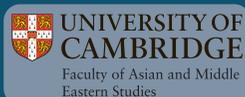# Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

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

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

NEO-ARAMAIC AND KURDISH FOLKLORE FROM NORTHERN IRAQ
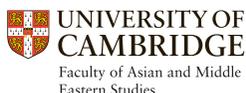
VOLUME I

Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts

Volume I

Geoffrey Khan, Masoud Mohammadirad,
Dorota Molin and Paul M. Noorlander

in collaboration with
Lourd Habeeb Hanna, Aziz Emmanuel Eliya Al-Zebari
and Salim Abraham

Cover images:

Cover design: Anna Gatti

Volume I

Prolegomena and Glossed Texts

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

PROLEGOMENA

Paul M. Noorlander and Dorota Molin

Dorota Molin

Paul M. Noorlander and Masoud Mohammadirad

SAMPLE OF GLOSSED TEXTS

NEO-ARAMAIC

Geoffrey Khan

Dorota Molin

Paul M. Noorlander

KURDISH

Masoud Mohammadirad

VOLUME II

LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS

Tables

Maps

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		
FUT	future	REFL	reflexive
HORT	hortative	REL	relativiser
IMP	imperative	RDP	reduplicant
IND	indicative (realis)	SG	singular
INDF	indefinite	SBJV	subjunctive
IPFV	imperfective	SBR	subordinator
INF	infinitive	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
INTJ	interjection		
LVC	light verb complement	TELIC	telicity

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

Ø   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,[1] and for sharing his own transcription, which served as the basis for the text of the tale in the present volume.

---

[1] 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, and kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk, which are databases maintained by the University of Cambridge.

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

REFERENCES

Abeghyan, Manuk. 1899. 'Armenian Folk Beliefs'. PhD Dissertation, Leipzig University. Translated from Armenian by Robert Bedrosian (New Jersey, 2012), < https://archive.org/stream/ArmenianFolkBeliefs/Abeghyan_Armenian_Folk_Beliefs_djvu.txt. > last accessed June 2021

Akin, Cahit, Jastrow, Otto, and Shabo Talay. 2020. 'Zwei Texte im anatolisch-arabischen Dialekt von Nōršēn (Sason-Muş-Gruppe)'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 17: 84–102.

Allison, Christine. 2001. 'Folklore and Fantasy; the Presentation of Women in Kurdish Oral Tradition'. In *Women of a non-state nation : the Kurds,* edited by Shahrzad Mojab, 181–194. Costa Mesa: Mazda Press.

———. 2010. 'Kurdish Oral Literature'. In *Oral Literature of Iranian Languages: Kurdish, Pashto, Balochi, Ossetic, Persian and Tajik: Companion Volume II,* edited by Ulrich Marzolph and Philip Kreyenbroek, 129-168. London: Bloomsbury.

———. 2016. 'The Shifting Borders of Conflict, Difference, and Oppression: Kurdish Folklore Revisited'. In *The Kurdish Question Revisited,* edited by Gareth R. Stansfield and Shareef Mohammad. London: Hurst.

Aloni, Oz. 2022. *The Neo-Aramaic Oral Heritage of the Jews of Zakho.* Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 11. Cambridge: University of Cambridge and Open Book Publishers.

Amani, Mohammad S. 2021. 'Sammeln und Klassifikation der kurdischen Volksmärchen'. PhD dissertation, University of Göttingen.

Arekalova, Victoria. 2021. 'Yezidism'. In *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements,* edited by Muhammad A. Upal and Carole M. Cusack, 743-760. Boston/Leiden: Brill.

Ashliman, Dee L. 2004. *Folk and Fairy Tales: A Handbook*. Westport/London: Greenwood.

Asmussen, Jes Peter. 1968. 'Ein iranisches Wort, ein iranischer Spruch und eine iranische Märchenformel als Grundlage historischer Forschungen'. *Temenos* 3: 7–18.

Bayley, Denise. 2018. 'A Grammar of Gawraǰū Gūrānī'. PhD. Dissertation, University of Göttingen.

Beckwith, Marc. 1987. 'Italo Calvino and the Nature of Italian Folktales'. *Italics* 64(2): 244–262.

Bickel, Balthasar. 2003. 'Referential Density in Discourse and Syntactic Typology'. *Language* 79 (4): 708–736.

Borysov, Eduard. 2020. 'The Pattern of Primogeniture Reversal as an Evidence for the Unified Nature of Genesis'. *Theological Reflections: Euro-Asian Journal of Theology* 24: 13-28.

Bošković-Stulli, Maja. 1966. 'Regional Variations in Folktales'. *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3(3): 299–314.

Brauer, Erich. 1993. *The Jews of Kurdistan*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Chrzanowski, Jaroslaw. 2011. 'Verbal Hendiadys Revisited: Grammaticalization and Auxiliation in Biblical Hebrew Verbs'. PhD Dissertation. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Chyet, Michael L. 1991. ''And a Thornbush Sprang up between Them': Studies in 'Mem u Zin', A Kurdish Romance'. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

———. 1995. 'Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish: An Interdisciplinary Consideration of Their Influence on Each Other'. *Israel Oriental Studies* 15: 219–252.

———. 2003. *Kurdish-English Dictionary Ferhenga Kurmanci-Inglizi*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Coghill, Eleanor. 2009. 'Four Versions of a Neo-Aramaic Children's Story'. *ARAM Periodical* 21: 251–280.

———. 2020a. 'North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Narrative Techniques and their Areal Parallels (Kurdish and Arabic)'. Paper presented at Cambridge Endangered Languages and Cultures Group, Cambridge, UK, 19 February 2020.

———. 2020b. 'Neo-Aramaic'. In *Arabic and Contact-Induced Change,* edited by Christopher Lucas and Stefano Manfredi, 371–402. Contact and Multilingualism 1. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Cohen, Eran. 2012. *The Syntax of Neo-Aramaic: The Jewish Dialect of Zakho. Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies.* Piscataway: Gorgias Press.

Da Silva, Sara G., Tehrani, Jamshid J. 2016. 'Comparative Phylogenetic Analyses Uncover the Ancient Roots of Indo-European Folktales'. *Royal Society Open Science* 3: 150645.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W. 1995. 'Ingressive *qwm* in Biblical Hebrew'. *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 8: 31–55.

Du Bois, John. 1987. 'The Discourse Basis of Ergativity'. *Language* 63(4). 805–855.

Dundes, Alan. 1962. 'From Etic to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales'. *The Journal of American Folklore* 75: 95–105.

———. 1988. *Cinderella, A Casebook*, 2nd edition. Madison/London: Universtity of Wisconsin Press.

Ferguson, Charles A. and Frank A. Rice. 1960. 'Iraqi Children's Rhymes'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80: 335–40.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich and Otto Jastrow. 1980. *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

Forker, Diana. 2016. 'Toward a Typology for Additive Markers'. *Lingua* 180: 69–100.

Garbell, Irene. 1965. 'The Impact of Kurdish and Turkish on the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan and the Adjoining Regions'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85(2): 159–77.

Grigore, George. 2007. *L'arabe parlé à Mardin*. Bucharest: Bucharest University Press.

Guillaume, Antoine. 2011. 'Subordinate Clauses, Switch-reference and Tail-head Linkage in Cavineña Narratives'. In *Subordination in Native American Languages*, edited by Rik van Gijn, Katharina Haude and Pieter Muysken, 109–140. Typological Studies in Language 97. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Häberl, Charles G. 2009. *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Haig, Geoffrey and Baydaa Mustafa. 2019. 'Language Choice and Patterns of Usage Among Kurdish Speakers of Duhok: An Empirical Intergenerational Study'. In *Current Issues in Kurdish Linguistics*, edited by Gündoğdu, Songül, Ergin

Öpengin, Geoffrey Haig and Erik Anonby, 145–67. Bamberg: Bamberg University Press.

Haig, Geoffrey and Ergin Öpengin. 2014. 'Kurdish in Turkey: An Overview of Grammar, Dialectal variation and Status'. In *Minority Languages in Turkey*, edited by C. Bulut. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz

Haig, Geoffrey and Geoffrey Khan. 2018. *The Languages and Linguistics of Western Asia*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2018. 'The Iranian Languages of Northern Iraq'. In *The Languages and Linguistics of Western Asia*, edited by Geoffrey Haig and Geoffrey Khan, 267–304. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Ingham, Bruce. 2005. 'Persian and Turkish Loans in the Arabic Dialects of North Eastern Arabia'. In *Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion: Case Studies from Iranian, Semitic and Turkic*, edited by Éva Ágnes Csató, Bo Isaksson and Carina Jahan, 173–80. London: Routledge.

Jakobson, Roman and Bogatyrev, Petr. 1982 [1929]. 'Folklore as a Special Form of Creation. Translated by Manfred Jacobson'. In *The Prague School: Selected Writings, 1929–1946*, edited by Peter Steiner, 33–46. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jastrow, Otto and Talay, Shabo. 2019. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Midyat (Miḏyoyo). Band I: Texte* (Semitica Viva, 59). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Joseph, Brian. 1997. 'How General are our Generalizations? What Speakers Actually Know and What They Actually Do'. In *ESCOL '96. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Eastern States*

Conference on Linguistics, edited by Anthony D. Green and V. Motopanyane, 148–60. Ithaca: Cascadilla Press.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2008. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*. Volumes 1-3. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

———. 2009. 'The Syntax and Discourse Structure of Neo-Aramaic Narrative Texts'. *ARAM Periodical* 21: 163–78.

———. 2012. 'The Evidential Function of the Perfect in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects'. In *Language and Nature*. Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, edited by Rebecca Hasselbach and Na'ama Pat-El, 219–28. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 67. Chicago: University of Chicago.

———. 2016. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2020. 'The Perfect in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic'. In *Perfects in Indo-European Languages and Beyond*, edited by Robert Crellin and Thomas Jügel, 311–50. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 2021. 'Verbal Forms Expressing Discourse Dependency in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic'. In *Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic*, edited by Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander, 143–193. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 5. Cambridge: University of Cambridge and Open Book Publishers.

———. 2022. 'Remarks on the Christian Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Shaqlawa'. *Israel Oriental Studies* 21: 192–231.

Lahdo, Ablahad. 2009. *The Arabic Dialect of Tillo in the Region of Siirt.* Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 26. Uppsala: Upsala University.

Lazard, Gilbert. 1999. 'Mirativity, Evidentiality, Mediativity, or Other? *Linguistic Typology,* 3 (1): 91–110.

MacKenzie, David N. 1962. *Kurdish Dialect Studies*. Vol. 2. London: Oxford University Press.

Marzolph, Ulrich. 2010. 'Persian Popular Literature'. In *Oral Literature of Iranian Languages: Kurdish, Pashto, Balochi, Ossetic, Persian and Tajik: Companion Volume II to a History of Persian Literature*, edited by Ulrich Marzolph and Philip Kreyenbroek, 208–39. London: Bloomsbury.

Mohammadirad, Masoud. 2021. 'Kurdish (Central, Sanandaj)'. In *WOWA — Word Order in Western Asia: A Spoken-Language-Based Corpus for Investigating Areal Effects in Word Order Variation.*, edited by Geoffrey Haig, Donald Stilo, Mahîr C. Doğan, and Nils N. Schiborr. Bamberg: Bamberg University Press. (multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/) (accessed 19/01/2022).

Molin, Dorota. 2021a. 'The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Dohok: Two Folktales and Selected Features of Verbal Semantics'. In *Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic*, edited by Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander, 95–143. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 5. Cambridge: University of Cambridge and Open Book Publishers.

———. 2021b. 'The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Dohok: A Comparative Grammar'. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.

Mouse, Anon E. 2018. *The Golden Maiden and Other Stories from Armenia*. Yateley: Abela.

Mutzafi, Hezy. 2002. Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic and its Dialects. *Mediterranean Language Review* 14: 41–70.

———. 2008a. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Betanure (Province of Dihok)*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.

———. 2008b. 'Trans-Zab Jewish Neo-Aramaic'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 71 (3): 409–31.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2014. 'Diversity in Convergence: Kurdish and Aramaic Variation Entangled'. *Kurdish Studies* 2 (2): 201–24.

Noorlander, Paul M. 2021. *Ergativity and Other Alignment Types in Neo-Aramaic: Investigating Morphosyntactic Microvariation*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 103. Leiden: Brill.

Noorlander, Paul M. and Molin, Dorota. 2022. 'Word order Typology in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic: Towards a Corpus-Based Approach'. In *Word Order Variation: Semitic, Turkic and Indo-European Languages in Contact (Supplement of Language Typology and Universals,* vol. 31), edited by Hiwa Asadpour and Thomas Jügel, 232-258. Berlin: De Gruyter

Ogden, David. 2013. *Drakon: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Öpengin, Ergin and Geoffrey Haig. 2014. 'Regional Variation in Kurmanji: A Preliminary Classification of Dialects'. *Kurdish Studies* 2(2): 143–76.

Orsatti, Paola. 2006. 'K̲osrow o Shirin'. In *Encyclopedia Iranica,* online edition. Available at zarinaia (accessed on 1 November 2021).

Pavelka, Karel. 2009. 'Detailed Documentation and 3d Model Creation of Dalal Bridge Using Terrestrial Photogrammetry In Zakhu, Northern Iraqi Kurdistan'. *22nd CIPA* Symposium, *October 11–15, 2009,* Kyoto, Japan.

Pike, Kenneth L. 1954. *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior. Part I.* Preliminary Edition. Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Pinault, David. 1992. *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights.* Studies in Arabic Literature 15. Leiden; New York: Brill.

Ritter, Helmut. 1969. *Ṭūrōyō: Die Volksprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʕAbdîn. A: Texte.* Vol 2. Beirut: Steiner.

Sabar, Yona. 1982. *The Folk Literature of the Kurdistani Jews: An Anthology.* New Haven/London: Yale University Press.

Sabar, Yona. 1995. 'The Christian Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Zakho and Dihok: Two Text Samples'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 (1): 33-51.

Sandfeld, Kr. 1930. *Linguistique balkanique: problèmes et résultats.* Paris: Société de Linguistique.

Schäfers, Marlene. 2018. ''It Used to be Forbidden': Kurdish Women and the Limits of Gaining Voice'. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 14 (1): 3-24.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1981. 'Tense Variation in Narrative'. *Language* 57 (1): 45–62.

Shai, Donna. 1976. 'A Kurdish Jewish Variant of the Ballad of 'The Bridge of Arta''. *AJS Review* 1: 303-10.

Shuman, Amy and Hasan-Rokem, Galit. 2012. 'The Poetics of Folklore'. In *A Companion to Folklore,* edited by Regina F. Bendix and Galit Hasan-Rokem, 55–74. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Stilo, Donald and Paul M. Noorlander. 2015. 'On the Convergence of Verbal Systems of Aramaic and its Neighbors. Part

II: Past Paradigms Derived from Present Equivalents'. In *Neo-Aramaic in its Linguistic Context*, edited by Geoffrey Khan and Lydia Napiorkowska, 453–84. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Surmelian, Leon Z. 1968. *Apples of Immortality : Folktales of Armenia. London: Allen & Unwin, 1968.* UNESCO Collection of Representative Works. Ser. of Translations from the Literature of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. London: Allen & Unwin.

Talay, Shabo. 2008. 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of the Tiyari Assyrians in Syria: with Special Attention to Their Phonological Characteristics'. In *Neo-Aramaic Dialect Studies,* edited by Geoffrey Khan, 39-64. Piscataway: Gorgias Press.

Talmon, Rafael. 2001. 'Some Syntactic and Stylistic Features of Interest in Galilean Arabic Folk-Tales'. In *Linguistic and Cultural studies in Arabic and Hebrew: Essays Presented to Professor Moshe Piamenta for his 80th Birthday*, edited by J. Rosenhouse and A. Elad-Bouskila, 211–30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Thackston, Wheeler M. 1991. all articles (folktale transcriptions) in *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 13 (2); specific pages cited from: 'Kurdish folklore' (i-iv) and 'King Ahmad' (91–95).

Thompson, Stith. 1922–1936. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature; a Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, 6 volumes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Thurman, Robert C. 1975. 'Chuave medial verbs'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 17 (7): 342–52.

Uther, Hans-Jörg. 2004. *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography, Based on The System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Vries, Lourens de. 2005. 'Towards a Typology of Tail-Head Linkage in Papuan Languages'. *Studies in Language* 29 (2): 363–84.

Woods, John E. 1990. *The Timurid Dynasty*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

Zeyrek, Deniz. 1993. 'Runs in Folktales and the Dynamics of Turkish Runs: A Case Study'. *Asian Folklore Studies* 52: 161–75.

PROLEGOMENA

1. INTRODUCTION TO A COMPARATIVE CORPUS OF ORAL LITERATURE[1]

Paul M. Noorlander and Dorota Molin

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 ʿAbdin (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-

---

[1] 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-Eastern Iraq
North-Western 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**	
tsə	*ču, čə*	'not any'
ʾaxtsa	*ʾaxča*	'only'
xantsa	*xanča*	'a little'
tsōl	*čōl*	'wasteland'

ChA. Shaqlawa   Elsewhere

dzwān	*jwān*	'beautiful'
dzwanqa	*jwanqa*	'handsome'

The ChA. Shaqlawa dialect furthermore does not preserve the historical Aramaic interdentals *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,[2] 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 interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ and have the preverb *k-* / *g-* throughout. The historically low vowel /a/ is raised in the indicative stem of the

---

[2] 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	
gəbe	*gəbe*	'he wants'
muxðaðe	*ʾuxðaðe*	'(with) each other'
θele	*θele*	'he came'
ʾaθe	*ʾaθe*	'that he come' (subj.)
keθe	*kiθe*	'he comes' (ind.)
kiʾe	*kiðe*	'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	
šəmmu	*šəmmay(hən)*	'their name'
šəmme	*šəmmeḥ*	'his name'
šəmma	*šəmmaḥ*	'their name'
wədlu	*wəðlay*	'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-*:

JA. Zakho   ChA. Zakho

gəbe	*kəbe*	'he wants'
ʾəzġas	*ʾəxdade*	'each other'
sele	*tele*	'he came'
ʾase	*ʾate*	'that he come' (subj.)
kese	*yate*	'he comes' (ind.)
kiʾe	*yede*	'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:

JA. Zakho   ChA. Zakho

didu	*diyehən*	'theirs'
dide	*diyu*	'his'
dida	*diyaw*	'hers'
ʾuzlu	*wədlu*	'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).[3] 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 (northwestern Iran) and Hewlêr (Erbil).

The aforementioned Kurdish dialects will be referred to as follows:

Northern Kurdish	**Central Kurdish**
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.

---

[3] A grammatical synopsis of Bahdinī can be found in Haig (2018, 287–295).

Northern K.	**Central K. (Shaqlawa)**	
wī got	*got꞊ī*	'he said'
wē got	*got꞊ī*	'she said'
nāvē mən	*nāw꞊əm*	'my name'
gundak	*gundak*	'a village'
gund	*gundaka*	'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 /ṭ/, /ṣ/ and /ẓ/, 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. *ṣa* 'dog'.

Dure (NK)	**Shaqlawa (CK)**	
ṭərs	*tərs*	'fear'
ẓānī	*zānī*	'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:

Duhok (NK)	**Khizava (NK)**	**Shaqlawa (CK)**	
xārən	*xwārən*	*xwārdən*	'food; to eat'
xodē	*xodē*	*xodā*	'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):

Shaqlawa (CK)	**Northern**	
tsə	*čə*	'what'
dzəwān	*jəwān*	'beautiful'
tsīrok	*čīrok*	'tale'

The velar stops /k/ and /g/ have the palatalised allophones [t͡ɕ] and [d͡ʑ] before front vowels in the dialect of Shaqlawa.[4]

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)**	
kuř-ēt mīrī	*kur-ēn mīr*	'the sons of the prince'
kuř-ēt wī	*kur-ēn wī*	'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)**	
hīn, hawa	*hūn, wa*	'you' (2pl.)

A feature unique to the Bahdinī dialects is the use of a construction dedicated to the future, which is otherwise identical to

---

[4] 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:

Duhok (NK)   Khizava (NK)   Shaqlawa (CK)

az dē čəm   az=ē čəm   a-čəm   '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:

Duhok (NK)   Standard (NK)

(*awē*) *got=ē*   *wē ž-ē ra got*   'she said to him'
(*aw*) *ət-bēžt=ē*   *aw ž-ē ra də-bēža* 'she says to him'

The Northern Kurdish storytellers use this enclitic more frequently than not with the past base of the verb *gotin* ~ *gūtin* '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 *-īn/-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
*θ (ṯ)	/θ/	/s/
*ð (ḏ)	/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 / ṭal-	ta / ṭal-
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.
*θ (ṯ)	/θ/	/θ/	/θ/	/t/	/t/
*ð (ḏ)	/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-	ḵum-	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	*ta / ṭal-*	*ta / ṭal-*	*ta / ṭal-*	*ta / ṭal-*	*qa / qat-*
3pl. L-suffix	*-lay*	*-lay*	*-lu*	*-lu*	*-lu*
	-le(y)	*-lɛy*			
		-na			
3pl. possessive	*-ay(hən)*	*-ay*	*-ey*	*-ehən*	*-u*
3sg.m. L-suffix	*-le*	*-le*	*-le*	*-le*	*-le*
3sg.m. possessive	*-eḥ / -e*	*-eu*	*-e*	*-u*	*-u*

Table 3. Selection of features of Northern and Central Kurdish

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

* 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 Xošnawatī* 'the villages around Khosnaw', or added to the following adjective, e.g. *haqāyat kurdī-ak-ān* 'the Kurdish stories'.

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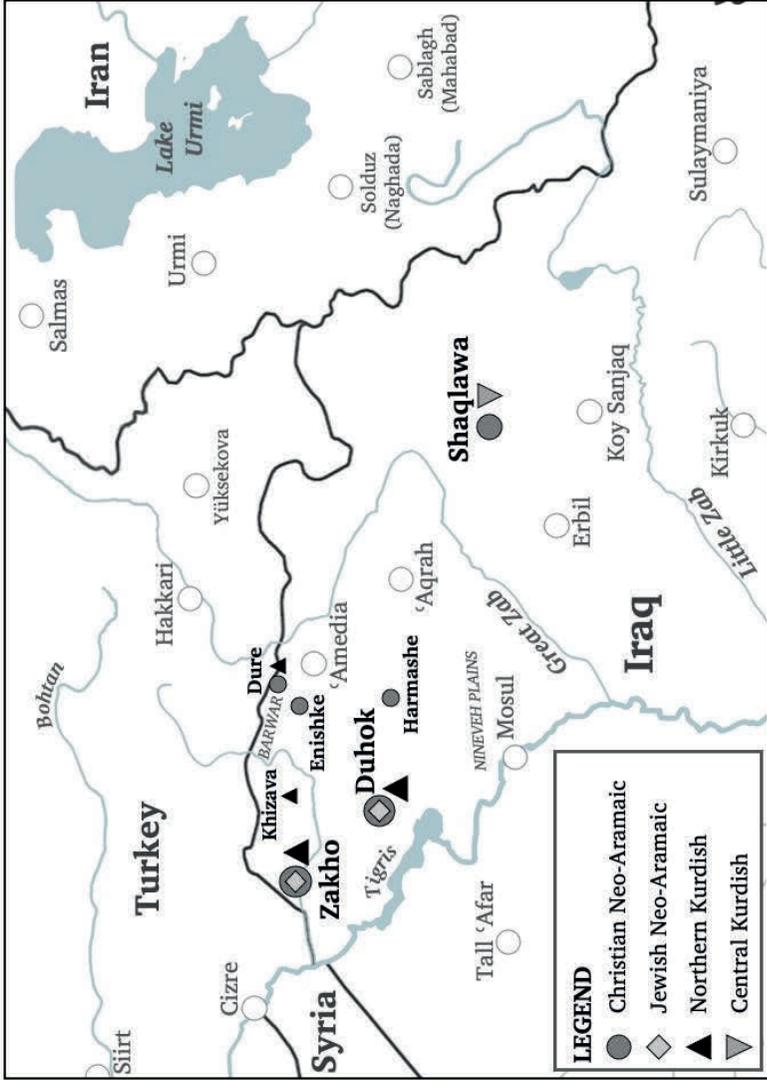
2.0.   Transcription

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. *ḵ* [k] as opposed to *k* [kʰ]. Palatalisation is indicated by a superscript *y*, e.g. *gʸ* [gʲ] 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. *ṭ* [t̪~tˠ~tˤ]. 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

ma=yle	'what is it?'
bréle=llan	'it happened to us'
kayf=u ṣafay	'pleasure and jollity'
ʾərwe=w tawre	'sheep and cows'

(2)   Kurdish

   čī₌ya   'what is it?'
   got₌ī   'he / she said'
   jəl₌ū barg   'clothes and covering'
   čēlā₌w gāyā 'of cows and bulls'
   hāt₌a māḷē   'he / she came back home'

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

(3)   Neo-Aramaic

   ʾu brele ʾəllan   'and it happened to us'
   ʾu ʾana ʾiwən   'and I am'

(4)   Kurdish

   ū awī gōt   'and he said'
   ū az   '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

     b-aw waqət   'at that time' (preposition *b-*)

     l-qaṣra   'to the palace' (preposition *l-*)

     b-qaṭəllan   'he will kill us' (future preverb *b-*)

     qam-šaqəllan   'he took us' (past perfective preverb *qam-*)

     d-ənna   'of such-and-such' (attributive *d-*)

     d-zale   'that goes' (subordinator *d-*)

     ṱ-ile   'that is' (subordinator *d-*)

(6)   Kurdish

     l-gundaḵə   'in a village' (preposition *l-*)

     a-čəm   'I go' (indicative preverb *a-*)

     na-t-ḵam   'I don't do' (negative *na-* and indicative *t-*)

     bə-xom   'I eat' (subjunctive preverb *bə-*)

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

     ʾəbbe   '(with) me'

     ʾəlli   '(to / for / on) me'

     dide   'his'

     diyi   'mine'

     daw   'of him; of that (one)'

     dað   '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

    [A]*al ʾasās*[A]   from Arabic على أساس

    [E]*okey*[E]   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,[5] e.g.

> *naše*   [ˈnaː.ʃe]
> *broni*   [ˈbroː.ni]
> *nura*   [ˈnuː.ɾæ]

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

> *ʾaxni*   [ˈʔæx.ni]
> *ʾupra*   [ˈʔʊpʰ.ræ]
> *pəšle*   [ˈpʰɪʃ.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.

> *ḥălā́l*   [ħæ.ˈlaːl]
> *Dŭhok*   [ˈdɔ.hokʰ] ∼ [ˈdʊ.hokʰ]
> *čōl*   [ˈt͡ʃʰoːl]

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:

> *ʾăra*   <   **ʾarʿa*

---

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

> *kŭla   <   *kulla*

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

NENA	Kurdish	
xandaq	*xandaq*	'ditch'
naxwa	*naxwa*	'otherwise; indeed'
gălak	*galak*	'very; much'
wărăqa	*waraqa*	'paper'
dargăvana	*dargavān*	'gatekeeper'
săwā́l	*sawāl*	'livestock'
jwān	*juwān*	'beautiful'
gəra	*gər*	'hill'
xēr	*xēr*	'good'
hedi	*hēdī*	'slow'
ži	*žī*	'also'
Dŭhok	*Duhok*	'Duhok'
čōl	*čol*	'wilderness, wasteland'
ʾu	*ʾū*	'and' (non-enclitic)

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

la	[læ]	'no, not' (verbal negator)
ču	[tʃʊ]	'not any' (nominal negator)
ta	[ta]	'to, for' (prep.)
gu	[gʊ]	'in' (prep.)
xa	[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

> *dargăvana*   [dær.gæ.ˈvaː.næ]   'gatekeeper'

2.4. Prosody

Intonation unit boundaries of utterances are indicated by a vertical line in superscript (ˈ). The nuclear accent of the prosodic unit is marked with a grave accent (*à*) 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 Bīžān Xošavī ʾÀhmat* 'I am Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad' and *ḳuřē Šukrīyāyè̄* 'son of Shukirya' each constitute their own intonation unit separated by means of a vertical line (ˈ). The same holds for the independent pronoun *ʾana* '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 Bīžān Xošavī ʾÀhmat,ˈ ḳuřē Šukrīyāyè̄.ˈ*
     'I am Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad, son of Shukriya.' (NK Duhok, Text 17: *A Woman and a Leopard*, §1)

(10) *ʾànaˈ šəmmi Yawsəp brōnd ʾEliša ʾIsḥaq Mìxo.ˈ*
     'My name is Yawsep, son of Elisha Isḥaq 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 *āxā̆ftǝnaḵā kǝrḕt* 'an offensive word' and *āxā̆ftǝnaḵā saqàt* 'an inappropriate word' in (11) below.

(11) *ū bēyī kū āxā̆ftǝnaḵā kǝrḕt ān āxā̆ftǝnaḵā saqàt bēžīt˰a mǝn.|*
      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 *ḥàkǝm* in the first, and on *yàle* in the second. Since the words *ʾɔ́θwale* 'he had' and *ṭlaθá* do not follow the penultimate stress rule, their deviating lexical stress is indicated by means of the acute accent.

(12) *ʾǝθwa xa ḥàkǝm| ʾɔ́θwale ṭlaθá yàle.|*
      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
k	[kʰ]	*ḥ*	[ħ]
ḵ	[k]	*ṣ*	[sˠ]~[sˤ]
kʸ	[kʲ]~[c]~[t͡ɕ]	*ẓ*	[zˠ]~[zˤ]
gʸ	[gʲ]~[ɟ]~[d͡ʑ]	*ž*	[ʒ]
ġ	[ɣ]~[ʁ]	*š*	[ʃ]
x	[x]~[χ]	*č*	[t͡ʃʰ]
p	[pʰ]	*j*	[d͡ʒ]
p̂	[p]	*ʿ*	[ʕ]
t	[tʰ]	*ʾ*	[ʔ]
ṭ	[tˠ]~[tˤ]	*ə*	[ɪ~ɨ~ə]
ṱ	[t]	*o*	[oː]

Table 5. Basic transcription of Kurdish in this collection

Standard Orthography	MacKenzie (1961)	This book	IPA
a	ā	*ā*	[aː~ɑ~ɔ]
ê	ē	*ē*	[eː]
o	ô, ō	*o*	[oː]
û	ū	*ū*	[uː]
î	ī	*ī*	[iː]
o	ø	*ö*	[œ~ø]
--	û	*ü*	[yː]
e	a	*a*	[ɛ~æ~a]
i	i	*ə*	[ɨ ~ ɪ]
u	u	*u*	[ʊ]
ş	š	*š*	[ʃ]
j	ž	*ž*	[ʒ]
ç	č	*č*	[t͡ʃʰ]
c	ǰ	*j*	[d͡ʒ]
r (rr)	r̄	*ř*	[r]
l (ll)	ł	*ļ*	[ɫ]

Table 6. Correspondence between Kurdish and NENA transcription

Kurdish	NENA	IPA
ā	*a*	[a(:)~ɑ(:)]
ē	*e*	[e(:)]
o	*o*	[o(:)]
ū	*u*	[u(:)]
ī	*i*	[i(:)]
a	*a (ă), ɛ*	[æ~a~ɑ], [ɛ]
u	*u (ŭ)*	[ʊ~ɔ]
ə	*ə*	[ɨ ~ ɪ]
ř	*rr*	[r]
ł	*ḷ*	[ɫ]

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

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

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

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

3.3. Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Versions

Several stories have different versions[6] 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.
Zambilfrosh	NENA	ChA. Shaqlawa (by A. Sher)	4
		ChA. Shaqlawa (by W. Toma)	5
		ChA. Enishke	6
	Kurdish	NK. Khizava	7
The Bridge of Dalale	NENA	ChA. Dure	8
		ChA. Duhok	9
		ChA. Zakho	10
	Kurdish	NK. Zakho	11

[6] 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.
A 'Pious' Fox	NENA	ChA. Shaqlawa	12
	Kurdish	CK. Shaqlawa	13
A Human and a Beast	NENA	ChA. Duhok (*A Man and a Lion)*	14
		JA. Duhok (*A Man and a Wolf*)	16
	Kurdish	NK. Dure (*A Woman and a Leopard*)	17
A Wolf and a Ewe	NENA	ChA. Duhok	18
	Kurdish	CK. Shaqlawa	19
Two Mullahs	NENA	ChA. Shaqlawa	28
	Kurdish	CK. Shaqlawa	29
Mirza Muhammad	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 *ʾəm-*. 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 *hənna* or *ʾənna* 'thingy, what's-it-called', and feels the need to clarify Kurdish words with an Arabic equivalent, e.g. K. *dargǎvana* 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.[7] 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

---

[7] 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. *bɛθa < *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 *ḳum-* and *ḳəm-* 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 *wǝnwa*. 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 *ʿəlmiyan* 'scientifically (speaking)', which probably serve to elevate the register.

<div align="center">JA. Zakho</div>

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 Zaqen was born in Zakho around 1930. She moved to Jerusalem in 1951.

3.4.2. Kurdish

<div align="center">NK. Dure</div>

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

<div align="center">NK. Duhok</div>

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.

Viyan 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 *īnā* '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 *ʿarrāf* '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 *muhəm* 'anyway', *tabʿan* '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 Hawasar.

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', *kərən* 'to make' : *va-kərən* '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 un-translated. The translation may deviate from the literal equiva-lent to show stylistic variation. The particles *yăni* 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 understand-ing 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[1]

Dorota Molin

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.[2] The folklore of these three communities is closely intertwined—not just through folkloristic motifs, which are often uni-

---

[1] 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.

[2] 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 ('mo-tifemes') 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.[3] 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.[4] Naturally, therefore, the religious stories in Theme VII introduce figures and/or sets of values that are specific to particular sacred traditions. Moreover,

---

[3] 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

[4] 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 Zambilfrosh*, 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 adaptions.

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).[5] A list of international folkloristic motifs which are attested in the stories is given in Table 9 below.

---

[5] 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)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 *Zanbilfirosh* (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).[6] 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.[7] Folk poetry and prose were also performed in urban tea houses and even at the courts of

---

[6] 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.

[7] 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).[8]

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.[9] Such relations doubtless continued for centuries, surviving even in the living memory of the folktale narrators themselves. The elderly among them de-

---

[8] For women and folklore performance among the Kurds, see Marlene Schäfers, e.g. 2018.

[9] 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).[10] 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.[11] A folkloristic analysis focusing on the Jewish community of Zakho has been published by Aloni (2022).

---

[10] 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).

[11] 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 documenta-
tion, given the endangered state of these folklore traditions.

1.0. Zanbilfirosh (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: *Zanbilfirosh* (NK. Khizava)
Text 6: *Joseph or Zambilfrosh* (ChA. Enishke)

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

---

[12] 'Kingship renounced to become an ascetic'.

[13] *zanbīlfərosh* in Kurdish means simply 'basket-seller'. This Kurdish title
of the protagonist, adapted to 'Zambilfrosh', also occurs in the Neo-Ar-
amaic versions of the tale (i.e. is left untranslated). In other words, it is
apparently functioning as the protagonist's name. In this chapter,
'Zanbilifrosh' is used when speaking of the character in folklore in gen-
eral, 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[14] and *Zanbil-firosh* (NK. Khizava)—and the tale of *Joseph or Zambilfrosh*. The latter stands apart because it draws chiefly from the Qurʾanic story of Joseph the Righteous, yet its protagonist also self-identifies as *zambilfrosh* (i.e. 'basket-seller').[15] Moreover, in contrast to his Qurʾanic counterpart and in parallel with the folkloristic Zanbilfirosh, 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 Zanbilfirosh 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 Zakho

---

[14] 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.

[15] 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).[16] 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 Qurʾanic inspirations.

Several written versions of the story also exist, perhaps most famously by the 16th century Kurdish Faqīyē Tayrān.[17] 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.*[18]

Moreover, the story overlaps with the Qurʾanic 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 Qurʾan 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,

---

[16] 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).

[17] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zemb%C3%AElfiro%C5%9F.

[18] 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 Zanbilfirosh, 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, Zanbilfirosh. 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.

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

The Kurdish version in the present corpus diverges somewhat from the two Christian 'Zambilfrosh 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 'Zanbilfirosh 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 'Zanbilfirosh 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. Zanbilfirosh 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 Zanbilfirosh likely resemble the Muslim ones in this regard. As mentioned above, the names found at the Lalish temple suggest that the Yezidi Zanbilfirosh 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, Zanbilfirosh 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 Qurʾanic story of Joseph and Zulaykha and the Biblical account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. In the sacred stories and the tales of 'Zanbilfirosh proper', for instance, the woman accuses the young man of assault after her pursuits turn out to be unsuccessful. The motifeme of attempted seduction by a powerful woman is well established,[19] 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 Qurʾan.

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

---

[19] 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, Zanbil-firosh 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 'Zanbilfirosh 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.[20] By contrast, the Christian Enishke *Joseph or Zambilfrosh* story draws from a similar religious Joseph narrative, but apparently from the Qurʾanic 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, *Zambilfrosh*, §3). This parallels the Qurʾanic 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

---

[20] 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 Zanbilfirosh 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 Zambilfrosh*, §1).

In general, the story of Zanbilfirosh 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 Zanbilfirosh 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 Qurʾanic 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.[21] 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

---

[21] 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'.[22] 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,[23] 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'[24] 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[25] 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

---

[22] See Dundes (1989) and the references there. I thank Michael Chyet for drawing my attention to this publication.

[23] 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 *Mespototamian Fusion*, sung in the dialect of Bohtan (south-eastern Turkey) at
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6Ue4YyH2D4.

[24] See e.g. the ChA. Duhok and ChA. Dure versions in this corpus and the JA. Zakho version in Shai (1976).

[25] 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).[26] 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 Mandean 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.[27]

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).

---

[26] Unfortunately, I was unable to get access to the full legend mentioned in Shai (1976) in order to judge their closeness.

[27] 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, there-fore, 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 accom-panied 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 coun-
terpart in the absence of a threat for the builder, but the volun-
tary 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 unmistakeably the victim, being discrimi-
nated against in both actions and language. the other daughters-
in-law are introduced through rhymed verse—Dalale is men-
tioned in simple prose (cf. above—ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge
of Dalale*, §3–9). The sacrifice of the other daughters-in-law is in-
troduced as a possibility—through a conditional clause. The sac-
rifice 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 *xəmy-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: *ʾana b-xamənne* 'I will protect him.'[28] 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).

---

[28] 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[29] 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,[30] 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

---

[29] 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'.

