

# Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts

VOLUME 1



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# NORTHERN KURDISH OF DUHOK

## TEXT 30: §1–29

*Masoud Mohammadirad*

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**Speaker: Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad**

Audio: <https://kurdic.ames.cam.ac.uk/audio/242/>

(1) *nāv-ē mən Bîžān Xošavî 'Ahmât.*<sup>|</sup>  
name-EZ.M 1SG.OBL PN PN PN

My name [is] Bizhan Khoshavi Ahmad.

*xalk-ē bāžēr-ē Duhok-ê.*<sup>|</sup>  
people-EZ.M city.OBL-EZ.M PN-OBL.F

[I am] from the city of Duhok.

*az-ē čîrok-aḡ-ē, hændak čîrok-ā bo hawa*  
1SG.DIR=FUT tale-INDF-OBL.F some tale-PL.OBL for 2PL.OBL

*và-gohêz-am.*<sup>|</sup>  
TELIC-change.PRS-1SG

I will narrate to you a tale/some tales

*kū mən əš dāpîr-â xo go lē*  
REL 1SG.OBL from grand.mom-EZ.F REFL ear at.3SG.OBL

*bûy-na*<sup>|</sup>  
be.PST.PTCP=COP.3PL

that I have heard from my grandmother

*û hændāk,<sup>|</sup> hændak dān'ām̄r-ēn davar-ē.<sup>|</sup>*  
 and some some old.people-EZ.PL region-OBL.F

and some ... some old people in the region.

(2) *čīrok-ā ma ā ēk-ē dē dāst pē*  
 tale-EZ.F 1PL.OBL EZ.F one-OBL.F FUT hand to

*Ø-kat-ən<sup>|</sup> čīrok-ā Fātmā=ya.<sup>|</sup>*  
 SBJV-do.PRS.3SG-NA tale-EZ.F PN=COP.3SG

The first tale for us to start with is the tale of Fatma.

*ha-bū-Ø na-bū-Ø*  
 EXIST-be.PST-3SG NEG-be.PST-3SG

There was and there was not,

*kas šə xodē mās-tər na-bū-Ø<sup>|</sup>*  
 person from God.OBL big-CMPR NEG-be.PST-3SG

there was nobody greater than God,

*kas šə banī-yā dərāwīn-tər na-bū-Ø<sup>|</sup>*  
 person from human-PL.OBL liar-CMPR NEG-be.PST-3SG

no bigger liar than man.

*řož-àk-ē šə řož-ān<sup>|</sup> gund-àk-ē dūradast<sup>|</sup>*  
 day-INDF-EZ.M from day-PL.OBL village-INDF-EZ.M remote

*āfərat-àk ha-bū-Ø<sup>|</sup>*  
 woman-INDF EXIST-be.PST-3SG

Once upon a time there was a woman in a remote village.

(3) *awē āfrat-ē<sup>|</sup> šū bə zaqām-aḵ-ī*  
 DEM.DIST.OBL.F woman-OBL.F husband to man-INDF-OBL.M

*ḵər-bū*  
 do.PST-be.PST

That woman was married to a man

*kū bar-ī wē čand zārok-āk ha-bū-n.*<sup>1</sup>  
 REL before-OBL.M 3SG.OBL.F some child-INDF EXIST-be.PST-3PL

who already had some children.

*ḵəč-ak ha-bū-Ø bə nāv-ē Fātmā*<sup>1</sup>  
 girl-INDF EXIST-be.PST-3SG by name-EZ.M PN

He (The man) had a girl by the name of Fatma,

*ko havžin-ā, havžin-ā ānko žənbāb-ā*<sup>1</sup>  
 REL partner-EZ.F partner-EZ.F or step.mother-EZ.F

*Fātmā-yē galak haz žē nā-t-ḵər.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PN-OBL.F very liking at.3SG.OBL NEG-IPFV-do.PST

whom the [his] wife or her (i.e. Fatma's) stepmother did not like much.

*ū nā-t-vīyā bə-mīn-t-a l māl-ē.*<sup>1</sup>  
 and NEG-IPFV-want.PST SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG=DRCT in home-OBL.F

She (the stepmother) did not like her (Fatma) to stay home..'

*řož-ak-ē šə řož-ān, at-bēž-t-ē.*<sup>1</sup>  
 day-INDF-EZ.M from day-PL.OBL IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

One day, she said to her (Fatma),

*ḵəč-ā mən har-a ḵolān-ē bo xo*  
 girl-EZ.F 1SG.OBL go.IMP-2SG alley-OBL.F for REFL

*yāri-yā bə-ḵa.*<sup>1</sup>  
 game-PL.OBL SBJV-do.PRS.IMP.2SG

'My girl, go [and] play in the lane.'

