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## Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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## 6

**Adverbial modifiers**

Adverbial modifiers are a category which includes modifiers of predicates, clauses, adjectives, and other adverbial modifiers. Since they are functionally defined notions, they not only include adverbs but also nouns, demonstratives, and clauses (discussed in §10.2.3), as long as they function adverbially (Sohn 1994:86). Adverbials always precede the element they are modifying. This chapter describes various adverbials that modify the action or state expressed by a verb, including those that describe time (§6.1), frequency (§6.2), manner (§6.3), degree (§6.4), and epistemic likelihood (§6.5), as well as adverbs derived from other lexical categories (§6.6). Adverbials describing place are discussed in the section on local demonstratives (§3.5).

**6.1 Temporal adverbials**

Temporal adverbials include temporal shifters, definite time specifications, and duration adverbials. Temporal shifters are words whose reference shifts when the time changes (Dixon 2010a:114). Temporal shifters referring to days, years, and other points in time are presented in tables 6.1 - 6.3 below. Besides these temporal adverbials, §13.7 describes how to tell time and date.

Table 6.1 “Day” shifters

<i>purparaxeb</i>	‘three days prior’
<i>paraxeb</i>	‘two days prior’
<i>xeb</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>nur</i>	‘today’
<i>pugan</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>fal</i>	‘two days hence’
<i>kadar</i>	‘three days hence’
<i>wadir</i>	‘four days hence’
<i>paswadir</i>	‘five days hence’
<i>jonwadir</i>	‘six days hence’

<i>wijonwadir</i>	‘seven days hence’
<i>wijonpaswadir</i>	‘eight days hence’
<i>wijonsulpaswadir</i>	‘nine days hence’

Table 6.2 “Year” shifters

<i>pursadus</i>	‘two years before last year’
<i>sadus</i>	‘year before last year’
<i>parus</i>	‘last year’
<i>səð</i>	‘this year’
<i>sulir</i>	‘next year’
<i>jonsul</i>	‘year after next year’
<i>wijonsul</i>	‘two years after next year’

Table 6.3 Other points in time shifters

<i>prud</i>	‘before; previously’
<i>dar waxt</i>	‘a while ago’
<i>tša waxt</i>	‘a while ago’
<i>ingum/inguv</i>	‘just now’
<i>çitç</i>	‘now’
<i>uzir</i>	‘now’
<i>i dam der</i>	‘a while later; in a moment’
<i>ilu der</i>	‘a while later; in a moment’
<i>ilu zabu</i>	‘a while later; in a moment’
<i>zabu</i>	‘later’
<i>dal ki wi waxt</i>	‘exactly at that time’

Definite time specifications are usually nouns which often function adverbially and whose reference does not change, always referring to the same point in time regardless of the time of utterance. Table 6.4 shows definite time specifications referring to different periods of the day.

Table 6.4 Time of day adverbials

<i>xjejn tanuv</i>	‘before dawn’
<i>jəwl</i>	‘daybreak’

<i>χer tsurax</i>	‘sunrise time’
<i>tar jəwl</i>	‘morning’
<i>maður prud</i>	‘before noon’
<i>maður</i>	‘noon’
<i>wadub</i>	‘noon’
<i>maður zabu</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>pejçin</i>	‘late afternoon’
<i>xom</i>	‘when sky starts to get dark’
<i>χer nalist</i>	‘sunset time’
<i>bijur</i>	‘evening/bedtime’
<i>xob</i>	‘night’

Some common adverbials that express a duration of time are presented in Table 6.5:

Table 6.5 Duration adverbials

<i>ilundzık</i>	‘for a short time’
<i>i dam i zamun</i>	‘instantaneously’
<i>tsem hat tçejg baymig its</i>	‘instantaneously (lit. in the blink of an eye)’
<i>maθ paqad</i>	‘all day’
<i>ramaθon</i>	‘all day’
<i>raxob</i>	‘all night’
<i>i sul paqad</i>	‘for a whole year’
<i>umr paqad</i>	‘for a lifetime’

Sequence adverbials designate the timing of a situation with respect to a context or other situations:

Table 6.6 Sequence adverbials

<i>awal</i>	‘first’
<i>uz</i>	‘again’
<i>uχir</i>	‘finally’

The default position of temporal modifiers is immediately after the subject, as in (6.1), or sentence-initial position if the subject is omitted, as in (6.2).

- (6.1) *mardon pejçin az tçed naxtizd*  
 Mardon late.afternoon ABL house go.up.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Mardon will go out (from the house) in the late afternoon.’
- (6.2) *purparaxeb = am a = wi wandz-it*  
 three.days.prior = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.PRF-CESS  
 ‘I saw her three days ago.’