[30] '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-nàyəx-Ø.*ǀ
impact	impact-of	sword	IND-heal-3SG.M

šawp-ət	*xabra*	*là-g-nayəx-Ø.*ǀ
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*ǀ	*ḍə̀rba*ǀ	*naša*	*g-naš-è-le.*ǀ	*šwir-ət*
wound-of	blow	man	IND-forget-3SG.M-O.3SG.M	wound-of

*xàbra*ǀ	*ḥə́l*	*mòθa*ǀ	*naša*	*là-g-naš-e-le.*ǀ
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*	*nīš-ā*	*šīn-ā*	*xanjar-ằ*ǀ
removed	IND-go.PRS.3SG	sting-EZ.FS	trace-EZ.FS	dagger-OBL.PL

bas	*žē*	*nā-č-ītən*	*šīn-ā*	*xabar-ằ*ǀ[31]
but	removed	NEG-go.PRS.3SG	trace-EZ.SG.F	word-OBL.PL

---

[31] 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.[32] This suggests that this is a well-known
saying throughout the region, as is probably the folktale which it
appears in.[33]

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,   ᴺᴷ*xer-a*   *xudě*ᴺᴷ   = *la,*ˈ
> IND-say-3SG.M   ᴺᴷgoodness-EZ.SG.F   God.OBLᴺᴷ   = 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)

---

[32] *Kılıç yarası geçer, dil yarası geçmez*. 'A sword wound heals, a tongue
wound does not.'

[33] 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.[34] *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)

---

[34] 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.[35] 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

---

[35] 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 *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)[36] 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.[37]

---

[36] 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.

[37] 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),[38] and marries a poor man whom he eventually lifts to her station (cf. ATU 850–862).[39]

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*

---

[38] Respectively, 'Victorious youngest daughter' and 'Clever youngest daughter'.

[39] 'The man marries the princess'.

disguises as a boy in order to be able to get work as a royal serv-
ant.[40] This story features the motif of gender disguise[41] and aid
from a magical, talking animal horse (B401). Finally, in the Jew-
ish 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 motfifemes—
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 heroin 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 or-
phaned 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

---

[40] 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).
[41] 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).[42] 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.[43] 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

---

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

[43] 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.[44]

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*).

---

[44] 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.[45]

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.[46] 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).

---

[45] See, for instance, Brauer (1993, 149) for the treatment of women in the Jewish communities, about a century ago.

[46] 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).[47] 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)

---

[47] 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,[48] 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.[49]

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).[50] There is also an evil old witch-woman Pirhavir (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 Khajīja 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.

---

[48] As demonstrated by Lourd Hanna, this story is also known among the Kurds of Duhok.

[49] My own fieldwork.

[50] 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).[51] In the end, Firyat is made to believe that his beloved Khajija is dead, and dies of despair as a consequence.[52]

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 12th-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)

---

[51] I thank Masoud Mohammadirad for drawing my attention to 'Khosrow and Shirin'.

[52] 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.[53] 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.[54] 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 tree stolen princesses. For instance, the ChA. Duhok version features the motif of defeating monsters (ogres; ATU

---

[53] 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.

[54] Known as, for instance, 'The Golden Apples' in European folklore.

300),[55] often included within the story of the three stolen prin-
cesses.[56] 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 ex-
plicit. For instance, the ChA. version published by Lazarev
(1974)[57] 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 Ar-
menia.[58] As our Iraqi fieldworker Lourd Hanna has confirmed,
however, the protagonist does not always carry the name Mirza.
A version in Central Neo-Aramaic[59] 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 *Gŭlo Zîlo Bando*. The hero's

---

[55] For the ogre motif elsewhere in Kurdistani folklore; see, for instance,
Mutzafi's corpus of JA. (2008a, 274–277).

[56] 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.

[57] I could only access the online edition of the publication at https://ar-
chive.org/stream/B-001–014–246/B-001–014–246_djvu.txt.

[58] For the Armenian version, see Mouse (2018; page numbers missing
in the online PDF).

[59] Ṭuroyo; south-eastern Turkey, Ṭur ʿAbdin, the provinces of Mardin
and Şırnak.

(i.e. the wife of the prince otherwise known as Mirza Muham-mad) asks for this story before she allows him to marry her. An-other 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 Gullī) has been published by MacKenzie (1962, 348–357). A sim-ilar story to that of Mirza Muhammad is available in Moham-madirad (2021, text A), a corpus of Central Kurdish of the Sanan-daj region.

A key motifeme in most of the stories about an adventurous young prince is the death of the king—the father of the broth-ers—and/or the issue of his royal succession. This death, moreo-ver, (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).[60] 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 be-gins. The princes meet the princesses in the palace of the late

---

[60] This is also the case in the above-mentioned Ṭuroyo 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.[61] 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.[62] 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).

---

[61] Cf. the Armenian version (Mouse 2018), where—as expected—the oldest brother inherits the throne at first.

[62] 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 Kurdistani oral literature (of northern Iraq and south-eastern Turkey) were also named after prominent (non-local) political-military leaders.[63]

---

[63] Another example is the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud (Thackson 1999), responsible for the wide islamicisation 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[64] 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.

---

[64] 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.[65]

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

---

[65] 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.[66] 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.

---

[66] 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[1]

Paul M. Noorlander and Masoud Mohammadirad

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.[2] 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

---

[1] We are grateful to Dorota Molin and Geoffrey Khan for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

[2] 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 conjunctional 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.[3] 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) *ʾamriwa ʾəθwa xàʾa,ˈ xa malka ʾə́θwale ṭḷaθà bnone.ˈ*
      They said there was one, a king who had three sons. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §1)

---

[3] See e.g. Chyet (1995, 237) and Coghill (2020a, 2020b, 394).

(2)   *got꞊ī zamānē xò꞊y*| *qaš̀ak ha-bū,*| *aw qaša zəmān꞊ī galak pìs bū.*|

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:[4]

(3)   *ʾətwa꞊w lə̀twa*| *xa mằm-telona ʾətwa.* |

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

(4)   *a-rē ha-bū na-bū Mām Dzardàk ha-bū.*|

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 ʿthere was there was notʾ can be expanded by a phrase asserting the maximal greatness of the one God. For example:

(5)   *aḷē ha-bo na-bò*| *kas la xwāy gawratər nà-bo.*|

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)

---

[4] 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) ʾə́twa=w lə̀twa| mən bāb ʾAlaha=w ʾoda Maryam bəš raba lətwa=w qàt=iš la k-awe. |

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.[5]

(7) ha-bū na-bū kas šə xudē maztə̀r na-bū| kas šə banīyā də́rawīntə̀r na-bū. |

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.

---

[5] 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[6] consists of a blessing on the listeners' parents, which presupposes a younger audience:

(8)   *jārakē əž jārā řahmat əl day bāv-ēt gohdārà*⸢
       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)   *maṣitun ya xanwàta.*⸢ *maḥkənoxun da qəṣə̀tta,*⸢ *bər màlka,*⸢
       bronət ʾazùta,⸢ *tiwa=wewa l-kursi ʾət malkùta.*⸢
       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:

---

[6] See §1.2.3.

(10) *Dălale mə̀θla,*ᐟ *ʾu ʾayi qəṣṣa diyyaḥ xlə̀ṣla.*ᐟ

Dalale died, and her story ended. (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *Bridge of Dalale*, §24)

(11) *babay məθle; xlə̀ṣla.*ᐟ

Their father died; the story is over. (ChA. Harmashe, Text 33: *Mirza Muhammad and the Three Princesses*, §47)

(12) *amn꞊ìš hātm-aw*ᐟ *hìts꞊əm pē na-bəřā.*ᐟ *xalās꞊ū řoy.*ᐟ

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 gahəštīn꞊a dumāhìkā čīrokā xo*ᐟ *az hātm-ava čə̀ na-dā mən.*ᐟ

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꞊ìš gařām-awa꞊ū hìts꞊əm pē na-bəřā.*ᐟ

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) *ʾana=š ʾitèli│ tsɔ̀ məndi la wəlu qati.│*

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=īč āmānē, hič=šā na-đānē.*

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),[7] for example:

(17) *m-tama θèli,│ məθeli ṭlaθa xabùše,│ xa ta Màdu,│ xa ṭali ʾu xa tad mera ḥakkòθa.│*

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

---

[7] See the discussion in §1.4.

[8] The narrator's name.

1.2.3. Blessing of the Parents

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

(18) *kut šmele raḥmaθa gawət yə̀mmeḥ.|*
       Mercy on the mother of whomsoever listened. (ChA. Duhok, Text 32: *Mirza Muhammad and the Forty Monsters,* §235)

(19) *o řahmàt əl day bābēt gohdārā|*
       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 Mac-Kenzie (1962):

(20) *hazār řaḥmat 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)

---

[9] 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.[10] 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) *ʾăya ḥŭčìta⌐ k-əmrila qa daw našət rešu là hawe mara˭w⌐ rešu mamrèle.⌐ ʾawdza ʿàbra mən de naša k-šaqlìla.⌐ k-əmrila qa dàn naše⌐ ʾaxtsa gu qŭsət naše là ate˭w ʾazəl,⌐ gu moxət jànu ʾawəd,⌐ ʾaxtsa gu tănayatət naše la qayəm˭u yàtu.⌐*

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[11] 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)

---

[10] See Section 3.3.

[11] 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 hāḷatay dā ūdzāġ awanda pīròz boa¦ la nāw ko-maḷgāy kurdī¦ yaʿnī sū̀nd=ī pē xorā=ya.¦ har loya=š a-bīnīn haqāyata kurdīyakằn baw amānjay a-ban.¦*

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. Shaqalwa, 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. ٱللَّهُ أَكۡبَرُ *ʾallāhu ʾakbaru* 'God is greater', and the magnifications of Yahweh above all other gods found in the Hebrew Scriptures.[12]

---

[12] For example,מֵאֵין כָּמוֹךָ יְהוָה גָּדוֹל אַתָּה 'There is none like you, O LORD, you are great' (Jer. 10.6), גָדוֹל 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*[13], 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 ʾawwal* 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-fi mə-kə-fī < *kān fīh mā kān fīh*

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,

---

[13] 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 mustamiʿīn* '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*[14] '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 is 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.[15]

---

[14] The words *asat* 'nonbeing' and *sat* 'being' are related to Latin *absent-*.
[15] 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 *xlṣ* '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*** *pl̀ṭle mən beta.*|
     He rose and left the house. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 4: *Zambilfrosh by A. Sher*, §19)

(2) ***řā-bī*** *dàr-kat.*|
     He rose and left the house. (NK. Khizava, Text 7: *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 conjunctional adverbs such as English *then* and *thereupon*, for example:

(3) **qəmle ʾay masəqθa kùlla šitale b-reše dànne ḥambušaye.**ˈ
     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-ṭ-bən** *awē žənē āzằd əṭ-kan*ˈ *ū ət-gal xo əṭ-ban=a əškaftẹ̀.*ˈ
     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.)[16]. 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 ʿAbdin (e.g.

---

[16] For example, וַיָּ֥קָם וַיֵּ֖לֶךְ *wayyā́qom 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 Ṭuroyo, 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 $\varnothing$ 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 hàm aw zəlle dməxle.*|

　　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.[17]

---

[17] See Noorlander (2021, 211–14) for a discussion and further references.

2.2. Additive Particles (*ži / ₌š*)

The Kurdish particles *žī* (NK) and *₌īš* (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 *žī* and *₌(ī)š* or *₌ž* in Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic.

2.2.1. Additive Focus ('too')

(6)   *ʾiba ʾarbi ḥàmbušaye.ˈ ʾu yə̀mmay **ži** ʾīθ tama,ˈ yəmmət ḥambušàye.ˈ*
        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 tù būˈ da mārē mə̀n₌īš₌ət bar-dā!ˈ*
        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 lìtən.ˈ ʾixalàne₌š litən.*
        There was nothing. There was not **even** food. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A 'Pious' Fox*, §5)

(9)   *gotī, 'awa bo ma hè̄ **žī** bāštər.'ˈ*
        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) *ʾu g-ə̀bət **ži**,ˈ ʾana hun ʾəθya m-majburùθiˈ d-máʿyəšən ʾăyằl diyi.*ˈ

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 hatāyề **ži**ˈ ət kuḷkī-va bə-nəvə̀mˈ bo mən nà məškīla꞊yaˈ bo mən ʿādì꞊ya.*ˈ

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) *ʾaniži qə́mlayˈ drelay ʾixala ṭḷaθá yomaθa ṭḷaθá lelawaθa l-xaṣət sùstay.ˈ ʾu bàbay **ži** gəm-markəwile xa xə̀rta,ˈ xa susta xə̀rta.*ˈ

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) *amə̀n la mārē d-ēm꞊a darē꞊o ba āsānī꞊oˈ atò꞊š har la mārē꞊y꞊o taʾxîr a-bī.*ˈ

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,*ˈ *har dar-nà-hāt*ˈ *har dar-nà-hāt.*ˈ *zor꞊ī*
      *pē čŭ̀.*ˈ *maṭrān꞊īš̌ tahamùl꞊ī kərd.*ˈ
      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) *ʾila xaze hola tòta,*ˈ *yəmmət ḥambušáye **ži** hola tàma.*ˈ
      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*ˈ *bərāyē wī hatā nīvaḳā šavē yē hằt꞊o čo.*ˈ
      *pəštī hīngē aw **žī** čŭ̀ sar jəhē xo*ˈ *ū nəvə̀st.*ˈ
      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 sepa-
rately on each constituent (18).

(17) *ṭlaha qupyàta=w^ǀ xa ʾawa=š qa de baxta xṣùṣi wədwale.*^ǀ
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 jārằ əš wērē dar-nā-xītən.*^ǀ
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. Conjunctional 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 conjunctional 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: 'psu gawət batṛət ʾurxət duglana hàl xazəx l-eka g-maṭpelux.'*^ǀ*ʾàmər.*^ǀ *kăḷăbāb=**iš** xa ʾaqla=w xa qàma bizale=le xa ʾaqla bəd'are=le qa bàtṛa.*^ǀ
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,ˈ ʿyaba, ʾàtiˈ kăbira lè maḥkət.ˈ hayyu ʾàxxaˈ ʾu mṣàpuxla ʾana w-ati m-uxðaðe.ʾˈ ʾàwa ži̠ˈ zə̀lleˈ nxətle laxù gəra.ˈ*

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-bē̌žt=ē, ʿwara sarì̠!ˈ wara sarī hagar dē ta pərčē xəšĩnə̀mˈ ū dē ta ĩnm=a sarì̠!ʾˈ Dəndək Hənārē ži̠ zīkā manjalokā xo ət-hāvē̌žĩt=a wērè̠.ˈ ū ət-k̠at=a ğārè̠ čīt=a dafˈ*

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, ʿwā hēwāra dā hằtˈ aw jā waxtī nūstənì̠=ya.ˈ bas kas kas īz ʿāj nà-kāˈ čūnka ř̌ē=n dūr=a hatā gayn=a hadzè̠.ʾˈ karabāb=ū kotər=ī̠š gotī=yān, ʿbasar hàr dū čāwān!ʾˈ*

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) *ḥàrəs*| *hole kəlya=w hole ṭwìˀa.*| **ham** *ˀawa qəmle mə̀-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 pragmati-
cally 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***| *mălà xa ˀizəle l-xəlmət raˀisət dèṛa.*|
One day an angel appeared in a dream of the abbot of the
monastery. (ChA. Shaqlawa,Text 35: *Mar Yohanan*, §14)

(25) ***řožak la řožằn***| *malāy yakàm la malāy duam=ī pərsī,*|
One day, the first Mullah asked the second Mullah. (CK.
Shaqlawa, Text 29: *Two Mullahs*, §4)

Other conjunctional adverbs that may be used in NENA are
naqla, ˀənnaqla, ˀannăqa 'now, then', composed of the near deixis
demonstrative **að* and dialectal Arabic *naqla* 'round, trip', and
žnu, composed of originally Kurdish *žə* 'from' and *nū* 'now', e.g.

(26) *ˀay xona zora là maḥkele ču məndi,*| *Mərzá Mḥàmmad.*|
ˀənnaqla pə̀šla yoma kulle.| *mġudelay, mˁušelay, xənna 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) *qṭilili ṭlaθá ḥambušaye t-θelay l-qawrət bàbi,*ˈ *šaqlíwalan qawrət bàbi.*ˈ **žnu** *ðelay xʊnwaθeḥ Mərzá Mḥămad hole qṭilay ḥambušaye tàma.*ˈ

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 conjunctional adverb *vējā, ījā* 'now, then' has the same linking function:

(28) *az꞊ē bə řēkē dā čəm dā b-čəm꞊a māḷā bābē xò.*ˈ **vējā** *hamā haga tu žī dē mə xòy*ˈ *dē təštakī lə mə ḳ̌ày,*ˈ *hamā mən bə-xò!*ˈ

[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 *īnā*,[18] is used to link the narrative unit with the preceding:

(29) *aw haspē xo dē bələ̀nd kət꞊o˩ dē pəšt꞊o pəšt zəvəřə̀t.˩ āvē nằ-va-xot.˩* **īnā** *řožakē duā hàr av hāla bo.˩* **īnā** *suḷtānī aw ḥaspē suḷtānì꞊ya.˩* **īnā** *suḷtān ət-bēžt꞊ē, 'būčì av ḥaspa yē lāwāz꞊a꞊w˩ yē bē-xòlk꞊a꞊w?'˩*

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.[19] This is arguably a conventionalized technique of clause linage for the sake of thematic continuity and event cohesion.[20] For example:

---

[18] 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 *īn* being found in, for instance, *īnā* 'this' in the Gorani of Gawraju (Bailey 2018, 156, 559) and *in* in Persian, or derived from the past form of the Kurdish verb *īnān* 'to bring'.

[19] See Thurman (1975) and de Vries (2005).

[20] 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-šaqəla=w matula baθrət xaṣeu=w **nàbəla ʾaya.**ˈ **nabəla,***
      *ḵum-darela gu xà ġurfa.*ˈ
      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) *zə̀lle yoma*ˈ *θèle yoma*ˈ—*là g-əbən marxənna ʾəllawxun*ˈ—
      ***ḥakəm mà̀θle.*ˈ *ḥakəm màtle,*ˈ** *yale zòre*ˈ *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 xanjarà*ˈ *P̂îrhavīr nà-mərītən.*ˈ ***wakī həndak***
      pařēt qalařaškē ət nāv hawāyē dā barzà ṭ-bīt-ava.*ˈ *ət nāv
      ***hawāyē dā barzà ṭ-bīt-ava.*ˈ** *ṭə-bēžītən, ʿo, ava čə̀ čē bū?ʾ*ˈ
      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) *pəštī bəhorīnā sē čār řožaḵà̀*ˈ *Hənār žī bə sar kàft*ˈ *barē xo datē*
      ***māl yā čòl=a.*ˈ *māl yā čòl=a*ˈ** *bə tənè̀*ˈ *xəškàḵā wē yā ž qasr*
      *hāzər.*ˈ
      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 tù bū* da mārē *mə̀n꞊īš꞊ət bar-dā!*
      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)   *ʾāt betʋx nura ʾitən gu betʋx ʾarqətwa məne ʾăna šə̀ne,*
      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 hằtən⸗o řūž čòn*ˈ
       Several days passed by (lit. days came and days went). (NK. Duhok, Text 26: *Dindik Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §16)

(4)   *zə̀lle yoma*ˈ *θèle yoma*ˈ
       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 *zəle⸗w θele* 'went and came', compare:

(5)   *hāt⸗o čò*ˈ *hāt⸗o čò.*ˈ *nà-ẓānī dē čə ḳatən.*ˈ *bar-av xārə̀ va čū.*ˈ
       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)   *zəle⸗w θèle*ˈ *zəle⸗w θèle⸗w*ˈ *šitàle ganeu l-aw bara xəna.*ˈ
       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?*⌐

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

(8)   *ma čə̀ dastē ma dā nī꞊na!*⌐

      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)   *jəhē dā vīyānā k̲uřkī kat dəlē k̲ə̀čkè.*⌐

      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*⌐ *har har ləbu pə̀le.*⌐

      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 *ʾəlla* from الا *ʾillā* for 'but, except', which introduces a contrast or exception, and the interjection *waḷḷa* or *waḷā* 'by God' fromوالله *wallāhi*, which generally adds assertive force or expresses surprise.

A frequent substitute for when a speaker cannot think of the word is *hənna* or *ʾənna* cognate with Arabic هن *han* (orهنة *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) *ʾaw hole qìma│ xəzya gu **hə̀nna,**│ ḥawš díyeḥ꞊ila.│ **ʾə̀nna.**│*

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 ʿAbdin (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 *hənna*.

(12) *əš bənamālā **awādī** bī ... Bahnīnề bī.│ əš bənamālā Faq əbrāhīmì̀ bī.│*

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*,[21] which can serve as a noun substitute or nominal attribute when the referent is unknown.

(13) *ʾăna jŭlu šmə̀ṭṭe=wan mənu│ **flan** dukta mtù tu=wan.│*
      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 *fəlān* has been combined with *kas* 'person' to substitute the nominal.

(14) *ə̀ḳ šə wānā t-bēšt=ē,│ 'arē **fəlānkas** mā ta čə zārok nằ-bən?│*
      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.

---

[21] Compare Syriac *plān*.

(15) *ʾe, qày,*⌐ *šawpa, šawpət saypa g-nàyəx.*⌐ *šawpət xabra là g-nayəx.*⌐ *xabra nàxwaš, nàxwaš=ile, ʾe.*⌐

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 kārwānḕ safar=ī kərdīya.*⌐ *dzā kārwānakān zīyātər ba payȁn būwa,*⌐ *wa zəyātər=īš ba kàr būwa.*⌐ *ȁ!*⌐

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) *ʾamər xà yoma*⌐ *ʾizəle ʾàwa*⌐ *kàrta qam-ṭaʾəna l-xàṣu.*⌐ *mxuškunta ʾazəl zambilu mzabɜ̀nu.*⌐ *ʾamər bax màlka*⌐ *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*⌐ *mař har pərsyārī a-kə̀rd,* '*da-bī*⌐ *šāhēd-ī gurgᵉy̆ī kᵞè̀ bī?*'⌐

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 Qarṭmin in Mardin (SE Turkey) recorded by Jastrow and Fischer (1989: 165–169).

3.3. Proverbs

(19) *šwirət xàbra*⌐ *là k-eθe nšaya.*⌐
šwirət ḏə̀rba⌐ *naša g-našè̀le.*⌐
šwirət xàbraʾ ḥə̀l mòθa⌐ *naša la g-našele.*⌐
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-nàyəx.*⌐ *šawpət xabra là g-nayəx.*⌐
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 nīšā šīnā xanjarà̀*⌐ *bas žē nā-čətīn šīnā xabarà̀.*⌐
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) *ʾurxət maṛya ta=t malpilè=w|*
      ʾurxət malkuta maxwilè=w|
      ʾadi ʿalma ta=t šawqilè.|

      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!*[22]*|*
      təl mēžūkè!|
      yān žī bərākožūkè! |

      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 ḳəč mubtalā ḳər.|*
      səř lə jārīyē āškərà ḳər,|
      ʿlāwaḳè qalb=əm jədā ḳər.|
      mən žə ʿašqä̀n xaw na-tēʾ|

      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)

---

[22] The ending *-kē* consists of the diminutive suffix *-k* followed by the oblique affix *-ē*.

(25) *Atmān! sīyārē Dəndəlè̀!⸾*
　　pāžo hara Müsəlè̀!⸾
　　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**.⸾*
　　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 bè̀-**dang꞊a**⸾ nà **dang꞊a**⸾ nà **dūr꞊a**.⸾*
　　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 **mnahmòre.*ˈ *kepət ṭura hole b-qale **mzarzòye,*ˈ
       *làyt?*ˈ
       '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)   *dītī꞊yān kotərak lasàr dārē bū*ˈ ***bərġa bə̀rġ꞊ī bū.*ˈ
       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)   *qəṛ qəṛ*
       'cracking noise' (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's
       Adventures,* §60)

4.1.2. Ideophones

(5)   *ṣŭpurta ʾàmra:*ˈ ***wəj wəj wə̀j!*ˈ
       The sparrow said, **'Chirp, chirp, chirp!'** (ChA. Shaqlawa,
       Text 12: *A Pious Fox*, §35)

(6)   *xəre ʾəla xandaq xpə̀rta.*ˈ *zəle xðə̀re xa, tre čarxe*ˈ *xðə̀re,*ˈ *xðə̀re*ˈ
       *ʾu꞊**fiiiit** šitàle ganeu l-aw bara xə̀na.*ˈ *ḳum-šawə̀ra.*ˈ
       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,ˈ **taq, tàq.**ˈ wele dewa … hənna, ʾàrya k-šame qala g-nàxəθ ʾəlle.ˈ*

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) *ˈʾowà!ˈ mux məlxa g-əbatti bàs?!ˈ … ʾanya tre bnási=lu, ʾahat leat bràti,ˈ **wiii!**ʾˈ*

'**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 mərišk=ū barxàk,ˈ dū sē bàrx=ī ha-būn:ˈ **t͡p, t͡p, t͡p, t͡p, t͡p=ū,** ☉²³, ☉, āwā=y kərd: **t͡p, t͡p, t͡p,** 'warə̀n!'ˈ mərišk hātən àw lā.ˈ*

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!** *bȅhn ṭə-k̲atən.ˈ*

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 **tȕf!**ˈ tȕ wəḷāhī!ˈ ʿasabȉ bū.ˈ*

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)

---

²³ 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**| *psù,*| *psù,*| *psù,*| *psù,*| *psù,*| *psù.*| ʾani ʾan qămàye ʾam-riwa, k-amri, l-Bàġdad.|

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

(13) *rkule l-xaṣət susa xwàra.*| ga ʾərta **zəle=w zəle=w zəle=w,** qam-šawə̀ra ga ʾərta xandaq.|

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 bənamằḷakẹ̄*| *hàṣpaḵē makənē,*| *jəhēlḕ*| **galà gala gala gala** lāv ha-bū.|

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

(15) **hēdī hēdī hēdī hēdì**| qünāxā dārəstānē darbằs ḵər.|

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

(16) *baḷằm*| *kotər* **zor zor zor zor** *la řĩwī zīraktə̀r bū.*|

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) *ʾən ʾamruxle,* ***bəššš** b-àwux ʾàzat.ˀ*

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

(18) *gūtī,* ***ʾharȅēē*****!**ˀ*

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) *kŭlay hune* ***bizàla,*** *ˈ* ***bizàla=w,*** *ˈ* ***bizàaala,*** *ˈ lène biyara.ˈ*

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) *īnā aw pə̀rčā wēˈ aw ā dārkē ālāndȉˈ āv **ət-bat ət-bat ət-bàaat**ˈ **ət-bat** ət-čət=a bə̣rkā sultānakȉ̀ dā.ˈ*

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*[24] 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,

---

[24] See Chyet (2003, 103).

Ṭuroyo and local Anatolian Arabic dialects, e.g. Mardini Arabic *ṛās-māṣ* '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 mān 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) *ʾè,ʾ| k-imər, "ăla kùllən, de qumu!| ma fṭàrta ᴬhawnᴬ?| xo là maṛəšə́nnawxun hḗš layle?ʾ|*

'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) *yaʕnī čūnko az žənə̀k=əm| hīn mə bə čāvakī nērīnì̀ əl mə ət-fəkərən?ʾ|*

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) **mì k-iwə́ðwala ta Dălale?**| *g-nabə́lwala kùdyum laxma=w mìyya.*

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 čə̀ ṭ-bēžt=ē?** *ət̠-bēžt=ē, 'na bərà!| bəlā àz avroka bə-mīnəm.ʾ|*

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, ʾə́nnuhu b-zale꞊w ʾati꞊w šula palxi b-rəš jə̀sr,ˈ fa-**mà wədle ʾamír?**ˈ ḥatta ʾə́nnuhu ʾawedwa xa hădiya ṛabta ṭa ʾawwa muhàndəs,ˈ Tòma,ˈ mkarə̀mwale,ˈ **mà wədle biyu?**ˈ*
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-awðən?**ˈ ma t̠-ile bədraya hole mpàla.ˈ*
'What shall I do?', he thought. 'Whatever he puts there, it falls down.' (ChA. Duhok, Text 9: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §2)

(29) *žənəkē žī həzrā xo ḵər, ʿaz čə̀ b-ḵam?ˈ čə nà-ḵam?ˈ kī-và bə-čəm?ˈ az žənkaḵ꞊ā b tanè̠ˈ ət vān čol꞊ū čīyà̠ r̆ā!ˈ dē bar꞊av kī-và čəm?ˈ*
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)   *nǐhàye,ˈ **ṭǎmǎʕuθət** barnàša,ˈ xzi hàtxa=yla.ˈ yaʕni ʾawa kud yoma b-yawəllux tràyˈ lireˈ ʾu šwaqa labole qàysux.ˈ ʾe, **ṭǎmǎʕùθa**ˈ g-əbe, hənna, šaqə̀lwala xǎzəntət hə̀nna, ʾe.ˈ yaʕni ʾay **ṭǎmàʕhum** qaṭəllu,ˈ dàx k-əmrila.ˈ*

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 ʾ**ājə̀z** bītən.*ˈ *Sorā Čavšīn žī husā xo dīyā̀r ət-katən*ˈ *ʾalasās yā ʾ**ājə̀z**=a.*ˈ *xuškēt wē žī husā xo dīyār ət-kan ʾalasās yā ʾ**ājə̀z**=ən.*ˈ

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 ʾàrxe.*ˈ ***kma d-qam**-taxnìle*ˈ ***là mətle,***ˈ ***kma d-qam**-mazwerile **là mətle**.*ˈ

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 jamāˤàt,*ǀ ***čūn** ba dəzì̀,*ǀ ***čūn꞊a** kən maṭràn.*ǀ
      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)   *ʾəθwa xa ʾarya mṣíṭera wewa l-ṭùra.*ǀ ***là qabəlwa čù barnašət zə̀lwale l-ṭura,*ǀ** *maxewa qàyse*ǀ *ʾu ʾawəðwa xà məndi.*ǀ *hàr zə̀lwale,*ǀ *g-naxəθwale, k-ìxəlwale.*ǀ ***là qabəlwa ču xa zawale.*ǀ**
      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 vē kəčè̀ bə-dən mən.| mən nāv̥-ū dangē wē gò lē bī.| kəčakā yā pēškēš̥-ū barkatì̥-ya.| tə-vēt hīn vè̀ kəčē bə-dən mən.'|*

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 *dargăvana* adapted from Kurdish *dargavān*, i.e. *dergevan* or دەرگەوان in Kurdish orthography, meaning 'gatekeeper, guard', then immediately repeats the same concept through the Arabic equivalent *ḥarəs*, i.e. حارس *ḥāris*, meaning 'guard, guardian'. The speaker does not do this only once, but several times in the story whenever he uses the word *dargăvana*.

(7)   *man manxətle **dargăvana**, ᴬḥarəsᴬ, mən š-xòrta?'| làybe manxətle,| ʾàyka manxətle?|*

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 *dəḷnīya* 'sure, certain' then switches to the equivalent Northern Kurdish *pištr̆āst*.[25]

(8)   *bərāyē wē yē **dəḷnīā꞊ya**,│ yē **pəštr̆ā̀st꞊a**│ Fātmā sababī bo nà̀-bēžītən│*

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 *ʿarrāf* 'fortune teller' with its Kurdish equivalent *xēvzānk*.

(9)   *got꞊ē, ʿhāl꞊ū masalēt ʿarāfī yēt xēxzānkī avà꞊na│ ət-vēt az tà bə-kəm haykalē pərē dā.ʾ│*

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)

---

[25] 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 ʾətwa **xa malka** gu de màta.*[|]
     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 **qašàk** ha-bū.*[|] *aw qaša zəmān꞊ī galak p̀s bū.*[|]
     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 *ʾida* 'hand' in (3) and Kurdish *musalaḥà* 'police car' in (4).

(3) *ʾida wəṛe l-adya ʾələt ṣŭpurta gòrīn.*[|]
     He stretched out **a hand** to the sparrow. (ChA. Shaqlawa, Text 12: *A 'Pious' Fox*, §18)

(4)   *suwārī **musalaḥà꞊yān kərd꞊ū lo Hawlērē.*|

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 func-
tion, 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.	ʾawwa	dawwa		vī	aw
sg.f.	ʾayya	dayya	av	vē	
pl.	ʾanna	danna		vān	(a)wān

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

(5)   *ʾətwa trè malaye.*| *ʾăna tre malàye,*| *malayət xà mata꞊wənwa,*|
xa məzgaft꞊u xa màta.| *ʾăna tre malàye*| *xəzmətət dè məzgaft*
ʾudiwa| *gàwət*| *maṣròxe*| *qatət mṣalòye꞊w*| *gu ḥdarət gu taziye꞊w*
məndyàne.|

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,ꞌ dīyānatā wān nà ēḵ bī.ꞌ **av lə** Bahnīnē bəsəḷmằn bī.ꞌ **avē** dītərē —nə̀-zānəm—,ꞌ ījā ān ān masīhì bīꞌ ān zaradaštì bī.ꞌ*

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 qašằk ha-bū.ꞌ **aw qaša** zəmān꞊ī galak pìs bū.ꞌ*

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 retreived 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 kùřē xo⌐ žǝnbābē dastē kǝčā xo gə̀rt got꞊ē,⌐ ʿhǝstoyē ta bǝ-škētə̀n!⌐ mā ava šūl bū tà kǝ̣rī?⌐ mā ava ta čə̀ bǝ sarē ma īnā!⌐ mā ava čə darmāna tà īnāy?⌐* **gūt꞊a** *kǝčā xo yā žǝ řǎst řā.⌐* **gūt꞊ē,** *ʿava har àw꞊a awē ta š⌐ Hǝnārè̄ sǝtāndī.ʾ⌐* **gūt꞊ē,** *ʿna na ava na àw꞊a!ʾ⌐* **gūt꞊ē,** *ʿbalē bāwar ḳa àw꞊aʾ⌐* **gūt꞊ē,** *ʿawa čə̀ bū?ʾ⌐—hāšārē wa—* **gūt꞊ē,** *ʿpīsātì̄ bū.ʾ⌐* **aw ži** *galà gala ʾājǝz bū.⌐ har tǝ wē damī dā damē wa* **gotī꞊ē**⌐ *wakī gēžbūnaḳè̄ bū čēk bū⌐ ū hè̀l ǝf ʾardī* **kàt.**⌐*

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 *ʾamər* lit. 'he says' and the only indication of a switch, e.g.

(9) *har yeksar mən tắ ṛa wəre,⎮ babu tele b-qàmu.⎮ mən ráw bitáye=le.⎮ ʾamər: yà babi,⎮ ʾaxtsi janux gu fắhì ma=w| ʾadya mutwe=wət.⎮ ʾamər: mà bəxdare=wət?⎮ ʾamər: madam baṛ naša gənsakŭ la mayù te=le,⎮ tsə̀ ṭəma lət gu de dùnye.⎮ xaye lə̀t gawaw.⎮ ʾamər: ya bròni⎮ qamà ʾatxa səḥla lux?⎮ mdiwə̀ne?⎮ mà =ile?⎮ bròni⎮ ʾamər: ʾitù⎮ xur ʾắta.⎮ kursìyi čyawəna qàtux.⎮ malka k-udənux l-dùki.⎮ ʾàtxa k-udən qatux,⎮ ʾàtxa k-udən qatux.⎮ ʾamər:⎮ kŭle be fàyde=na⎮ ắna.⎮ là g-nafʿili.⎮ ʾamər: matənux bàxta,⎮ mustàqbal.⎮ yàle k-awelux.⎮ gu yàle k-paṣxət,⎮ gu bèta k-paṣxət.⎮*

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 ʕaqə̀le,ˈ* **wela** *trə̀sta.ˈ*
      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-ʾaynət ʾə̀nna,*⸠ *ʾaynət kàlba*⸠ *mbalboṣe 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* *ʾaqə̀rwa*⸠ *hola bənxata kùmta,*⸠ *ʾəš-malka dəd-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 *wăl-*, targeting the addressee in a dialogue, can express impatience and irritation:

(13) **wə̀lux** *yəmu!*⸠ *bratət mà ʾəl ʾurxət ʾalaha?*⸠
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 particles also serve as an attention-drawing strategy.

(14) *barē xo dat꞊ē wērī galakā bē-sar-ū-bàr꞊a.*⸠ **ahā**, *bərāyak̭ì ṭ-bīnītən,*⸠ *sar ēk̭ šə wān taxtā yē nəvəstì꞊ya.*⸠
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)   *bərāyē maẓə̀n jo ṯ-kavītən.| əṯ-bēžt꞊ē, 'ā̀ ava čan təštaḵī sàyr꞊a*
       čē boy!|

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 atten-
tion to a certain event in the narrative and establish event cohe-
sion with the preceding clause through tail-head linkage.[26]

(1)   *băle **šqulle nắra dìdox**!| **nắra dìdox šqùlle**,| g-emər, mxìle go
      reši,| kmà ʾibox!| ʾu tùrre reši bət năra.|*
      '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 ʾamír?| ʾămír mà wədle?**| ʾamər…|*
      So, **what did the prince do? What did the prince do?** He
      said… (ChA. Zakho, Text 10: *The Bridge of Dalale*, §19)

---

[26] See §2.4.

(3) ***babay màθle.***ǀ *babət Mərzá Mḥắmad=u ʾAḥmád Čắlăbi=w*
*Mḥămad Čằlăbi,*ǀ *məθle bàbay.*ǀ *malka màθle.*ǀ
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 matāḷēt xo řằ-t-kan=o*ǀ *t-hēn=a šařē xo t-kàn.*ǀ *tə-hēn=a šařǐ*
*ət-kan=o*ǀ *šařē xo t-kàn=o.*ǀ *… ət wī šařǐ dā*ǀ *… xə̀škēt wī*ǀ *… **t-**
ēn=a koštə̀n,ǀ ***t-ēn=a koštə̀n xə̀škēt wī.***ǀ *hatā də-zəvřət=a qasrè*ǀ
*aw yē dargàhē pəštē řā čoyn.*ǀ
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) *kāfərằ gərt **av payxambara=w,***ǀ *awē lə sīyằrē Dəndəlī=ya.*ǀ
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 *žī*.

(6)   *tu dē īšāra darmānì bēžĭ꞊ya ma⌐ ʾardìžī̀ tḕ bū mà dastnīšān ḵay⌐*
       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 Hinar—A Girl Called Pomegranate Grain*, §106)

7.1.3. Word Order in NENA

In the majority of NENA dialects of northwestern Iraq and southeastern Turkey,[27] 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:⌐ ʾana măḥammàd꞊iwən.⌐ ʾe gət məre măḥammád꞊iwən, kəmu ptə̀xle⌐ ṣŭpurta ʿərə̀qla.⌐ ʾawhù!⌐ ʾana qa mà məri măḥammadi?⌐ hawənwa mira jə́rjəs꞊iwən ʾàna…⌐*
       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

---

[27] 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 in thetic sentences, e.g.

