

Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish Folklore from Northern Iraq

A Comparative Anthology with a Sample of Glossed Texts

VOLUME 2



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25. AS PRECIOUS AS SALT

Oz Aloni and Dorota Molin

**Speaker: Samra Zaqen ('SZ') in conversation with
Batia Aloni ('BA') (both JA. Zakho)**

Recording: Oz Aloni

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

Summary

A king asked his three daughters how much they loved him. The youngest replied that she loves him as much as salt in food, which he took as an insult. He was furious and expelled the princess from the palace. She went to the royal orchard, where she found a young man lying under a fig tree. This was a lazy boy who could not be persuaded to take up any work. She taught him how to make a living. He went to the market and found work as a wood-cutter. He found gold in the cave where he stored the wood. He and the princess became very rich and built a palace. The princess—disguised as a beggar woman—invited the king to a feast. The king came, but was served food without salt, which he found disgusting. The princess invited him for another dinner, in which she served delicious food seasoned with salt. The king complimented her and she revealed herself to him. The girl and the young man got married and lived happily ever after.

(1) SZ: ʾāz| ʾāswa xa marre tēʾna| ʾo-^Hbaḥūr^H dāt teʾna maḥkyàn-nalox,¹ ha wāt šmìʾa dida ^Hkanərʾé^H?| BA: làʾ.¹

(2) SZ: ʾāswa xa ^Hbaḥūr^H, ^Hmeʾód meʾód yāfē^H wele.¹ ^Hmuxšār,¹ ṭòv,¹ yāfē^H.¹ kullu ʿalam g-žàg̃li u-mparnəsi gyànu,¹ g-ozì šoʾàle.¹ ʾawa g-ēr, ʿlaʾ, là g-bewa.¹

(3) babe yamme mjozèlu¹ mən maḥkòye¹ ʿkappàrox¹ si žgòl¹ d-gòrāt¹ dāt yàtwāt¹ did haʾ..., ma ḡ-awe bəd bèsa?!¹ mà-lox?!¹ la g-žàg̃lən g-ēr.¹ la g-žàg̃əl ^Hcašlān^H.¹ là g-žàg̃əl,¹ BA: kašlān.¹ SZ: hē,¹ ^Hcašlān^H-kašlān, hile dmìxa xa teʾna.¹

(4) ʾèha,¹ ḡakoma day bàzər¹,¹ ʾətle ṭlaha bnàsa.¹ mutwile kut-ṭlahùn¹ g-emər, ʿsàwun¹ bnàsi,¹ māni bəž g-əbèli?¹

(5) ʾay rabsa g-əmra ʿbàbi,¹ g-əbannox qčīn malkəd dùnye,¹ kma g-əbanne ʾe bohoraət dùnye,¹ ʾahət g-əbannox ʾòto.¹ ʾg-əbàtti.¹ ʾay xet g-ērri ʿbrati kma-g-əbàtti?¹ g-əmra, ʿmad mərri xàsi.¹ qčīn bohoraət ʾèni¹ u-^Hbriyut^H didi g-bànnox.¹ g-ēr, ʾay trè.¹

(6) məsele ʾay zūrta,¹ ʿbrati ʾāt kma g-əbàtti?¹ g-əmra,¹ ʿbàbi¹ g-əbànnox¹ qčīn mālxa dād g-dare ʾəl qèzra ṡaṭo ḡ-oya basəmta¹ ʾoto g-əbànnox.¹

(7) ʾowà!¹ mux mālxa g-əbatti bàs?!¹ g-ēr, ʾahət la g-naḡat ṭàli,¹ šqol čaṇṭa didax u-sè.¹ la g-yawənnax čù-məndi.¹ ʾanya trè bnasi-lu,¹ ʾahət leat² bràti,¹ wiii!¹

¹ This pronunciation is clearly distinct from the form *bažər* also attested in JA. Zakho, and in Northern Kurdish.

² From *lewat* ‘you are not’. In JA. Zakho, glides are sometimes elided intervocalically; see also ʾawae below, from ʾawaye ‘things’.

(1) SZ: 'So there was one—call it—a fig tree. The young man of the fig tree, it seems that you have heard it? BA: No.

(2) There was [once] a young man, he was very, very handsome. [He was] talented, good, handsome. Everybody else worked to support themselves, doing their work. [But] he said no, he did not want to.

(3) His parents exhausted themselves discussing [this with him]. 'Please, darling, go to work so that you can marry, so that can you settle down.' Why should he stay at home? 'What is it with you?' 'I shall not work,' he said. He does not work, the lazy [one]! He does not work. BA: Lazy. SZ: Yes, [he is] lazy (H), lazy (A), he sleeps under a fig tree.

(4) The king of that city had three daughters. He sat them down and said 'Come, my daughters, which [of you] loves me the most?'

(5) The oldest said, 'My father, I love you like the king of the world, as much as I love him. As much as I love the light of the world, so I love *you*.' [The king said: 'Indeed] you love me.' The other one—[the king] said to her, 'My daughter, how much do you love me?' She said, 'Whatever my sister has said. Like the light of my eyes and my health I love you.' He said... [That was] the second one.