(4) *dam-ē*      *Ø-č-ît-a*      *kolān-ē*  
 when-OBL.F      IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT      lane-OBL.F

*yārî-yā*      *t-ka-t-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 game-PL.OBL      IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

When she (Fatma) went to the lane to play,

*kas-aḵ*      *šə*      *wānā*      *hēk-aḵ-ē*      *šəkēn-ît-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 person-INDF      from      3PL.OBL      egg-INDF-OBL.F      break.PRS-3SG-NA

*ət-nāv*      *zavî-yā*      *kas-aḵ-î*      *dā.*<sup>|</sup>  
 in-middle      land-EZ.F      person-INDF-OBL.M      POST

one of them (the girls) cracked an egg on the land of a person.

*dam-ē*      *hēk*      *t-hēt-a*      *šəkānd-ən*  
 when-OBL.F      egg      IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT      break.PST-INF

When the egg was cracked,

*ət-nāv*      *wān*      *hamî*      *kač-ān*      *dā*<sup>|</sup>      *û*      *har*      *ēḵ*  
 in-middle      3PL.OBL      all      girl-PL.OBL      POST      and      each      one

*Ø-ka-t-a*      *sar*      *yē*      *dî.*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT      head      EZ.M      other

each [girl] blamed the other.

*û*      *har*      *kač-àḵ*      *tə-bēž-ît-ən,*<sup>|</sup>      *‘tā*      *wa*      *ḵar,*  
 and      each      girl-INDF      IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA      2SG.OBL      DEIC      do.PST

*mān*      *wa*      *na-ḵar.*<sup>’</sup>  
 1SG.OBL      DEIC      NEG-do.PST

And each girl said [to the other], ‘You did this; I didn’t do this.’

(5) *əl-wērē*      *kas-àḵ*      *t-hē-t-a*      *wērē*  
 in-there      person-INDF      IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT      there

Somebody passed by there

*aṭ-vē-t-ən,*<sup>|</sup> *aṭ-bēž-t-ē,* *lāzəm=a*  
 IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL necessary=COP.3SG

*hīn hamī sīnd bə-xò-n*<sup>|</sup>  
 2PL.DIR all swear SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL

[and] said to them, ‘You must all swear an oath!’

*kā kē av hēk-a šəkānd-ī=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 EXCM who DEM.PROX.SG egg-DEM break.PST-PTCP=PERF

Let’s see who has cracked the egg?

*lāzəm=a hīn hamī sīnd bə-xo-n!*<sup>|</sup>  
 necessary=COP.3SG 2PL.DIR all oath SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL

You must all swear an oath!’

(6) *ḵəč-ā ēk-ē ṭ-bēž-īt-ən,*<sup>|</sup>  
 girl-EZ.F one-OBL.F IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The first girl said,

*‘az bə sar-ē bərā-yē xo ḵa-m-a*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG to head-EZ.M brother-EZ.M REFL do.PRS-1SG-NA

‘I swear on my brother’s head (lit. I put on my brother’s head)

*mən aw hēk-a nà-škānd-ī=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG.OBL DEM.DIST.SG egg-DEM NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

[that] I didn’t break that egg.’

*ḵəč-ā du-ē ṭ-bēž-īt-ən,*<sup>|</sup>  
 girl-EZ.F two-OBL.F IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The second girl said,

*‘az bə sar-ē hār du bərā-yēt xo ḵa-m-a*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG to head-EZ.M each two brother-EZ.PL REFL do.PRS-1SG-NA

‘I swear on my two brothers’ heads

*mən      àw              hēk-a      na-škānd-î-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG.OBL   DEM.DIST.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

[that] I didn't break that egg.'

*ḵəč-ā      sē-yê      t̃-bēž-ît-ən,*<sup>|</sup>  
 girl-EZ.F   two-OBL.F   IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA

The third girl said,

*'az      bə      sar-ē      pêñj      bəṛā-yēt      xo      ḵa-m-a*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG   to   head-EZ.M   five   brother-EZ.PL   REFL   do.PRS-1SG-NA

'I swear on my five brothers' heads

*mən      aw              hēk-a      nà-škānd-î-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG.OBL   DEM.DIST.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

(that) I didn't break that egg.'

(7) *ū      har      husā      bardawām      b-ît-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
          and   EMPH   such   continual   be.PRS-3SG-NA

It continued like that.

*hamī      ḵəč      əb      sar-ē      bəṛā-yē      xo      sind*  
 all   girl   to   head-EZ.M   brother-EZ.M   REFL   oath  
*əṭ-xo-n*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-eat.PRS-3PL

All the girls swore on their brother's head,

*ko,      'mà      av              hēk-a      na-škānd-î-a.*<sup>†</sup>  
 COMPL   1PL.OBL   DEM.PROX.SG   egg-DEM   NEG-break.PST-PTCP=PERF

'We haven't broken the egg.'



*lē Fātmā-yē<sup>l</sup> čūnkū husā hazər kər-bē čə*  
 but PN-OBL.F since such thought do.PST-be.PST no  
*bərā nī-n-ən,<sup>l</sup>*  
 brother NEG-COP=3PL

However Fatma, as she thought that she had no brothers,

*na-ṣānī dē bə čə sīnd Ø-xot-ən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 NEG-know.PST FUT to what swear SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG-NA

did not know whom to swear on.