(8) *qəmle θele xà qala.ˈ mère,ˈ*
     '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 ʾaqərwa* '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 ʾawa gəm-mapə̀qle xanjar diye.ˈ malka gəm-yawəlle ṭàleḥ,ˈ
     ʾu **xanjart ʾaqərwa** gəm-garə̀šle.ˈ ʾaqərwa npəlla tàma məθta.ˈ*
     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 qădamta qə̀mle.*ǀ ***xa karta** wədwale qàtu.*ǀ *ṭlaha qupyàta=w*ǀ ***xa ʾawa=š qa de baxta xṣùṣi** wədwale.*ǀ
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
Present	*ət-čə-t*	*a-čē-t*	*k-šaqəl* or *y-šaqəl*	Narrative present
Past Perfective	*čū*	*čū*	*šqəlle*	Narrative past
			qam-šaqəlle	Transitive narrative past (NENA only)
Present Perfect	*čūy*	*čū-a*	*šqíla=yle*	Evidential (Kurdish only); Anterior
Imperative	*hař-a*	*bə-řo*	*šqūl*	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) *nxə̀tle ʾəl darta.ǀ ʾila **xàze**ǀ darga bằra;ǀ **hole kəlya** qam-tằra,ǀ yaʿni ḥàrəs.ǀ **hole kəlya₌w** hole ṭwìʾa.ǀ*

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) *Mīrzằ Məhamadī šīr₌ū matāḷēt xo **īnān₌a darē**.ǀ o əš … pičakē š wān **dìr kat₌o** lə wārā har **hằt₌o čo**.ǀ **dīt** du sè sīyārakē t-ēn₌o.ǀ yē b-sar **t-èn**.ǀ*

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).[28] This notwithstanding, verbs of motion are also the more frequent ones to occur in the imperative in general.

---

[28] The narrative imperative also occurs in Arabic folktales, e.g. Talmon (2001, 224–225).

(13) *psèle⌐ psù,⌐ psù,⌐ psù,⌐ psù,⌐ psù,⌐ psù!⌐*

He went off. Off you go 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 jā xarkakà **dā-nīštī=na**.⌐ šaw=īš dərễž **būa**.⌐ ba tāybatī šaw-ē hāwĭn-ằn.⌐ **dā-nīštī=na** hatā dawrī saˁằt da=ū yāzday.⌐ la īš=ū kārī **hātī=na-wabàw**⌐ aw jā sawzà=w mīwà=w masalan⌐ qaysī=ū məšməša=w aw xwārnằnay ka **ha-būa**.⌐ **dằ=yān-nāy-aw** haqāyat=yān **gễřāy=n-awa**⌐ hatā **řoyīštĭ=ya**.⌐*

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 ʾərta **zəle=w zəle=w zəle=w**, qam-šawə̀ra ga ʾərta xandaq.*�
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 šằbānīyē.*ᵖ
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) *dɪ̀v dā čītən bərāyē wē.ᵖ **dīv dā ṭ-čī, dīv dā ṭ-čī, dīv dā ṭ-čī,** barē xo dat=ē p̂īražənà̀ḳ ā lə wērē.*ᵖ
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 p̂īražə̀na čū=a žorē,ᵖ **har dar-nà-hāt**ᵖ **har dar-nà-hāt.**ᵖ zor=ī pē čừ.*ᵖ
'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.[29]

In Kurdish this idiom indicates incomplete action equivalent to English *not yet*, as in the following case:

(19) ***nānē xo ḵar ḵə̀r ḵar na-ḵar⌉ sībaràḵ꞊ā gala galak꞊ā ṃazən p̂əž dīyār ḵər⌉***

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,[30] for example:

(20) ***mà θele⌉ ʾu là θele⌉ là wədla b-xabreḥ.⌉***

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).

---

[29] This syntagm also occurs in Arabic where it expresses dilemma (Talmon 2001, 222).

[30] 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,ˈ **də** sì!*
      As you wish, go **then**! (ChA. Duhok, Text 18: *A Dog, a Ewe and a Wolf*, §5)

(22)   ***dà̀** řā-bīn žə vē rē bə-čīn!ˈ*
      Let us rise and leave this place! (NK. Duhok, Text 34: *Mirza Muhammad's Adventures*, §30)

8.0. Notes on Storytelling Techniques[31]

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 story-telling 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 Harmashe (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,

---

[31] 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, advices 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 ǧirətta*,[32] where *mar* goes back to the construct state of the Aramaic word *mare* 'master, owner' and *ǧirətta* to Arabic غيرة *ǧayra* from the root *ǧyr* 'to be jealous'. The phrase *mar ǧirətta* 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 ǧirətta* 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 *ǧirətta* thus epitomises this.

---

[32] The cultural significance of this term was pointed out to me by Lourd 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=ḕ.ᐟ barē xo dat=ē čḕ ṭ-bīnītən?ᐟ p̂īražžənàk̭=a.ᐟ pəštā wē yā xằr.ᐟ dəfnā wē yā mażə̀n.ᐟ xəzēmak̭ ət dəfnā wē dằ=ya,ᐟ kū həndī təblak̭ā mərūvī̀ tēdā=ya.ᐟ həndī təblakā mərovī yā va-k̭ərì=ya xəzēm.ᐟ ū gala galak yā k̭ərḕt=a.ᐟ yā zaʕìf=a.ᐟ nūkēt wē dərḕž=ən.ᐟ*

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

	Feature	Section
Formulas	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.
Repetition	Recapitulation and tail-head linkage	§2.4.
	Repetition and inversion	§7.1.
	Repeated motion	§7.2.5.
Sound symbolism	Reduplication in onomatopoeia	§4.1.5
	m-Reduplication	§4.1.5
Discourse markers	The verb 'to rise'	§2.1.
	Additive particles *ži* and =*š*	§2.2.
	ʾe / a 'yes'	§3.2.
	yaʿni 'it means'	§3.2.
	waḻḻā 'by God'	§3.2.
Verbal syntax	Narrative Present	§7.2.2.
	Narrative Imperative	§7.2.4.
	Modal particle *de/ dā*	§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

Speaker: Dawid Adam

(1) *gu   Zàxo⌐   bnaya   wɛ-wa   xa   gə̀šra,⌐*
     in   Zakho   build.INF   COP.3PL-PST   one   bridge

In Zakho, they were building a bridge.

gəšra   y-amr-əx-le   gəšr-ət   Dalàle,⌐   b-zon-ət
bridge   IND-say-1PL-O.3SG.M   bridge-of   Dalale   in-time-of

ʿAbbasìye.⌐   kəmət   ban-í-wa-le   ta-t   qaṭər-∅-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,

ʾo   gə̀sra,⌐   là   qaṭər-∅-wa.⌐   yaʿni   la
that.M   bridge   NEG   arch-3SG.M-PST   it.means   NEG

maxe-∅-wa   l-ġðàðe.⌐
hit-3SG.M-PST   to-each.other

its arch was not completed, it was not put together.

(2) *xa   yòma*ˈ *ʾo   gòra,*ˈ *ʾàġa,*ˈ *xze-le*
    one   day   that.M   chief   agha   see.PFV-3SG.M

*b-xə̀lm-e*ˈ
in-dream-his

One day, the chief, the agha, saw in his dream

*ʾaw   zàngīn꞊we-wa,*ˈ   *xɛlàn-a.*ˈ   *ʾíθ-wa-le*   *šawwà*
he   rich꞊COP.3SG.M-PST   powerful-SG.M   EXIST-PST-3SG.M   seven

*ʾarxaθa,*ˈ   *ʾíθ-wa-le*   *šawwà   kalaθa.*ˈ   *ʾíθ-wa-le*
mills   EXIST-PST-3SG.M   seven   daughters.in.law   EXIST-PST-3SG.M

*šawwà   susyaθa.*ˈ
seven   mares

that he was rich and powerful. He had seven water mills. He had
seven daughters-in-law. He had seven mares.

*malaxa   mər-e   ʾəll-e   dìye,*ˈ   *'mən   kul   xa*
angel   say.PFV-3SG.M   to-him   OBL.3SG.M   from   every   one

*mən   dànna*ˈ   *lazəm   xa   mbàṭl-ət.*ˈ
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   qàṭl-ət.*ˈ
from   daughters.in.law-your   one.F   daughter.in.law-your   kill-2SG.M

*mən   susăwaθ-ux   xa   susta   qàṭl-ət.*ˈ
from   mares-your   one   mare   kill-2SG.M

mən   ʾarxaθ-ux   xa   ʾarxe   màkl-ət.'ˈ
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) *ʾanna malaxa mər-e ʾəll-e diye ta*
     these angel say.PFV-3SG.M to-him OBL.3SG.M to

ṭ-awə̀d-∅-la[|] *ta-t ʾo gə̀šra*[|] *maxe-∅ l-ġðàðe,*[|]
SBR-do-3SG.M-O.3PL to-SBR that.M bridge hit-3SG.M to-each.other

qàṭər-∅.[|]
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 ʾo gə̀šra[|] *b-šə̀nne,*[|] *b-šə̀nne,*[|] *šurye-la*
say.INF that.M bridge for-years for-years begin.PFV-3PL

bnaya ta-t maṭe-∅ l-ġðàðe,[|]
build.INF to-SBR reach-3SG.M to-each.other

lɛle mə̀sy-a.[|]
NEG.COP.3SG.M be.able.PTCP-SG.M

Indeed, they had started building the bridge (and had been work-
ing on it) for years and years in order for it to come together, but
it could not (be completed).

(4) *qìm-ɛ=le*[|] *xa ʾarxe*
     rise.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M one mill

mbùṭl-ə=l-la.[|] *ʾu xa mən susyaθ-e*
stop.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M-O.3SG.F and one from mares-his

qṭìl-ə=l-la.[|] *ʾu Dalàle,*[|] *kalθ-e*
kill.PTCP-SG.M-COP.3SG.M-O.3SG.F and Dalale daughter.in.law-his

diye zur-ta šəmm-a Dalàle=we-wa,[|]
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—

ʾɛ   Dalàle| qím-ɛ=le   mšùdr-a| mənn-a
that.F   Dalale   rise.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M   send-PTCP-SG.M   with-her

ʾixala   ta-t   nábl-a   ta-palàxe| ṱ-ila   plàxa|
food   to-SBR   take-3SG.F   to-workers   SBR-COP-3SG.F   work.INF

rəš   gə́šr-ət   Dalàle. |
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)   ʾanna   mìr-ə-l-la, | ʿku   nə̀šma|
      they   say.PTCP-SG.M=COP.3SG.M-O.3SG.F   every   soul

t-màty-a| rəš   gəšr-ət   Dalàle| ʾɛ   nəšma
SBR-arrive-3SG.F   on   bridge-of   Dalale   that.F   soul

bəd-pɛ̀š-a| prìm-ta, | qṱìl-ta. ʾ|
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.'

ʾit-la   kalba   mə̀nn-a. | ʾən   hawe-∅-wa   kalba
EXIST-3SG.F   dog   with-her   if   be-3SG.M-PST   dog

zil-a   qămày-a, | qaṱl-i-wa   kàlba. |
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   qaṱl-í-wa-la   Dalàle. |
NEG   kill-3PL-PST-O.3SG.F   Dalale

They would not have killed Dalale.

qìm-e=la| kalba   šqil-le   rìxa| t-xa   kàlləš. |
rise.PTCP-PL=COP.3PL   dog   take.PFV-3SG.M   smell   of-one   carrion

But the dog picked up the scent of carrion.

kalləš	*yăð-ət*	*mòdi=la?*ˈ	*xa*	*ʾərba*	*mìθ-a.*ˈ
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) | *zìl-le* | *kalba* | *rəš* | *dɛ̀* | *kalləš.*ˈ |
|----------|---------|-------|-------|-----------|
| go.PFV-3SG.M | dog | on | OBL.that.F | carrion |

The dog went to the carrion.

ʾayya	*Dalale*	*piš-la*	*qam-ɛ̀θa.*ˈ	*zìl-la,*ˈ
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,*ˈ	*qəm-dawq-ì-la.*ˈ
arrive.PFV-3SG.F	to-bridge	PFV-seize-3PL-O.3SG.F

she reached the bridge and they seized her.

*qəm-parm-ì-la.*ˈ	*matt-i-la*	*gu*	*gɔ̀šra.*ˈ
PFV-slaughter-3PL-O.3SG.F	place-3PL-O.3SG.F	in	bridge

and slaughtered her. They put her in the bridge.

gəšra	*qṭìr-re.*ˈ	*mxe-le*	*l-ġðàðe.*ˈ
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:*ˈ
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,

ʾu   sel-ət   xoθ-e   raqiq-a
and   river-SBR   under-it.M   narrow-SG.M

The river under it is narrow.

ʾu   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 p̂ərruš   we-le*
     from-that.M   dog-SBR   treacherous   be.PFV-3SG.M

On account of that dog which was treacherous.

ṣle-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

Speaker: Seran Sher

Audio: https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/230/

(1)   *ʾana*   *šəm-i*   *Serán*   *ʾAdday*   *Šèr=ìle.*⏐
     I   name-my   Seran   ʾAday   Šer=COP.3SG.M

My name is Seran Adday Sher.

brāt   *Ḥane*   *ʾÀwdu=iwan.*⏐   *naš-ət*   *Šaqlàwe=wan.*⏐
daughter.of   Ḥane   ʾAwdu=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*   *ʾə̀šti=u*   *xamša*
year.of   thousand=and   nine   hundred=and   sixty=and   five

hwè-te=wan⏐   *gu*   *Šàqlawa.*⏐
be.PTCP-SG.F=COP.1SG.F   in   Shaqlawa

I was born in 1965 in Shaqlawa.

(2)   *ʾət-i*   *xa*   *ḥŭčita*   *šəm-aw*   *trè*   *malaye=le.*⏐
     EXIST-1SG   one   story   name-its.F   two   mullahs=COP.3SG.M

I have a story called 'The Two Mullahs'.

ʾət-wa=u   lə̀t-wa| mən   bāb   ʾalaha=u   ʾoda
EXIST-PST=and   NEG.EXIST-PST   than   father   God=and   mother

Maryam   bəš   rab-a   lət-wa=u   qàt=iš   la
Mary   more   big-SG.M   NEG.EXIST-PST=and   never=also   NEG

k-awe-∅,|
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.| ʾăna   tre   malàye,| malay-ət
EXIST-PST   two   mullahs   these   two   mullahs   mullahs-of

xà   mata=wən-wa,| xa   məzgaft=u   xa   màta.|
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)   ʾăna   tre   malàye| xəzmət-ət   dè   məzgaft
      these   two   mullahs   service-of   OBL.that   mosque

ʾud-i-wa| gàwət| maṣròxe| qatət   mṣalòye=u|
do-3PL-PST   in   call.INF   to   pray.INF=and

gu   ḥdar-ət   taziye=u   məndyàne.|
in   attend.INF-of   funerals=and   things

These two mullahs served the mosque by calling to prayer, at-
tending funerals and so on.

(4) *xa   mən   dăna   malàye,| qằmət   waxt-ət   ṣlot-ət*
    one   from   OBL.these   mullahs   before   time-of   prayer-of

xuškə̀nta   hawe-∅-wa,| baraw   băyani   ʾawa   ʾəl
dawn   be-3SG.M-PST   towards   morning   he   at

məzgàft   hawe-∅-wa.| hawar   maṣrə̀x-∅-wa꞊u| qù
mosque   be-3SG.M-PST   call   call-3SG.M-PST꞊and   rise.IMP

mṣaloye꞊u| mə̀ndi꞊u| bằng   yawəl-∅-wa.|
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) *ʾaw   malà   xət| gălak   mət̔àsər   payəš-∅-wa.|*
    that.SG.M   mullah   other   very   upset   become-3SG.M-PST

The other mullah used to get very upset.

ʾamə̀r-∅-wa| ma̔úl꞊ila   ʾàt| qằmet-i   l-tàma
say-3SG.M-PST   possible꞊COP.3SG.F   you   before-me   to-there

haw   -ət?|
be   -2SG.M

'How is it possible for you to be there before me?'

naše   lò̃m   wəd-lu.| ʾamr-i   ʾāt   ʾəl   ma   məndì
people   blame   do.PFV-3PL   say-3PL   you   for   what   thing

People began to blame him saying 'Why

ʾaxni   ʾəty-e꞊wət   lăxa?| la   xəzmə̀t-an
we   come.PTCP-SG.M꞊COP.2SG.M   here   not   service-our

k-ud-ət|
IND-do-2SG.M

have you come to us here? You do not offer us service

la	*b*ằ*ng*	*č-aw-ət.*ǀ		ʾ*e*	*qa*	*ts*ə̀	*məndi*
not	call	IND-give-2SG.M		yes	for	no	thing

bāš	*lew-ət.*ǀ
good	NEG.COP-2SG.M

nor do you call to prayer. You are not good for anything.'

(6)	*fà*ǀ	*g*ǎ*lak*	*mətʾàsər*	*pəš-le.*ǀ		*x*ə̀*r-e*ǀ
	and	very	upset	become.PST-3SG.M		look.PST-3SG.M

So, he became very upset. He thought to himself (lit. he saw).

ʾ*amər-*∅*:*	ʾ*az-ən*	*baqr-ən*	*mən*	*de*
say-3SG.M	go-1sg.M	ask-1sg.M	from	OBL.that

*xàwr-i*ǀ	ʾ*aw*	*mən*	*didi*	*qəṣa*	*haya*	*k-àte-*∅*.*ǀ
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.

ʾ*ana*	*kut*	*tira*	*d*ə̀*rang,*ǀ	*gu*	*ts*ə̀	*məndi*
I	every	time	late	in	no	thing

la	*g-matp-ən.*ǀ
NEG	IND-reach-1SG.M

I am late every time, I do not catch up with anything.

(7)	ʾ*àmər-*∅*:*ǀ	*m*ǎ*la.*ǀ	ʾ*amər-*∅*:*	*hà*	ʾ*axoni-i,*ǀ
	say-3SG.M	mullah	say-3SG.M	yes	brother-my

*mà=ila?*ǀ
what=COP.3SG.F

He said, 'Mullah.' He said, 'Yes, brother, what is the matter?'

ʾamər-∅:   mur   qàt-i,ˈ   gu   mà   məndi   ʾāt   qămət
say-3SG.M   say.IMP.S   to-me   in   what   thing   you   before

waxt-ət   mṣaloye   l̀ăxe=wət?ˈ   ʾamər-∅:   qa   mà?ˈ
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?

ʾamər-∅:   hemən   naš-ət   ʾawayi   lèw-u
say-3SG.M   believe.IMP.SG   people-of   village   COP.PST-3PL

mən-i   razi.ˈ
with-me   happy

He said, 'Believe me, the people of the village are not happy with me.

k-əmr-i   ằtˈ   dràng   k-at-ət=uˈ   qat   qal-ux
IND-say-3PL   you.s   late   IND-come-2SG.M=and   to   voice-your.SG.M

là   k-šăm-əx-le.ˈ
NEG   IND-hear-1PL-O.3SG.M

They say "You come late and we never hear your voice.

dyara   la   yan   qal-ux   băsim-a   lèw-eˈ
seems   NEG   either   voice-your.SG.M   pleasant-SG.M   NEG.COP-3SG.M

yan   ṭàmbal=iw-ət,ˈ   là   k-at-ət.ˈ
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) ʾàmər-∅:| mhèmən,| ʾana   xà   məndi
     say-3SG.M   believe.IMP.S   I   one   thing

ʾamr-ən-ux   ʾàxon.|
say-1SG.M-O.2SG.M   brother

He said, 'Look, let me tell you one thing, brother.'

ʾamər-∅:   čăd-ət   mà?| 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) ʾăna   tre   ʾišunyàta| xa   har   màye   g-mašxən-a
     these   two   wives   one   always   water   warm-3SG.F

qat-i,| xa   pəštumằḷ   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   jə̀le
one   sock.PL-my   IND-put-3SG.F-O.3PL   for-me   one   clothes

ḥazər   k-ud-a-lu| xa   qundə̀r-i=š   ṣŭbuġ
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   hàdax| xa=u   tre   ʾana   ḥàzər   k-peš-ən.|
for   thus   one=and   two   I   ready   IND-become-1SG.M

qa   hadax   qằmet-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) *ʾamər-∅:   màtu?*ˈ
       say-3SG.M   how?

He said, 'But how?'

*ʾàmər-∅*ˈ *yaʿni*   *raʾy-ux*   *mà꞊ile?*ˈ
say-3SG.M   it.means   view-your.SG.M   what꞊COP.3SG.M?

He said, 'I mean, what is your advice?'

*ʾàmər-∅:*ˈ   *raʾy-i꞊le*   *ʾawd-ət-u*   *trè*   *ʾišunyata.*ˈ
say-3SG.M   view-my꞊COP.3SG.M   do-2SG.M-O.3PL   two   wives

'My advice is for you to have two wives.'

*ʾamər-∅:   mətʾàkkəd꞊iwət?*ˈ   *ʾamər-∅:   ma   de   mdzàrəb!*ˈ
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!

ʾaxon-ux   *mà*   *mare꞊le*   *qat-ux?*ˈ
brother-your.SG.M what   say.INF꞊COP.3SG.M to-you.SG.M

*ʾamər-∅:   ha   halʿàn   k-az-ən.*ˈ
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 məzgàft*ˈ *ʾizòl-e*
      just leave.PFV-3SG.M   from mosque   go.PFV-3SG.M

*xa   baxta   mte-le.*ˈ
one   woman   bring.PFV-3SG.M

As soon as he left the mosque, he went and married another woman.

ʾite-le   *qam-yawòl-∅-a*ˈ   *qam-matù-∅-la*   *l-beta.*ˈ
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.

ʾamər-∅:	ʾànaˈ	ṣloθ-ət	ʾaṣə̀rte=la,ˈ	b-izàl=ən
say-3SG.M	I	prayer-of	evening=COP.3SG.F	in-go.INF=COP.1SG.M

qa	məzgaft.ˈ
to	mosque

He said, 'It is time for the evening prayer. I am going to the mosque.'

(12)	hătà	dər-eˈ		qàl-ətˈ	ʾăna	tre	ʾišunyàt-uˈ
	until	return.PFV-3SG.M		voice-of	these	two	wives-his

l-dàw	bal-ət	Zaba	ṭape-∅-wa.ˈ
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	ʾamr-a-wa:ˈ	kalba	xəry-ət	màla.ˈ
one	say-3SG.F-PST	dog	defecated.PTCP.SG.M-of	mullah

One said, 'May a dog shit on the mullah!'

ʾaw	xə̀t	ʾamr-a-wa:ˈ	ʾatxa	ʾələt	riš-ət	màla.ˈ
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.'

ʾe	xət	ʾamr-à-wa:ˈ	kalba	l-qawr-ət	màla
that	other	say-3SG.F-PST	dog	on-grave-of	mullah

xare-∅.ˈ
defecate-3SG.M

Another said, 'May the dog shit on the mullah's grave.'

bejəga	mən	xatwat-u=u	ʾòd-u,ˈ
besides	from	sisters-his=and	mother-his

Besides his sisters and his mother,

ʾani   kŭl-u   qam-mat-i-lu   l-gor.ᐦ
those   all-them   PFV-bring-3PL-3PL   to-situation

they included them all in their curses.

(13)   ma   ʾàwəd-∅?ᐦ   wə̀r-eᐦ   ʾamər-∅:
       what   do.3SG.M   entered.PFV-3SG.M   say-3SG.M

mà=ila?ᐦ
what=COP.3SG.F

What could he do? He entered [the house] and said, 'What is the
matter?'

ʾamər-∅:   bằš=ila,ᐦ   ʾaxtun   qa   mà   ʾəli
say-3SG.M   good=COP.3SG.F   you.PL   for   what   me

mṣawore=witun?ᐦ
curse.INF=COP.2PL

He said, 'All right, why are you swearing at me?

ʾana   mà?ᐦ   ʾamr-i: xer   ʾằt   muty-an=iwət?ᐦ
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)   ʾàl-mŭhəmᐦ   là   ʾide-leᐦ   màtuᐦ   tre
       the-important   NEG   know.PFV-3SG.M   how   two

ṭlaha   să̆ằt   fət-lu.ᐦ
three   hours   pass.PFV-3PL

Well, he did not know how the next two or three hours passed
by.

qă̆mət   yoma   bàyəz-∅,| ʾərə̀q-le| mən   qam   ʾidắt
before   day   pour-3SG.M   flee.PFV-3SG.M   from   before   hands.of

dan   trè   ʾišunyata| ʾət   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,

ʾằt   ʾatxa   wəd-lux| ʾằt   ʾatxa   wəd-lux,|
you   thus   so.PFV-2SG.M   you   thus   do.PFV-2SG.M

'You did this, you did that',

b-e   ga   mṣawoṛe   l-ʾəġdàde.| reš-u
at-that   time   swear.INF   at-each.other   head-his

gă̆lak   gă̆lak   mrè-le.|
much   much   hurt.PFV-3SG.M

at the same time swearing at each other. He had a big headache.

(15)   *ʾizə̀l-e.| lèle=le,| lebe   tsə   məndi*
       go.PFV-3SG.M   night=COP.3SG.M   cannot.3SG.M   any   thing

ʾawəd   gu   mə̀zgaft.|
do.3SG.M   in   mosque

He went away. It was night time and he could do nothing in the
mosque.

la   ʾib-e   màṣrəx-∅| la   ʾib-e   mằla
NEG   can-3SG.M   call-3SG.M   NEG   can-3SG.M   mullah

bang   ʾawəd-∅.|
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-∅.	ʾizə̀l-e	tăṛa
NEG	any	thing	cannot-3SG.M	do-3SG.M	go.PFV-3SG.M	door

qam-patə̀x-∅-le.	ʾitù-le	ʾələl.
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	ʾələ̀l.	ʾamər-∅	qatət	mằla,
	sit.PRF-3SG.M	above	say-3SG.M	to	mullah

He sat on the upper floor. He said to the mullah,

ʾàmər-∅,	waxt-ət	mṣalòye=le.	xaz-əx	mən-u
say-3SG.M	time-of	pray.INF=COP.3SG.M	see-1PL	with-him

mən	jàn-u	maḥčoye=le	mằla.	k-àmər-∅:
with	self-3SG.M	talk.INF=COP.3SG.M	mullah	IND-say-3SG.M

waxt-ət	mṣalòye=le?
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	waxt-ət	mṣaloye	lèla.	ʾe	ga	xa	ġàfwa
no	time-of	pray.INF	NEG.COP.3SG.F	that	time	one	nap

šaql-ən-i	xantsa	ʾèn-i	matw-ən-u.
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-∅:	xzè-le	xa	ṭăpằṭap	ʾitè-le.
	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		*ʾe*	*mằla*	*xət*	*ʾite-le.*⏑
see.PFV-3SG.M		that	mullah	other	come.PFV-3SG.M

ʾàmər-∅:⏑	*ʾitè-lux?*⏑
say-3SG.M	come.PFV-2SG.M

He saw the other mullah come. He said, 'Have you come [al-
ready]?'

ʾàmər-∅:⏑	*naša*	*xoš*	*nàša!*	*madam*	*ʾāt*	*bet-ux*
say-3SG.M	man	good	man	if	you.SG	house-your.SG.M

mṣuṭə̀m-wa-le,⏑	*qa*	*mà*	*bet-i*	*qam-mṣaṭm-ət-e?*⏑
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?

ʾāt	*bet-ux*		*nura*	*ʾitən*	*gu*	*bet-ux*
you.SG	house-your.SG.M		fire	EXIST	in	house-your.SG.M

ʾarq-ət-wa	*mən-e*	*ʾăna*	*šə̀ne,*⏑	*qa*	*mà*	*bet-i*
flee-2SG.M-PST	from-it.M	these	years	for	what	house-my

qam-awd-ət-e?⏑
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]?'

(18)	*ʾamər-∅:*	*qa*	*ma*	*bas*	*ʾàna*	*mər-ux?*⏑
	say-3SG.M	for	what	only	me	say.PFV-2SG.M

He said, 'Why have you blamed me?[1]

ʾāt	*la*	*ṭləb-lux*	*mən-i*	*məsà ʿăda?*⏑
you.S	NEG	ask.PFV-2SG.M	from-me	help

Did you not ask for help from me?

---

[1] Lit. why have you said [this] only to me?

ʾay   məsaʿăda   dəx   lèw-ət   bəxzaya?ˈ   qằmet-i
this   help   how   NEG.COP-2SG.M   IN-see.INF   before-me

l-məzgaft=iw-ət,ˈ   hăta   par-ux   ḥălằl
at-mosque=COP-2SG.M   so.that   money-your.SG.M   legitimate

ʾawdət-u.ˈ
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   ʾamər-∅   ʾāt   bet-i   nura
            DEIC.2SG.M   say-3SG.M   you.SG   house-my   fire

qam-awd-ət-e.ˈ   ʾamər-∅:   bas   bèt-i   ḳàwla
PFV-do-2SG.M-O.3SG.M   say.3SG.M   only   house-my   ruin

payəš-∅,ˈ   mà?ˈ   ʾăye=la   ʿeš-an   weta   xà,ˈ
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)   ʾăya   ḥŭčĩtaˈ   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=uˈ   reš-u
head-his   NEG   be-3SG.M   ache.INF=and   head-his

mamrè-∅-le,ˈ   ʾawdza   ʿàbra   mən   de   naša
cause.to.ache-3SG.M-O.3SG.M   thus   lesson   from   OBL.this   man

k-šaql-ì-la.ˈ
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*   *dàn*   *naše|*   *ʾaxtsa*   *gu*   *qŭsət*
IND-say-3PL-O.3SG.F to   OBL.those people   thus   in   story.of

naše   *là*   *(a)te-∅꞊u*   *ʾazəl-∅,|*   *gu*   *mox-ət*
people   NEG   come-3SG.M꞊and   go-3SG.M   in   mind-of

jàn-u   *ʾawəd-∅,|*   *ʾaxtsa*   *gu*   *tănayat-ət*   *naše*
self-3SG.M   do-3SG.M   thus   in   speeches-of   people

la   *qayəm-∅꞊u*   *yàtu-∅.|*
NEG   stand-3SG.M꞊and   sit-3SG.M

[The story] tells people that one should not act[2] 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|*   *tsə̀*   *məndi꞊š*
       so   come.PFV-1SG   come.PFV-1SG   no   thing꞊also

la   *wəl-u*   *qa-ti.|*
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].

---

[2] Lit. come and go.

CHRISTIAN ARAMAIC OF DUHOK
TEXT 14: §1–19

Dorota Molin

Speaker: Yawsep Elisha Ishaq

Audio: https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/224/

(1)	ʾana	Yawsəp	ʾEliša	ʾIsḥàq	mən	Dǔhok=iwən.ˈ
	I	Yawsep	ʾEliša	ʾIsḥàq	from	Duhok=COP.1SG.M

I am Yawsep Elisha Ishaq, from Duhok.

yəmm-i	naš-ət	Mar	Yàqo=la,ˈ	šəmm-aḥ	Maryam
mother-my	people-of	Mar	Yaqu=COP.3SG.F	name-her	Maryam

Toma	Jubrà̀ʾəl.ˈ
Toma	Jubrà̀ʾəl

My mother is from Mar Yaqo her name is Maryam Toma Jubrail.

g-əb-ən	ʾamr-ən-nux	xa	maθalǔke=la,ˈ
IND-want-1SG.M	tell-1SG.M-O.2SG.M	one	tale=COP.3SG.F

d-àrya ˈ	ʾu barnàša.ˈ
of-lion	and man

I'd like to tell you a story, about a lion and a man.

(2)	ʾəθ-wa	xa	ʾarya
	EXIST-PST	one	lion

There was a lion

*mṣíṭer-a   wewa   l-ṭùra.*ˈ
rule.PTCP-3SG.M   COP.PST.3SG.M   on-mountain

[who] controlled a mountain.

*là-qabəl-∅-wa   čù   barnaš-ət   zə̀l-wā-le   l-ṭura,*ˈ
NEG-accept-3SG.M-PST   no   human-SBR   go.PFV-PST-3SG.M   to-mountain

*māxe-∅-wa   qàyse*ˈ   *ʾu awəð-∅-wa   xà-məndi.*ˈ
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].

*hàr   zə̀l-wā-le,*ˈ
if   go.PFV-PST-3SG.M

*g-nāxəθ-∅-wa   ʾə̀ll-e   k-ìxəl-∅-wā-le.*ˈ
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.

*là-qābəl-∅-wa   ču   xa   zə̀l-wā-le.*ˈ
NEG-accept-3SG.M-PST   no   one   go.PFV-PST-3SG.M

He did not allow anyone to enter.

(3)   *ʾu xa   faqìra   ʾəθ-wa.*ˈ
      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

*qàyse*ˈ   *d-mzābə̀n-∅-nay   gyan-e*ˈ
wood.PL   SBR-sell-3SG.M-O.3PL   self-3SG.M

He had to go and get wood to sell it

d-ʿayəš-∅   *b-gàw-ay.*ˈ
SBR-live-3SG.M   in-with-them

in order to make a living through it.

ʾe,   là-k-əθy-a   *mənn-e*ˈ *xāze-∅-le*   *dáʾəman*
yes   NEG-IND-come-3SG.F   with-him see-3SG.M-O.3SG.M   always

yala   zor-a   *bə-myaθa m-kəpna*   *barqul-eḥ*ˈ
child   little-SG.M   in-die.INF from-hunger   before-him

He was not able to see [his] little child dying of hunger in front
of him.

ʾu la-t-te   *čʾu məndi*   *d-māxəl-∅-lay.*ˈ
and NEG-EXIST-3SG.M   nothing   SBR-feed-3SG.M-O.3PL

And he had nothing to feed them.

(4)   *k-imər-∅*   *ʿʾana   mðǎḥ-ən*
      IND-say-3SG.M   I   sacrifice-1SG

'I shall sacrifice [myself].

b-za-li   *l-day*   *ṭura*
FUT-go-1SG   to-OBL.that.F   mountain

d-ile   *ʾarya gaw-e*   *d-āxəl-∅-li,*
SBR-COP.3SG.M   lion   inside-it.3SG.M   SBR-eat-3SG.M-O.1SG

I shall go to the mountain where the lion is and might eat me.

*nayx-ən   mən   xày-i.*ˈ
rest-1SG.M   from   life-my

I will be spared [the burden of] my life.

*bə̀š ṭu   mət   xaz-ən   yale   zor-e   myaθa m-kəpna.*ˈ
better   than   see-1SG.M   children   little-PL   die.INF   from-hunger

It is better than seeing [my] little children dying of hunger.'

šqəl-le   *xmar-eḥ*   *ʾu məndi*   *dìyeḥ,*   *xàwl-eḥ,*ˈ
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*   *ʾaw*
     arise.PFV-3SG.M   also   he

ʾu zəl-le   *d-awəð-∅*   *qayse*   *ʾu àθe-∅.*ˈ
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.

θe-le,   *là-θe-le,*   *b-nayəx-∅*   *m-gyan-e.*ˈ
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-∅,*ˈ   *zəl-le,*   *mṭe-le*   *l-ṭura*
believe.IMP-SG   go.PFV-3SG.M   arrive.PFV-3SG.M   to-mountain

*ʾu nàr-eḥ*ˈ   *d-qaṭe-∅*   *qàyse.*ˈ
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.*ˈ
hit.PFV-3SG.M   crack   crack

He started cutting, *crack, crack*.

wele   *dehwa…*   *hənna*   *ʾàrya*
DEIC.COP.3SG.M   wolf   thing   lion

k-šame   *qala*   *g-nàxəθ-∅*   *ʾəll-e.*ˈ
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) *ˈha,   barnàša,*ˈ
    ha   human

*ˀati   l-ēθ   šəmy-a   gàw-i?*ˈ
you.sg   neg-cop.2sg.m   hear.ptcp-sg.m   about-me

'Hey, human, haven't you heard of me?

dax   k-iθ-ət   ˀati   d-qaṭ-ət
how   ind-come-2sg.m   you.sg   sbr-cut-2sg.m

*ˀu məndyane d-g-əb-ət   ˀu là-g-əb-ət.*ˈ
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   ṭura   dìyi=le?*ˈ
in   obl.that.f   mountain   mine=cop.3sg.m

Haven't you heard that this mountain is mine?'

*k-imər-∅,   ˈbăle, băle,*ˈ *wən   šmiy-a*
ind-say-3sg.m   indeed   indeed   cop.1sg.m   hear.ptcp-sg.m

*ˀu ˀana ta   hàdax=ən   ˀəθy-a.*ˈ
and I   for   such=cop.1sg.m   come.ptcp-sg.m

He said, 'Indeed, I have heard, and that is why I have come.'

*ˈdàxi ta   hadax=ət   ˀəθy-a?*ˈ
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-∅,   ˈmhèmən-∅,   mer-i   b-axl-ət-ti*ˈ
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,

ʿal ʾaqál   là-xaz-ən   yal-i   zor-e   myaθa   m-kəpna
at least   NEG-see-1SG.M children-my little-PL die.INF of-hunger

barqū́l   ʾèn-i.ˈ
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 ṭu   mət   xāz-ə̀n-nay.ˈ
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   barqū́l   yale   zor-e   hawe-∅   bə-myaθa
die-1SG.M before   children little-PL be-3PL   in-die.INF

m-kəpna   ʾu xàz-ən-nay.ˈ
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   ʾàti=žiˈ   b-kàypux=wən.ˈ
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   ḥəmayata   dìyux=iwən.ˈ
I   in   protection your.SG.M=COP.2SG.M

I am under your protection.

g-ə̀b-ət,ˈ   ʾana   ḥalala   ṭà-lux.ˈ
IND-want-2SG.M   I   prey   for-you.SG.M

If you want, I am yours.

ʾu g-ə̀b-ət   ži,ˈ   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*ˈ   *d-máʿyəš-ən*   ʾ*ayằl*   *diyi.ʾ*
of-desperation-my   SBR-support-1SG.M   children   my

out of the need to feed my children.'

(8) *k-imər-∅,*   ʿ*madám*   *t-ila*   *hàdax,*ˈ
     IND-say-3SG.M   since   SBR-COP.3SG.F   thus

ham,   *hàm*   *ṭa-li*   *rand=ila*ˈ
even   even   for-me   advantage=COP.3SG.F

ʾ*u ham*   *ṭà-lux*   *rand=ila.ʾ*
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.'

ʿ*dằxi?*ˈ
how

'How?'

k-imər-∅   ʾ*ati*   *b-awð-ət*   *qayse*   ʾ*u b-làbl-ət,*ˈ
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].

ʾ*u ana*   *b-yāw-ə̀n-nux*   *maṣraf*   *diyux.*ˈ
and I   FUT-give-1SG.M-O.2SG.M   salary   your.SG.M

And I will give you your living.

b-za-lux   *hàm*   *ṭa-li*   *b-aθ-ət.*ˈ
FUT-go-2SG.M   even   for-me   FUT-come-2SG.M

You will go and come to me.

ʾ*aygət*   *aθ-ət*   *māθ-ət-ti*   ʾ*ixàla,*ˈ
when   come-2SG.M   bring-2SG.M-O.1SG   food

When you come and bring me food,

hàm   ʾana   ʾaxl-ən.'
even   I   eat-1SG.M

I too will eat.'