(6) He brought the youngest one. 'My daughter, and you, how much do you love me?' She said, 'My father, I love you like the salt they put in cooked food, the way it makes [the food] delicious, so I love you.'

(7) 'Oh! You love me only this much?!' He said, 'You are not [good] enough for me, take your bag and go [away]. I shall not give you anything. Those two are my daughters, you are not my daughter, you!'

(8) *g-əmrə, ‘^Hbəsseder ʔaba^H, | ^Hma še-ʔata ʔamarta, ^Hmāši. | mad-g-əmrət, | ^Hani mekabèlet. ^H ha ʔaya wèla. |*

(9) *ʔe šqəlla | čaṇṭa dida èka b-aza? | ʔəl daw ^Hkerem^H dād bāba. | ʔətle ^Hkerem^H rùwwa, | g-əmrə, ‘g-ban yatwan tàma | b-ozanni xa ^Hpīnà. ^H k-xazyan hīl doqan gyāni, | ma ʔòzan ma la ʔozàn. ʔ |*

(10) *g-èza | k-xàzya, | wela čaṇṭa ʔemma, | k-xazya xa ^Hbaḥùr, ^Hsqīla, | jəndàya, | ^Hbaḥùr, ^H wele šṭiḥa xe tèʔna. | maxyale hənna, pehne, ^Hqum qum mà ʔata... ^H qāy wət dmixa ʔàxxa?! | ^Hlo matʔīm lexá bāḥúr yāfé, ^Hjəndàya, | qāy wət tiwa xe tèʔna?! |*

(11) *g-èməṛ, | ʔana | lebi ʔozən tèʔne, | g-nàpla xa go pəmmi b-axlənna. ʔ | ‘qa qlò, ʔ g-əmrəle, ‘qlò! | teʔne napla go pəmmi | b-axəlla! ʔ |*

(12) *g-emərṛa, | ‘hawa ma b-daryat bi ha[ware]? ʔ | g-əmrə, ‘b-daryàn box hawàre! | qu l-ʔàqle, qu l-ʔaqle, ʔatta! | laxwa hā ʔ | ʔaha b-šaqlan šəffət ‘arṃoṭa u-b-àsyan ʔəlləx! ʔ | zəlla nčəlla šəffət ‘arṃoṭa, trəq! | mxela l-ʔàqlase. |*

(13) *murəṃmle ʔaqle, | mürəṃmle ʔaqle, | ‘xayi ṭàlax mà-g-əbat? ʔ | g-ēr, ‘mà-g-əban? | ʔana brāt ḥakoma wan kpənta. | g-əban ʔahət zonətti ʔixàla, | ^Həvdāl^H b-žàğlət! |*

(14) *ʔozət ʔarbà qruše | ʔozət ṭlāha qruše, | zonəttuli pita u-məd-sèle, | mesətti ʔixàla. ʔ | ‘xayi ṭàlax | ʔana len žğīla, | ʔana la k-iʔən zònən | la k-iʔən žàğlən. ʔ |*

(8) She said, 'Okay father, whatever you have said, so it shall be. Whatever you say, I accept.' So this is what happened.

(9) She took her bag. Where could she go [now] if not to her father's vineyard? He had a large vineyard. She said [to herself], 'I want to stay there. I will make there a place for myself. I will wait there until I collect myself, [decide] what to do and what not to do.'

(10) She goes off with her bag and sees a young man—a handsome, good-looking young man—lying under a fig tree. She strikes him with this [thing], kicks [him]. 'Get up! What are you... Why are you sleeping here? It does not suit you, a handsome, good-looking young man, why are you sitting under the fig tree?!'

(11) He said, 'I cannot pick figs, one [fig] will fall into my mouth and I shall eat it.' 'Go away!' she tells him, 'Go away! A fig will fall into his mouth and he will eat it!' she tells him.

(12) He said to her, 'But why are you yelling at me?' She said 'I will yell at you! Get up on [your] feet! Get up on [your] feet! Now! If not, then at this very moment I will take a branch of a pomegranate tree and come with it at you!' She went and broke off a branch of a pomegranate tree and crack! She hit his legs.

(13) He got up and made a run for it. 'Oh dear woman,³ what do you want?' She said 'What do I want? I am a daughter of a king, [and I am] hungry. I want you to buy food for me, but [you must] work!'

(14) Make four piastres, make three piastres, buy with them a pitta for me, and whatever you earn, bring me food.' 'Dear woman, I do not have a job, I do not know [how] to buy, I do not know [how] to work.'

³ Lit. 'My life is for you'.

