmən-∅, mer-i b-axl-ət-ti*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M believe.IMP-SG say.PFV-1SG FUT-eat-2SG.M-O.1SG.M

He said, 'Believe me, I thought [that if] you eat me,

‘al ʾaqał lā-xaz-ən yal-i zor-e myaθa m-kəpna  
 at least NEG-see-1SG.M children-my little-PL die.INF of-hunger  
 barqūl ʾən-i.<sup>1</sup>  
 before eyes-my

at least I won't see my little children dying of hunger in front of my eyes.

ham ʾən ʾaxl-ət-ti ʾati bəš tu mət xāz-ən-nay.<sup>1</sup>  
 even if 2SG.M-O.1SG you.SG better than see-1SG.M-O.3PL

Even if you eat me, it is better than seeing them.

mayθ-ən barqūl yale zor-e hawe-∅ bə-myaθa  
 die-1SG.M before children little-PL be-3PL in-die.INF  
 m-kəpna ʾu xāz-ən-nay.<sup>1</sup>  
 of-hunger and see-1SG.M-O.3PL

I would die in front of my little children dying of hunger, and I would see them.

naqla ʾāti-ži<sup>1</sup> b-kàypux-wən.<sup>1</sup>  
 this time you.SG-also in-bondage-your.SG.M=COP.1SG.M

Now, [it's up to] you, I am at your mercy.

ʾana gu həmayata dīyux-iwən.<sup>1</sup>  
 I in protection your.SG.M=COP.2SG.M

I am under your protection.

g-əb-ət,<sup>1</sup> ʾana həlala t̄à-lux.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-want-2SG.M I prey for-you.SG.M

If you want, I am yours.

ʾu g-əb-ət ži,<sup>1</sup> ʾana hun ʾəθy-a  
 and IND-want-2SG.M also I COP.1SG.M come.PTCP-SG.M

[but] if you please, I've come



*m-majburùθ-i<sup>1</sup> d-má'yəš-ən 'ayāl diyi.'*  
 of-desperation-my SBR-support-1SG.M children my

out of the need to feed my children.'

(8) *k-imər-Ø, 'madám t-ila hādax,<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-say-3SG.M since SBR-COP.3SG.F thus

*ham, hām ta-li rand-ila<sup>1</sup>*  
 even even for-me advantage-COP.3SG.F

*'u ham ta-lux rand-ila.'*  
 and even for-you.SG.M advantage-COP.3SG.F

He said, 'If that is the case, then it's good for me and good for you.'

*'dāxi?'*  
 how

'How?'

*k-imər-Ø 'ati b-awð-ət qayse 'u b-làbl-ət,<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-say-3SG.M you.SG.M FUT-do-2SG.M wood and FUT-take-2SG.M

He said, 'You will cut wood and take it [to town].

*'u ana b-yāw-ən-nux maşraf diyux.<sup>1</sup>*  
 and I FUT-give-1SG.M-O.2SG.M salary your.SG.M

And I will give you your living.

*b-za-lux hām ta-li b-aθ-ət.<sup>1</sup>*  
 FUT-go-2SG.M even for-me FUT-come-2SG.M

You will go and come to me.

*'aygət aθ-ət māθ-ət-ti 'ixàla,<sup>1</sup>*  
 when come-2SG.M bring-2SG.M-O.1SG food

When you come and bring me food,

*hàm ʿana ʿaxl-ən.*  
 even I eat-1SG.M

I too will eat.'

*ʿe, k-imər-Ø, ʿkabira rand-ila.*  
 yes IND-say-3SG.M great advantage-COP.3SG.F

'Yes,' he says. 'This is a great advantage.'

(9) *kud yom k-izəl-Ø k-iwəð-Ø xà*  
 every day IND-go-3SG.M IND-do-3SG.M one

*kart-ət hanna... ten-ət qâyse,<sup>1</sup> g-lâbəl-Ø.<sup>1</sup>*  
 bundle-of thing load-of wood IND-take-3SG.M

So he goes to cut wood every day, makes a bundle of this thing, a load of wood, and carries [it].

*labəl-Ø qâyse<sup>1</sup> ʿu ʿu xa lâ-labole,*  
 take-3SG.M wood and no-one NEG-take-INF

*ʿâjran gə-mzābən-Ø-nay.<sup>1</sup>*  
 expensive IND-sell-3SG.M-O.3PL

He brings wood while no one else does, so he sells it at a high price.

*k-ið-ət ʿastəglal d-šùqa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-know-2SG.M advantage of-market

You know, taking advantage of the market.

*mhâyman-Ø,<sup>1</sup> kud-yom hol b-əθàya,<sup>1</sup>*  
 believe.IMP-SG every-day DEIC.COP.3SG.M in-come-INF

*labole ʿu mzabone qâyse,<sup>1</sup> ʿu naše bə-xzàya, ʿe.<sup>1</sup>*  
 take-INF and sell-INF wood and people in-see-INF yes

Believe me, he comes every day, transports and sells wood, people can see this, yes.

ʿu ani xene lā-g-yar-i za-lay.<sup>1</sup>  
 and they others NEG-IND-dare-3PL go-3PL

Others do not dare go [to the mountain].

(10) xa yoma...  
 one day

One day...

tābʿān d-k-i-θe-∅ d-maθe-∅ ʿixāla,  
 of.course SBR-IND-come-3SG.M SBR-bring-3SG.M food

k-axl-i mùxḏaḏe.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-eat-3PL together

Of course, when he brought food, they would eat together.

ʿawa ʿu arya k-axl-i mùxḏaḏe tama.<sup>1</sup>  
 he and lion IND-eat-3PL together there

He and the lion ate together there.

yaʿni, hām ʿixal-ət faqira<sup>1</sup> ʿala ḥsāb-eḥ  
 it.means even food-of poor.man on expense-his

k-aw-e.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-be-3SG.M

So the poor man's food was also at his expense.

ʿe, ʿarya g-yāwāl-∅-le ʿta-li ʿu t̄a-lux.<sup>ʿ</sup>  
 yes lion IND-give-3SG.M-O.3SG.M to-me and to-you.SG.M

He gave him [saying] 'For you and for me.'

(11) xa yoma mət xzè-le ʿarya,<sup>1</sup>  
 one day when see.PFV-3SG.M lion

One day, he realized that the lion

*ya'ni, kabira wəd-le faḏl 'əll-eḥ.*<sup>1</sup>  
 I.mean great do.PFV-3SG.M favour to-him

was doing him a great favour.

*k-imər-Ø, 'ba, xòn-i,*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M look brother-my

*ham 'ati mšarəf-Ø gèb-an.*<sup>1</sup>  
 also you.SG.M honour-3SG.M to-us

He said, 'Brother, come over one day to ours, honour us [in this way].

*'azm-ən-nux xa yoma l-gèban,*<sup>1</sup>  
 invite-1SG.M-O.2SG.M one day to-to-ours

*mənn-an xùl-Ø.'*  
 with-us eat.IMP-SG

I'd like to invite you to ours, eat with us.'

*k-imər-Ø, 'mà y-xaləf-Ø.*<sup>1</sup> *b-àθ-ən.'*  
 IND-say-3SG.M what IND-matter-3SG.M FUT-come-1SG.M

He says, 'Of course, I will come.'

*ba 'arya mən m̀ani b-zade-Ø?*<sup>1</sup>  
 look lion from who FUT-fear-3SG.M

Whom does a lion fear?

*l̀a-zad-e mən ču xa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-fear-3SG.M from no one

He fears no one.

(12) *mhaymən-Ø wəd-lay,*<sup>1</sup>  
 believe.IMP-SG do.PFV-3PL

Believe me, they did so,

*zəl-lay mte-lay l-bàyθa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 go.PFV-3PL arrive.PFV-3PL to-house

they went and arrived at [the man's] home.

*k-imər-∅ ta bāxt-eḥ<sup>1</sup> 'bāxta,<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-say-3SG.M to wife-his wife

*g-dary-at 'ixala ta 'ārya,<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-put-2SG.F food for lion

*dre jūda 'u t̄a-li dre jūda.'*  
 put.IMP.SG.F portion and to-him put.IMP.SG.F portion

He said to his wife, 'Wife, when you serve food for the lion, serve him separately from me.'

*k-imər-∅, 'lə'án 'egət galize g-nāxθ-i, jūda.'*  
 IND-say-3SG.M because when saliva IND-descend-3PL portion

*galize g-naxθ-i gu 'ixāla.<sup>1</sup>*  
 saliva IND-descend-3PL in food

He said, 'Because when his drool runs down, it drips on the food.'

*labb-i lā-k-izəl-∅,' ya'ni, 'è.<sup>1</sup>*  
 heart-my NEG-IND-go-3SG.M I mean yes

I lose my appetite, yes.'

*'ay-ži zəl-la,<sup>1</sup> θe-la muθe-la 'ixāla.<sup>1</sup>*  
 she-also go.PFV-3SG.F come.PFV-3SG.F bring.PFV-3SG.F food

So, she went and came back, and brought food.

*dre-la ta 'ārya jūda,<sup>1</sup> 'u t̄a-leh jūda.<sup>1</sup>*  
 put.PFV-3SG.F to lion portion and to-him portion

She served the lion separately and [the man] separately.

(13) *ʔu ani pəš-lay b-ixàla.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and they begin.PFV-3PL in-eat.INF

They started eating.

*xàl-le ʔarya<sup>1</sup> ʔu xləš-le ʔu θe-le*  
 eat.PFV-3SG.M lion and finish.PFV-3SG.M and come.PFV-3SG.M

*l-tùra.*<sup>1</sup>  
 to-mountain

The lion ate his food up and came back to the mountain.

*derət yoma zəl-le faqira.*<sup>1</sup>  
 second day go.PFV-3SG.M poor.man

Next day, the poor man went up.

*k-imər-Ø, ʔha, ha, faqira.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M ha ha poor.man

*kud-yom k-əxl-ət-wa mən-n-i, ʔàxxa,*<sup>1</sup>  
 every-day IND-eat-2SG.M-PST with-me here

*galiz-i là-naxθ-i-wa gawət ixala?*<sup>1</sup>  
 saliva-my NEG-descend-3PL-PST inside food

He said, 'Hey, poor man, we had food together here every day.

Did my drool never run down into food?

*day d-mte-li l-gebòxun*  
 OBL.that.F SBR-arrive.PFV-1SG to-you.PL

*kəm-ʔazm-àt-ti,*<sup>1</sup>  
 PFV-invite-2SG.M-O.1SG

*dre-lux jüda ʔa-li ʔu ta gyàn-ux<sup>1</sup> jüda.*  
 put.PFV-2SG.M portion to-me and to self-your.SG.M portion

When you invited me, you served me separately and yourself separately.

(14) ʿe, g-mestànkəf-ət mən galiz-i?<sup>1</sup>  
 yes IND-be.revolted-2SG.M of saliva-my

You find my [drool] revolting?

ʿay, ʿày-ila faḏl diyi ʿəll-ux?<sup>1</sup>  
 that.F that.F=COP.3SG.F favour my to-you.SG.M

Is this [how you pay back] my favour to you?

ʿaxxa k-əxl-ət-wa mənn-i A<sup>c</sup>ala ḥsàb-i<sup>A1</sup>  
 here IND-eat-2SG.M-PST with-me on account-my

galiz-i là-k-iḡe-Ø-wa gawət ixala.<sup>1</sup>  
 saliva-my NEG-IND-COME-3SG.M-PST inside food

When you used to eat with me at my expense, [then] my drool was not dripping on food.

ʿaygət ḡe-li gèb-ux, galiz-i nxàt-le  
 when come.PFV-1SG to-your.SG.M saliva-my descend.PFV-3SG.M

gu ʿixala, g-yarəm-Ø ləbb-ux mənn-i.<sup>ʿ</sup>  
 in food IND-elevate-3SG.M heart-your.SG.M from-me

When I came over to yours, my drool ran down into food, you became proud.<sup>ʿ</sup>

(15) k-imər-Ø ṭà-le,<sup>1</sup> ʿxzi d-amr-ən-nux,<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M to-him see.IMP.SG.M SBR-say-1SG.M-O.2SG.M

He said to him, ‘Listen to what I say.

ʿmàḡi-le nǎr-ux,  
 bring.IMP.SG.M-O.3SG.M axe-your.SG.M

mxi-le gu rəš-i.<sup>1ʿ</sup>  
 hit.IMP.SG.M-O.3SG.M in head-my

Bring your axe and hit me with it on the head.<sup>ʿ</sup>

‘*dāxi māx-ən-ne b-reš-ux?*’  
 how hit-1SG.M-O.3SG.M in-head-your.SG.M

‘How should I hit you with it on the head?’

‘*ən lā-max-ət-te b-reš-i, dāha b-axl-ən-nux.*’  
 if NEG-hit-1SG.M-O.3SG.M in-head-my now FUT-eat-1SG.M-O.2SG.M

‘If you don’t hit me with it on the head, I’ll devour you right now.’

*lazəm māx-ət-te b-rēš-i.*’  
 must hit-2SG.M-O.1SG.M in-head-my

You must hit me with it on the head.’

*kəm-māxe-Ø-le b-reš-eḥ.*’  
 PFV-hit.3SG.M-O.3SG.M in-head-his

He hit him on his head.

‘*u arya zəl-le ta gyàn-eḥ.*’  
 and lion go.PFV-3SG.M to self-his

The lion went away to his own [place].

‘*u faqira θè-le,*’  
 and poor.man come.PFV-3SG.M

*wəd-le qāyse<sup>1</sup> u θe-le l-bàyθa.*’  
 do.PFV-3SG.M wood and come.PFV-3SG.M to-house

The poor man came, cut the wood and came back home.

(16) *pəd-le xen-a faqira,*’  
 pass.PFV-3SG.M other-SG.M poor.man

‘*u arya l-àt-te alaqa gaw-e.*’  
 and lion NEG-EXIST-3SG.M relation to-him

The poor man went [to] another [place] while the lion had nothing to do with him.



*ḥal xa yòma,*<sup>1</sup>  
until one day

*ʔàrya,*<sup>1</sup> *nàx-le*      *reš-eh.*<sup>1</sup> *reš-eh* *nàx-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
lion      heal.PFV-3SG.M      head-his      head-his      heal.PFV-3SG.M

Until, one day, the lion's head recovered. His head recovered.

*ʔu ðe-le,*                      *xaze-Ø* *faqira*  
and come.PFV-3SG.M      see-3SG.M      poor.man

*hole*                      *ʔəθy-a*                      *l-ṭura*                      *b-waða* *qàyse.*<sup>1</sup>  
DEIC.COP.3SG.M      come.PTCP-SG.M      to-mountain      in-do.INF      wood

He came and saw—the poor man had come to the mountain, cutting wood.

*mṭè-le*                      *faqira,*<sup>1</sup> *k-imər-Ø,*      *ʔhà faqira!*<sup>1</sup>  
arrive.PFV-3SG.M      poor man      IND-say-3SG.M      aha      poor man

He said, 'Hello, poor man!

*ʔuhu,* *ʔahlan wa-sàhlan,*<sup>1</sup>  
oh      welcome

*dàxi-wəθ?*<sup>1</sup> *maqšad:* *mroḥəb-le*                      *gàw-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
how=COP.2SG.M      meaning      welcome.PFV-3SG.M      to-him

Welcome, how are you?' I mean, he welcomed him.

(17) *k-imər-Ø,* *ʔfaqira,*<sup>1</sup>  
IND-say-3SG.M      poor.man

*də xur-Ø* *gu rəš-i,*<sup>1</sup>  
SBR      look.IMP-SG      in      head-my

He said, 'Oh poor man, come and look at my head.

*xz-i*                      *nìx-a*                      *reš-i,*                      *ʔən là.'*  
look.IMP-SG.M      heal.PTCP-SG.M      head-my      or      not

See whether or not my head has recovered.'

*xayer-Ø gu rēš-eh. k-imər-Ø, 'mhàymən-Ø'*<sup>1</sup>  
 look-3sg.m in head-his IND-say-3SG.M believe.IMP-SG

*hole piš-a bəš tu m-qamayθa.'*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEIC.COP.3SG.M become.PTCP-SG.M better than-before

He looked at his head and said, 'Believe me, it's better now than it was before.

*Amašalla... škīr 'alaha.'*<sup>1</sup>  
 what.god.willed thank.PTCP God

Thank God!

*k-imər-Ø, 'l-àwa b-kayp-i bas'*  
 IND-say-3SG.M NEG-COP.3SG.F in-desire-my but

*'ati kəm-jabr-ət-ti d-max-ən-wa 'əll-ux.'*<sup>1</sup>  
 you.SG PFV-force-2SG.M-O.1SG SBR-hit-1SG.M-PST to-you.SG.M

He said, 'It wasn't what I wanted, but you forced me to hit you.'

(18) *k-imər-Ø, 'xzi, faqira, reš-i*  
 IND-say-3SG.M see.IMP.SG.M poor.man head-my

*nəx-le.'*<sup>1</sup>  
 heal.PFV-3SG.M

He said, 'Look, poor man, my head has recovered.

*bas xabr-ux həš l-èle nix-a,'*<sup>1</sup>  
 but word-your.SG.M still NEG-COP.3SG.M heal.PTCP-SG.M

*d-ana... k-əmr-ət-wa*  
 SBR-I IND-say-2SG.M-PST

*galiz-i naxθ-i gawət 'ixāla.*  
 saliva-my descend-3PL inside food

But [the impact of] your words [when] you said that my drool was dripping into food has not yet healed.

*băṭṭar mət nax-le reš-i*  
 after when heal.PFV-3SG.M head-my  
*ʔu xabr-ux l-èle nix-a,<sup>1</sup>*  
 and word-your.SG.M NEG-COP.3SG.M heal.PTCP-SG.M  
*ʔhaq ʔu mustahâq<sup>A</sup>=ile d-axl-ən-nux.<sup>ʔ</sup>*  
 justified=COP.3SG.M SBR-eat-1SG.M-O.2SG.M

Since my head has recovered and [the wound] of your word has not, it is my full right to devour you.<sup>ʔ</sup>

*qəm-le kəm-ʔāxal-Ø-le b-e dāna.<sup>1</sup>*  
 arise.PFV -3SG.M PFV-eat-3SG.M-O.3SG.M in-this.F time

He devoured him immediately.

(19) ʔe, qāy.<sup>1</sup>  
       yes so

Yes, it is so.

*šawpa, šawp-ət saypa g-nāyax-Ø.<sup>1</sup>*  
 impact impact-of sword IND-heal-3SG.M

The impact of a sword heals.

*šawp-ət xabra lā-g-nayax-Ø.<sup>1</sup>*  
 impact-of word NEG-IND-heal-3SG.M

[But] the impact of words does not heal.

*xabra nāxwaš, nāxwaš=ile, ʔe.<sup>1</sup>*  
 word evil evil=COP.3SG.M yes

A word can be very evil, yes.

# JEWISH ARAMAIC OF DUHOK

## TEXT 16: §1-11

*Dorota Molin*

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### Speaker: Sabi Avraham

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/184/>

(1) ʾəθ-wa xa beθa d-ʿāyāš-∅-wa...<sup>1</sup>  
EXIST-PST one house SBR-live-3SG.M-PST

*bab-ət beθa d-ʿāyāš-∅-wa mən šìwe.*<sup>1</sup>  
father-of house SBR-live-3SG.M-PST from wood.PL

There was a household who used to live on... whose father used to make his living by woodcutting.

*g-ezəl-∅-wa go tūra,*<sup>1</sup> *q-qāte-∅-wa šìwe.*<sup>1</sup>  
IND-go-3SG.M-PST in mountain, IND-cut-3SG.M-PST wood.PL

He used to go to the mountain and cut pieces of wood.

*g-meθè-∅-wa-lu,*<sup>1</sup> *dāré-∅-wa-lu*  
IND-bring-3SG.M-PST-o.3PL, place-3SG.M-PST-o.3PL

*rəš xmara dide,*<sup>1</sup>  
on donkey his

He would bring them, place them on his donkey.

(2) *g-ewəð-Ø-wā-lu*      *kārta,*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-make-3SG.M-PST-o.3PL    bundle

He would bind them in a bundle.

*g-dāré-Ø-wa-lu*      *kārta*<sup>1</sup>    *rəš*    *xmara*    *dīde.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-place-3SG.M-PST-o.3PL    bundle    on    donkey    his

He would put them [as] a bundle on his donkey's back.

*u-g-nābəl-Ø-wa-lu*      *šūqa,*<sup>1</sup>    *gə-mzābən-Ø-wa-lu.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-IND-take-3SG.M-PST-o.3PL    market,    IND-sell-3SG.M-PST-o.3PL

He would take them to the market and sell them.

*k-eθé-Ø-wa,*<sup>1</sup>      *g-meθe-Ø-wa*      *ʾixala*  
 IND-come-3SG.M-PST    IND-bring-3SG.M-PST    food

*ta yalunke dīde.*<sup>1</sup>  
 to    children    his

Then, he would come back home and bring food for his children.

*u-k-eθe-Ø-wa*      *k-əxl-i-wa*      *g-ʿeš-i-wa*  
 and-IND-come-3SG.M-PST    IND-eat-3PL-PST    IND-live-3PL-PST

*bət ʾanna,*<sup>1</sup>    *mən*    *mzabon-ət*    *šīwe.*<sup>1</sup>  
 in    those    from    selling-of    wood.PL

When he came, they would eat and live on this, on the money from wood selling.

(3) *xā yoma zəl-le*      *l-tūra,*<sup>1</sup>  
 one    day    go.PFV-3SG.M    to-mountain

*b-qəte-Ø*      *šīwe,*<sup>1</sup>    *xze-le*      *xa*    *gūrqa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 FUT-cut-3SG.M    wood,    see.PFV-3SG.M    one    wolf

One day he went to the mountain to cut trees and he saw a wolf.

*ʿaw gurga g-emər-Ø ta-le*  
 that.M wolf IND-say-3SG.M to-him

*mă wət ʿəθy-a?*<sup>1</sup>  
 what COP.PRS.2SG.M come.PTCP-SG.M

This wolf said to him, ‘Why have you come?’

*g-emər-Ø ʿana g-əb-ən...*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M I IND-want-1SG.M

*g-ʿeš-ən bət qaṭʿ-ən šīwe.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-live-1SG.M in cut-1SG.M wood.PL

He said, ‘I want to... I make my living by woodcutting.

*gə-mzabn-ən-nu go šuqa*  
 IND-sell-1SG.M-o.3PL in market

*u-máʿā-yəš-ən yalunke dīdi.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-sustain-1SG child my

I sell it in the market and provide for my children.

*bə-dè ʿana g-ʿeš-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 in-OBL.this.F I IND-live-1SG.M

In this way I make my living.’

(4) *g-emər-Ø ʿana b-yāw-ən-nox kud-yom*  
 IND-say-3SG.M I FUT-give-1SG.M-o.2SG.M every-day

*xă lira kurkamàn-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 one coin golden-SG.F

He replied ‘Every day, I will give you one golden coin.

*si maşraf-Ø ta yalunke didox.*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.IMP.SG.M spend.IMP-SG to children your.SG.M

Go, spend it on your children.’

*g-emər-∅*, <sup>K</sup>*xera xudè<sup>K</sup>-la*,<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M <sup>K</sup>God's favour<sup>K</sup>=COP.PRS.3SG.F

<sup>K</sup>*xera xude<sup>K</sup>* *bət kərmànji g-əmṛ-i*.<sup>1</sup>  
 It is God's favour in Kurmanji IND-say-3PL.

He said, 'It is God's favour, God's favour!' They said it in Kurmanji.

(5) *šqəl-le lira kurkamana dide mən gùrga*<sup>1</sup>  
 take.PFV-3SG.M coin golden his from wolf

*u-θe-le l-šùqa*.<sup>1</sup>  
 and-come.PFV-3SG.M to-market.

He took his golden coin from the wolf and came to the market.

*u-zun-ne ta gyane ʾixala u-julle ta*  
 and-buy.PFV-3SG.M to himself food and-clothes to

*yalunke dide*,<sup>1</sup>  
 children his.

He bought food for himself and clothes for his children.

*u-mabsuṭ mər-re ta bāxt-e*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-pleased say.PFV-3SG.M to wife-his

*walla ʾana xze-li xa xùra*<sup>1</sup>  
 indeed I meet.PFV-1SG one friend

*go tura*<sup>1</sup> *bāle gùrgā-le*.<sup>1</sup>  
 in mountain but wolf=COP.PRS.3SG.M.

And pleased, he told his wife 'Indeed, I met a friend on the mountain, but he is a wolf.'

(6) *kud-yom g-emər-∅*  
 every-day IND-say-3SG.M

"Every day"—he said—

'ana b-yāwəṇ-nox xă kurkamàna.<sup>1</sup>  
 I FUT-give-1SG.M-O.2SG.M one golden

“I will give you one golden coin.”

'ūd-le =li 'ədyo kurkamàna.<sup>1</sup>  
 make.PFV-3SG.M =O.1SG today golden

He has given me a golden coin today.’

kud-yom g-ezəl-Ø l-tura u-g-ewəð-Ø  
 every-day IND-go-3SG.M to-mountain and-IND-make-3SG.M

šìwe<sup>1</sup> u-k-eθe-Ø gurga g-yāwəl-Ø-le  
 wood and-IND-come-3SG.M wolf IND-give-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

kurkamàna.<sup>1</sup>  
 golden

So every day, he goes to the mountain, cuts wood and the wolf comes and gives him a coin.

(7) paš-le xă yarxa,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> t!àha,<sup>1</sup> xă šàta.<sup>1</sup>  
 stay.PFV-3SG.M one month two, three, one year

One month went by, then two, three, one year.

baxt-e g-əmr-a walla  
 wife-his IND-say-3SG.F indeed

hatxa xòš naša,<sup>1</sup> bəš-ile.<sup>1</sup>  
 such good.SG.M man good.SG.M=COP.PRS.3SG.M

His wife said, ‘What a kind man! He is good.

'ana g-əb-an 'oð-an-ne qàðdre,<sup>1</sup>  
 I IND-want-1SG.F make-1SG.F-O.3SG.M dishes

I want to make some dishes for him,



*qaḏr-an-ne*      *u-ʿazm-ax-le*      *kəs-lan*    *l-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 treat-1SG.F-O.3SG.M    and-invite-1PL-O.3SG.M    by-us      to-house

I shall treat him, we shall invite him for a feast at our house.

*ʾoḏ-ax-le*      *xa*      *ʾixala*    *basim-a*<sup>1</sup>    *u-məstaʿən-Ø*  
 make-1PL-O.3SG.M    some    food    good-SG.M    and-enjoy.oneself-3SG.M

*go beθa*    *kəs-lan*    *u-doq-ax*    *qàḏre.*<sup>1</sup>  
 in house    by-us      and-hold-1PL    banquet

We shall prepare some good food for him, he will enjoy himself at our house and we will feast together.’

(8) *g-emər-Ø*    *ta-la*    *šùq-Ø-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M    to-her    leave.IMP-SG-O.3SG.M

He says to her ‘Leave him alone.

*gùrgā-le.*<sup>1</sup>      *ḥèwan-ile.*<sup>1</sup>  
 wolf=COP.PRS.3SG.M.    animal=COP.PRS.3SG.M

He’s a wolf. He’s an animal.

*mā*    *b-aθe-Ø*      *go naše?*<sup>1</sup>    *naše*    *b-zàdʾ-i.*<sup>1</sup>  
 what    FUT-come-3SG.M    in    people?    people    FUT-fear-3PL

What does it mean “He will come among people?” People will be afraid.

*mbàrbəʿă-Ø-lu*    *gurga*    *yaʾal-Ø*    *go maθa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 alarm-3SG.M-O.3PL    wolf    enter-3SG.M    in city

A wolf that enters the city will alarm them.’

*g-əmr-a*      *lā,*<sup>1</sup>    *lā,*<sup>1</sup>    *mar-Ø-re.*      *ʾàθe-Ø.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.F    no,    no,    say.IMP-SG-O.3SG.M    come-3SG.M

She said, ‘No, no, tell him to come.’

(9) *zəl-le*            *g-emər-Ø*    *tà-le,*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M    IND-say-3SG.M    to-o.3SG.M  
*g-emər-Ø*    *ʿana*    *l-èb-i*            *ʿaθ-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M    I            NEG-can-1SG    come-1SG.M

So he went and told the wolf, but he said, ‘I can’t come.

*gùrga*    =*wən,*            *k-əxl-ən*            *nəše.*<sup>1</sup>  
 wolf        =COP.PRS.1SG.M    IND-eat-1SG.M    man

I am a wolf. I eat people.

*b-aθ-ən*            *go*    *maθa*    *kull-u*    *mbàrbə<sup>c</sup>-i.*<sup>1</sup>  
 FUT-come-1SG.M    in    city        all-them    alarm-3PL

If I come to town, everyone will be alarmed.’

(10) *zəl-le*            *mər-re*            *ta*    *baxta*    *hàtxa*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M    say.PFV-3SG.M    to    wife        such  
*g-emər-Ø*    *gurga.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M    wolf

So the man went and told his wife, this is what the wolf said.

*ʿaz*    *g-əmr-a*            *šud*    *ʿaθe-Ø*            *b-lèle,*    *xàška.*<sup>1</sup>  
 so    IND-say-3SG.F    let    come-3SG.M    at-night    darkness

So she said, let him come at night, when there is darkness.

