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Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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Citation

Kim, D. (2017, September 20). *Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948>

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Title: Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

Date: 2017-09-20

Appendix A

Texts

A.1 ‘A Tajik woman’s work’ (cultural account)

tudzik əwrat = an wi tçer

A description of the tasks that Sarikoli women commonly do around the family home.

1

maç tudzik əwrat-an tçer pur
 1PL.NOM Tajik woman-GEN work much
 ‘We Tajik women have a lot of work.’

2

maslan maç zəw ðəwdz = an
 for.example 1PL.NOM cow milk.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘For example, we milk the cow.’

3

saxε nej = an
 churning.bucket churn.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We churn the churning bucket.’

4

surmuð wejð = an
 soured.milk put.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We put in the soured milk.’

5

xipik pedz = an
 flatbread cook.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We bake flatbread.’

6

rak intsov = an
 side sew.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We embroider the sides (of traditional hats).’

7

balax instov = an
pillow sew.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We sew pillows.'

8

xavung kan = an
blanket do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We make blankets.'

9

kerpa kan = an
mat do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We make mats.'

10

tçed zdor = an
house sweep.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We sweep the house.'

11

tamoq kan = an
food do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We make food.'

12

qatçoqutçui znej = an
dishes wash.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We wash the dishes.'

13

xats vor = an
water bring.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We fetch water.'

14

tom m = dos dzejn kan = an
then CATA = manner matted.carpet do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'Then we make, like, matted carpets.'

15

levdz = endz rang lej tçer jost
say.PRF = REL SEMB much work be.IPFV
'As I said, there is a lot of work.'

A.2 'Naming Tajik children – One man's experience' (cultural account)

batço = ri num ðod

A description of naming Sarikoli children based on one man's knowledge and experience.

1

tudžik-an batço tsa səwd χu batço=ri num
Tajik-GEN child COND become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM child=DAT name

δid

give.3SG.IPFV

‘When Tajiks get a child, they name their child.’

2

m=dos num wi=ri δid iko χu
CATA=manner name 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT give.3SG.IPFV COMP REFL.NNOM

əwlud-an

num

wi=ri

δid

ancestor-GEN name 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT give.3SG.IPFV

‘They name their child like this: they give the name of their ancestors.’

3

agar waz χu puṭs tej ka=am
if 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM son wedding do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

wi-an

batço tsa

səwd

waz

hajut tsa

3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN child COND become.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NOM life COND

vəw=am

χ-oto-an

at

χ-ono

num

be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM-father-GEN CONJ REFL.NNOM-mother name

wi=ri

δo=am

3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘If I marry off my son and he gets a child, if I am alive, I will give the child my father and my mother’s name.’

4

ju tudžik-an wi qujdo
3SG.NOM.DIST Tajik-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST tradition

‘That is the Tajik tradition.’

5

agar puṭs ta-an səwd wi ato
if son 2SG.NNOM-GEN become.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST father

χu

puṭs tej

na

təwəydz mɛrd

tsa

zabudz

REFL.NNOM son wedding NEG do.PRF die.3SG.IPFV COND back

ki=puṭs-an

puṭs tsa

səwd

uz

ki=χ-oto

ANA=son-GEN son COND become.3SG.IPFV again ANA=REFL.NNOM-father

num

δid

wi=ri

name give.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT

‘If you get a son and his father dies without marrying off his son, when that son later gets a son, he will give his father’s name to his son.’

6

mu-an haroj batço
 1SG.NNOM-GEN three child
 'I have three children.'

7

awal = aθ puits sut
 first = EMP son become.PFV
 'First, I got a son.'

8

m-oto num δudz = endz
 1SG.NNOM-father name give.PRF = REL
 'My father's name had been given already.'

9

puits mu-an sut χu puits = ir = am
 son 1SG.NNOM-GEN become.PFV REFL.NNOM son = DAT = 1SG.PFV
 'I got a son, and I (gave) my son...'

10

mu puits dzuuma maθ sut
 1SG.NNOM son Friday day become.PFV
 'My son was born on Friday.'