(15) *g-əmra, 'la g-bàrya!'* ¹ *ʔərəqle* ¹ *zəlle,* ¹ *zəlle l-šūqa,* ¹ *'xayi ʔalox,* ¹
ta do g-ēr, 'čanʔa didox halile, hali xa qūrūš. ¹ *xayi ʔalox ʔo hənna*
didox b-šaqlənne, ¹ *b-ozənnox xa šūla* ¹ *hali xa, xa šīlīn.* ¹

(16) *xa tre šīline ʔūzle,* ¹ *trè,* ¹ *zəlle hiwile b-xa zwaʔta=u. mad mese*
g-əba. ¹ *hiwile b-xa kad m̄aya* ¹ *u-xapča zwàʔte* ¹ *u-msèlela.* ¹ *mər̄ra* ^H*p-*
sèder, ^H *ʔadyo ʔànwa.* ¹ *bəne bəš-tov.* ¹ *ysa tu ʔəxlax.*

(17) *xəlle,* ¹ *qəm̄la g-əm̄rā* ¹ *de 'qū* ¹ *šqol hənna,* ¹ *jəʔoza, qtoʔ ʔàrpe,* ¹
u-mattu ʔaxxa ʔoz xa ^H*m̄ita,* ^H *xa ʔàli* ¹ *xa ʔàlox.* ¹ *b-damxax, ʔəka b-*
damxax? ¹ *ʔuzlu ʔàrpe* ¹ *ʔūzla...* ¹ *ʔuzlala mux qaprana mux* ^H*sukkà,* ^H
g-əm̄rale 'de ahət d̄mox t̄ama. ¹

(18) *qəm̄la m-bənoke* ¹ *g-əm̄ra 'mènəx* ¹ *šəffət 'armoʔa wele ʔəm̄mi.* ¹
ʔan qəm̄ət ¹ *ʔan haʔ ʔaha mazrəqanna kulla l̄əšox!* ¹ *traq wa tràq!* ¹ *g-*
ēr, 'la xayī ʔalax la qat̄latti b-qem̄ən, ¹ *mad g-əm̄rat b-òzən!* ¹ *mər̄ra 'si*
l-šūqa həyya! ¹ *sa'a ʔəç'a g-əban ʔixàla!* ¹

(19) *g-ēr, 'meka mesənnax ʔixàla?* ¹ *g-əm̄ra 'mèka?* ¹ *žgòl!* ¹ *mar ta*
do halli šūla ¹ *mar ta do...* ¹ *'m̄àʔo?* ¹ *'la, l̄ə g-yawili,* ¹ *g-era 'b-yawilox.* ¹

(15) She said, 'This cannot be!' He ran and went to the market. 'Dear man,' he said to that [man], 'Give me your bag [and let me carry it], then give me one piastre [in return]. Dear man, I will carry that thing of yours, I will do some work for you, [I beg you] give me one, one shilling [in return].'

(16) He made one or two shillings, two [perhaps], then he went and gave them for a loaf of bread. She likes whatever he brings her. He gave them (i.e. the money) for one jug of water and some bread, and brought it to her. She said, 'Okay, today these [will do]. Tomorrow [you can do] better. Come sit, we shall eat.'

(17) He ate, she got up and said, 'Well get up! Take that thing, the axe and cut some branches (lit. leaves). Put [them down] here, make a bed, one for me and one for you. We shall sleep, [otherwise] where are we going to sleep?' They prepared some branches⁴ and made... she made for herself a kind of booth, like a Sukkah, then tells him, 'Well, you sleep there.'

(18) She rose in the morning and said, 'Look, the branch of the pomegranate tree is [here] with me. Either you rise or I will make your whole body blue right now.' Crack! Crack! He said, 'No dear woman! Do not kill me! I will get up, whatever you say, I will do!' She said, 'Go to the market quickly! At nine o'clock, I want food!'

(19) He said, 'Where will I bring you food from?' She said, 'Where from? Work! Say to this [person] "Give me work", say to that one...' 'How? No, they will not give me [work].' She said, 'They will give you.'

⁴ Lit. leaves.

(20) *zälle go xa* ^H*hanut* ^H*‘xayi tälöx* | *’ana qëmən*, | *màrmən*, | *b-ozənnox* ^H*kèlim* ^H*b-ozənnox*, | *hama halli tre-tlähä*, | *tre-tlähä hənna*, | *fälse*, | *pàre*, | *’aseli xa zwà’ta*.’ | *g-ēr*, *’hàwwa*.’

(21) *g-ēr*, *’xarae b-asən ’atta b-žaglən heš tälöx*, | *bas ’atta halli xapča*, | *b-žaglənnox xa sa’a tre hil ’əč’a* | *u-hàlli xapča pare b-azən zonən xa zwà’ta*, | *’azən ’axlənna u-b-dà’rən*.’ | *g-erre ’töv*.’

(22) *hullele xapča pàre*. | *zälle zunne zwà’ta*, | *zunnela xapča xälwa*, | *zùnnela...* | *zunnela xa mändi xèta*. | *g-ēr*, *’šud hawe tre ’awae, sò’a*.’ | *mässele g-əmra ‘de tū*, | *b-’axlaxlu*. ^H*mähér* ^H*si ’oz ta* ^H*šohràyim*, ^H*g-əbe žəglət*.’