*ū hamī-yā kər-a sar wē<sup>l</sup>*  
 and all-PL.OBL do.PST=DRCT head 3SG.OBL.F

Everybody put the blame on her (lit. put on her head)

*got-ē, ‘čūnkū ta sīnd nā-xwār<sup>l</sup>*  
 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.<sup>’l</sup>*  
 in-here 2SG.OBL egg EZ.F break.PST-PTCP

[it means that] you have broken the egg.’

(8) *ət-č-īt-ava gala galak dəl-aḳ-ē*  
 IND-go.PRS-3SG-TELIC very very heart-INDF-EZ.M

*ēšāyī,*  
 distressed

She (Fatma) returned home with a broken heart

*ət-ḳa-t-a gərī.<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT cry.INF

[and] started to cry.

ax-bēž-īt-a                      žənbāb-ā                      xo,<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT    stepmom-EZ.F    REFL

She said to her stepmother,

ax-bəž-t-ē,                      'būčī    mən                      čə    bəṛā                      nī-n-ən?<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL    why    1SG.OBL    no    brother    NEG=COP-3PL

she said to her, 'Why haven't I got any brothers?'

bo    žənbāb-ē                      tə-b-īt-a                      dariv-ak-ā  
 for    stepmom-OBL.F    IND-be.PRS-3SG=DRCT    opportunity-INDF-EZ.F  
 gala    galak    ā    bāš<sup>|</sup>  
 very    very    EZ.F    good

It became a very good opportunity for the stepmother

kū    kəč-ē                      žī    šə                      māl-ē                      bə    darē  
 COMPL    girl-OBL.F    ADD    from    home-OBL.F    to    out  
 Ø-x-īt-ən.<sup>|</sup>  
 SBJV-throw.PRS-3SG-NA

to kick her (Fatma) out of the house.

(9) ax-bēž-t-ē,<sup>|</sup>                      'wara                      àz                      dē<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL    come.IMP.2SG    1SG.DIR    FUT  
 jəh-ē                      bəṛā-yē                      ta                      nīšā                      ta                      Ø-dā-m.<sup>|</sup>  
 place-EZ.M    brother-EZ.M    2SG.OBL    showing    2SG.OBL    SBJV-give.PRS-1SG

She said to her, 'Come here, I will show you your brothers' whereabouts.'

ax-ba-t-a                      sar    bān-ī,<sup>|</sup>                      ax-bēž-t-ē,  
 IND-take.PRS-3SG=DRCT    on    roof-OBL.M    IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

She took her on the roof of the house [and] said to her,

pəšt      čiyā-yē      hana<sup>|</sup>      pəšt      čiyā-yī<sup>|</sup>  
 behind    mountain-EZ.M    DEIC.PTCL    behind    mountain-OBL.M

‘Behind this mountain over there, behind the mountain [there is another mountain];

lə-pəšt    wī      čiyā-yī<sup>|</sup>      žī<sup>|</sup>    šinīk-ā  
 in-back    DEM.DIST.OBL.M    mountain-OBL.M    ADD    trace-EZ.F  
 čiyāy-āk-ī      dī      yē      hayī<sup>|</sup>  
 mountain-INDF-EZ.M    other    EZ.M    EXIST.PRS

Behind that other mountain there is a road to another mountain.

əškəft-āk=ā    ləwērē    hay<sup>|</sup>  
 cave-INDF-EZ.F    there    EXIST

There is a cave there.

pēñj    bəṛā-yēt    ta<sup>|</sup>      əl-wērē<sup>|</sup>  
 five    brother-EZ.PL    2SG.OBL    in-there

Your five brothers are there.

məžīl-ī    žīyān-ē-na<sup>|</sup>      ū      řāv-ū      nēcīr-ā  
 busy-EZ.M    life-OBL.F=COP.3PL    and    hunt-and    hunt-PL.OBL  
 t-kā-n.<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-do.PRS-3PL

They are busy living and hunting.’

(10) Fātmā,    gala    galak    ət-mīn-t-a      hayərī<sup>|</sup>  
          PN           very    very    IND-remain.PRS-3SG=DRCT    astonished

[On hearing this] Fatma was very astonished.

*aṭ-bēž-īt-ən,*      *garak=a*      *az*      *bə-čə-m<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA    necessary=COP.3SG    1SG.DIR    SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

*bārā-yēt*      *xo*      *paydā*      *Ø-kà-m<sup>l</sup>*  
 brother-EZ.PL    REFL    visible    SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

She said, 'I shall go [and] find my brothers

*ū*      *gal*      *wānā*      *dā*      *bə-žī-m.<sup>l</sup>*  
 and    with    3PL.OBL    POST    SBJV-live.PRS-1SG

and live with them.'