*bə-daw*            *wàxt<sup>l</sup>*            *l-əθ-wa*            *beherùθa<sup>l</sup>.*  
 in-OBL.that.M    time.SG.M    NEG-EXIST.PST    light

At that time, there were no lights.

*l-əθ-wa*            <sup>A</sup>*anṭariq<sup>A</sup>*    <sup>H</sup>*menoròt<sup>H</sup>.*  
 NEG-EXIST-PST    by.way.of    lamps

<sup>A</sup>*kahraba<sup>A</sup>*    *l-əθ-wa.*<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>A</sup>electricity<sup>A</sup>    NEG-EXIST-PST

There were not, for instance, lamps. There was no electricity.

*xəška wewa.*<sup>1</sup>  
darkness COP.PST.3SG.M

It was dark.

*u-pāyəš-Ø-wa xəška,<sup>1</sup> kull-a maθa xəška*  
and-stay-3SG.M-PST darkness all-3SG.F city darkness  
*wawa.*<sup>1</sup>  
COP.PST.3SG.F

When it got dark, the whole city would be dark.

(11) *g-əmr-a dammət payəš-Ø*  
IND-say-3SG.F when stay-3SG.M  
*xəška,<sup>1</sup> šud 'aθe-Ø,<sup>1</sup>*  
darkness let come-3SG.M

She said, 'Let him come after it gets dark.

*bəθ-an wele bə-dumāhik dət maθa.<sup>1</sup>*  
house-our COP.DEIC.3SG.M in-outskirts of city

Our house is situated on the outskirts of town.

*b-aθe-Ø kəs-lan bəθa u-b-əzəl-Ø.<sup>1</sup>*  
FUT-come-3SG.M by-us house and-FUT-go-3SG.M

He will come straight to our house and go back.

*čy-xa la k-xāzè-Ø-le.<sup>1</sup>*  
no-one NEG IND-see-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

No one will see him.'

*g-emər-Ø baxt-i b-oð-a-lox xa 'azime bāš.*  
IND-say-3SG.M wife-my FUT-make-3SG.F-o.2SG.M some banquet good

So he told the wolf, 'My wife will make you a great banquet.'

*mər-re*      *ta-le*      *b-àθ-ən,*<sup>1</sup>      *g-emər-∅*      *b-àθ-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    to-him    FUT-come-1SG.M    IND-say-3SG.M    FUT-come-1SG.M

He replied to him. 'I will come,' he said, 'I will come.'

*g-emər-∅,*      <sup>H</sup>*toṽ<sup>H</sup>,*      *b-àθ-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M    well,      FUT-come-1SG.M

[The wolf] said, 'Well then, I will come.'

# CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF ENISHKE

## TEXT 6: §1–13

*Dorota Molin*

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(1) ʿaw brət mālka wewa.<sup>1</sup>  
that.M son.of king COP.PST.3SG.M

He was the son of a king.

brət mālka wewa.<sup>1</sup>  
son-of king COP.PST.3SG.M

He was the son of a king.

ʿawa u-beθa lā-θe-le l-ʿuxḏaḏe.<sup>1</sup>  
he and-house NEG-come.PFV-3SG.M to-each.other

He did not get along with his family.

šqe-le b-dānye xəš-le.<sup>1</sup>  
go.PFV-3SG.M in-world go.PFV-3SG.M

He wandered in the world, he went.

šqe-le b-dānye qam-xaze-∅-le wə-re  
travel.PFV-3SG.M in-world PFV-see-3PL-O.3SG.M pass.PFV-3SG.M

gu xa ʿaθra xəna,<sup>1</sup> xa xayatuθa xəna.<sup>1</sup>  
in some land other some life other

He travelled around and they saw him enter another country and [begin] a new life.

*qam-dawq-i-le, dar-i-le gu sàjən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PFV-seize-3PL-O.3SG.M put-3PL-O.3SG.M in prison

They arrested him and put him in prison.

(2) *malka mà xze-le b-xulm-e?*<sup>1</sup>  
 king what see.PFV-3SG.M in-dream-his

What did the king see in his dream?

*har malka b-gan-e xze-le b-xulm-e*  
 also king in-self-his see.PFV-3SG.M in-dream-his

The king himself saw in his dream:

*ʔəštá tawraθa zābun<sup>1</sup> xala əštá triš-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
 six cows skinny eat.INF six healthy-PL

six skinny cows were devouring six healthy cows.

*u-mà xze-le b-xulme diyje har ʔawu b-gan-e?*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-what see.PFV-3SG.M in-dream-his his also he in-self-his

What did [Joseph] see in a dream?

*ʔawu b-gan-e mà xze-le*  
 he in-self-his and-what see.PFV-3SG.M

*b-xulm-e <sup>A</sup>nafs əl-lele<sup>A?</sup>*<sup>1</sup>  
 in-dream-his same DEF-night

What did he see in his dream the same night?

*xze-le b-xulm-e,<sup>1</sup> hole xzada dàxla,<sup>1</sup>*  
 see.PFV-3SG.M in-dream-his COP.DEIC.3SG.M harvest.INF wheat

He saw in his dream that they were harvesting wheat.

*ʔəšta baqaθa d-daxla sahd-i lbaq-e dīyye.*<sup>1</sup>  
 six bundles of-wheat bow.down-3PL to-his his

Six bundles of wheat worshipped his bundles.

(3) *mər-e*            *ʿana* *yið-ən-na*            *māndi-la,*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    I            know-1SG.M-O.3SG.F    what=COP.3SG.F  
*bas* *l-è-maxk-ən-na.*<sup>1</sup>  
 but    NEG-IND-tell-1SG.M-O.3SG.F

He said ‘I know what it is [about], but I won’t tell.’

*mər-e*            *‘māndi-le?’*            *māxke-Ø-le*            *māndi-le!’*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    what=COP.3SG.M    tell.IMP-SG.M-O.3SG.M    what=COP.3SG.M

They said ‘What is it? Tell us what it is!’

*mər-e*            *l-è-maxk-ən-na,*<sup>1</sup>            *l-è-hane-Ø-li.*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    NEG-IND-tell-1SG.M-O.3SG.F    NEG-IND-please-3SG.M-O.1SG

‘I won’t tell, I am not comfortable telling,’ he said.

*ʿana* *u-xunwàθ-i=wax.*<sup>1</sup>  
 I            and-brothers-my=COP.1PL

‘It is about me and my brothers.

*t-aθe-Ø*            *yoma* *ʿan* *xunwaθ-i*  
 FUT-come-3SG.M    day            these    brothers-my  
*p-sàhd-i*            *ʿall-i,*<sup>1</sup> *bas* *qam-ṭard-ì-li.*<sup>1</sup>  
 FUT-bowndown-3PL    to-me    but    PFV-expel-3PL-O.1SG

A day will come when my brothers will kneel down before me, but they have expelled me.’

(4) *mər-e*            *ʿla,* *ʿad* *ʿawa* *b-yiðè-Ø-le*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    no    SBR    he            FUT-know-3SG.M-O.3SG.M  
*xulm-ət* *dawa*            *mālka,*<sup>1</sup> *m-nabl-àx-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 dream-of    OBL.that.M    king            FUT-take-1PL-O.3SG.M

They said ‘He will be able to interpret the king’s dream, let’s take him [to the king].’

*xəš-le kəs-le diyye*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M to-him his

He went to him.

*mər-e mândi-la qəşəttā,<sup>1</sup> faqîra?’*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M what-COP.3SG.F story poor.man

He said ‘What is the story, poor fellow?’

*mândi-le qəşətt-ət*  
 what-COP.3SG.F story-of  
*’əštá tawraθa zābun ’axl-i trîş-e?’*  
 six cows skinny eat-3PL healthy-PL

What is the story of six skinny cows devouring fat ones?’

*mər-e ’pt-aθe-Ø-lux ’əštá šanne xa xâðða,<sup>1</sup>*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M FUT-come-3SG.M-to.you six years some famine  
*xa garàni,<sup>1</sup> ’ajebùθa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 some starvation wonder

He said ‘You will have six years of famine, a rise in prices, something astonishing.

(5) *m-daha mhàm-i,<sup>1</sup> mli-le guniye,*  
 therefore believe.IMP-SG.M fill.IMP.SG.M-O.3PL sacks  
*’anna maxazən diyyux xətte u-dàbra,<sup>1</sup>*  
 these store.houses your.SG.M grains and-wheat  
*b-bary-a garani b-xèla,<sup>1</sup> ya’ni xelàn-ta.<sup>1</sup>*  
 FUT-happen-3SG.F famine in-strength I mean strong-SG.F

Therefore, believe [me], you need to gather wheat and fill your sacks, your storehouses with wheat and corn, because a severe famine will come, I mean.



ʾāštá šənnē garani pt-awy-a.<sup>1</sup>  
 six years famine FUT-be-SG.F

There will be a terrible famine for six years.’

ʾawa mjume<sup>c</sup>-le mjume<sup>c</sup>-le mjume<sup>c</sup>-le  
 he gather.PFV-3SG.M gather.PFV-3SG.M gather.PFV-3SG.M

mjumè<sup>c</sup>-le.<sup>1</sup>  
 gather.PFV-3SG.M

[The king] began to store wheat, more and more.

(6) ʾayya baxte diyē dre-la ʾena ʾall-e  
 this.F wife-his his put.PFV-3SG.F eye on-him

dīyē.<sup>1</sup>  
 his

[Meanwhile,] his (the king’s) wife began to look at him with desire.

ʾaz-a-wa bāθr-e,<sup>1</sup> bāθr-e,<sup>1</sup>  
 go-3SG.F-PST after-him after-him

ʾamr-a hayyu l-beθa xōl-∅ u-štī.<sup>1</sup>  
 say-3SG.F come.IMP.SG to-house eat.IMP-SG and-drink.IMP.SG.M

She would follow him and say ‘Come, eat and drink.’

hal hādax qam-awḏ-a-le,<sup>1</sup>  
 until such PFV-do-3SG.F-O.3SG.M

mər-a b-y-an-ne tāj mālka ṭa-lux.<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3 FUT-give-1SG.F-O.3SG.M crown king to-you.SG.M

She did this: she told him ‘I’ll give you the king’s crown.’

(7) mər-e ʾana <sup>K</sup>Zambil Fròš<sup>K</sup> =iwen,<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3 I basket seller =COP.1SG.M

He said ‘But I am a basket-seller.’

*y-zaqr-ən*      *zanbire*    *u-haqq-i*      *b-y-at-te*  
 IND-weave-1SG.M    baskets    and-right-my    FUT-give-2SG.F-O.3SG.M

*xa*    *lira,*<sup>1</sup>    *pt-àz-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 one    lira      FUT-go-1SG.M

I weave baskets for which I earn one lira, and then I leave.

*ʾàw*    *wele*                      *šuli,*<sup>1</sup>      *ʾana*    *l-è-peš-ən*  
 that.M    COP.DEIC.3SG.M    work-my    I      NEG-IND-become-1SG.M

*malka*    *ʾana.*<sup>1</sup>  
 king      I

This is my profession. I will not become a king.

*l-è-haw-ən*      *malka.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-IND-be-1SG.M    king

I will not be a king.<sup>ʾ</sup>

*wele*                      *šul-e*      *diyye*    *hadax.*  
 COP.DEIC.3SG.M    work-his    his      thus

This was his job.

*u-malka*    *qam-kàbe-Ø-le*      *u-mən-ne*                      *mànn-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-king    PFV-like-3SG.M-O.3SG.M    and-help.PFV-3SG.M    O-3SG.M

*u-ʾap*      *ʾawa*    *mən-ne*                      *mən*      *dàwa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-even    he      help.PFV-3SG.M    O-3SG.M    OBL.that.M

The king liked him and helped him, and he in turn helped him.

(8) *θe-la*                      *xa*      *zawna*    *xunwaθa*    *diyye*  
 come.PFV-3SG.F    certain    time      brothers    his

*hür-e,*<sup>1</sup>  
 distressed-PL

A time came when his brothers were in distress.

*šmeʿlu gu flan dawla ʿəθ dabra mزابòne.*<sup>1</sup>  
 hear-PFV-3 in a.certain country EXIST wheat sell.INF

They heard that in such-and-such a country there was wheat for sale.

*xəš-le xa b-xa mənne.*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M one with-one of-them

They all went to him, one by one.

*mà wed-le ʿawa?*  
 what do.PFV-3SG.M he

What did he (Zambil Frosh) do?

(9) *ʿawa-le kyala ʿàn xətte*<sup>1</sup>  
 he-COP.3SG.M measure.INF these grain

*u-dráyə-lla tə-lehi.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-place.INF-O.3SG.F to-them

It was] he [who] measured the grain and put it in their sacks.

*šqəl-le xa kas-ət dehwa ʿəθ-wā-le*  
 take.PFV-3SG.M one cup-of gold EXIST-PST-3SG.M

He took out a golden cup which he had.

*y-dar-i p-kas-ət dèhwa,*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-put-3PL in-cup-of gold

They used to put [the grain] in a golden cup.

*qam-dare-Ø-le gu ten-et xa mənne.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.M in load-of one of-them

And he put it in the sack of one of them.

*xəšle,*<sup>1</sup> *rxəq-le t-maṭ-e l-mḏita.*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PFV-3PL go\_far.PFV-3PL SBR-arrive-3PL to-city

They went back to their [home] city.

*xəš-le har jēš baθr diyye.*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M even army after them

An army went pursuing them.

(10) *mər-e har ʾawa,<sup>1</sup> mər-e ta malka*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M even he say.PFV-3SG.M to king

*ʾana hātxa pt-awð-ən,<sup>1</sup>*  
 I thus FUT-do-1SG.M

[Zambil Frosh] said, he told the king ‘This is what I am going to do.

*qam-ganw-i-la ʾayya ʾamana dīyyux.<sup>1</sup>*  
 PFV-steal-3PL-O.3SG.F this.F cup your.SG.M

They have stolen your cup.’

*ʾanna xunwaθa diyye-le.<sup>1</sup>*  
 these brothers his-COP.3PL

They were his own brothers.

*xəš-le baθr-e hal qurbət mðitey,<sup>1</sup>*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M after-him until near-of city-their

They chased them outside their city.

*yaʿani wàra,<sup>1</sup> qam-dawq-ì-le,<sup>1</sup> meθ-ì-le.<sup>1</sup>*  
 I mean outside PFV-seize-3PL-O.3PL bring-3PL-O.3PL

I mean, [they were] outside when they captured them and brought them [back].

(11) *mər-e ʾqày,<sup>1</sup> màx wið-e?<sup>1</sup>*  
 say.PFV-3PL how how do.PTCP-PL

They said ‘But how, what have we done?’

čù mändi,<sup>1</sup> l-èx wið-e 'axni.<sup>1</sup> 'mər-e lā,<sup>1</sup>  
 no thing NEG-COP.1PL do.PTCP-PL we say.PFV-3SG.M no

Nothing, we have done [nothing].'

wutu gniwə-lla taz-ət dèhwa.<sup>1</sup>  
 COP.2PL steal.PTCP.SG.M-O.3SG.F cup-of gold

You have stolen the gold cup.'

'daxxi, 'axni mätu b-gənw-ax-la?<sup>1</sup>  
 how we how FUT-steal-1PL-O.3SG.F

'How, how could we steal it?!

yalla yalla mte-la dabra 'əll-an  
 quickly quickly arrive-PFV-3SG.F wheat to-us

The wheat has barely arrived in our city.

u-naše kull-a mət-la m-kupna t-mamṭ-ax  
 and-people all-them die.PFV-3PL of-hunger SBR-bring-1PL  
 l-mḏita.<sup>1</sup>  
 to-city

Our people were dying of hunger before we would bring [it] to the city!

mər-e 'pθux-u gūniyat-exu.<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M open.IMP-PL sacks-your.PL

He said 'Open your sacks.'

har 'awa qam-paθax-Ø-le 'ay guniya.<sup>1</sup>  
 even he PFV-open-3SG.M-O.3SG.M this.F sack

He himself opened the sack.

mər-e də-mbarb-i 'əxxa.<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M SBR-empty-3PL here

He told them to empty it here.

*plət-la kas-ət dehwa tàma.*<sup>1</sup>  
 come.out.PFV-3SG.F cup-of gold there

The golden cup fell out.

(12) *ʿanna mà wəd-le?*<sup>1</sup>  
 these what do.PFV-3PL

What did they do?

*qam-šaqł-i-le ʿaw xon-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PFV-take-3PL-O.3SG.M that.M brother-their

They took [one of] their brother[s].

*yaʿāni yðe-le ʿəbb-e diyye.*<sup>1</sup>  
 I mean know.PFV-3PL with-him his

I mean, they recognised him.

*qam-šaqł-i-le xunwaθa diyye ʿaw t-ile*  
 PFV-take-3PL-O.3SG.M brothers his that.M SBR-COP.3SG.M

*kəs mālka.*<sup>1</sup>  
 with king

[Then] they took him with them, the brother who was with the king.

(13) *xəš-le ʿəbb-e b-dabra diyye.*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M with-them with-wheat their

They went away with their grain.

*kut-məndi t-āwèð-∅-wa, l-əθ-wa laʿa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 every-thing SBR-do-3SG.M-PST NEG-EXIST-PST no

There was no objection to anything he did.

ʾəštá šənne y-sahd-i-wa ʾəll-e dīyye.<sup>1</sup>  
 six years IND-bow.down-3PL-PST to-him his

y-ʿabd-ì-wa-le.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-worship-3PL-PST-O.3SG.M

They would kneel before him for six years, they worshipped him.

u-hul ʾegət t-ile piš-e gor-e  
 and-until when SBR-COP.3SG.M become.PTCP-PL grown.up-PL

u-gwir-e kùll-e,<sup>1</sup> ʾaw xona rayyās  
 and-married.PTCP-PL all-them that.M brother chief

diyyehi wèwa.<sup>1</sup>  
 their COP.PST.3SG.M

Until they all grew up and got married, that brother was their chief.

ʾana ʾo mändi tnàyə-llax.<sup>1</sup>  
 I this.M thing tell.INF-O.2SG.F

This is what I am telling you.

# JEWISH ARAMAIC OF ZAKHO

## TEXT 25: §2–7, 9

Dorota Molin

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### Speaker: Samra Zaqen

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/226/>

(2) ʿəs-wa xa <sup>H</sup>baḥūr<sup>H</sup>,  
EXIST-PST one young.man

<sup>H</sup>meʾód meʾód yǎfè<sup>H</sup> we-le.<sup>|</sup>  
very very beautiful.SG.M PST.COP-3SG.M

There was [once] a young man, he was very, very handsome.

<sup>H</sup>muxšâr,<sup>|</sup> tòn,<sup>|</sup> yǎfè<sup>H</sup>.<sup>|</sup>  
gifted.SG.M good.SG.M beautiful.SG.M

[He was] talented, good, handsome.

kull-u ʿalam g-žàgl-i<sup>|</sup>  
all-their world IND-work-3PL

u-mparnəs-i gyàn-u,<sup>|</sup> g-oz-i šoʾàle.<sup>|</sup>  
and-sustain-3PL self.SG.F-their IND-work-3PL works

Everybody else worked to support themselves, doing their work.

ʿawa g-ēr-Ø, ʿlaʾ, là g-be-wa.<sup>|</sup>  
he IND-say-3SG.M no NEG IND-want-3SG.M-PST

[But] he said no, he did not want to.



(3) *bab-e yəmm-e mjozè-lu<sup>l</sup> mən maḥkòye<sup>l</sup>*  
 father-his mother-his tire.PFV-3PL from speak.INF

*'kappàr-ox<sup>l</sup> si žgòl-Ø<sup>l</sup> d-gòr-ət<sup>l</sup>*  
 sacrifice-your.SG.M go.IMP.SG.M work.IMP-SG SBR-marry-2SG.M

*dəd yàtw-ət<sup>l</sup> dət ha'...*,  
 SBR dwell-2SG.M SBR oh

His parents exhausted themselves discussing [this with him].  
 'Please, go to work so that you can marry, so that can you settle  
 down.'

*ma p-awe-Ø bəd bèsə?!<sup>l</sup>*  
 what FUT-be-3SG.M in house

Why should he stay at home?

*mà-l-ox?!<sup>l</sup> la g-žàğl-ən g-ēr-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 what-to-you.SG.M NEG IND-1SG.M IND-say-3SG.M

'What is it with you?' 'I shall not work,' he said.

*la g-žàğəl-Ø <sup>H</sup>kašlàn<sup>H</sup>! là g-žàğəl-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 NEG IND-work-3SG.M lazy NEG IND-work-3SG.M

He does not work, the lazy [one]! He does not work.

*kašlàn.<sup>l</sup> hè<sup>l</sup>, <sup>H</sup>kašlàn<sup>H</sup> kašlàn,*  
 lazy yes lazy lazy

Lazy. Yes, [he is] lazy, lazy.

*hile dmìxa xa te'na.<sup>l</sup>*  
 DEIC.COP.3SG.M sleep.PTCP-M.SG. one fig.tree

He is sleeping under a fig tree.

- (4) ʾèha,<sup>|</sup> ḥakoma day bāžər,<sup>|</sup> ʾət-le t̤laha  
 this.F ruler OBL.DEF.SG.F city EXIST-3SG.M three  
 bnàsa.<sup>|</sup> mutw-i-le kut-t̤la-hùn<sup>|</sup>  
 daughters seat.PFV-O.3PL-3SG.M all-three-their

The king of that city had three daughters. He sat them down.

- g-emər-Ø*, ʾsà-wun<sup>|</sup> bnàs-i,<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M go.IMP-PL daughters-my  
 māni bəž g-əbè-Ø-li?<sup>ʾ|</sup>  
 who more IND-love-3SG.M-O.1SG

He said ‘Come, my daughters, which [of you] loves me the most?’

- (5) ʾay rab-sa g-əmr-a ʾbàb-i,<sup>|</sup>  
 DEF.SG.F big-FS IND-say-3FS father-my  
 g-əb-an-nox qčīn malk-əd dūnye.<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-love-1SG.F-O.2SG.M like king-of world

The oldest said, ‘My father, I love you like the king of the world, as much as I love him.

- kma g-əb-an-ne ʾe bohora-ət dūnye,<sup>|</sup>*  
 how.much IND-love-1SG.F-O.3SG.M DEF.SG.F light-of world  
 ʾahət g-əb-an-nox H<sup>o</sup>ət<sup>H</sup>.<sup>ʾ|</sup>  
 you.SG.M IND-LOVE-1SG.F-O.2SG.M same

As much as I love the light of the world, so I love you.’

- ʾg-əb-ət-ti.<sup>ʾ|</sup>*  
 IND-love-2SG.F-O.1SG.M

[The king said: ‘Indeed] you love me.’

- ʾay xet g-ēr-Ø-ra  
 DEF.SG.F other.INV IND-say-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

The other one—[the king] said to her,

'brat-i kma g-əb-ət-ti?'<sup>1</sup>  
 daughter-my how.much IND-love-2SG.F-O.1SG.M

'My daughter, how much do you love me?'

g-əmr-a 'mad mər-ra xàs-i.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.F like say.PFV-3SG.F sister-my

She said, 'Whatever my sister has said.

qčīn bohora-ət 'ən-i.<sup>1</sup>  
 like light-of eyes-my

u-<sup>H</sup>briyut<sup>H</sup> didi g-b-àn-nox.<sup>1</sup>  
 and-health my IND-love-1SG.F-O.2SG.M

Like the light of my eyes and my health I love you.'

g-ēr-Ø, 'ay trè.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.F DEF.SG.F two

He said... [That was] the second one.

(6) mase-le 'ay zūr-ta.<sup>1</sup>  
 bring.PFV-3SG.M DEF.SG.F little-SG.F

He brought the youngest one.

'brat-i 'āt kma g-əb-ət-ti?'<sup>1</sup>  
 daughter-my you.SG.F how.much IND-love-2SG.F-O.1SG.M

My daughter, and you, how much do you love me?'

g-əmr-a<sup>1</sup> bāb-i<sup>1</sup> g-əb-àn-nox<sup>1</sup> qčīn mālxa  
 IND-say-3SG.F father-my IND-love-1SG.F-O.2SG.M like salt

dət g-dare-Ø 'əl qəzra  
 SBR IND-put-3PL on dish

She said, 'My father, I love you like the salt they put in cooked food,

*maṭo* *ḥ-oy-a* *basəm-ta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿoto* *g-əb-ən-nox.*<sup>1</sup>  
 how FUT-be-3SG.F tasty-SG.F same IND-love-1SG.F-O.2SG.M

the way it makes [the food] delicious, so I love you.'

(7) *ʿowà!*<sup>1</sup> *mux məlxa* *g-əb-at-ti* *bàs?!*<sup>1</sup>  
 aha like salt IND-love-1SG.F-O.SG.M only

'Oh! You love me only this much?!'

*g-ēr-Ø,* *ʿahat* *la* *g-naf<sup>2</sup>-at* *tà-li.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3SG.M you.SG.M NEG IND-suffice-2SG.F to-me

'You are not [good] enough for me.

*šqol-Ø* *čaṇṭa* *didax* *u-s-è.*<sup>1</sup>  
 take.IMP-SG bag your.SG.F and-go.IMP-SG.F

take your bag and go [away].

*la* *g-yaw-ən-nax* *čù-məndi.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG IND-give-1SG.M-O.2SG.F any-thing

I shall not give you anything.

*ʿanya* *trè* *bnas-i-lu,*  
 these two daughters-my-COP.3PL

*ʿahat* *le-at* *bràt-i,*<sup>1</sup> *wiii!*<sup>1</sup>  
 you.SG.F NEG-COP.2SG.F daughter-my oh

Those two are my daughters, you are not my daughter, you!'

(9) *ʿe* *šqəl-la*<sup>1</sup> *čaṇṭa* *dida.*  
 she take.PFV-3F.SG bag her

She took her bag.

*èka* *b<sup>H</sup>az<sup>H</sup>-a*<sup>1</sup>  
 where FUT-go-3SG.F

Where could she go [now]

ʾāla daw <sup>H</sup>kerem<sup>H</sup> dət bāb-a?<sup>l</sup>  
 except OBL.DEF-SG.M vineyard of father-her

if not to her father's vineyard?

ʾāt-le <sup>H</sup>kerem<sup>H</sup> rùww-a,  
 EXIST-3SG.M vineyard big-SG.M

He had a large vineyard.

g-əmr-a g-b-an yatw-an tāma  
 IND-say-1SG.F IND-want-1SG.F sit-1SG.F there

She said [to herself], 'I want to stay there.

b-oz-an-ni xa <sup>H</sup>pinà.<sup>H</sup>  
 FUT-make-1SG.F-O.1SG.F one corner

I will make [there] a place for myself.

k-xazy-an hil doq-an gyàn-i,<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-see-1SG.F until collect-1SG.F self.SG.F-my

ma ʾòz-an ma la ʾoz-àn.<sup>l</sup>  
 what do-1SG.F what NEG do-1SG.F

I will wait there until I collect myself, [decide] what to do and what not to do.'

# CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF ZAKHO

## TEXT 10: §21–33

*Dorota Molin*

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### Speaker: Ameen Isa Shamoun

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/226/>

(21) *fa-Toma pləṭ-le mən madin-ət Samàna.*<sup>1</sup>  
and-Toma leave.PFV-3SG.M from city-of Samana

Meanwhile, Toma moved away from the town of Samana.

*xà yoma,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> Aʿəsbù<sup>ç</sup>, kăḏa,<sup>1A</sup>*  
one day two week so

*xa fatra zamán-ila mṭe-le l-Zàxo.*<sup>1</sup>  
some period time=COP.3SG.F arrive.PFV-3SG.M to-Zakho

It took him a day or two, a week or so, he arrived in Zakho.

*ʿiman mṭe-le Zàxo...*<sup>1</sup>  
when arrive.PFV-3SG.M Zakho

When he arrived in Zakho...

*ʿamir-ət manṭaq-ət Bahdinān bə-daw waqt,*<sup>1</sup>  
prince-of region-of Bahdinan in-OBL.that.M time

*ʿaw d-iwa b-Amèdiya,<sup>1</sup> b-Zàxo =wa.*<sup>1</sup>  
that.M SBR-COP.PST.3SG.M in-Amediya in-Zakho =COP.PST.3SG.M

The prince of the region of Bahdinan, who would [later] be in Amedia, was in Zakho at that time.

(22) *šme<sup>3</sup>-le*            *ʾənnuhu* *te-le*            *xa* *hòsta.<sup>1</sup>*  
 hear.PFV-3SG.M    that            come.PFV-3SG.M    one    craftsman

He heard that a craftsman had arrived.

*u-ʾawwa* *hosta*            *ʾile*            *xùš* *hosta.<sup>1</sup>*  
 and-that.M    craftsman    COP.3SG.M    good    craftsman

This craftsman is a good one.

*hole*            *beny-a*            *hatxa* *jəsr.<sup>1</sup>*  
 DEIC.COP.3SG.M    build.PTCP-SG.M    such    bridge

He has built such a bridge.

*ʾjəsr*            *ʿəmlaq*            *fī* *flān*            *manṭaqa,<sup>1</sup>*            *u-kāḏa*            *u-kāḏa,<sup>A</sup>*  
 bridge            great            in    certain            region            and-so            and-so  
*ʾe.<sup>1</sup>*  
 yes

A great bridge in the region called so-and-so, and so on.

*fa-ʾamīr* *mà* *mer-e,<sup>1</sup>*            *ʾad* *Zàxo?<sup>1</sup>*  
 and-prince    what    say.PFV-3SG.M    of    Zakho

So, what did the prince of Zakho say?