(23) *g-ēr*, *’hawwa*, | *duqli xa dūka*.’ | *zälle kəs daw nàša*, | *səṭle tälə*, | *’uzle tälə*. | *pəšla sa’a xà*, | *hullele xapča pàre*, | *’ərəqle* | *zwinile ’ixàla*, | *tale, tala* | ^H*zèhu*.^H

(24) *xà-yoma*, | *trè*, | *tlähä*, | *’àrba*, | *pəšle bēnī-àdam*. | BA: *pəšle* ^H*ben-ādām*.^H SZ: *qəmle*, | *žgèlle*, *u* ^H*həzəqle*.^H | *g-əmràle* | *’hatxa la g-bàrya*, | *’oz šùla*.’ | *’mà ’ozən?*’ | *g-əmra ‘xzi nàše* | *g-ezi l-šìwe*, | *sì*, | *mpol bàsru*.’

(25) *g-ēr*, *’latli jă’òza*, | *u-latli xòla*, | *u-latli parpəšte*, | *u-làtli...*’ | *g-əmra ‘ana b-zonənnox*.’ | *zùnnale* | *zälla zunna hayya hayya b-šùqa*, | *məsela qam-yasralu ’əlle*, | *qam-daryale jă’oza b-kàpe*.’

(20) He went to a shop. 'Dear man, I will stand up, carry [your cargo], I will wash dishes for you, just give me two or three of those things, pennies, money, so that I can get one loaf of bread.' He said, 'Okay.'

(21) He said, 'Later, I shall come and work more for you again, but now give me some [money]. I shall work for you for one or two hours, until nine. Give me some money, I will go and buy a loaf, eat it and return.' [The man] said to him, 'All right.'

(22) [The man] gave him some money. He went and bought a loaf of bread, he bought for her some milk, he bought for her... he bought for her another thing. He said [to himself], 'Let there be two items for her, so that she is satisfied.' He brought [those things], she said, 'Sit down, we shall eat them. Quickly! Go and make [money] to [buy] lunch, you must work.'

(23) He said, 'Very well, I have found a certain place [to work in].' He went [again] to that person, washed dishes for him, did [work] for him. It was one o'clock. He gave him some money, he ran and bought food for himself and for her. That is it.

(24) [After] a day, two, three or four, he became a decent human being. BA: He became a human being. SZ: He rose, worked and became stronger. She told him, 'Things cannot continue this way, [you must] do [some real] work.' 'What shall I do?' She said, 'Look for men going to [cut] wood and follow them.'

(25) He said, 'I do not have an axe, and I do not have a rope and I do not have a backpack, and I do not have...' She said, 'I shall buy [those things] for you.' She bought [them] for him, she went and bought [the things] very quickly in the market. She brought [the gear], strapped them onto him and put the axe in his hand.

(26) *sa'a 'arba qam-māqimāle¹ mər̄ra, 'šəffət 'armoṭa sèle,¹ qu, ḥmol l-'àqle.¹ welu siwaye b-izala l-šiwe.¹ 'ərəqle bāsru.¹ zəlla mèrralu g-əmra,¹ 'is 'o ^Hbahur^H nāblule 'əmmoxun 'awon-ile mālpuḷe,¹ heš ^Hḥādāš^H-hile.¹ g-əmri, ^Hbēsèder.^H¹*

(27) *ləple zəlle məsela xa kārta,¹ hiwale b-xa rūpiā.¹ sele xəllu štēlu.¹ xa yoma tre ṭlāha,¹ xa yoma 'aqəlle mārrele¹ 'kudyom 'asən qat'an šiwe?¹*

(28) *qemən qat'ənnā?¹ wel 'is hənnā, ^Hmā'ārā,^H 'àxxa,¹ qat'ənnā maḷənnā 'e ^Hmā'ārā,^H u-xarae b-asən nāqlənnu.¹ kudyom 'əsra naqle mēsən ku-damma,¹ b-yawili xā golda¹—gə-mraxwala gōlda¹ 'əsra-^Hšəkēl,^H xamši ^Hšəkāl.^H —'ay b-yawənnu ṭāla,¹ b-axlax p-šātax.¹*

(29) *mutwile¹ sele, mzobənnē.¹ xa, tre ga zəlle u-sèle.¹ 'aw lele dməxle.¹ qəmle dort yom zəlle,¹ nobəlle ṭanga dide, zəlle mālē.¹*

(30) *k-xāze,¹ 'ānya¹ 'isən ^Hšōdēdīm,^H k-esi b-damxi go ^Hmā'ārā.^H k-ese k-xaze hila mḷisa šiwe.¹ šxətlū šəxāta¹ kullu qam-maqzilu 'əlle.¹ BA: ^Hoy vāvōy.^H*

(31) *SZ: dād damxi tāma,¹ mṭaši gyānu,¹ ^Hšōdēdīm^H hilu.¹ 'o ^{NK}mal-mirāt^{NK5} ma uzle? 'wel 'axnan kudlel gə-mṭašax gyānan go de ^Hmā'ārā.^H¹ qam-maqzilu.¹*

⁵ *mal mirāt* is a Kurdish curse, literally 'May your house be abandoned', here translated as 'wretched creature'.

(26) She woke him up at four o'clock and said, 'The pomegranate stick has arrived, get up, stand up on [your] legs.' There were [some] woodcutters on their way to [chop] wood. He ran after them. She came and said to them, she said, 'There is this young man, take him with you, it is a sin [not to help him], teach him. He is new [to the job].' They said, 'Okay.'