'ʾe,'   k-imər-∅,   'kabìra   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-∅   k-iwəð-∅   xà*
      every   day   IND-go-3SG.M   IND-do-3SG.M   one

kart-ət   hənna...   ṭen-ət   qàyse,'   g-làbəl-∅.'
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-∅   qàyse'   ʾu čʾu xa   là-labole,
take-3SG.M   wood   and no-one   NEG-take.INF

ʾàjran   gə-mzābən-∅-nay.'
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   ʾəstəġlal   d-šùqa.'
IND-know-2SG.M   advantage   of-market

You know, taking advantage of the market.

mhàymən-∅,'   kud-yom   hol   b-əθàya,'
believe.IMP-SG   every-day   DEIC.COP.3SG.M   in-come.INF

labole   ʾu mzabone   qàyse,'   ʾu naše   bə-xzàya,   ʾe.'
take.INF   and sell.INF   wood   and people   in-see.INF   yes

Believe me, he comes every day, transports and sells wood, peo-
ple can see this, yes.

*ʾu ani   xene   là-g-yar-i   za-lay.*ˈ
and they   others   NEG-IND-dare-3PL   go-3PL

Others do not dare go [to the mountain].

(10) *xa   yoma...*
      one   day

One day…

ṭábⁿān   d-k-i-θe-∅   d-maθe-∅   ʾixàla,
of.course   SBR-IND-come-3SG.M   SBR-bring-3SG.M   food

*k-əxl-i   mùxðaðe.*ˈ
IND-eat-3PL   together

Of course, when he brought food, they would eat together.

*ʾawa   ʾu arya   k-əxl-i   mùxðaðe   tama.*ˈ
he   and lion   IND-eat-3PL   together   there

He and the lion ate together there.

*yaⁿni,   hàm   ʾixal-ət   faqira*ˈ   *ⁿala   ḥsàb-eḥ*
it.means   even   food-of   poor.man   on   expense-his

*k-aw-e.*ˈ
IND-be-3SG.M

So the poor man's food was also at his expense.

*ʾe,   ʾarya   g-yāwəl-∅-le   ⁿṭa-li   ʾu ṭà-lux.*ˈ
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   ʾarya,*ˈ
      one   day   when   see.PFV-3SG.M   lion

One day, he realized that the lion

yaʿni,   kabìra   wəd-le   faðl   ʾəll-eḥ.
I.mean   great   do.PFV-3SG.M favour   to-him

was doing him a great favour.

k-imər-∅,   ʿba,   xòn-i,
IND-say-3SG.M   look   brother-my

ham   ʾati   mšarəf-∅   gèb-an.
also   you.SG.M   honour-3SG.M   to-us

He said, 'Brother, come over one day to ours, honour us [in this way].

ʿazm-ən-nux   xa   yoma   l-gèban,
invite-1SG.M-O.2SG.M   one   day   to-to-ours

mənn-an   xùl-∅.'
with-us   eat.IMP-SG

I'd like to invite you to ours, eat with us.'

k-imər-∅,   ʿmà   y-xaləf-∅.   *b-àθ-ən.'*
IND-say-3SG.M   what   IND-matter-3SG.M   FUT-come-1SG.M

He says, 'Of course, I will come.'

ba   ʾarya   mən   mằni   b-zade-∅?
look   lion   from   who   FUT-fear-3SG.M

Whom does a lion fear?

là-zad-e   mən   ču   xa.
NEG-fear-3SG.M   from   no   one

He fears no one.

(12)   *mhaymən-∅   wə̀d-lay,*
        believe.IMP-SG   do.PFV-3PL

Believe me, they did so,

zə̀l-lay   mṭe-lay   l-bà̀yθa.'
go.PFV-3PL   arrive.PFV-3PL   to-house

they went and arrived at [the man's] home.

k-imər-∅   ta   bà̀xt-eḥ'   *'bà̀xta,*'
IND-say-3SG.M   to   wife-his   wife

g-dary-at   'ixala   ta   'à̀rya,'
IND-put-2SG.F   food   for   lion

dre   jŭda   'u ṭà-li   dre   jŭda.'
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-nà̀xθ-i,   jŭda.'
IND-say-3SG.M   because   when   saliva   IND-descend-3PL   portion

galize   g-naxθ-i   gu   'ixà̀la.'
saliva   IND-descend-3PL   in   food

He said, 'Because when his drool runs down, it drips on the food.

ləbb-i   là-k-izəl-∅,'   ya'ni,   'è̀.'
heart-my   NEG-IND-go-3SG.M   I mean   yes

I lose my appetite, yes.'

'ay=ži   zə̀l-la,'   *θe-la   muθe-la   'ixà̀la.*'
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   'à̀rya   jŭda,'   *'u ṭà-leh   jŭda.*'
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.ˈ
      and they begin.PFV-3PL in-eat.INF

They started eating.

xə̀l-le   ʔarya ˈ ʔu xlə̣ṣ-le   ʔu θe-le
eat.PFV-3SG.M   lion   and finish.PFV-3SG.M and come.PFV-3SG.M

l-ṭùra.ˈ
to-mountain

The lion ate his food up and came back to the mountain.

derət   yoma   zəl-le   faqìra.ˈ
second   day   go.PFV-3SG.M poor.man

Next day, the poor man went up.

k-imər-∅,   ʻha,   ha,   faqìra,ˈ
IND-say-3SG.M ha   ha   poor.man

kud-yom   k-əxl-ət-wa   mə̀nn-i,ˈ   ʔàxxa,ˈ
every-day IND-eat-2SG.M-PST with-me   here

galiz-i   là-naxθ-i-wa   gawət   ixala?ˈ
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-mṭe-li   l-gebòxun
OBL.that.F SBR-arrive.PFV-1SG   to-you.PL

kəm-ʕazm-ə̀t-ti,ˈ
PFV-invite-2SG.M-O.1SG

dre-lux   jŭda   ṭa-li   ʔu ta   gyàn-uxˈ   jŭda.
put.PFV-2SG.M   portion to-me   and to self-your.SG.M portion

When you invited me, you served me separately and yourself sep-
arately.

(14)   *ʾe,*   *g-mestànkəf-ət*   *mən*   *galiz-i?*'
       yes   IND-be.revolted-2SG.M   of   saliva-my

You find my [drool] revolting?

ʾay,   *ʾày꞊ila*   *faðl*   *diyi*   *ʾəll-ux?*'
that.F   that.F꞊COP.3SG.F   favour   my   to-you.SG.M

Is this [how you pay back] my favour to you?

ʾaxxa   *k-əxl-ət-wa*   *mənn-i*   ^A*ʕala*   *ḥsàb-i*^A'
here   IND-eat-2SG.M-PST   with-me   on   account-my

galiz-i   *là-k-iθe-∅-wa*   *gawət*   *ixala.*'
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.

ʾaygət   *θe-li*   *gèb-ux,*   *galiz-i*   *nxə̀t-le*
when   come.PFV-1SG   to-your.SG.M   saliva-my   descend.PFV-3SG.M

gu   *ʾixala,*   *g-yarəm-∅*   *ləbb-ux*   *mənn-i.*'
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.'

(15)   *k-imər-∅*   *ṭà-le,*'   *ʿxzi*   *d-amr-ə̀n-nux,*'
       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.

ʿmàθi-le   *năr-ux,*
bring.IMP.SG.M-O.3SG.M   axe-your.SG.M

mxi-le   *gu*   *rèš-i.*''
hit.IMP.SG.M-O.3SG.M   in   head-my

Bring your axe and hit me with it on the head.'

'*dằxi   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?'

'*ʾən   là-max-ət-te   b-reš-i,   dằha   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-rèš-i.'
must   hit-2SG.M-O.1SG.M   in-head-my

You must hit me with it on the head.'

kəm-māxe-∅-le   b-reš-eḥ.'
PFV-hit.3SG.M-O.3SG.M   in-head-his

He hit him on his head.

ʾu arya   zəl-le   ta   gyàn-eḥ.'
and lion   go.PFV-3SG.M   to   self-his

The lion went away to his own [place].

ʾu faqira   θè-le,'
and poor.man   come.PFV-3SG.M

wəd-le   qàyse' *ʾu 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   faqìra,*'
        pass.PFV-3SG.M   other-SG.M   poor.man

ʾu ʾarya   l-àt-te   ʿalaqa   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,*ᶦ
until   one   day

*ʾàrya,*ᶦ *nǝ̀x-le*   *reš-eḥ.*ᶦ *reš-eḥ*   *nǝ̀x-le.*ᶦ
lion   heal.PFV-3SG.M   head-his   head-his   heal.PFV-3SG.M

Until, one day, the lion's head recovered. His head recovered.

ʾu θe-le,   *xaze-∅*   *faqira*
and come.PFV-3SG.M   see-3SG.M   poor.man

hole   *ʾǝθy-a*   *l-ṭura*   *b-waða qàyse.*ᶦ
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,*ᶦ   *k-imǝr-∅,*   *'hà   faqira!*ᵓᶦ
arrive.PFV-3SG.M   poor man   IND-say-3SG.M   aha   poor man

He said, 'Hello, poor man!

*'ᵓuhu,   ʾahlan wa-sàhlan,*ᶦ
oh   welcome

dǟxi=wǝθ?'   *maqṣad: mroḥǝb-le*   *gàw-e.*ᶦ
how=COP.2SG.M   meaning   welcome.PFV-3SG.M   to-him

Welcome, how are you?' I mean, he welcomed him.

(17) *k-imǝr-∅,*   *'faqìra,*ᶦ
        IND-say-3SG.M   poor.man

*dǝ   xur-∅   gu   rèš-i,*ᶦ
SBR   look.IMP-SG   in   head-my

He said, 'Oh poor man, come and look at my head.

xz-i   *nìx-a*   *reš-i,*   *ʾǝn   là.'*
look.IMP-SG.M   heal.PTCP-SG.M   head-my   or   not

See whether or not my head has recovered.'

xayer-∅   gu   rèš-eḥ.   k-imər-∅,   ʿmhàymən-∅ˈ
look-3sg.m   in   head-his   IND-say-3SG.M   believe.IMP-SG

hole   piš-a   bə̀š ṭu   m-qamayθa.ˈ
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.

^A*mašaḷḷa*^A*…   škɩ̀r   ʾalaha.ˈ*
what.god.willed   thank.PTCP   God

Thank God!'

k-imər-∅,   ʿl-àwa   b-kayp-i   basˈ
IND-say-3SG.M   NEG-COP.3SG.F   in-desire-my   but

ʾati   kəm-jabr-ə̀t-ti   d-max-ən-wa   ʾəll-ux.'
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-∅,   ʿxzi,   faqìra,   reš-i*
         IND-say-3SG.M   see.IMP.SG.M   poor.man   head-my

nə̀x-le.ˈ
heal.PFV-3SG.M

He said, 'Look, poor man, my head has recovered.

bas   xabr-ux   hə̀š l-èle   nix-a,ˈ
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 ʾixàla.
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.

băθər mət nəx-le   reš-i
after   when heal.PFV-3SG.M head-my

ʾu xabr-ux   l-èle   nix-a,|
and word-your.SG.M NEG-COP.3SG.M heal.PTCP-SG.M

^A*ḥaq ʾu mustaḥàq*^A*=ile d-axl-ən-nux.'*
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.'

qəm-le   kəm-ʾāxəl-∅-le   b-e   dàna.|
arise.PFV -3SG.M PFV-eat-3SG.M-O.3SG.M in-this.F time

He devoured him immediately.

(19) *ʾe,   qày.*|
      yes   so

Yes, it is so.

šawpa, šawp-ət saypa g-nàyəx-∅.|
impact   impact-of sword IND-heal-3SG.M

The impact of a sword heals.

šawp-ət   xabra   là-g-nayəx-∅.|
impact-of word   NEG-IND-heal-3SG.M

[But] the impact of words does not heal.

xabra   nàxwaš,   nàxwaš=ile,   ʾe.|
word   evil   evil=COP.3SG.M yes

A word can be very evil, yes.

JEWISH ARAMAIC OF DUHOK
TEXT 16: §1-11

Dorota Molin

Speaker: Sabi Avraham

Audio: https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/184/

(1)   ʾəθ-wa   xa   beθa   d-ʿāyə̀š-∅-wa…ˈ
       EXIST-PST   one   house   SBR-live-3SG.M-PST

bab-ət   beθa   d-ʿāyəš-∅-wa   mən ṣìwe.ˈ
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 ṭùra,ˈ   q-qāte-∅-wa   ṣìwe.ˈ
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,ˈ   dāré-∅-wa-lu
IND-bring-3SG.M-PST-O.3PL,   place-3SG.M-PST-O.3PL

rəš   xmara   dìde,ˈ
on   donkey   his

He would bring them, place them on his donkey.

(2) *g-ewə̀ð-∅-wā-lu*   *kàrta,*ˈ
     IND-make-3SG.M-PST-O.3PL   bundle

He would bind them in a bundle.

g-dāré-∅-wa-lu   *kàrta*ˈ *rəš xmara dìde.*ˈ
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-nābə́l-∅-wa-lu   *šùqa,*ˈ   *gə-mzābən-∅-wa-lu.*ˈ
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-∅-wa,*ˈ   *g-meθe-∅-wa*   *ʾïxala*
IND-come-3SG.M-PST   IND-bring-3SG.M-PST   food

*ta yalunke dìde.*ˈ
to   children   his

Then, he would come back home and bring food for his children.

u-k-eθe-∅-wa   *k-əxl-i-wa*   *g-ʿeš-i-wa*
and-IND-come-3SG.M-PST   IND-eat-3PL-PST   IND-live-3PL-PST

*bət ʾànna,*ˈ *mən mzabon-ət sìwe.*ˈ
in   those   from   selling-of   wood.PL

When he came, they would eat and live on this, on the money
from wood selling.

(3) *xă yoma zəl-le*   *l-ṭùra,*ˈ
    one   day   go.PFV-3SG.M   to-mountain

b-qaṭe-∅   *sìwe,*ˈ *xze-le*   *xa gùrga.*ˈ
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.

ʾaw   gurga   g-emər-∅   ṭa-le
that.M   wolf   IND-say-3SG.M   to-him

mằ   wət   ʾəθy-a?ˈ
what   COP.PRS.2SG.M   come.PTCP-SG.M

This wolf said to him, 'Why have you come?'

g-emər-∅   ʾana   g-əb-ən...ˈ
IND-say-3SG.M   I   IND-want-1SG.M

g-ʿeš-ən   bət   qaṭʾ-ən   ṣìwe.ˈ
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-máʿă-yəš-ən   yalunke   dìdi.ˈ
and-sustain-1SG   child   my

I sell it in the market and provide for my children.

bə-dè   ʾana   g-ʿeš-ən.ˈ
in-OBL.this.F   I   IND-live-1SG.M

In this way I make my living.'

(4) g-emər-∅   ʾana   b-yāw-ən-nox   kud-yom
     IND-say-3SG.M   I   FUT-give-1SG.M-o.2SG.M   every-day

xă   lira   kurkamàn-a.ˈ
one   coin   golden-SG.F

He replied 'Every day, I will give you one golden coin.

si   maṣrəf-∅   ta   yalunke   didox.ˈ
go.IMP.SG.M   spend.IMP-SG   to   children   your.SG.M

Go, spend it on your children.'

g-emər-∅,   *ᴷxera xudèᴷ₌la,*ˈ
IND-say-3SG.M   ᴷGod's favourᴷ₌COP.PRS.3SG.F

ᴷxera xudeᴷ   *bət*   *kərmànji*   *g-əmr-i.*ˈ
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*ˈ
take.PFV-3SG.M   coin   golden   his   from   wolf

u-θe-le   *l-šùqa.*ˈ
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*   *ʾìxala*   *u-julle*   *ta*
and-buy.PFV-3SG.M   to   himself   food   and-clothes   to

yalunke   *dìde,*ˈ
children   his.

He bought food for himself and clothes for his children.

u-mabsuṭ   *mər-re*   *ta*   *bàxt-e*ˈ
and-pleased   say.PFV-3SG.M   to   wife-his

waḷḷa   *ʾana*   *xze-li*   *xa*   *xùra*ˈ
indeed   I   meet.PFV-1SG   one   friend

go   *ṭura*ˈ   *bắle*   *gùrgā₌le.*ˈ
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—

ʾana   b-yāwən-nox   xă   kurkamàna.ˈ
I   FUT-give-1SG.M-O.2SG.M   one   golden

"I will give you one golden coin."

ʾ ùd-le   ⸗li   ʾədyo   kurkamàna.ˈ
make.PFV-3SG.M   ⸗O.1SG   today   golden

He has given me a golden coin today.'

kud-yom   g-ezəl-∅   l-ṭura   u-g-ewəð-∅
every-day   IND-go-3SG.M   to-mountain   and-IND-make-3SG.M

ṣ ìweˈ   u-k-eθe-∅   gurga   g-yāwəl-∅-le
wood   and-IND-come-3SG.M   wolf   IND-give-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

kurkamàna.ˈ
golden

So every day, he goes to the mountain, cuts wood and the wolf comes and gives him a coin.

(7) pəš-le   xằ   yarxa,ˈ   trè,ˈ   ṭl̀àha,ˈ   xă   šàta.ˈ
     stay.PFV-3SG.M   one   month   two,   three,   one   year

One month went by, then two, three, one year.

baxt-e   g-əmr-a   waḷḷa
wife-his   IND-say-3SG.F   indeed

hatxa   xồš   naša,ˈ   ḅ ằš⸗ile.ˈ
such   good.SG.M   man   good.SG.M⸗COP.PRS.3SG.M

His wife said, 'What a kind man! He is good.

ʾana   g-əb-an   ʾoð-an-ne   qàðdre,ˈ
I   IND-want-1SG.F   make-1SG.F-O.3SG.M   dishes

I want to make some dishes for him,

qaðr-an-ne   *u-ʿazm-ax-le*   *kəs-lan*   *l-bèθa.*ˈ
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.

ʾoð-ax-le   *xa*   *ʾïxala*   *basìm-a*ˈ   *u-məstaʿən-∅*
make-1PL-O.3SG.M   some   food   good-SG.M   and-enjoy.oneself-3SG.M

go beθa   *kəs-lan*   *u-doq-ax*   *qàðre.*ˈ
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-∅*   *ṭa-la*   *šùq-∅-le.*ˈ
      IND-say-3SG.M   to-her   leave.IMP-SG-O.3SG.M

He says to her 'Leave him alone.

*gùrgā=le.*ˈ   *ḥèwan=ile.*ˈ
wolf=COP.PRS.3SG.M.   animal=COP.PRS.3SG.M

He's a wolf. He's an animal.

mằ   *b-aθe-∅*   *go*   *naše?*ˈ   *naše*   *b-zàdʾ-i.*ˈ
what   FUT-come-3SG.M   in   people?   people   FUT-fear-3PL

What does it mean "He will come among people?" People will be afraid.

mbàrbəʿằ-∅-lu   *gurga*   *yaʾəl-∅*   *go maθa.*ˈ
alarm-3SG.M-O.3PL   wolf   enter-3SG.M   in city

A wolf that enters the city will alarm them.'

g-əmr-a   *là,*ˈ   *là,*ˈ   *mar-∅-re.*ˈ   *ʾàθe-∅.*ˈ
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-∅*   *ṭà-le,*ˈ
     go.PFV-3SG.M   IND-say-3SG.M   to-o.3SG.M

g-emər-∅   *ʾana*   *l-èb-i*   *ʾaθ-ən.*ˈ
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*   *nàše.*ˈ
wolf   =COP.PRS.1SG.M   IND-eat-1SG.M   man

I am a wolf. I eat people.

b-aθ-ən   *go*   *maθa*   *kull-u*   *mbàrbəˁ-i.*ˈ
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-∅   *gurga.*ˈ
IND-say-3SG.M   wolf

So the man went and told his wife, this is what the wolf said.

ʾaz   *g-əmr-a*   *šud*   *ʾaθe-∅*   *b-lèle,*   *xə̀ška.*ˈ
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*ˈ   *l-əθ-wa*   *beherùθa*ˈ.
in-OBL.that.M   time.SG.M   NEG-EXIST.PST   light

At that time, there were no lights.

l-əθ-wa   ᴬˁ*anṭariq*ᴬ   ᴴ*menoròt*ᴴ.
NEG- EXIST-PST   by.way.of   lamps

ᴬ*kahraba*ᴬ   *l-ə̀θ-wa.*ˈ
ᴬelectricityᴬ   NEG-EXIST-PST

There were not, for instance, lamps. There was no electricity.

xə̀ška   *wewa.*ˈ
darkness   COP.PST.3SG.M

It was dark.

u-pāyəš-∅-wa   *xə̀ška,*ˈ   *kull-a*   *maθa*   *xə̀ška*
and-stay-3SG.M-PST   darkness   all-3SG.F   city   darkness

*wawa.*ˈ
COP.PST.3SG.F

When it got dark, the whole city would be dark.

(11)   *g-əmr-a*   *dammət*   *payəš-∅*
      IND-say-3SG.F   when   stay-3SG.M

*xə̀ška,*ˈ   *šud*   *ʾaθe-∅,*ˈ
darkness   let   come-3SG.M

She said, 'Let him come after it gets dark.

beθ-an   *wele*   *bə-dumằhik*   *dət*   *maθa.*ˈ
house-our   COP.DEIC.3SG.M   in-outskirts   of   city

Our house is situated on the outskirts of town.

b-aθe-∅   *kəs-lan*   *beθa*   *u-b-àzəl-∅.*ˈ
FUT-come-3SG.M   by-us   house   and-FUT-go-3SG.M

He will come straight to our house and go back.

čŭ-xa   *la*   *k-xāzè-∅-le.*ˈ
no-one   NEG   IND-see-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

No one will see him.'

g-emər-∅   *baxt-i*   *b-oð-a-lox*   *xa*   *ʿazime*   *bằš.*
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   *ṭa-le*   *b-àθ-ən,*ˈ   *g-emər-∅*   *b-àθ-ən.*ˈ
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-∅,   ᴴ*tov*ᴴ*,*   *b-àθ-ən.*ˈ
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

---

(1) *ʾaw   brət   màlka   wewa.*ˈ
    that.M   son.of   king   COP.PST.3SG.M

He was the son of a king.

*brət   màlka   wewa.*ˈ
son-of   king   COP.PST.3SG.M

He was the son of a king.

*ʾawa   u-beθa   là-θe-le   l-ʾuxðaðe.*ˈ
he   and-house   NEG-come.PFV-3SG.M   to-each.other

He did not get along with his family.

*šqe-le   b-dənye   xə̀š-le.*ˈ
go.PFV-3SG.M   in-world   go.PFV-3SG.M

He wandered in the world, he went.

šqe-le   b-dənye   qam-xaze-∅-le   wə-re
travel.PFV-3SG.M   in-world   PFV-see-3PL-O.3SG.M   pass.PFV-3SG.M

*gu   xa   ʾaθra   xèna,*ˈ   *xa   xayatuθa   xèna.*ˈ
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   sə̀jən.'
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?'*
        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:

ʾə̀štá   tawraθa   zằbun'   xala   əštá   ṭṛìṣ-e.'
six   cows   skinny   eat.INF   six   healthy-PL

six skinny cows were devouring six healthy cows.

u-mà   xze-le   b-xulme   diyye   har   ʾawu   b-gan-e?'
and-what   see.PFV-3SG.M   in-dream-his   his   also   he   in-self-his

What did [Joseph] see in a dream?

ʾawu   b-gan-e   mà   xze-le
he   in-self-his   and-what   see.PFV-3SG.M

b-xulm-e   ᴬnafs   əl-leleᴬ?'
in-dream-his   same   DEF-night

What did he see in his dream the same night?

xze-le   b-xùlm-e,'   hole   xzada   dàxla,'
see.PFV-3SG.M   in-dream-his   COP.DEIC.3SG.M   harvest.INF   wheat

He saw in his dream that they were harvesting wheat.

ʾə̀šta   baqaθa   d-daxla   sahd-i   lbaq-e   dìyye.'
six   bundles   of-wheat   bow.down-3PL   to-his   his

Six bundles of wheat worshipped his bundles.

(3) *mər-e*   *ˀana*   *yið-ən-na*   *mằndiˌla,*ˈ
     say.PFV-3SG.M   I   know-1SG.M-O.3SG.F   what=COP.3SG.F

bas   *l-è-maxk-ən-na.*ˈ
but   NEG-IND-tell-1SG.M-O.3SG.F

He said 'I know what it is [about], but I won't tell.'

mər-e   *'mằndiˌle?*ˈ   *màxke-∅-le*   *mằndiˌle!'*
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,*ˈ   *l-è-hane-∅-li.*ˈ
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.

ˀana   *u-xunwàθ-iˌwax.*ˈ
I   and-brothers-my=COP.1PL

'It is about me and my brothers.

t-aθe-∅   *yoma*   *ˀan*   *xunwaθ-i*
FUT-come-3SG.M   day   these   brothers-my

p-sàhd-i   *ˀəll-i,*ˈ   *bas*   *qam-ṭard-ì-li.'*ˈ
FUT-bown.down-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*   *'la,*   *ˀad*   *ˀawa*   *b-yiðè-∅-le*
     say.PFV-3SG.M   no   SBR   he   FUT-know-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

xulm-ət   *dawa*   *màlka,*ˈ   *m-nabl-àx-le.'*ˈ
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   *mằndi=la*   *qəṣətta,*ˈ *faqìra?*ˈ'
say.PFV-3SG.M what=COP.3SG.F story   poor.man

He said 'What is the story, poor fellow?

mằndi=le   *qəṣətt-ət*
what=COP.3SG.F story-of

ʾəštá *tawraθa* *zăbun* *ʾaxl-i* *ṭrìṣ-e?*ˈ'
six   cows   skinny   eat-3PL healthy-PL

What is the story of six skinny cows devouring fat ones?'

mər-e   *ʿpt-aθe-∅-lux*   *ʾəštá* *šənne* *xa* *xàδδa,*ˈ
say.PFV-3SG.M FUT-come-3SG.M-to.you six   years   some famine

xa   *garàni,*ˈ *ʾajebùθa.*ˈ
some starvation wonder

He said 'You will have six years of famine, a rise in prices, something astonishing.

(5)   *m-daha* *mhàm-i,*ˈ   *mḷi-le*   *gunìye,*
      therefore believe.IMP-SG.M fill.IMP.SG.M-O.3PL sacks

ʾanna *maxazən*   *diyyux* *xəṭṭe* *u-dàbra,*ˈ
these   store.houses your.SG.M grains and-wheat

b-bary-a   *garani* *b-xèla,*ˈ *yaʿni*   *xelàn-ta.*ˈ
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.

ʾəštá   šənne   garani   pt-awy-a.ˈ'
six   years   famine   FUT-be-SG.F

There will be a terrible famine for six years.'

ʾawa   mjumeˤ-le   mjumeˤ-le   mjumeˤ-le
he   gather.PFV-3SG.M   gather.PFV-3SG.M   gather.PFV-3SG.M

mjumèˤ-le.ˈ
gather.PFV-3SG.M

[The king] began to store wheat, more and more.

(6)   ʾayya   baxte   diyye   dre-la   ʾena   ʾəll-e
      this.F   wife-his   his   put.PFV-3SG.F   eye   on-him

dìyye.ˈ
his

[Meanwhile,] his (the king's) wife began to look at him with de-
sire.

ʾaz-a-wa   bàθr-e,ˈ   bàθr-e,ˈ
go-3SG.F-PST   after-him   after-him

ʾamr-a   hayyu   l-beθa   xōl-∅   u-štì.ˈ
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   hàdax   qam-awð-a-le,ˈ
until   such   PFV-do-3SG.F-O.3SG.M

mər-a   b-y-an-ne   tāj   màlka   ṭa-lux.ˈ
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   ᴷZambil   Fròšᴷ   ꞊iwen,ˈ
      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   *lìra,*ˈ   *pt-àz-ən.*ˈ
one   lira   FUT-go-1SG.M

I weave baskets for which I earn one lira, and then I leave.

ʾàw   *wele*   *šuli,*ˈ   *ʾana* *l-è-peš-ən*
that.M   COP.DEIC.3SG.M work-my   I   NEG-IND-become-1SG.M

malka *ʾana.*ˈ
king   I

This is my profession. I will not become a king.

l-è-haw-ən   *malka.*ˈ
NEG-IND-be-1SG.M   king

I will not be a king.'

wele   *šul-e*   *diyye* *hadax.*
COP.DEIC.3SG.M   work-his his   thus

This was his job.

u-malka   *qam-kəbe-∅-le*   *u-mən-ne*   *mə̀nn-e.*ˈ
and-king   PFV-like-3SG.M-O.3SG.M and-help.PFV-3SG.M O-3SG.M

u-ʾap   *ʾawa* *mən-ne*   *mən*   *dàwa.*ˈ
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

*hìr-e,*ˈ
distressed-PL

A time came when his brothers were in distress.

šmeʾlu   *gu*   *flan*   *dawla*   *ʾəθ*   *dabra*   *mzabòne.*ˈ
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*   *mə̀nn-e.*ˈ
go.PFV-3SG.M   one   with-one   of-them

They all went to him, one by one.

mà   *wed-le*   *ʾawa?*
what   do.PFV-3SG.M   he

What did he (Zambil Frosh) do?

(9)   *ʾawa=le*   *kyala*   *ʾàn*   *xəṭṭe*ˈ
     he=COP.3SG.M   measure.INF   these   grain

u-dráyə-lla   *ṭà-lehi.*ˈ
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*   *ʾə́θ-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,*ˈ
IND-put-3PL   in-cup-of   gold

They used to put [the grain] in a golden cup.

qam-dare-∅-le   *gu*   *ṭen-et*   *xa*   *mə̀nn-e.*ˈ
PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.M   in   load-of   one   of-them

And he put it in the sack of one of them.

*xə̀šle,*ˈ   *rxəq-le*   *t-maṭ-e*   *l-mðìta.*ˈ
go.PFV-3PL   go_far.PFV-3PL   SBR-arrive-3PL   to-city

They went back to their [home] city.

xəš-le	*har*	*jĕš*	*baθr*	*diyye.*ˈ
go.PFV-3SG.M	even	army	after	them

An army went pursuing them.

(10)	*mər-e*	*har*	*ʾawa,*ˈ	*mər-e*	*ta*	*malka*
	say.PFV-3SG.M	even	he	say.PFV-3SG.M	to	king

ˀʾana	*hàtxa*	*pt-awð-ən,*ˈ
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*	*dìyyux.*ˈ
PFV-steal-3PL-O.3SG.F	this.F	cup	your.SG.M

They have stolen your cup.'

ʾanna	*xunwaθa*	*diyye=le.*ˈ
these	brothers	his=COP.3PL

They were his own brothers.

xəš-le	*baθr-e*	*hal*	*qurbət*	*mðìtey,*ˈ
go.PFV-3SG.M	after-him	until	near-of	city-their

They chased them outside their city.

yaʿani	*wàra,*ˈ	*qam-dawq-ì-le,*ˈ	*meθ-ì-le.*ˈ
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*	*ʿqày,*ˈ	*màx*	*wið-e?*ˈ
	say.PFV-3PL	how	how	do.PTCP-PL

They said 'But how, what have we done?

*čù   məndi,*ˈ   *l-èx*   *wið-e*   *ʾaxni.*ˈˈ   *'mər-e*   *là,*ˈ
no   thing   NEG-COP.1PL   do.PTCP-PL   we   say.PFV-3SG.M   no

Nothing, we have done [nothing].'

wutu   *gniwə-lla*   *ṭaz-ət*   *dèhwa.*ˈ
COP.2PL   steal.PTCP.SG.M-O.3SG.F   cup-of   gold

You have stolen the gold cup.'

'daxxi,   *ʾaxni*   *màṭu*   *b-gə́nw-ax-la?*ˈ
how   we   how   FUT-steal-1PL-O.3SG.F

'How, how could we steal it?!

yaḷḷa   *yaḷḷa*   *mṭe-la*   *dabra*   *ʾəll-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-mðìta.*ˈˈ
to-city

Our people were dying of hunger before we would bring [it] to the city!'

mər-e   *'pθux-u*   *gùniyat-exu.*ˈˈ
say.PFV-3SG.M   open.IMP-PL   sacks-your.PL

He said 'Open your sacks.'

har   *ʾawa*   *qam-paθəx-∅-le*   *ʾay*   *gunìya.*ˈ
even   he   PFV-open-3SG.M-O.3SG.M   this.F   sack

He himself opened the sack.

mər-e   *də-mbarb-i*   *ʾàxxa.*ˈ
say.PFV-3SG.M   SBR-empty-3PL   here

He told them to empty it here.

*pḷət-la   kas-ət dehwa tàma.*ˈ
come.out.PFV-3SG.F cup-of gold   there

The golden cup fell out.

(12) *ʾanna   mà   wəd-le?*ˈ
      these   what   do.PFV-3PL

What did they do?'

*qam-šaql-i-le   ʾaw   xon-e.*ˈ
PFV-take-3PL-O.3SG.M   that.M   brother-their

They took [one of] their brother[s].

*yaʿăni   yðe-le   ʾəbb-e   diyye.*ˈ
I mean   know.PFV-3PL   with-him   his

I mean, they recognised him.

qam-šaql-i-le   xunwaθa   diyye   ʾaw   t-ile
PFV-take-3PL-O.3SG.M   brothers his   that.M   SBR-COP.3SG.M

*kəs   màlka.*ˈ
with   king

[Then] they took him with them, the brother who was with the
king.

(13) *xəš-le   ʾabb-e   b-dabra   dìyye.*ˈ
      go.PFV-3SG.M   with-them   with-wheat   their

They went away with their grain.

*kut-məndi   t-āwèð-∅-wa,*ˈ   *l-əθ-wa   laʾa.*ˈ
every-thing SBR-do-3SG.M-PST   NEG-EXIST-PST   no

There was no objection to anything he did.

ˀǝštá šǝnne y-sahd-i-wa   ˀǝll-e dìyye.ˈ
six   years IND-bow.down-3PL-PST to-him his

y-ʿabd-ì-wa-le.ˈ
IND-worship-3PL-PST-O.3SG.M

They would kneel before him for six years, they worshipped him.

u-hul   ˀegǝt t-ile   piš-e   gor-e
and-until when   SBR-COP.3SG.M become.PTCP-PL grown.up-PL

u-gwir-e   kùll-e,ˈ   ˀaw   xona   rayyǝs
and-married.PTCP-PL   all-them   that.M brother chief

diyyehi wèwa.ˈ
their   COP.PST.3SG.M

Until they all grew up and got married, that brother was their
chief.

ˀana ˀo   mǝndi   tnàyǝ-llax.ˈ
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

Speaker: Samra Zaqen

Audio: https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/226/

(2) *ʾəs-wa* *xa* ^H*baḥùr*^H,
    EXIST-PST one young.man

^H*meʾód* *meʾód* *yăfè*^H   *we-le.*
very   very   beautiful.SG.M PST.COP-3SG.M

There was [once] a young man, he was very, very handsome.

^H*muxšàr,* *ṭòv,*   *yăfè*^H.
gifted.SG.M good.SG.M beautiful.SG.M

[He was] talented, good, handsome.

kull-u *ʿalam* *g-žăġl-i*
all-their world   IND-work-3PL

u-mparnəs-i   *gyàn-u,*   *g-oz-i*   *šoʾàle.*
and-sustain-3PL self.SG.F-their IND-work-3PL works

Everybody else worked to support themselves, doing their work.

ʾawa *g-ēr-∅,*   *'la',* *là* *g-be-wa.*
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*ˈ   *mən*   *maḥkòye*ˈ
    father-his   mother-his   tire.PFV-3PL   from   speak.INF

*ˈkappàr-ox*ˈ   *si*   *žġòl-∅*ˈ   *d-gòr-ət*ˈ
sacrifice-your.SG.M   go.IMP.SG.M   work.IMP-SG   SBR-marry-2SG.M

dəd   *yàtw-ət*ˈ   *dət*   * haʾ…,*
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   *p̂-awe-∅*   *bəd*   *bèsa?!*ˈ
what   FUT-be-3SG.M   in   house

Why should he stay at home?

*mà-l-ox?!ʾ*ˈ   *la*   *g-žàġl-ən*   *g-ēr-∅.*ˈ
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-žàġəl-∅*   ᴴᶜ*așlắn*ᴴ.ˈ   *là*   *g-žaġəl-∅.*ˈ
NEG   IND-work-3SG.M   lazy   NEG   IND-work-3SG.M

He does not work, the lazy [one]! He does not work.

*kașlằn.*ˈ   *hè*ˈ,   ᴴᶜ*așlắn*ᴴ   *kașlằn,*
lazy   yes   lazy   lazy

Lazy. Yes, [he is] lazy, lazy.

hile   *dmìxa*   *xa*   *teʾna.*ˈ
DEIC.COP.3SG.M   sleep.PTCP-M.SG.   one   fig.tree

He is sleeping under a fig tree.

(4) ʾèha,| ḥakoma day   bàžər,| ʾət-le   ṭlaha
        this.F   ruler   OBL.DEF.SG.F city   EXIST-3SG.M   three

bnàsa.| mutw-i-le   kut-ṭla-hùn|
daughters seat.PFV-O.3PL-3SG.M   all-three-their

The king of that city had three daughters. He sat them down.

g-emər-∅,   ʿsà-wun| bnàs-i,|
IND-say-3SG.M   go.IMP-PL   daughters-my

mǎni bəž   g-əbè-∅-li?ʾ|
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   ʿbàb-i,|
        DEF.SG.F   big-FS IND-say-3FS   father-my

g-əb-an-nox   qčīn məlk-əd dùnye.|
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 dùnye,|
how.much   IND-love-1SG.F-O.3SG.M   DEF.SG.F   light-of   world

ʾahət   g-əb-an-nox   ᴴʾòtoᴴ.ʾ|
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*.'

ʿg-əb-àt-ti.ʾ|
IND-love-2SG.F-O.1SG.M

[The king said: 'Indeed] you love me.'

ʾay   xet   g-ēr-∅-ra
DEF.SG.F   other.INV   IND-say-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

The other one—[the king] said to her,

*ʿbrat-i   kma   g-əb-àt-ti?*ˀ⌐
daughter-my   how.much   IND-love-2SG.F-O.1SG.M

'My daughter, how much do you love me?'

g-əmr-a   ʿmad   mər-ra   xàs-i.⌐
IND-say-3SG.F   like   say.PFV-3SG.F   sister-my

She said, 'Whatever my sister has said.

qčīn   bohora-ət   ˀèn-i⌐
like   light-of   eyes-my

*u-ᴴbriyutᴴ   didi   g-b-àn-nox.*ˀ⌐
and-health   my   IND-love-1SG.F-O.2SG.M

Like the light of my eyes and my health I love you.'

*g-ēr-∅,   ˀˀay   trè.*ˀ⌐
IND-say-3SG.F   DEF.SG.F   two

He said… [That was] the second one.

(6)   *məse-le   ˀay   zùr-ta,*⌐
      bring.PFV-3SG.M   DEF.SG.F   little-SG.F

He brought the youngest one.