11

dzuuma tudzik milat utç uluᵛ maθ wazond
 Friday Tajik nationality very great day know.3SG.IPFV
 'Tajiks regard Friday as a very special day.'

12

wi num = am δud dzamolidin
 3SG.NNOM.DIST name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV Jamolidin
 'I gave him the name "Jamolidin" (beauty + the + religion).'

13

tom wi az zabudz mu-an i radzen sut
 then 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back 1SG.NNOM-GEN one daughter become.PFV
 'Then after that, I got a daughter.'

14

ju radzen = ir = am az ktub num δud
 3SG.NOM.DIST daughter = DAT = 1SG.PFV ABL book name give.PFV
 'I gave that daughter a name from the book.'

15

m = dos tçuxt = am tçardz num tçidum vid
 CATA = manner watch.PFV = 1SG.PFV good name which be.3SG.IPFV
 'Like, I looked to see which name is good.'

16

farzana levd num = am δud
 Farzana say.INF name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV
 'I gave her the name "Farzana".'

- 17
wi pa zabadz mu-an uz i radzen sut
 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC back 1SG.NNOM-GEN again one daughter become.PFV
 ‘After that, I got another daughter.’
- 18
m-ono mawg
 1SG.NNOM-mother die.PFV
 ‘My mother died.’
- 19
wi num = am ðud mastura
 3SG.NNOM.DIST name = 1SG.PFV give.PFV Masteera
 ‘We gave her her name, “Masteera”.’
- 20
mastura levdz = endz m-ono
 Masteera say.PRF = REL 1SG.NNOM-mother
 ‘“Masteera” means my mother.’
- 21
farzana mastura
 Farzana Masteera
 ‘Farzana, Masteera.’

A.3 ‘Sheawgeenbahor (Coming of Spring) Festival’ (cultural account)

ġawgunbahor ejd

Some cultural information about the celebration of the major traditional festival for the Sarikoli people.

- 1
tom bur tamaç = ir nawruuz jani sarikuj
 then then 2PL.NNOM = DAT Neawreez also.known.as Sarikoli

ġawgunbahor avon lev = am
 Sheawgeenbahor BEN say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘Then I will tell you about Neawreez, also known as Sarikoli Sheawgeenbahor.’
- 2
jad ġawgunbahor jani nawruuz putum orion
 3SG.NOM.PROX Sheawgeenbahor also.known.as Neawreez all Aryan

milat ar darun nawruuz a = di lev = an
 nationality LOC inside Neawreez ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘This Sheawgeenbahor, also known as Neawreez, is called “Neawreez” by all Aryan people groups.’

3

sarikuj ar darun a=di *çəwgunbahor*
Sarikoli LOC inside ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX Sheawgeenbahor

lev=an

say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘Among the Sarikoli people, we call it Sheawgeenbahor,’

4

jani wug maç=ir *dwost=itçuz*
also.known.as spring 1PL.NNOM = DAT bring.in.INF = REL

‘or one that brings in Spring to us,’

5

bahor vejg=itçuz *levdž=endž*
spring bring.INF = REL say.PRF = REL

‘or bringer of Spring,’

6

kazwi çəwgunbahor *levdž=endž* *ejd jad*
so Sheawgeenbahor say.PRF = REL festival 3SG.NOM.PROX

‘that is why this is a festival called Sheawgeenbahor.’

7

jad orion ar darun nəwrüz num qati tar dinju num
3SG.NOM.PROX Aryan LOC inside Neawreez name COM LOC world name

ðo=in

joð=in

give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘Among Aryans, it comes with the name “Neawreez”.’

8

ləkin tar dinju a=di *tsaxa narzambd=i* *na*
but LOC world ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX how celebrate.INF=SC NEG

wazon=am

know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘But I do not know how people in other parts of the world celebrate it,’

9

sarikuj narzambd=itçuz *urfodat avon tamaç=ir* *tsa*
Sarikoli celebrate.INF=REL culture BEN 2PL.NNOM=DAT COND

lev=am

say.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘if I tell you about the culture of how the Sarikoli people celebrate it,’

10

çəwgunbahor ejd-ef *ar darun uzuð* *uzuðo*
Sheawgeenbahor festival-PL.NNOM LOC inside relaxing relaxing

jad

3SG.NOM.PROX

‘Sheawgeenbahor is the most relaxing and enjoyable among the festivals.’