(27) He learned [the skill] and went and brought a load [of wood], and sold it for one rupee. [After] one day, two or three, one day, he thought to himself, 'Should I come and cut wood every day?

(28) Should I rise and cut? There is this what-do-you-call-it here, a cave. I shall cut [the wood] and fill this cave [with it], and afterwards I shall come and take it away. Every day I shall bring [wood] ten times, each time they will give me one golda'—we used to call it golda, ten shekels, fifty shekels—I shall give those to her, we shall eat and drink.'

(29) He placed [the wood in the cave], came [to town] and sold [it]. He went back and forth once or twice. That night he went to sleep. He rose the next day and went off, he carried his gear with him, went and filled [his bag with wood].

(30) Then he sees: there were robbers, they came and slept in the cave. They came and saw it is full of wood. They lit a match and burnt all of it. BA: Oh dear.

(31) SZ: [They used it] to sleep there, to hide, [because] they were robbers. What did this wretched creature (i.e. the robber) do? [He said,] 'Every night, we hide here in this cave.' And they burnt [all the wood].

(32) *sèle dort-yom g-əbe ʾàse, k-xàze kullu welu mùqze. lez çù-məndi, ʾap awa g-zàvər; g-zavər g-zavər g-ʾàwər ʾəl-ʾoya d-^Hmă^Hāra^H xa məndi wele g-màbrəq.*

(33) *g-emər, ʾwalla ʾòh xa kepa le màbrəq. qemən maxənnə tafšīye didi, ʾəlle naçlənne darənnə ʾəl xāši. darənnə go dèl hənna... b-yasrənnə b-xāši. b-an nablənne ta de bāxta. ʾaya k-iʾa b-šoʾəle.*

(34) *qam-nabəlle g-emra, ʾà! kma pàre ʾuzlux? g-emər, ʾxayi ʾtəlx ʾədyo la ʾuzli pàre. qam-maqzilu šiwe didi. u-bāle məseli ʾo kəpa, la k-iyən mǝ-yle. xzele ʾahat k-iyat b-ʾawə. ʾahat šəṭər-wat, ʾana la k-iyən mǝ-yle.*

(35) *qam-šaqlale mənne u-qam-mxalale. ʾdèhwa-le! fəlqəd dèhwa-le! ʾiz hēš? g-emər, ʾhè. ʾsi mēsi! ʾzəlle məsèle, ʾiz xa fəlqa mpəqle dəd jāwəhar, xa fəlqa... xa ʾəsra dəd dèhwa.*

(36) *kullu mxulila, hayya hayya ʾuzlala xa sùkka qam-banyala, kətte là k-iʾe. qam-xazʾalu b-ṭərpe u-ʾawae, qam-marmàlu.*

(37) *ʾawa hil g-el⁶ g-mèse, ʾaya xa loḥa g-daryàle, xe ʾābaye dīda u-zəlla kəz-do zerəngər. g-əmra ʾmšarəfle. g-ēr, ʾana u-mali, u-bēsi-ši yawənnə, lebi zonənnə.*

(38) *g-əmra ʾtòv k-iyət mǝ? šqülle, halli xa ʾəsra ʾəlpe, si nàbəlle go bažere, mǝzàbənnə. palga ʾàlox palga ʾàli. g-er ʾ^Hbēsèder.^H ʾàwa-ši pəsle ^Hašir^H ʾāya-ši.*

⁶ An apocopated form from *g-ezəl* 'he goes'.

(32) [The boy] came the next day, wanted to come [inside the cave] and saw that all of it was burnt. Not a single twig remained. Then he goes around [the cave], walks around, goes deeper inside the cave—there is something shining.

(33) He said, ‘By God! [There is] a shining stone. I shall strike it with my hammer, take it out and put it on my back. I shall put it in this thing... I shall tie it to my back. I shall go, take it to the woman. She understands [such] matters.’

(34) He brought it (the stone) to her, she says, ‘Ah! How much money did you make?’ He said, ‘Dear woman, today I did not make money. They have burnt my logs. But I brought this rock, I do not know what it is. You take a look at it, you understand [such] matters. You are clever, I do not know what it is.’

(35) She took it and washed it. ‘It is gold! It is a gold bar! Is there any more?’ He said ‘Yes.’ ‘Go bring [it]!’ He went and brought [more], there is one bar that turned out to be of gemstone, one... and ten other of gold.

(36) She washed all of them, quickly built a booth, she built it without anyone knowing. She wrapped [the bars of gold] with leaves and [other] things and tucked them away.

(37) While he went to bring [more gold], she put one bar under her abaya and went to the goldsmith. She said, ‘Exchange it [for smaller, useable pieces].’ He said, ‘Even if I sold all my property and my house, I could not buy it.’

(38) She said, ‘Well then, you know what? Take it, give me ten thousand, then take it to [some] cities to sell. Half [of the profit will be] for you and half for me.’ He said, ‘Okay.’ He became rich, and so [did] she.