## 6.2 Frequency adverbials

Frequency adverbials are used to indicate how often a situation occurs. Table 6.7 presents some commonly-used frequency words.

Table 6.7 Frequency adverbials

<i>kam tar kam</i>	‘very rarely’
<i>kam</i>	‘rarely’
<i>igun igun; igun = ir</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>itang waxt</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>go waxt</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>pur</i>	‘often’
<i>içil</i>	‘constantly; incessantly; frequently’
<i>dojim</i>	‘constantly; incessantly; frequently’
<i>har dojim</i>	‘very frequently’
<i>har waxt</i>	‘always; all the time’
<i>maθ tar maθ</i>	‘(increasingly) day by day’

As with temporal words, frequency words generally occur immediately after the subject, as in (6.3) & (6.4). If the subject is omitted, they occur sentence-initially, as in (6.5). In (6.6), the frequency word occurs after the spatial setting, which follows the subject slot. When used as a frequency word, *igun* ‘sometimes’ is either reduplicated or takes the dative marker *=ir*.

- (6.3) *maç dver har waxt tamaç = ir hat*  
 1PL.NNOM door every time 2PL.NNOM = DAT open  
 ‘Our door is always open to you(pl).’

- (6.4) *wi mobat har dojim*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST lover every constantly  
*wi=ri tilfon kaxt*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT phone do.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Her lover calls her very frequently.’
- (6.5) *igun=ir qati tɛdz=an*  
 sometimes=DAT together go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV  
 ‘We sometimes go together.’ OR ‘Let us go together sometimes.’
- (6.6) *waz çitç ar amriko niθ=am varçide*  
 1SG.NOM now LOC America sit.IPFV=1SG.IPFV Varshide  
*kam tar kam joð=am*  
 few LOC few come.IPFV=1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I live in America now, and I very rarely come to Varshide.’

### 6.3 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbials are used to describe the manner in which an action is performed. Some common manner adverbials are presented in Table 6.8 below. *džald* ‘fast’, *asto* ‘slow’, and *χuçruj* ‘beautiful’ may function as manner adverbials as well as adjectives in adnominal or copula complement position. The comitative function marker *qati* may also be used adverbially to mean ‘together’. The numeral *i* ‘one’ may be used as a hedge against full effort or commitment when trying something out initially.

Table 6.8 Manner adverbials

<i>hargiz</i>	‘ever’
<i>tag(əw)</i>	‘ever’
<i>džald</i>	‘fast’
<i>gupaθ</i>	‘very quickly’
<i>dzuup</i>	‘very quickly’
<i>asto</i>	‘slow’
<i>χuçruj</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>iwdž</i>	‘alone’
<i>qati</i>	‘together’
<i>tup</i>	‘as a group’
<i>tang</i>	‘simultaneously’

<i>dal</i>	‘exactly; just right’
<i>tçing</i>	‘fully; firmly’
<i>atuin</i>	‘purposefully’
<i>odata</i>	‘by habit (usually)’
<i>i</i>	‘once (on a trial basis)’

In general, manner adverbials occur immediately after the subject (6.7) - (6.9) or direct object (6.10), or sentence-initially when the subject is omitted, as in (6.11).

- (6.7) *merona gupaθ çu az dzuj undawd*  
 Merona very.quickly REFL.NNOM ABL place get.up.PFV  
*ç-ono = ri tilfon tçawg*  
 REFL.NNOM-mother = DAT phone do.PFV  
 ‘Merona got up from her seat very quickly and called her mother.’
- (6.8) *wod = af utç çuçruj levd = ir veðdz*  
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV very beautiful say.INF = DAT be.PRF  
 ‘They speak/sing very beautifully. (Evidential/New information)’
- (6.9) *waz i uj k = am*  
 1SG.NOM once thought do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will think about it.’
- (6.10) *ju çu tçini tçing na waðordz*  
 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM bowl firmly NEG grab.PRF  
 ‘He did not hold on to his bowl firmly. (Evidential/New information)’
- (6.11) *dal = an levdz*  
 exactly = 1PL.PFV say.PRF  
 ‘We said it exactly right. (Evidential/New information)’

## 6.4 Degree adverbials

Degree adverbials are adverbial modifiers that indicate the degree of an action or attribute. They modify verbs, adjectives, manner adverbials, or some combination of these, and always precede the element that they modify. Table 6.9 lists some frequently-used degree adverbials, with the third column specifying



what they modify. In addition to functioning as adverbial modifiers of verbs, adjectives, and adverbials, some of these words are also quantifiers (*kam*, *puur*) or adjectives (*dzulik*) which directly modify the head noun of an NP.