*čūnkū*      *tə-žān-īt-ən<sup>l</sup>*      *žənbāb-ē*      *gala*      *galak*  
 since    IND-know.PRS-3SG-NA    stepmom-OBL.F    very    very

*hāl-ē*      *wānā*      *nāxoš*      *kə-r-i-ya<sup>l</sup>*  
 condition-EZ.M    3PL.OBL    unpleasant    do.PST-PTCP=PERF

She knew that the stepmother had upset them a lot,

*ū*      *tə-vē-t-ən*      *bə-zəvəř-īt-avà*      *dav*  
 and    IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA    SBJV-turn.PRS-3SG-TELIC    side

*bārā-yēt*      *xo.<sup>l</sup>*  
 brother-EZ.PL    REFL

and that it was necessary for her to go to [live with] her brothers.

(11) *kəčək*      *dam-ē*      *Ø-č-īt-ən,<sup>l</sup>*      *gala*      *galak*  
          girl      when-OBL.F    IND-go.PRS-3SG-NA    very    very

*tə-wastīy-ēt-ən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-exhaust.PRS-3SG-NA

On the way [to the mountain], the little girl (i.e., Fatma) became very tired.

*gala*      *galak*      *māndī*      *t-b-īt-ən<sup>l</sup>*  
 very    very    tired    IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA

She became very exhausted

*hatā*<sup>|</sup> *čīyā-yak-ē* *tə-bəhūrīn-īt-ən=ū*<sup>|</sup>  
 until mountain-INDF-OBL.M IND-pass.PRS-3SG-NA=and

by the time she passed the first mountain

*čīyā-yē* *du-ē* *tə-bəhūrīn-īt-ən=ū*<sup>|</sup>  
 mountain-EZ.M two-OBL.F IND-pass.PRS-3SG-NA=and

and the second mountain

*ət-gah-īt=a* *čīyā-yē* *sē*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-arrive.PRS-3SG=DRCT mountain-EZ.M three

and [finally] arrived at the third mountain.

(12) *dam-ē* *ət-gah-īt=a* *čīyā-yē* *sē*<sup>|</sup>  
 when-OBL.F IND-arrive.PRS-3SG=DRCT mountain-EZ.M three

On arriving at the third mountain,

*əškāft-ak-ā* *gala* *galak* *ā* *bəlānd* *Ø-bīn-īt-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 cave-INDF-EZ.F very very EZ.F high IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

she saw a very big (lit. high) cave.

*ū* *t-hē-t-a* *hazər-ā* *wē*  
 and IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT thought-EZ.F 3SG.OBL.F

It crossed her mind (lit. It came to her memory)

*kū* *tə-vē-t-ən* *bərā-yēt* *wē* *lə*  
 COMPL IND-should.PRS-3SG-NA brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F in  
*vē* *əškāft-ē* *va* *Ø-b-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.OBL.F cave-OBL.F POST SBJV-be.PRS-3PL

that her brothers should be in that cave

*har* *wakī* *žənbāb-ē* *gotī*<sup>|</sup>  
 just like stepmom-OBL.F say.PST.PTCP

—just as the stepmother had said.

- (13) *dam-ē* *t-č-īt-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 when-OBL.F IND-go.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

‘When she (Fatma) went inside

*ū sah t̃a-kà-t-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 and look IND-do.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL

and looked around,

*ət-bīn-īt-ən,*<sup>|</sup> *čə* *t̃a-bīn-īt-ən?*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA what IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

she saw that ... what did she see?

*ṗēñj taxt-ēt dərēžk̃ari,*<sup>|</sup>  
 five bed-EZ.PL lain.on.the.ground

Five beds lying [on the ground],

*ṗēñj āmān-ēt xārən-ē,*<sup>|</sup>  
 five utensil-EZ.PL eat.INF-OBL.F

five sets of eating utensils,

*ṗēñj j̃əl,*<sup>|</sup> *ṗēñj kavčək.*<sup>|</sup>  
 five garment five spoon

five sets of clothes, five spoons.

*har t̃əšt ət wē* *əškəft-ē* *va ṗēñj-ē*  
 each thing in DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.F cave-OBL.F POST five-OBL.F

*ṗēñj boy=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 five be.PST.PTCP.3SG=PERF

Each thing in that cave was in five [sets] (lit. five in five).

- (14) *dam-ē wān ṗēñj-ā t̃a-bīn-īt-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 when-OBL.F 3PL.OBL five-PL IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA

When she saw all those [things] in five sets,

*ēksar t̤ə-ḡān-īt-ən*

totally IND-know.PRS-3SG-NA

she was sure

*avà ḡəh-ē bəṛāy-ē wē=ya.<sup>|</sup>*

DEM.PROX.3SG.DIR place-EZ.M brother-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.F=COP.3SG

that it was the place of her brothers.