(39) 'a! šàtər hila| wày!| de de de grəšla tre yarxe t̤lahà yarxe,|
məsela raba pàre.| zəlla 'əl ^Hkablanim.^H 'g-əban 'ozətti xa qəšra go
d-e ^Hgìna,| betòx^H t̤laha yàrxē,| hàwe| ħmìla u-bəlhàya.| kma pare g-
əbet?'¹

(40) g-emər, 'raba ^Halafim^H g-əbèni,| čəkən| ^Hpo'alim^H rāba g-əbe
mesən,| bə-t̤laha yarxe ^Hkāššè^H-la. g-əbe ħamlat xà šata.'¹ g-əmra,
'lò!^H t̤lā yarxe,| ^Hkəflāyim^H pare.| g-əbət 'əmmà 'alpe| šqol tarte
'amma 'alpe.| g-əbət tarte-'əmmà 'alpe,| šqol xāmš 'amma 'alpe.'¹

(41) xzele rāba pare g-yawale,| g-ēr, 'atta b-ozənnelax t̤lā-yarxe.'¹
mšèle ^Hkablanim.^H məsele hāyya hayya hayya,| qam-banele t̤lāha
yarxe.| g-əmra, 'd darga,| did-'əlàya,| dida dəd qàšra,| mux dōha,|
drela t̤laha kèpe| mən bara-bàsre,| xà| dəd jāwàhar| go pàlga,| xa dəd
dehwa be-'al xa b-ày 'al.'¹

(42) pəšlu...| qu bnèla.| hullela qzila;| u-hullale par-'àlla.| g-əmra,
'si 'oš 'àhət| u-^Hkablānim^H dīdox.| pare 'is raba, là da'gət.'¹

(43) 'oha qəmle| mälla,| g-mòzən.| 'aḷḷàhu 'akbar,| 'aḷḷàhu 'akbar,|
'aḷḷàhu...'¹ 'an kèpe| mobrəqlu go 'ène,| xamša-'sar ga mərre 'aḷḷàhu
'akbar'.| m-geb t̤lāha ga 'amər,| mərre xamša-'sār.| 'aḷḷàhu 'akbar,|
'aḷḷàhu 'akbar,| 'aḷḷàhu...'¹ čhèle,| monəxle b-kèpe,| 'aqəlle zèlle.|

(39) Oh! She is a wise woman indeed! Two or three months went by, she acquired a lot of money. She went to [see some] building contractors. ‘I want you to build a palace for me in this garden within three months, completed and radiant. How much money do you want?’

(40) He said, ‘Many thousands, because many workmen are needed. It is hard [to finish building] within three months. You must wait one year.’ She said, ‘No! Three months, twice the money. [If] you want one hundred thousand take two hundred thousand. [If] you want three hundred thousand, take five hundred thousand.’

(41) He saw that she was going to give him a lot of money, so he said, ‘Now I shall do it for you within three months.’ He brought contractors. He brought them and he quickly built it in three months. She said, ‘That door, the entrance door, [that is] the upper palace door—[make it] like that one [of the king’s palace], set three stones at the back: one gemstone in the middle and gold on either side.’

(42) They started... She got up and built it.⁷ He gave her the key and she gave him an astronomic sum of money. She said, ‘Go and have a good time, enjoy the money, you and your contractors. There is a lot of money, do not worry.’

(43) Then this [person]—the Mullah—rose, calling people to prayer. ‘Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar, Allahu...’ The gemstones dazzled him, so he repeated ‘Allahu Akbar’ fifteen times. Instead of saying [it] three times, he called it fifteen times. ‘Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar, Allahu...’ He felt dizzy. He looked at the stones and lost his mind.

⁷ The clause *qu bnèla* could also be interpreted as a narrative imperative, lit. ‘get up (fs) and build it (fs).’

(44) *qəmle* ʔo *ḥakòma*,[|] *g-ēr*, ʔ*sruxule mälla*,[|] ʔ*atta b-ḥabsənnē*,[|]
ʔ*əsra šənnē ḥābəs*,[|] *la šuqle tōʔax*![|] ʔ*allāhu ʔəkbar*,[|] ʔ*allāhu ʔəkbar*,[|]
ʔ*allāhu ʔəkbar*,[|] *mā ʔətle?*![|]

(45) *qam-šarxile g-ēr*, ʔ*xayi təlōx*,[|] *lā ḥabsətti*.[|] ^H*āwāl*^H *si xzī*[|] *go*
karma dīdōx,[|] *ma ʔisən*,[|] *u-xarāe si ḥbūsli*.[|] ʔ*ana-wən xe ʔemor dīdōx*[|]
b-yatwən ʔāxxa.[|]

(46) *mtoštəšli xzeli t̤laha fəlqe did dehwa brəqlu go ʔēni*.[|] *wa ʔana*
žgəlli bəd ʔallāhu ʔakbar, *mərri*, ʔ*o ma-ila wele mabroqe go ʔēni?*[|] *lele*
xəška-le u-mobrəqlu go ʔēne.[|]

(47) *sele ḥakòma*,[|] *ṭʔele l-de dūka*,[|] ʔ*hay! way way way way wəy!*[|]
māni ʔuzle ʔo besa go karma dīdi?[|] ʔ*o šəkəl qašra bəš-tov m-dīdi?*[|]
^H*brəxà*^H *bəš-tov m-dīdi*, ^H*bniya*^H *bəš-tov m-dīdi!*[|]