11

di ar darun utç parejdz utç jad ju
 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside very strict very 3SG.NOM.PROX 3SG.NOM.DIST

nist

NEG.be.IPFV

‘Within it, it is not too strict, not too whatnot.’

12

tsejzir tsa lev jad tabiat-an wi bejrom
 why COND say.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX nature-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST holiday

‘If you ask why, it is because this is a festival of nature.’

13

jad insonjat-an wi bejrom lev=an
 3SG.NOM.PROX humankind-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST holiday say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

wazon=an

know.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We call it and regard it as a festival of humankind.’

14

jad faqat=aθ dzun dzunwar=ir hajut-i baχç tçejg=itçuz
 3SG.NOM.PROX only=EMP life organism=DAT life-NMLZ give do.INF=REL

i bejrom

one holiday

‘This is just a festival that gives life to organisms.’

15

maslan xob at maθ=ik tang sut
 for.example night CONJ day=DUR simultaneous become.PFV

‘For example, night and day have become equal.’

16

jani wug-an awal-in
 also.known.as spring-GEN first-ADJ

‘or it is the first of Spring.’

17

jad iron kalendor ar darun ki=wi maθ nudz
 3SG.NOM.PROX Iran calendar LOC inside ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST day new

sul nudz most nudz maθ lev=an

year new moon new day say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘On the Iranian calendar, we say this is the new year, the new month, and the new day.’

18

maç ki=wi maθ hattoki futa mas tsa
 1PL.NOM ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST day even prayer also COND

kan=an

do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘Even when we pray on that day,’

19

muburak-i mohinaw solinaw ruzinaw lev=an
 blessing-NMLZ new.month new.year new.day say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘we say, “Blessed new year, new month, and new day”.’

20

kazwi ki=maθ ham sul-an wi kol ham most-an
 so ANA=day CONJ year-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST head CONJ moon-GEN

wi kol ham maθ-an wi kol
 3SG.NNOM.DIST head CONJ day-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST head

‘Therefore that day is the first of the year, the first of the month, and the first of the day.’

21

kazwi k=a=wi maθ eng uluw wazon=an
 so ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST day SUPL great know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘So we regard that day as the greatest,’

22

eng ləwr wazon=an
 SUPL big know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘regard it as the most important,’

23

eng χuɕ-i qati a=wi narzamb=an
 SUPL happy-NMLZ COM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST celebrate.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘and celebrate it with the most happiness.’

24

di ar darun tar dinju har suxt
 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside LOC world every appearance

a=wi narzambd mumkin
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST celebrate.INF maybe

‘Perhaps in the world there are many different ways to celebrate it,’

25

hammo sarikuj narzambd=itçuz odat jad uz χu
 but Sarikoli celebrate.INF=REL custom 3SG.NOM.PROX again REFL.NNOM

tçi tan
 LOC body

‘but the Sarikoli customs for celebrating it are their own.’

26

di *madanjat-an di* *toreχ digaru=ri tçixt*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX culture-GEN 3SG.NNOM.PROX history others =DAT look.INF

wayxt utç qadim-i
 time very ancient-NMLZ

‘Compared to others, the history of the Sarikoli culture is very old.’

27

tsejzir tsa lev maç nəwruuz maθ har tçidum dijur ar
 why COND say.IPFV 1PL.NOM Neawreez day every which region LOC

daruun uulus-χejl joδ=in
 inside clan-PL.NOM come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘If you ask why, it is because in every region the clan members come on Neawreez day.’

28

ki=wi uulus-ef paz kol wef=ir
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST clan-PL.NNOM PER head 3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT

kumutç ka=in
 thick.bread do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They make thick bread for each of those clan members.’

29

ingum=af kumutç tsa wand, ki=wi rang
 just.now = 2PL.PFV thick.bread COND see.PFV ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB
 ‘You know how you saw thick bread just now? Just like those.’