*bar-ē xo dà-t-ē<sup>|</sup> wēri galak-ā*

front-EZ.M REFL give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL there.OBL very-EZ.F

*bēsarūbār=a.<sup>|</sup>*

messy=COP.3SG

She looked around [the cave and saw that] it was very messy.

*ahā, bəṛā-yak-ì t̤-bīn-īt-ən<sup>|</sup> sar ēk šə*

PRST brother-INDF-OBL.M IND-see.PRS-3SG-NA on one from

*wān taxt-ā yē nəvəstī=ya.<sup>|</sup>*

DEM.PL.OBL bed-PL.OBL EZ.M sleep.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

Lo, she saw a brother sleeping on one of the beds.

(15) *Fātmā dā-kū wī bəṛā-yì go lē*  
PN so-that 3SG.OBL.M brother-OBL.M ear at.3SG.OBL

*nā-b-īt-ən,<sup>|</sup>*

NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-3SG-NA

In order for her brother not to hear,

*baṭanī-aḡ-ā maḡən t̤-īn-īt-ən<sup>|</sup>*

canvas-INDF-EZ.F big IND-bring.PRS-3SG-NA

Fatma brought a big lining canvas

*dān-t-a sar bəṛā-yē xo yē bəčīk<sup>|</sup>*

PVB.put.PRS-3SG=DRCT on brother-EZ.M refl EZ.M small

[and] put it on her young brother

*kū bārā-yaḵ-ī bəčīk=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
REL brother-INDF-EZ.M small-COP.3SG

—the one who was the young[est] brother.

*dā-n-t=a sar wī bārā-yī.*<sup>|</sup>  
PVB-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT on DEM.DIST.3SG.OBL.M brother-OBL.M

She put it (the canvas) on that brother.

*ū Fātmā řā-t-b-īt-ən dast=əb kār-ī*  
and PN PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA hand-to work.OBL.M

*t-ḵa-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

And Fatma rose [and] started to work (lit. put hands to work).'

(16) *Fātmā řā-t-b-īt-ən dast=əb kār-ī*  
PN PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA hand-to work.OBL.M

*t-ḵa-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

Fatma rose (and) started to work.

*ēh taxt-ā hamī-yā pāqəž ət-ḵa-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
INTJ bed-PL.OBL all-PL.OBL clean IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She cleaned all the beds.

*ǰalk-ā t-šo-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
garment-PL.OBL IND-wash.PRS-3SG-NA

She washed the clothes.

*āmān-ā hamī-yā pāqəž tə-ḵa-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
utensil-PL.OBL all-PL.OBL clean IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She cleaned all the dishes.



*aškaft-ē hamī yē aṭ-māl-īt-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
cave-OBL.F all EZ.M IND-sweep.PRS-3SG-NA

She swept all [inside] the cave.

*ū l-ēk dā-da bəsarūbār aṭ-ka-t-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
and at-one IND-give.PRS.3SG orderly IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She had put everything in order,

*hatā bārā-yēt wē ṭ-hē-n-avā.*<sup>1</sup>  
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

*ṭ-kā-t-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

After Fatma finished her [cleaning] tasks,

*xārən-āk-ā gala galak ā xoš žī čē*  
meal-INDF-EZ.F very very EZ.F delicious ADD LVC

*ṭ-ka-t bo bārā-yēt xo*<sup>1</sup>  
IND-do.PRS-3SG for brother-EZ.PL REFL

she cooked a very good meal for her brothers

*kā čə lə-vērē ha-ya*  
EXCM what in-here EXIST=COP.3SG

out of what there was in the cave

*čə nēčir kəri-ya, aṭgal həndaḳ nān-ī*  
what hunt do.PST-PTCP=COP.3SG with some bread-OBL.M

and what they had hunted—together with bread

*bo wānā hāzər ət-ka-t-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
 for 3PL.OBL ready IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

—she prepared [a meal] for them.

(18) *ət-bēž-ī, ‘dam-ē bərā-yēt mən,*<sup>|</sup> *har čār*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG when-OBL.F brother-EZ.PL 1SG.OBL each four  
*bərā-yēt mən-ē dī t-hē-n-avà,*<sup>|</sup> *dā*  
 brother-EZ.PL 1SG.OBL-EZ.M other IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC HORT  
*vērē ā bəsarūbār Ø-b-īt-ən.*<sup>†</sup>  
 here EZ.F tidy SBJV-be.PRS-3SG-NA

She said, ‘Let it be orderly and clean here by the time my brothers, my other four brothers are back.’

*Fātmā yaksar č-īt-a ət-bən taxt-aḵ-ī-va*  
 PN totally go.PRS-3SG-DRCT in-under bed-INDF-OBL.M-POST  
*ān bən sērḵ-àḵ-ē ’arzāq-ī-va*<sup>|</sup>  
 or under basket-INDF-EZ.M food-OBL.M-POST

‘Fatma immediately went under a bed/or under a large cooking basket.