(48) *u-ʔānya did*[|] ^H*hasrātā*^H *did bes baba šqəlla*,[|] *qam-ʔozale bəš-*
tov.[|] *g-əmra*, ʔ*g-ezəl ḥakoma*.[|] ʔ*aya lušla xa ʔābāya*,[|] *tūla*,[|] ^H*kʔilu*[|]
ʔ*aniyā*^H*-la*,[|] *tūla*[|] *gò pəmməd dārga*.[|] ʔ*o qašra d-māni-le?*[|]

(49) *g-əmra*, ʔ*lā k-iʔana*.[|] *mā g-əbetən m-do qāšra?*[|] *g-emər*, ^H*lò*,^H
g-əbən yaʔən ʔo qašra did-māni-le.[|] ^H*āwāl*^H *stərri gyana*, *la yaʔela*
baba māni-la.[|]

(50) *g-əmra*[|], ʔ*a! māre-qašra wal mərri*,[|] *hakan ḥakoma sèle*,[|]
marre ʔawa u-ʔaw d-ile ʔəmmē[|] ^H*sgan*^H *dīde*,[|] *wāzira*,[|] *welu ʔāzime*
ʔədlal kəs dāy baxta,[|] *māre-qāšra*,[|] *ʔuzlalu* ^H*ārūhāt* *ʔərev*.^H[|]

(44) The king rose saying, 'Call this Mullah, I shall arrest him immediately, ten years in prison, he has not let us sleep! "Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar!" What is wrong [with him]?!'

(45) They fetched him, he said, 'I beg you do not imprison me. But go see what is in your vineyard, and afterwards come and imprison me. I shall wait here, [I am] under your surveillance.

(46) I was astounded [when] I saw three pieces of gold shining in my eyes. I was busy with [crying out] Allahu Akbar, I said [to myself]: What is that thing dazzling my eyes?' The night was dark and they [still] dazzled him.

(47) The king went searching for the place, 'Oh! Wow, wow, wow, wow, wow! Who has built this house in my vineyard? This palace, [which is] better than mine? A better pool than mine, a better construction than mine.'

(48) The filming devices... [The princess had] filmed her father's house and made it better. She said [to herself] 'The king is coming.' She put on an abaya and sat as a poor woman, she sat at the entrance. 'This palace, whose is it?'

(49) She said, 'I do not know, what do you want with this palace?' He said 'No[thing], I [just] want to know whose palace it is.' But she had disguised herself [so that] he would not recognise her, [that] her father [would not know] who she is.

(50) [She tells him] 'Ah! The mistress of this palace indeed said that if the king comes, [I should] tell him and those who are with him—his deputy, the wazir—[that] they are invited this evening to the lady, the mistress of the palace. She has prepared dinner for them.'

(51) *mà wa'ada ʔasax?*[|] *g-əmra, 'sa'a tmànya.*[|] ^H*bəsèder.*^H
hayya-hayya ʔurra l-ḥàmmam,[|] *lušla u-drela u-lùšla.*[|] *ʔuzla ʔixàle,*[|]
tula.[|] *sele mərre ta* ^H*sgàn*^H *dide,*[|] *'qu d-ax xazax, ʔe baxta qam-*
'azmàlan,[|] *māre-qasra b-xazax mǎni-la ʔeha.*[|]

(52) *ʔuzla ʔixàla*[|] *mbošəllale ʔəsra* ^H*te'amim,*^H *məlxə la drela go çù*
xa.[|] *kullu pàxa.*[|] *k-əxli ʔàwa,*[|] *wǎzira u-ḥàkoma,*[|] *k-əxli k-əxli,*[|] *raba*
bāsime-lu,[|] *bas pàxe-lu,*[|] *nàxwaš.*[|] ^H*basof*^H *xləšle,*[|] *g-emərra...*[|] *ʔaya*
[la] xzela gyana drela burja ʔəl pàsa.[|]

(53) *g-emər, 'māre-do qàšra,*[|] *raba ʔixalax bāsima wele,*[|] ^H*avəl,*^H
la ^H*nehnènu,*^H *pàxa wele.*[|] *g-əmra, 'xa lel xet-ši wət 'azima.*[|]

(54) *selu lel trè,*[|] *ʔuzla bəd məlxə*[|] *u-*^H*yǎfè*[|] *tòv.*^H *sèlu xəllu.*[|] *'wày!*[|]
ʔədlal ʔixala didax ma bāsima![|] *ma b-*^H*tà'am*^H[|] *ma-*^H*yǎfè*^H[|] *ma*
bāsima ya-ʔàlla![|] *g-əmràle...*[|] ^H*b-rega*^H *məndyala 'əbàye.*[|]

(55) *g-əmra 'bābi*[|] *ʔāna=wan!*[|] *ʔay bràtox=wan*[|] *d-qam-mandətti go*
do qàšra,[|] *qam-mandətti go daw kàrma,*[|] *rəš ʔarpe dməxli.*[|] *ʔana*
bràtox=wan[|] *dəd mərrilox*[|] *g-əbannox qčīn məlxə.*[|] *xzi ma məlxə drelī*
go ʔixala didox,[|] *ʔixalox ma bāsima wele,*[|] *mdogəlli?*[|]

(51) 'What time should we come?' She said, 'At eight o'clock.' 'Okay.' Quickly, she had a bath, dressed up and adorned herself, put on her robes. She prepared the dishes and sat down. [The king] came [back to his palace] and said to his vizier, 'Come, let us see that woman who has invited us, the mistress of the palace, we shall see who she is, that woman.'