(23) *mè-re,<sup>1</sup>*            *ʿa<sup>A</sup>ḥsan* *šī*            *ʾənnu<sup>A</sup>* *ʾawwa*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    best            thing    that            he

*bane-∅*            *xa* *jəsr*            *ṭa-leni* *gawət* *mdit-ət* *Zàxo.<sup>1</sup>*  
 build-3SG.M    one    bridge    to-us    inside    city-of    Zakho

He said, ‘The best thing [would be] for this man to build a bridge for us in the town of Zakho.

*ləʾán*            *l-át-wā-le*            *ču*            *rəbt*            *benate-hən.<sup>1</sup>*  
 because    NEG-EXIST-PST-3SG.M    none    connection    between-them

Because there was no connection between the two sides,

ʿamr-əx ʿənnu ʿad t-àra.<sup>1</sup>  
say-1PL that of of-land

that is, a land (connection).

fa-ʿawwa b-bane-Ø ʿta-łeni xa jəsr.<sup>1</sup>  
and-he FUT-build-3SG.M to-us one bridge

ʿən ʿamr-əx xa gəšra.<sup>1</sup>  
if say-1PL one bridge

So he shall build a passage for us, let's call [it] a 'bridge'.

(24) fa-qre-le ʿell-ət Tòma.<sup>1</sup>  
and-call.PFV-3SG.M to-of Toma

So, he summoned Toma.

ʿamer-Ø ʿtā-le,<sup>1</sup> ʿhəyyu-Ø Toma.<sup>1</sup>  
say-3SG.M to-him come.IMP-SG Toma

He said to him, 'Come, Toma.'

k-əb-ən mənn-ux ban-ət-li hətxa məndi.<sup>1</sup>  
IND-want-1SG.M of-you.SG.M build-2SG.M-O.1SG such thing

I want you to build me such a thing.'

ʿamer-Ø ʿtā-lu,<sup>1</sup> ʿmə y-xaləf-Ø.<sup>1</sup>  
say-3SG.M to-him NEG IND-matter-3SG.M

He said to him, 'Well then.'

fa-bde<sup>2</sup>-le Toma bə-bnàya.<sup>1</sup>  
and-begin.PFV-3SG.M Toma in-build.INF

Toma began constructing the bridge.

ʿamr-i babawàt-an,<sup>1</sup> ʿamr-i ʿənnu  
say-3PL fathers-our say-3PL that



Our ancestors say

'Toma *bde*<sup>2</sup>-*le*            *bə-bnaya*    *b-jəsr*.<sup>1</sup>  
Toma    begin.PFV-3SG.M    in-build.INF    in-bridge

that he began building the bridge.

*ham*   *lā-yed-əx*    *xa*   *yoma*,<sup>1</sup>    <sup>A</sup>*esbù*,<sup>1</sup>    *šəhr*,<sup>1</sup>    *sāna*,<sup>1</sup>    *kāḏa*,<sup>1A</sup>  
even    NEG-know-1PL    one    day            week            month    year            so

<sup>ʔ</sup>*aw*   *hole*                    *bə-bnaya*.<sup>1ʔ</sup>  
he        DEIC.COP.3SG.M    in-build.INF

We do not know for how long he was building—a day, a week, a month, a year or so.

*bə-ṭlata*   *bəne*,<sup>1</sup>    *bə-ṭlata*   *bəne*,<sup>1</sup>    *kəm-bāne-le*  
in-three    attempt    in-three    attempts    PFV-build-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

*jəsr*.<sup>1</sup>  
bridge

He built the bridge in three attempts.

(25) *y-maṭe-Ø*            <sup>A</sup>*nihaya*    *l-ʔaxer*    *qanṭara*<sup>A</sup>.<sup>1</sup>  
IND-arrive-3SG.M    end            to-last            arch

In the end, he got to the last arch.

*wəd-le*            *jəsr-ət*    *Dalāl*    *b-xamšā*    *qanaṭer*,<sup>1</sup>  
do.PFV-3SG.M    bridge-of    Dalale    with-five    arches

*mù*   *šawwa*.<sup>1</sup>  
NEG    seven

He made Dalale Bridge with five arches, not seven.

*Samana*   *wəd-le*            *šawwa*.<sup>1</sup>  
Samana    do.PFV-3SG.M    seven

Samana [however] he had built with seven.

*bas* ʔawwa *kəm-bānè-Ø-le,*<sup>1</sup> *xamšà qanaṭər*  
 but that.M PFV-build-3SG.M-O.3SG.M five arches  
*wəd-le* *ṭa jəsr.*<sup>1</sup>  
 do.PFV-3SG.M for bridge

But he built this one with five arches, he made five [arches] for the bridge.

*bne-le* ʔall-ət *jəsrət Dalāl gawət mdit-ət*  
 build.PFV-3SG.M to-of bridge-of Dalal inside-of city-of  
*Zàxo.*<sup>1</sup>  
 Zakho

He constructed [them for] Dalale Bridge in Zakho.

ʔamr-i ʔannu *ṭlata bene mṭe-le Toma*  
 say-3PL that three attempts arrive.PFV-3SG.M Toma  
*nihay-ət rabəṭ-Ø-le* *jəsr,*<sup>1</sup> *y-napəl-Ø jəsr.*<sup>1</sup>  
 end-SBR connect-3SG.M-O.3SG.M bridge IND-fall-3SG.M bridge

It is said that Toma reached the end to connect the bridge three times, but [every time] the bridge fell down.

(26) *fa-hole* *wil-a* ʔahad-ət ʔamir-ət *Zàxo,*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-DEIC.COP.3SG.M give.PTCP-SG.M one-of prince-of Zakho  
 ʔinu... ʔàwwa,<sup>1</sup> ʔamir-ət *Bahdinān,*<sup>1</sup>  
 that he prince-of Bahdinan  
 ʔinu ʕ-ən *la-bane-Ø jəsr b-qaṭəl-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 that if NEG-build-3SG.M bridge FUT-kill-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

So, someone belonging to the prince of Bahdinan had given [a warning] that he, [that is] the prince of Zakho, would kill him if he does not build the bridge

ʿawwa y-amer-∅ ʿàna,<sup>1</sup> ʿawwa kəm-qaṭe-∅  
 he IND-say-3SG.M I he PFV-cut-3SG.M

ʿid-i u-ʿawwa b-qaṭe-∅ rəš-i.<sup>1</sup> ʿe, ʿadi.<sup>1</sup>  
 hand-my and-he FUT-cut-3SG.M head-my yes normal

He said ‘That one severed my hand; and this one will cut my head, [to them, it’s] normal.

u-ʿana mà ʿawd-ən-na?<sup>1</sup>  
 and-I what do-1SG.M-O.3SG.F

[But] what shall I do?’

(27) fa-b-layle tlab-le mən ʿalaha u-mṣolè-le.<sup>1</sup>  
 and-in-night ask.PFV-3SG.M of God and-pray.PFV-3SG.M

So during the night, he pleaded with God and prayed.

u-mèr-e,<sup>1</sup> ʿya ʿalāh-i,<sup>1</sup> ʿinu talb-ən  
 and-sayPFV-3SG.M Oh Good-my that ask-1SG.M

mənn-ux ʿawd-ət-li xa ḥā,<sup>1</sup> ʿinu mà  
 of-you.SG.M do-2SG.M-O.1SG.M some solution that what

ʿawd-ən.<sup>1</sup>  
 do-1SG.M

He said ‘Oh, God, I ask you for some solution.

ʿana b-xa ʿide-wən.<sup>1</sup>  
 I with-one hand=COP.1SG.M

I am with one hand.

u-b-id-ət çaple holi bə-plàxa.<sup>1</sup>  
 and-in-hand-of left COP.DEIC.1SG in-work.INF

I am working with my left hand.’

(28) *mən* ‘*amâle*,<sup>1</sup> *u-har* *Tòma* *tama* *y-daməx-wa*.<sup>1</sup>  
 with workers and-even Toma there IND-sleep-3SG.M-PST

Toma [was] with the workers and even slept there.

*ya‘ni* *gəb* *šula* *dīyu*,<sup>1</sup> *ḥatta* *dāre-∅-wa* *bala*  
 I mean by work his so that put-3SG.M-PST attention

*l-šula* *dīyu*,<sup>1</sup> *mən* *ganəwe*,<sup>1</sup> *mən* *kāḏa*,<sup>1</sup> *mən*  
 to-work his of thieves of such of

*zala* *u-at-i* *ḥatta* *dare-∅* *bala* *l-šula*  
 go.INF and-come-3PL so that put-3SG.M attention to-work

*dīyu*.<sup>1</sup>  
 his

That is, he was near his construction site to watch over his building [against] thieves and passers-by, to look after his building.

<sup>A</sup>*lə‘án* <sup>ʾ</sup>*akíd* <sup>ʾ</sup>*ənnuhū*<sup>A</sup> *y-amr-i* *Toma* *gālak*  
 because surely that IND-say-3PL Toma very

*=wa* *mùxləš* *b-šula* *dīyu*.<sup>1</sup>  
 =COP.PST.3SG.M responsible in-work his

That was also because—it was said—Toma was very loyal to his work.

*fa-yom-ət* *tlàta*,<sup>1</sup> *mpəl-le*.<sup>1</sup>  
 and-day-of three fall.PFV-3SG.M

On the third day, [the bridge] collapsed.

*mà* <sup>ʾ</sup>*awəd-∅* *ba‘d?*<sup>1</sup>  
 what do-3SG.M afterwards

What shall he do now?

(29) *dmàx-le.*<sup>1</sup>      *mşole-le*      *u-dmàx-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 sleep.PFV-3SG.M    pray.PFV-3SG.M    and-sleep.PFV-3SG.M

So he slept. He prayed and slept.

*b-layle te-le*                      *xa ròya, roya, mà?*<sup>1</sup>  
 in-night    come.PFV-3SG.M    one    vision    vision    what

He had a vision during the night.

*malàxa te-le*                      *ʿamer-∅*    *ta-lu,*<sup>1</sup>  
 angel            come.PFV-3SG.M    say-3SG.M    to-him

An angel came and said to him:

*ʿTòma,*<sup>1</sup>    *lazem*    *ʿawwa jəsr*    *ʿiða ʿən*    *pàyəš-∅,*<sup>1</sup>  
 Toma        must        that.M    bridge    if        if        remain-3SG.M

*ʿhày yəbqa,*<sup>1</sup>    *lazem*    *dar-ət*                      *xa rùḥ*  
 living remains    must        place-2SG.M                      one    being

*gaw-u.*<sup>1</sup>  
 inside-it

Toma, if this bridge is to stand and remain, you must put a living soul inside it.

*ʿiðan rùḥ*    *hawe-∅*    *barnaša ʿən*    *hawe-∅*    *ḥàywan.*<sup>1</sup>  
 if        being    be-3SG.M    human    or    be-3SG.M    animal

It may be either a human being or an animal.

*ʿmūhām,*<sup>1</sup>    *rùḥ ḥayya.*<sup>1</sup>                      *dar-ət-la*                      *gaw-u*                      *ʿaw*  
 important    living being                      place-2SG.M-O.3SG.F    inside-it.M                      that.M

*ḥày,*<sup>1</sup>    *yalla jəsr*    *diyux*                      *b-θàbət-∅.*<sup>1</sup>  
 being    quickly    bridge    your.SG.M    FUT-hold-3SG.M

But the important thing is that you put a living soul inside it while still living so that the bridge will stand firm.'

*fa-Toma mšole-le u-dmàx-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-Toma pray.PFV-3SG.M and-sleep PFV-3SG.M

So, Toma prayed and slept.

(30) *qəm-le qadàmta.<sup>1</sup> mèr-e,<sup>1</sup> ‘yà ‘alah-i.’<sup>1</sup>*  
 arise. PFV-3SG.M morning say. PFV-3SG.M oh God-my

He woke up in the morning. He said, ‘Oh, God.’

*qadamta dà’əman,<sup>1</sup> ‘ət-wā-le kalta.<sup>1</sup>*  
 morning always EXIST-PST-3SG.M daughter.in.law

In the morning, he had a daughter-in-law.

*hàmka qūšaṣ,<sup>1</sup> həkayat y-màhk-i-wa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 few stories tales IND-tell-3PL-PST

*xa y-amr-i brāt-u =iwa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 some IND-say-3PL daughter-his =COP.PST.3SG.F

Some stories, that is, the versions which they used to tell, some of them say it was his daughter.

*xa y-amr-i kàltu =iwa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 some IND-say-3PL daughter.in.law-his =COP.PST.3SG.F

Some [others] say that she was his daughter-in-law.

*kut-xa xa-məndi y-amèr-Ø-wa,<sup>1</sup> həsab mà.<sup>1</sup>*  
 every-one something IND-say-3SG.M-PST depends what

Each one used to say something different, it depends.

*‘ana hol-i šəmy-a*  
 I DEIC.COP-1SG hear.PTCP-SG.M

*‘inu y-amr-i kàlt-u =wa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 that IND-say-3PL daughter.in.law =COP.PST.3MSG.F

I have heard that she was his daughter-in-law.

*šəmm-aw Dàlle,<sup>1</sup> Dàlle,<sup>1</sup> mù Dalale.<sup>1</sup> šəmm-aw Dàlle.<sup>1</sup>*  
 name-her Dalle Dalle NEG Dalale name-her Dalle

Her name was Dalle, not Dalale. Her name was Dalle.

*fa-Dàlle,<sup>1</sup> kalt-ət                    ʿam-an Toma,<sup>1</sup> ʾābū*  
 and-Dalle daughter.in.law-of uncle-our Toma father

*l-bnaya jàsr,<sup>1</sup> fa,<sup>1</sup> yomiya qadamta y-maty-a-wa*  
 to-build.INF bridge and daily morning IND-bring-3SG.F-PST

*fətra,<sup>1</sup> yaʿni fṭarta,<sup>1</sup> ṭa xəmyàna.<sup>1</sup>*  
 breakfast I mean breakfast for father-in-law

So, Dalle, daughter-in-law of our uncle Toma, the builder of the bridge, brought him breakfast daily in the morning, that is, breakfast, for her father-in-law.

*fa-ʾət-wa-ləhən mənn-aw...*  
 and-EXIST-PST-3PL with-her

*ʾət-wā-le b-beta xa kàlwa.<sup>1</sup> təkram,<sup>1</sup>*  
 EXIST-PST-3SG.M in-house one dog pardon me

And they had with them... he had a dog at home, excuse me.

*xa kalwa u-kòme =wa.<sup>1</sup> kòme =wa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 one dog and-black =COP.PST.3SG.M black =COP.PST.3SG.M

A dog, and it was black. It was black.

*fa-y-maty-a-wa-le mənn-aw u-raj<sup>c</sup>-à-wa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 and-IND-bring-3SG.F-PST-O.3SG.M with-her and-return-3SG.F-PST

*She would bring it along with her and go back.*

*u-ham mumkən ʿalmud ʾùrxa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 and-even maybe along road

Maybe even the whole way.

*u-kalwa y-āte-Ø-wa mən-n-aw.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-dog IND-come-3SG.M-PST with-her

The dog would come with her.

*hole lîp-a ʔal,<sup>1</sup> ʔall-ət Dalàle.*<sup>1</sup>  
 COP.DEIC.3SG.M used.to.PTCP-SG.M to to-of Dalale

*ʔall-ət Dàlle, ʔamr-ax.*<sup>1</sup>  
 to-of Dalle say-1PL

It had got used to Dalale, or shall we say, Dalle.

(32) *fa-qadamta xzè-le...*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-morning see.PFV-3SG.M

So, he saw in the morning...

*bə-daw wàqt,<sup>1</sup> daw wàqt,<sup>1</sup> Zaxo y-amr-i-wa*  
 in-OBL.that.M time OBL.that.M time Zakho IND-say-3PL-PST

*dàʔaman,<sup>1</sup> yaʕni, bas daw jəsr,<sup>1</sup> ʔannuhu*  
 always I mean only OBL.that.M bridge that

*y-amr-í-wā-le jəsra <sup>K</sup>mazən<sup>K</sup>,<sup>1</sup> <sup>K</sup>pərá mazən<sup>K</sup>,<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-say-3PL-PST-O.3SG.M bridge great bridge great

*jəsr ʔaw rəb-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 bridge that.M great-SG.M

At that time, at that time, Zakho was always called, I mean, the bridge was called the Great Passage, the Great Bridge, the Great Bridge.

*y-amr-i l-màhi?<sup>1</sup> ləʔan,*  
 IND-say-3PL why because

Why did they say [that]? Because,



(33) *y-àmr-i,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿaykət* *ʿawr-ət* *daxel* *ʿəpr-ət* *Zàxo,*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say-3PL when enter-2SG.M inside land-of Zakho  
*y-mbayən-Ø* *jəsr-ət* *Dalâl.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-appears-3SG.M bridge-of Dalal

They say—when you enter Zakho, the Dalale Bridge is visible.

*ləʿán* *jəsr-ət* *Dalâl* *ʿàli* *=yewa,*<sup>1</sup>  
 because bridge-of Dalal tall =COP.PST.3SG.M

*u-är-ət* *Zàxo* *kull-a* *ʿədəl* *=iwa.*  
 and-land-of Zakho all-its.F flat =COP.PST.3SG.F

Because this bridge is high while the territory of Zakho is flat.

*ləʿán* *Zàxo* *mašhúr-la* *b-<sup>A</sup>səhəl\_əs\_Səndi.*<sup>1</sup>  
 because Zakho famous=COP.3SG.F with-Plain.of.Sendi

*Because Zakho is famous for the Sendi Plain.*

*səhəl\_əs\_Sendi<sup>A</sup>* *u-Zàxo* *<sup>A</sup>dàʿəman* *ʿarq<sup>A</sup>* *diya,*<sup>1</sup>  
 Plain.of.Sendi Zakho always land her

*ʿənu* *ʿāra* *ʿədəl=ila.*<sup>1</sup>  
 that land flat=COP.3SG.F

Always, the Sendi Plain and Zakho [with] all of its territory—the land there is flat.

*fa-ʿaykət* *pàlt-i,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿaykət* *xàz-i,*<sup>1</sup>  
 and-when leave-3PL when see-3PL

*gärək* *xaz-i-le* *jəsr-ət* *Dalâl.*<sup>1</sup>  
 must see-3PL-O.3SG.M bridge-of Dalal

So, from wherever [people] leave [the city] and look, they have to see the Dalale Bridge.

# CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF HARMASHE

## TEXT 33: §1–44

*Paul M. Noorlander*

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### Speaker: Salim Daniel Yomaran

Audio: <https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/229/>

(1) ʿamr-i-wa ʿəθ-wa xàʿa,| xa malka  
say-3PL-PST EXIST-PST one a.certain king

ʿəθ-wa-le ʿlāθà bnone. |  
EXIST-PST-3SG.M three sons

It was said there once was a king [who] had three sons.

xa šəm-eu ʿAḥmád Čălābi-wa. | xa Mḥămad  
one name-his Ahmad Chalabi=PST.COP.3SG.M one Muhammad

Čălābi-w, xa Mərzá Mḥămad=wewa. | Mərzá  
Chalabi-and one Mirza Muhamma=PST.COP.3SG.M Mirza

Mḥămad ʿaw xona zür-a-le. |  
Muhammad the.SG.M brother small-SG.M=COP.3SG.M

One was called Ahmad Chalabi; one Muhammad Chalabi, and one was Mirza Muhammad. Mirza Muhammad was the youngest brother.

ʿan xəne ʿan gòr-e-nan. |  
the.PL others the.PL big-PL=COP.3PL

The others were the elder ones.

(2) *yoma=w tre=w t̄laθa=w ʾārba,| xa yoma*  
 day=and two=and three=and four one day

*xa malka ʾəθ-wa-le t̄laθá bnaθe. |*  
 a.certain king EXIST-PST-3SG.M three daughters

*yaʿni bnaθe <sup>A</sup>dāraja ʾula<sup>A</sup> xamàθe-wewa. |*  
 it.means daughters degree first.SG.F beautiful.F.PL=PST.COP.3PL

A day or two, three, four [passed by]. Once a king had three daughters. You know, they were girls with beauty of the first degree.

(3) *ʾaw, ma l-àw malka?| xpər-e xa*  
 he what to-that.M king dig.PFV-3SG.M a.certain

*xàndaq;| xandaq, yaʿni, rwəx-ta. |*  
 trench trench it.means wide-SG.F

He,—what about that king? He dug a trench; that is, a wide trench.

(4) *mər-e: ʿkut šawər-Ø-a ʾāya xandaq, |*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M each jump-3SG.M-O.3SG.F this.F trench

*brat-i gor-ta b-yaw-ən-a t̄l-eu. ʾ |*  
 daughter-my big-SG.F FUT-give-1SG-O.3SG.F to-3SG.M

He said, ‘Whoever jumps [over] this trench—I shall give her to him [in marriage].’

(5) *kūl-ay hune b-izāla, | b-izāla=w, | b-izāala, |*  
 all-them DEIC.COP.3PL in-go.INF in-go.INF=and in-go.INF

*lène b-iyara. |*  
 NEG.COP.3PL in-dare.INF

Everybody was going back and forth, [but] they did not dare [to jump].

- (6) ʾāxa Mərzá Mḥāmad tḥāq-le.<sup>|</sup> qəm-le  
 here Mirza Muhammad happen.PFV-3SG.M rise.PFV-3SG.M  
 šqal-e sùst-eu<sup>|</sup> ʾu surgin-à-le.<sup>|</sup>  
 take.PFV-3SG.M mare-his and saddle.PFV-O.3SG.F-3SG.M

Mirza Muhammad happened to be here. So he took his mare and saddled her.

- ʾu rku-le l-xāṣ-t sust-eu=w zəl-e.<sup>|</sup>  
 and mount.PFV-3SG.M on-back-of mare-his-and go.PFV-3SG.M

He mounted the back of the horse and went off.

- (7) xər-e ʾəla xandaq xpər-ta.<sup>|</sup>  
 look.PFV-3SG.M behold trench dig.PTCP-SG.F

He looked at the trench [that had been] dug.

- zə-le xðà-re xa, tre čarxe<sup>|</sup> xðàr-e,<sup>|</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M go.round.PFV one two times go.round.PFV  
 xðàr-e<sup>|</sup> ʾu=fiüit šit-à-le  
 go.round.PFV and=woosh throw.PFV-O.3SG.F-3SG.M  
 gan-eu l-aw bara xən-a.<sup>|</sup> kum-šawàr-Ø-a.<sup>|</sup>  
 self.SG.F-his to-that.M side other.SG.M PFV-jump-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

He went [and] walked round one, two times, walked round and round, and woosh he flung himself to the other side. He had jumped [over] it.

- (8) zə-le qam-tar<sup>2</sup>-ət qàṣra,<sup>|</sup> xaḥa gor-ta  
 go.PFV-3SG.M before-door-of castle sister big-SG.F  
 gu šəbák qa-maxy-a-la xabušta gəw-eu.<sup>|</sup>  
 in window PFV-hit-3SG.F-O.3SG.F apple at-him

He went to the palace gate, the eldest sister[s] [being] at the window. She hit him with an apple.

(9) *mər-i:      ‘ta xon-i      gòr-a.ʹ*  
 say.PFV-1SG    for    brother-my    big-SG.M

‘[This one is] for my eldest brother,’ he said.

(10) *qām-šaqə-∅-la=w      matu-∅-la      baθr-ət*  
 PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3f.sg=and    put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    behind-of

*xaş-eu=w      nàbə-∅-la      ʹaya.ʹ      nabəl-∅-a,*  
 back-his=and    take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    that.F    take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

*ḵum-dare-∅-la      gu xà      ġurfa.ʹ*  
 PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    in    a.certain    room

He lifted her, put her on the horseback and took her along. After he took her, he put her in a room.

(11) *mər-e      ta xūlamwàθe,ʹ*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    to    servants

*ʳhəšār<sup>K</sup> ∅-hāw-utu!      là      ∅-maḥk-utu!ʹ*  
 alert      SBJV-be-2PL      NEG    SBJV-speak-2PL

‘Be careful!’ he told his servants. ‘Don’t say anything.

*ʳābàd<sup>A</sup> la      ∅-palt-a      m-kəm-àwxu.ʹ*  
 ever      NEG    SBJV-leave-3SG.F    from-mouth-your.PL

*ʹixala=w      štayta=w      kul      məndi      diyaw*  
 eating      drinking    every    thing    her

*ʳjàhəz<sup>A</sup> t-awe-∅.ʹ*  
 supplied    FUT-be-3SG.M

Never let a word out of your mouth. Food and drink and everything will be supplied to her.

*lākun* Ø-<sup>3</sup>*amr-utu* <sup>3</sup>*aw* *muθayθa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>*ay* *brata.*<sup>3</sup>  
 NEG SBJV-say-2PL he bring.PTCP.SG.F that.F girl

Never say he [has] brought that girl [here].<sup>3</sup>

(12) *pəš-la* *brata* *day* *trɛy.*<sup>3</sup>  
 remain.PFV-3SG.F girl OBL.3SG.F two

The second daughter remained.

*brāt-ət* *trɛy,*<sup>3</sup> *ga* <sup>3</sup>*arta* *malka*  
 girl-of two time other.SG.F king

*hule* <sup>3</sup>*āmər-Ø,*<sup>3</sup> *mər-e:*  
 DEIC.COP.3ms say-3SG.M say.PFV-3SG.M

The king said once again about his second daughter, saying

(13) <sup>3</sup>*yāba,*<sup>3</sup> *brat-i* <sup>3</sup>*āya* *d-trɛy-la.*<sup>3</sup>  
 INJ girl-my this.F of-two=COP.3SG.F

‘Folks, this is my second daughter.

*kut* <sup>3</sup>*ibe* *šawər-Ø-a* <sup>3</sup>*āya* *xandaq,*<sup>3</sup>  
 ever can.3SG.M jump-3SG.M-O.3SG.F this.F trench

Whoever is able to jump [over] this trench—

*brat-i* <sup>K</sup>*pəškəš<sup>K</sup>* *ṭāl-eu.*<sup>3</sup> *ya<sup>3</sup>ni* <sup>A</sup>*hādiya<sup>A</sup>* *ṭāl-eu.*<sup>3</sup>  
 girl-my gift to-him it.means gift for-him

I will give my daughter to him as a gift [in marriage].<sup>3</sup> I mean, as a present for him.

<sup>1</sup> The participle agrees here with the object in an ergative fashion, contrasting with §30 where it agrees with the agent.

(14) *ga* *ʿarta* *Mərzá* *Mḥămad* *rku-le*  
 time other.SG.F Mirza Muhammad mount.PFV-3SG.M  
*l-xaṣ-ət* *susa* *xwâr-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 on-back-of horse white-SG.M

Once again, Mirza Muhammad rode on the back of a white horse.

*ʿaw* *kòm-e-wa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿaw* *susa* *qămây-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 he white-SG.M=PST.COP.3SG.M the.SG.M horse first-SG.M  
*rku-le* *l-xaṣ-ət* *susa* *xwâr-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 mount.PFV-3SG.M on-back-of horse white-SG.M

It was black—the first horse. He rode on the back of a white horse.

*ga* *ʿarta* *zəl-e-w* *zəl-e-w*  
 time other.SG.F go.PFV-3SG.M=and go.PFV-3SG.M=and  
*zə-le=w,* *qam-šawâr-Ø-a* *ga* *ʿarta* *xandaq.*<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M=and PFV-jump-3SG.M-O.3SG.F time other.SG.F trench

Once more he kept going and then jumped [over] the trench again.

(15) *ʿay* *brata* *də-trε* *qam-maxy-a-la*  
 the.SG.F girl of-two PFV-hit-3SG.F-O.3SG.F  
*xabušta* *gâw-eu.*<sup>1</sup>  
 apple at-him

The second daughter hit him with an apple.

(16) *mər-e:* *ʿey* *ta* *xon-i* *palgây-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M that.F for brother-my middle-3SG.M

‘This one [is] for my middle brother.’

- (17) *qam-šaqał-Ø-a-w*      *matu-Ø-la*      *baθər*  
 PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F=and    put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    behind  
*xaş-eu=w*      *nabəl-Ø-a*      *ʔap*    *ʔaya.*<sup>|</sup>  
 back-his=and    take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    also    her

He lifted her, put her on his back and took her along as well.

- ḵum-nabəl-Ø-a*      *ḵum-matu-Ø-la*      *gu*    *xà*      *ḡurfa*  
 PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    in    a.certain    room  
*ʔərta.*<sup>|</sup>      *yaʿni*      *lè*      *k-iðe-Ø*      *xəθ-aw*    *gaw-aw.*<sup>|</sup>  
 other.SG.F    it.means    NEG    IND-know-3SG.M    sister-her    in-it.F

After he took her, he put her in another room. That is, she did not know her sister was there.

- ḵum-matu-Ø-la*      *gu*    *dè*      *ḡurfa*    *xərta.*<sup>|</sup>  
 PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    in    OBL.that.F    room    other.SG.F

He put her in this other room.

- (18) *nafsə mən̄di.*<sup>|</sup>      *mər-e*      *ta*      *xūlamwàθe.*<sup>|</sup>  
 same    thing      say.PFV-3SG.M    to    servants  
*ʔiya brata*<sup>|</sup>      *Ø-masm-ùtu-la*      *bala.*<sup>|</sup>  
 this.F    girl      SBJV-pay-2PL-O.3SG.F    attention

The same thing: ‘You take care of this girl,’ he told his servants.