30

ju uulus kumutç isub səwd
 3SG.NOM.DIST clan thick.bread count become.3SG.IPFV

‘Those count as thick bread for clan members’

31

tar jəwl k=pa di tçed deδdz=endz har tçidum
 LOC dawn ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house enter.PRF = REL every which

χalg-an wi tçi səvd putuk
 person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC shoulder celebratory.flour

δo=in
 give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘In the morning, they sprinkle celebratory flour on the shoulder of every person who enter that house.’

32

ləkin k=ju har tçidum deδdz=endz χalg χu
 but ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST every which enter.PRF = REL person REFL.NNOM

tçi ðust tçuquum i savdzo qati dεðd
 LOC hand must one plant COM enter.3SG.IPFV

‘But every person who enters that house must come with a plant in his hand.’

33

uzir bax der a=di na wazon=in na mas
 now much CPRV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX NEG know.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG also

ka=in
 do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘Nowadays most people do not know this and even do not do it.’

34

hammo k=ju χalg pa di tçed
 but ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST person LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house

dεðd tsa wi tçi ðust i savdzo joðd
 enter.3SG.IPFV COND 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand one plant come.3SG.IPFV

‘But when that person enters that house, he comes with a plant in his hand.’

35

k=a=wi savdzo vird k=pa di
 ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST plant bring.3SG.IPFV ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX

tçed lakaxt dεðd
 house let.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV

‘He brings that plant, leaves it at the house, and enters.’

36

dεðd mas tsa muburak-i çəwgunbahor levd
 enter.3SG.IPFV also COND blessing-NMLZ Sheawgeenbahor say.3SG.IPFV

dεðd
 enter.3SG.IPFV

‘Even when he enters, he says, “Blessed Sheawgeenbahor” and enters.’

37

ju k=pa di tçed savdzo vird
 3SG.NOM.DIST ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house plant bring.3SG.IPFV

‘He brings a plant to that house.’

38

savdzo-an wi mani tsejz
 plant-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST meaning what

‘What is the meaning of the plant?’

39

levd wəxt həjutgi
 say.INF time life

‘If I say it, it is life.’

40

zundagi
life
'Being alive.'

41

i hajutgi sarmalu sut k=pa di tɕɛd dejt
one life begin become.PFV ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX house enter.PFV
'One life has begun, and has entered this house.'

42

muburak
blessing
'Congratulations.'

43

zimistun adu sut
winter finish become.PFV
'Winter has ended.'

44

tang-i adu sut
difficult-NMLZ finish become.PFV
'Hardship has ended.'

45

çitç di tar əwd furoχ-i joðd levdz=endz
now 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here enjoy-NMLZ come.3SG.IPFV say.PRF=REL

i iltidzu qati savdzo χu tçi ðust zozd k=pa
one prayer COM plant REFL.NNOM LOC hand take.3SG.IPFV ANA=LOC

di tɕɛd deðd
3SG.NNOM.PROX house enter.3SG.IPFV

'With the prayer that "from now on enjoyment will come", they bring a plant in their hand and enter that house.'

46

çitç ki=di nəwrruz-an sarikuj ar darun awal=aθ
now ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX Neawreez-GEN Sarikoli LOC inside first=EMP

di tajur tsarang ka=an tsa
3SG.NNOM.PROX preparation how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COND

lev=an
say.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

'Now if we tell how Sarikoli people first prepare for Neawreez,'

47

tçuququm awal maç χu tɕɛd χu rid
must first 1PL.NOM REFL.NNOM house REFL.NNOM backyard

sandawand-ef awal-in maθ pukzo ka=an
 surroundings-PL.NNOM first-ADJ day clean do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We must first clean around the house and the backyard on the first day of Sheawgeenbahor.’

48

di=ri maχsus ki=di tçer uz i
 3SG.NNOM.PROX = DAT specially.for ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX work again one

uhus ar darun joki i qolumquçni ar darun i çawguni
 clan LOC inside or one neighborhood LOC inside one Sheawgeeni

levdž = endž χalg tizd
 say.PRF = REL person go.3SG.IPFV

‘One person from the clan or from the neighborhood, called “Sheawgeeni”, goes especially for this purpose.’