*ʿbrat-i   ˀāt   kma   g-əb-àt-ti?*ˀ⌐
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-àmr-a⌐   *bàb-i*⌐   *g-əb-àn-nox*⌐   *qčīn   məlxa*
IND-say-3SG.F   father-my   IND-love-1SG.F-O.2SG.M   like   salt

dət   g-dare-∅   ˀəl   qòzra
SBR   IND-put-3PL   on   dish

She said, 'My father, I love you like the salt they put in cooked food,

ṃaṭo	*p̂-oy-a*	*basəm-ta,*ǀ	*ʾoto*	*g-əb-àn-nox.*ǀ
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) *ʾowà!*ǀ *mux* *məlxa* *g-əb-at-ti* *bàs?!*ǀ
     aha   like   salt   IND-love-1SG.F-O.SG.M only

'Oh! You love me only this much?!'

g-ēr-∅,	*ʾahat*	*la*	*g-nafʾ-at*	*ṭà-li.*ǀ
IND-say-3SG.M	you.SG.M	NEG	IND-suffice-2SG.F	to-me

'You are not [good] enough for me.

šqol-∅	*čaṇṭa*	*didax*	*u-s-è.*ǀ
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.*ǀ
NEG	IND-give-1SG.M-O.2SG.F	any-thing

I shall not give you anything.

ʾanya	*trè*	*bnas-i˽lu,*
these	two	daughters-my˽COP.3PL

ʾahat	*le-at*	*bràt-i,*ǀ	*wiii!*ʾǀ
you.SG.F	NEG-COP.2SG.F	daughter-my	oh

Those two are my daughters, you are not my daughter, you!'

(9) *ʾe* *šqəl-la*ǀ *čaṇṭa* *dida.*
     she   take.PFV-3F.SG bag   her

She took her bag.

èka	*b-ᴴʾazᴴ-a*ǀ
where	FUT-go-3SG.F

Where could she go [now]

ʾəla   daw   ᴴkeremᴴ   dət   bàb-a?|
except   OBL.DEF-SG.M   vineyard   of   father-her

if not to her father's vineyard?

ʾət-le   ᴴkeremᴴ   rùww-a,
EXIST-3SG.M   vineyard   big-SG.M

He had a large vineyard.

g-əmr-a   g-b-an   yatw-an   tàma
IND-say-3SG.F   IND-want-1SG.F   sit-1SG.F   there

She said [to herself], 'I want to stay there.

b-oz-an-ni   xa   ᴴpinà. ᴴ|
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,|
IND-see-1SG.F   until   collect-1SG.F   self.SG.F-my

ma   ʾòz-an   ma   la   ʾoz-àn.|
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

Speaker: Ameen Isa Shamoun

Audio: https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/226/

(21)   *fa-Toma*   *pləṭ-le*   *mən*   *madin-ət*   *Samàna.*ˈ
       and-Toma   leave.PFV-3SG.M   from   city-of   Samana

Meanwhile, Toma moved away from the town of Samana.

xà   *yoma,*ˈ   *trè,*ˈ   ^(AꜢ)*əsbùˤ,*   *kằða,*ˈᴬ
one   day   two   week   so

xa   *fatra*   *zamán=ila*   *mṭe-le*   *l-Zàxo.*ˈ
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.

ꜢIman   *mṭe-le*   *Zàxo…*ˈ
when   arrive.PFV-3SG.M   Zakho

When he arrived in Zakho…

Ꜣamir-ət   *manṭaq-ət*   *Bahdinằn*   *bə-daw*   *waqt,*ˈ
prince-of   region-of   Bahdinan   in-OBL.that.M   time

Ꜣaw   *d-iwa*   *b-Amèdiya,*ˈ   *b-Zàxo*   *=wa.*ˈ
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) *šmeʾ-le*   *ʾə́nnuhu*   *te-le*   *xa*   *hòsta.*ˈ
      hear.PFV-3SG.M   that   come.PFV-3SG.M   one   craftsman

He heard that a craftsman had arrived.

u-ʾawwa   *hosta*   *ʾile*   *xùš*   *hosta.*ˈ
and-that.M   craftsman   COP.3SG.M   good   craftsman

This craftsman is a good one.

hole   *beny-a*   *hatxa*   *jə̀sr.*ˈ
DEIC.COP.3SG.M   build.PTCP-SG.M   such   bridge

He has built such a bridge.

ᴬ*jəsr*   *ʿəmlaq*   *fi*   *flä̀n*   *manṭaqa,*ˈ   *u-kă̆ða*   *u-kằða,*ᴬ
bridge   great   in   certain   region   and-so   and-so

*ʾe.*ˈ
yes

A great bridge in the region called so-and-so, and so on.

fa-ʾamīr   *mà*   *mer-e,*ˈ   *ʾad*   *Zàxo?*ˈ
and-prince   what   say.PFV-3SG.M   of   Zakho

So, what did the prince of Zakho say?

(23) *mè-re,*ˈ   ⁽ᴬ⁾*aḥsan*   *ši*   *ʾənnu*ᴬ   *ʾawwa*
      say.PFV-3SG.M   best   thing   that   he

bane-∅   *xa*   *jəsr*   *ṭa-leni*   *gawət*   *mdit-ət*   *Zàxo.*ˈ
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-ə́t-wā-le*   *ču*   *ràbṭ*   *benate-hən.*ˈ
because   NEG-EXIST-PST-3SG.M   none   connection   between-them

Because there was no connection between the two sides,

*ʾamr-əx   ʾənnu   ʾad   t-àra.*ˈ
say-1PL   that   of   of-land

that is, a land (connection).

*fa-ʾawwa   b-bane-∅   ṭa-leni   xa   jə̀sr.*ˈ'
and-he   FUT-build-3SG.M to-us   one   bridge

*ʾən   ʾamr-əx   xa   gə̀šra.*ˈ
if   say-1PL   one bridge

So he shall build a passage for us,' let's call [it] a 'bridge'.

(24)   *fa-qre-le   ʾell-ət   Tòma.*ˈ
       and-call.PFV-3SG.M   to-of   Toma

So, he summoned Toma.

*ʾamer-∅   ṭà-le,*ˈ   *ʿhàyyu-∅   Toma.*ˈ
say-3SG.M to-him   come.IMP-SG Toma

He said to him, 'Come, Toma.

*k-əb-ən   mənn-ux   ban-ət-li   hàtxa   məndi.*ˈ'
IND-want-1SG.M   of-you.SG.M build-2SG.M-O.1SG   such   thing

I want you to build me such a thing.'

*ʾamer-∅   ṭà-lu,*ˈ   *ʿmà   y-xaləf-∅.*ˈ'
say-3SG.M to-him   NEG   IND-matter-3SG.M

He said to him, 'Well then.'

*fa-bdeʾ-le   Toma   bə-bnàya.*ˈ
and-begin.PFV-3SG.M   Toma   in-build.INF

Toma began constructing the bridge.

*ʾamr-i   babawàt-an,*ˈ   *ʾamr-i   ʾənnu*
say-3PL   fathers-our   say-3PL   that

Our ancestors say

'Toma	*bde'-le*	*bə-bnaya*	*b-jə̀sr.*'
Toma	begin.PFV-3SG.M	in-build.INF	in-bridge

that he began building the bridge.

ham	*là-yed-əx*	*xa*	*yoma,*'	ᴬ*'esbù꜄,*'	*šàhr,*'	*sằna,*'	*kằða,*'ᴬ
even	NEG-know-1PL	one	day	week	month	year	so

'aw	*hole*	*bə-bnaya.*''
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	*bène,*'	*bə-ṭlata*	*bène,*'	*kəm-bāne-le*
in-three	attempt	in-three	attempts	PFV-build-3SG.M-O.3SG.M

jə̀sr.'
bridge

He built the bridge in three attempts.

(25)	*y-maṭe-∅*	ᴬ*nihaya*	*l-'axer*	*qànṭara*ᴬ.'
	IND-arrive-3SG.M	end	to-last	arch

In the end, he got to the last arch.

wəd-le	*jəsr-ət*	*Dalál*	*b-xamšà*	*qanaṭer,*'
do.PFV-3SG.M	bridge-of	Dalale	with-five	arches

mù	*šawwa.*'
NEG	seven

He made Dalale Bridge with five arches, not seven.

Samana	*wəd-le*	*šằwwa.*'
Samana	do.PFV-3SG.M	seven

Samana [however] he had built with seven.

bas *ʾawwa* *kəm-bānè-∅-le,*ˈ   *xamšà* *qanaṭər*
but that.M PFV-build-3SG.M-O.3SG.M five   arches

wəd-le   *ṭa* *jəsr.*ˈ
do.PFV-3SG.M for bridge

But he built this one with five arches, he made five [arches] for the bridge.

bne-le   *ʾəll-ət* *jəsrət*   *Dalā́l* *gawət*   *mdit-ət*
build.PFV-3SG.M to-of   bridge-of Dalal   inside-of city-of

*Zàxo.*ˈ
Zakho

He constructed [them for] Dalale Bridge in Zakho.

ʾamr-i *ʾənnu* *ṭlata* *bene*   *mṭe-le*   *Toma*
say-3PL that   three   attempts arrive.PFV-3SG.M Toma

nihay-ət *rabəṭ-∅-le*   *jə̀sr,*ˈ *y-napəl-∅*   *jə̀sr.*ˈ
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*   *ʾaḥad-ət* *ʾamir-ət* *Zàxo,*ˈ
     and-DEIC.COP.3SG.M give.PTCP-SG.M one-of   prince-of Zakho

ʾinu… *ʾàwwa,*ˈ *ʾamir-ət* *Bahdinằn,*ˈ
that   he   prince-of Bahdinan

ʾinu *ʾ-ən* *la-bane-∅*   *jəsr* *b-qaṭə̀l-le.*ˈʾ
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

ʾawwa	y-amer-∅	ʾʾàna,'	ʾawwa	kəm-qaṭe-∅
he	IND-say-3SG.M	I	he	PFV-cut-3SG.M

ʾìd-i	u-ʾawwa	b-qaṭe-∅	rèš-i.'	ʾe,	ʿàdi.'
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-ʾana	mà	ʾawd-ən-na?''
and-I	what	do-1SG.M-O.3SG.F

[But] what shall I do?'

(27)	fa-b-layle	ṭləb-le	mən	ʾalaha	u-mṣolè-le.'
	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,'	ʿya	ʾalàh-i,'	ʾinu	ṭalb-ən
and-sayPFV-3SG.M	Oh	Good-my	that	ask-1SG.M

mənn-ux	ʾawd-ət-li	xa	ḥàl,'	ʾinu	mà
of-you.SG.M	do-2SG.M-O.1SG.M	some	solution	that	what

ʾawd-ən.'
do-1SG.M

He said 'Oh, God, I ask you for some solution.

ʾana	b-xa	ʾìde=wən.'
I	with-one	hand=COP.1SG.M

I am with one hand.

u-b-id-ət	čaple	holi	bə-plàxa.''
and-in-hand-of	left	COP.DEIC.1SG	in-work.INF

I am working with my left hand.'

(28) *mən ʿamàle,*ˈ *u-har*   *Tòma* *tama* *y-daməx-wa.*ˈ
      with   workers   and-even   Toma   there   IND-sleep-3SG.M-PST

Toma [was] with the workers and even slept there.

yaʿni *gəb* *šula* *dìyu,*ˈ *ḥatta* *dāre-∅-wa*   *bala*
I mean   by   work   his   so that put-3SG.M-PST   attention

l-šula   *dìyu,*ˈ *mən* *ganàwe,*ˈ *mən* *kằđa,*ˈ *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

*diyu.*ˈ
his

That is, he was near his construction site to watch over his build-
ing [against] thieves and passers-by, to look after his building.

ᴬ*lə'án* *'akíd* *'ə́nnuhu*ᴬ *y-amr-i*   *Toma* *gắlak*
because   surely   that   IND-say-3PL Toma   very

=*wa*   *mùxləṣ*   *b-šula*   *diyu.*ˈ
=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   *ṭlàta,*ˈ *mpə̀l-le.*ˈ
and-day-of   three   fall.PFV-3SG.M

On the third day, [the bridge] collapsed.

mà   *'awəd-∅*   *baʿd?*ˈ
what   do-3SG.M   afterwards

What shall he do now?

(29) *dmə̀x-le.*ˈ   *mṣole-le*   *u-dmə̀x-le.*ˈ
      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?*ˈ
in-night   come.PFV-3SG.M   one   vision   vision   what

He had a vision during the night.

malàxa   *te-le*   *ʾamer-∅*   *ṭa-lu,*ˈ
angel   come.PFV-3SG.M   say-3SG.M   to-him

An angel came and said to him:

*'Tòma,*ˈ   *lazem*   *ʾawwa*   *jəsr*   *ʾiða*   *ʾən*   *pàyəš-∅,*ˈ
Toma   must   that.M   bridge   if   if   remain-3SG.M

*ᴬḥày yəbqaᴬ,*ˈ   *lazem*   *dar-ət*   *xa*   *rŭ̀ḥ*
living remains   must   place-2SG.M   one   being

*gaw-u.*ˈ
inside-it

Toma, if this bridge is to stand and remain, you must put a living
soul inside it.

ʾĭðan   *rūḥ*   *hawe-∅*   *barnaša*   *ʾən*   *hawe-∅*   *ḥàywan.*ˈ
if   being   be-3SG.M   human   or   be-3SG.M   animal

It may be either a human being or an animal.

*ᴬmŭhə̀m,*ˈ   *rŭ̀ḥ ḥayyaᴬ.*ˈ   *dar-ət-la*   *gaw-u*   *ʾaw*
important   living being   place-2SG.M-O.3SG.F   inside-it.M   that.M

*ḥày,*ˈ   *yaḷḷa*   *jəsr*   *diyux*   *b-θàbət-∅.*ˈ'
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   mṣole-le   u-dmə̀x-le.*ˈ
and-Toma   pray.PFV-3SG.M   and-sleep PFV-3SG.M

So, Toma prayed and slept.

(30) *qəm-le   qadàmta.*ˈ   *mèr-e,*ˈ   *ʿyà   ʾalah-i.*ˈ'
      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,*ˈ   *'ə́t-wā-le   kalta.*ˈ
morning   always   EXIST-PST-3SG.M   daughter.in.law

In the morning, he had a daughter-in-law.

*hàmka   qŭ̀ṣaṣ,*ˈ   *ḥəkayat   y-màḥk-i-wa.*ˈ
few   stories   tales   IND-tell-3PL-PST

*xa   y-amr-i   bràt-u   =iwa.*ˈ
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.*ˈ
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-∅-wa,*ˈ   *ḥăsab   mà.*ˈ
every-one   something   IND-say-3SG.M-PST   depends   what

Each one used to say something different, it depends.

'ana   hol-i   šə̆my-a
I   DEIC.COP-1SG   hear.PTCP-SG.M

*'inu   y-amr-i   kàlt-u   =wa.*ˈ
that   IND-say-3PL   daughter.in.law   =COP.PST.3MSG.F

I have heard that she was his daughter-in-law.

šəmm-aw	*Dàlle,*ˈ	*Dàlle,*ˈ	*mù*	*Dalale.*ˈ	*šəmm-aw*	*Dàlle.*ˈ
name-her	Dalle	Dalle	NEG	Dalale	name-her	Dalle

Her name was Dalle, not Dalale. Her name was Dalle.

*fa-Dàlle,*ˈ	*kalt-ət*		*ˁam-an*	*Toma,*ˈ	*ʾăbū*
and-Dalle	daughter.in.law-of		uncle-our	Toma	father

l-bnaya	*jə̀sr,*ˈ	*fa,*ˈ	*yomiya*	*qadamta*	*y-maty-a-wa*
to-build.INF	bridge	and	daily	morning	IND-bring-3SG.F-PST

*fə̀ṭra,*ˈ	*yaˁni*	*fṭàrta,*ˈ	*ṭa*	*xəmyàna.*ˈ
breakfast	I mean	beakfast	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

ʾə́t-wā-le	*b-beta*	*xa*	*kàlwa.*ˈ	*tə̀kram,*ˈ
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.*ˈ	*kòme*	*=wa.*ˈ
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-rajˁ-à-wa.*ˈ
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*	*ˁalmud*	*ʾùrxa.*ˈ
and-even	maybe	along	road

Maybe even the whole way.

*u-kalwa   y-āte-∅-wa   mə̀nn-aw.*ˈ
and-dog   IND-come-3SG.M-PST   with-her

The dog would come with her.

*hole   lə̀p-a   ʾəl,ˈ   ʾəll-ət   Dalàle.*ˈ
COP.DEIC.3SG.M   used.to.PTCP-SG.M   to   to-of   Dalale

*ʾəll-ət   Dàlle,   ʾamr-əx.*ˈ
to-of   Dalle   say-1PL

It had got used to Dalale, or shall we say, Dalle.

(32)   *fa-qadamta   xzè-le…*ˈ
       and-morning   see.PFV-3SG.M

So, he saw in the morning…

bə-daw   wàqt,ˈ   daw   wàqt,ˈ   Zaxo   y-amr-i-wa
in-OBL.that.M   time   OBL.that.M   time   Zakho   IND-say-3PL-PST

dà ʾman,ˈ   yaʿni,   bas   daw   jə̀sr,ˈ   ʾə́nnuhu
always   I mean   only   OBL.that.M   bridge   that

*y-amr-í-wā-le   jəsra   ᴷmazə̀nᴷ,ˈ   ᴷpərá   mazə̀nᴷ,*ˈ
IND-say-3PL-PST-O.3SG.M   bridge   great   bridge   great

*jəsr   ʾaw   ṛàb-a.*ˈ
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?ˈ   lə ʾan,
IND-say-3PL   why   because

Why did they say [that]? Because,

(33) *y-àmr-i,*ᐟ   *ʾaykət*   *ʾawr-ət*   *daxel*   *ʾəpr-ət* *Zàxo,*ᐟ
        IND-say-3PL   when   enter-2SG.M   inside   land-of Zakho

y-mbayən-∅   *jəsr-ət*   *Dalàl.*ᐟ
IND-appears-3SG.M   bridge-of   Dalal

They say—when you enter Zakho, the Dalale Bridge is visible.

ləʾán   *jəsr-ət*   *Dalál*   *ʿàli*   *=yewa,*ᐟ
because   bridge-of   Dalal   tall   =COP.PST.3SG.M

u-ăr-ət   *Zàxo*   *kull-a*   *ʿàdəl*   *=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.

ləʾán   *Zàxo*   *mašhúr=la*   *b-ᴬsăhəl_əs_Sèndi.*ᐟ
because   Zakho   famous=COP.3SG.F   with-Plain.of.Sendi

Because Zakho is famous for the Sendi Plain.

săhəl_əs_Sendiᴬ   *u-Zàxo*   *ᴬdàʾəman*   *ʾarḍᴬ*   *diya,*ᐟ
Plain.of.Sendi   Zakho   always   land   her

ʾənu   *ʾăra*   *ʿàdəl=ila.*ᐟ
that   land   flat=COP.3SG.F

Always, the Sendi Plain and Zakho [with] all of its territory—the land there is flat.

fa-ʾaykət   *pàlṭ-i,*ᐟ   *ʾaykət*   *xàz-i,*ᐟ
and-when   leave-3PL   when   see-3PL

gărək   *xaz-i-le*   *jəsr-ət*   *Dalàl.*ᐟ
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

Speaker: Salim Daniel Yomaran

Audio: https://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/229/

(1) *ʾamr-i-wa ʾəθ-wa xà'a,* *xa* *malka*
say-3PL-PST   EXIST-PST   one   a.certain   king

ʾə́θ-wa-le ṭlaθà bnone.
EXIST-PST-3SG.M   three   sons

It was said there once was a king [who] had three sons.

xa šəm-eu ʾAḥmád Čằlằbi=wa. *xa Mḥằmad*
one   name-his   Ahmad   Chalabi=PST.COP.3SG.M   one   Muhammad

Čằlằbi=w, xa Mərzá Mḥằmad=wewa. *Mərzá*
Chalabi=and   one   Mirza   Muhamma=PST.COP.3SG.M   Mirza

Mḥằmad ʾaw xona zùr-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.

ʾan xəne ʾan gòr-e=nan.
the.PL   others   the.PL   big-PL=COP.3PL

The others were the elder ones.

(2) *yoma꞊w tre꞊w ṭlaθa꞊w ʾàrba,*| *xa yoma*
     day꞊and two꞊and three꞊and four one day

xa malka ʾə̀θ-wa-le ṭlaθá bnaθe.|
a.certain king EXIST-PST-3SG.M three daughters

yaʿni bnaθe ^A*dăraja ʾula*^A *xamà̀θe꞊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, rwə̀x-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-∅-a ʾằya xandaq,*|
     say.PFV-3SG.M each jump-3SG.M-O.3SG.F this.F trench

*brat-i gor-ta b-yaw-ən-a ṭàl-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) *kŭl-ay hune b-izàla,*| *b-izàla꞊w,*| *b-izàala,*|
     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) ʾằxa   Mərzá   Mḥằmad   tfə̀q-le.ˈ   qəm-le
     here   Mirza   Muhammad   happen.PFV-3SG.M   rise.PFV-3SG.M

šqəl-e   sùst-euˈ   ʾu   surgin-à-le.ˈ
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   zə̀l-e.ˈ
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   xpə̀r-ta.ˈ
     look.PFV-3SG.M   behold   trench   dig.PTCP-SG.F

He looked at the trench [that had been] dug.

zə-le   xðə̀-re   xa,   tre   čarxeˈ   xðə̀r-e,ˈ
go.PFV-3SG.M   go.round.PFV   one   two   times   go.round.PFV

xðə̀r-eˈ   ʾu=fiiiit   šit-à-le
go.round.PFV   and=woosh   throw.PFV-O.3SG.F-3SG.M

gan-eu   l-aw   bara   xən-a.ˈ   ꝁum-šawə̀r-∅-a.ˈ
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-tarʾ-ət   qàṣra,ˈ   xaθa   gor-ta
     go.PFV-3SG.M   before-door-of   castle   sister   big-SG.F

gu   šəbä́k   qa-maxy-a-la   xabušta   gàw-eu.ˈ
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) *mǝr-i:*   *'ta*   *xon-i*   *gòr-a.'*ǀ
  say.PFV-1SG   for   brother-my   big-SG.M

'[This one is] for my eldest brother,' he said.

(10) *qām-šaqǝ-∅-la=w*   *matu-∅-la*   *baθr-ǝt*
   PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3f.sg=and   put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F   behind-of

xaṣ-eu=w   *nàbǝ-∅-la*   *'aya.*ǀ   *nabǝl-∅-a,*
back-his=and   take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F   that.F   take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

ḳum-dare-∅-la   *gu*   *xà*   *ġurfa.*ǀ
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) *mǝr-e*   *ta*   *xŭlamwàθe,*ǀ
   say.PFV-3SG.M   to   servants

ᴷhǝšàrᴷ   *∅-hăw-utu!*   *là*   *∅-maḥk-utu!*ǀ
alert   SBJV-be-2PL   NEG   SBJV-speak-2PL

'Be careful!' he told his servants. 'Don't say anything.

ᴬ'ăbàdᴬ   *la*   *∅-palṭ-a*   *m-kǝm-àwxu.*ǀ
ever   NEG   SBJV-leave-3SG.F   from-mouth-your.PL

'ixala=w   *štayta=w*   *kul*   *mǝndi*   *diyaw*
eating   drinking   every   thing   her

ᴬjàhǝzᴬ   *t-awe-∅.*ǀ
supplied   FUT-be-3SG.M

Never let a word out of your mouth. Food and drink and everything will be supplied to her.

làkun	∅-*ʾamr-utu*	*ʾaw*	*muθayθa¹*	*ʾay*	*brata.ʾ*|
NEG	SBJV-say-2PL	he	bring.PTCP.SG.F	that.F	girl

Never say he [has] brought that girl [here].'

(12)	*pə̀š-la*		*brata*	*day*	*trεy.*|
	remain.PFV-3SG.F		girl	OBL.3SG.F	two

The second daughter remained.

bràt-ət	*trεy,*|	*ga*	*ʾərta*	*malka*
girl-of	two	time	other.SG.F	king

hule	*ʾàmər-∅,*|	*mər-e:*
DEIC.COP.3ms	say-3SG.M	say.PFV-3SG.M

The king said once again about his second daughter, saying

(13)	*ʿyàba,*|	*brat-i*	*ʾăya*	*d-trὲy=la.*|
	INJ	girl-my	this.F	of-two=COP.3SG.F

'Folks, this is my second daughter.

kut	*ʾibe*	*šawər-∅-a*	*ʾằya*	*xandaq,*|
ever	can.3SG.M	jump-3SG.M-O.3SG.F	this.F	trench

Whoever is able to jump [over] this trench—

brat-i	*ᴷpəškəšᴷ*	*ṭàl-eu.*|	*yaʿni*	*ᴬhădiyaᴬ*	*ṭàl-eu.ʾ*|
girl-my	gift	to-him	it.means	gift	for-him

I will give my daughter to him as a gift [in marriage].' I mean, as a present for him.

---

¹ The participle agrees here with the object in an ergative fashion, contrasting with §30 where it agrees with the agent.

(14) *ga*   *ʾərta*   *Mərzá*   *Mḥămad*   *rku-le*
    time   other.SG.F   Mirza   Muhammad   mount.PFV-3SG.M

l-xaṣ-ət   *susa*   *xwàr-a.*ǀ
on-back-of   horse   white-SG.M

Once again, Mirza Muhammad rode on the back of a white horse.

ʾaw   *kòm-e꞊wa,*ǀ   *ʾaw*   *susa*   *qămày-a.*ǀ
he   white-SG.M꞊PST.COP.3SG.M   the.SG.M   horse   first-SG.M

rku-le   *l-xaṣ-ət*   *susa*   *xwàr-a.*ǀ
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   *ʾərta*   *zəl-e꞊w*   *zəl-e꞊w*
time   other.SG.F   go.PFV-3SG.M꞊and   go.PFV-3SG.M꞊and

zə-le꞊w,   *qam-šawər-∅-a*   *ga*   *ʾərta*   *xandaq.*ǀ
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) *ʾay*   *brata*   *də-trɛ*   *qam-maxy-a-la*
    the.SG.F   girl   of-two   PFV-hit-3SG.F-O.3SG.F

xabušta   *gàw-eu.*ǀ
apple   at-him

The second daughter hit him with an apple.

(16) *mər-e:*   *ʾɛy*   *ta*   *xon-i*   *palgày-a.*ʾǀ
    say.PFV-3SG.M   that.F   for   brother-my   middle-3SG.M

'This one [is] for my middle brother.'

(17) *qam-šaqəl-∅-a=w*   *matu-∅-la*   *baθər*
      PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F=and put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F behind

xaṣ-eu=w   *nabəl-∅-a*   *ʾap*   *ʾaya.*|
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-∅-a   *ḵum-matu-∅-la*   *gu*   *xà*   *ġurfa*
PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F in a.certain room

ʾərta.| *yaʿni*   *lè*   *k-iðe-∅*   *xaθ-aw*   *gaw-aw.*|
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-∅-la   *gu*   *dè*   *ġurfa*   *xərta.*|
PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F in OBL.that.F room other.SG.F

He put her in this other room.

(18) *nafsə*   *mə̀ndi:*| *mər-e*   *ta*   *xŭlamwàθe:*|
      same thing say.PFV-3SG.M to servants

ʾìya   *brata*| *∅-masm-ùtu-la*   *bala.*|
this.F girl SBJV-pay-2PL-O.3SG.F attention

The same thing: 'You take care of this girl,' he told his servants.

lakùn   *ʾət*   *∅-palṭ-a,*| *ʾu*   *là*   *∅-ʾamr-utu*   *ču*   *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) *pə̀š-la*   *ʾay*   *zur-ta.*|
      remain.PFV-3SG.F the.SG.F small-SG.F

pəš-la   *ʾɛy*   *zùr-ta*   *mər-e:*|
remain.PFV-3SG.F the.SG.F small-SG.F say.PFV-3SG.M

The youngest remained. As the youngest remained, he said,

(20)   *ᶜʾay*   *dìyi=la.*[|]   *ʾàyka*   *b-xalṣ-a!*[|]
       that.F   mine=COP.3SG.F   where   fut-escape-3SG.F

'This one is mine. Where shall she escape [to]?'

(21)   *ʾè,*[|]   *ga*   *ʾərta*[|]   *hule*   *malka*   *ʾàmər-∅.*[|]
       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*   *ʾaya*
say.PFV-3SG.M   INJ   DEIC.COP.3SG.M   remain.PTCP-SG.F   that.F

brat-i   *zùr-ta,*[|]
girl-my   small-SG.F

He said, 'Folks, my youngest daughter is left.

kut   *šawər-∅-a*   *ʾăya*   *xàndaq*[|]
each   jump.PFV-3SG.M-3SG.F   this.F   trench

ṭàl-eu=ila   *p̂-aya.*[|]
for-him=COP.3SG.F   FUT-she

Whoever jumps [over] this trench—she will be for him.'

(22)   *qə̀m-le*[|]   *rku-le*   *l-xaṣ-ət*   *susa*   *smòq-a.*[|]
       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.

qə̀m-le[|]   *npəl-e*   *b-àn*   *rakawe.*[|]
rise.PFV-3SG.M   fall.PFV-3SG.M   at-those   knights

He attacked these knights.

kut   *dan*   *rakawe*   *ḵum-taqəl-∅-εy*   *b-xa*   *bàra.*[|]
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-ɛy:*   *ˈbàbu,*ᐧ   *malàxa=le.ʾ*ᐧ
      say.PFV-3PL   father   angel=COP.3SG.M

They said, 'Dear God, he's [like] an angel.'

(24) *zə-le=w*   *θè-le*ᐧ   *zə-le=w*
      go.PFV-3SG.M=and   go.PFV-3SG.M   go.PFV-3SG.M=and

*θèle=w*ᐧ   *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.*ᐧ
side   other-SG.M

He went back and forth, back and forth. He flung himself to the
other side.

(25) *ham*   *ʾay*   *ḵum-maxy-a-la*   *xabušta*   *gàw-e.*ᐧ
      also   she   PFV-hit-3SG.F-O.3SG.F   apple   at-him

She, too, hit him with an apple.

(26) *mər-e:*   *ˈʾaya*   *dìyi=la.ʾ*ᐧ
      say.PFV-3SG.M   that.F   mine=COP.3SG.F

'She is mine,' he said.

(27) *qam-šaqəl-∅=u*   *matu-∅-la*   *baθər*   *xaṣ-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) *ᴬya*   *ʾằlaᴬ.ʾ*ᐧ
      VOC   God

'Oh God,' [he said.]

(29) *zə̀-le*ᐧ   *[ă]ya*   *ḵum-nabə̀l-∅-a.*ᐧ
      go.PFV-3SG.M   she   PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F

He went [and] took her along.

*ḳum-nabɜ̀-∅-la,*ǀ   *ga*   *ʾɜrta*   *ḳum-dare-∅-la*   *b-xa*
PFV-take-3SG.M-O.3SG.F   one   other.SG.F   PFV-put-3SG.M-O.3SG.F   in-one

ġurfa   *xɜ̀rta.*ǀ
room   other.SG.F

After he took her, he once again put her in another room.

(30)   *mɜr-e*   *ta*   *xŭlamwàθe*   *diye:*ǀ
say.PFV-3SG.M   to   servants   his

He said to his servants,

'*draw*   *bàla*ǀ   *lakun*   *ʾɜt*   *∅-ʾamr-utu*   *ta*   *čù*
put.IMP.PL   attention   NEG   SBR   SBJV-say-3PL   to   NEG

*naša.*ǀ
person

'Be careful not to say anything to anybody.

ʾɜ̀ya   *brata*   *holi*   *muθy-ɜla.*'ǀ
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)   *ʾap*   *ʾay*   *ḳum-ʾamɜr-∅-ɛy:*ǀ
also   she   PFV-say-3SG.M-3PL

*xàlta=w*ǀ   *štàyta=w*ǀ   *ᴬkaməlᴬ*   *m-kùl*   *mɜndi.*
food   drink   complete   from-every   thing

He told them [about] her, too, 'Her food, drink, everything [will be provided] completely.

là   *∅-maḥk-utu.*ǀ
NEG   SBJV-speak-2PL

Don't speak [about it].'

(32)   *mɜr-ɛy:*   *ᴬmà-y-xaləfᴬ.*'ǀ
say.PFV-3PL   NEG-3SG.M-oppose

'That's all right,' they said.

(33) *pəš-la*   *xa*   *fàtra;*ˈ *bab-ay*   *mə̀θ-le.*ˈ
      remain.PFV-3SG.F a.certain while   father-their die.PFV-3SG.M

A while passed; their father died.

bab-ət   *Mərzá*   *Mḥắmad=u*   *ʾAḥmád*   *Čắlăbi=w*
father-of   Mirza   Muhammad=and   Ahmad   Chalabi=and

Mḥămad   *Čắlăbi,*ˈ   *məθ-le*   *bàb-ay.*ˈ
Muhammad   Chalabi   die.PFV-3SG.M   father-their

The father of Mirza Muhammad, Ahmad Chalabi and Muhammad
Chalabi—their father died.

malka   *mə̀θ-le.*ˈ
king   die.PFV-3SG.M

The king died.

(34) *ʾắwa*   *xona*   *zur-a*   *mə̀r-e:*ˈ
      this.M   brother   small-SG.M say.PFV-3SG.M

The youngest brother said,

de   *∅-qaym-ax*   *∅-jayl-ax*   *gu*   *qàṣra*ˈ
PTCL   SBJV-rise-1PL SBJV-wander-1PL   in   castle

'Let's get up [and] wander in the palace

∅-xaz-ax   *balki*   *məndi*   *hàle,*ˈ
SBJV-see-1PL   maybe   thing   situations

to see if we can find anything,

ᴷ*anbàr-an*ᴷ,ˈ   *məndi*   *diyan*   *d-ilay*   *ʿfin-e,*ˈ   *d-ilay*
grain.repistory-PL   thing   our   SBR-COP.3PL   rotten-PL   SBR-COP.3PL

*xrìw-e,*ˈ   *xə̀ṭṭe*   *mắθalan,*ˈ   *b-dàw*   *zawna.*ˈ
destroy.PTCP-PL   wheat.PL   for.example   at-OBL.that.M   time

 lest our grain repositories are, for example, rotten [or] dam-
aged at this time.'

(35)   ʾè.ˈ   qə̀m-leˈ   jəl-ayd   gu   qàṣra.ˈ
       yes   rise.PFV-3SG.M   wander.PFV-3PL   in   castle

Yes. So they wandered in the palace.

     zə̀-leˈ   pθəx-le   tarʾa   day   ʾodá   ʾət²   xàθa
     go.PFV-3SG.M   open.PFV-3SG.M   door   OBL.that.F   room   of   sister

     gor-ta,ˈ   ʾay   qằmày-θa.ˈ
     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: ʾằya   mà꞊yla?ˈ
       say.PFV-3SG.M   this.F   what꞊COP.3SG.F

'What is this?' they said.

(37)   mə̀r-e:ˈ   xòn-i,ˈ   ʾaya   ṭàl-ux.ˈ
       say-3SG.M   brother-my   she   for-you.SG.M

He said, 'My brother, she is for you.

     dìyux꞊ila   ʾaya.ˈ
     yours.SG.M꞊COP.SG.F   she

She is yours.'

(38)   xòn-i,ˈ   ʾana   lèn   zil-a.
       brother-my   I   NEG.COP.1SG.M   go.PTCP-SG.M

'My brother, *I* haven't been [anywhere].'

(39)   mə̀-re:ˈ   ʾàn꞊ən   šqíl-əla.ˈ
       say.PFV-3SG.M   I꞊COP.1SG.M   take.PTCP-O.3SG.F

'I [am the one who] has taken her,' he said.

---

² *ʾət* 'of' has a suffixal variant *-ət*, cf. §12, and a prefixal variant *də-*, cf.
§41.

ṭàl-ux꞊ila.[|]   *dìyux꞊ila*   *ᵓaya.*[|]
for-you.SG.M꞊COP.SG.F   yours.SG.M꞊COP.3SG.F   she

'She's for you. She's yours.'

(40)   *ᵓaya*   *ḳəm-yawəl-∅-a*   *ta*   *xòna*   *gor-a.*[|]
       she   PFV-give-3SG.M-O.3SG.F   to   brother   big-SG.M

He gave her to the eldest brother.

(41)   *pθə̀x-le*   *ᵓoda*   *də-tray.*[|]
       open.PFV-3SG.M   room   of-two

They opened the second room.

ᵓay   *brata*   *də-trɛy*   *palgày-θa.*[|]
the.F   girl   of-two   middle-SG.F

The second, middle girl [was in there].

(42)   *mər-e:*   *'xòn-i,*[|]   *ᵓadiya*   *ᵓàya꞊ši*[|]
       say.PFV-3SG.M   brother-my   gift   she꞊ADD

dìyux꞊ila.'[|]
yours.SG.M꞊COP.3SG.F

He said, 'My brother, now this one is yours.'

(43)   *mər-e:*   *'xòn-i,*[|]   *ᵓana*   *lɛ̀n*   *zil-a*
       say.PFV-3SG.M   brother-my   I   NEG.COP.1SG.M   go.PTCP.SG.M

čə   *dukθa.'*[|]
NEG   place

'My brother,' he said, 'I haven't been anywhere.'

(44) *mər-e:*   *ˁbàle,*ᴵ *ʾaya diyux*   *ʾə̀ll-i*[3]
      say.PFV-3SG.M   si   she   yours.SG.M by-me

*šqil-a.*ʾᴵ
take.PFV-O.3SG.F

He said, 'Indeed, I [am the one who] took that [girl] of yours.'

---

[3] 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

Speaker: Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad

Audio: https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/242/

(1)   *nāv-ē*   *mən*   *Bĭžān* *Xošavī* *ʾAhmàt.*
     name-EZ.M   1SG.OBL   PN   PN   PN

My name [is] Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad.

xalḵ-ē   *bāžēr-ē*   *Duhoḵ-ė̀.*
people-EZ.M city.OBL-EZ.M PN-OBL.F

[I am] from the city of Duhok.

az꞊ē   *čĭrok-aḵ-ē,* *həndak* *čĭrok-ā* *bo* *hawa*
1SG.DIR꞊FUT tale-INDF-OBL.F some   tale-PL.OBL for 2PL.OBL

và-gohēz-əm,
TELIC-change.PRS-1SG

I will narrate to you a tale/some tales

kū *mən*   *əš* *dāp̂īr-ā̀*   *xo*   *go* *lē*
REL 1SG.OBL from grand.mom-EZ.F REFL ear at.3SG.OBL

būy꞊na
be.PST.PTCP꞊COP.3PL

that I have heard from my grandmother

ū	*həndàk,*⸣	*həndak*	*dānˤàmr-ēn*	*davar-ē.*⸣
and	some	some	old.people-EZ.PL	region-OBL.F

and some ... some old people in the region.