- lakùn*    *ʔət*      *Ø-palṭ-a,*<sup>|</sup>      *ʔu*    *là*      *Ø-ʔamr-utu*      *çu*    *xa*  
 NEG      SBR      SBJV-leave-3SG.F    and    NEG    SBJV-say-2PL      no    one

‘She cannot go out and do not say tell anyone.’

- (19) *pəš-la*      *ʔay*      *zur-ta.*<sup>|</sup>  
 remain.PFV-3SG.F    the.SG.F    small-SG.F  
*pəš-la*      *ʔey*      *zùr-ta*      *mər-e.*<sup>|</sup>  
 remain.PFV-3SG.F    the.SG.F    small-SG.F    say.PFV-3SG.M

The youngest remained. As the youngest remained, he said,



(20) ʿay dīyi-la.<sup>|</sup> ʿāyka b-xalṣ-a!<sup>|</sup>  
 that.F mine=COP.3SG.F where fut-escape-3SG.F

‘This one is mine. Where shall she escape [to]?’

(21) ʿè,<sup>|</sup> ga ʿarta<sup>|</sup> hule malka ʿàmər-Ø.<sup>|</sup>  
 yes time other.SG.F DEIC.COP.3SG.M king say-3SG.M

Yes, the king once again made an announcement.

mər-e: yaba, hula pəš-ta ʿaya  
 say.PFV-3SG.M INJ DEIC.COP.3SG.M remain.PTCP-SG.F that.F

brat-i zūr-ta,<sup>|</sup>  
 girl-my small-SG.F

He said, ‘Folks, my youngest daughter is left.

kut šawər-Ø-a ʿāya xàndaq<sup>|</sup>  
 each jump.PFV-3SG.M-3SG.F this.F trench

tāl-eu-ila ḥ-aya.<sup>|</sup>  
 for-him=COP.3SG.F FUT-she

Whoever jumps [over] this trench—she will be for him.’

(22) qəm-le<sup>|</sup> rku-le l-xaṣ-ət susa smòq-a.<sup>|</sup>  
 rise.PFV-3SG.M mount.PFV-3SG.M on-back-of horse red-SG.M

Then Mirza Muhammad rode on the back of a red horse.

qəm-le<sup>|</sup> npəl-e b-àn rakawe.<sup>|</sup>  
 rise.PFV-3SG.M fall.PFV-3SG.M at-those knights

He attacked these knights.

kut dan rakawe kum-taqəl-Ø-ey b-xa bàra.<sup>|</sup>  
 each OBL.the.PL knights PFV-throw-3SG.M-O.3PL at-one side

Each of the knights he threw in another direction.

- (23) *mər-ey:*      *ʿbābu,*<sup>l</sup>    *malāxa=le.*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 say.PFV-3PL    father      angel=COP.3SG.M

They said, ‘Dear God, he’s [like] an angel.’

- (24) *zə-le=w*              *θè-le*<sup>l</sup>              *zə-le=w*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M=and    go.PFV-3SG.M    go.PFV-3SG.M=and  
*θèle=w*<sup>l</sup>              *šit-à-le*              *gan-eu*              *l-aw*  
 go.PFV-3SG.M    throw.PFV-O.3SG.F-3SG.M    self.SG.F-his    to-the.M  
*bara xən-a.*<sup>l</sup>  
 side      other-SG.M

He went back and forth, back and forth. He flung himself to the other side.

- (25) *ham*    *ʿay*    *ḵum-maxy-a-la*    *xabušta*    *gàw-e.*<sup>l</sup>  
 also    she    PFV-hit-3SG.F-O.3SG.F    apple    at-him

She, too, hit him with an apple.

- (26) *mər-e:*              *ʿaya*    *dīyi=la.*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    that.F    mine=COP.3SG.F

‘She is mine,’ he said.

- (27) *qam-šaqaḷ-Ø=u*    *matu-Ø-la*              *baθər*    *xaş-eu=w,*  
 PFV-take-3SG.M=and    put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    behind    back-his=and

He took and put her behind his back.

- (28) *ʿaya*    *ʾāḷa.*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 VOC      God

‘Oh God,’ [he said.]

- (29) *zə-le*<sup>l</sup>              *[ā]ya*    *ḵum-nabəl-Ø-a.*<sup>l</sup>  
 go.PFV-3SG.M    she    PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

He went [and] took her along.

*ḵum-nabà-Ø-la*,<sup>1</sup>    *ga*    *ʿarta*    *ḵum-dare-Ø-la*    *b-xa*  
 PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    one    other.SG.F    PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    in-one  
*ḡurfa*    *xàrta*.<sup>1</sup>  
 room    other.SG.F

After he took her, he once again put her in another room.

(30) *mər-e*            *ta*    *xūlamwàθe*    *diye*.<sup>1</sup>  
           say.PFV-3SG.M    to    servants            his

He said to his servants,

*ʿdraw*    *bàla*<sup>1</sup>            *lakun*    *ʿət*    *Ø-ʿamr-utu*    *ta*    *čù*  
 put.IMP.PL    attention    NEG            SBR    SBJV-say-3PL    to    NEG  
*naša*.<sup>1</sup>  
 person

‘Be careful not to say anything to anybody.

*ʿàya*    *brata*    *holi*                    *muθy-əla*.<sup>ʾ1</sup>  
 this.F    girl            DEIC.COP.1SG    bring.PTCP.SG.M-O.3SG.F

He said to his servants. ‘I’ve just brought this girl [here].’

(31) *ʿap*    *ʿay*    *ḵum-ʿamàr-Ø-ey*.<sup>1</sup>  
           also    she    PFV-say-3SG.M-3PL

*xàlta=w*<sup>1</sup>    *štàyta=w*<sup>1</sup>    *<sup>A</sup>kaməl<sup>A</sup>*    *m-kùl*            *məndi*.  
 food            drink            complete    from-every    thing

He told them [about] her, too, ‘Her food, drink, everything [will be provided] completely.

*là*    *Ø-maḥk-utu*.<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG    SBJV-speak-2PL

Don’t speak [about it].’

(32) *mər-ey*:            *<sup>A</sup>mà-y-xaləf<sup>A</sup>*.<sup>ʾ1</sup>  
           say.PFV-3PL    NEG-3SG.M-oppose

‘That’s all right,’ they said.

(33) *pəš-la*                      *xa*                      *fâtra;*<sup>|</sup>    *bab-ay*                      *məθ-le.*<sup>|</sup>  
 remain.PFV-3SG.F    a.certain    while    father-their    die.PFV-3SG.M

A while passed; their father died.

*bab-ət*    *Mərzá*    *Mħámád=u*                      *ʾAħmád*    *Čálābi=w*  
 father-of    Mirza    Muhammad-and    Ahmad    Chalabi-and

*Mħámád*    *Čálābi,*<sup>|</sup>    *məθ-le*                      *bàb-ay.*<sup>|</sup>  
 Muhammad    Chalabi    die.PFV-3SG.M    father-their

The father of Mirza Muhammad, Ahmad Chalabi and Muhammad Chalabi—their father died.

*malka*    *məθ-le.*<sup>|</sup>  
 king    die.PFV-3SG.M

The king died.

(34) *ʾăwa*    *xona*                      *zur-a*                      *mər-e.*<sup>|</sup>  
 this.M    brother    small-SG.M    say.PFV-3SG.M

The youngest brother said,

*de*    *Ø-qaym-ax*    *Ø-jayl-ax*                      *gu*    *qàšra*<sup>|</sup>  
 PTCL    SBJV-rise-1PL    SBJV-wander-1PL    in    castle

‘Let’s get up [and] wander in the palace

*Ø-xaz-ax*    *balki*    *məndi*    *hàle,*<sup>|</sup>  
 SBJV-see-1PL    maybe    thing    situations

to see if we can find anything,

<sup>K</sup>*anbâr-an*<sup>K</sup>,<sup>|</sup>    *məndi*    *diyān*    *d-ilay*                      *ʿfīn-e,*<sup>|</sup>    *d-ilay*  
 grain.repistory-PL    thing    our    SBR-COP.3PL    rotten-PL    SBR-COP.3PL

*xriw-e,*<sup>|</sup>                      *xəṭṭe*    *măṭalan,*<sup>|</sup>    *b-dàw*                      *zawna.*<sup>|</sup>  
 destroy.PTCP-PL    wheat.PL    for.example    at-OBL.that.M    time

lest our grain repositories are, for example, rotten [or] damaged at this time.’

(35) ʔè.<sup>|</sup> qə̀m-le<sup>|</sup> jəl-ayd gu qàšra.<sup>|</sup>  
 yes rise.PFV-3SG.M wander.PFV-3PL in castle

Yes. So they wandered in the palace.

zə̀-le<sup>|</sup> pθəx-le tarʔa day ʔodá ʔət<sup>2</sup> xàθa  
 go.PFV-3SG.M open.PFV-3SG.M door OBL.that.F room of sister  
 gor-ta,<sup>|</sup> ʔay qăməy-θa.<sup>|</sup>  
 big-SG.F the.F first-SG.F

They went and opened the door of the eldest sister's room, the first one.

(36) mər-e: ʔăya m̀ə=yła?<sup>|</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M this.F what=COP.3SG.F

'What is this?' they said.

(37) m̀ər-e:<sup>|</sup> x̀òn-i,<sup>|</sup> ʔaya t̀əl-ux.<sup>|</sup>  
 say-3SG.M brother-my she for-you.SG.M

He said, 'My brother, she is for you.'

d̀iyux-ila ʔaya.<sup>|</sup>  
 yours.SG.M=COP.SG.F she

She is yours.'

(38) x̀òn-i,<sup>|</sup> ʔana l̀èn zil-a.  
 brother-my I NEG.COP.1SG.M go.PTCP-SG.M

'My brother, I haven't been [anywhere].'

(39) m̀ə-re:<sup>|</sup> ʔàn-ən šqíl-əla.<sup>|</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M I=COP.1SG.M take.PTCP-O.3SG.F

'I [am the one who] has taken her,' he said.

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<sup>2</sup> ʔət 'of' has a suffixal variant -ət, cf. §12, and a prefixal variant də-, cf. §41.

*tâl-ux-îla.*<sup>|</sup>                      *dîyux-îla*                      <sup>ʔ</sup>*aya.*<sup>|</sup>  
 for-you.SG.M=COP.SG.F    yours.SG.M=COP.3SG.F    she

‘She’s for you. She’s yours.’

(40) <sup>ʔ</sup>*aya* *kəm-yawəl-Ø-a*    *ta* *xòna*    *gor-a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 she    PFV-give-3SG.M-O.3SG.F    to    brother    big-SG.M

He gave her to the eldest brother.

(41) *pθàx-le*                      <sup>ʔ</sup>*oda*    *də-tray.*<sup>|</sup>  
 open.PFV-3SG.M    room    of-two

They opened the second room.

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ay*    *brata*    *də-trɛy*    *palgây-θa.*<sup>|</sup>  
 the.F    girl    of-two    middle-SG.F

The second, middle girl [was in there].

(42) *mər-e:*                      <sup>ʔ</sup>*xòn-i.*<sup>|</sup>                      <sup>ʔ</sup>*adiya*    <sup>ʔ</sup>*àya=šî*<sup>|</sup>  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    brother-my    gift    she=ADD

*dîyux-îla.*<sup>|</sup>  
 yours.SG.M=COP.3SG.F

He said, ‘My brother, now this one is yours.’

(43) *mər-e:*                      <sup>ʔ</sup>*xòn-i.*<sup>|</sup>                      <sup>ʔ</sup>*ana*    *lên*                      *zil-a*  
 say.PFV-3SG.M    brother-my    I                      NEG.COP.1SG.M    go.PTCP.SG.M

*čə*    *dukθa.*<sup>|</sup>  
 NEG    place

‘My brother,’ he said, ‘I haven’t been anywhere.’

- (44) *mər-e:*            *ʿbàle,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿaya* *diyux*        *ʿəll-i*<sup>3</sup>  
           say.PFV-3SG.M    si            she        yours.SG.M    by-me  
*šqil-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
           take.PFV-O.3SG.F

He said, ‘Indeed, I [am the one who] took that [girl] of yours.’

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<sup>3</sup> The immediately preverbal agent here is expressed by means of a preposition, while the verb agrees with the object. It carries agent focus, cf. §39, and is reminiscent of focal ergative marking.

# NORTHERN KURDISH OF DUHOK

## TEXT 30: §1–29

*Masoud Mohammadirad*

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### Speaker: Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad

Audio: <https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/242/>

(1) *nāv-ē mən Bižān Xošavi ʾAhmât.*<sup>1</sup>  
name-EZ.M 1SG.OBL PN PN PN

My name [is] Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad.

*xalk-ē bāžēr-ē Duhok-ê.*<sup>1</sup>  
people-EZ.M city.OBL-EZ.M PN-OBL.F

[I am] from the city of Duhok.

*az-ē čirok-aḳ-ē, hændak čirok-ā bo hawa*  
1SG.DIR-FUT tale-INDF-OBL.F some tale-PL.OBL for 2PL.OBL

*và-gohēz-əm.*<sup>1</sup>  
TELIC-change.PRS-1SG

I will narrate to you a tale/some tales

*kū mən əš dāpîr-â xo go lē*  
REL 1SG.OBL from grand.mom-EZ.F REFL ear at.3SG.OBL

*būy-na*<sup>1</sup>  
be.PST.PTCP-COP.3PL

that I have heard from my grandmother



*û hændāk,| hændak dān‘āmr-ēn davar-ē.*<sup>|</sup>  
 and some some old.people-EZ.PL region-OBL.F

and some ... some old people in the region.

(2) *čīrok-ā ma ā ēk-ē dē dāst pē*  
 tale-EZ.F 1PL.OBL EZ.F one-OBL.F FUT hand to

*Ø-ḵat-ən<sup>|</sup> čīrok-ā Fātmā=ya.*<sup>|</sup>  
 SBJV-do.PRS.3SG-NA tale-EZ.F PN=COP.3SG

The first tale for us to start with is the tale of Fatma.

*ha-bū-Ø na-bū-Ø*  
 EXIST-be.PST-3SG NEG-be.PST-3SG

There was and there was not,

*kas šə xodē mās-tər na-bū-Ø<sup>|</sup>*  
 person from God.OBL big-CMPR NEG-be.PST-3SG

there was nobody greater than God,

*kas šə banī-yā dərawīn-tər na-bū-Ø<sup>|</sup>*  
 person from human-PL.OBL liar-CMPR NEG-be.PST-3SG

no bigger liar than man.

*řož-àk-ē šə řož-ān<sup>|</sup> gund-àk-ē dūradast<sup>|</sup>*  
 day-INDF-EZ.M from day-PL.OBL village-INDF-EZ.M remote

*āfərat-àk ha-bū-Ø<sup>|</sup>*  
 woman-INDF EXIST-be.PST-3SG

Once upon a time there was a woman in a remote village.

(3) *awē āfrat-ē<sup>|</sup> šū bə zaqām-aḵ-ī*  
 DEM.DIST.OBL.F woman-OBL.F husband to man-INDF-OBL.M

*ḵər-bū*  
 do.PST-be.PST

That woman was married to a man

*kū bar-ī wē čand zārok-āk ha-bū-n.*<sup>1</sup>  
 REL before-OBL.M 3SG.OBL.F some child-INDF EXIST-be.PST-3PL

who already had some children.

*ķaç-ak ha-bū-∅ bə nāv-ē Fātmā*<sup>1</sup>  
 girl-INDF EXIST-be.PST-3SG by name-EZ.M PN

He (The man) had a girl by the name of Fatma,

*ko havžin-ā,<sup>1</sup> havžin-ā ānko žənbāb-ā*  
 REL partner-EZ.F partner-EZ.F or step.mother-EZ.F

*Fātmā-yē galak haz žē nā-t-ķar.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PN-OBL.F very liking at.3SG.OBL NEG-IPFV-do.PST

whom the [his] wife or her (i.e. Fatma's) stepmother did not like much.

*ū nā-t-vīyā bə-mīn-t-a l māl-ē.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and NEG-IPFV-want.PST SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG=DRCT in home-OBL.F

She (the stepmother) did not like her (Fatma) to stay home..'

*řož-ak-ē šə řož-ān,<sup>1</sup> ať-bēž-t-ē,<sup>1</sup>*  
 day-INDF-EZ.M from day-PL.OBL IND-say.PRS-3SG-3SG.OBL

One day, she said to her (Fatma),

*ķaç-ā mən har-a kolān-ē bo xo*  
 girl-EZ.F 1SG.OBL go.IMP-2SG alley-OBL.F for REFL

*yāri-yā bə-ķa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 game-PL.OBL SBJV-do.PRS.IMP.2SG

'My girl, go [and] play in the lane.'

(4) *dam-ē*      *Ø-č-ît-a*      *kolān-ē*  
 when-OBL.F    IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT    lane-OBL.F  
*yārî-yā*      *t-ka-t-ən<sup>l</sup>*  
 game-PL.OBL    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

When she (Fatma) went to the lane to play,

*kas-aḵ*      *šə*      *wānā*      *hēk-aḵ-ē*      *šəkēn-ît-ən<sup>l</sup>*  
 person-INDF    from    3PL.OBL    egg-INDF-OBL.F    break.PRS-3SG-NA  
*ət-nāv*      *zavî-yā*      *kas-aḵ-î*      *dā.<sup>l</sup>*  
 in-middle    land-EZ.F    person-INDF-OBL.M    POST

one of them (the girls) cracked an egg on the land of a person.

*dam-ē*      *hēk*      *t-hēt-a*      *šəkānd-ən*  
 when-OBL.F    egg    IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT    break.PST-INF

When the egg was cracked,

*ət-nāv*      *wān*      *hamî*      *kač-ān*      *dā<sup>l</sup>*      *û*      *har*      *ēḵ*  
 in-middle    3PL.OBL    all    girl-PL.OBL    POST    and    each    one  
*Ø-ka-t-a*      *sar*      *yē*      *dî.<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT    head    EZ.M    other

each [girl] blamed the other.

*û*      *har*      *kač-àḵ*      *tə-bēž-ît-ən,<sup>l</sup>*      *‘tā*      *wa*      *kaṛ,*  
 and    each    girl-INDF    IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA    2SG.OBL    DEIC    do.PST  
*mən*      *wa*      *na-kaṛ.<sup>’l</sup>*  
 1SG.OBL    DEIC    NEG-do.PST

And each girl said [to the other], ‘You did this; I didn’t do this.’

(5) *əl-wērē*      *kas-àḵ*      *t-hē-t-a*      *wērē*  
 in-there    person-INDF    IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT    there

Somebody passed by there

aṭ-vē-t-ən,<sup>|</sup>                      aṭ-bēž-t-ē,                      'lāzəm-a  
 IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA    IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL    necessary=COP.3SG  
 hīn    hamī    sīnd    bə-xò-n<sup>|</sup>  
 2PL.DIR    all            swear    SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL

[and] said to them, 'You must all swear an oath!

kā    kè    av                      hēk-a    šəkānd-ī-a.<sup>|</sup>  
 EXCM    who    DEM.PROX.SG    egg-DEM    break.PST-PTCP=PERF

Let's see who has cracked the egg?

lāzəm-a                      hīn    hamī    sīnd    bə-xo-n!<sup>|</sup>  
 necessary=COP.3SG    2PL.DIR    all            oath            SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL

You must all swear an oath!

(6)    kəč-ā    ēk-è                      ṭ-bēž-īt-ən,<sup>|</sup>  
           girl-EZ.F    one-OBL.F    IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The first girl said,

'az    bə    sar-ē                      bəṛā-yē    xo    ka-m-a<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG    to    head-EZ.M    brother-EZ.M    REFL    do.PRS-1SG-NA

'I swear on my brother's head (lit. I put on my brother's head)

mən    aw                      hēk-a    nà-škānd-ī-a.<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG.OBL    DEM.DIST.SG    egg-DEM    NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

[that] I didn't break that egg.'

kəč-ā    du-è                      ṭ-bēž-īt-ən,<sup>|</sup>  
 girl-EZ.F    two-OBL.F    IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The second girl said,

'az    bə    sar-ē                      hār    du    bəṛā-yēt    xo    ka-m-a<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG    to    head-EZ.M    each    two    brother-EZ.PL    REFL    do.PRS-1SG-NA

'I swear on my two brothers' heads

*mən*    *àw*            *hēk-a*    *na-škānd-î-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG.OBL   DEM.DIST.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

[that] I didn't break that egg.'

*ḵəč-ā*    *sē-yè*            *t̪-bēž-ît-ən,*<sup>|</sup>  
 girl-EZ.F   two-OBL.F   IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The third girl said,

'*az*   *bə*   *sar-ē*        *ḵēñj*   *bərə-yēt*    *xo*    *ḵa-m-a*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG   to   head-EZ.M   five   brother-EZ.PL   REFL   do.PRS-1SG-NA

'I swear on my five brothers' heads

*mən*    *aw*            *hēk-a*    *nà-škānd-î-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG.OBL   DEM.DIST.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

(that) I didn't break that egg.'

(7) *ū*    *har*    *husā*    *bardawām*    *b-ît-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
       and   EMPH   such    continual        be.PRS-3SG-NA

It continued like that.

*hamī*   *ḵəč*   *əb*   *sar-ē*        *bərə-yē*        *xo*    *sind*  
 all       girl   to   head-EZ.M   brother-EZ.M   REFL   oath  
*əḵ-xo-n*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-eat.PRS-3PL

All the girls swore on their brother's head,

*ko,*    'mà    *av*            *hēk-a*    *na-škānd-î-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 COMPL   1PL.OBL   DEM.PROX.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

'We haven't broken the egg.'

*lê Fātmā-yê çūnkū husā hazər kər-bē çə*  
 but PN-OBL.F since such thought do.PST-be.PST no  
*bərā nī-n-ən,*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother NEG-COP=3PL

However Fatma, as she thought that she had no brothers,

*na-žānī dē bə çə sīnd ∅-xot-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-know.PST FUT to what swear SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG-NA

did not know whom to swear on.

*ū hamī-yā kər-a sar wê*<sup>1</sup>  
 and all-PL.OBL do.PST=DRCT head 3SG.OBL.F

Everybody put the blame on her (lit. put on her head)

*got-ē, ‘çūnkū ta sīnd nā-xwār*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL since 2SG.OBL oath NEG-eat.PST

[and] said to her, ‘Since you didn’t swear,

*lā-vērē tā hēk ā šəkānd-ī.*<sup>1</sup>  
 in-here 2SG.OBL egg EZ.F break.PST-PTCP

[it means that] you have broken the egg.’

(8) *ət-č-īt-ava gala galak dəl-aḳ-ē*  
 IND-go.PRS-3SG-TELIC very very heart-INDF-EZ.M

*ēšāyī,*  
 distressed

She (Fatma) returned home with a broken heart

*ət-ḳa-t-a gərī.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT cry.INF

[and] started to cry.

ax̣-bēž-īt-a                      žənbāb-ā      xo,<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT    stepmom-EZ.F    REFL

She said to her stepmother,

ax̣-bəž-t-ē,                      'būčī    mən      čə    bəṛā      nī-n-ən?<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL    why    1SG.OBL    no    brother    NEG=COP-3PL

she said to her, 'Why haven't I got any brothers?'

bo    žənbāb-ē                      tə-b-īt-a                      dariv-ak-ā  
 for    stepmom-OBL.F                      IND-be.PRS-3SG=DRCT    opportunity-INDF-EZ.F

gala    galak    ā    bāš<sup>1</sup>  
 very    very    EZ.F    good

It became a very good opportunity for the stepmother

kū    kəč-è                      žī    šə      māl-ē                      bə    darē  
 COMPL    girl-OBL.F                      ADD    from    home-OBL.F                      to    out

Ø-x-īt-ən.<sup>1</sup>  
 SBJV-throw.PRS-3SG-NA

to kick her (Fatma) out of the house.

(9) ax̣-bēž-t-ē,<sup>1</sup>                      'wara                      àz                      dē<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL    come.IMP.2SG    1SG.DIR    FUT

ǰəh-ē                      bəṛā-yē                      ta                      nīšā                      ta                      Ø-dā-m.<sup>1</sup>  
 place-EZ.M    brother-EZ.M    2SG.OBL    showing    2SG.OBL    SBJV-give.PRS-1SG

She said to her, 'Come here, I will show you your brothers' whereabouts.'

ax̣-ba-t-a                      sar    bān-î,<sup>1</sup>                      ax̣-bēž-t-ē,  
 IND-take.PRS-3SG=DRCT    on    roof-OBL.M    IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

She took her on the roof of the house [and] said to her,

pəšt čiyā-yē hana<sup>l</sup> pəšt čiyā-yī<sup>l</sup>  
 behind mountain-EZ.M DEIC.PTCL behind mountain-OBL.M

‘Behind this mountain over there, behind the mountain [there is another mountain];

lə-pəšt wī čiyā-yī žī<sup>l</sup> šinīk-ā  
 in-back DEM.DIST.OBL.M mountain-OBL.M ADD trace-EZ.F

čiyāy-āk-ī dī yē hayī<sup>l</sup>  
 mountain-INDF-EZ.M other EZ.M EXIST.PRS

Behind that other mountain there is a road to another mountain.

əşkaf-t-āk=ā ləwērē hay<sup>l</sup>  
 cave-INDF-EZ.F there EXIST

There is a cave there.

pēñj bəra-yēt ta<sup>l</sup> əl-wērē<sup>l</sup>  
 five brother-EZ.PL 2SG.OBL in-there

Your five brothers are there.

məžīl-ī žīyān-ē-na<sup>l</sup> ū řāv-ū nēcīr-ā  
 busy-EZ.M life-OBL.F=COP.3PL and hunt-and hunt-PL.OBL

t-kā-n.<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3PL

They are busy living and hunting.’

(10) Fātmā, gala galak ət-mīn-t-a hayərī.<sup>l</sup>  
 PN very very IND-remain.PRS-3SG-DRCT astonished

[On hearing this] Fatma was very astonished.



ax-bēž-īt-ən,      garak-a      az      bə-čə-m<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA    necessary=COP.3SG    1SG.DIR    SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

bərā-yēt      xo      paydā      Ø-ka-m<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.PL    REFL    visible    SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

She said, 'I shall go [and] find my brothers

ū      gal      wānā      dā      bə-žī-m.<sup>1</sup>  
 and    with    3PL.OBL    POST    SBJV-live.PRS-1SG

and live with them.'

čūnkū      tə-žān-īt-ən<sup>1</sup>      žənbāb-ē      gala      galak  
 since    IND-know.PRS-3SG-NA    stepmom-OBL.F    very    very

hāl-ē      wānā      nāxoš      kə-r-ī-ya<sup>1</sup>  
 condition-EZ.M    3PL.OBL    unpleasant    do.PST-PTCP=PERF

She knew that the stepmother had upset them a lot,

ū      tə-vē-t-ən      bə-zəvəř-īt-avā      dav  
 and    IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA    SBJV-turn.PRS-3SG-TELIC    side

bərā-yēt      xo.<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.PL    REFL

and that it was necessary for her to go to [live with] her brothers.

(11) kəčək      dam-ē      Ø-č-īt-ən,<sup>1</sup>      gala      galak  
           girl      when-OBL.F    IND-go.PRS-3SG-NA    very    very

tə-wastīy-ēt-ən.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-exhaust.PRS-3SG-NA

On the way [to the mountain], the little girl (i.e., Fatma) became very tired.

gala      galak      māndī      t-b-īt-ən<sup>1</sup>  
 very    very    tired    IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA

She became very exhausted

*hatā*<sup>l</sup> *čīyā-yak-ē* *tə-bəhūrīn-īt-ən=ū*<sup>l</sup>  
 until mountain-INDF-OBL.M IND-pass.PRS-3SG-NA=and

by the time she passed the first mountain

*čīyā-yē* *du-ē* *tə-bəhūrīn-īt-ən=ū*<sup>l</sup>  
 mountain-EZ.M two-OBL.F IND-pass.PRS-3SG-NA=and

and the second mountain

*ət-gah-īt-a* *čīyā-yē* *sē*<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-arrive.PRS-3SG-DRCT mountain-EZ.M three

and [finally] arrived at the third mountain.

(12) *dam-ē* *ət-gah-īt-a* *čīyā-yē* *sē*<sup>l</sup>  
 when-OBL.F IND-arrive.PRS-3SG-DRCT mountain-EZ.M three

On arriving at the third mountain,

*aškaf-t-ak-ā* *gala* *galak* *ā* *bələnd* *∅-bīn-īt-ən*<sup>l</sup>  
 cave-INDF-EZ.F very very EZ.F high IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

she saw a very big (lit. high) cave.

*ū* *t-hē-t-a* *hazər-ā* *wē*  
 and IND-come.PRS-3SG-DRCT thought-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.F

It crossed her mind (lit. It came to her memory)

*kū* *tə-vē-t-ən* *bərā-yēt* *wē* *lə*  
 COMPL IND-should.PRS-3SG-NA brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F in  
*vè* *aškaf-t-ē* *va* *∅-b-ən*<sup>l</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.OBL.F cave-OBL.F POST SBJV-be.PRS-3PL

that her brothers should be in that cave

*har* *wakī* *žənbāb-ē* *gotī*<sup>l</sup>  
 just like stepmom-OBL.F say.PST.PTCP

—just as the stepmother had said.

(13) *dam-ē*      *t-č-ît-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 when-OBL.F      IND-go.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

‘When she (Fatma) went inside

*ū sah t̄-kà-t-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 and look IND-do.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

and looked around,

*ət-bîn-ît-ən,*<sup>|</sup>      *čə*      *t̄-bîn-ît-ən?*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA      what      IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

she saw that ... what did she see?