49

juu ki=wi χalg-ef pa tçed džam
 3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST person-PL.NNOM LOC house all

m=k=dund-i igun-i baçmoq vdir patəwd
 CATA = ANA = AMT-NMLZ one.by.one-ADV CL broom throw.3SG.IPFV

‘He throws one broom of this size to each of those people’s homes.’

50

tom k=a=wi vdir tar jəwl=aθ iw tçi rezn
 then ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST broom LOC dawn = EMP one LOC skylight

dwoð=in iw tçi dver dwoð=in
 bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV one LOC door bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘Then in the morning, they bring that broom in through the skylight, and then through the door.’

51

k=dos lev=in tçi rezn tsejz
 ANA = manner say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV LOC skylight what

‘They say what through the skylight?’

52

qut at barakat
 luck CONJ blessing

‘Luck and blessing.’

53

tçi dver baçt at dəwlat deðd lev=an
 LOC door happiness CONJ estate enter.3SG.IPFV say.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘Through the door, we say happiness and estate enter.’

54

a=di vdir dwoð=in
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX broom bring.in.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They bring in this broom,’

55

tom k=a=wi tʃɛd pet tʃader ɔ̄o=in
 then ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST house all cleaning give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

pukzo ka=in
 clean do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘then they clean the house completely.’

56

a=wi ki=wi-an wi budzejn
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST garbage

mas ar ʃer nalist sar patəw=in
 also LOC sun sit.INF side throw.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They throw away the garbage from that towards the west.’

57

hargiz ʃer ar pets uz a=wi na patəw=in
 ever sun LOC face again ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST NEG throw.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They never throw it towards the sun.’

58

ar ʃer tsax sar patəwd na səwd
 LOC sun rise side throw.INF NEG become.3SG.IPFV

‘One cannot throw it towards the east.’

59

di ejd puganalagi mas dʒam imi=ri muburak
 3SG.NNOM.PROX festival next.day also all RECP=DAT blessing

ʃəwgunbahor joki muburak-i nəwruz olam lew=in
 Sheawgeenbahor or blessing-NMLZ Neawreez all.people say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘The day after the festival, they also say to each other, “Blessed Sheawgeenbahor” or “Blessed Neawreez to all”.’

60

jad maʃ sarikuj-an ʃalg wazond its
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NNOM Sarikoli-GEN person know.3SG.IPFV TERM

jad faqaθ sarikuj-an joki orion-an naj putun dʒun
 3SG.NOM.PROX only Sarikoli-GEN or Aryan-GEN NEG all life

dʒunwar-an wi ʃuʃ-i tʃejg=itʃuz fasil
 creature-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST happy-NMLZ do.INF=REL season

‘As far as we Sarikoli people know, this is not only for Sarikoli or Aryan people, but is a season which creates happiness for all creatures.’

61

putun dʒawun tar ubud=i jet=itʃuz fasil
 all world LOC flourishing-NMLZ come.INF=REL season

‘a season in which all the world flourishes.’

62

kawzi di=ri veðdz=endz maç-an aqida utç
 so 3SG.NNOM.PROX=DAT be.PRF=REL 1PL.NNOM-GEN earnestness very

kuuç-in
 strength-ADJ

‘That is why our earnestness for this festival is very strong.’

63

iw jad arkin utç
 one 3SG.NOM.PROX free very

‘First, it is very free.’

64

ar di tsarang χuç-i tsa ka tsarang
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX how happy-NMLZ COND do.IPFV how

narzamb tsa set=itçuz ejd
 celebrate.IPFV COND become.INF=REL festival

‘This is a festival that one can celebrate in any way that makes one happy.’

65

lekin maç-an az digaru bax-i tçuquum ki=wi
 but 1PL.NNOM-GEN ABL others much-NMLZ must ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST

bijur=aθ=ik χu tçed tçader ðud
 evening=EMP=DUR REFL.NNOM house cleaning give.PFV

‘But compared to others, we have something additional, in that, after cleaning one’s house that evening,’

66

tçed pa darun putun putuuk ðo=in
 house LOC inside all celebratory.flour give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘they sprinkle celebratory flour all over the house.’

