Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts

VOLUME 1

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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-∅*   *ʾʾana*   *mẟăḥ-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,*'
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-∅.*'
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.*'
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-∅,' *zəl-le,*   *mṭe-le*   *l-ṭura*
believe.IMP-SG go.PFV-3SG.M arrive.PFV-3SG.M to-mountain

ʾu nàr-eḥ' *d-qaṭe-∅   qàyse.*'
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.*'
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.*'
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   šǝmy-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-ǝt   ˀati   d-qaṭ-ǝt
how   IND-come-2SG.M   you.SG   SBR-cut-2SG.M

*ˀu mǝndyane   d-g-ǝb-ǝt   ˀu là-g-ǝb-ǝt.*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-imǝr-∅,   ˈbăle,   bằle,*ˈ   *wǝn   šmiy-a*
IND-say-3SG.M   indeed   indeed   COP.1SG.M   hear.PTCP-SG.M

*ˀu ˀana   ta   hàdax꞊ǝn   ˀǝθy-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.'

*ˈdằxi   ta   hadax꞊ǝt   ˀǝθy-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-imǝr-∅,   ˈmhèmǝn-∅,   mer-i   b-axl-ə̀t-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 ʔaqál   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   ʔèn-i.*ˈ
before   eyes-my

at least I won't see my little children dying of hunger in front of my eyes.

*ham   ʔən   ʔaxl-ət-ti   ʔati   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   ʔu 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   ʔàti=ži*ˈ   *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.

*ʔana   gu   ḥəmayata   dìyux=iwən.*ˈ
I   in   protection   your.SG.M=COP.2SG.M

I am under your protection.

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

If you want, I am yours.

*ʔu g-ə̀b-ət   ži,*ˈ   *ʔana   hun   ʔəθy-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-máʿəš-ən*   *ʾayə̀l*   *diyi.'*
of-desperation-my   SBR-support-1SG.M   children   my

out of the need to feed my children.'

(8)   *k-imər-∅,*   *ʿmadám*   *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

ʾu ham   *ṭà-lux*   *rand=ila.'*
and even   for-you.SG.M   advantage=COP.3SG.F

He said, 'If that is the case, then it's good for me and good for you.'

*'dæ̀xi?'*ˈ
how

'How?'

k-imər-∅   *ʾati*   *b-awð-ət*   *qayse*   *ʾu 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].

ʾu 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.

ʾaygət   *aθ-ət*   *māθ-ət-ti*   *ʾixàla,*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...

ṭábˤān   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.

yaˤni,   hàm   ʾixal-ət   faqiraˈ   ˤala   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   ṭa-li   ʾu ṭà-lux.ʾ
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

ya‘ni,   kabìra   wəd-le   faðl   ˀəll-eḥ.|
I.mean   great   do.PFV-3SG.M favour   to-him

was doing him a great favour.

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

ham   ˀati   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].

‘azm-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-∅,   ‘mà   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   ˀarya   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-∅   wòd-lay,*|
       believe.IMP-SG   do.PFV-3PL

Believe me, they did so,

zə̀l-lay   mṭe-lay   l-bàyθa.[|]
go.PFV-3PL   arrive.PFV-3PL   to-house

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

k-imər-∅   ta   bàxt-eḥ[|]   *ʾbàxta,*[|]
IND-say-3SG.M   to   wife-his   wife

g-dary-at   ʾixala   ta   ʾàrya,[|]
IND-put-2SG.F   food   for   lion

dre   jŭda   ʾu 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-∅,   'lə̀ʾán   ʾegət   galize   g-nàxθ-i,   jŭda.'
IND-say-3SG.M   because   when   saliva   IND-descend-3PL   portion

galize   g-naxθ-i   gu   ʾixàla.[|]
saliva   IND-descend-3PL   in   food

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

ləbb-i   là-k-izəl-∅,'   yaʿni,   ʾè.[|]
heart-my   NEG-IND-go-3SG.M   I mean   yes

I lose my appetite, yes.'