*ḡēñj taxt-ēt dərēžk̄arī,*<sup>|</sup>  
 five bed-EZ.PL lain.on.the.ground

Five beds lying [on the ground],

*ḡēñj amān-ēt xārən-ē,*<sup>|</sup>  
 five utensil-EZ.PL eat-INF-OBL.F

five sets of eating utensils,

*ḡēñj j̄əl,*<sup>|</sup>      *ḡēñj kavčək.*<sup>|</sup>  
 five garment five spoon

five sets of clothes, five spoons.

*har tašt ət wē*      *aşkəft-ē va ḡēñj-ē*  
 each thing in DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.F cave-OBL.F POST five-OBL.F

*ḡēñj boy-a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 five be.PST.PTCP.3SG=PERF

Each thing in that cave was in five [sets] (lit. five in five).

(14) *dam-ē wān ḡēñj-ā t̄-bîn-ît-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 when-OBL.F 3PL.OBL five-PL IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

When she saw all those [things] in five sets,

*ēksar t̤ə-zān-īt-ən*  
totally IND-know.PRS-3SG-NA

she was sure

*avà j̤əh-ē bəṛāy-ē wē=ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR place-EZ.M brother-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F=COP.3SG

that it was the place of her brothers.

*bar-ē xo dā-t-ē<sup>1</sup> wēri galak-ā*  
front-EZ.M REFL give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL there.OBL very=EZ.F  
*bēsarūbār=a.*<sup>1</sup>  
messy=COP.3SG

She looked around [the cave and saw that] it was very messy.

*ahā, bəṛā-yak-ī t̤-bīn-īt-ən<sup>1</sup> sar ēk šə*  
PRST brother-INDF-OBL.M IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA on one from  
*wān taxt-ā yē nəvəstī=ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
DEM.PL.OBL bed-PL.OBL EZ.M sleep.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

Lo, she saw a brother sleeping on one of the beds.

(15) *Fātmā dā-kū wī bəṛā-yī go lē*  
PN so-that 3SG.OBL.M brother-OBL.M ear at.3SG.OBL  
*nā-b-īt-ən,*<sup>1</sup>  
NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-3SG-NA

In order for her brother not to hear,

*baṭanī-ak-ā maṣən t̤-īn-īt-ən<sup>1</sup>*  
canvas-INDF-EZ.F big IND-bring.PRS-3SG-NA

Fatma brought a big lining canvas

*dān-t-a sar bəṛā-yē xo yē bəčīk<sup>1</sup>*  
PVB.put.PRS-3SG=DRCT on brother-EZ.M refl EZ.M small

[and] put it on her young brother

*kū bārā-yaḵ-ī bəçik=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
REL brother-INDF-EZ.M small-COP.3SG

—the one who was the young[est] brother.

*dā-n-t=a sar wī bārā-yî.*<sup>|</sup>  
PVB-put.PRS-3SG-DRCT on DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.M brother-OBL.M

She put it (the canvas) on that brother.

*ū Fātmā řā-t-b-īt-ən dast=əb kār-ī*  
and PN PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA hand-to work.OBL.M

*t-ka-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

And Fatma rose [and] started to work (lit. put hands to work).'

(16) *Fātmā řā-t-b-īt-ən dast=əb kār-ī*  
PN PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA hand-to work.OBL.M

*t-ka-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

Fatma rose (and) started to work.

*ēh taxt-ā hamī-yā pāqəž ət-ka-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
INTJ bed-PL.OBL all-PL.OBL clean IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She cleaned all the beds.

*ǰalk-ā t-šo-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
garment-PL.OBL IND-wash.PRS-3SG-NA

She washed the clothes.

*āmān-ā hamī-yā pāqəž t-ka-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
utensil-PL.OBL all-PL.OBL clean IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She cleaned all the dishes.

*aškaf-t-ē hamī yē aṭ-māl-īt-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 cave-OBL.F all EZ.M IND-sweep.PRS-3SG-NA

She swept all [inside] the cave.

*ū l-ēk dā-da bāsarūbār aṭ-ka-t-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and at-one IND-give.PRS.3SG orderly IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She had put everything in order,

*hatā bārā-yēt wē ṭ-hē-n-avà.*<sup>1</sup>  
 until brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC

before her brothers returned.

(17) *pāšt-ī Fātmā kār-o bār-ēt xo*  
 after-OBL.M PN job-and RDP-EZ.PL REFL

*ṭ-kà-t-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

After Fatma finished her [cleaning] tasks,

*xārən-àḳ-ā gala galak ā xoš žī čē*  
 meal-INDF-EZ.F very very EZ.F delicious ADD LVC

*ṭ-ka-t bo bārā-yēt xo*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG for brother-EZ.PL REFL

she cooked a very good meal for her brothers

*kā čà lə-vērē ha-ya*  
 EXCM what in-here EXIST-COP.3SG

out of what there was in the cave

*čà nēčir kārī-ya, aṭgal hāndaḳ nān-ī*  
 what hunt do.PST-PTCP-COP.3SG with some bread-OBL.M

and what they had hunted—together with bread

*bo wānā hāzər ət-ka-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
for 3PL.OBL ready IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

—she prepared [a meal] for them.

(18) *ət-bēž-ī, ‘dam-ē bərā-yēt mən, har çār*  
IND-say.PRS-3SG when-OBL.F brother-EZ.PL 1SG.OBL each four  
*bərā-yēt mən-ē dī t-hē-n-avà, dā*  
brother-EZ.PL 1SG.OBL-EZ.M other IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC HORT  
*vērē ā bəsarūbār Ø-b-īt-ən.*<sup>†</sup>  
here EZ.F tidy SBJV-be.PRS-3SG-NA

She said, ‘Let it be orderly and clean here by the time my brothers, my other four brothers are back.’

*Fātmā yaksar ç-īt=a ət-bən taxt-aḵ-ī-va*  
PN totally go.PRS-3SG-DRCT in-under bed-INDF-OBL.M-POST  
*ān bən sērḵ-àḵ-ē ’arzāq-ī-va*<sup>|</sup>  
or under basket-INDF-EZ.M food-OBL.M-POST

‘Fatma immediately went under a bed/or under a large cooking basket.

*xo va-t-šēr-īt-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
REFL TELIC-IND-hide.PRS-3SG-NA

She hid herself

*ū čāvařē t-b-īt-ən hatā bərā-yēt wē*  
and eyes.on.road IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA until brother-EZ.PL REFL  
*t-hē-n.*<sup>|</sup>  
IND-come.PRS-3PL

and waited (lit. eyes on road) [there] until her brothers returned.’

(19) *dam-ē bərā-yēt wē ət-hē-n,*<sup>|</sup>  
when-OBL.F brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F IND-come.PRS-3PL

When her brothers arrived,

*bārā-yē mazə̀n̄n̄ jō t̄-kav-īt-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.M big LVC IND-fall.PRS-3SG-NA

the eldest brother bludgeoned his way [through his brothers]

*ət̄-bēž̄-t-ē, ā̄ ava čan̄ t̄št-ak-ī*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG-3SG.OBL EXCM DEM.PROX.3SG how thing-INDF-EZ.M

*s̄ayr-a čē bo-y-Ø!*<sup>1</sup>  
 bizzare=COP.3SG good be.PST-PTCP-3SG

[and] said to them, ‘Oh, what has been happening here is indeed surprising!

*bārā-yē ma yē b̄čik̄ husā na yē z̄irāk̄*  
 brother-EZ.M 1PL.OBL EZ.M little such NEG EZ.M striving  
*bo-Ø!*<sup>1</sup>  
 COP.PST-3SG

Our youngest brother did not used to be so conscientious.

*av amān-a xa š̄št-ən-ū!*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.3SG utensil-DEM REFL wash.PST-3PL=and

He has washed the dishes all by himself.

*av j̄alk-à š̄št-ən-ū!*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.3SG garment-DEM wash.PST-3PL=and

He has washed the clothes.

*av taxt-a b̄sar-ū-bār̄ k̄ar.*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.3SG bed-DEM orderly do.PST

He has put the beds in order.’

*řāwra b-ən dasxoš̄i-yē lē da-n,*<sup>1</sup>  
 LVC be.PRS-3PL thanking-OBL.F at.3SG.OBL give.PRS-3PL

They (the brothers) started to thank him (the youngest brother),



'*saḥât-ā ta xoš*;  
health-EZ.F 2SG.OBL nice

'Bravo! (lit. may your health be nice!)

*ta kār-aḵ-ē jân-ē ḵarî.*<sup>1</sup>  
2SG.OBL job-INDF-EZ.M beautiful-EZ.M do.PTCP

You have done a wonderful job.'

(20) *bərā dam-ē əş xaw řā-t-b-ît-avà*<sup>1</sup>  
brother when-OBL.F from sleep PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-TELIC

When the [youngest] brother woke up

*ḵ-bîn-ît wērē yā pāqəž-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
IND-see.PRS-3SG there EZ.F clean=COP.3SG

and saw that the house was clean,

*ḵ-bēž-ît-ən, 'hamā bo mən lē-hât-Ø!*<sup>1</sup>  
IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA INTJ for 1SG.OBL PVB-come.PST-3SG

he said, 'It simply occurred to me (lit. it simply came to me).

*bə ḥəsāb, al-'asās mən î aw*  
by counting on-basis 1SG.OBL EZ DEM.DIST.SG

*şol-a-ya ḵarî.*<sup>1</sup>  
work-DEM-EZ.F do.PST.PTCP

Indeed, it was me who has done these tasks!"

ət-bēž-t-ē,                      ‘waḷā   bəṛā   az   gala   galak   ī  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   by.God   brother   1SG.DIR   very   very   EZ  
 māndī   bū=m<sup>l</sup>   kū   mən   av   vērē   hamī<sup>l</sup>  
 tired   COP.PST=1SG   COMPL   1SG.OBL   DEM.PROX.SG   here   all  
 pāqəž   kər.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 clean   do.PST

He said [to the eldest brother], ‘By God, brother, after cleaning everything in the house I got very tired!’

(21) ət-bēž-n-ē                      bəṛā   saḥāt-ā   ta   xoš.<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL=3SG.OBL   brother   health-EZ.F   2SG.OBL   nice

They (the brothers) said to him, ‘Bravo, brother.’

šəbāhī   dor-ā   bəṛā-yē   ma   yē   mažən-a.<sup>l</sup>  
 tomorrow   turn-EZ.F   brother-EZ.M   1PL.OBL   EZ.M   big=COP.3SG

Tomorrow is our eldest brother’s turn.’

‘afū<sup>l</sup>   dūr-ā   bəṛā-yē   ma   yē   dīv   dā-ya!<sup>l</sup>  
 pardon   turn-EZ.F   brother-EZ.M   1PL.OBL   EZ.M   after   POST=COP.3SG  
 aw-ē   šə   wī<sup>l</sup>   mažən-tər.<sup>l</sup>  
 DEM.DIST.SG=EZ.M   from   3SG.OBL   big-CMPR

Pardon, ‘It’s our penultimate brother’s turn [, the one who was born before the youngest one]; the one [who is] older than him (the youngest one).’

(22) ət-b-īt-a                      řož-ā   pās-tər.<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-become.PRS-3SG=DRCT   day-EZ.F   after-CMPR

The next day, (Lit. It became the next day.)

bəṛā-yən   dī   dar   t-kav-ən-a   nēčir-ē.<sup>l</sup>  
 brother-EZ.PL   other   outside   IND-fall.PRS-3PL=DRCT   hunt-OBL.F

the other brothers went hunting.

*bārā žī t̄ə-bēž-īt-àñ, | 'ē bāwar ka vērē*  
 brother ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA INTJ belief do.IMP.2SG here  
*galak ā pāqəž-a. |*  
 very EZ.F clean=COP.3SG

The brother said, 'Believe it [or not], it is very clean here;

*na ā p̄is-a. |*  
 NEG EZ.F dirty=COP.3SG

it's not untidy.

*kā dā az bəxo bə-nv-əm; |*  
 INTJ HORT 1SG.DIR simply SBJV-sleep-1SG  
*az gala galak yē wastiây=ma. |*  
 1SG very very EZ.M tired=1SG.COP

I shall simply sleep. I'm very tired.'

*bārā Ø-č-īt ət-nəv-īt-avà. |*  
 brother IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-sleep.PRS-3SG-TELIC

The brother went [and] slept again.

(23) *dam-ē bārā t̄-nəv-īt-avà, |*  
 when-OBL.F brother IND-sleep.PRS-3SG-TELIC

After the brother fell asleep,

*qəčək bar-ē xo Ø-da-t-ē hēštā*  
 girl front-EZ.M REFL IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL still  
*bārā yē nəvəstî=a. |*  
 brother EZ.M sleep.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

the girl (i.e., Fatma) noticed that he was still sleeping.

*zīkā ət-hē-t-a dar-è. |*  
 soon IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT outside-OBL.F

She came out quickly.

*wān*     *ǰəl-ū*     *barg-ā*<sup>l</sup>     *wān...*     *aw*     *təšt-ēn*  
 3PL.OBL    garment-and    cover-PL.OBL    3PL.OBL    DEM.PROX.SG    thing-EZ.PL  
*wē*     *dəhī*     *na-pāqəžkəri-n*<sup>l</sup>     *hamī-yā*  
 DEM.DIST.OBL.F    yesterday    not-cleaned=COP.3PL    all-PL.OBL  
*ət-ba-t-a*     *žə*     *dar-va-y*     *aškaft-ē*.<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-take.PRS-3SG=DRCT    in    outside-POST-EZ    cave-OBL.F

She took the dirty clothes and dirty stuff from the previous day out of the cave.

*ū*     *bəsarūbar*     *ət-kā-t-ən-ū*     *čē*     *t-kā-t-ən*<sup>l</sup>  
 and    orderly    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA=and    good    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She arranged them all and cleaned them.

(24) *ū*     *hawz-aḵ-ā*     *gul-ā*     *žī*     *əl-bar*     *dar*  
           and    garden-INDF-EZ.F    flower-PL.OBL    ADD    in-front    door  
*aškaft-ē*     *čē*     *t-kā-t-ən*<sup>l</sup>  
 cave-OBL.F    good    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

In addition, she made a small garden of flowers in front of the cave

*ū*     *gul-ā*     *tē-dā*     *t-čīn-īt-ən-ū*.<sup>l</sup>  
 and    flower-PL.OBL    in.3SG.OBL.POST    IND-plant.PRS-3SG-NA=and

and planted some flowers in it.

*řax-ē*     *dī*     *žī*     *wəsā*     *pəčak-ē*     *pāqəž*  
 side-EZ.M    other    ADD    such    a.little-OBL.F    clean  
*ət-kā-t-ən*  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

Also, she cleaned the other side [the area around the cave]

*bəsarūbār*     *ət-kā-t-ən*.<sup>l</sup>  
 orderly    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

[and] put the things [around the cave] in order.

- (25) *b-ît-a*                      *êvār*    *kû*    *dê*  
 become.PRS-3SG=DRCT    evening    COMPL    FUT  
*bārā-yēt*    *wē*            *Ø-hē-n-avà,*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.PL    3SG.OBL.F    SBJV-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC

[When] it became evening, [and time] for her brothers to come back,

- Fātmā*    *jár-aḱ-ā*            *dī*    *əḱ-č-ît-a*                      *bən*  
 PN            time-INDF-EZ.F    again    IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT    under  
*sērḱ-ē*            *ʾarsāq-î*            *va*<sup>1</sup>  
 basket-EZ.M    nutrition-OBL.M    POST

Fatma again went under the cooking basket

- ū*    *pātā-y*                      *t-în-t-a*                      *xār-ē*<sup>1</sup>  
 and    canvas-OBL.M    IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT    down-OBL.F

and brought down the cotton canvas,

- dā*    *bārā-yēt*            *wē*            *wē*            *na-bîn-in.*<sup>1</sup>  
 COMPL    brother-EZ.PL    3SG.OBL.F    3SG.OBL.F    NEG-see.PRS-3PL

so that her brothers wouldn't see her.

- (26) *bārā*    *t-hē-n-avà*                      *sah*    *əḱ-ḱa-n-ē*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother    IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC    looking    IND-do.PRS-3PL-3SG.OBL

The brothers returned home [and] looked around

- t̄-bēž-ēt-ən*            *bārā-yē*            *maḟən*<sup>1</sup>    *čūnkū*    *šə*    *wānā*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA    brother-EZ.M    big    since    from    3PL.OBL  
*maḟ-tər-ū*            *bə-āqəl-tər*            *bo*<sup>1</sup>            *got-ī,*  
 big-CMPR=and    with-wise-CMPR    COP.PST.3SG    say.PST=3SG

‘[and] said—The eldest brother, given that he was older and more clever than the rest, said,

‘ava            təšt-aḵ-ē            na    yē,    na    yē  
 DEM.PROX.SG    thing-INDF-EZ.M    NEG    EZ.M    NEG    EZ.M

ṭabēṭī    ṛūy            əṭ-da-t-ən.<sup>1</sup>  
 normal    happening    IND-give.PRS-3SG-NA

‘This is not something natural that has been happening here!

čūnkū    bərə-yēt            mən    hamī    gāv-ā            husā    nà  
 because    brother-EZ.PL    1SG.OBL    all            time-PL.OBL    such    NEG

zīrak    bū=n!<sup>1</sup>  
 thriving    COP.PST-3PL

Since my brothers were not that conscientious before,

husā    vār-ā            pāqəž    nà-t-ḵər!<sup>1</sup>  
 such    place-PL.OBL    clean    NEG-IPFV-do.PST

they wouldn’t clean the house like this.

husā    vērē            bəsarūbar    nà-t-ḵər!<sup>1</sup>  
 such    here.OBL.F    orderly    NEG-IPFV-do.PST

They wouldn’t arrange the things in the house in such a way.’

ava            čī=ya            čē    būy-Ø?<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.SG    what=COP.3SG    good    be.PST.PTCP-3SG

‘What has happened here?’

àz            nə-zān-əm.<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.DIR    NEG-know.PRS-1SG

I don’t know!’

*baz ē* Ø-*zān-în* *pəšt-î* *am* *čîrok-ā* *xo*  
 but FUT SBJV-know.PRS-1PL after-OBL.M 1PL.DIR tale-EZ.F REFL  
*kamāl* Ø-*ka-yn.*<sup>1</sup>  
 complete SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

However, we [the listeners] are going to figure it out after we finish our tale.

(27) *aṭ-bēž-ît-ē,* *‘bərā,* *bərā!’*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL brother brother

He (the eldest brother) said, ‘Brother, brother!’

*šə* *xaw-ē* *šiyār* *aṭ-ka-t-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 from sleep-EZ.M awake IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

He woke him up.’

*aṭ-bēž-t-ē,* *‘ta* *čə* *ka-ri-ya?’*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL 2SG.OBL what do.PST.PTPC=PERF

[and] said, ‘What did you do?’

*bərā* *bar-ē* *xo* *ṭ-dā-t-ē*<sup>1</sup> *aw*  
 brother front-EZ.M REFL IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL DEM.DIST.SG

*bərā-yē* *wī* Ø-*ta-š-ît-ən* *awalikā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.M IND-fear.PRS-3SG-NA in.the.beginning

He (the sleeping brother) looked at him. He was scared at first.

*də-vē-t* Ø-*bēž-t-ē,* *‘bə-bor-a*  
 IND-want.PRS-3SG SBJV-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL SBJV-pass.PRS-IMP.2SG

*mən* *šol* *nə-ka-ri-ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.OBL work NEG-do.PST

He wanted to say, ‘Excuse me! I didn’t do my job.’

*ān mən wār-ā pāqəž nà-ḵər;*<sup>|</sup>  
 or 1SG.OBL place-PL.OBL clean NEG-do.PST

I didn't clean our house;

*ān mən xwārən čē nà-ḵər.*<sup>|</sup>  
 or 1SG.OBL food good NEG-do.PST

I didn't cook food.'

(28) *bağ Ø-da-t-a wār-ā;*<sup>|</sup>  
 looking IND-give.PRS-3SG=DRCT place-PL.OBL

He (the sleeping brother) looked around

*wār-ā bəsarūbār=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 place-PL.OBL orderly=COP.3SG

[and saw that] that everything was in order.

*tə-bēž-t-ē, 'bərā, mən šol-ē xo hamî*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL brother 1SG.OBL work-EZ.M REFL all  
*yē ḵərî*<sup>|</sup>  
 EZ.M do.PTCP

He said, 'Brother, I did my job entirely

*az bə-xo nəvəst-əm.*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG.DIR in-REFL sleep.PST-1SG

[and then] I simply slept.'

*bərā t-bēž-t-ē, 'āhā galak bāš=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 brother IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL INTJ very good=COP.3SG

The [elder] brother said, 'Ah! It's very nice.

*dast-ē ta dē xoš Ø-b-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 hand-EZ.M 2SG.OBL FUT nice SBJV-be.PRS-3PL

Thank you (lit. May your hands be nice!)!



(29) *xārən-ā xo t̤-xo-n.*<sup>1</sup>  
 food-EZ.F REFL IND-eat.PRS-3PL

They ate their meal.

*ǰalk-ēt xo t̤-guhoř-ən<sup>1</sup> dē Ø-nəv-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 garment-EZ.PL REFL IND-change.PRS-3PL FUT SBJV-sleep.PRS-3PL

They changed their clothes to [get ready for] sleep.

*dam-ē řož ət̤-hal-ē-t-ən,*  
 when-OBL.F day IND-PVB-come.PRS-3SG-NA

When dawn broke (lit. the sun rose)

*t̤ə-vē-t-ən bə-čə-n-a řāv-ū nēcīr-ā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA SBJV-go.PRS-3PL-DRCT hunt-and hunt-PL.OBL

they intended to go hunting.

*bar-ī řož bə-hal-ē-t-ən*  
 before-OBL.M sun SBJV-PVB-come.PRS-3SG-NA

*ət̤-čə-n-a řāv-ū nēcīr-ā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-go.PRS-3PL-DRCT hunt-and hunt-PL.OBL

Before the dawn broke, they would go hunting.

# NORTHERN KURDISH OF DURE

## Text 20: §1-13

*Masoud Mohammadirad*

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**Speaker: Herish Rashid Tawfiq Beg**

Audio: <https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/249/>

(1) *nāv-ē mə Hèrəš-a.*<sup>|</sup>  
name-EZ.M 1SG.OBL PN=COP

My name is Herish.

*az kuř-ē Ğařid Bag-ē Barwāri=ma=ū*<sup>|</sup> *az*  
1SG.DIR son-EZ.M PN PN-EZ.M PN=COP.1SG=and 1SG.DIR

*Barwāri=ma,*<sup>|</sup>  
PN=COP.1SG

I am the son of Rashid Bag Barwari, and I am from Barwari.

*navi-yē Tawfiq Bag-ē kuř-ē*  
grandson-EZ.M PN PN-EZ.M son-EZ.M

*haji Ğařid Bâg-ē Barwāri.*<sup>|</sup>  
PN PN PN-EZ.M PN

[I am] the grandson of Tawfiq Bag Barwari, [who is] the son of  
Haji Rashid Bag Barwari.

*az-ē*      *bo wa*      *čiròk-ā*<sup>|</sup>      *haşp-ē*      *mālbât-ē*  
 1SG.DIR-FUT    for    2PL.OBL    tale-EZ.F    horse-EZ.M    family-OBL.F

*b-ēž-əm*

SBJV-say.PRS-1SG

I am going to tell you the story of ‘the family horse’,

*wakî*      *bāb-ū*      *bāpîr-ā*      *bo*      *mə*  
 like      father-and      grand.father-PL.OBL      for      1SG.OBL

*và-gaŕyā-yî.*<sup>|</sup>

TELIC-turn.PST-PTCP

the way I have been told it by the elders.

(2) *t̲-bēž-ən*      *ha-bū-Ø*      *na-bū-Ø,*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL      EXIST-COP.PST-3SG      NEG-COP.PST-3SG

It is said that there was and there was not,

*kas*      *şə*      *xodē*      *màž-tər*      *na-bū-Ø,*<sup>|</sup>  
 person      from      god.OBL.M      big-CMPR      NEG-COP.PST-3SG

[but] there was nobody greater than God,

*kas*      *şə*      *bani-yā*      *žî*      *dərawîn-tər*      *na-bū-Ø*<sup>|</sup>  
 person      from      human-PL.OBL      ADD      liar-CMPR      NEG-COP.PST-3SG

and no bigger liar than man.

*zamān-aḵ-î*<sup>|</sup>      *wē*      *davar-ê*<sup>|</sup>      *xalk-ê*      *čə*  
 period-INDF-OBL.M      DEM.DIST.OBL.F      region-OBL.F      people-OBL.F      what

*t̲-kər?*<sup>|</sup>

IPFV-do.PST

What did the people in this region do once?

*har*      *bənamā-l-aḵ-ē*<sup>|</sup>      *hàşp-aḵ-ē*      *makən-ē,*<sup>|</sup>      *jəhəl-ê*<sup>|</sup>  
 each      family-INDF-OBL.F      horse-INDF-EZ.M      solid-EZ.M      young-EZ.M

Each family had a young, reliable horse

*galà gala gala gala lāv ha-bū-Ø<sup>1</sup>*  
 very very very very strong EXIST-be.PST-3SG

that was very, very strong.

(3) *t̄ā-bēž-ən àv ḥaṣp-ē hanē<sup>1</sup> har*  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL DEM.PROX horse-EZ.M DEICT.PTCL each

*t̄ā-nāv-ē bənamāl-ē aṭ-hāt-Ø=a nīyās.<sup>1</sup>*  
 in-middle-EZ.M family-OBL.F IPFV-come.PST-3SG-DRCT knowing

It is said that this [particular] horse (i.e. the horse of a certain family) was known in every family.

*ya'nī xalk-ē av ḥaṣp-a bənamāl-ē*  
 that.is people-OBL.F DEM.PROX horse-DEM family-OBL.F

*t̄-nīyāsī<sup>1</sup>*  
 IPFV-know.PST

That is, people knew this horse as the 'family horse'.

*kas lə vī ḥaṣp-ī sīyār*  
 per- at DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.M horse-OBL.M rider  
 son

*nà-t̄-bū-Ø.<sup>1</sup>*  
 NEG-IPFV-become.PST-3SG

Nobody would mount this horse.

*sāl-ē jār-ak-ē av ḥaṣp-a darē t̄-xəst<sup>1</sup>*  
 year-OBL.F time-INDF-OBL.F DEM.PROX horse-DEM out IPFV-throw.PST

*nīšā xalk-ē aṭ-dā<sup>1</sup>*  
 showing people-OBL.M IPFV-give.PST

Once a year, they (i.e. the family) would bring [the horse] out for people to see it.'

*û xalk-ê madhâ pē t̄ə-k̄ər-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and people-OBL.M praising to.3SG.OBL IPFV-do.PST-3PL

And people would praise it (i.e. the horse)

*û xalk-ê h̄ašp-ê xo bə wā*  
 and people-OBL.M horse-EZ.M REFL to DEM.PL.OBL

*h̄ašp-ā t̄ə-šəbəhānd-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 horse-PL.OBL IPFV-compare.PST.3PL

and compare their horses to those [family] horses.

(4) *h̄ašp-ê bənamāl-ê yē čāwā b̄ū-Ø?*<sup>1</sup>  
 horse-EZ.M family-OBL.F EZ.M how COP.PST-3SG

[But] what was the family horse like?

*b̄āb-ê h̄ašp-ī yē bənamāl-ê b̄ū-Ø,*<sup>1</sup> *Pəxîñê.*<sup>1</sup>  
 father-EZ.M horse-OBL.M EZ.M family-OBL.F COP.PST-3SG PN

Its father, Pekhine, also belonged to this family.

*ķûr-ê wī h̄ašp-ī žī bə wē*  
 son-EZ.M DEM.DIST.OBL.M horse-OBL.M ADD with DEM.DIST.OBL.F

*bənamāl-ê t̄-mā-Ø.*<sup>1</sup>  
 Family-OBL.F IPFV-stay.PST-3SG

Its colt also stayed with the same family.

*kas-ê lə vī h̄ašp-ī žəbar*  
 person-EZ.M at DEM.PROX.OBL.M horse-OBL.M because.of

*qīmāt-ā wī lē sīyār na-b̄ū-Ø*<sup>1</sup>  
 value-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.M at.3SG.OBL rider NEG-COP.PST-3SG

Because of its value, nobody would mount the [family] horse.

*tənē darē t̄ə-xəst bo jānî*<sup>1</sup>  
 only out IPFV-throw.PST for grandeur

It was only brought out of the stable for people to see its grandeur,

*ū va-šārt-ava tə gov-ē dā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and TELIC-hide.PST-TELIC in stable-OBL.F POST

and then hidden again in the stable.

(5) *t-bē-n sāl-aḵ-ē<sup>1</sup> ḥaṣp-ē bānamā<sup>1</sup>-aḵ-ē<sup>1</sup>*  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL year-INDF-OBL.F horse-EZ.M family-INDF-OBL.F

*ko gala gala galak yē barniyāz bū<sup>1</sup>*  
 COMPL very very very EZ.M known COP.PST.3SG

It is said that the horse of [a] family became so famous

*ū xalk-ē hamī, ‘ya‘nī nāv-ū dang-ēt*  
 and people-OBL.M all well name-and voice-EZ.PL

*vī ḥaṣp-ī čə bū-n?’<sup>1</sup>*  
 DEM.PROX.OBL.M horse-OBL.M what COP.PST-3PL

that everybody [said], ‘Well, what is [so] special about this horse?’