(2) | *čĭrok-ā* | *ma* | *ā* | *ēḵ-ē* | *dē* | *dàst* | *pē* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tale-EZ.F | 1PL.OBL | EZ.F | one-OBL.F | FUT | hand | to |

∅-ḵat-ən⸣	*čĭrok-ā*	*Fātmằ=ya.*⸣
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-∅	*na-bū-∅*
EXIST-be.PST-3SG	NEG-be.PST-3SG

There was and there was not,

kas	*šə*	*xodē*	*màs-tər*	*na-bū-∅*⸣
person	from	God.OBL	big-CMPR	NEG-be.PST-3SG

there was nobody greater than God,

kas	*šə*	*banī-yā*	*dərawìn-tər*	*na-bū-∅*⸣
person	from	human-PL.OBL	liar-CMPR	NEG-be.PST-3SG

no bigger liar than man.

řož-àḵ-ē	*šə*	*řož-ān*⸣	*gund-àḵ-ē*	*dūradast*⸣
day-INDF-EZ.M	from	day-PL.OBL	village-INDF-EZ.M	remote

āfərat-àḵ	*ha-bū-∅*⸣
woman-INDF	EXIST-be.PST-3SG

Once upon a time there was a woman in a remote village.

(3) | *awề* | *āfrat-ē*⸣ | *šii* | *bə* | *zaḷām-aḵ-ì̄* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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*ǀ	*čand*	*zārok-àḵ*	*ha-bū-n.*ǀ
REL	before-OBL.M	3SG.OBL.F	some	child-INDF	EXIST-be.PST-3PL

who already had some children.

ḵəč-aḵ	*ha-bū-∅*	*bə*	*nāv-ē*	*Fāṭmà*ǀ
girl-INDF	EXIST-be.PST-3SG	by	name-EZ.M	PN

He (The man) had a girl by the name of Fatma,

ḵo	*havžǐn-ā,*ǀ	*havžǐn-ā*	*ānḵo*	*žənbầb-ā*ǀ
REL	partner-EZ.F	partner-EZ.F	or	step.mother-EZ.F

Fāṭmā-yē	*galak*	*haz*	*žē*	*nà-ṭ-ḵər.*ǀ
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	*nà-ṭ-vīyā*	*bə-mīn-t⸗a*		*l*	*māḷ-ē.*ǀ
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-aḵ-ē	*šə*	*řož-àn,*ǀ	*əṭ-bèž-t⸗ē,*ǀ
day-INDF-EZ.M	from	day-PL.OBL	IND-say.PRS-3SG⸗3SG.OBL

One day, she said to her (Fatma),

ʻḵəč-ā	*mən*	*har-a*	*ḵolần-ē*	*bo*	*xo*
girl-EZ.F	1SG.OBL	go.IMP-2SG	alley-OBL.F	for	REFL

yārī-yā	*bə-ḵa.'*ǀ
game-PL.OBL	SBJV-do.PRS.IMP.2SG

'My girl, go [and] play in the lane.'

(4) *dam-ē*   *∅-č-īt=a*   *ḵolān-ē*
    when-OBL.F   IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT   lane-OBL.F

yārī-yā   *ṭ-ḵà-t-ən*|
game-PL.OBL   IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

When she (Fatma) went to the lane to play,

kas-aḵ   *šə*   *wānā̀*   *hēk-aḵ-ē*   *šəkēn-īt-ən*|
person-INDF   from   3PL.OBL   egg-INDF-OBL.F   break.PRS-3SG-NA

ət-nāv   *zavì̄-yā*   *kas-aḵ-ī*   *dā.*|
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*   *ṭ-hēt=a*   *šəkānd-ə̀n*
when-OBL.F   egg   IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT   break.PST-INF

When the egg was cracked,

ət-nāv   *wān*   *hamī*   *ḵəč-ān*   *dā*| *ū*   *har*   *ēḵ*
in-middle   3PL.OBL   all   girl-PL.OBL   POST   and   each   one

∅-ḵa-t=a   *sar*   *yē*   *dì.*|
IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT   head   EZ.M   other

each [girl] blamed the other.

ū   *har*   *ḵəč-àḵ*   *ṭə-bēž-īt-ən,*| *'tà*   *wa*   *ḵər,*
and   each   girl-INDF   IND-say.PRS.3SG-NA   2SG.OBL   DEIC   do.PST

mə̀n   *wa*   *na-ḵər.'*|
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-àk*   *ṭ-hē-t=a*   *wērē*
    in-there   person-INDF   IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT   there

Somebody passed by there

*əṱ-vē-t-ən,*ᴵ   *əṱ-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*ᴵ
2PL.DIR   all   swear   SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL

[and] said to them, 'You must all swear an oath!

kā   *kè̄*   *av*   *hēk-a*   *šəkānd-ī=a.*ᴵ
EXCM   who   DEM.PROX.SG   egg-DEM   break.PST-PTCP=PERF

Let's see who has cracked the egg?

lāzəm=a   *hīn*   *hamī*   *sìnd*   *bə-xo-n!'*ᴵ
necessary=COP.3SG   2PL.DIR   all   oath   SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL

You must all swear an oath!'

(6)   *ḳəč-ā*   *ēḳ-è̄*   *ṱ-bēž-īt-ən,*ᴵ
       girl-EZ.F   one-OBL.F   IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The first girl said,

'az   *bə*   *sar-ē*   *bərà̄-yē*   *xo*   *ḳa-m-a*ᴵ
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.'*ᴵ
1SG.OBL   DEM.DIST.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

[that] I didn't break that egg.'

ḳəč-ā   *du-è̄*   *ṱ-bēž-īt-ən,*ᴵ
girl-EZ.F   two-OBL.F   IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The second girl said,

'az   *bə*   *sar-ē*   *hàr*   *du*   *bərā-yēt*   *xo*   *ḳa-m-a*ᴵ
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-ī=a.'*
1SG.OBL	DEM.DIST.SG	egg-DEM	NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

[that] I didn't break that egg.'

ḳəč-ā	*sē-yề*	*ṯ-bēž-īt-ən,*
girl-EZ.F	two-OBL.F	IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The third girl said,

'az	*bə*	*sar-ē*	*p̂ềnǰ*	*bərā-yēt*	*xo*	*ḳa-m-a*
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-ī=a.'*
1SG.OBL	DEM.DIST.SG	egg-DEM	NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

(that) I didn't break that egg.'

(7)	*ū*	*har*	*husā*	*bardawằm*	*b-īt-ən.*
	and	EMPH	such	continual	be.PRS-3SG-NA

It continued like that.

hamī	*ḳə̀č*	*əb*	*sar-ē*	*bərā-yē*	*xo*	*sīnd*
all	girl	to	head-EZ.M	brother-EZ.M	REFL	oath

əṯ-xo-n
IND-eat.PRS-3PL

All the girls swore on their brother's head,

ko,	*'mà*	*av*	*hēk-a*	*na-škānd-ī=a.'*
COMPL	1PL.OBL	DEM.PROX.SG	egg-DEM	NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

'We haven't broken the egg.'

lē	*Fātmā-yè̱*ǀ	*čūnkū*	*husà̱*	*hazər*	*ḵər-bē*	*čə*
but	PN-OBL.F	since	such	thought	do.PST-be.PST	no

bərà̱	*nī-n=ən,*ǀ
brother	NEG-COP=3PL

However Fatma, as she thought that she had no brothers,

na-ẕānī	*dē*	*bə*	*čà̱*	*sīnd*	*∅-xot-ən.*ǀ
NEG-know.PST	FUT	to	what	swear	SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG-NA

did not know whom to swear on.

ū	*hamī-yā*	*ḵər=a*	*sar*	*wè̱*ǀ
and	all-PL.OBL	do.PST=DRCT	head	3SG.OBL.F

Everybody put the blame on her (lit. put on her head)

got=ē,	*'čūnkū*	*ta*	*sīnd*	*nà-xwār*ǀ
say.PST=3SG.OBL	since	2SG.OBL	oath	NEG-eat.PST

[and] said to her, 'Since you didn't swear,

lə-vērē	*tà*	*hēk*	*ā*	*šəkānd-ī.'*ǀ
in-here	2SG.OBL	egg	EZ.F	break.PST-PTCP

[it means that] you have broken the egg.'

(8)	*əṭ-č-īt-ava*	*gala*	*galak*	*dəl-aḵ-ē*
	IND-go.PRS-3SG-TELIC	very	very	heart-INDF-EZ.M

ēšāyī,
distressed

She (Fatma) returned home with a broken heart

əṭ-ḵa-t=a	*gərì̱.*ǀ
IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT	cry.INF

[and] started to cry.

əṭ-bēž-īt=a	*žənbā̀b-ā*	*xo,*[|]
IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT	stepmom-EZ.F	REFL

She said to her stepmother,

əṭ-bəž-t-ē,	*ʿbūčī*	*mən*	*čə*	*bərā̀*	*nī-n-ən?*^{'|}
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*	*ṭə-b-īt=a*	*darīv-ak-ā*
for	stepmom-OBL.F	IND-be.PRS-3SG=DRCT	opportunity-INDF-EZ.F

gala	*galak*	*ā*	*bā̀š*[|]
very	very	EZ.F	good

It became a very good opportunity for the stepmother

kū	*ḳəč-ề*	*žī*	*šə*	*māl-ē*	*bə*	*darē*
COMPL	girl-OBL.F	ADD	from	home-OBL.F	to	out

∅-x-īt-ən.[|]
SBJV-throw.PRS-3SG-NA

to kick her (Fatma) out of the house.

(9)	*əṭ-bề̀ž-t=ē,*[|]		*ʿwara*	*àz*	*dē*[|]
	IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL		come.IMP.2SG	1SG.DIR	FUT

jəh-ē	*bərā-yē*	*ta*	*nīšā*	*ta*	*∅-dà-m.*^{'|}
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' where-abouts.'

əṭ-ba-t=a	*sar*	*bān-ì̀,*[|]	*əṭ-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,

ʿpə̀št	*čīyā-yē*	*hana*	*pəšt*	*čīyā-yə̀*
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*	*čīyā-yə̀*	*žī,*	*šīnīk-ā*
in-back	DEM.DIST.OBL.M	mountain-OBL.M	ADD	trace-EZ.F

čīyāy-àḵ-ī	*dī*	*yē*	*hayī,*
mountain-INDF-EZ.M	other	EZ.M	EXIST.PRS

Behind that other mountain there is a road to another mountain.

əškaft-àḵ꞊ā	*ləwērē*	*hay*
cave-INDF꞊EZ.F	there	EXIST

There is a cave there.

p̂ə̀nǰ	*bərā-yēt*	*ta*	*əl-wērè*
five	brother-EZ.PL	2SG.OBL	in-there

Your five brothers are there.

məžīl-ī	*žīyằn-ē꞊na*	*ū*	*řàv꞊ū*	*nēčīr-ā*
busy-EZ.M	life-OBL.F꞊COP.3PL	and	hunt꞊and	hunt-PL.OBL

ṯ-kà-n.
IND-do.PRS-3PL

They are busy living and hunting.'

(10)	*Fāṭmā,*	*gala*	*galak*	*əṯ-mīn-t꞊a*	*hayərὲ.*
	PN	very	very	IND-remain.PRS-3SG꞊DRCT	astonished

[On hearing this] Fatma was very astonished.

ət̰-bēž-īt-ən,   *garak꞊a*   *az*   *bə-čə̀-m|*
IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA   necessary꞊COP.3SG   1SG.DIR   SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

bərā-yēt   *xo*   *paydā*   *∅-k̰à-m|*
brother-EZ.PL   REFL   visible   SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

She said, 'I shall go [and] find my brothers

ū   *gal*   *wằnā*   *dā*   *bə-žī-m.|*
and   with   3PL.OBL   POST   SBJV-live.PRS-1SG

and live with them.'

čūnkū   *t̰ə-z̰ằn-īt-ən|*   *žənbāb-è̄*   *gala*   *galak*
since   IND-know.PRS-3SG-NA   stepmom-OBL.F   very   very

hāl-ē   *wānā*   *nāxoš*   *k̰ər-ī꞊ya|*
condition-EZ.M   3PL.OBL   unpleasant   do.PST-PTCP꞊PERF

She knew that the stepmother had upset them a lot,

ū   *t̰ə-vē-t-ən*   *bə-zəvə̌r-īt-avà*   *dav*
and   IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA   SBJV-turn.PRS-3SG-TELIC   side

bərā-yēt   *xo.|*
brother-EZ.PL   REFL

and that it was necessary for her to go to [live with] her brothers.

(11)   *k̰əčək*   *dam-ē*   *∅-č-īt-ə̀n,|*   *gala*   *galak*
          girl   when-OBL.F   IND-go.PRS-3SG-NA   very   very

t̰ə-wastīy-è̄t-ən.|
IND-exhaust.PRS-3SG-NA

On the way [to the mountain], the little girl (i.e., Fatma) became very tired.

gala   *galak*   *māndì̄*   *t̰-b-īt-ən|*
very   very   tired   IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA

She became very exhausted

hatā̀| čīyā-yak̭-ḕ   ṭə-bəhūrīn-īt-ən=ū|
until   mountain-INDF-OBL.M   IND-pass.PRS-3SG-NA=and

by the time she passed the first mountain

čīyā-yē   du-ē   ṭə-bəhūrīn-ı̀t-ən=ū|
mountain-EZ.M   two-OBL.F   IND-pass.PRS-3SG-NA=and

and the second mountain

əṭ-gah-īt=a   čīyā-yē   sḕ.|
IND-arrive.PRS-3SG=DRCT   mountain-EZ.M   three

and [finally] arrived at the third mountain.

(12)   *dam-ē   əṭ-gah-īt=a   čīyā-yē   sḕ,|*
       when-OBL.F   IND-arrive.PRS-3SG=DRCT   mountain-EZ.M   three

On arriving at the third mountain,

əškaft-ak̭-ā gala galak ā   bəlₐ̀nd   ∅-bīn-īt-ən.|
cave-INDF-EZ.F very very   EZ.F high   IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

she saw a very big (lit. high) cave.

ū   ṭ-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   ṭə-vē-t-ən   bərā-yēt   wē   lə
COMPL   IND-should.PRS-3SG-NA   brother-EZ.PL   3SG.OBL.F   in

vḕ   əškaft-ē   va   ∅-b-ən|
DEM.PROX.OBL.F   cave-OBL.F   POST   SBJV-be.PRS-3PL

that her brothers should be in that cave

har   wakī   žənbāb-ḕ   gotī.|
just   like   stepmom-OBL.F   say.PST.PTCP

—just as the stepmother had said.

(13)   *dam-ē*   *ṱ-č-ı̀t=ē*|
   when-OBL.F   IND-go.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

'When she (Fatma) went inside

ū   *sah*   *ṱə-kà-t=ē*|
and   look   IND-do.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

and looked around,

əṱ-bīn-īt-ə̀n,| *čə̀*   *ṱ-bīn-īt-ən?*|
IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA   what   IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

she saw that … what did she see?

p̂ə̀nǰ   *taxt-ēt*   *dərēžḳərī,*|
five   bed-EZ.PL   lain.on.the.ground

Five beds lying [on the ground],

p̂ə̀nǰ   *āmān-ēt*   *xārən-ē,*|
five   utensil-EZ.PL   eat.INF-OBL.F

five sets of eating utensils,

p̂ə̀nǰ   *ǰəl,*| *p̂ə̀nǰ*   *ḳavčək.*|
five   garment   five   spoon

five sets of clothes, five spoons.

har   *təšt*   *ət*   *wē*   *əškaft-ē*   *va*   *p̂ēnǰ-ē*
each   thing   in   DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.F   cave-OBL.F   POST   five-OBL.F

p̂ə̀nǰ   *boy=a.*|
five   be.PST.PTCP.3SG=PERF

Each thing in that cave was in five [sets] (lit. five in five).

(14)   *dam-ē*   *wān*   *p̂ēnǰ-ā*   *ṱ-bīn-īt-ə̀n*|
   when-OBL.F   3PL.OBL   five-PL   IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

When she saw all those [things] in five sets,

ēksar   ṯə-ẓān-īt-ən
totally   IND-know.PRS-3SG-NA

she was sure

avà   jəh-ē   bərāy-ē   wē=ya.[|]
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   dà-t=ē[|]   *wērī   galak=ā*
front-EZ.M   REFL   give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   there.OBL   very=EZ.F

bēsarūbàr=a.[|]
messy=COP.3SG

She looked around [the cave and saw that] it was very messy.

ahā,   bərā-yak̲-ì̀   *ṯ-bīn-īt-ən*[|]   *sar   ēk̲   šə*
PRST   brother-INDF-OBL.M   IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA   on   one   from

wān   taxt-ā   yē   nəvəstì̀=ya.[|]
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   bərā-yì̀   go   lē*
      PN   so-that   3SG.OBL.M   brother-OBL.M   ear   at.3SG.OBL

na-b-īt-ən,[|]
NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-3SG-NA

In order for her brother not to hear,

baṭanì̀-ak̲-ā   maẓən   ṯ-ʿīn-īt-ən[|]
canvas-INDF-EZ.F   big   IND-bring.PRS-3SG-NA

Fatma brought a big lining canvas

dān-t=a   sar   bərā-yē   xo   yē   bəčì̀k[|]
PVB.put.PRS-3SG=DRCT   on   brother-EZ.M   refl   EZ.M   small

[and] put it on her young brother

kū   *bərā-yak̲-ī*   *bəč̃ı̀k=a.*[|]
REL   brother-INDF-EZ.M   small=COP.3SG

—the one who was the young[est] brother.

dā-n-t=a   *sar*   *wī*   *bərā-yı̀.*[|]
PVB-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT   on   DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.M   brother-OBL.M

She put it (the canvas) on that brother.

ū   *Fātmā*   *ř̃ā-t̲-b-īt-ən*   *dast=əb*   *kār-ī*
and   PN   PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA   hand=to   work.OBL.M

t̲-k̲a-t-ə̀n.[|]
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

And Fatma rose [and] started to work (lit. put hands to work).'

(16)   *Fātmà*   *ř̃ā-t̲-b-īt-ən*   *dast=əb*   *kār-ī*
           PN   PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA   hand=to   work.OBL.M

t̲-k̲a-t-ən.[|]
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

Fatma rose (and) started to work.

ēh   *taxt-ā*   *hamī-yà̃*   *pāqəž*   *ət̲-k̲a-t-ən.*[|]
INTJ   bed-PL.OBL   all-PL.OBL   clean   IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She cleaned all the beds.

jəlk-à̃   *t̲-šo-t-ən.*[|]
garment-PL.OBL   IND-wash.PRS-3SG-NA

She washed the clothes.

āmān-à̃   *hamī-yā*   *pāqəž*   *t̲ə-k̲a-t-ən.*[|]
utensil-PL.OBL   all-PL.OBL   clean   IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She cleaned all the dishes.

əškaft-ē   hamī   yē   ət̯-māḷ-īt-ə̀n.|
cave-OBL.F   all   EZ.M   IND-sweep.PRS-3SG-NA

She swept all [inside] the cave.

ū   l-ēk   də-da   bəsarūbàr   ət̯-ka-t-ən,|
and   at-one   IND-give.PRS.3SG   orderly   IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She had put everything in order,

hatā   bərā-yēt   wē   t̯-hē-n-avà.|
until   brother-EZ.PL   3SG.OBL.F   IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC

before her brothers returned.

(17) *pəšt-ī   Fātmā   kār꞊o   bār-ēt   xo*
     after-OBL.M   PN   job꞊and   RDP-EZ.PL   REFL

t̯-k̯à-t-ən,|
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

After Fatma finished her [cleaning] tasks,

xārən-àk̯-ā   gala   galak   ā   xoš   žī   čē
meal-INDF-EZ.F   very   very   EZ.F   delicious   ADD   LVC

t̯-ka-t   bo   bərā-yēt   xo|
IND-do.PRS-3SG   for   brother-EZ.PL   REFL

she cooked a very good meal for her brothers

kā   čə̀   lə-vērē   ha꞊ya
EXCM   what   in-here   EXIST꞊COP.3SG

out of what there was in the cave

čə̀   nēčīr   k̯ərī꞊ya,   ət̯gal   həndak̯   nān-ì̄|
what   hunt   do.PST-PTCP꞊COP.3SG   with   some   bread-OBL.M

and what they had hunted—together with bread

bo   wānā̀   ḥāzər   ə̣-k̟a-t-ən.[|]
for   3PL.OBL   ready   IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

—she prepared [a meal] for them.

(18)   *ə̣-bēž-ī,   'dam-ē   bərā̀-yet   mən,*[|]   *har   čār*
    IND-say.PRS-3SG   when-OBL.F   brother-EZ.PL   1SG.OBL   each   four

bərā-yet   mən-ē   dī   ṭ-hē-n-avà,[|]   *dā*
brother-EZ.PL   1SG.OBL-EZ.M   other   IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC   HORT

vērē   ā   bəsarūbàr   ∅-b-īt-ən.^{ʾ|}
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   č-īt=a   ə̣-ban   taxt-ak̟-ī̀-va
PN   totally   go.PRS-3SG=DRCT   in-under   bed-INDF-OBL.M-POST

ān   bən   sērk̟-àk̟-ē   ʾarzāq-ī-va[|]
or   under   basket-INDF-EZ.M   food-OBL.M-POST

'Fatma immediately went under a bed/or under a large cooking basket.

xo   va-ṭ-šēr-ı̀t-ən[|]
REFL   TELIC-IND-hide.PRS-3SG-NA

She hid herself

ū   čāvařē   ṭ-b-īt-ən   hatā   bərā̀-yet   wē
and   eyes.on.road   IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA   until   brother-EZ.PL   REFL

ṭ-hē-n.[|]
IND-come.PRS-3PL

and waited (lit. eyes on road) [there] until her brothers returned.'

(19)   *dam-ē   bərā-yet   wē   ə̣-hè-n,*[|]
    when-OBL.F   brother-EZ.PL   3SG.OBL.F   IND-come.PRS-3PL

When her brothers arrived,

bərā-yē   maẓə̀n ǰo   ṯ-kav-īt-ən.|
brother-EZ.M   big   LVC   IND-fall.PRS-3SG-NA

the eldest brother bludgeoned his way [through his brothers]

əṯ-bēž-t-ē,   'ā   ava   čan   təšt-aḵ-ī
IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   EXCM   DEM.PROX.3SG   how   thing-INDF-EZ.M

sàyr=a   čē   bo-y-∅!|
bizzare=COP.3SG   good   be.PST-PTCP-3SG

[and] said to them, 'Oh, what has been happening here is indeed surprising!

bərā-yē   ma   yē   bəčīk   husā   na   yē   zīrà̀ḵ
brother-EZ.M   1PL.OBL   EZ.M   little   such   NEG   EZ.M   striving

bo-∅|
COP.PST-3SG

Our youngest brother did not used to be so conscientious.

av   āmā̀n-a   xa   šīšt-ən=ū|
DEM.PROX.3SG   utensil-DEM   REFL   wash.PST-3PL=and

He has washed the dishes all by himself.

av   ǰəlk-à   šīšt-ən=ū|
DEM.PROX.3SG   garment-DEM   wash.PST-3PL=and

He has washed the clothes.

av   taxt-a   bə-sar-ū-bàr   ḵər.|
DEM.PROX.3SG   bed-DEM   orderly   do.PST

He has put the beds in order.'

řāwra   b-ən   dasxošī-yè̀   lē   da-n,|
LVC   be.PRS-3PL   thanking-OBL.F   at.3SG.OBL   give.PRS-3PL

They (the brothers) started to thank him (the youngest brother),

'saḥàt-ā   ta   xoš;
health-EZ.F   2SG.OBL   nice

'Bravo! (lit. may your health be nice!)

ta   kār-aḵ-ē   ǰ̀ā̀n=ē   ḵərī.'|
2SG.OBL   job-INDF-EZ.M   beautiful=EZ.M   do.PTCP

You have done a wonderful job.'

(20) *bərā   dam-ē   əš   xaw   ř̄ā-ṭ-b-īt-avà|*
      brother   when-OBL.F   from   sleep   PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-TELIC

When the [youngest] brother woke up

əṭ-bīn-īt   wērē   yā   pāqə̀ž=a.|
IND-see.PRS-3SG   there   EZ.F   clean=COP.3SG

and saw that the house was clean,

əṭ-bēž-īt-ən,   'hamā   bo   mən   lē-hằt-∅!|
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-ʾasās   mə̀n   ī   aw
by   counting   on-basis   1SG.OBL   EZ   DEM.DIST.SG

šol-a=ya   ḵərī.'|
work-DEM=EZ.F   do.PST.PTCP

Indeed, it was me who has done these tasks!"

ət̲-bēž-t=ē,   *ʿwaḷā*   *bərā*   *az*   *gala*   *galak*   *ī*
IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   by.God   brother   1SG.DIR   very   very   EZ

māndì̄   *bū=m|*   *kū*   *mən*   *av*   *vērē*   *hamì̄*
tired   COP.PST=1SG   COMPL   1SG.OBL   DEM.PROX.SG   here   all

pāqəž   *k̲̲ər.ʾ|*
clean   do.PST

He said [to the eldest brother], 'By God, brother, after cleaning
everything in the house I got very tired!'

(21)   *ət̲-bēž-n=ē*   *bərā*   *saḥàt-ā*   *ta*   *xoš.|*
       IND-say.PRS-3PL=3SG.OBL   brother   health-EZ.F   2SG.OBL   nice

They (the brothers) said to him, 'Bravo, brother.'

ṣəbāhì̄   *dor-ā*   *bərā-yē*   *ma*   *yē*   *maz̲ən=a.|*
tomorrow   turn-EZ.F   brother-EZ.M   1PL.OBL   EZ.M   big=COP.3SG

Tomorrow is our eldest brother's turn.'

ʿafù̄| *dūr-ā*   *bərā-yē*   *ma*   *yē*   *dì̄v*   *dā=ya!|*
pardon   turn-EZ.F   brother-EZ.M   1PL.OBL   EZ.M   after   POST=COP.3SG

aw=ē   *šə*   *wì̄*   *maz̲ən-tər.|*
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)   *ət̲-b-īt=a*   *řož-ā*   *p̂āš-tər.|*
       IND-become.PRS-3SG=DRCT   day-EZ.F   after-CMPR

The next day, (Lit. It became the next day.)

bərā-yēn   *dī*   *dar*   *t̲-kav-ən=a*   *nēčìr-è̄.|*
brother-EZ.PL   other   outside   IND-fall.PRS-3PL=DRCT   hunt-OBL.F

the other brothers went hunting.

bərā	*žī*	*ṭə-bēž-īt-ə̀n,*ˈ		*'ē*	*bāwar*	*ka*	*vērē*
brother	ADD	IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA		INTJ	belief	do.IMP.2SG	here

galak	*ā*	*pāqə̀ž=a.*ˈ
very	EZ.F	clean=COP.3SG

The brother said, 'Believe it [or not], it is very clean here;

na	*ā*	*pìs=a.*ˈ
NEG	EZ.F	dirty=COP.3SG

it's not untidy.

kā	*dā*	*az*	*bəxo*	*bə-nv-ə̀m;*ˈ
INTJ	HORT	1SG.DIR	simply	SBJV-sleep-1SG

az	*gala*	*galak*	*yē*	*wastīā̀y=ma.*ˈ
1SG	very	very	EZ.M	tired=1SG.COP

I shall simply sleep. I'm very tired.'

bərā	*∅-č-īt*	*əṭ-nəv-īt-avà.*ˈ
brother	IND-go.PRS-3SG	IND-sleep.PRS-3SG-TELIC

The brother went [and] slept again.

(23)	*dam-ē*	*bərā*	*ṭ-nəv-īt-avà,*ˈ
	when-OBL.F	brother	IND-sleep.PRS-3SG-TELIC

After the brother fell asleep,

ḳəčək	*bar-ē*	*xo*	*∅-da-t=ē*	*hēštā*
girl	front-EZ.M	REFL	IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL	still

bərā	*yē*	*nəvəstì=a.*ˈ
brother	EZ.M	sleep.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

the girl (i.e., Fatma) noticed that he was still sleeping.

zīkā	*əṭ-hē-t=a*	*dar-è̄.*ˈ
soon	IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT	outside-OBL.F

She came out quickly.

wằn	ǰəl=ū	barg-ā⌐	wān…	aw	təšt-ēn
3PL.OBL	garment=and	cover-PL.OBL	3PL.OBL	DEM.PROX.SG	thing-EZ.PL

wē	dəhī	na-pāqəžḳərì̀-n⌐	hamī-yā
DEM.DIST.OBL.F	yesterday	not-cleaned=COP.3PL	all-PL.OBL

əṭ-ba-t=a	žə	dar-va-y	əškaft-ề.⌐
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	əṭ-ḳa-t-ən=ū	čè̀	ṭ-ḳa-t-ən⌐
and	orderly	IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA=and	good	IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She arranged them all and cleaned them.

(24)	ū	ḥawž-aḵ-ā	gul-ằ	žī	əl-bar	dar
	and	garden-INDF-EZ.F	flower-PL.OBL	ADD	in-front	door

əškaft-ē	čē	ṭ-ḳa-t-ən⌐
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	ṭ-čĭn-ìt-ən=ū.⌐
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	pəčaḵ-ē	pāqə̀ž
side-EZ.M	other	ADD	such	a.little-OBL.F	clean

əṭ-ḳa-t-ən
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

Also, she cleaned the other side [the area around the cave]

bəsarūbàr	əṭ-ḳa-t-ən.⌐
orderly	IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

[and] put the things [around the cave] in order.

(25)   *b-īt꞊a*   *ēvār*   *kū*   *dē*
     become.PRS-3SG꞊DRCT   evening   COMPL   FUT

bərā-yēt   *wē*   *∅-hē-n-avà,*|
brother-EZ.PL   3SG.OBL.F   SBJV-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC

[When] it became evening, [and time] for her brothers to come back,

Fātmā   *ǰār-aḵ-ā*   *dī*   *əṭ-č-īt꞊a*   *bən*
PN   time-INDF-EZ.F   again   IND-go.PRS-3SG꞊DRCT   under

sērḵ-ē   *ʾarsāq-ì̄*   *va*|
basket-EZ.M   nutrition-OBL.M   POST

Fatma again went under the cooking basket

ū   *pātà-y*   *t-īn-t꞊a*   *xār-ē*|
and   canvas-OBL.M   IND-come.PRS-3SG꞊DRCT   down-OBL.F

and brought down the cotton canvas,

dā   *bərā-yēt*   *wē*   *wề*   *na-bīn-in.*|
COMPL   brother-EZ.PL   3SG.OBL.F   3SG.OBL.F   NEG-see.PRS-3PL

so that her brothers wouldn't see her.

(26)   *bərā*   *ṭ-hē-n-avà*   *sah*   *əṭ-ḵa-n-ē*|
     brother   IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC   looking   IND-do.PRS-3PL꞊3SG.OBL

The brothers returned home [and] looked around

ṭə-bēž-ēt-ən   *bərā-yē*   *mažền*| *čūnkū*   *šə*   *wānā*
IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA   brother-EZ.M   big   since   from   3PL.OBL

maẓ-tər꞊ū   *bə-āqəl-tềr*   *bo*| *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

ṭabē͑ì   řūy   ət̠-da-t-ən.
normal   happening   IND-give.PRS-3SG-NA

'This is not something natural that has been happening here!

čūnkū   bərā-yēt   mən   hamī   gāv-ā   husā   nà
because   brother-EZ.PL   1SG.OBL   all   time-PL.OBL   such   NEG

zīrak   bū=n!
thriving   COP.PST=3PL

Since my brothers were not that conscientious before,

husā   vār-ā   pāqəž   nà-t̠-ḵər!
such   place-PL.OBL   clean   NEG-IPFV-do.PST

they wouldn't clean the house like this.

husā   vērē   bəsarūbar   nà-t̠-ḵər!
such   here.OBL.F   orderly   NEG-IPFV-do.PST

They wouldn't arrange the things in the house in such a way.'

ava   čī̀=ya   čē   būy-∅?
DEM.PROX.SG   what=COP.3SG   good   be.PST.PTCP-3SG

'What has happened here?

àz   nə-z̧ān-əm.
1SG.DIR   NEG-know.PRS-1SG

I don't know!'

baz   ē   ∅-ẓān-īn   pəšt-ī   am   čīrok-ā   xo
but   FUT   SBJV-know.PRS-1PL   after-OBL.M   1PL.DIR   tale-EZ.F   REFL

kaməl   ∅-ḵà-yn.ˈ
complete   SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

However, we [the listeners] are going to figure it out after we finish our tale.

(27)   əţ-bēž-īt=ē,   'bərā̀,   bərā!'ˈ
    IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   brother   brother

He (the eldest brother) said, 'Brother, brother!'

šə   xaw-ē   šīyār   əţ-ḵà-t-ən.ˈ
from   sleep-EZ.M   awake   IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

He woke him up.'

əţ-bēž-t=ē,   'ta   čə̀   ḵərī=ya?'
IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   2SG.OBL   what   do.PST.PTPC=PERF

[and] said, 'What did you do?'

bərā   bar-ē   xo   ţ-dà-t=ēˈ   aw
brother   front-EZ.M   REFL   IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   DEM.DIST.SG

bərā-yē   wī   ∅-ţəřs-ì̄t-ən   awalīkā.ˈ
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   ∅-bēž-t=ē,   'bə-bor-a
IND-want.PRS-3SG   SBJV-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL   SBJV-pass.PRS-IMP.2SG

mən   šol   nà-ḵər;ˈ
1SG.OBL   work   NEG-do.PST

He wanted to say, 'Excuse me! I didn't do my job.

ān	*mən*	*wār-ā*	*pāqəž*	*nà-ḳər;*⌐
or	1SG.OBL	place-PL.OBL	clean	NEG-do.PST

I didn't clean our house;

ān	*mən*	*xwārən*	*čē*	*nà-ḳər.*⌐
or	1SG.OBL	food	good	NEG-do.PST

I didn't cook food.'

(28) | *baġ* | *∅-da-t=a* | *wār-à̰,*⌐ |
|------|-----------|----------|
| looking | IND-give.PRS-3SG=DRCT | place-PL.OBL |

He (the sleeping brother) looked around

wār-ā	*bəsarūbàr=a.*⌐
place-PL.OBL	orderly=COP.3SG

[and saw that] that everything was in order.

ṱə-bēž-t-ē,	*ʾbərā,*	*mən*	*šol-ē*	*xo*	*hamḭ̀*
IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL	brother	1SG.OBL	work-EZ.M	REFL	all

yē	*ḳərì*⌐
EZ.M	do.PTCP

He said, 'Brother, I did my job entirely

az	*bə-xo*	*nəvə̀st-əm.*⌐
1SG.DIR	in-REFL	sleep.PST-1SG

[and then] I simply slept.'

bərā	*ṱ-bēž-t=ē,*	*ʾāhā*	*galak*	*bà̰š=a.*⌐
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*	*∅-b-ə̀n.*⌐⌐
hand-EZ.M	2SG.OBL	FUT	nice	SBJV-be.PRS-3PL

Thank you (lit. May your hands be nice!)!'

(29) *xārən-ā̀*   *xo*   *t̠-xo-n.*|
      food-EZ.F   REFL   IND-eat.PRS-3PL

They ate their meal.

jəlk-ēt   *xo*   *t̠-guhoř-ə̀n*| *dē*   ∅*-nəv-ə̀n.*|
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*   *ət̠-hal-ē-t-ən,*
when-OBL.F   day   IND-PVB-come.PRS-3SG-NA

When dawn broke (lit. the sun rose)

t̠ə-vē-t-ən   *bə-čə-n꞊a*   *řāv꞊ū*   *nēčīr-ā̀.*|
IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA   SBJV-go.PRS-3PL꞊DRCT   hunt꞊and   hunt-PL.OBL

they intended to go hunting.

bar-ī   *řož*   *bə̀-hal-ē-t-ən*
before-OBL.M   sun   SBJV-PVB-come.PRS-3SG-NA

ət̠-čə-n꞊a   *řāv꞊ū*   *nēčīr-ā̀.*|
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

Speaker: Herish Rashid Tawfiq Beg

Audio: https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/249/

(1) | *nāv-ē* | *mə* | *Hèrəš꞊a.*ˈ |
| name-EZ.M | 1SG.OBL | PN꞊COP |

My name is Herish.

| *az* | *ḵuř-ē* | *Řašīd* | *Bag-ē* | *Barwārì꞊ma꞊ū*ˈ | *az* |
| 1SG.DIR | son-EZ.M | PN | PN-EZ.M | PN꞊COP.1SG꞊and | 1SG.DIR |

| *Barwārì꞊ma,*ˈ |
| PN꞊COP.1SG |

I am the son of Rashid Bag Barwari, and I am from Barwari.

| *navī-yē* | *Tawfīq* | *Bag-ē* | *ḵuř-ē* |
| grandson-EZ.M | PN | PN-EZ.M | son-EZ.M |

| *hajī* | *Řašīd* | *Bàg-ē* | *Barwārī.*ˈ |
| 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*   *čīròk-ā*ˈ   *ḥaṣp-ē*   *māḷbằt-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',

wakī   *bāb⸗ū*   *bāpīr-ā*   *bo*   *mə*
like   father⸗and   grand.father-PL.OBL   for   1SG.OBL

*và-gařyā-yī.*ˈ
TELIC-turn.PST-PTCP

the way I have been told it by the elders.

(2)   *ṭ-bēž-ən*   *ha-bū-∅*   *na-bū-∅,*ˈ
      IND-say.PRS-3PL   EXIST-COP.PST-3SG   NEG-COP.PST-3SG

It is said that there was and there was not,

kas   *šə*   *xodē*   *màẓ-tər*   *na-bū-∅,*ˈ
person   from   god.OBL.M   big-CMPR   NEG-COP.PST-3SG

[but] there was nobody greater than God,

kas   *šə*   *banī-yā*   *žī*   *dərawìn-tər*   *na-bū-∅*ˈ
person   from   human-PL.OBL   ADD   liar-CMPR   NEG-COP.PST-3SG

and no bigger liar than man.

*zamān-aḵ-ī*ˈ   *wē*   *davar-è*ˈ   *xalḵ-è*   *čə*
period-INDF-OBL.M   DEM.DIST.OBL.F   region-OBL.F   people-OBL.F   what

*ṭ-ḵər?*ˈ
IPFV-do.PST

What did the people in this region do once?

har   *bənamằḷ-aḵ-ē*ˈ   *hàṣp-aḵ-ē*   *makən-ē,*ˈ   *jəhēl-è*ˈ
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-∅ˈ
very	very	very	very	strong	EXIST-be.PST-3SG

that was very, very strong.