ʾay=ži   zə̀l-la,[|]   *θe-la   muθe-la   ʾixàla.*[|]
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   ʾàrya   jŭda,[|]   *ʾu ṭà-leh   jŭda.*[|]
put.PFV-3SG.F   to   lion   portion   and to-him   portion

She served the lion separately and [the man] separately.

(13) *ʾu ani   pəš-lay   b-ixàla.*ˈ
   and they   begin.PFV-3PL   in-eat.INF

They started eating.

*xə̀l-le   ʾarya*ˈ *ʾu xləṣ-le   ʾu 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-∅,   ʿha,   ha,   faqìra,*ˈ
IND-say-3SG.M   ha   ha   poor.man

*kud-yom   k-əxl-ət-wa   mə̀nn-i,*ˈ *ʾàxxa,*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-ʿazm-ə̀t-ti,*ˈ
PFV-invite-2SG.M-O.1SG

*dre-lux   jŭda   ṭa-li   ʾu ta   gyàn-ux*ˈ *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 separately.

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

You find my [drool] revolting?

*ʾay,   ʾày=ila   faðl   diyi   ʾəll-ux?*ˈ
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   ᴬʿala   ḥsàb-i*ᴬˈ
here   IND-eat-2SG.M-PST   with-me   on   account-my

*galiz-i   là-k-iθe-∅-wa   gawət   ixala.*ˈ
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,*ˈ   *ʿxzi   d-amr-ə̀n-nux,*ˈ
       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.*ˈ'
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?'

''ən   là-max-ət-te   b-reš-i̧,   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-i̧.'
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.

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

The lion went away to his own [place].

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

wəd-le   qàyse'   'u θe-le   l-bàyθa.'
do.PFV-3SG.M   wood   and come.PFV-3SG.M   to-house

The poor man came, cut the wood and came back home.

(16) *pəd-le   xen-a   faqìra,'*
      pass.PFV-3SG.M   other-SG.M   poor.man

'u 'arya   l-àt-te   'alaqa   gaw-e.'
and lion   NEG-EXIST-3SG.M   relation   to-him

The poor man went [to] another [place] while the lion had nothing to do with him.

*ḥal   xa   yòma,*ˈ
until   one   day

*ʾàrya,*ˈ   *nə̀x-le*   *reš-eḥ.*ˈ   *reš-eḥ*   *nə̀x-le.*ˈ
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   *ʾəθy-a*   *l-ṭura*   *b-waða*   *qàyse.*ˈ
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,*ˈ   *k-imər-∅,*   *ʿhà*   *faqira!*"
arrive.PFV-3SG.M   poor man   IND-say-3SG.M   aha   poor man

He said, 'Hello, poor man!

ʾʿuhu,   *ʾahlan wa-sàhlan,*ˈ
oh   welcome

də̀xi꞊wəθ?'   *maqṣad:*   *mroḥəb-le*   *gàw-e.*ˈ
how꞊COP.2SG.M   meaning   welcome.PFV-3SG.M   to-him

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

(17)   *k-imər-∅,*   *ʿfaqìra,*ˈ
        IND-say-3SG.M   poor.man

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

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

xz-i   *nìx-a*   *reš-i,*   *ʾən*   *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...   *škìr*   *ʾalaha.*ˈ
what.god.willed   thank.PTCP   God

Thank God!'

*k-imər-∅,   ʿl-àwa   b-kayp-i   bas*ˈ
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.

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

*ʾu xabr-ux   l-èle   nix-a,*ˈ
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.*ˈ
arise.PFV -3SG.M   PFV-eat-3SG.M-O.3SG.M   in-this.F   time

He devoured him immediately.

(19)   *ʾe,   qày.*ˈ
        yes   so

Yes, it is so.

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

The impact of a sword heals.

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

[But] the impact of words does not heal.

*xabra   nàxwaš,   nàxwaš˭ile,   ʾe.*ˈ
word   evil   evil˭COP.3SG.M   yes

A word can be very evil, yes.