*ēḵ hāt-Ø=a dəzī-ēt ḥaṣp-ī.<sup>1</sup>*  
 one come.PST-3SG-DRCT robbery-EZ.PL horse-OBL.M

A [certain] person came to steal the horse.

*xo āvēt-a tə gov-ē-va<sup>1</sup>*  
 REFL throw.PST-DRCT in stable-OBL.F-POST

He went into the stable

*ū xo āvēt-a sar pəšt-ā ḥaṣp-ē wā.<sup>1</sup>*  
 and REFL throw.PST-DRCT on back-EZ.F horse-EZ.M 3PL.OBL

and mounted the family horse.

*vā ḥaṣp-ē wā řavānd.<sup>1</sup>*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG horse-EZ.M 3PL.OBL abduct.PST

He stole the horse.

(6) *zaqâm* *žî* *xodân-ê* *ħaşp-î* *pê*  
 man add owner-EZ.M horse-OBL.M at.3SG.OBL

*hasâ-Ø*.<sup>|</sup>  
 understand.PST-3SG

The man, the owner of the horse found out [about the robbery].

*dît* *êk-î* *ħaşp-ê* *wâ* *bâr*.<sup>|</sup>  
 see.PST one-OBL.M horse-EZ.M 3PL.OBL take.PST

He saw that a person had taken their horse.

*got-a* *ķûř-êt* *xo*.<sup>|</sup>  
 say.PST-DRCT son-EZ.PL REFL

He said to his sons,

*‘ħalû-n* *vê* *řâ-ba-gah-ən*.<sup>|</sup>  
 get.up.IMP-2PL DEM.PROX.OBL.F PVB-SBJV-arrive.PRS-2PL

‘Get up, go and reach the thief,

*ħatk-â* *ma* *čû-Ø*.<sup>|</sup>  
 honour-OBL.F 1PL.OBL go.PST-3SG

for we are disgraced.

*êk-î* *ħaşp-ê* *ma* *bâr*.<sup>|</sup> *yê* *bənamâl-ê*.<sup>|</sup>  
 one-OBL.M horse-EZ.M 1PL.OBL take.PST EZ.M family-OBL.F

Someone has taken our horse—the family horse—

*av-ê* *bāb-ê* *ħaşp-î* *əv* *bāb-ê*  
 DEM.PROX-EZ.M father-EZ.M horse-OBL.M DEM.PROX.3SG father-EZ.M

*bənamāl-ê*.<sup>|</sup>  
 family-OBL.F

[Both] the horse’s father [and] the father of the family [said so].

(7) *ya'nī žə bāb-ū kāl-ā-va ḥaṣp-ū*  
 that.is from father-and elder-PL.OBL-POST horse-and  
*bənamāl pēkvà bū-n<sup>l</sup> nažāt bo nažāt-ī<sup>l</sup>*  
 family together be.PST-3PL generation by generation-OBL.M

From the days of old (lit. from fathers and grandfathers), from one generation to the other, the horse and the family had lived together.

*got<sup>l</sup> àv<sup>l</sup> zaḷām-ē xodān-ē ḥaṣp-ī*  
 say.PTCP DEM.PROX.3SG man-EZ.M pwner-EZ.M horse-OBL.M  
*čū-Ø*  
 go.PST-3SG

It is said that the owner of the family horse went

*lə ḥaṣp-ē xwa siyār bū-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 at horse-EZ.M REFL rider COP.PST-3SG

and mounted his [other] horse.

*ū kuř-ēt wī žī dā dīv.<sup>l</sup>*  
 and son-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL ADD give.PST after

And his sons followed him.

*kat-n=a dīv ḥaṣp-ī<sup>l</sup> kat-n=a dīv<sup>l</sup>*  
 fall.PRS-3PL=DRCT after horse-OBL.M fall.PRS-3PL=DRCT after

They went after the [family] horse, they went after it.

*ū ḥaṣp řā-gər-ən čārgāvā.<sup>l</sup>*  
 and horse PVB-grab.PRS-3PL galloping

They galloped on their horses off [to the thief].<sup>7</sup>

(8) *kuř-ēt wī žī ēk bə-dīv-va<sup>l</sup>*  
 son-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.M ADD one in-after-POST

The sons [went] behind their father,



*û bāb-ē bə-dīv dəziḱar-î-va.*<sup>|</sup>  
and father-EZ.M in-after thief-OBL.M-POST

and the father went after the thief.

*dəziḱar-ē lə haşp-ē bənamāl-ē siyār-a.*<sup>|</sup>  
thief-EZ.M at horse-EZ.M family-OBL.F rider-COP.3SG

The thief was riding the family horse.

*bāb ži lə haşp-ē xo siyār-a.*<sup>|</sup>  
father ADD at horse-EZ.M REFL rider-COP.3SG

The father was on his [other] horse.

*har du kuř ži av dā wař-ēt*  
each two son ADD DEM.PROX.3SG give.PST thus-EZ.PL  
*wā-y dî*<sup>|</sup>  
3PL.OBL-EZ.M other

Similarly, his two sons followed each other.

*ḱā kî žə bāgîr ha=ya lē lē*  
EXCL who at windy PTC=COP.3SG but at.3SG.OBL  
*siyār bûy=n.*<sup>|</sup>  
rider COP.PST.PTCP=COP.3PL

Even though it was [extremely] windy, they were riding their horses.

(9) *ṭə-bēž-ən bāb gahəşt-a dəziḱar-î.*<sup>|</sup>  
IND-say.PRS-3PL father arrive.PST.3SG=DRCT thief-OBL.M

It is said that the father reached the thief.

*dast-ē xwa hāvêt, dā gah-ət pātk-â wî*<sup>|</sup>  
hand-EZ.M REFL throw.PST AUX reach.PRS-3SG scarf-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.M

He stretched out his hand to grab the thief's scarf

*nà-gahašt-ē*<sup>|</sup> *dast-ē* *xwa* *zəvəřānd-avà*.<sup>|</sup>  
 NEG-arrive.PST.3SG=3SG.OBL hand-EZ.M REFL turn.PST-TELIC

[but since] his hands did not reach it [the thief's scarf], he withdrew them.

*ū* *havsār-ē* *ħašp-ī* *bə* *laxāv-va* *kēšā*<sup>|</sup>  
 and halter-EZ.M horse-OBL.M with bridle-POST pull.PST

He (the father) pulled the reins of his horse

*ū* *ħašəp* *řā-wəstānd*.<sup>|</sup>  
 and horse PVB-stop.PST

and made it stop.

*dəzīkar* *žī* *žē* *falətī-Ø*.<sup>|</sup>  
 thief ADD from.3SG.OBL run.away.PST-3SG

The thief rode away (lit. the thief scaped from him).

(10) *hatā* *ħūr-ēt* *wī* *gahišt-ən-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 until son-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.M arrive.PST-3PL=3SG.OBL

When his sons caught up with him,

*got-ē,* *‘bāb-o!* *ta* *čə* *māl-ā* *ma*  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL father-VOC 2SG.OBL why home-EZ.F 1PL.OBL

*xarā* *ħər?*<sup>|</sup>  
 ruined do.PST

they said, ‘Dad, why did you ruin our home?’

*wē* *gāv-ē* *dastē* *ta*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F time-OBL.F hand-EZ.M 2SG.OBL

*ħə-gəhəšt-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 IPFV-arrive.PST=3SG.OBL

A while ago you could have reached the thief!

*ta*      *bûçî*    *na-gərt?*<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG.OBL    why      NEG-grab.PST

Why didn't you grab him?'

*got-ē,*                      *'rûn-àn,*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST-3SG.OBL      PVB.sit.PRS.IMP-2PL

The father said, 'Calm down! (lit. Sit down!)

*mə*      *'aql*      *xarəj*      *k̲ə̀r.*<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.OBL    wisdom    consumption    do.PST

I acted wisely.'

(11) *go*      *'waxt-ē*      *az*      *gahəştî=m*  
           say.PST    time-OBL.F      1SG.DIR    arrive.PST.PTCP=COP.1SG

*həsp-ē*      *bənamāl-ê,*<sup>1</sup>  
 horse-EZ.M      Family-OBL.F

He (the father) said, 'When I approached the family horse—

*av-ē*                      *hənda*      *sāl-a*              *am*      *əb*      *bāb-ū*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG-EZ.M    so.many    year=COP.3SG    1PL.DIR    with    father-and

*bāpîr-va*              *madh-ā*      *pē*              *t̲ə-ka-yn*<sup>1</sup>  
 grandfather-POST    praise-PL.OBL    to.3SG.OBL    IND-do.PRS-1PL

the one which we have been praising for so long

*ū*      *t̲ə-ba-yn*              *nāv*    *xalk̲-ê*<sup>1</sup>  
 and    IND-take.PRS-1PL    into    people-OBL.M

and which we take around for people to see

*tu*      *Ø-zān-î*              *čə*      *hāt-Ø*              *sar-ē*      *mən?*<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG.DIR    IND-know.PRS-2SG    what    come.PST-3SG    head-EZ.M    1SG.OBL

—do you know what I thought of?'

- (12) *gotī*,            *‘waxtē mə dītī<sup>l</sup>*        *mə*        *dastē*        *xwa*  
 say.PST.PTCP    when        1SG    see.PTCP    1SG.OBL    hand-EZ.M    REFL  
*dā*   *hāvē-m<sup>l</sup>*        *pātək-ā*        *dəz-ī*        *dā*        *gēr-əm<sup>l</sup>*  
 AUX    throw.PRS-1SG    scarf-EZ.PL    thief-OBL.M    AUX    grab.PRS-1SG

He (the father) said, ‘When I saw that I could stretch out my arms and grab the scarf of the thief.’

*dā*   *xalək*   *hamī*   *zān-īt-ən<sup>l</sup>*  
 AUX    people    all        know.PRS-3PL-NA

[I thought that] people would figure out

*dəzīkar-aḵ*   *hāt-Ø*        *ḥaṣp-ē*        *mà*        *dəzī<sup>l</sup>*  
 thief-INDF    come.PST-3SG    horse-EZ.M    1PL.OBL    steal.PST

that a thief had come to steal our horse

*yē*   *bənamāl-ē<sup>l</sup>*        *av-ē*                *sar-ē*        *həndasāl-a*  
 EZ.M    family-OBL.F    DEM.PROX.SG=EZ.M    on-EZ.M    so.many.year=COP.3SG  
*nāv-ū*        *dang-ēt*        *wī*                *čūy-n.<sup>l</sup>*  
 name-and    voice-EZ.PL    3SG.OBL.M    go.PST.PTCP=3PL

—the family horse— the one which has been famous and well-known for so many years.’

- (13) *dā*   *bēž-ən*        *ēḵ-ī*        *ḥaṣp-ē*        *wa*        *dəzī<sup>l</sup>*  
 AUX    say.PRS-3PL    one-OBL.M    horse-EZ.M    3PL.OBL    steal

[The father continued] ‘[Later] people would say, “Someone stole your [family] horse.’

*ū*   *hīn*        *bə*        *ḥaṣp-ēt*        *xwà<sup>l</sup>*        *yēt*        *siyāri-ē<sup>l</sup>*        *bə*  
 and    2PL.DIR    with    horse-EZ.PL    REFL    EZ.PL    riding-OBL.F    to  
*ḥaṣp-ē*        *bənamāl-ē*        *řā*        *gahəšt-ən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 horse-EZ.M    family-OBL.F    POST    arrive.PST-3PL

And you could reach the family horse with your riding horses.

*bəlā ḥâşəp bo wī Ø-b-it*  
 HOR horse for 3SG.OBL.M SBJV-be.PRS-3SG

[So instead,] let the [family] horse be the thief's,

*bas bəlā madh-ēt ḥaşp-î bə-mîn-î.*  
 just HOR praise-EZ.PL horse-OBL.M SBJV-stay.PRS-3SG

but let the praise of the [family] horse remain with us!

# NORTHERN KURDISH OF KHIZAVA

## Text 7: §1-19

*Masoud Mohammadirad*

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**Speaker: Ahmed Abubakir Suleiman**

Audio: <https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/247/>

(1) *nāv-ē mən<sup>l</sup> ʔAhmad ʔAbūbakər Səlēmān.<sup>l</sup>*  
name-EZ.M 1SG.OBL PN PN PN

My name [is] Ahmad Abubakir Sleman.

*az xalk-ē gund-ē Xizavā=ma,<sup>l</sup> ʔašīr-ā Gulīā<sup>l</sup>*  
1SG.DIR people-EZ.M village-EZ.M PN=COP.1SG tribe-EZ.F PN.PL.OBL

I come from the village of Khizava, (from) Guli tribe.

*ū az žə dāyək̄bū-yē həzār-ū*  
and 1SG.DIR from mother.born-EZ.F thousand-and

*nahsad-ū šēst-ū həšt-ē=ma.<sup>l</sup>*  
nine.hundred-and sixty-and eight-OBL.F=COP.1SG

I was born in 1968.

*ʔamā dərəstāhī-yā mən dā tārīx=əm xələt-ən,<sup>l</sup>*  
but reality-EZ.F 1SG.OBL POST date.DIR.PL=1SG wrong=COP.3PL

But in reality ... my date [of birth] is wrong.

*šēst-ū dū=ma.<sup>l</sup>*  
sixty-and two=COP.1SG

I was born in 1962.

(2) *zanbîlfêrôš*<sup>1</sup> *du goř-ēt* *zanbîlfêroš* *yêṭ*  
 basket.seller two tomb-EZ.PL basket.seller EZ.PL  
*hay-n* *al* *davar-ā* *kurd-â* *dā*,<sup>1</sup>  
 EXIST-COP.3PL in region-EZ.F Kurd-PL.OBL POST

The basket seller—there are two tombs of [associated with] the basket seller in Kurdish regions:

*êk* *lə* *Kurdəstān-ā* *Bākòr*,<sup>1</sup>  
 one in PN-EZ.F north

one in northern Kurdistan,

*êk* *lə* *Kurdəstān-ā* *Bāšòr*.<sup>1</sup>  
 one in PN-EZ.F south

one in southern Kurdistan.

*yē* *Bākòr*,<sup>1</sup> *yē* *lə* *Vārqîn-ē* *lə* *qazā*  
 EZ.M north EZ.M in PN-OBL.F in county.EZ.F

*Səlīvā* *lə* *vīlāyat-ā* *Diyārbakər*.<sup>1</sup>  
 PN in province-EZ.F PN

The one in the northern Kurdistan is located in Farqin in the Siliva county, Diyarbakir province.

(3) *ʾamā* *yē* *av-ē* *haçko* *lə* *Kurdəstān-ā*  
 but EZ.M DEM.PROX-EZ.M that.is in PN-EZ.F

*Bāšòr*<sup>1</sup>  
 south

But, as for the one in southern Kurdistan,

*ava* *tə-kat* *sar* *ḵâdā* *nāvbayn-ā*  
 DEM.PROX.SG IND-fall.PRS.3SG on road.EZ.F in.between-EZ.F

*Bātîfē* *ū* *Zāxo* *dā*.<sup>1</sup>  
 PN.OBL.F and PN POST

the tomb is located on the road between Batifa and Zakho.

*əl-sàr*    *ja'dē=ya*<sup>l</sup>    *bə-řax*    *gund-ē*    *Sirkotkī-yē-da*  
 on-top    road.OBL.F=COP.3SG    to-side    village-EZ.M    PN-OBL.F- POST

It is on the road next to the Sirkotki village.

*taqriban*    *rošāwā-yē*    *nāhiyā*    *Bātifā*    *ṣēnĵ*  
 approximately    west-EZ.M    region.EZ.F    PN    five

*kīlomītr-ā*.<sup>l</sup>  
 kilometer-PL.OBL

It [is located] approximately less than five kilometres west of the Batifa region.

(4) *āv*    *zanbīlṣeroš-a*    *wak*    *hākāyat-ā*    *wī*  
 DEM.PROX    basket.seller-DEM.SG    as    story-EZ.F    3SG.OBL.M

*hāt-ī-∅*    *gotən-ē*<sup>l</sup>  
 come.PST-PTCP-3SG    say.INF-OBL.F

As for the basket seller—the way his adventure has been told

*yēṭ*    *xalk-ē*    *ma-ū*    *bāv-ū*    *bāṣir-ēt*  
 EZ.PL    people-EZ.M    1PL.OBL-and    father-and    grandfather-EZ.PL

*ma*    *ēḵ*    *bo*    *ēḵ*    *yē*    *gòt-ī*<sup>l</sup>  
 1PL.OBL    one    to    one    EZ.M    say.PST-PTCP

[and] from what our ancestors have passed on to each other:

*lə-sar*    *vē*    *kalhā*    *šābānī-yē*    *ṭ-īn-ən*,<sup>l</sup>  
 from-top    DEM.PROX.OBL.F    castle-EZ.F    PN-OBL.F    IND.bring.PRS-3PL

*av*    *kalh-ā*    *šābānī-yē*.<sup>l</sup>  
 DEM.PROX    castle-EZ.F    PN-OBL.F

his story comes from the citadel of Shabani, this citadel of Shabani.



(5) *ava* *yē* *ko* *lə-daf* *ma* *nāv-ē*  
 DEM.PROX.SG.DIR EZ.M REL at-side 1PL.OBL name- EZ.M  
*wī* *mīr* *Məhsən* *kuř-ē* *mīr* *Avdulaziz-ē*  
 3SG.OBL prince PN son-EZ.M prince PN-EZ.M  
*mīr-ē* *Mūsəl-a,* *yē* *vē* *kalh-ā* *Mūsəl.*<sup>1</sup>  
 prince-EZ.M PN=COP.3SG EZ.M DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F castle-EZ.F PN

He (the basket seller) was called Mir Muhsin in our region. [He is] the son of Mir Avdulaziz, the prince of Mosul, [at] this citadel of Mosul.

*mīr* *Məhsən* *kuř-ē* *mīr* *Avdulaziz-ē* *mīr-ē*  
 prince PN son-EZ.M prince PN-EZ.M prince-EZ.M  
*Mūsəl-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PN=COP.3SG

Mir Muhsin (the basket seller) was the son of Avdulaziz, the prince of Mosul.

*tab'an* *wak* *ava* *wak* *həkāyat-ā* *wī*  
 evidently as DEM.PROX.SG as story-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.M  
*ət-bēž-ən*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL

Evidently, his story was like this:

*zanbūlfəroš* *kuř-ē* *mīr-î* *bī-Ø.*<sup>1</sup>  
 basket.seller son-EZ.M prince-OBL.M be.PST-3SG

the basket seller was the prince's son.

(6) *ʔənsān-aḳ-ī* *lāw-aḳ-ī* *jaḥēl* *yē* *barkatî*  
 human-INDF-EZ.M boy-INDF-EZ.M young EZ.M handsome  
*bī-Ø.*<sup>1</sup>  
 be.PST-3SG

He was a handsome young man.

*gaṛhā-∅*      *nāv*      *jahēl-ā*      *dā=ū*  
wander.PST-3SG    among    youth-PL.OBL    POST-and

He would wander around with other youths.

*pāra*      *lā-bar*      *dast=i*      *zàḥəf*      *bī-n=ū*.<sup>|</sup>  
money    in-front    hand=3SG    a.lot    be.PST-3PL-and

He had a lot of money at his disposal.

*aṭ-bēž-ən*      *waxt-aḵ-i*      *kas-ak*      *šə*      *māl-ā*  
IND-say.PRS-3PL    time-INDF-OBL.M    person-INDF    from    house-EZ.F

*mīr-i*      *màr-∅*.<sup>|</sup>  
prince-OBL.M    die.PST-3SG

It is said that a member of the prince's family once passed away.

(7) *waxt-ē*      *mər-i-∅*      *tab'an*      *xalk-ē*  
when-OBL.F    die.PST-PTCP-3SG    evidently    people-EZ.M

*davar-ē*      *lē*      *kòm*      *bī-n=ū*.<sup>|</sup>  
region-OBL.F    at.3SG.OBL    group    be.PST-3PL-and

When he died, the people of the region obviously gathered around him,

*bəṛən-ā=(a)v*      *zīyārat-è=ū*.<sup>|</sup>  
take.INF-EZ.F=DRCT    tomb.visiting-OBL.F-and

took [him] to the cemetery,

*aw*      *goř*      *kolā=ū*.<sup>|</sup>  
DEM.DIST    tomb    dig.PST-and

dug a grave,

*kar*      *tè*      *da=ū*.<sup>|</sup>      *va-šārt=ū*.<sup>|</sup>  
do.PST    in.3SG.OBL    POST-and    TELIC-hide.PST-and

put [him] in it, and buried [him].

*awī*      *žī*      *got-ē,*  
3SG.OBL.M    ADD    say.PST=3SG.OBL

He (Muhsin) said,

*'mā*   *dē*   *ava*            *hamā*   *lə-vè-dē*                            *b-ē!?*<sup>1</sup>  
EXCM    FUT    DEM.PROX.SG    EMPH    in-DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F-POST    be.PRS-3SG

'Is he going to rest in this grave forever?

*got-ē,*                    *'ava*            *dē*    *lə-vē*  
say.PST=3SG.OBL    DEM.PROX.SG    FUT    in-DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F

*Ø-b-ē*                    *hatà*      *qīyāmat-ē.*<sup>1</sup>  
SBJV-be.PRS-3SG    until      resurrection-OBL.F

They (the people at the funeral) said, 'Yes, he will stay here until the resurrection.

(8) *'qīyāmat*   *ķangî-ya?*'      *gotî-û.*<sup>1</sup>  
resurrection    when=COP.3SG    say.PST.PTCP=and

When is the resurrection?', [he said].

*'čo*      *qīyāmat-ē-va*                    *řā*      *čo*      *šə*      *hē*  
no      resurrection-OBL.F-POST    POST    none    of    yet

*dīyānat-ē*      *nə-zān-a,*<sup>1</sup>                    *čo*      *dīyānat-ā.*<sup>1</sup>  
religion-OBL.F    NEG-know.PRS-3SG    no    religion-PL.OBL

[They said to him], 'No religion knows for sure about [when] the resurrection [happens], no religion!'

*řars-è*      *xwa*   *lə*   *dəl-ī*                    *dā.*<sup>1</sup>  
fear-EZ.M    REFL    at    heart-OBL.M    give.PST

Fear took hold of him (Muhsin).

gotī,            ‘ava            dē    t̄-nāv            vē  
 say.PST.PTCP    DEM.PROX.SG    FUT    in-middle    DEM.PROX.OBL.F  
 āx-ē            řā-b-ət̄?’<sup>1</sup>  
 soil-OBL.F    PRV-be.PRS-3SG

He said, ‘Is he going to get out from under the soil [at the resurrection]?’

got=ē            ‘ā. |    bə    šāv-ē-ū            bə    rož-ē  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL    yes    at    night-OBL.F=and    at    day-OBL.F

Yes, day and night,’ they said.

go            məstamər    lə-vē-dē            b-ē  
 say.PST.3SG    continually    in-DEM.PROX.OBL.F-POST    be.PRS-3SG

‘He will stay here day and night continually.

ava            xəlās.’<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.SG    over

It is finished [for the dead].’

(9) řā-bī            wak    awadī-aḵ-ē            bə    sār-ī  
 PVB-be.PST.3SG    like    thing-INDF-OBL.F    to    head-OBL.M

kat-Ø<sup>1</sup>  
 fall.PST-3SG

[Upon seeing this scene] something came to his mind

malā-yàḵ            hāt-Ø            bo    āxàft            řož-ak  
 mullah-INDF    come.PST-3SG    for    speak.PST    day-INDF

du    sē    čār.<sup>1</sup>  
 two    three    four

A mullah came to talk to him for one, two, three, four days.

*har řo dā bēž-ē,*  
each day AUX say.PRS-3SG

Every day, he would say,

*‘malē war-a bo mən bə-āxav-a.’<sup>1</sup>*  
mullah.OBL come.IMP-2SG for 1SG.OBL SBJV-speak.PRS-IMP.2SG

‘Mullah! Come [and] talk to me [about religion].’

*hatā bahs-ē dīyānat-ē bo ī kər.*<sup>1</sup>  
even talk-EZ.M religion-OBL.F for 3SG.OBL.M do.PST

Mullah talked to him about the religion.

(10) *‘dīyānat husā-na-ū<sup>1</sup>*  
religion such-COP.3PL=and

[The mullah said] ‘Religion is like this.

*dīyānat-ā masihî yā hay,*<sup>1</sup>  
religion-EZ.F Christian EZ.F EXIST.3SG

There is the Christian religion.

*dīyānat-ā əslāmatî yā hay.*<sup>1</sup>  
religion-EZ.F Islamic EZ.F EXIST.3SG

There is the Islamic religion.

*har dīyānat-ak-ā ha-b-ət’ tab’an ʕərf-ū*  
EMPH religion-INDF-EZ.F EXIST-SBJV.be.PRS-3SG naturally custom-and

*‘ādāt-ū ’awādî-yēt manhaj-ē dīyānat-ē.*<sup>1</sup>  
tradition.PL=and INTJ-EZ.PL way-EZ.M religion-OBL.F

Each religion has a set of liturgies and customs.’

*aw lə-sar əslāmatî-yê bî-Ø<sup>1</sup>*  
DEM.DIST on-top Islam-OBL.M be.PST-3SG

He (Muhsin) had Islamic faith.

*əslāmatī*    *nīšā*    *dā.*<sup>1</sup>  
Islam            showing    give.PST

[The Mullah] showed him the principles of Islam.’

(11) *mā-∅*<sup>1</sup>    *bə*    *čand*    *hayv-aḵ-ā*    *mā-∅*<sup>1</sup>  
rest.PST-3SG    by    some    month-INDF-EZ.F    rest.PST-3SG

Things remained [like this] for a couple of months.

*gotī*            *‘pā*    *az*            *ḵò*    *bə-ḵə-m.*<sup>1</sup>  
say.PST.PTCP    EXCM    1SG.DIR    what    SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

He (Muhsin) said, ‘What shall I do

*az-ē*            *žə*            *vē*                    *’awādī*    *xalās*<sup>1</sup>  
1SG.DIR-EZ.M    from    DEM.PROX.OBL.F    thing    relieved

to be relieved of this thing,

*žə*    *wī*                    *qabl-ī*<sup>1</sup>    *tang-ū*    *tāri-yā*  
from    DEM.DIST.OBL.M    grave-OBL.M    tight-and    darkness-EZ.F  
*vī*                    *qabl-ī*    *xalās*    *∅-b-əm.*<sup>1</sup>  
DEM.PROX.OBL.M    grave-OBL.M    relieved    SBJV-be.PRS-1SG

[to be relieved] of this dark narrow grave?’

(12) *got-ē,*            *‘tə-vē-t*            *tū*<sup>1</sup>            *ēh*    *tū*  
say.PST=3SG.OBL    IND-should.PRS-3SG    2SG.DIR    INTJ    2SG.DIR

*nəvèž-ēt*    *xwa*    *bə-ḵē!*<sup>1</sup>  
prayer-EZ.PL    REFL    SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

‘He (the Mullah) said, ‘You, eh, you should recite your prayers!

*tū*    *ta‘at-ū*            *’əbādāt-ēt*    *xwa*    *bə-ḵē!*<sup>1</sup>  
2SG.DIR    obedience-and    praying-EZ.PL    REFL    SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

You should perform your worship!

*t̤u* *hārikār* *Ø-bē* *lāgal* *xalk-aḵ-ē-ū*<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG.DIR helper SBJV-be.PRS.2SG with people-INDF-OBL.M=and

You should help people.

*t̤u* *yē* *bə-řàhm* *Ø-bē-ū*,<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG.DIR EZ.M with-mercy SBJV-be.PRS.2SG=and

You should be merciful.

*t̤u* *zolm-o* *zordārī* *lə* *xalk-aḵ-ē* *nà-kē*.<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG.DIR injustice=and tyranny to people-INDF-OBL.M PROH-do.PRS.2SG

and should not do any injustice nor cruelty to people.

*hagār* *t̤u* *zolm-ē* *bə-kē*<sup>1</sup>  
 if 2SG.DIR injustice-OBL.F SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

If you're unjust [to people],

*tā'at-ū* *'ibādat-ē* *t̤a* *qabūl* *nà-b-əṭ*.<sup>1</sup>  
 obedience=and praying-EZ.M 2SG.OBL acceptance NEG-be.PRS-3SG

your obedience and prayer will not be accepted [by God].'

(13) *'bāš-a* *ḫānē* *bāv-ē* *mən-ē* *t̤ə-kēt*<sup>1</sup>  
 well=COP.3SG EXCM father-EZ.M 1SG.OBL=EZ.M IND-do.PRS.3SG

[Muhsin said], 'Isn't it so that my father does [injustice]!

*az-ē* *wē* *xwārən-ē* *də-xo-m*.<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.DIR=EZ.M DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.F food-OBL.F IND-eat.PRS-1SG

I'm living off him.'

*got-ē*, *'wəla* *ā* *bāv-ē* *t̤a* *zolm-ē*  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL by.God INTJ father-EZ.M 2SG.OBL injustice-OBL.F

*bə-kə-t*<sup>1</sup>  
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

He (the Mullah) said, 'By God if your father does injustice [and you live off him],

*ta*<sup>ʿ</sup>*at=ū*      *ʾibādat-ē*      *ta*      *qabūl*      *nā-b-ət.*<sup>ʾ</sup>  
 obedience=and    praying-EZ.M    2SG.OBL    acceptance    NEG-be.PRS-3SG

your prayers will not be accepted.’