Table 6.9 Degree words

Degree word	Meaning	Modifies which constituents
<i>kam</i>	‘few’	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
<i>dzulik</i>	‘little’	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
<i>puur</i>	‘much’	verb, manner adverbial
<i>tag(əw)</i>	‘at all’	verb, manner adverbial
<i>xejli</i>	‘fairly’	adjective, manner adverbial
<i>uburo</i>	‘more’	adjective, manner adverbial
<i>utç</i>	‘very/too (much)’	verb, adjective, manner adverbial
<i>adzab</i>	‘very’	adjective, manner adverbial
<i>gando</i>	‘very’	adjective, manner adverbial
<i>tazo</i>	‘very’	adjective, manner adverbial
<i>eng</i>	‘most’	adjective, manner adverbial
<i>pət</i>	‘completely’	verb
<i>rəwruuz</i>	‘completely’	verb
<i>iwaθ</i>	‘completely; for good’	verb

The sentences in (6.12) - (6.29) below illustrate the use of each of these degree adverbials.

*tag(əw)* has three different usages: 1) as a degree adverb indicating no degree ‘at all’ (as shown in (6.14) & (6.15) below); as an epistemic adverb which means ‘ever’ (§6.5); or 3) as an epistemic adverb used for intensifying questions (§6.5). In the first two usages, *tag(əw)* is only used in negative sentences, occurring either with the negative particle *na*, negative predicate *nist*, or prohibitive particle *mo*. The third usage is reserved for content questions and for alternative questions with a negative tag.

(6.12) *puur = an na tçuxt, kam = an tçuxt*  
 much = 1PL.PFV NEG watch.PFV few = 1PL.PFV watch.PFV  
 ‘We did not wait long, just for a short time.’

(6.13) *dzul-ik waxti naxtedz = it*  
 little-DIM early go.up.IPFV = 2PL.PFV  
 ‘Go out a little bit early.’

- (6.14) *ta gap = am tagəw na famd*  
 2SG.NNOM word = 1SG.PFV at.all NEG understand.PFV  
 ‘I did not understand what you said at all.’
- (6.15) *wi ləq tɛos, tagəw zejb na*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST clothing watch.IPFV at.all match NEG  
  
*ðudz*  
 give.PRF  
 ‘Look at her clothes, they do not match at all. (Evidential/New information)’
- (6.16) *mu mom mudzuz xejli tɛardz sut*  
 1SG.NNOM grandmother feeling fairly good become.PFV  
 ‘My grandmother has gotten fairly well.’
- (6.17) *təw = at uburo xuçruj seðdz*  
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV more beautiful become.PRF  
 ‘You have become more beautiful. (Evidential/New information)’
- (6.18) *mu tçi tɛr-nendz wez utç garun*  
 1SG.NNOM LOC high-ADJ burden very heavy  
 ‘The burden above me (on my back) is very heavy.’
- (6.19) *di rang ktub-ef waz utç*  
 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB book-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM very  
  
*xuj = am*  
 read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I read a lot of these kinds of books.’
- (6.20) *a = digaru-ef = am adzab tɛardz gəwl tçəwg*  
 ACC = other-PL.NNOM = 1SG.PFV very good trick do.PFV  
 ‘I tricked the other people very well.’
- (6.21) *jad qirut gando tɛng*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX Qirut very hard  
 ‘This Qirut (dried yogurt) is very hard.’
- (6.22) *nurbia gando tejb zuzd*  
 Nurbia very speedy run.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Nurbia runs very speedily.’

- (6.23) *a = di*                                    *içim tu = ri*                                    *tazo arzun*  
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX   pants   2SG.NNOM = DAT   very   cheap  
*lev = am = o*  
 say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV = Q  
 ‘Shall I give you a very cheap price for these pants?’
- (6.24) *kazwi k = a = wi*                                    *maθ eng uluθ*  
 so            ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST   day   SUPL   great  
*wazon = an,                                    eng ləwr wazon = an,                                    eng*  
 know.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV   SUPL   big   know.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV   SUPL  
*χuθ-i                                    qati a = wi*  
 happy-NMLZ   COM   ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST  
*narzamb = an*  
 celebrate.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  
 ‘So we regard that day as the greatest, regard it as the most important, and celebrate it with the most happiness.’
- (6.25) *woð = af*                                    *a = tikist pət juð*  
 3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV   ACC = text   completely   memory  
*zuxt*  
 get.PFV  
 ‘They memorized the text completely.’
- (6.26) *ki = wi*                                    *bijur-i*                                    *χu*  
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST   evening-NMLZ   REFL.NNOM  
*tçed-nendz-χejl                                    pət wixt                                    so = in*  
 house-ADJ-PL.NOM   all   gather.INF   become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV  
*i   tçi   dzuj niθ = in*  
 one   LOC   place   sit.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV  
 ‘That evening, their families all gather together and hang out in one place.’