(3) | ṯə-bēž-ən | àv | ḥaṣp-ē | hanēˈ | har |
|-----------|-----|--------|-------|-----|
| IND-say.PRS-3PL | DEM.PROX | horse-EZ.M | DEICT.PTCL | each |

ṯə-nāv-ē	bənamāḷ-ē	əṯ-hāt-∅=a	nīyā̀s.ˈ
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.

yaʿnī	xalk-ē	av	ḥaṣp-a	bənamà̀ḷ-ē
that.is	people-OBL.F	DEM.PROX	horse-DEM	family-OBL.F

ṯ-nīyāsīˈ
IPFV-know.PST

That is, people knew this horse as the 'family horse'.

kas	lə	vī	ḥaṣp-ī	sīyār
person	at	DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.M	horse-OBL.M	rider

nà-ṯ-bū-∅.ˈ
NEG-IPFV-become.PST-3SG

Nobody would mount this horse.

sāḷ-ē	jār-ak-ē	av	ḥaṣp-a	darề	ṯ-xəstˈ
year-OBL.F	time-INDF-OBL.F	DEM.PROX	horse-DEM	out	IPFV-throw.PST

nīšā	xalk-ē	əṯ-dà̀ˈ
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.'

ū   xalk̲-ē   madhà   pē   t̲ə-k̲ər-ən.[|]
and   people-OBL.M   praising   to.3SG.OBL   IPFV-do.PST-3PL

And people would praise it (i.e. the horse)

ū   xalk̲-ē   ḥaṣp-ē   xo   bə   wā
and   people-OBL.M   horse-EZ.M   REFL   to   DEM.PL.OBL

ḥaṣp-ā   t̲ə-šəbəhā̀nd-ən.[|]
horse-PL.OBL   IPFV-compare.PST.3PL

and compare their horses to those [family] horses.

(4) *ḥaṣp-ē   bənamāḷ-ē   yē   čāwà   bū-∅?*[|]
     horse-EZ.M   family-OBL.F   EZ.M   how   COP.PST-3SG

[But] what was the family horse like?

bằb-ē   ḥaṣp-ī   yē   bənamāl-ē   bū-∅,[|]   *Pəxīnề.*[|]
father-EZ.M   horse-OBL.M   EZ.M   family-OBL.F   COP.PST-3SG   PN

Its father, Pekhine, also belonged to this family.

k̲ùř-ē   wī   ḥaṣp-ī   žī   bə   wē
son-EZ.M   DEM.DIST.OBL.M   horse-OBL.M   ADD   with   DEM.DIST.OBL.F

bənamāḷ-ē   t̲-mā-∅.[|]
Family-OBL.F   IPFV-stay.PST-3SG

Its colt also stayed with the same family.

kas-ē   lə   vī   ḥaṣp-ī   žəbar
person-EZ.M   at   DEM.PROX.OBL.M   horse-OBL.M   because.of

qīmàt-ā   wī   lē   sīyār   na-bū-∅[|]
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   t̲ə-xəst   bo   jānì[|]
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*	*ṯə*	*gov-ḕ*	*dā.*ˈ
and	TELIC-hide.PST-TELIC	in	stable-OBL.F	POST

and then hidden again in the stable.

(5) | *ṯ-bē-n* | *sāḷ-ak-ḕ*ˈ | *ḥasp-ē* | *bənamāḷ-ak-ḕ*ˈ |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| IND-say.PRS-3PL | year-INDF-OBL.F | horse-EZ.M | family-INDF-OBL.F |

ḳo	*gala*	*gala*	*galak*	*yē*	*barnīyằz*	*bū*ˈ
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,*	*ʿyaʿnī*	*nāv=ū*	*dang-ēt*
and	people-OBL.M	all	well	name=and	voice-EZ.PL

vī	*ḥasp-ī*	*čằ*	*bū-n?*ˈ
DEM.PROX.OBL.M	horse-OBL.M	what	COP.PST-3PL

that everybody [said], 'Well, what is [so] special about this horse?'

ēḵ	*hāt-∅=a*	*dəzằ-ēt*	*ḥasp-ī.*ˈ
one	come.PST-3SG=DRCT	roberry-EZ.PL	horse-OBL.M

A [certain] person came to steal the horse.

xo	*āvēt=a*	*ṯə*	*gov-ḕ-va*ˈ
REFL	throw.PST=DRCT	in	stable-OBL.F-POST

He went into the stable

ū	*xo*	*āvēt=a*	*sar*	*pəšt-ā*	*ḥasp-ē*	*wằ.*ˈ
and	REFL	throw.PST=DRCT	on	back-EZ.F	horse-EZ.M	3PL.OBL

and mounted the family horse.

vā	*ḥasp-ē*	*wā*	*řavằnd.*ˈ
DEM.PROX.3SG	horse-EZ.M	3PL.OBL	abduct.PST

He stole the horse.

(6) *zaḷằm   žī*| *xodān-ē*   *ḥasp-ī*   *pē*
    man   add   owner-EZ.M   horse-OBL.M   at.3SG.OBL

hasằ-∅.|
understand.PST-3SG

The man, the owner of the horse found out [about the robbery].

dīt   *ēk̲-ī*   *ḥasp-ē*   *wā*   *bằr.*|
see.PST   one-OBL.M   horse-EZ.M 3PL.OBL take.PST

He saw that a person had taken their horse.

got꞊a   *k̲ừř-ēt*   *xo,*|
say.PST꞊DRCT son-EZ.PL REFL

He said to his sons,

'həlừ-n   *vē*   *řā-bə-gah-ən*|
get.up.IMP-2PL   DEM.PROX.OBL.F   PVB-SBJV-arrive.PRS-2PL

'Get up, go and reach the thief,

hatk-ā   *ma*   *čừ-∅*|
honour-OBL.F 1PL.OBL go.PST-3SG

for we are disgraced.

ēk-ỉ̀   *ḥasp-ē*   *ma*   *bər,*| *yē*   *bənamằḷ-ē.'*|
one-OBL.M horse-EZ.M 1PL.OBL take.PST EZ.M family-OBL.F

Someone has taken our horse—the family horse—

av-ē   *bāb-ē*   *ḥasp-ỉ̀*| *əv*   *bāb-ē*
DEM.PROX-EZ.M father-EZ.M horse-OBL.M DEM.PROX.3SG father-EZ.M

bənamāḷ-ề.|
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

bənamāḷ *pēkvà* *bū-n*| *nažāt* *bo* *nažāt-ì̄.*|
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.

gotì| *àv*| *ẓalām-ē* *xodān-ē* *ḥaṣp-ī*
say.PTCP DEM.PROX.3SG man-EZ.M pwner-EZ.M horse-OBL.M

čū-∅
go.PST-3SG

It is said that the owner of the family horse went

lə *ḥaṣp-ē* *xwa* *sīyằr* *bū-∅.*|
at horse-EZ.M REFL rider COP.PST-3SG

and mounted his [other] horse.

ū *kuř-ēt* *wī* *žī* *dā* *dìv.*|
and son-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL ADD give.PST after

And his sons followed him.

kat-n=a *dīv* *ḥaṣp-ì̄*| *kat-n=a* *dìv*|
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* *čārgāvằ.*|
and horse PVB-grab.PRS-3PL galloping

They galloped on their horses off [to the thief].'

(8) *ḵùř-ēt* *wī* *žī* *ēḵ* *bə-dīv-va*|
    son-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.M ADD one in-after-POST

The sons [went] behind their father,

ū   bāb=ē   bə-dīv   dəzī̮kar-ı̀-va.|
and   father=EZ.M   in-after   thief-OBL.M-POST

and the father went after the thief.

dəzī̮kar=ē   lə   ḥaṣp-ē   bənamāḷ-ē   sīyằr=a.|
thief=EZ.M   at   horse-EZ.M   family-OBL.F   rider=COP.3SG

The thief was riding the family horse.

bāb   žī   lə   ḥaṣp-ē   xo   sīyằr=a.|
father   ADD   at   horse-EZ.M   REFL   rider=COP.3SG

The father was on his [other] horse.

har   du   ḳuř   žī   av   dā   wař-ēt
each   two   son   ADD   DEM.PROX.3SG   give.PST   thus-EZ.PL

wằ-y   dī|
3PL.OBL-EZ.M   other

Similarly, his two sons followed each other.

ḳā   kī   žə   bāgı̀r   ha=ya| *lē   lē*
EXCL   who   at   windy   PTC=COP.3SG   but   at.3SG.OBL

sīyằr   būy=n.|
rider   COP.PST.PTCP=COP.3PL

Even though it was [extremely] windy, they were riding their horses.

(9) *ṭə-bēž-ən   bāb   gahəšt=a   dəzī̮kar-ı̀.*|
     IND-say.PRS-3PL   father   arrive.PST.3SG=DRCT   thief-OBL.M

It is said that the father reached the thief.

dast-ē   xwa   hāvèt,| *dā   gah-ət   pātk-ằ   wī*|
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| *dast-ē*   *xwa*   *zəvəřānd-avà.|*
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*   *ḥaṣp-ī*   *bə*   *ləxāv-va*   *kēšà|*
and   halter-EZ.M   horse-OBL.M   with   bridle-POST   pull.PST

He (the father) pulled the reins of his horse

ū   *ḥaṣəp*   *řā-wəstā̀nd.|*
and   horse   PVB-stop.PST

and made it stop.

dəzīk̭ar   *žī*   *žē*   *falətì-∅.|*
thief   ADD   from.3SG.OBL   run.away.PST-3SG

The thief rode away (lit. the thief scaped from him).

(10)   *hatā*   *k̭ùř-ēt*   *wī*   *gahīšt-ən꞊ē|*
       until   son-EZ.PL   3SG.OBL.M   arrive.PST-3PL꞊3SG.OBL

When his sons caught up with him,

got꞊ē,   *ꞌbāb-o!*   *ta*   *čə̀*   *māḷ-ā*   *ma*
say.PST꞊3SG.OBL   father-VOC   2SG.OBL   why   home-EZ.F   1PL.OBL

xərā   *k̭ər?|*
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

ṭə-gàhəšt꞊ē!|
IPFV-arrive.PST꞊3SG.OBL

A while ago you could have reached the thief!

ta   bừčĭ   na-gərt?'
2SG.OBL   why   NEG-grab.PST

Why didn't you grab him?'

got=ē,   'rün-ə̀n,
say.PST=3SG.OBL   PVB.sit.PRS.IMP-2PL

The father said, 'Calm down! (lit. Sit down!)

mə   ʕaql   xarəj   k̩ə̀r.'
1SG.OBL   wisdom   consumption   do.PST

I acted wisely.'

(11) *go   'waxt-ē   az   gahəštī=m*
      say.PST time-OBL.F   1SG.DIR   arrive.PST.PTCP=COP.1SG

ḥaṣp-ē   bənamāḷ-ề,
horse-EZ.M   Family-OBL.F

He (the father) said, 'When I approached the family horse—

av=ē   hənda   sāḷ=a   am   əb   bāb=ū
DEM.PROX.3SG=EZ.M   so.many   year=COP.3SG   1PL.DIR   with   father=and

bāpr̩̀r-va   madh-ā   pē   t̩ə-ka-yn
grandfather-POST   praise-PL.OBL   to.3SG.OBL   IND-do.PRS-1PL

the one which we have been praising for so long

ū   t̩ə-ba-yn   nāv   xalk̩-ề
and   IND-take.PRS-1PL   into   people-OBL.M

and which we take around for people to see

tu   ∅-ẓān-ī   čə   hāt-∅   sar-ē   mə̀n?
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 dītì*│ *mə*   *dastē*   *xwa*
      say.PST.PTCP when   1SG   see.PTCP 1SG.OBL hand-EZ.M   REFL

dā *hằvē-m*│   *pātək-ā*   *dəz-ī*   *dā*   *gēr-ə̀m*│
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* *hamì* *zān-īt-ən*│
AUX   people all   know.PRS-3PL-NA

[I thought that] people would figure out

dəzīkar-ak̠ *hāt-∅*   *ḥaṣp-ē*   *mà*   *dəzī*│
thief-INDF   come.PST-3SG horse-EZ.M 1PL.OBL steal.PST

that a thief had come to steal our horse

yē   *bənamāḷ-è*│ *av-ē*   *sar-ē*   *həndasāḷ-a*
EZ.M family-OBL.F DEM.PROX.SG-EZ.M on-EZ.M so.many.year-COP.3SG

nằv-ū   *dang-ēt*   *wī*   *čūy-n.*│
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*   *ēk̠-ī*   *ḥaṣp-ē*   *wa*   *dəzì.*│
      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*│ *yề*   *sīyārī-ē*│ *bə*
and 2PL.DIR with horse-EZ.PL REFL EZ.PL riding-OBL.F to

ḥaṣp-ē   *bənamāḷ-ē*   *řā*   *gahəšt-ə̀n.*│
horse-EZ.M family-OBL.F POST arrive.PST-3PL

And you could reach the family horse with your riding horses.

bəlā	*ḥàṣəp*	*bo*	*wī*	∅*-b-īt*
HOR	horse	for	3SG.OBL.M	SBJV-be.PRS-3SG

[So instead,] let the [family] horse be the thief's,

bas	*bəlā*	*madh-ēt*	*ḥaṣp-ī*	*bə-mīn-ì̄.*
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

Speaker: Ahmed Abubakir Suleiman

Audio: https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/247/

(1)   *nāv-ē*   *mə̀n*ǀ   *ʾAhmad* *ʾAbūbakər* *Səlēmằn.*ǀ
         name-EZ.M   1SG.OBL   PN   PN   PN

My name [is] Ahmad Abubakir Sleman.

az   *xalk-ē*   *gund-ē*   *Xīzavà꞊ma,*ǀ *ʾašīr-ā*   *Gulīà*ǀ
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*   *dāyək̬bū-yē*   *həzār꞊ū*
and   1SG.DIR from   mother.born-EZ.F   thousand꞊and

nahsad꞊ū   *šēst꞊ū*   *hàšt-ē꞊ma.*ǀ
nine.hundred꞊and   sixty꞊and   eight-OBL.F꞊COP.1SG

I was born in 1968.

ʾamā   *dərəstāhī-yā*   *mən*   *dā*   *tārīx꞊əm*   *xàlaṯ꞊ən,*ǀ
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   *dù꞊ma.*ǀ
sixty꞊and   two꞊COP.1SG

I was born in 1962.

(2) *zanbīlfəròš* *du*   *goř-ēt*   *zanbīlfəroš* *yēṯ*
    basket.seller two   tomb-EZ.PL   basket.seller EZ.PL

hay=n   *əl* *davar-ā*   *kurd-ā̀*   *dā,*
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:

ēk   *lə*   *Kurdəstān-ā*   *Bākòr,*
one   in   PN-EZ.F   north

one in northern Kurdistan,

ēk   *lə*   *Kurdəstān-ā*   *Bāšòr.*
one   in   PN-EZ.F   south

one in southern Kurdistan.

yē   *Bākòr,* *yē*   *lə*   *Vārqīn-ē*   *lə*   *qazā*
EZ.M   north   EZ.M   in   PN-OBL.F   in   county.EZ.F

Səlīvā   *lə*   *vīlāyat-ā*   *Dīyằrbakər.*
PN   in   province-EZ.F   PN

The one in the northern Kurdistan is located in Farqin in the Sil-
iva county, Diyarbakir province.

(3) *ʾamā* *yē*   *av-ē*   *hačko*   *lə*   *Kurdəstān-ā*
    but   EZ.M   DEM.PROX-EZ.M   that.is   in   PN-EZ.F

Bāšòr
south

But, as for the one in southern Kurdistan,

ava   *ṱə-kat*   *sar* *ǰà'dā*   *nāvbayn-ā*
DEM.PROX.SG   IND-fall.PRS.3SG   on   road.EZ.F   in.between-EZ.F

Bātīfē   *ū*   *Zāxo*   *dā.*
PN.OBL.F   and   PN   POST

the tomb is located on the road between Batifa and Zakho.

əl-sàr   *ǎ'dē꞊ya*| *bə-řax*   *gund-ē*   *Sīrkotkī-yè̀-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.

ṭaqrīban   *rošāvā-yē*   *nầhīyā*   *Bātīfā*   *p̂ēnǰ*
approximately   west-EZ.M   region.EZ.F   PN   five

kīlomīṭr-ā.|
kilometer-PL.OBL

It [is located] approximately less than five kilometres west of the
Batifa region.

(4)   *àv*   *zanbīlfəroš-a*   *wak*   *həkāyat-ā*   *wī*
       DEM.PROX   basket.seller-DEM.SG   as   story-EZ.F   3SG.OBL.M

hāt-ī-∅   *gotən-ē*|
come.PST-PTCP-3SG   say.INF-OBL.F

As for the basket seller—the way his adventure has been told

yēṯ   *xalḵ-ē*   *ma꞊ū*   *bāv꞊ū*   *bāp̂īr-ēt*
EZ.PL   people-EZ.M   1PL.OBL꞊and   father꞊and   grandfather-EZ.PL

ma   *ēḵ*   *bo*   *ēḵ*   *yē*   *gòt-ī*|
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*   *šầbānī-yē*   *ṭ-īn-ən,*|
from-top   DEM.PROX.OBL.F   castle-EZ.F   PN-OBL.F   IND.bring.PRS-3PL

av   *kalh-ā*   *šābầnī-yē.*|
DEM.PROX   castle-EZ.F   PN-OBL.F

his story comes from the citadel of Shabani, this citadel of
Shabani.

(5) *ava* *yē* *ḵo* *lə-daf* *ma* *nā̀v-ē*
DEM.PROX.SG.DIR EZ.M REL at-side 1PL.OBL name- EZ.M

wī⌐ *mīr* *Məhsən* *ḵuř-ē* *mīr* *Avdulazīz-ē*
3SG.OBL prince PN son-EZ.M prince PN-EZ.M

mīr-ē *Müsə̀l⸗a,*⌐ *yē* *vē* *kalh-à̀* *Müsəl.*⌐
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* *ḵuř-ē* *mīr* *Avdulazīz-ē* *mīr-ē*
prince PN son-EZ.M prince PN-EZ.M prince-EZ.M

Mǜsəl⸗a.⌐
PN⸗COP.3SG

Mir Muhsin (the basket seller) was the son of Avdulaziz, the prince of Mosul.

tabʿan *wak* *ava* *wak* *həkà̄yat-ā* *wī*
evidently as DEM.PROX.SG as story-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.M

ət̝-bēž-ən⌐
IND-say.PRS-3PL

Evidently, his story was like this:

zanbīlfəroš *ḵuř-ē* *mīr-ì̝* *bī-∅.*⌐
basket.seller son-EZ.M prince-OBL.M be.PST-3SG

the basket seller was the prince's son.

(6) *ʾənsān-aḵ-ī* *lāw-aḵ-ī* *jahēl* *yē* *barkatì̝*
human-INDF-EZ.M boy-INDF-EZ.M young EZ.M handsome

bī-∅⌐
be.PST-3SG

He was a handsome young man.

gařhā-∅   *nāv*   *ǰahēl-ā*   *dā=ū*
wander.PST-3SG   among   youth-PL.OBL   POST=and

He would wander around with other youths.

pāra   *lǝ-bar*   *dast=ī*   *zàḥǝf*   *bī-n-ū.*⌐
money   in-front   hand=3SG   a.lot   be.PST-3PL=and

He had a lot of money at his disposal.

ǝṯ-bēž-ǝn   *waxt-aḵ-ī*   *kas-ak*   *šǝ*   *māl-ā*
IND-say.PRS-3PL   time-INDF-OBL.M   person-INDF   from   house-EZ.F

mīr-ī   *mǝr-∅.*⌐
prince-OBL.M   die.PST-3SG

It is said that a member of the prince's family once passed away.

(7) *waxt-ē*   *mǝr-ī-∅*   *tabʿan*   *xalk-ē*
     when-OBL.F   die.PST-PTCP-3SG   evidently   people-EZ.M

davar-ē   *lē*   *kòm*   *bī-n-ū*⌐
region-OBL.F   at.3SG.OBL   group   be.PST-3PL=and

When he died, the people of the region obviously gathered around him,

bǝrǝn-ā=(a)v   *zīyārat-è̀=ū*⌐
take.INF-EZ.F=DRCT   tomb.visiting-OBL.F=and

took [him] to the cemetery,

aw   *goř*   *ḵolằ=ū*⌐
DEM.DIST   tomb   dig.PST=and

dug a grave,

ḵǝr   *ṭè̀*   *da=ū*⌐   *va-šằrt=ū.*⌐
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,

ʻmā	*dē*	*ava*	*hamā*	*lə-vè̄-dē*	*b-ē!?ʼ*
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,	*ʻava*	*dē*	*lə-vē*
say.PST=3SG.OBL	DEM.PROX.SG	FUT	in- DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F

∅-b-ē	*hatằ*	*qīyāmat-ē.ʼ*
SBJV-be.PRS-3SG	until	resurrection-OBL.F

They (the people at the funeral) said, 'Yes, he will stay here until the resurrection.

(8) | *ʻqīyāmat* | *ḵangī̀=ya?ʼ* | *gotī=ū.* |
|---|---|---|
| resurrection | when=COP.3SG | say.PST.PTCP=and |

When is the resurrection?', [he said].

ʻčo	*qīyāmat-ē-va*	*řā*	*čo*	*šə*	*hē*
no	resurrection-OBL.F-POST	POST	none	of	yet

dīyānat-ē	*nə̀-zān-a,*	*čo*	*dīyānat-ằ.ʼ*
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!'

ṭərs-ề	*xwa*	*lə*	*dəl-ī*	*dā.*
fear-EZ.M	REFL	at	heart-OBL.M	give.PST

Fear took hold of him (Muhsin).

gotī,   *'ava*   *dē*   *ṭ-nāv*   *vē*
say.PST.PTCP   DEM.PROX.SG   FUT   in-middle   DEM.PROX.OBL.F

ā̰x-ē   *řā-b-əṭ?'|*
soil-OBL.F   PRV-be.PRS-3SG

He said, 'Is he going to get out from under the soil [at the resurrection]?'

got=ē   *'à.|*   *bə*   *šàv-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   *xəlā̰s.'|*
DEM.PROX.SG   over

It is finished [for the dead].'

(9) *řā-bī*   *wak*   *awadī-ak-ē*   *bə*   *sàr-ī*
     PVB-be.PST.3SG   like   thing-INDF-OBL.F   to   head-OBL.M

kat-∅|
fall.PST-3SG

[Upon seeing this scene] something came to his mind

malā-yà̰k   *hāt-∅*   *bo*   *āxàft*   *řož-ak*
mullah-INDF   come.PST-3SG   for   speak.PST   day-INDF

du   *sē*   *č̣̄ār.|*
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   mə̀n   bə-āxav-a.'
mullah.OBL   come.IMP-2SG   for   1SG.OBL   SBJV-speak.PRS-IMP.2SG

'Mullah! Come [and] talk to me [about religion].'

hatā   bahs-ē   dīyā̀nat-ē   bo   ī   ḳər.
even   talk-EZ.M   religion-OBL.F   for   3SG.OBL.M   do.PST

Mullah talked to him about the religion.

(10)   *'dīyānat   husā̀=na=ū*
         religion   such=COP.3PL=and

[The mullah said] 'Religion is like this.

dīyānat-ā   masīhì̄   yā   hay,
religion-EZ.F   Christian   EZ.F   EXIST.3SG

There is the Christian religion.

dīyānat-ā   əslāmatì̄   yā   hay.
religion-EZ.F   Islamic   EZ.F   EXIST.3SG

There is the Islamic religion.

har   dīyānat-aḳ=ā   ha-b-ə̀t'   tab'an   'ərf=ū
EMPH   religion-INDF=EZ.F   EXIST-SBJV.be.PRS-3SG   naturally   custom=and

'ādāt=ū   'awādī-yēṭ   manhaǰ-ē   dīyānat-ē.
tradition.PL=and   INTJ-EZ.PL   way-EZ.M   religion-OBL.F

Each religion has a set of liturgies and customs.'

aw   lə-sar   əslāmatī-yè̄   bī-∅
DEM.DIST   on-top   Islam-OBL.M   be.PST-3SG

He (Muhsin) had Islamic faith.

əslāmatī	*nīšā*	*dā̀.*‖
Islam	showing	give.PST

[The Mullah] showed him the principles of Islam.'

(11) | *mā̀-∅*‖ | *bə* | *č̣and* | *hayv-ak̲-ā̀* | *mā-∅*‖ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rest.PST-3SG | by | some | month-INDF-EZ.F | rest.PST-3SG |

Things remained [like this] for a couple of months.

gotī	*'p̂ā*	*az*	*k̲ò*	*bə-k̲ə-m,*‖
say.PST.PTCP	EXCM	1SG.DIR	what	SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

He (Muhsin) said, 'What shall I do

az=ē	*žə*	*vē*	*'awādì*	*xalās*‖
1SG.DIR=EZ.M	from	DEM.PROX.OBL.F	thing	relieved

to be relieved of this thing,

žə	*wī*	*qabl-ī̀*‖	*ṭang=ū*	*ṭārī-yā*
from	DEM.DIST.OBL.M	grave-OBL.M	tight=and	darkness-EZ.F

vī	*qabl-ī*	*xalā̀s*	*∅-b-əm.'*‖
DEM.PROX.OBL.M	grave-OBL.M	relieved	SBJV-be.PRS-1SG

[to be relieved] of this dark narrow grave?'

(12) | *got=ē,* | *'ṭə-vē-t* | *ṭ̣ù*‖ | *ēh* | *ṭu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| say.PST=3SG.OBL | IND-should.PRS-3SG | 2SG.DIR | INTJ | 2SG.DIR |

nəvèž-ēt	*xwa*	*bə-k̲ē!*‖
prayer-EZ.PL	REFL	SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

'He (the Mullah) said, 'You, eh, you should recite your prayers!

ṭu	*ta'at=ū*	*'əbādàt-ēt*	*xwa*	*bə-k̲ē!*‖
2SG.DIR	obedience=and	praying-EZ.PL	REFL	SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

You should perform your worship!

ṭu   hārīkằr   ∅-bē   ləgal   xalk-aḵ-ē=ū|
2SG.DIR   helper   SBJV-be.PRS.2SG   with   people-INDF-OBL.M=and

You should help people.

ṭu   yē   bə-řàhm   ∅-bē=ū,|
2SG.DIR   EZ.M   with-mercy   SBJV-be.PRS.2SG=and

You should be merciful.

ṭu   zolm=o   zordārī   lə   xalk-aḵ-ē   nà-ḵē.|
2SG.DIR   injustice=and   tyranny   to   people-INDF-OBL.M   PROH-do.PRS.2SG

and should not do any injustice nor cruelty to people.

hagàr   ṭu   zolm-ē   bə-ḵē|
if   2SG.DIR   injustice-OBL.F   SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

If you're unjust [to people],

tāʿat=ū   ʾibādat-ē   ṭa   qabüil   nằ-b-əṭ.ʾ|
obedience=and   praying-EZ.M   2SG.OBL   acceptance   NEG-be.PRS.3SG

your obedience and prayer will not be accepted [by God].'

(13) *ʾbāš=a   p̂ānē   bằv-ē   mən=ē   ṭə-kēt|*
      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   xwằrən-ē   də-xo-m.ʾ|
1SG.DIR=EZ.M   DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.F   food-OBL.F   IND-eat.PRS.1SG

I'm living off him.'

got=ē,   ʿwəḷa   ā   bāv-ē   ṭa   zolm-ề
say.PST=3SG.OBL   by.God   INTJ   father-EZ.M   2SG.OBL   injustice-OBL.F

bə-ḵə-t|
SBJV-do.PRS.3SG

He (the Mullah) said, 'By God if your father does injustice [and
you live off him],

taʿat꞊ū	*ʾibādat-ē*	*ṭa*	*qabūl*	*nā̦-b-ət.ʾ*ǀ
obedience꞊and	praying-EZ.M	2SG.OBL	acceptance	NEG-be.PRS-3SG

your prayers will not be accepted.'

ʿp̂ā	*az*	*kò*	*bə-k̭ə-m*
EXCM	1SG.DIR	what	SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

[Muhsin said], 'What shall I do

az꞊ē	*žə*	*vē*	*zolm꞊ū*	*zordārī-yē*
1SG.DIR꞊EZ.M	from	DEM.PROX.OBL.F	injustice꞊and	tyranny-EZ.M

bāv-ē	*xwa?ʾ*ǀ
father-EZ.M	REFL

[to be relieved] of the injustice caused by my father?'

(14)	*həndī*	*go*	*bāv-ē*	*xwà.*ǀ
	so.much	say.PST	father-EZ.M	REFL

He talked so much to his father.

bāv-ē	*wī*	*řāzī*	*nà-bī-∅*	*vī*
father-EZ.M	3SG.OBL.M	content	NEG-be.PST-3SG	DEM.PROX.OBL.M

ṭəšt-ī	*bə-hēl-ēt.*ǀ
thing-OBL.M	SBJV-let.PRS-3SG

[But] his father did not agree to abandon this thing.

got,	*ʿagar*	*ṭu*	*kad-ak̭-ề*	*bə*	*dast-ē*
say.PST	if	2SG.DIR	tailor-INDF-OBL.F	with	hand-EZ.M

xwa	*bə-k̭ē*ǀ
REFL	SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

The Mullah (lit. he) said, 'If you do a job with your own hands,

ū	*ṭu*	*xwa*	*xwadā̦n*	*bə-k̭ē꞊ū*ǀ
and	2SG.DIR	REFL	owner	SBJV-do.PRS.2SG꞊ and

take care of yourself

ʾayằr-ā	*xwa*	*xwadān*	*∅-ḳē|*
standard-EZ.F	REFL	owner	SBJV-do.PRS.2SG

and manage to live by your own means

dē	*həngē*	*taʿat꞊ū*	*ʾïbādat-ē*	*ṭa*	*qabừl*
FUT	then	obedience꞊and	praying-EZ.M	2SG.OBL	acceptance

də-b-əṭ.ʾ|
IND-be.PRS-3SG

then your prayers will be accepted.'

(15)	*řā-bī-∅*	*dàr-kat-∅,|*	*dar-kat-∅*	*žə*	*mằl*
	PVB-be.PST-3SG	PVB-fall.PST-3SG	PVB-fall.PST-3SG	from	home

dar-kat-∅
PVB- fall.PST-3SG

He rose [and] left [the house].

bə-žə	*žənk-àḵ*	*ha-bī꞊ū*	*du*	*bəčēk.|*
in-of	woman-INDF	EXIST.be.PST꞊and	two	baby.DIM

He had a wife and two babies.

got	*žənk-ā*	*xwà,|*
say.PST	wife.DIM-EZ.F	REFL

He said to his wife,

ʿaz꞊ē	*∅-čə-m*	*bo*	*mà*	*šūl*	*∅-ḳə-m.ʾ|*
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-∅*   *hằt-∅*ᐟ   *dast̲* *əp̂* *zanbīl-ā-w*
      PVB-be.PST-3SG   come.PST-3SG   hand   to   basket-PL.OBL-POST

č̲ē-k̲ərən-ề   *k̲ər.*ᐟ
good-do.INF-OBL.F   do.PST

He rose, came [and] started making baskets.

zanbīl-ēt   *kurdawārī-yē*   *bo*   *fēqì̲* *bə* *k̲ār*
basket-EZ.PL   Kurdish.region-OBL.F   for   fruit   to   work

t̲-īn-a   *xalk-ē*   *ma.*ᐟ
IND-bring.PRS-3SG   people-EZ.M   1PL.OBL

Our people use the Kurdish baskets for fruit.

*əš*ᐟ   *šəfk̲ằt*   *hāt-∅*   *č̲ē-k̲ərən-ē.*ᐟ
from   stick   come.PST-3SG   good-make.INF-OBL.F

They are made of sticks.

lə   *hāt-∅*   *ba*   *rübār-ằ꞊ū*
in   come.PST-3SG   to   river-PL.OBL꞊and

He came to the river

zanbì̲l   *č̲ē-k̲ər-ən.*ᐟ
basket   well-do.PST-3PL

and made baskets.

ma   *gòt*ᐟ   *wī*   *sardam-ì̲*   *žīyān* *ət̲*
1PL.OBL   say.PST   DEM.DIST.OBL.M   period-OBL.M   life   in

kalh-ā   *dā*   *bī-∅*ᐟ
citadel-PL.OBL   POST   COP.PST-3SG

We said that back then people would live in citadels.

ū	*hāt-∅=ū*	*hāt-∅=ū*	*mantaqa*	*hatā*
and	come.PST-3SG=and	come.PST-3SG=and	region	until

hātī-∅	*kalh-ā*	*šằbānī-yē.*ˈ
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.*ˈ	*waxt-ē*	*lə*	*daroḵ̱-ē*
	come.PST.3SG	when-OBL.F	at	small.gate-EZ.M

dargah-ā	*hawằ*	*katī-∅=ū*ˈ
gate-PL.OBL	air	fall.PST.PTCP-3SG=and

He arrived. When the [lock of the] gate of the citadel flew open,

zēřavān-ā	*go,*	*'ṭ̱ē*	*ḵ̱ò*	*∅-čē?'*ˈ
guard-PL.OBL	say.PST	2SG.OBL.FUT	where	SBJV-go.PRS.2SG

the guards asked, 'Where are you going?'

got=ē	*tabʿan*	*zanbīlk-ē*	*məl=ī-và*
say.PST=3SG.OBL	naturally	basket.DIM-OBL.F	shoulder=3SG-POST

*bī-∅*ˈ
COP.PST-3SG

He (the basket seller) said—well he had baskets on his shoulders—,

go,	*'az=ē*	*∅-čə-m*	*zanbīl-ằ*
say.PST(3SG)	1SG.DIR=FUT	SBJV-go.PRS-1SG	basket-PL.OBL

*∅-fəroš-əm.'*ˈ
SBJV-sell.PRS-1SG

'I'm going to sell baskets.'

əl	*ḵ̱olằn-ēt*	*bāžēr-ē*	*hāt-∅=o*	*čo-∅.*ˈ
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) *ə̣ṭ-bēž-ən*   *awādī*   *hačko*   *ḳə̣č-ā*   *mīr-ì̱*
      IND-say.PRS-3PL   INTJ   as.for   daughter-EZ.F   prince-OBL.M

It is said that the prince's daughter‗

ə̣ṭ   *qasr-ē*   *ə̣ṭ*   *panǰarē*   *dā*
from   palace-OBL.F   from   window.OBL.F   POST

aw   *ḳuř-à*   *lāw-ē*   *barkatī*   *dī꞊ū*
DEM.DIST.DIR   boy-DEM   youth-EZ.M   handsome   see.PST꞊and

zanbīl-ā   *∅-fəroš-ət.*ˈ
baseket-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.

ḳuř-ē   *mīr-ī꞊a꞊w*
son-EZ.M   prince-OBL.M꞊COP.3SG꞊and

He was the prince's son.

lāw-aḵ-ī   *barkatì̱꞊ya.*ˈ
youth-INDF-EZ.M   handsome꞊COP.3SG

He was a handsome young man.

(19) *ǰəhēdā*   *vīyān-ā*   *ḳuřk-ī*   *kat-∅*
      immediately   love-EZ.F   boy.DIM-OBL.M   fall.PST-3SG

dəl-ē   *ḳə̣čk-ề.*ˈ
heart-EZ.M   girl.DIM-OBL.F

Immediately, she (the prince's daughter) was filled with love for
the boy.

got   *ǰārī-yā*   *xwà,*ˈ
say.PST   maid-EZ.F   REFL

She said to her maidservant,

ḥař-a   ∅-bḗž-a   wī   zanbīlfəroš-ì⌐
go-IMP.2SG   SBJV-say.PRS-2SG   DEM.DIST.OBL   basket.seller-OBL.M

bəlā   b-ət   vē-dḕ.⌐
HOR   SBJV-come.PRS.3SG   DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F-POST

'Go and ask the basket seller to come here.'

čū-∅   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   ṭa
come.IMP-2SG   1PL꞊FUT   basket-PL.OBL   from   2SG.OBL

∅-kəř-īn.⌐
SBJV-buy.PRS-1PL

'Come here. We would like to buy baskets from you.'

NORTHERN KURDISH OF ZAKHO
Text 11: §1-24

Masoud Mohammadirad

Speaker: Saeid Rezvan

Audio: https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/245/

(1)   *az*   *nāv-ē*   *mən*   *Saʿīd*   *Hajī*   *SadῙq*| *Zāxoyī*
     1SG.DIR   name-EZ.M   1SG.OBL   PN   PN   PN   PN

I—my name [is] Saʿid Haji Sadiq Zakhoyi

žə   *bənamāl-ak-ē*   *Zāxo*   *yā=t*   *kavə̀n*| *nāv-ē*
from   family-INDF-EZ.F   PN   EZ.F=EZ.PL   old   name-EZ.M

bənamāl-ā   *Řazvān-ȁ*|
family-EZ.F   PN-PL.OBL

[I am from] an old family in Zakho, called the Razvans' family.

t-ē-m   *bar-nīyāsīn*   *Saʿīd*   *Řazvānὶ.*|
IND-come.PRS-1SG   front-know.PST.INF   PN   PN

I am known as Saʿid Razvani.

(2)   *az*   *dē*   *nūka*   *sar*   *afsānā*   *pər-ā*   *Dalὰl*
     1SG   FUT   now   on   tale.EZ.F   bridge-EZ.F   PN

∅*-āxav-əm.*|
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*ꞌ
do.PST-PTCP꞊COP.3PL

I have written (lit. produced) five, six books on Zakho,

žə	*kalapòr꞊o*ꞌ	*afsānà꞊w*ꞌ	*mažũ꞊w*ꞌ	*pēzānì̀-yē*
from	heritage꞊and	myth꞊and	history꞊and	knowing-EZ.M

*Zāxo*ꞌ	*bə*	*zəmān-ē*	*Kurdì꞊o*	*ʿArabì.*ꞌ
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*	*Dalằl*ꞌ	*būčī*	*nāv-ē*	*wē*
	tale.EZ.F	bridge-EZ.F	PN	why	name-EZ.M	3SG.OBL.M

kər-ī꞊na	*pər-ā*	*Dalằl?*ꞌ
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?

ākənjì̀-yēt	*Zāxo*	*yēt*	*kavən*ꞌ	*yēt*	*Zāxo*	*āvằ*
habitant-EZ.PL	PN	EZ.PL	old	EZ.PL	PN	prosperous

*kər-ī꞊n*ꞌ	*Juhì̀*	*bī-n.*ꞌ
do.PST-PTCP꞊COP.3PL	Jew	COP.PST-3PL

The old inhabitants of Zakho, the ones who built Zakho were Jewish.

av	*afsānà*ꞌ	*yā*	*Jəhī-yằn꞊a.*ꞌ
DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR	myth	EZ.F	Jew-PL.OBL꞊COP.3SG

This myth belongs to the Jews.

(4) ū   ma   əš   Jəhī-yā̀   go   lē
    and   1PL.OBL   from   Jew-PL.OBL   ear   at.it

bī꞊ya.|
be.PST.PTCP꞊PERF

We have heard it [the myth] from the Jews.