*ʾpā*      *az*      *kò*      *bə-kə-m*  
 EXCM    1SG.DIR    what    SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

[Muhsin said], ‘What shall I do

*az-ē*      *žə*      *vē*      *zolm=ū*      *zordāri-yē*  
 1SG.DIR=EZ.M    from    DEM.PROX.OBL.F    injustice=and    tyranny-EZ.M  
*bāv-ē*      *xwa?*<sup>ʾ</sup>  
 father-EZ.M    REFL

[to be relieved] of the injustice caused by my father?’

(14) *həndī*      *go*      *bāv-ē*      *xwā.*<sup>ʾ</sup>  
           so.much    say.PST    father-EZ.M    REFL

He talked so much to his father.

*bāv-ē*      *wī*      *řāzī*      *nā-bī-∅*      *vī*  
 father-EZ.M    3SG.OBL.M    content    NEG-be.PST-3SG    DEM.PROX.OBL.M  
*təšt-ī*      *bə-hēl-ēt.*<sup>ʾ</sup>  
 thing-OBL.M    SBJV-let.PRS-3SG

[But] his father did not agree to abandon this thing.

*got,*      *‘agar*      *tu*      *kad-aḵ-ē*      *bə*      *dast-ē*  
 say.PST    if      2SG.DIR    tailor-INDF-OBL.F    with    hand-EZ.M  
*xwa*      *bə-kē*<sup>ʾ</sup>  
 REFL    SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

The Mullah (lit. he) said, ‘If you do a job with your own hands,

*ū*      *tu*      *xwa*      *xwadān*      *bə-kē=ū*<sup>ʾ</sup>  
 and    2SG.DIR    REFL    owner    SBJV-do.PRS.2SG= and

take care of yourself



ʾayār-ā xwa xwadān Ø-kē<sup>1</sup>  
 standard-EZ.F REFL owner SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

and manage to live by your own means

dē hāngē taʿat-ū ʾibādat-ē ta qabûl  
 FUT then obedience-and praying-EZ.M 2SG.OBL acceptance

də-b-əṭ.<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-be.PRS-3SG

then your prayers will be accepted.'

(15) řā-bī-Ø dār-kat-Ø,<sup>1</sup> dar-kat-Ø žə māl  
 PVB-be.PST-3SG PVB-fall.PST-3SG PVB-fall.PST-3SG from home

dar-kat-Ø  
 PVB- fall.PST-3SG

He rose [and] left [the house].

bə-žə žənk-àḵ ha-bī-ū du bəčēk.<sup>1</sup>  
 in-of woman-INDF EXIST.be.PST-and two baby.DIM

He had a wife and two babies.

got žənk-ā xwà,<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST wife.DIM-EZ.F REFL

He said to his wife,

ʾaz-ē Ø-čə-m bo mà šûl Ø-kə-m.<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.DIR-FUT SBJV-go.PRS-1SG for 1PL.OBL work SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

'I will go and make a living (lit. work) for us.'

(16) *řā-bī-∅*      *hāt-∅<sup>l</sup>*      *daṣṭ*    *əp̄*    *zanbīl-ā-w*  
 PVB-be.PST-3SG    come.PST-3SG    hand    to    basket-PL.OBL-POST  
*čē-ḵarən-ē*      *ḵar.<sup>l</sup>*  
 good-do.INF-OBL.F    do.PST  
 He rose, came [and] started making baskets.

*zanbīl-ēt*    *kurdawāri-yē*      *bo*    *fēqī*    *bə*    *ḵār*  
 basket-EZ.PL    Kurdish.region-OBL.F    for    fruit    to    work  
*t-īn-a*      *xalk-ē*      *ma.<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG    people-EZ.M    1PL.OBL  
 Our people use the Kurdish baskets for fruit.

*əš*    *šəfḵāt*    *hāt-∅*      *čē-ḵarən-ē.<sup>l</sup>*  
 from    stick    come.PST-3SG    good-make.INF-OBL.F  
 They are made of sticks.

*lə*    *hāt-∅*      *ba*    *rībār-ā=ū*  
 in    come.PST-3SG    to    river-PL.OBL=and  
 He came to the river

*zanbīl*    *čē-ḵar-ən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 basket    well-do.PST-3PL  
 and made baskets.

*ma*    *gòt<sup>l</sup>*    *wī*      *sardam-ì*    *žiyān*    *əṭ*  
 1PL.OBL    say.PST    DEM.DIST.OBL.M    period-OBL.M    life    in  
*kalh-ā*      *dā*    *bī-∅<sup>l</sup>*  
 citadel-PL.OBL    POST    COP.PST-3SG  
 We said that back then people would live in citadels.

*û hāt-∅=û hāt-∅=û mantaqa hatā*  
 and come.PST-3SG=and come.PST-3SG=and region until  
*hātī-∅ kalh-ā šābānī-yē.<sup>1</sup>*  
 come.PST.PTCP-3SG citadel-EZ.F PN-OBL.F

He (i.e. Muhsin) kept coming until he arrived at the gate of the Shabani citadel.

(17) *hāt.<sup>1</sup> waxt-ē lə daroḵ-ē*  
 come.PST.3SG when-OBL.F at small.gate-EZ.M  
*dargah-ā hawà katī-∅=û<sup>1</sup>*  
 gate-PL.OBL air fall.PST.PTCP-3SG=and

He arrived. When the [lock of the] gate of the citadel flew open,

*zēřāvān-ā go, tē kò ∅-čē?<sup>1</sup>*  
 guard-PL.OBL say.PST 2SG.OBL.FUT where SBJV-go.PRS.2SG

the guards asked, ‘Where are you going?’

*got-ē tab<sup>c</sup>an zanbīlk-ē māl-ī-và*  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL naturally basket.DIM-OBL.F shoulder=3SG-POST  
*bī-∅<sup>1</sup>*  
 COP.PST-3SG

He (the basket seller) said—well he had baskets on his shoulders—,

*go, ‘az-ē ∅-čə-m zanbīl-ā*  
 say.PST(3SG) 1SG.DIR=FUT SBJV-go.PRS-1SG basket-PL.OBL  
*∅-fəroš-əm.<sup>1</sup>*  
 SBJV-sell.PRS-1SG

‘I’m going to sell baskets.’

*əl kolān-ēt bāžēr-ē hāt-∅=o čo-∅.<sup>1</sup>*  
 from alley-EZ.PL city.OBL-OBL.F come.PST-3SG=and go.PST-3SG

He strolled from street to street in the city.

- (18) *əṭ-bēž-ən*      *awādi*    *hačko*    *kač-ā*      *mīr-ī*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL    INTJ      as.for      daughter-EZ.F    prince-OBL.M

It is said that the prince's daughter\_

- əṭ*      *qasr-ē*      *əṭ*      *panjarē*      *dā*  
 from    palace-OBL.F    from    window.OBL.F    POST
- aw*      *kuř-à*      *lāw-ē*      *barkatī*      *dī-ū*  
 DEM.DIST.DIR    boy-DEM    youth-EZ.M    handsome    see.PST=and
- zanbīl-ā*      *∅-fəroš-ət.*<sup>1</sup>  
 basket-PL.OBL    IND-sell.PRS-3SG

saw the handsome man, that is the basket seller, who was selling baskets, through the windows of the palace.

- kuř-ē*      *mīr-ī-a=w*  
 son-EZ.M    prince-OBL.M=COP.3SG=and

He was the prince's son.

- lāw-aḳ-ī*      *barkatī=ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
 youth-INDF-EZ.M    handsome=COP.3SG

He was a handsome young man.

- (19) *ḡhēdā*      *vīyān-ā*      *kuřk-ī*      *kat-∅*  
 immediately    love-EZ.F    boy.DIM-OBL.M    fall.PST-3SG

- dāl-ē*      *kačk-ē.*<sup>1</sup>  
 heart-EZ.M    girl.DIM-OBL.F

Immediately, she (the prince's daughter) was filled with love for the boy.

- got*      *ḡārī-yā*      *xwà.*<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST    maid-EZ.F    REFL

She said to her maidservant,

*'hař-a*     $\emptyset$ -*bēž-a*            *wī*            *zanbīlfəroš-î*  
 go-IMP.2SG    SBJV-say.PRS-2SG    DEM.DIST.OBL    basket.seller-OBL.M  
*bəlā*    *b-ət*                            *vē-dē.*<sup>†</sup>  
 HOR    SBJV-come.PRS.3SG    DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F-POST

'Go and ask the basket seller to come here.'

*čū- $\emptyset$*             *got-ē,*  
 go.PST-3SG    say.PST=3SG.OBL

She (the maidservant) went and said to him (the basket seller),

*'war-a!*            *àm-ē*    *zanbīl-ā*    *žə*    *ta*  
 come.IMP-2SG    1PL-FUT    basket-PL.OBL    from    2SG.OBL  
 *$\emptyset$ -kař-în.*<sup>†</sup>  
 SBJV-buy.PRS-1PL

'Come here. We would like to buy baskets from you.'

# NORTHERN KURDISH OF ZAKHO

## Text 11: §1-24

*Masoud Mohammadirad*

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**Speaker: Saeid Rezvan**

Audio: <https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/245/>

(1) *az nāv-ē mən Sa'īd Hajī Sadīq<sup>1</sup> Zāxoyī*  
1SG.DIR name-EZ.M 1SG.OBL PN PN PN PN

I—my name [is] Sa'īd Hajī Sadiq Zakhoyi

*žə bənamāl-ak-ē Zāxo yā-t kavən<sup>1</sup> nāv-ē*  
from family-INDF-EZ.F PN EZ.F=EZ.PL old name-EZ.M

*bənamāl-ā Ĥazvān-ā<sup>1</sup>*  
family-EZ.F PN-PL.OBL

[I am from] an old family in Zakho, called the Razvans' family.

*t-ē-m bar-nīyāsīn Sa'īd Ĥazvānē<sup>1</sup>*  
IND-come.PRS-1SG front-know.PST.INF PN PN

I am known as Sa'īd Razvani.

(2) *az dē nūka sar afsānā pər-ā Dalāl<sup>1</sup>*  
1SG FUT now on tale.EZ.F bridge-EZ.F PN

*Ø-āxav-əm.<sup>1</sup>*  
SBJV-speak.PRS-1SG

Now, I will talk about the myth of 'the bridge of Dalal'

*mən pēnj šàš partūk sar Zāxo čē*  
 1SG.OBL five six book on PN good

*kər-ī-na*<sup>l</sup>

do.PST-PTCP=COP.3PL

I have written (lit. produced) five, six books on Zakho,

*žə kalapòr-o<sup>l</sup> afsānà=w<sup>l</sup> mažû=w<sup>l</sup> pēzānî-yē*  
 from heritage-and myth-and history-and knowing-EZ.M

*Zāxo<sup>l</sup> bə zəmān-ē Kurdî-o ʿArabî<sup>l</sup>*  
 PN in language-EZ.M Kurdish-and Arabic

in Kurdish and in Arabic, on its heritage, myths, history, and general information.

(3) *afsānā pər-ā Dalâl<sup>l</sup> bûčî nāv-ē wē*  
 tale.EZ.F bridge-EZ.F PN why name-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.M

*kər-ī-na pər-ā Dalâl<sup>l</sup>?*  
 do.PST-PTCP=COP.3PL bridge-EZ.F PN

The myth of the bridge of Dalal —why is it (i.e., the bridge) called the bridge of Dalal?

*ākənjî-yēt Zāxo yēt kavən<sup>l</sup> yēt Zāxo āvâ*  
 habitant-EZ.PL PN EZ.PL old EZ.PL PN prosperous

*kər-ī-n<sup>l</sup> Juhî bî-n.<sup>l</sup>*  
 do.PST-PTCP=COP.3PL Jew COP.PST-3PL

The old inhabitants of Zakho, the ones who built Zakho were Jewish.

*av afsānà<sup>l</sup> yā Jəhî-yàn-a.<sup>l</sup>*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR myth EZ.F Jew-PL.OBL=COP.3SG

This myth belongs to the Jews.

(4) *ū ma aš Jəhī-yā go lē*  
 and 1PL.OBL from Jew-PL.OBL ear at.it

*bī=ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
 be.PST.PTCP=PERF

We have heard it [the myth] from the Jews.

*ū ma aš day bāb-ēt xo<sup>1</sup> əb*  
 and 1PL from mother father-EZ.PL REFL in  
*vī šəkl-ī go lē bī=ya<sup>1</sup>*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.M manner-OBL.M ear at.it be.PST.PTCP=PERF

We have heard it from our parents

*awē əs bo wa t-bēž-əm.*<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG.OBL.F 1SG.DIR for 2PL.OBL IND-say.PRS-1SG

in the manner I am going to tell you about.

(5) *ət-bēž-ən pər-ək dī wusā əl Jəzīr-ā*  
 IND-say.PRS-3PL bridge-INDF other such in PN-EZ.F

*Botā hāt-bī-∅ āvākəran-ē<sup>1</sup>*  
 PN come.PST-COP.PST-3SG build.PST.INF-OBL.F

*nāv-ē wē pər-ā Bāfət.*<sup>1</sup>  
 name-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F bridge-EZ.F PN

It is said that another bridge like this (i.e. the bridge of Dalal) had been built in Cizre Bohtan, called the bridge of Bafit.

(6) *waxt-ē pər bə dumāhī inā-yī<sup>1</sup>*  
 when-EZ.M bridge to end bring-PST-PTCP

When the construction of the bridge was finished,

*mīr-ē yē Jəzīr-ā Botā<sup>1</sup> gāzī hostā-yī kər.*<sup>1</sup>  
 prince-EZ.M EZ.M PN-EZ.F PN calling master-OBL.M do.PST

the emir of Cizre Bohtan summoned the builder (the master)



got-ē, 'dē ta xalāt Ø-kə-m.<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST-3SG.OBL FUT 2SG.OBL gift SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

[and] said, 'I will give you a gift.' (lit. I will gift you)

(7) dast-ē wī yē řāst-ē žè va-kər<sup>1</sup>  
 hand-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.M EZ.M right-OBL.F from.it TELIC-do.PST

[The emir] cut off his right hand

got-ē, 'tā tu čə pər-ē dī<sup>1</sup> əl čə  
 say.PST-3SG.OBL so.that 2SG.DIR no bridge-EZ.M other in no

jəh-ē dī āvā nà-kī!<sup>1</sup>  
 place-EZ.M other prosperous NEG.SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

[and] said to him, 'Lest you make another bridge [like] this anywhere else!

az šānāzī-yè bə vē pər-ē ..<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.DIR pride-OBL.F to DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F bridge-OBL.F

I [take] pride in this bridge.'

(8) dam-à hāt-ī-Ø Zāxo<sup>1</sup> řavi-Ø  
 time-EZ.F come.PST-PTCP-3SG PN flee.PST-3SG

hāt-Ø Zāxò bə xo<sup>1</sup>  
 come.PST-3SG PN by REFL

When the builder (lit. he) came to Zakho—he fled and simply came to Zakho—

mīr-ē Zāxo dāxoz žē kər<sup>1</sup>  
 prince-EZ.M PN request from.3SG.OBL do.PST

the emir of Zakho demanded that

*pər-ak-ē*      *lə-sar*      *ġābīr-ī*      *čē*       $\emptyset$ -*kə-t*<sup>1</sup>  
 bridge-INDF-OBL.F    on-top    river-OBL.M    good    SBJV-do.PRS-3SG  
*əl*    *rožhalāt-ē*    *bāžēr-ī*.<sup>1</sup>  
 in    east-EZ.M    city-OBL.M

he build a bridge on the Khabur river in the east of the city.

(9) *aw*      *bə-<sup>c</sup>àks-ē-t*      *mīr-ē*      *Jəzīr-ē*<sup>1</sup>    *got*,  
 3SG.DIR    in-reverse-OBL.F=EZ.PL    prince-EZ.M    PN-OBL.F    say.PST  
*‘bālā*    *az*      *dē*    *āvā*       $\emptyset$ -*kə-m*.<sup>1</sup>  
 alright    1SG.DIR    FUT    prosperous    SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

Contrary to [what] the emir of Cizre [had told him], he (i.e., the builder) said, ‘Alright, I will build [one].’

*aw*      *čū- $\emptyset$*       *bə xo*    *hustā*    *lə xo*    *kòm*      *kər*.<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG.DIR    go.PST-3SG    by REFL    master    at REFL    collection    do.PST

He went and gathered some builders around him.

*aw*      *banā*    *bī- $\emptyset$* <sup>1</sup>  
 3SG.DIR    mason    COP.PST-3SG

He himself was a mason,

*ya‘nī*    [*əp*    *hang-ē*]    *andāzyār*    *nà-bī- $\emptyset$* <sup>1</sup>  
 that.is    as    much-EZ.M    architect    NEG-COP.PST-3SG

that is, he was not an architect.

*bas*    *àw*      *yē*      *āvā*      *kər-ī*.<sup>1</sup>  
 but    3SG.DIR    EZ.M    prosperous    do.PST-PTCP

However, he had built that the bridge.

(10) *lè*      *gařā- $\emptyset$* <sup>1</sup>  
 at.it    search.PST-3SG

He looked around.

*əl darkār-ē bākòr-ē Zāxū<sup>l</sup> bə taqriban*  
 in surrounding-EZ.M north-EZ.M PN by approximately

*pāzda bīst kilomatr-ā<sup>l</sup> bar*  
 fifteen twenty kilometers-PL.OBL rock

*žə wē-rē inā-n.<sup>l</sup>*  
 from DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.F-POST bring.PST-3PL

He brought the stones [necessary for the construction of the bridge] from [a distance of] around 15–20 kilometres north of Zakho.

*du bar ži bə řē-vē ət-katī-n<sup>l</sup>*  
 two stone add at road-POST TAM-fall.PST.PTCP-COP.3PL

Two of the stones were dropped on the road [to Zakho];

*hatā nūkà ži lə Dārozān-ē mawjud-ən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 until now ADD in PN-OBL.F existent=COP.3PL

they can still be seen (lit. are existent) in Darozan.

(11) *ū dās āvēt-a pər-ē<sup>l</sup> ā*  
 and hand throw.PST=DRCT bridge-OBL.F EZ.F

*čēkərən-ā pər-ē.<sup>l</sup>*  
 build.PST.INF-EZ.F bridge-OBL.F

He started building the bridge (lit. He threw hands at the bridge, at building the bridge)

*dam-ā t-gahašt-Ø=a kəvān-ā nīv-ē<sup>l</sup> dā*  
 time-EZ.F IPFV-arrive.PST-3SG=DRCT arch-EZ.F half-OBL.F AUX

*tamām Ø-kə-t.<sup>l</sup>*  
 finished SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

Whenever he completed constructing the arch in the middle of the bridge,

řož-ā dī dā Ø-ē-t<sup>l</sup>  
 day-EZ.F other AUX SBJV-come.PRS-3SG

aw kəvān<sup>l</sup> wē həl-wəšā-yī-Ø.<sup>l</sup>  
 DEM.DIST.3SG.DIR arch FUT PVB-pour.PST-PTCP-3SG

the next day, he would come to the bridge [and] the arch had collapsed.

(12) awī pərsyār-ā<sup>l</sup> əb ‘Arabī t-bēž-n-ē  
 3SG.OBL.M question-EZ.F in Arabic IND-say.PRS-3PL=3SG.OBL

‘arrāf<sup>l</sup>  
 fortune.teller

The builder (lit. he) asked [a fortune-teller, who is] called ‘arāf in Arabic.

bə kurdī am ət-bēž-n-ē ‘xēvzānk<sup>l</sup>  
 in Kurdish 1PL.DIR IND-say.PRS-1PL=3SG.OBL fortune.teller

In Kurdish, we call them *xēvzānk*,

yān aw-ē təšt-ī bə xo b-zān-ət<sup>l</sup>  
 or 3SG.DIR-EZ.M thing-OBL.M by REFL SBJV-know.PRS-3SG

meaning ‘someone who knows about things by themselves.’

got-ē, ‘az pər-ē husā āvā  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL 1SG.DIR bridge-OBL.F such prosperous

t-kə-m<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-1SG

He said, ‘I am building such a bridge,

ət-həl-wəš-ət!<sup>l</sup>  
 IND-PVB-pour.PRS-3SG

[but] it keeps collapsing.’

(13) *got-ē,*                    *‘şəbà<sup>l</sup>*                    *kī*    *xodān*    *gīyān<sup>l</sup>*  
 say.PST-3SG.OBL    tomorrow.morning    who    owner    soul  
*awəl*    *b-ē*                    *sar*    *pər-ē<sup>l</sup>*  
 first    SBJV-come.PRS.3SG    on    bridge-OBL.F

[The fortune-teller] said, ‘Tomorrow morning, any living soul (lit. the owner of soul) that comes onto the bridge—

*dù*    *got-got-ēt*    *hay=n<sup>l</sup>*  
 two    said-said=EZ.PL    EXIST=COP.3PL

there are two sayings [regarding the fortune-teller’s advice].

*èk*    *žə*    *wān*    *ət-bēž-ət,<sup>l</sup>*                    *‘sār*    *žē*    *ka=w<sup>l</sup>*  
 one    of    3PL.OBL    IND-say.PRS-3SG    head    from.it    do.IMP.2SG-and

the first is [the fortune-teller] said, ‘Bhead the living soul

*xwīn-ā*    *wī*    *pē*    *řā*    *dà.<sup>’l</sup>*  
 blood-EZ.F    3SG.OBL    to.it    POST    give.IMP.2SG

and rub its blood on the bridge.’

*yā*    *du-è*                    *pətər<sup>l</sup>*    *ya‘nī*    *ət-hāt-Ø-a*                    *gotən-è<sup>l</sup>*  
 EZ.F    two-OBL.F    more    that.is    IPFV-come.PST-3SG-DRCT    say.INF-OBL.F

The second saying is narrated more frequently.

*tə-bēž-ət*                    *sāxēnì*    *haykal-ē*    *pər-ē*                    *bə-ka-t<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG    alive    body-EZ.M    bridge-OBL.F    SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

[According to this the fortune-teller] said that he (i.e. the builder) should put [the living soul] alive into the bridge.

*‘haykal*    *dà<sup>l</sup>*                    *ū*    *farš-ā*                    *da-yn-a*  
 body    give.IMP.2SG    and    carpet-PL.OBL    PVB-put.PRS-IMP.2SG

*sar-ū<sup>l</sup>*    *ū*    *bə-gr-à!<sup>’l</sup>*  
 on-and    and    SBJV-seal.PRS-IMP.2SG

[The fortune-teller said,] ‘Cover it with a carpet, and seal it (i.e. the bridge).

(14) *řož-ā dī səpè dē<sup>l</sup> Dalāl-ē bo yē*  
 day-EZ.F other morning POST PN-OBL.F for EZ.M  
*xārən ināt.<sup>l</sup>*  
 food bring.PST

The next day, in the morning, Dalal brought him (the builder) food.

*Dalāl bīk-ā wī bī-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 PN daughter.in.law-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.M COP.PST-3SG

Dalal was his daughter-in-law.

*ša-ē Dalāl-ē əl pēšī-yè bī-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 dog-EZ.M PN-OBL.F in front-OBL.F COP.PST-3SG

Dalal's dog was in front of her.

(15) *kayf-ā hustā-yī galàk hāt-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 pleasure-EZ.F master-OBL.M very come.PST-3SG

The builder was very pleased.

*dam-ā gahašt-ī-Ø nēzik pər-ē<sup>l</sup>*  
 time-EZ.F arrive.PST-PTCP-3SG near bridge-OBL.F

When they came closer to the bridge,

*ša-yī məšk-àk dīt<sup>l</sup> bār dā=yē<sup>l</sup>*  
 dog-OBL.M mouse-INDF see.PST front give.PST-3SG.OBL

the dog saw a mouse [and] headed towards it.

*Dalāl ət-sar pər-ē kat-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 PN on-top bridge-OBL.F fall.PST-3SG

Dalal walked onto the bridge (lit. Dalal fell on the bridge).

*ava dē b-ət-a qurbānī.<sup>l</sup>*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR FUT be.PRS-3SG=DRCT sacrifice

[meaning that] she was going to be the sacrifice [for the bridge].

(16) *mām-ē wē got=ē<sup>l</sup>*  
 uncle-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F say.PST=3SG.OBL

Her uncle (i.e., her father's brother) said to her—

*waxt-ē čūyī-∅ mām-ē wē gārī-∅<sup>l</sup>*  
 time-EZ.M go.PST.PTCP-3SG uncle-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F cry.PST.3SG

when she came, her uncle cried,

*řāndāk əž čāv-ē wī hāt-n-a xār-ē.<sup>l</sup>*  
 teardrop from eye-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.M come.PST-3PL=DRCT down-OBL.F

tears streamed down his face (lit. teardrops came down from his eyes).

*got=a mām-ē xo,<sup>l</sup>*  
 say.PST=DRCT uncle-EZ.M REFL

She said to her uncle,

*'mām, tu bočī t-gārī?<sup>l</sup>*  
 uncle 2SG.DIR why IND-cry.PRS.2SG

'Uncle, why are you crying?'

(17) *got=ē, 'hāl-ū masal=ēt 'arrāf-ī*  
 say.PST=3SG.OBL state=and problem=EZ.PL fortune.teller-OBL.M

*yēt xēxzānk-ī avā=na<sup>l</sup>*  
 EZ.PL fortune.teller-OBL.M DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR=COP.3PL

He said, 'The fortune-teller's saying is like this (lit. the state and problem of the fortune-teller is such).

*ət-vē-t az tà bə-kə-m haykal-ē*  
 IND-be.necessary.PRS-3SG 1SG.DIR 2SG.OBL SBJV-do.PRS-1SG body-EZ.M

*pər-ē dā.<sup>†</sup>*  
 bridge-OBL.F POST

I must put you into the construction of the bridge.'

(18) *ē* *got=ē*, *ʿbəlā!*  
 INTJ say.PST=3SG.OBL alright

She said, 'Alright!

*akar av pər-a sar m̀ə čē*  
 if DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR bridge-DEM on 1SG.OBL good

*bə-b-ət!*  
 SBJV-be.PRS-3SG

If this bridge is going to be built on me,

*az=ē xo Ø-kə-m qurbānī-yā*  
 1SG.DIR=FUT REFL SBJV-do.PRS-1SG sacrifice-EZ.F

*vī bāžēr-ī!*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.M city-OBL.M

[then] I will make myself a sacrifice on behalf of the city.

*yaʿnī čūnko az žən-ək=əm!*  
 that.is because 1SG.DIR woman-DIM=COP.1SG

Just because I am a woman,

*hīn m̀ə bə čāv-ak-ī nērīnī əl*  
 2PL.DIR 1SG.OBL in eye-INDF-EZ.M negative at

*m̀ə ət-fəkər-ən?!*  
 1SG.OBL IND-think.PRS-2PL

do you have a false belief in me (lit. You think of me through a negative eye)?

(19) *řā-bī jəh-ē wē čē kər=ol*  
 PVB-COP.PST.3G place-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F good do.PST-and

[The builder] made her a place [in the bridge],



*dərēž* *kər=ol* *fārš* *da-ynā-n* *sar.*<sup>|</sup>  
 long do.PST=and carpet PVB-put.PST-3PL on

laid her down and put a carpet on her [and successfully built the bridge].

(20) *havžîn-ē* *wē*<sup>|</sup> *zaḷām-ē* *wē*<sup>|</sup> *nà* *l*  
 spouse-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F husband-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F NEG at

*māl* *bî-∅.*<sup>|</sup>  
 home COP.PST-3SG

Her (i.e., Dalal's) spouse, her husband, was not home.

*pəšt-ī* *řož-ak-ē* *zəvərî-∅-va*<sup>|</sup>  
 after-EZ day-INDF.OBL.F turn.PST-3SG-TELIC

He returned [home] a day later

*pərsyār* *kər,* *'kâ* *havžîn-ā* *mən?*<sup>|</sup>  
 question do.PST where.is spouse-EZ.F 1SG.OBL

[and] asked, 'Where is my spouse?'

(21) *bâb-ē* *wî* *got-ē,*<sup>|</sup> *hâl-û*  
 father-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.M say.PST=3SG.OBL state=and

*masala* *avà=ya*<sup>|</sup>  
 problem DEM.PROX.3SG=COP.3SG

His (Dalal's husband's) father (i.e., the builder) said, 'The story is as follows:

*ma* *yē* *kər-ī* *ət* *pər-ē* *dā.*<sup>|</sup>  
 1PL.OBL EZ.M do.PST-PTCP in bridge-OBL.F POST

we have put her into the bridge [for the bridge to hold together].'

(22) *'čāwâ* *wa* *wa* *kər?*<sup>|</sup> *čāwâ?*<sup>|</sup>  
 how 2PL.OBL such do.PST how

[Dalal's husband said] 'How could you do this? How?!'

*das hāvēt-a mähül-î*  
 hand throw.PST=DRCT stone.hammer-OBL.M

He grabbed the stone hammer.

*got, 'dē Ø-č-əm Ø-în-m-a dâr.ʔ*  
 say.PST FUT SBJV-go.PRS-1SG SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG=DRCT out

[and] said, 'I will go and take her out.'

(23) *çò-Ø<sup>l</sup> händi mähol-ā da-ynād=ē.<sup>l</sup>*  
 go.PST-3SG much stone.hammer-PL.OBL PVB-put.PST=3SG.OBL

[Dalal's husband] went and hammered the bridge so much.