- (6.27) *purs ziv rəwruʒ levd tçi*  
 Persian tongue completely say.INF CAP

*ka = in = o*  
 do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q

‘Can they speak Persian completely?’

- (6.28) *ju tçed bərd iwaθ tçəwl*  
 3SG.NOM.DIST house turn.PFV completely worthless

*sut*  
 become.PFV

‘That house fell over and got completely destroyed.’

- (6.29) *tamaç di tuv iwaθ*  
 2PL.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX time completely

*tədz = it = o, nej, uz joð = it*  
 go.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q NEG again come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘Are you(pl) leaving for good this time, or will you(pl) come back again?’

## 6.5 Epistemic adverbials

Epistemic adverbials indicate the speaker’s commitment to or certainty about a situation. Some common epistemic adverbials are presented in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10 Epistemic adverbials

<i>i vid</i>	‘maybe’
<i>magam</i>	‘probably’
<i>albatta</i>	‘of course’
<i>tag(əw)</i>	‘ever’
<i>hargiz</i>	‘ever’

*i vid*, *magam*, and *albatta* are epistemic likelihood adverbials, which express the speaker’s belief or assessment about the likelihood of a situation occurring:

(6.30) *χιιςnamo i vid puigan jet na tçi*  
 Heeshnamo one be.INF tomorrow come.INF NEG CAP

*kaxt*  
 do.3SG.IPFV

‘Heeshnamo might not be able to come tomorrow.’

(6.31) *wi radzen magam kasal seðdž*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST daughter probably sick become.PRF  
 ‘Her daughter probably got sick. (Evidential/New information)’

(6.32) *albatta mu puuts utuip tçəwg*  
 of.course 1SG.NNOM son win do.PFV  
 ‘Of course my son won.’

*tag(əw)* and *hargiz* occur with the prohibitive particle *mo* and are used for intensifying the prohibition.

(6.33) *a=di ktçawi tagəw mo bunos*  
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX ring ever PROH lose.IPFV  
 ‘Don’t ever lose this ring.’

(6.34) *hargiz bos mo ka*  
 ever give.up PROH do.IPFV  
 ‘Never give up.’

*tag(əw)* has the additional function of intensifying a question and expressing the speaker’s confusion, impatience, eagerness to know, or difficulty understanding a situation. It may be used in a content question, as in (6.35) - (6.40), or in an alternative question with a negative tag, as in (6.41) - (6.43). *tag(əw)* also functions as a degree adverb (§6.4).

(6.35) *təw tagəw tçum indiz*  
 2SG.NOM ever when get.up.IPFV  
 ‘When on earth are you going to get up?’

(6.36) *waz tagəw tsund sul a=ta*  
 1SG.NOM ever how.much year ACC=2SG.NNOM

*tços=am*  
 watch.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘However many years am I to wait for you?’

- (6.37) *ki=di rang xudʒ mas na ɖord*  
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB fear also NEG fear.3SG.IPFV  
*putxu a=zit gap tɕejg=itɕuz jad ɣalg*  
 king ACC=bad word do.INF=REL 3SG.NOM.PROX person  
*tag tɕoj*  
 ever who.NOM  
 ‘Who on earth is this, who fearlessly speaks ill of the king?’
- (6.38) *tamaɕ=af naxtuug a=tsejz=af tagəw*  
 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV go.up.PFV ACC=what=2PL.PFV ever  
*wand mejdz vud*  
 see.INF INTEN be.PFV  
 ‘You(pl) went out; what on earth were you planning to see?’
- (6.39) *ato ʋaɖo, puɡan-endz intawum utɕ qilo=ik*  
 INTJ boy tomorrow-ADJ exam very difficult=DUR  
*lev=in, təw tag tsəʋa ka*  
 say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 2SG.NOM ever how do.IPFV  
 ‘O my, boy, they say tomorrow’s exam is going to be very difficult;  
 how on earth are you going to manage?’
- (6.40) *mu-an ato ano vud, yin vud, wist*  
 1SG.NNOM-GEN father mother be.PFV wife be.PFV twenty  
*sul sut a=wɛf na wand=ir,*  
 year become.PFV ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST NEG see.INF=DAT  
*wɛf=ir tag tsejz sut, tsejz naj*  
 3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT ever what become.PFV what NEG  
 ‘I had a father and a mother, I had a wife; it has been twenty  
 years since I saw them; what on earth has happened to them,  
 and what has not?’
- (6.41) *tamaɕ tagəw katɕ ka=it=o, nej*  
 2PL.NOM ever move do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=Q NEG  
 ‘Are you(pl) going to move or not?’
- (6.42) *sobir tagəw pa ɣuzmat tizd=o, nej*  
 Sobir ever LOC work go.3SG.IPFV=Q NEG  
 ‘Is Sobir going to work or not?’