*xo va-t-šēr-īt-ən*<sup>|</sup>  
 REFL TELIC-IND-hide.PRS-3SG-NA

She hid herself

*ū čāvařē t-b-īt-ən hatā bərā-yēt wē*  
 and eyes.on.road IND-be.PRS-3SG-NA until brother-EZ.PL REFL  
*t-hē-n.*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-come.PRS-3PL

and waited (lit. eyes on road) [there] until her brothers returned.’

(19) *dam-ē bərā-yēt wē ət-hē-n,*<sup>|</sup>  
 when-OBL.F brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F IND-come.PRS-3PL

When her brothers arrived,

*bārā-yē mazən̄ jo t̄-kav-īt-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.M big LVC IND-fall.PRS-3SG-NA

the eldest brother bludgeoned his way [through his brothers]

*aṭ-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-Ø!*<sup>1</sup>  
 bizzare=COP.3SG good be.PST-PTCP-3SG

[and] said to them, ‘Oh, what has been happening here is indeed surprising!

*bārā-yē ma yē bəčīk husā na yē zīrāk*  
 brother-EZ.M 1PL.OBL EZ.M little such NEG EZ.M striving  
*bo-Ø!*<sup>1</sup>  
 COP.PST-3SG

Our youngest brother did not used to be so conscientious.

*av āmān-a xa šīšt-ən-ū!*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.3SG utensil-DEM REFL wash.PST-3PL=and

He has washed the dishes all by himself.

*av jəlk-à šīšt-ən-ū!*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.3SG garment-DEM wash.PST-3PL=and

He has washed the clothes.

*av taxt-a bə-sar-ū-bār kər.*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.PROX.3SG bed-DEM orderly do.PST

He has put the beds in order.’

*řāwra b-ən dasxošī-yè lē da-n,*<sup>1</sup>  
 LVC be.PRS-3PL thanking-OBL.F at.3SG.OBL give.PRS-3PL

They (the brothers) started to thank him (the youngest brother),

'saḥàt-ā ta xoš;  
health-EZ.F 2SG.OBL nice

'Bravo! (lit. may your health be nice!)

ta kār-aḵ-ē jân-ē kārī.<sup>†</sup>  
2SG.OBL job-INDF-EZ.M beautiful-EZ.M do.PTCP

You have done a wonderful job.'

(20) bārā dam-ē əš xaw řā-t-b-ît-avà<sup>†</sup>  
brother when-OBL.F from sleep PVB-IND-be.PRS-3SG-TELIC

When the [youngest] brother woke up

əṭ-bîn-ît wērē yā pāqəž=a.<sup>†</sup>  
IND-see.PRS-3SG there EZ.F clean=COP.3SG

and saw that the house was clean,

əṭ-bēž-ît-ən, 'hamā bo mən lē-hât-Ø!<sup>†</sup>  
IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA INTJ for 1SG.OBL PVB-come.PST-3SG

he said, 'It simply occurred to me (lit. it simply came to me).

bə ḥəsāb, al-'asās mən î aw  
by counting on-basis 1SG.OBL EZ DEM.DIST.SG

şol-a=ya kārī.<sup>†</sup>  
work-DEM-EZ.F do.PST.PTCP

Indeed, it was me who has done these tasks!"

He said [to the eldest brother], ‘By God, brother, after cleaning everything in the house I got very tired!’

They (the brothers) said to him, ‘Bravo, brother.’

Tomorrow is our eldest brother's turn.'

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).'

The next day, (Lit. It became the next day.)

the other brothers went hunting.

*bārā žī t̤ə-bēž-īt-àñ, | 'ē bāwar ka vēre*  
 brother ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA INTJ belief do.IMP.2SG here  
*galak ā pāqəž=a. |*  
 very EZ.F clean=COP.3SG

The brother said, 'Believe it [or not], it is very clean here;

*na ā pīs=a. |*  
 NEG EZ.F dirty=COP.3SG

it's not untidy.

*kā dā az bəxo bə-nv-əm, |*  
 INTJ HORT 1SG.DIR simply SBJV-sleep-1SG  
*az gala galak yē wastiāy=ma. |*  
 1SG very very EZ.M tired=1SG.COP

I shall simply sleep. I'm very tired.'

*bārā Ø-č-īt ət-nəv-īt-avà. |*  
 brother IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-sleep.PRS-3SG-TELIC

The brother went [and] slept again.

(23) *dam-ē bārā t̤ə-nəv-īt-avà, |*  
 when-OBL.F brother IND-sleep.PRS-3SG-TELIC

After the brother fell asleep,

*kəčək bar-ē xo Ø-da-t-ē hēštā*  
 girl front-EZ.M REFL IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL still  
*bārā yē nəvəstī=a. |*  
 brother EZ.M sleep.PST.PTCP=COP.3SG

the girl (i.e., Fatma) noticed that he was still sleeping.

*zīkā ət-hē-t-a dar-ē. |*  
 soon IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT outside-OBL.F

She came out quickly.