*awē kər-a gāzî<sup>l</sup> got-ē, 'bàs-a!<sup>l</sup>*  
 3SG.OBL.F do.PST=DRCT call say.PST=3SG.OBL enough=COP.3SG

Dalal (lit. she) started to call him [and] said to him, 'That's enough!

*tu wusā mə pətâr də-ēšî-n-î!<sup>l</sup>*  
 2SG.DIR such 1SG.OBL more IND-hurt.PRS-CAUS-2SG

You are hurting me more by doing so!

*āv pər-a dē Ø-mîn-t-a sar*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR bridge-DEM FUT SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG=DRCT on

*məl-ēt mən<sup>l</sup>*  
 shoulder-EZ.PL 1SG.OBL

This bridge will stand on my shoulders

*händi mən šîyā-yî.<sup>ʔ</sup>*  
 much 1SG.OBL can.PST-PTCP

as long as I am able [to hold it].'

(24) *ya'ni* *ava* *kurtî-yā* *afsānā*  
 DISC DEM.PROX.3SG summary-EZ.F myth.EZ.F  
*pər-ā* *Dalāl.*<sup>1</sup>  
 bridge-EZ.F PN

This [was] a summary of the myth of the bridge of Dalal's myth.

*bas* *wak* *mə* *got-î* *ta*<sup>1</sup>  
 but as 1SG.OBL say.PST-PTCP 2SG.OBL

However, as I had told you,

*ava* *əž* *Jəhî-yā* *hāt-î-Ø=ya*  
 DEM.PROX.3SG from Jew-PL.OBL come.PST-PTCP-3SG=DRCT  
*sətāndən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 take.PST.INF

the myth has been transmitted (lit. taken) from the Jews.

# CENTRAL KURDISH OF SHAQLAWA

## TEXT 19: §9–22

*Masoud Mohammadirad*

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**Speaker: Hawsar Najat Bapir**

Audio: <https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/236/>

(9) *haqāyat-aka la nāw-ī mař-ū bəzən<sup>l</sup> yā xod*  
tale-DEF by name-EZ.M ewe-and goat or REFL  
*mař-ū dābəřān-ī mař-ak.<sup>l</sup>*  
ewe-and separation-EZ.M ewe-INDF

The tale is called ‘ewe and goat’, or ‘the separation of a ewe’.

*a-r-ē ha-bū-∅ na-bū-∅<sup>l</sup>*  
IND-say.PRS-3SG EXIST-be.PST-3SG NEG-be.PST-3SG

It is said that there was [and] there was not

*kas la xwā-y gawrā-tər na-bū-∅.<sup>l</sup>*  
person from god-OBL.M big-CMPR NEG-be.PST-3SG

[but] there was no one greater than God.

*l-aw dunyā-ya řān-ū barīn-a-y<sup>l</sup> řūwān-āk*  
in-DEM world-DEM vast-and vast-DEM-OBL.M shepherd-INDF

*ha-bū-∅.<sup>l</sup>*  
EXIST-be.PST-3SG

In this vast world, there was a shepherd.

*mēgalākʷ-ī galak la mař-ū bəzən-ī*  
 female.herd=3SG many of ewe-and goat=3SG

*tē-dā ha-bū-Ø.*<sup>1</sup>  
 in-POST EXIST-be.PST-3SG

He had a sheep flock which contained many ewes and goats.

*řož-ak la řož-ān la ēwārà-(a)kʷ-ī pāyīz-ān*<sup>1</sup>  
 day-INDF of day-PL in evening-INDF-EZ.M autumn-PL  
*dərang-ān-ākʷ-ī šaw-ē*<sup>1</sup> *mař lagar barx-ī xo*  
 late-PL-INDF-EZ.M night-OBL.F ewe with lamb-EZ.M REFL  
*dā-a-bəř-ēt.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PVB-IND-cut-3SG

Once, on a late autumn evening, a ewe and her lamb lost (lit. were separated from) the flock.

(10) *a-gā-t-a dzē-yakʷ-ī tařāš-ī*  
 IND-reach.PRS-3SG=DRCT place-INDF-OBL.M rock=3SG

*lē-ya=w mērg-a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 at=COP.3SG=and meadow=COP.3SG

She (the ewe) reached a place which was [full of] rocks and was a meadow.

*wāta mērg-ākʷ-ī dzīyā aw šət-ān-a-ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
 that.is meadow-INDF-EZ.M separate DEM thing-PL-DEM=COP.3SG

That is, it was a separate meadow and so forth.

*šaw-ē lo xo-y a-mēn-ēt-awà.*<sup>1</sup>  
 night-OBL.F for REFL=3SG IND-stay.PRS-3SG-TELIC

She stayed there for the night.

*a-kā-t-a*                      *dzē-y*                      *xo=y.*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT    place-EZ.M                      REFL=3SG

She made the place her habitat.

*hatā*    *zastān=ū*    *hāwîn=iš*                      *dē*<sup>|</sup>                      *aw*    *mař-a*  
 until    winter-and    summer=ADD    IND.come.PRS.3SG    DEM    ewe-DEM

*har*    *l-aw*    *dzē-y*                      *a-mîn-ēt-ò.*<sup>|</sup>  
 EMPH    in-DEM    place-OBL.M    IND-remain.PRS-3SG-TELIC

She stayed there the [coming] winter until the [next] summer.

(11) *ya'nī*    *kurīt-àk<sup>y</sup>-ī*                      *lo*    *xo*    *durust*    *a-kā=w*  
           that.is    shed-INDF-OBL.M    for    REFL    right                      IND-do.PRS.3SG=and

That is, she made a shed in it for herself

*lē=y*    *a-žē.*<sup>|</sup>  
 in=3SG    IND-live.PRS.3SG

and lived there.

*řož-ak*    *la*    *řož-ān*<sup>|</sup>                      *la-nāw*    *sarmā=w*    *sora=w*  
 day-INDF    from    day-PL                      in-middle    cold=and                      RDP=and

*bastalak<sup>y</sup>-ī*<sup>|</sup>    *gurg-ak<sup>y</sup>-ī*                      *bārsī*    *fērbāz*    *lo=y*  
 frost-OBL.M                      wolf-INDF-EZ.M    hungry    cunning    at=3SG

*d-ēt-a*                                      *pēš.*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT    front

Once, in the middle of cold weather and frost, a cunning hungry wolf came to her.

*a-r-ē,*                      *k<sup>y</sup>ē*    *řē=y*                      *ba*    *to*    *dāy=a*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG    who    road=3SG    to    2SG    give.PST.PTCP=PERF

*la-nāw*    *murk<sup>y</sup>-ī*                      *mān*    *dā-nāš-ī?*<sup>|</sup>  
 in-middle    property-EZ.M    1SG    PVB-sit.PRS-2SG

He said, 'Who has let you live on my property!?'

*mař=iř wâq=i wəř a-mîn-ē.*<sup>|</sup>  
ewe=ADD mood=3SG perplexed IND-remain.PRS-3SG

The ewe was astonished (lit. her mind remained dazed) [and said],

*‘ē bāš=a gurg-ò! ba-xo gurg har*  
INTJ nice=COP.3SG wolf-VOC in-REFL wolf each

*řož-a=w la dzēy-ak<sup>y</sup>-î=ya.*<sup>|</sup>  
day-DEM=and in place-INDF-OBL.M=COP.3SG

‘Well, wolf! A wolf is normally in a different place each day.

*bařawâ=ya=w harčē řož-a=w la*  
wanderer=COP.3SG=and every day-DEM=and in

*mantəq(a)-ak<sup>y</sup>-î=ya.*<sup>|</sup>  
region-INDF-OBL.M=COP.3SG

It is a wanderer and is in a different region each day.

*ma‘qûl=a?<sup>!</sup> ‘ārd-î ha-bî amən*  
logical=COP.3SG earth=3SG EXIST-be.PRS.SBJV.3SG 1SG

*nà-zānî-bî=m!<sup>!</sup>*  
NEG-know.PTCP-be.SBJV=1SG

Is it conceivable that a wolf had land and that I had not known about?’

(12) *aw=iř a-r-ē ‘pēš-tər*  
3SG.DIST=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG before-CMPR

*nà-hāti=ya.*<sup>|</sup>  
NEG-come.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

She said [to herself], ‘He had not come earlier [to this place].

*bas ka mən l-ērâ=ma<sup>|</sup>*  
but since 1SG in-here=COP.1SG

However, now that I am here,

*da-y-hawē*      *bə-m-xwā*      *tab'an.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND=3SG-want.PRS    SBJV=1SG-eat.PRS.3SG    naturally

he wants to eat us.

*handza*    [*dān=yān pē xwāz-īn.*]<sup>1</sup>  
 then      seed=3PL    to    want.PST?-1PL

That's why he is creating a trap for us. '

*a-r-ē,*      *šət-ī*      *wā*    *nī=ya!*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS.3SG    thing-EZ.M    DEIC    NEG=COP.3SG

She said [to the wolf], 'It is not so!

*aw*    *murk-à*      *murk<sup>y</sup>-ē*      *xwā=ya.*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM    property-DEM    property-EZ.F    god=3SG

This property belongs to God.

*nà*      *murk<sup>y</sup>-ē*      *tu-w=a-w*      *nà*    *murk<sup>y</sup>-ē*  
 neither    property-EZ.F    2SG-EP=COP.3SG=and    nor    property-EZ.F  
*mən-iš=a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG=ADD=COP.3SG

This is neither your property nor my property!'

(13) *'kū*    *ato*    *a-kē-y*      *ē*      *xo?*  
       how    2SG    IND-do.PRS-2SG    PRON.EZ    REFL

[The wolf said], 'How is it that you claim it is yours?'

*a-r-ē,*      *'mən*    *šāhēd-ū*      *'əsbāt-əm*    *ha-na,*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS.3SG    1SG    witness=and    proof=1SG    EXIST=COP.3PL

He said, 'I have a witness

*ka*      *àw*    *murk-a*<sup>1</sup>      *murk<sup>y</sup>-ē*      *mən=a-w*<sup>1</sup>  
 COMPL    DEM    property-DEM    property-EZ.F    1SG=COP.3SG=and

[who can prove that] this property is mine



*la bāb-ū bāpīr-ān lo=m māwīy-t-oawa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 from father-and grandfather-PL to=1SG remain.PST.PTCP-3SG-TELIC

and has been passed on to me from my elders (lit. fathers and grandfathers).’

*mař-iš a-r-ē, ‘bə-řo b-īn-à!*<sup>1</sup>  
 ewe=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.2SG.IMP SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG.IMP

The ewe said, ‘Go and bring him!’

*a-r-ēt řāz Ø-bē-ū la řēga-y*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG correct SBJV-be.PRS.2SG-and in road-EZ.M  
*šēr-ī ba!*<sup>1</sup>  
 lion-OBL.M be.PRS.IMP.2SG

[As] the saying goes (lit. it says), ‘Say the truth and be courageous! (lit. be in the path of the lion).’

(14) *mař-aka-š rāst=a.*<sup>1</sup> *gürğ fērbāz=a.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ewe-DEF=3SG right=COP.3SG wolf cunning=COP.3SG

[Now] the ewe is right [but] the wolf is being cunning.

*da=y-hawē mändār-akà=y lē bə-xwā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND=3SG-want.PRS child-DEF=3SG from SBJV-eat.PRS.3SG

He wants to eat her (the ewe’s) lamb.

*a-r-ē, ‘səbaynē-kā*<sup>1</sup> *sa‘āt dwāzdà-y*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG tomorrow.OBL.F-DEF hour twelve-EZ.M  
*nīwařwān-ē*<sup>1</sup> *yā xod wàxt-ī ēwāre*<sup>1</sup> *amàn*  
 noon-PL-OBL.F or else time-EZ.M evening.OBL.F 1SG  
*šāhēd-ū* *‘əsbāt-ī xo=m da-yn-əm.*<sup>1</sup>  
 witness-and proof-EZ.M REFL=1SG IND-bring.PRS-1SG

He (the wolf) said, ‘Tomorrow at noon or in the evening I will bring my witness [here].’

*d-ē-m*                      *a-salmīn-əm*                      *ka*                      *awa*                      *mùrk<sup>y</sup>-ē*  
 IND-come.PRS-1SG    IND-prove.PRS-1SG    COMPL    DEM    property-EZ.F  
*mən-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG=COP.3SG

I will come and prove that this is my property!'

(15) *a-r-ē*                      *řož*                      *hāt-∅=ū*                      *řož*                      *řòy-∅.*<sup>†</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG    sun    come.PST-3SG=and    sun    go.PST-3SG

It is said [that] the dawn broke (lit. the sun came and the sun went).

*mař*                      *hār*                      *pərsyār=i*                      *a-kərd*                      *'da-bī*<sup>†</sup>                      *šāhēd-i*  
 ewe    EMPH    question-3SG    IND-do.PST    IND-AUX    witness-EZ  
*gurg<sup>y</sup>-i*                      *k<sup>y</sup>ē*                      *bī?*<sup>†</sup>  
 wolf-OBL.M    who    COP.PRS.3SG

The ewe kept asking [herself], 'Who is going to be the wolf's witness?'

*səba'ynē*                      *lo=y*                      *wa*                      *dīyār*                      *kat-∅*<sup>†</sup>                      *gùrg=ū*  
 tomorrow.OBL.F    for-3SG    to    visibility    fall.PST.3SG    wolf-and  
*řēwī*                      *pēkawa*                      *bū-n.*<sup>†</sup>  
 fox    together    be.PST-3PL

One morning the wolf and fox became visible to her [from afar].

*wət=i,*                      *'ba*                      *xwā-y*                      *hār=əm*                      *šāř=a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG    by    god-OBL.M    situation=1SG    bad=COP.3SG

She (the ewe) said, 'By God, I'm in a bad situation!'

*amən*                      *kù*                      *bār=yān*                      *bə-ba-m?*<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG    how    load=3PL    SBJV-take.PRS-1SG

How am I supposed to get rid of them? (lit. how can I load them?)'

čũ-Ø hānā=y bərd=a bar sag<sup>y</sup>-î.<sup>1</sup>  
 go.PST-3SG refuge=3SG take.PST=DRCT front dog-OBL.M

She went to ask the dog for help.

(16) kəsok-ək<sup>y</sup>=î lē bû-Ø,<sup>1</sup> kəsok-ək<sup>y</sup>-î zor zor  
 dog-INDF=3SG at COP.PST-3SG dog-INDF-EZ.M very very

ba-wàj=û<sup>1</sup> ba-wafâ.<sup>1</sup>  
 with-face=and with-loyalty

There was a dog in it [in the meadow], a respectful, faithful dog.

difâ<sup>r</sup>=îš=î la mař-aka-y a-kərd.<sup>1</sup>  
 defence=ADD=3SG at ewe-DEF-OBL.M IPFV-do.PST

He would defend the ewe.

got=î, ‘hār=û masla=m awà=ya=w ba  
 say.PST=3SG situation=and problem=1SG DEM=COP.3SG=and to

hānā=m ga!<sup>1</sup>  
 aid=1SG arrive.PRS.2SG.IMP

She said [to the dog], ‘The situation is like this, [please] come to my aid.’

got=î ‘xam=ət nà-bî!<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG sorrow=2SG NEG-be.PRS.SBJV.2SG

He (the dog) said, ‘No worries!’

la-nāw ama yak šət zor bāw=a.<sup>1</sup>  
 in-middle 1PL one thing very common=COP.3SG

Something in customary among us [the members of the dog family],

aw=îš wədzâg=a,<sup>1</sup> wədzâg-î bāb=û bāpîr-ân,<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG=ADD clan=COP.3SG clan-EZ.M father=and grandfather-PL

[and] that is the clan, that is, the clan passed from elders.

*bāš-a?*<sup>1</sup>

nice=COP.3SG

All right?

(17) *pē-yī bə-rè!*<sup>1</sup>

to=3SG SBJV-tell.PRS.2SG

[The dog continued] ‘Tell him [the wolf to come]!’

*amən a-č-am la-pəšt aw dār-à-y<sup>1</sup> xò*  
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG in-back DEM tree-DEM-OBL.M REFL

*a-šār-m-awa.*<sup>1</sup>

IND-hide.PRS-1SG-TELIC

I will go and hide behind that tree.

*har kāt-ak řewī hāt-Ø<sup>1</sup> sünd-ī xwārd ba*  
 each time-INDF fox come.PST-3SG swear=3SG eat.PST to

*wədzāg-ī<sup>1</sup> yān ba har šət-āk<sup>y</sup>-ī<sup>1</sup>*  
 clan=3SG or to EMPH thing-INDF-3SG

Whenever he [the fox] comes over and takes an oath on his clan or on anything else,

*awā mən řək lat-ū pāt-ī a-ka-m.*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEIC 1SG directly piece-and RDP=3SG IND-do.PRS-1SG

I will tear him to pieces right away.

*nè-wēr-ən sond-ī ba-dro bə-xo-n.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-dare.PRS-3PL swear-OBL.M with-lie SBJV-eat.PRS-3PL

They will not dare to make a fake oath.’

*a-r-ē hamān xuta=yān dzē-ba-dzē<sup>è</sup> kərd.*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG same saying=3PL place-by-place do.PST

It is said that they (i.e. the ewe and the dog) made the same plan.

şa-y      xo      šārd-awa      la-pəž      dār-î.<sup>1</sup>  
 dig-OBL.M    REFL    hide.PST-TELC    in-back    tree-OBL.M

The dog hid behind the tree.

û      gurg-û      řewî=š      hāt-ən      lo      šahādadān-ê.<sup>1</sup>  
 and    wolf-and    fox=ADD    come.PST-3PL    to    witness.INF-OBL.F

And the wolf and fox came to bear witness.

(18) got-î      got-î,      ‘awà=š      šāhēd-î      mən.<sup>1</sup>  
          say.PST-3SG    say.PST-3SG    DEM=ADD    witness-EZ.M    1SG

[The wolf] said, ‘Here is my witness!’

řewî    ba    jəwāb    hāt-∅      zor    ba    murtaḥî.<sup>1</sup>  
 fox    to    response    come.PST-3SG    much    with    comfort

The fox started to speak (lit. came to answer) comfortably.

got-î,      ‘amən    šāhēdî      a-da-m      ka      aw  
 say.PST-3SG    1SG      witnessing    IND-give.PRS-1SG    COMPL    DEM  
 murk-à<sup>1</sup>      mùrk<sup>y</sup>-ē      gurg-î-a.<sup>1</sup>  
 property-DEM    property-EZ.M    wolf-OBL.M=COP.3SG

[and] said, ‘I testify that this land is the wolf’s

atò    hāt-î<sup>1</sup>      la-sar-ət      dā-kotà=ya,<sup>1</sup>      ba-bē  
 2SG    come.PST-2SG    on-top=2SG    PVB-hit.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG    with-no  
 hàq-û<sup>1</sup>      ba-bē      māj.<sup>1</sup>  
 right-and    with-no    right

and that you have come [into this land and] taken it over without any [legitimate] rights.’

(19) mař-aka=š      got-î      ‘āxər      nā-bî!<sup>1</sup>  
          ewe-DEF=ADD    say.PST-3SG    well    NEG-be.PRS.3SG

The ewe said, ‘It does not work like this!’

*la* ʿādāt=ū ʿurf-ē *ma*<sup>|</sup> *sūnd* *xwārdən*<sup>|</sup>  
 in habit-and custom-EZ 1PL swear eat.INF  
*aw-ja* *salmāndən*.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 DEM-time prove.INF

In our customs, one first takes an oath, then one proceeds to presenting proof.’

*got=ī* ʿbāš *ama* *sūnd* *ba* čə *bə-xo-yn?*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG all.right 1PL swear to what SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL

He (the fox) said, ‘All right! What should we take an oath on?’

*got=ī* ʿa-bī *sūnd* *ba* *wədzāg-ī* *bāb=ū*  
 say.PST=3SG IND-be.PRS.3SG swear to clan-EZ.M father-and  
*bāpīr-ān-əm* *bə-xo-y!*<sup>ʔ</sup>,<sup>|</sup> *mař-akà* *got=ī*.<sup>|</sup>  
 grandfather-PL.OBL=1SG SBJV-eat.PRS=2SG ewe-DEF say.PST=3SG

‘You should take an oath on the clan of my ancestors!’, the ewe said.

(20) *řewī=š* *got=ī*, ʿzor ʾaʿtīyādī=ya.<sup>|</sup>  
 fox=ADD say.PST=3SG very normal=COP.3SG

The fox said, ‘It is totally fine.

*wədzāg=ət* *la* *kēndarē=ya* *tā* *sūnd=ī* *pē*  
 clan=2SG in where.OBL.F=COP.3SG so.that swear=3SG to  
*bə-xo-yn?*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL

Where is your clan for us to take an oath on?’

*got=ī*, ʿwədzāg-ē *mən* *la-pəšt* *àw* *dār-a=ya*.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG clan-EZ.M 1SG in-back DEM tree-DEM=COP.3SG

She said, ‘My clan is behind that tree!’

ka řewî dît=î<sup>1</sup> sag-àk'-î gawra<sup>1</sup> la-pəž  
 when fox saw.PST=3SG dog-INDF-EZ.M big in-back  
 dār-akà=ya.<sup>1</sup> har zərāw=î çû-Ø<sup>1</sup>  
 tree-DEF=COP.3SG EMPH gall.bladder=3SG go.PST=3SG

On seeing a big dog behind the tree, the fox was frightened (lit. his gallbladder went).

got=î 'na ba xwā-y<sup>1</sup> bak pīrozî wədzāg=ət<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG no by God-OBL.M by greatness.EZ.M clan=2SG  
 ato wədzāg=ət gala galak mubārək=a.<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG clan=2SG very very sacred=COP.3SG

He said, 'By God, [and] by your clan's sanctity, your clan is very holy.

nə-tān-əm sūnd=î pē bə-xo-m.<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG-can.PRS-1SG swear=3SG to SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG

I cannot take an oath on it.'

řiwî řoy-Ø.<sup>1</sup>  
 fox go.PST=3SG

The fox went away.

(21) got=î gurg got=î 'nà-bît!<sup>1</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG wolf say.PST=3SG NEG-be.PRS.3SG

The wolf said, 'It does not count!

řiwî tərşā=ya.<sup>1</sup>  
 fox scared=COP.3SG

The fox became scared.

aga-nā qat qāt pəšt la mən nā-kā=w<sup>1</sup>  
 if-not never never back at 1SG NEG-do.PRS.3SG=and

Otherwise, he would never turn his back on me.

šāhēd āw=a<sup>l</sup> ka awa murk<sup>y</sup>-ī mən=a.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 witness 3SG=COP.3SG COMPL DEM property-EZ.M 1SG=COP.3SG

He is the witness that this property is mine.'

got-ī ka gurg lē=y nāzik bū-Ø-w-awa  
 say.PST=3SG when wolf to=3SG near become.PST=3SG-EP-TELIC

sūnd bə-xwā!<sup>l</sup>  
 swear SBJV-eat.PRS.3SG

When it was the time for the wolf to take the oath,

got-ī 'mən sūnd nak ba wədzāg-ē tō<sup>l</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG 1SG swear no.only to clan-EZ.F 2SG

ba hamū šət-ēk<sup>y</sup>-ī a-xo-m.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 to all thing-INDF-OBL.M IND-eat.PRS-1SG

he said, 'I will take an oath not only on your clan but also on anything else!'

(22) ka dīt-ī šāg<sup>y</sup>-ī lē=ya<sup>l</sup>  
 when see.PST=3SG dog=3SG in=COP.3SG

When he (the wolf) saw that a dog was there [behind the tree],

ša pəř-ī dā=ya=w quřk-ī gərt.<sup>l</sup>  
 dog movement=3SG give.PST=COP.3SG=and throat=3SG grab.PST

the dog jumped on the wolf and seized [him by] his neck.

got-ī, 'āmān,<sup>l</sup> amən hič nī=ma.<sup>l</sup>  
 say.PST=3SG EXCL EXCL nothing NEG=COP.1SG

He (the wolf) said, 'Please, please! I'm nothing!'

aw murk-a murk<sup>y</sup>-ī tō=a.<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 DEM property-DEM property-EZ.M 2SG=COP.3SG

This property is yours!'



*jā a-r-ê<sup>l</sup> l-aw hālat-a-y dā ūdzāg*  
 then IND-say.PRS-3SG in-DEM tale-DEM-OBL.M POST clan  
*awanda pîròz bû-a<sup>l</sup> la-nāw komalgā-y kurdî<sup>l</sup>*  
 that.much sacred be.PST=PERF in-middle society-EZ.M Kurdish

It is said that the clan was so holy in the Kurdish society

*ya'ni sûnd-î pē xor-ā=ya.<sup>l</sup>*  
 that.is swear-3SG to eat.PRS-PASS.PST=COP.3SG

that one would take an oath on it.

*har lō=yaš a-bîn-în<sup>l</sup> haqāyat kurdî-yakān<sup>l</sup>*  
 EMPH why=COP.3SG=ADD IND-see.PRS-1PL tale kurdish-DEF.PL  
*b-aw amānj-a-y a-bâ-n.<sup>l</sup>*  
 to-DEM purpose-DEM-OBL.M IND-take.PRS-3PL

That is why we see that it's referred to in Kurdish tales.

*amn-iš hāt-m-aw<sup>l</sup>*  
 1SG=ADD come.PST-1SG-TELIC

I came back [from the events of the story]

*hič=əm pē na-bəř-ā-Ø<sup>l</sup>*  
 nothing=1SG to NEG-CUT.PRS-PASS.PST-3SG

and nothing was given to me [by the characters in the story].

*xalās=ū řòy-Ø.<sup>l</sup>*  
 over-and go.PST-3SG

It is finished (lit. it is finished and gone).



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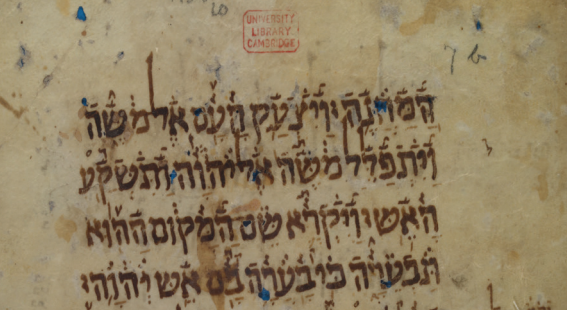
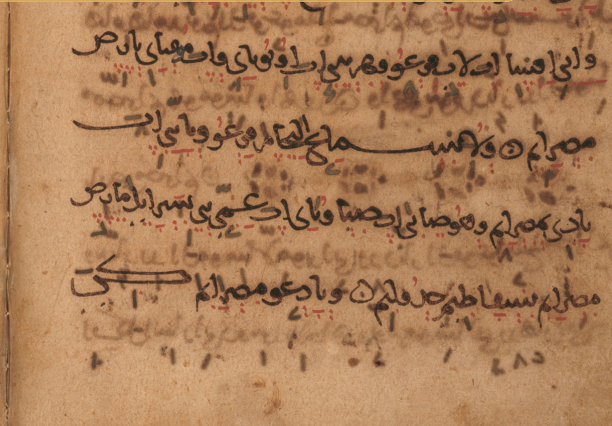
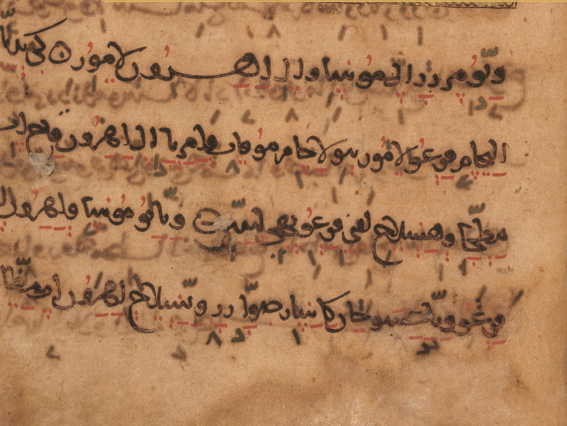
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# Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts  
VOLUME 1

**Geoffrey Khan, Masoud Mohammadirad,**

**Dorota Molin and Paul M. Noorlander**

In collaboration with Lourd Habeeb Hanna,

Aziz Emmanuel Eliya Al-Zebari and Salim Abraham

This comparative anthology showcases the rich and mutually intertwined folklore of three ethno-religious communities from northern Iraq: Aramaic-speaking ('Syriac') Christians, Kurdish Muslims and—to a lesser extent—Aramaic-speaking Jews. The first volume contains several introductory chapters on language, folklore motifs and narrative style, followed by samples of glossed texts in each language variety. The second volume is the anthology proper, presenting folklore narratives in several distinct varieties of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic and Northern and Central Kurdish. The stories are accompanied by English translations. The material includes different genres such as folktales, legends, fables and anecdotes, and is organised into seven thematic units. The folkloristic material of these three communities is shared to a large extent. The anthology is, therefore, a testament to the intimate and long-standing relations between these three ethno-religious communities—relations that existed in a multilingual environment centuries before the modern era of nationalism.

As with all Open Book publications, this entire book is available to read for free on the publisher's website. Printed and digital editions, together with supplementary digital material, can also be found here: [www.openbookpublishers.com](http://www.openbookpublishers.com)

Cover image: Woman from Ishshi, south-eastern Turkey (photograph taken by Bruno Poizat in 1978 before the village's destruction).

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