- (6.43) *wəð*                      *tagəw* *a=batçə*    *kalt* *ka=in=o*,  
 3PL.NOM.DIST ever ACC=child save do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = Q  
  
*nej*  
 NEG  
 ‘Are they going to save the child or not?’

## 6.6 Derived adverbs

Adverbial modifiers are often derived from adjectives and nouns with the adverbializer *-i*. In the following examples, *-i* is added to an adjective (6.44) & (6.45) or a noun (6.46) to form an adverb.

- (6.44) *təw=at*                      *tom* *wəf=ir*                      *tçardz-i*  
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV then 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT good-ADV  
  
*tçəwydz*  
 do.PRF  
 ‘You treated them well, then. (Evidential/New information)’

- (6.45) *bəadab-i*                      *mo*    *ka*  
 impolite-ADV PROH do.IPFV  
 ‘Do not be impolite.’

- (6.46) *ulfat* *asl-i*                      *na* *tçimbd*                      *hammo*  
 Eelfat origin-ADV NEG be.willing.PFV but  
  
*waz=am*                      *a=wi*                      *ruzi*    *tçəwg*  
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST agreeing do.PFV  
 ‘Eelfat originally did not want to, but I convinced him.’

Adverbials may also be derived from cardinal numerals. When cardinal numerals take the adverbializer *-i*, they become distributive numerals which are used adverbially. Distributive numerals may be reduplicated, as in (6.48). Example (6.53) is taken from a song, so the word order is not standard for conversation or narrative discourse.

- (6.47) *χu batço-ef az iw-i par mu*  
 REFL.NNOM child.PL.NNOM ABL one-ADV LAT 1SG.NNOM  
*buz*  
 send.IPFV  
 ‘Send your children to me one by one.’
- (6.48) *kalo-χejl=af δəw-i δəw-i ar kal*  
 sheep-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV two-ADV two-ADV LOC stable  
*dejd*  
 enter.PFV  
 ‘The sheep entered the stable in pairs.’
- (6.49) *ju hara maθ i az kal δəw-i məwl*  
 3SG.NOM.DIST every day one ABL stable two-ADV sheep  
*χird*  
 eat.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘He eats two sheep from a stable every day.’
- (6.50) *əwrat-χejl laka tar pindzu-i niθ=in*  
 woman-PL.NOM let.IPFV LOC fifty-ADV sit.IPFV=3PL.IPFV  
 ‘Let the women sit in groups of fifty.’
- (6.51) *i pa sunuf tsavur-i tudzik batço jost*  
 one LOC class four-ADV Tajik child be.IPFV  
 ‘There are four Tajik students in each class.’
- (6.52) *i pa tung woxt-i nəw-i tala xats wid*  
 one LOC barrel eight-ADV nine-ADV bucket water fit.INF  
*setir veðdz*  
 become.INF=REL be.PRF  
 ‘In each barrel eight or nine buckets of water could fit. (Evidential/New information)’
- (6.53) *χu pa kov=ik ðid az pindz-i*  
 REFL.NNOM LOC mouth=DUR give.3SG.IPFV ABL five-ADV  
*zəwəwd=ir=ik kaxt dzat-i*  
 chew.INF=DAT=DUR do.3SG.IPFV hurry-NMLZ  
 ‘She puts five into her mouth at a time, and is in a hurry to munch on it.’



- (6.54) *dođ*                    *niθ = in*                    *ato*    *az*    *zabu*  
 3PL.NOM.PROX    sit.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV    father    ABL    back
- def-an*                    *wist-i*                    *si-i*                    *kalo*    *i*  
 3PL.NNOM.PROX-GEN    twenty-ADV    thirty-ADV    sheep    one
- haroj its*    *ṭat*    *jost*  
 three    TERM    cow    be.IPFV
- ‘They live behind their father, and have twenty or thirty sheep  
 each and one to three cows.’