*wān*      *ǰəl=ū*      *barg-ā<sup>l</sup>*      *wān...*      *aw*      *təšt-ēn*  
 3PL.OBL    garment-and    cover-PL.OBL    3PL.OBL    DEM.PROX.SG    thing-EZ.PL  
*wē*      *dəhī*      *na-pāqəžkəri=n<sup>l</sup>*      *hamī-yā*  
 DEM.DIST.OBL.F    yesterday    not-cleaned=COP.3PL    all-PL.OBL  
*ət-ba-t-a*      *žə*      *dar-va-y*      *əškəft-ē.<sup>l</sup>*  
 IND-take.PRS-3SG=DRCT    in    outside-POST-EZ    cave-OBL.F

She took the dirty clothes and dirty stuff from the previous day out of the cave.

*ū*      *bəsarūbar*      *ət-kə-t-ən=ū*      *čē*      *t-kə-t-ən<sup>l</sup>*  
 and    orderly    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA=and    good    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

She arranged them all and cleaned them.

(24) *ū*      *hawz-ak-ā*      *gul-ā*      *žī*      *əl-bar*      *dar*  
          and    garden-INDF-EZ.F    flower-PL.OBL    ADD    in-front    door  
*əškəft-ē*      *čē*      *t-kə-t-ən<sup>l</sup>*  
 cave-OBL.F    good    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

In addition, she made a small garden of flowers in front of the cave

*ū*      *gul-ā*      *tē-dā*      *t-čin-īt-ən=ū.<sup>l</sup>*  
 and    flower-PL.OBL    in.3SG.OBL.POST    IND-plant.PRS-3SG-NA=and

and planted some flowers in it.

*řax-ē*      *dī*      *žī*      *wəsā*      *pəčək-ē*      *pāqəž*  
 side-EZ.M    other    ADD    such    a.little-OBL.F    clean  
*ət-kə-t-ən*  
 IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

Also, she cleaned the other side [the area around the cave]

*bəsarūbār*      *ət-kə-t-ən.<sup>l</sup>*  
 orderly    IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

[and] put the things [around the cave] in order.

- (25) *b-ît=a* *êvār* *kū* *dē*  
 become.PRS-3SG=DRCT evening COMPL FUT  
*bārā-yēt* *wē* *Ø-hē-n-avà,*<sup>|</sup>  
 brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F SBJV-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC

[When] it became evening, [and time] for her brothers to come back,

- Fātmā* *jár-ak-ā* *dī* *əṭ-č-ît=a* *bən*  
 PN time-INDF-EZ.F again IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT under  
*sērķ-ē* *ʾarsāq-î* *va*<sup>|</sup>  
 basket-EZ.M nutrition-OBL.M POST

Fatma again went under the cooking basket

- ū* *pātā-y* *t-în-t=a* *xār-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 and canvas-OBL.M IND-come.PRS-3SG=DRCT down-OBL.F

and brought down the cotton canvas,

- dā* *bārā-yēt* *wē* *wē* *na-bîn-in.*<sup>|</sup>  
 COMPL brother-EZ.PL 3SG.OBL.F 3SG.OBL.F NEG-see.PRS-3PL

so that her brothers wouldn't see her.

- (26) *bārā* *t-hē-n-avà* *sah* *əṭ-ka-n-ē*<sup>|</sup>  
 brother IND-come.PRS-3PL-TELIC looking IND-do.PRS-3PL=3SG.OBL

The brothers returned home [and] looked around

- t-ḃēž-ēt-añ* *bārā-yē* *maṣəñ*<sup>|</sup> *čūnkū* *šə* *wānā*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG-NA brother-EZ.M big since from 3PL.OBL  
*maṣ-tər-ū* *bə-āqəl-tər* *bo*<sup>|</sup> *got-ī,*  
 big-CMPR=and with-wise-CMPR COP.PST.3SG say.PST=3SG

‘[and] said—The eldest brother, given that he was older and more clever than the rest, said,



‘ava            təšt-aḵ-ē            na    yē,    na    yē  
DEM.PROX.SG    thing-INDF-EZ.M    NEG    EZ.M    NEG    EZ.M

ṭabē‘ī    řūy            əṭ-da-t-ən.<sup>1</sup>  
normal    happening    IND-give.PRS-3SG-NA

‘This is not something natural that has been happening here!

čūnkū    bəṛā-yēt            mən    hamī    gāv-ā            husā    nà  
because    brother-EZ.PL    1SG.OBL    all    time-PL.OBL    such    NEG

zīrak    bū=n!<sup>1</sup>  
thriving    COP.PST=3PL

Since my brothers were not that conscientious before,

husā    vār-ā            pāqəž    nà-ṭ-ḵər!<sup>1</sup>  
such    place-PL.OBL    clean    NEG-IPFV-do.PST

they wouldn’t clean the house like this.

husā    vērē            bəsarūbar    nà-ṭ-ḵər!<sup>1</sup>  
such    here.OBL.F    orderly    NEG-IPFV-do.PST

They wouldn’t arrange the things in the house in such a way.’

ava            čī=ya            čē    būy-Ø?<sup>1</sup>  
DEM.PROX.SG    what=COP.3SG    good    be.PST.PTCP-3SG

‘What has happened here?