(52) She prepared food, she cooked [the food] for him in ten [different] flavours, [but] did not put salt in any of them. All of them [were] bland. They ate, he—the vizier and the king—kept eating. It was very good, but bland, disgusting. Eventually, [the king] finished, he said to her... [Meanwhile,] she did [not] reveal herself, she had veiled her face.

(53) He said, 'Mistress of this palace, your food was very good, but we did not enjoy, it was bland.' She said, 'You are invited tomorrow evening as well.'

(54) They came the second evening, she prepared [the food] with salt, [everything] beautiful and good. They came and ate. 'Wow! Your food is so delicious tonight! So full of flavour! So good! So delicious, Oh God!' She tells him... In one instant, she threw off her veil.

(55) She said, 'My father, it is I! I am your daughter whom you threw into this palace, [I mean] whom you threw into that vineyard where I slept on leaves. I am the daughter who told you "I love you as much as salt." You see now, when I put salt in your food, how delicious it became. Have I lied?

(56) *qam-ʿozannox bāla mālxa^l g-əmrət lē⁸ bāsima.^l ba-ʿatta xəllox bəd mālxa g-əmrət bāsima!^l ʿana mdogəlli?^ʔ g-ēr, ʿhay ʿan-farəm brāti.^ʔ qam-ḥabəqla qam-našəqla.^l ^Hʿāvāl^H ʿe dawəлта mēka^l brati?^l māt?^ʔ*

(57) *g-əmrə, ʿəha^l ^Hbəzxūt^H dō,^l ʿĀḥmad be-Xīrat,^l ʿəha-le.^ʔ BA: ʿāna qam-ʿozānne bēnī-ādam.^ʔ SZ: ʿqam-ʿozanne ^Hben-ādām.^H g-ēr, ʿmā g-əbat brati?^ʔ*

(58) *g-əmrə, ʿmā g-əban?^l g-əban kulla ʿe bažər ʿazmətta,^l mesetən malla u-Musa u-Faq-Ḥusàn,^l ʿozətte ^Hḥātūnā^H.^ʔ kullu ʿasi ʿəxli.^ʔ ^Hmi-šulḥan^H dīda^l cūkun ʿətla rāba pare.^l məsela raba ^Hṭābāxīm^H məsela raba ^Hmaʿaxalīm^H.^l*

(59) *ʿaxli la yawi ^Hmātāna.^ʔ bli mātānā^H cūkun ʿətla pāre.^l g-ēr, ʿbrāti^l ma bəš-tov-mən dēxa?^ʔ ^Hmuzmānne^H kulla ^Hölām^H sēlu,^l ʿuzlela ^Hḥātūnā^H qam-gorāle^l, tula go qāšra^l barqul bāba.^l*

(60) *kud šmīʿale xāye,^l u-kud la šmīʿale šī yārxe xāye!^l BA: yarxi xāyax,^l ^Hnōrā^H bāsəmta wela,^l ^Hbēmēt^H lá qam-šamʿanna čūga ʿè...^l ḥəqūsa,^l u-ʿay xēt-šik là šmeʿli.^l SZ: yaḷḷa xòlun.^l BA: ^Hnōrā^H bāsime-lu ḥūqöyàsa.^l*

⁸ A shortened form of *lewe* ‘it/he is not’.

(56) I prepared for you [food] without salt, you said it was not tasty. Now that you have eaten with salt you say [it is] delicious! Have I lied?' He said, 'Bravo, my daughter!' He hugged her, kissed her. 'But this wealth, where is it from, huh?'

(57) She said, 'This is all thanks to this [man], Ahmad the Lazy, that is him.' BA: 'I have made him a [decent] person.' SZ: 'I have made him a [decent] person.' He said, 'What do you want [now], my daughter?'

(58) She said, 'What do I want? I want you to invite the whole city, bring the mullah Musa and Fiqh Husain, prepare a wedding.' Everyone should come and eat from her table, because she is rich. She brought many cooks, a lot of [different types of] food.

(59) 'Everyone should eat without giving (lit. not give) a present.' Without a present, because she has money. He said 'My daughter, what [can possibly be] better than that?' He invited everyone, they came, [the king] made a wedding, she married [the young man] and lived in the palace in front of her father's residence.

(60) May whoever has heard [the story] live long,⁹ and whoever has not hear it, may he also live long! BA: May you [also] live long, I was very pleasant, I really haven't heard it before, this story. The other one I haven't heard either. SZ: Go on, eat (pl.). BA: [These] stories are very pleasant.

⁹ Here and in the following, lit. prolong his/her life. Used as a blessing and/or a word of thanks.