ū   ma   əž   day   bằb-ēt   xo| əb
and   1PL   from   mother   father-EZ.PL   REFL   in

vī   šəkl-ī̀   go   lē   bī꞊ya|
DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.M   manner-OBL.M   ear   at.it   be.PST.PTCP꞊PERF

We have heard it from our parents

awē   às   bo   wa   t-bēž-əm.|
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-àk   dī   wusā   əl   Jəzīr-ā
    IND-say.PRS-3PL   bridge-INDF   other   such   in   PN-EZ.F

Botā   hāt-bī-∅   āvākərən-ē|
PN   come.PST-COP.PST-3SG   build.PST.INF-OBL.F

nāv-ē   wē   pər-ā   Bāfət.|
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   dumāhì   inā-yī|
    when-EZ.M   bridge   to   end   bring-PST-PTCP

When the construction of the bridge was finished,

mīr-ē   yē   Jəzīr-ā   Botằ| gāzī   hostā-yì   kər.|
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*   *xalā̀t*   *∅-kə-m.*'|
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*   *žè̄*   *va-kər*|
    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*   *čə̀*   *pər-ē*   *dī*| *əl*   *čə*
say.PST꞊3SG.OBL   so.that   2SG.DIR   no   bridge-EZ.M   other   in   no

jəh-ē   *dī*   *āvā*   *nà-kī!*|
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-yè̄*   *bə*   *vē*   *pər-ē ..*'|
1SG.DIR   pride-OBL.F   to   DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.F   bridge-OBL.F

I [take] pride in this bridge.'

(8)   *dam-ā̀*   *hāt-ī-∅*   *Zāxo*| *řavī-∅*
    time-EZ.F   come.PST-PTCP-3SG   PN   flee.PST-3SG

hāt-∅   *Zāxò*   *bə*   *xo*|
come.PST-3SG   PN   by   REFL

When the builder (lit. he) came to Zakho—he fled and simply came to Zakho—

mìr-ē   *Zāxo*   *dāxoz*   *žē*   *kər*|
prince-EZ.M   PN   request   from.3SG.OBL   do.PST

the emir of Zakho demanded that

pər-ak-ē   *lə-sar*   *ġābīr-ì̄*   *čē*   ∅-*kə-t*|
bridge-INDF-OBL.F   on-top   river-OBL.M   good   SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

əl   *řožhalằt-ē*   *bāžēr-ì.*|
in   east-EZ.M   city-OBL.M

he build a bridge on the Khabur river in the east of the city.

(9) *aw*   *bə-ʿàks-ē=t*   *mīr-ē*   *Jəzīr-ē*| *got,*
      3SG.DIR   in-reverse-OBL.F=EZ.PL   prince-EZ.M   PN-OBL.F   say.PST

'*bəlā*   *az*   *dē*   *āvằ*   ∅-*kə-m.*'|
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-*∅   *bə* *xo* *hustā* *lə* *xo* *kòm*   *kər.*|
3SG.DIR   go.PST-3SG   by REFL master at REFL collection do.PST

He went and gathered some builders around him.

aw   *banằ* *bī-*∅|
3SG.DIR   mason COP.PST-3SG

He himself was a mason,

yaʿnī   [*əp* *hang-ē*]   *andāzyār* *nà-bī-*∅|
that.is   as much-EZ.M   architect NEG-COP.PST-3SG

that is, he was not an architect.

bas *àw*   *yē* *āvā*   *kər-ì.*|
but 3SG.DIR EZ.M prosperous do.PST-PTCP

However, he had built that the bridge.

(10) *lề*   *gařā-*∅|
      at.it search.PST-3SG

He looked around.

əl	*darkār-ē*	*bākòr-ē*	*Zāxū*ˈ	*bə*	*taqrīban*
in	surrounding-EZ.M	north-EZ.M	PN	by	approximately

pāzda	*bīst*	*kīlomətr-ā̀*ˈ	*bar*
fifteen	twenty	kilometers-PL.OBL	rock

žə	*wē-rē*	*īnā̀-n.*ˈ
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*	*žī*	*bə*	*řē-vē*	*ət-katì̱=n*ˈ
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*	*žī*	*lə*	*Dārozān-ē*	*mawjud=ən.*ˈ
until	now	ADD	in	PN-OBL.F	existent=COP.3PL

they can still be seen (lit. are existent) in Darozan.

(11)	*ū*	*dàs*	*āvēt=a*	*pər-ē*ˈ	*ā*
	and	hand	throw.PST=DRCT	bridge-OBL.F	EZ.F

čēkərə̀n-ā	*pər-ē.*ˈ
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-∅=a*	*kəvān-ā*	*nīv-è̱*ˈ	*dā*
time-EZ.F	IPFV-arrive.PST-3SG=DRCT	arch-EZ.F	half-OBL.F	AUX

tamằm	*∅-kə-t.*ˈ
finished	SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

Whenever he completed constructing the arch in the middle of the bridge,

řož-ā   dī   dā   ∅-ḕ-t|
day-EZ.F   other   AUX   SBJV-come.PRS-3SG

aw   kəvằn| wē   həl-wəšā-yı̀-∅.|
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) *awı̀   pərsyār-ā| əb   ʿArabī   t-bēž-n-ē*
      3SG.OBL.M   question-EZ.F   in   Arabic   IND-say.PRS-3PL=3SG.OBL

"ʿarrằf"|
fortune.teller

The builder (lit. he) asked [a fortune-teller, who is] called *ʿarāf* in Arabic.

bə   kurdī   am   ət-bēž-n-ē   'xēvzằnk'|
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-zằn-ət|
or   3SG.DIR-EZ.M   thing-OBL.M   by   REFL   SBJV-know.PRS-3SG

meaning 'someone who knows about things by themselves.'

got=ē,   ʿaz   pər-ē   husā   āvằ
say.PST=3SG.OBL   1SG.DIR   bridge-OBL.F   such   prosperous

t-kə-m|
IND-do.PRS-1SG

He said, 'I am building such a bridge,

ət-həl-waš-ə̀t!'|
IND-PVB-pour.PRS-3SG

[but] it keeps collapsing.'

(13) *got=ē,*   *'ṣəbà*| *kī*   *xodān* *gīyằn*|
      say.PST=3SG.OBL   tomorrow.morning   who   owner   soul

awə̀l *b-ē*   *sar* *pər-ē*|
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*|
two   said-said=EZ.PL   EXIST=COP.3PL

there are two sayings [regarding the fortune-teller's advice].

ề̀k *žə* *wān*   *ət-bēž-ət,*| *'sàr* *žē*   *ka=w*|
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.'*|
blood-EZ.F 3SG.OBL to.it POST   give.IMP.2SG

and rub its blood on the bridge.'

yā   *du-ề*   *pətər*| *ya'nī* *ət-hāt-∅=a*   *gotən-ề*|
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*|
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*| *ū*   *farš-ằ*   *da-yn-a*
body   give.IMP.2SG   and   carpet-PL.OBL   PVB-put.PRS-IMP.2SG

sar=ū| *ū*   *bə-gr-à!'*|
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   səpȇ̀   dē⌐   Dalāl-ē bo yē*
    day-EZ.F other morning POST PN-OBL.F for EZ.M

xārə̀n   īnāt.⌐
food   bring.PST

The next day, in the morning, Dalal brought him (the builder)
food.

Dalāl   bȉk-ā   wī   bī-∅.⌐
PN   daughter.in.law-EZ.F   3SG.OBL.M   COP.PST-3SG

Dalal was his daughter-in-law.

ṣa-ē   Dalāl-ē əl pēšĭ-yȇ̀   bī-∅.⌐
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-∅.⌐*
    pleasure-EZ.F master-OBL.M very   come.PST-3SG

The builder was very pleased.

dam-ā   gahašt-ī-∅   nȅzīk pər-ē⌐
time-EZ.F arrive.PST-PTCP-3SG near   bridge-OBL.F

When they came closer to the bridge,

ṣa-yī   məšk-àk   dīt⌐   bàr   dā꞊yē⌐
dog-OBL.M mouse-INDF see.PST front give.PST꞊3SG.OBL

the dog saw a mouse [and] headed towards it.

Dalȁl   ət-sar   pər-ē   kat-∅⌐
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   qurbānȉ̀.⌐
DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR FUT   be.PRS-3SG꞊DRCT sacrifice

[meaning that] she was going to be the sacrifice [for the bridge].

(16) *mằm-ē   wē   got=ē*|
     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   gərī-∅|
time-EZ.M   go.PST.PTCP-3SG   uncle-EZ.M   3SG.OBL.F   cry.PST.3SG

when she came, her uncle cried,

řāndə̀k   əž   čāv-ē   wī   hāt-n=a   xār-ē.|
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   mằm-ē   xo,|
say.PST=DRCT   uncle-EZ.M   REFL

She said to her uncle,

ʿmām,   tu   bočì̀   t-gərī?|
uncle   2SG.DIR   why   IND-cry.PRS.2SG

'Uncle, why are you crying?'

(17) *got=ē,   ʿhāl=ū   masal=ēt   ʿarrāf-ī*
     say.PST=3SG.OBL   state=and   problem=EZ.PL   fortune.teller-OBL.M

yēt   xēxzānk-ī   avà=na|
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.ʾ|
bridge-OBL.F   POST

I must put you into the construction of the bridge.'

(18) ē   got=ē,   ʿbəlằ!|
      INTJ   say.PST=3SG.OBL   alright

She said, 'Alright!

akar   av   pər-a   sar   mə̀   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   ∅-kə-m   qurbānì̀-yā
1SG.DIR=FUT   REFL   SBJV-do.PRS-1SG   sacrifice-EZ.F

vī   bằžēr-ì.|
DEM.PROX.3SG.OBL.M   city-OBL.M

[then] I will make myself a sacrifice on behalf of the city.

yaʿnī   čūnko   az   žən-ə̀k=əm|
that.is because 1SG.DIR   woman-DIM=COP.1SG

Just because I am a woman,

hīn   mə   bə   čāv-ak-ī   nērīnì̀   əl
2PL.DIR 1SG.OBL   in   eye-INDF-EZ.M   negative   at

mə   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   čè̀   kər=o|
      PVB-COP.PST.3G   place-EZ.M   3SG.OBL.F   good   do.PST=and

[The builder] made her a place [in the bridge],

dərȇž	*kər=o*ǀ	*fàrš*	*da-ynā-n*	*sar.*ǀ
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)

havžȋn-ē	*wē*ǀ	*zaḷàm-ē*	*wē*ǀ	*nà*	*l*
spouse-EZ.M	3SG.OBL.F	husband-EZ.M	3SG.OBL.F	NEG	at

māl	*bī-∅.*ǀ
home	COP.PST-3SG

Her (i.e., Dalal's) spouse, her husband, was not home.

pəšt-ī	*řož-ak-ē*	*zəvəřȋ-∅-va*ǀ
after-EZ	day-INDF.OBL.F	turn.PST-3SG-TELIC

He returned [home] a day later

pərsyār	*kər,*	*'kȁ*	*havžīn-ā*	*mən?*ǀ
question	do.PST	where.is	spouse-EZ.F	1SG.OBL

[and] asked, 'Where is my spouse?'

(21)

bȁb-ē	*wī*	*got=ē,*ǀ	*hāl=ū*
father-EZ.M	3SG.OBL.M	say.PST=3SG.OBL	state=and

masala	*avà=ya*ǀ
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-ȇ̀*	*dā.*ǀ
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)

'čāwȁ	*wa*	*wa*	*kər?*ǀ	*čāwȁ?'*ǀ
how	2PL.OBL	such	do.PST	how

[Dalal's husband said] 'How could you do this? How?!'

das	*hāvēt=a*	*māhūl-ì̀*
hand	throw.PST=DRCT	stone.hammer-OBL.M

He grabbed the stone hammer.

got,	*'dē*	*∅-č-əm*	*∅-īn-m=a*	*dàr.'*
say.PST	FUT	SBJV-go.PRS-1SG	SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG=DRCT	out

[and] said, 'I will go and take her out.'

(23) *čò-∅*	*həndī*	*māhol-ā*	*da-ynà̄d=ē.*
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*	*gāzì̀*	*got=ē,*	*'bàs=a!*
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*	*pətə̀r*	*də-ēšĭ-n-ī!*
2SG.DIR	such	1SG.OBL	more	IND-hurt.PRS-CAUS-2SG

You are hurting me more by doing so!

àv	*pər-a*	*dē*	*∅-mīn-t=a*	*sar*
DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR	bridge-DEM	FUT	SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG=DRCT	on

məl-ēt	*mən*
shoulder-EZ.PL	1SG.OBL

This bridge will stand on my shoulders

həndī	*mən*	*šīyā-yì̀.'*
much	1SG.OBL	can.PST-PTCP

as long as I am able [to hold it].'

(24) *yaʿnī*   *ava*   *kurtì̄-yā*   *afsānā*
     DISC   DEM.PROX.3SG   summary-EZ.F   myth.EZ.F

pər-ā   *Dalāl.*⸍
bridge-EZ.F   PN

This [was] a summary of the myth of the bridge of Dalal's myth.

bas   *wak*   *mə̀*   *got-ī*   *ta*⸍
but   as   1SG.OBL   say.PST-PTCP   2SG.OBL

However, as I had told you,

ava   *əž*   *Jəhī-yæ̀*   *hāt-ī-∅=ya*
DEM.PROX.3SG   from   Jew-PL.OBL   come.PST-PTCP-3SG=DRCT

sətāndən.⸍
take.PST.INF

the myth has been transmitted (lit. taken) from the Jews.

CENTRAL KURDISH OF SHAQLAWA
TEXT 19: §9–22

Masoud Mohammadirad

Speaker: Hawsar Najat Bapir

Audio: https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/236/

(9) *haqāyat-aka* *la* *nāw-ī* *mař=ū* *bəzə̀n*⎮ *yā* *xod*
    tale-DEF   by   name-EZ.M   ewe=and   goat   or   REFL

mař=ū *dābəřằn-ī* *mař-ak.*⎮
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-∅*⎮
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* *gawrà-tər* *na-bū-∅.*⎮
person   from   god-OBL.M   big-CMPR   NEG-be.PST-3SG

[but] there was no one greater than God.

l-aw *dunyā-ya* *p̂ān=ū* *barȉn-a-y*⎮ *šūwān-àk*
in-DEM   world-DEM   vast=and   vast-DEM-OBL.M   shepherd-INDF

ha-bū-∅.⎮
EXIST-be.PST-3SG

In this vast world, there was a shepherd.

mēgalàk^y=ī   *galak*   *la*   *mař=ū*   *bəzən=ī*
female.herd=3SG   many   of   ewe=and   goat=3SG

tē-dā   *ha-bū-∅.*ˈ
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)k^y-ī*   *pāyīz-ān*ˈ
day-INDF   of   day-PL   in   evening-INDF-EZ.M   autumn-PL

dərang-ān-àk^y-ī   *šaw-ē*ˈ   *mař*   *lagar*   *barx-ī*   *xo*
late-PL-INDF-EZ.M   night-OBL.F   ewe   with   lamb-EZ.M   REFL

*dā-a-bəř-ḕt.*ˈ
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-yak^y-ī*ˈ   *tařàš-ī*
       IND-reach.PRS-3SG=DRCT   place-INDF-OBL.M   rock=3SG

lē=ya=w   *mērg=a.*ˈ
at=COP.3SG=and   meadow=COP.3SG

She (the ewe) reached a place which was [full of] rocks and was a meadow.

wāta   *mērg-àk^y-ī*   *dzīyā*   *aw*   *šət-ān-a=ya.*ˈ
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.*ˈ
night-OBL.F   for   REFL=3SG   IND-stay.PRS-3SG-TELIC

She stayed there for the night.

a-kā-t꞊a   *dzȅ-y*   *xo꞊y.*[|]
IND-do.PRS-3SG꞊DRCT   place-EZ.M   REFL꞊3SG

She made the place her habitat.

hatā *zəstān꞊ū* *hāwȉn꞊īš* *dē*[|]   *aw* *mař-a*
until   winter꞊and summer꞊ADD IND.come.PRS.3SG DEM ewe-DEM

har *l-aw* *dzē-y*   *a-mīn-ēt-ò.*[|]
EMPH in-DEM place-OBL.M IND-remain.PRS.3SG-TELIC

She stayed there the [coming] winter until the [next] summer.

(11) *ya͑nī* *kurīt-àkʸ-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.*[|]
in꞊3SG IND-live.PRS.3SG

and lived there.

řož-ak   *la*   *řož-ȁn*[|]   *la-nāw* *sarmā꞊w*   *sora꞊w*
day-INDF   from day-PL   in-middle cold꞊and   RDP꞊and

bastalakʸ-ī,[|] *gurg-akʸ-ī*   *bərsī* *fērbȁz* *lo꞊y*
frost-OBL.M   wolf-INDF-EZ.M hungry cunning at꞊3SG

d-ēt꞊a   *pēš.*[|]
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,   *k͐ʸȅ* *řē꞊y*   *ba* *to* *dāy꞊a*[|]
IND-say.PRS.3SG who road꞊3SG to 2SG give.PST.PTCP꞊PERF

la-nāw *murkʸ-ī*   *mən* *dā-nəš-ȉ?*[|]
in-middle property-EZ.M 1SG PVB-sit.PRS.2SG

He said, 'Who has let you live on my property!?'

mař=īš   wẫq=ī   wəř   a-mīn-ē.|
ewe=ADD   mood=3SG   perplexed   IND-remain.PRS-3SG

The ewe was astonished (lit. her mind remained dazed) [and said],

ʿē   bāš=a   gurg-ò!| *ba-xo   gurg   har*
INTJ   nice=COP.3SG   wolf-VOC   in-REFL   wolf   each

*řož-a=w   la   dzēy-ak*ʸ*-ì̄=ya.*|
day-DEM=and   in   place-INDF-OBL.M=COP.3SG

'Well, wolf! A wolf is normally in a different place each day.

bařawà=ya=w   harčē   řož-a=w   la
wanderer=COP.3SG=and   every   day-DEM=and   in

*mantəq(a)-ak*ʸ*-ì̄=ya.*|
region-INDF-OBL.M=COP.3SG

It is a wanderer and is in a different region each day.

maʿqừl=a?| *ʿārd-ī*   *ha-bī*   *amən*
logical=COP.3SG   earth=3SG   EXIST-be.PRS.SBJV.3SG   1SG

nà-zānī-bī=m!ʼ|
NEG-know.PTCP-be.SBJV=1SG

Is it conceivable that a wolf had land and that I had not known about?'

(12)   *aw=īš   a-r-ē   ʿpēš-tər*
        3SG.DIST=ADD   IND-say.PRS-3SG   before-CMPR

nà-hātī=ya.|
NEG-come.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

She said [to herself], 'He had not come earlier [to this place].

bas   ka   mən   l-ērà=ma|
but   since   1SG   in-here=COP.1SG

However, now that I am here,

daᵼy-hawē   bəᵼm-xwā̰   tabʿan.|
IND=3SG-want.PRS   SBJV=1SG-eat.PRS.3SG   naturally

he wants to eat us.

handza   [dānᵼyān   pē   xwāz-īn.]ˀ|
then   seed=3PL   to   want.PST?-1PL

That's why he is creating a trap for us. '

a-r-ē,   ʿšət-ī   wā   nḭ̄ᵼya!|
IND-say.PRS.3SG   thing-EZ.M   DEIC   NEG=COP.3SG

She said [to the wolf], 'It is not so!

aw   murk-à   murkʸ-ē   xwāᵼya.|
DEM   property-DEM   property-EZ.F   god=3SG

This property belongs to God.

nà   murkʸ-ē   tu-w-aᵼw   nà   murkʸ-ē
neither   property-EZ.F   2SG-EP=COP.3SG=and   nor   property-EZ.F

mənᵼīš-a.ˀ|
1SG=ADD=COP.3SG

This is neither your property nor my property!'

(13)   *ʿkū   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-rē,   ʿmən   šāhēd=ū   ˀəsbā̰t=əm   haᵼna,|
IND-say.PRS.3SG   1SG   witness=and   proof=1SG   EXIST=COP.3PL

He said, 'I have a witness

ka   àw   murk-a| *murkʸ-ē*   *mə̀n=a=w*|
COMPL   DEM   property-DEM   property-EZ.F   1SG=COP.3SG=and

[who can prove that] this property is mine

la	*bāb=ū*	*bāpīr-ā̀n*	*lo=m*	*māwīy-t-oawa.ʼ*|
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=īš	*a-r-ē,*	*ʽbə-řo*	*b-īn-à!ʼ*|
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	*ʽřȁz*	*∅-bē=ū*	*la*	*řēga-y*
IND-say.PRS-3SG	correct	SBJV-be.PRS.2SG=and	in	road-EZ.M

šēr-ī̀	*ba!ʼ*|
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*	*rȁst=a.*|	*gùrg*	*fērbāz=a.*|
	ewe-DEF=3SG	right=COP.3SG	wolf	cunning=COP.3SG

[Now] the ewe is right [but] the wolf is being cunning.

da=y-hawē	*məndār-akà=y*	*lē*	*bə-xwā.*|
IND=3SG-want.PRS	child-DEF=3SG	from	SBJV-eat.PRS.3SG

He wants to eat her (the ewe's) lamb.

a-r-ē,	*ʽsəbaynē-kà*|	*saʽāt*	*dwāzdà-y*
IND-say.PRS-3SG	tomorrow.OBL.F-DEF	hour	twelve-EZ.M

nīwařwān-ē|	*yā*	*xod*	*wàxt-ī*	*ēwārē*|	*amə̀n*
noon-PL-OBL.F	or	else	time-EZ.M	evening.OBL.F	1SG

šāhēd=ū	*ʼəsbāt-ī*	*xo=m*	*da-yn-əm.*|
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^y-ē*
IND-come.PRS-1SG	IND-prove.PRS-1SG	COMPL	DEM	property-EZ.F

mən=a.'$^|$
1SG=COP.3SG

I will come and prove that this is my property!'

(15)	*a-r-ē*	*řož*	*hāt-∅=ū*	*řož*	*řòy-∅.$^|$*
	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	*hàr*	*pərsyār=ī*	*a-kərd*	*'da-bī$^|$*	*šāhēd-ī*
ewe	EMPH	question=3SG	IND-do.PST	IND-AUX	witness-EZ

gurg^y-ī	*k^{y}ḕ*	*bī?'$^|$*
wolf-OBL.M	who	COP.PRS.3SG

The ewe kept asking [herself], 'Who is going to be the wolf's witness?'

səba'ynḕ	*lo=y*	*wa*	*dīyār*	*kat-∅$^|$*	*gùrg=ū*
tomorrow.OBL.F	for=3SG	to	visibility	fall.PST.3SG	wolf=and

řēwī	*pēkawa*	*bū-n.$^|$*
fox	together	be.PST-3PL

One morning the wolf and fox became visible to her [from afar].

wət=ī,	*'ba*	*xwā-y*	*hār=əm*	*šàř=a.$^|$*
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	*kừ*	*bār=yān*	*bə-ba-m?'$^|$*
1SG	how	load=3PL	SBJV-take.PRS-1SG

How am I supposed to get rid of them? (lit. how can I load them?)'

čū-∅   hānā=y   bərd=a   bar   sag^y-ī̀.[|]
go.PST-3SG   refuge=3SG   take.PST=DRCT   front   dog-OBL.M

She went to ask the dog for help.

(16) *kəsok-àk^y=ī lē bū-∅,*[|]   *kəsok-ak^y-ī   zor   zor*
      dog-INDF=3SG   at   COP.PST-3SG   dog-INDF-EZ.M   very   very

ba-wàj=ū[|]   *ba-wafā̀.*[|]
with-face=and   with-loyalty

There was a dog in it [in the meadow], a respectful, faithful dog.

dīfā̀ʿ=īš=ī   la   mař-aka-y   a-kərd.[|]
defence=ADD=3SG   at   ewe-DEF-OBL.M   IPFV-do.PST

He would defend the ewe.

got=ī,   ʿhār=ū   masla=m   awà=ya=w   ba
say.PST=3SG   situation=and   problem=1SG   DEM=COP.3SG=and   to

hānā̀=m   ga!'[|]
aid=1SG   arrive.PRS.2SG.IMP

She said [to the dog], 'The situation is like this, [please] come to my aid.'

got=ī   ʿxam=ət   nà-bī![|]
say.PST=3SG   sorrow=2SG   NEG-be.PRS.SBJV.2SG

He (the dog) said, 'No worries!

la-nāw   ama   yak   šət   zor   bā̀w=a.[|]
in-middle   1PL   one   thing   very   common=COP.3SG

Something in customary among us [the members of the dog family],

aw=īš   wədzā̀ġ=a,[|]   *wədzā̀ġ-ī   bāb=ū   bāpīr-ằn,*[|]
3SG=ADD   clan=COP.3SG   clan-EZ.M   father=and   grandfather-PL

[and] that is the clan, that is, the clan passed from elders.

bằš=a?'|
nice=COP.3SG

All right?

(17) *pē=yī   bə-rè!*|
   to=3SG   SBJV-tell.PRS.2SG

[The dog continued] 'Tell him [the wolf to come]!

amən   a-č-əm   la-pəšt   aw   dār-à-y| *xò*
1SG   IND-go.PRS-1SG   in-back   DEM   tree-DEM-OBL.M   REFL

a-šār-m-awa.|
IND-hide.PRS-1SG-TELIC

I will go and hide behind that tree.

har   kāt-ak   řēwī   hằt-∅| *sừnd-ī   xwārd   ba*
each   time-INDF   fox   come.PST-3SG   swear=3SG   eat.PST   to

wədzāġ=ī| *yān   ba   har   šət-àkʸ=ī,*|
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   řēk   lat=ū   pàt=ī   a-ka-m.|
DEIC   1SG   directly   piece=and   RDP=3SG   IND-do.PRS-1SG

I will tear him to pieces right away.

nề-wēr-ən   sond-ī   ba-dro   bə-xo-n.'|
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-dzề   kərd.|
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.

ṣa-y   xo   šārd-awa   la-pəž   dằr-ī.|
dog-OBL.M REFL hide.PST-TELIC in-back tree-OBL.M

The dog hid behind the tree.

ū   gurg꞊ū   řēwī꞊š   hāt-ən   lo   šahādadān-ề.|
and wolf꞊and fox꞊ADD come.PST-3PL to   witness.INF-OBL.F

And the wolf and fox came to bear witness.

(18) *got꞊ī   got꞊ī,   'awằ꞊š   šāhēd-ī   mən.'*|
     say.PST꞊3SG say.PST꞊3SG DEM꞊ADD   witness-EZ.M   1SG

[The wolf] said, 'Here is my witness!'

řēwī   ba   jəwāb   hāt-∅   zor   ba   murtahì,|
fox   to   response come.PST-3SG much with comfort

The fox started to speak (lit. came to answer) comfortably.

got꞊ī,   'amə̀n šāhēdī   a-da-m   ka   aw
say.PST꞊3SG   1SG   witnessing IND-give.PRS-1SG COMPL DEM

murk-à| *mùrk^y-ē*   *gurg-ī꞊a.*|
property-DEM   property-EZ.M   wolf-OBL.M꞊COP.3SG

[and] said, 'I testify that this land is the wolf's

atò   hāt-ī| *la-sar꞊ət* *dā-kotằ꞊ya,*| *ba-bē*
2SG   come.PST-2SG   on-top꞊2SG   PVB-hit.PST.PTCP꞊COP.3SG with-no

hàq꞊ū| *ba-bē*   *mằf.'*|
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꞊ī   'āxər nằ-bī!*|
     ewe-DEF꞊ADD   say.PST꞊3SG well   NEG-be.PRS.3SG

The ewe said, 'It does not work like this!'

la	ʿādằt=ū	ʿurf-ē	maˈ	sūnd	xwārdə̀nˈ
in	habit=and	custom-EZ	1PL	swear	eat.INF

aw-ja	salmāndə̀n.⸲ˈ
DEM-time	prove.INF

In our customs, one first takes an oath, then one proceeds to presenting proof.'

got=ī	⸲bāš	ama	sūnd	ba	čə̀	bə-xo-yn?⸲ˈ
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	⸲a-bī	sūnd	ba	wədzā̀ġ-ī	bāb=ū
say.PST=3SG	IND-be.PRS.3SG	swear	to	clan-EZ.M	father=and

bāpīr-ān=əm	bə-xo-y!⸲',	mař-akà	got=ī.ˈ
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)	řēwī=š	got=ī,	⸲zor	ʾaʿtīyādì=ya.ˈ
	fox=ADD	say.PST=3SG	very	normal=COP.3SG

The fox said, 'It is totally fine.

wədzāġ=ət	la	kēndarè=ya	tā	sūnd=ī	pē
clan=2SG	in	where.OBL.F=COP.3SG	so.that	swear=3SG	to

bə-xo-yn?⸲ˈ
SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL

Where is your clan for us to take an oath on?'

got=ī,	⸲wədzā̀ġ-ē	mən	la-pəšt	àw	dār-ə=ya.⸲ˈ
say.PST=3SG	clan-EZ.M	1SG	in-back	DEM	tree-DEM=COP.3SG

She said, 'My clan is behind that tree!'

ka	*řēwī*	*dìt꞊ī*ǀ	*sag-àkʸ-ī*	*gawra*ǀ	*la-pəž*
when	fox	saw.PST꞊3SG	dog-INDF-EZ.M	big	in-back

*dār-akà꞊ya.*ǀ	*har*	*zərāw꞊ī*	*čù̀-∅*ǀ
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꞊ī	*'na*	*ba*	*xwà̀-y*ǀ	*bak*	*pīrozī*	*wədzà̀ġ꞊ət*ǀ
say.PST꞊3SG	no	by	God-OBL.M	by	greatness.EZ.M	clan꞊2SG

ato	*wədzāġ꞊ət*	*gala*	*galak*	*mubàràk꞊a.*ǀ
2SG	clan꞊2SG	very	very	sacred꞊COP.3SG

He said, 'By God, [and] by your clan's sanctity, your clan is very holy.

nɔ̀-tān-əm	*sūnd꞊ī*	*pē*	*bə-xo-m.'*ǀ
NEG-can.PRS-1SG	swear꞊3SG	to	SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG

I cannot take an oath on it.'

řīwì̀	*řoy-∅.*ǀ
fox	go.PST-3SG

The fox went away.

(21)	*got꞊ī*	*gurg*	*got꞊ī*	*'nà̀-bīt!*ǀ
	say.PST꞊3SG	wolf	say.PST꞊3SG	NEG-be.PRS.3SG

The wolf said, 'It does not count!

řīwī	*tərsà̀꞊ya.*ǀ
fox	scared꞊COP.3SG

The fox became scared.

aga-nā	*qat*	*qàt*	*pəšt*	*la*	*mən*	*nā-kā꞊w*ǀ
if-not	never	never	back	at	1SG	NEG-do.PRS.3SG꞊and

Otherwise, he would never turn his back on me.

šāhēd   àw꞊a| ka   awa murkʸ-ī   mə̀n꞊a.ʼ|
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   nəzīk bū-∅-w-awa
say.PST꞊3SG   when wolf to꞊3SG near   become.PST-3SG-EP-TELIC

sūnd   bə-xwã̀!|
swear   SBJV-eat.PRS.3SG

When it was the time for the wolf to take the oath,

got꞊ī   ʻmən sūnd   nak   ba   wədzāġ-ē   tò|
say.PST꞊3SG   1SG   swear no.only to   clan-EZ.F 2SG

ba   hamū   šət-ȇkʸ-ī   a-xo-m.ʼ|
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   ṣàgʸ꞊ī   lē꞊ya|*
      when see.PST꞊3SG   dog꞊3SG   in꞊COP.3SG

When he (the wolf) saw that a dog was there [behind the tree],

ṣa   pəř꞊ī   dā꞊ya꞊w   quřk꞊ī   gə̀rt.|
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,   ʻāmã̀n,| amə̀n hĭč   nī꞊ma.|
say.PST꞊3SG EXCL   EXCL   nothing NEG꞊COP.1SG

He (the wolf) said, 'Please, please! I'm nothing!

aw   murk-a   murkʸ-ī   tò꞊a.ʼ|
DEM property-DEM   property-EZ.M 2SG꞊COP.3SG

This property is yours!'

jā	*a-r-è̀*ǀ	*l-aw*	*hāḷat-a-y*	*dā*	*ūdzāġ*
then	IND-say.PRS-3SG	in-DEM	tale-DEM-OBL.M	POST	clan

awanda	*pīròz*	*bū꞊a*ǀ	*la-nāw*	*komaḷgā-y*	*kurdì̀*ǀ
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

yaʿnī	*sù̀nd꞊ī*	*pē*	*xor-ā꞊ya.*ǀ
that.is	swear꞊3SG	to	eat.PRS-PASS.PST꞊COP.3SG

that one would take an oath on it.

har	*lò꞊ya꞊š*	*a-bīn-īn*ǀ	*haqāyat*	*kurdī-yakāǹ*ǀ
EMPH	why꞊COP.3SG꞊ADD	IND-see.PRS-1PL	tale	kurdish-DEF.PL

b-aw	*amānj-a-y*	*a-bà-n.*ǀ
to-DEM	purpose-DEM-OBL.M	IND-take.PRS-3PL

That is why we see that it's referred to in Kurdish tales.

amn꞊īš	*hāt-m-àw*ǀ
1SG꞊ADD	come.PST-1SG-TELIC

I came back [from the events of the story]

hì̀č꞊əm	*pē*	*na-bəř-ā-∅*ǀ
nothing꞊1SG	to	NEG-cut.PRS-PASS.PST-3SG

and nothing was given to me [by the characters in the story].

xalās꞊ū	*řòy-∅.*ǀ
over꞊and	go.PST-3SG

It is finished (lit. it is finished and gone).

INDEX

Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures

General Editor Geoffrey Khan

Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures
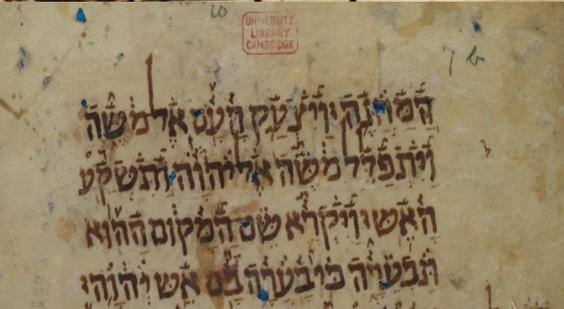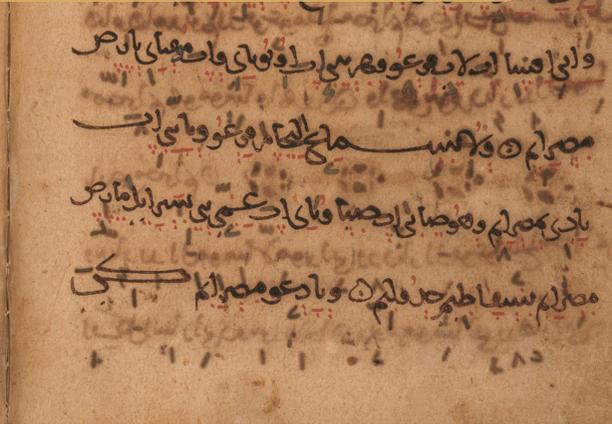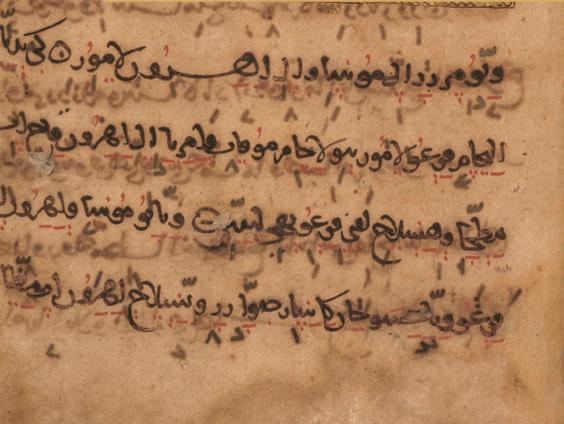
About the series

This series is published by Open Book Publishers in collaboration with the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cambridge. The aim of the series is to publish in open-access form monographs in the field of Semitic languages and the cultures associated with speakers of Semitic languages. It is hoped that this will help disseminate research in this field to academic researchers around the world and also open up this research to the communities whose languages and cultures the volumes concern. This series includes philological and linguistic studies of Semitic languages, editions of Semitic texts, and studies of Semitic cultures. Titles in the series will cover all periods, traditions and methodological approaches to the field. The editorial board comprises Geoffrey Khan, Aaron Hornkohl, and Esther-Miriam Wagner.

This is the first Open Access book series in the field; it combines the high peer-review and editorial standards with the fair Open Access model offered by OBP. Open Access (that is, making texts free to read and reuse) helps spread research results and other educational materials to everyone everywhere, not just to those who can afford it or have access to well-endowed university libraries.

Copyrights stay where they belong, with the authors. Authors are encouraged to secure funding to offset the publication costs and thereby sustain the publishing model, but if no institutional funding is available, authors are not charged for publication. Any grant secured covers the actual costs of publishing and is not taken as profit. In short: we support publishing that respects the authors and serves the public interest.

UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE
Faculty of Asian and Middle
Eastern Studies

You can find more information about this serie at:
http://www.openbookpublishers.com/section/107/1

Other titles in the series

The Neo-Aramaic Oral Heritage of the Jews of Zakho

Oz Aloni

https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0272

Points of Contact

The Shared Intellectual History of Vocalisation in Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew

Nick Posegay

https://https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0271

A Handbook and Reader of Ottoman Arabic

Esther-Miriam Wagner (ed.)

https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0208

Diversity and Rabbinization

Jewish Texts and Societies between 400 and 1000 CE

Gavin McDowell, Ron Naiweld, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (eds)

https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0219

New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew

Aaron D. Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan (eds)

https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0250

The Marvels Found in the Great Cities and in the Seas and on the Islands

A Representative of 'Aǧā'ib Literature in Syriac

Sergey Minov

https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0237

Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander (eds)

https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0209

Jewish-Muslim Intellectual History Entangled

Textual Materials from the Firkovitch Collection, Saint Petersburg

Camilla Adang, Bruno Chiesa, Omar Hamdan, Wilferd Madelung, Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele (eds)

Studies in Semitic Vocalisation and Reading Traditions

Aaron Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan (eds)

Studies in Rabbinic Hebrew

Shai Heijmans (ed.)

The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

Volume 1

Geoffrey Khan

The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

Volume 2

Geoffrey Khan

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, folkore 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.

Cover image: Woman from Ishshi, south-eastern Turkey (photograph taken by Bruno Poizat in 1978 before the village's destruction). Cover design: Anna Gatti

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
Faculty of Asian and Middle
Eastern Studies

OpenBook Publishers
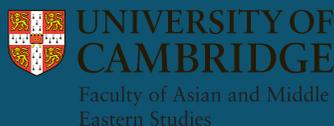
ebook
ebook and OA editions
also available

OPEN ACCESS