àz            nə-žān-əm.<sup>1</sup>  
1SG.DIR    NEG-know.PRS-1SG

I don’t know!’

*baz ē Ø-žān-în pəšt-î am čîrok-ā xo*  
 but FUT SBJV-know.PRS-1PL after-OBL.M 1PL.DIR tale-EZ.F REFL  
*kamāl Ø-ḵà-yn.*<sup>1</sup>  
 complete SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

However, we [the listeners] are going to figure it out after we finish our tale.

(27) *ət-bēž-ît-ē,* *‘bərā,* *bərā!’*<sup>1</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL brother brother

He (the eldest brother) said, ‘Brother, brother!’

*šə xaw-ē šîyār ət-ḵà-t-ən.*<sup>1</sup>  
 from sleep-EZ.M awake IND-do.PRS-3SG-NA

He woke him up.’

*ət-bēž-t-ē,* *‘ta* *čə* *ḵəri-ya?’*  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL 2SG.OBL what do.PST.PTPC=PERF

[and] said, ‘What did you do?’

*bərā bar-ē xo t-dà-t-ē*<sup>1</sup> *aw*  
 brother front-EZ.M REFL IND-give.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL DEM.DIST.SG  
*bərā-yē wī Ø-ṭərs-ît-ən* *awalikā.*<sup>1</sup>  
 brother-EZ.M 3SG.OBL.M IND-fear.PRS-3SG-NA in.the.beginning

He (the sleeping brother) looked at him. He was scared at first.

*də-vē-t* *Ø-bēž-t-ē,* *‘bə-bor-a*  
 IND-want.PRS-3SG SBJV-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL SBJV-pass.PRS-IMP.2SG  
*mən šol nà-ḵər;*<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG.OBL work NEG-do.PST

He wanted to say, ‘Excuse me! I didn’t do my job.

*ān mən wār-ā pāqəž nà-ḵar;*<sup>|</sup>  
 or 1SG.OBL place-PL.OBL clean NEG-do.PST

I didn't clean our house;

*ān mən xwārən čē nà-ḵar.*<sup>|</sup>  
 or 1SG.OBL food good NEG-do.PST

I didn't cook food.'

(28) *bağ Ø-da-t-a wār-ā;*<sup>|</sup>  
 looking IND-give.PRS-3SG=DRCT place-PL.OBL

He (the sleeping brother) looked around

*wār-ā bəsarūbār=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 place-PL.OBL orderly=COP.3SG

[and saw that] that everything was in order.

*tə-bēž-t-ē, 'bərā, mən šol-ē xo hamī*<sup>̇</sup>  
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL brother 1SG.OBL work-EZ.M REFL all  
*yē ḵarī*<sup>|</sup>  
 EZ.M do.PTCP

He said, 'Brother, I did my job entirely

*az bə-xo nəvəst-əm.*<sup>|</sup>  
 1SG.DIR in-REFL sleep.PST-1SG

[and then] I simply slept.'

*bərā tə-bēž-t-ē, 'āhā galak bāš=a.*<sup>|</sup>  
 brother IND-say.PRS-3SG=3SG.OBL INTJ very good=COP.3SG

The [elder] brother said, 'Ah! It's very nice.

*dast-ē ta dē xoš Ø-b-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
 hand-EZ.M 2SG.OBL FUT nice SBJV-be.PRS-3PL

Thank you (lit. May your hands be nice!)!'

(29) *xārən-ā xo t-xo-n.*<sup>|</sup>  
 food-EZ.F REFL IND-eat.PRS-3PL

They ate their meal.

*jal-k-ēt xo t-guhoř-ən*<sup>|</sup> *dē Ø-nəv-ən.*<sup>|</sup>  
 garment-EZ.PL REFL IND-change.PRS-3PL FUT SBJV-sleep.PRS-3PL

They changed their clothes to [get ready for] sleep.

*dam-ē řož ať-hal-ē-t-ən,*  
 when-OBL.F day IND-PVB-come.PRS-3SG-NA

When dawn broke (lit. the sun rose)

*ťə-vē-t-ən bə-čə-n=a řāv-ū nēcīr-ā.*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-want.PRS-3SG-NA SBJV-go.PRS-3PL=DRCT hunt=and hunt-PL.OBL

they intended to go hunting.

*bar-ī řož bə-hal-ē-t-ən*  
 before-OBL.M sun SBJV-PVB-come.PRS-3SG-NA

*ăť-čə-n=a řāv-ū nēcīr-ā.*<sup>|</sup>  
 IND-go.PRS-3PL=DRCT hunt=and hunt-PL.OBL

Before the dawn broke, they would go hunting.