67

uzir çitç maç tçed-ef putuuk ðudç na
 now now 1PL.NNOM house-PL.NNOM celebratory.flour give.PRF NEG

səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV

‘Nowadays we cannot sprinkle celebratory flour in our house.’

68

tsejzir levd waxyt mi=di rang spejd
 why say.INF time CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB white

a=di tçəwydz=endz
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX do.PRF=REL

‘If you ask why, it is because the houses are made white, like this.’

69

asl-i di ki = tçed-ef-an putuun
 origin-ADV 3SG.NNOM.PROX ANA = house-PL.NNOM-GEN all

putuuk a = di ðo = an
 celebratory.flour ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX give.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Originally, we used to sprinkle flour all over the house.’

70

putuuk levdz = endz muburak
 celebratory.flour say.PRF = REL blessing

‘The celebratory flour means blessings.’

71

tom tar jəwl mas awal = aθ tçi putuuk tçuquum i
 then LOC dawn also first = EMP LOC celebratory.flour must one

beziv bezibun ejwun dwoð = an
 tongueless tongueless animal bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Then in the morning, we also first bring in a tongueless animal (which cannot use human language) upon the flour.’

72

jani maç qati k = ar di ruz ruzagur
 also.known.as 1PL.NNOM COM ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX day living

dzaflu wandz = endz
 toil see.PRF = REL

‘An animal that has toiled with us in our everyday life.’

73

maç = ir k = az wi ejwun darun maslan jo
 1PL.NNOM = DAT ANA = ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST animal inside for.example or

i çer jo i xedz m = ki = di rang tsa
 one donkey or one bull CATA = ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB COND

vid
 be.3SG.IPFV

‘Among our animals, if we have a donkey or a bull, for example,’

74

maç qati tang m = k = a = di ruzagur
 1PL.NNOM COM simultaneous CATA = ANA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX living

tçeig = ir ju tsa na vid na set = itçuz
 do.INF = DAT 3SG.NOM.DIST COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV NEG become.INF = REL

i beziv bezibun i nejk tsiz dwoð = an
 one tongueless tongueless one good thing bring.in.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘we bring in one that we cannot make a living without, a tongueless thing, a good

one.’

75

tɕunki ar wi buɛz nist
 because LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST flaw NEG.be.IPFV
 ‘Because there is nothing bad about it.’

76

wi ar darun i ləwr tamo wi-an
 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC inside one big requirement 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN

nist
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘It does not have any big requirements.’

77

ki=wi rang i nejk tsiz tɕi putuuk
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB one good thing LOC celebratory.flour

dwoð=an
 bring.in.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘We bring in a good animal like that upon the celebratory flour.’

78

wi az zabu tɕi putuuk dejt=itɕuz ɕəwguɪni
 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back LOC celebratory.flour enter.INF=REL Sheawgeeni

ju ki=di dijur ar darun nejk ɕalg
 3SG.NOM.DIST ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX region LOC inside good person

wi qadam tu=ri psid=itɕuz i
 3SG.NNOM.DIST step 2SG.NNOM=DAT be.lucky.INF=REL one

a=ɕalg ɕəwguɪni ka=in
 ACC=person Sheawgeeni do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘After that, the Sheawgeeni enters upon the celebratory flour—a good person within that region whose step brings luck to homes—they make him the Sheawgeeni.’

79

tɕoj=aθ vid tsa a=wi ɕəwguɪni levdz
 who.NOM=EMP be.3SG.IPFV COND ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST Sheawgeeni say.PRF

na səwd
 NEG become.3SG.IPFV

‘We cannot just make any random person the Sheawgeeni.’

80

tɕuqum k=ju ɕalg laka deðd tsa
 must ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST person let.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV COND

wi qadam psist
3SG.NNOM.DIST step be.lucky.3SG.IPFV

‘It must be someone who brings luck when he enters a house.’

81

i sar i sul-nendz tçer wi-an mukamal mu-an
one head one year-ADJ work 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN perfect 1SG.NNOM-GEN

nardzast
pass.3SG.IPFV

‘One who will make my work pass perfectly all year long,’

82

m=ki jad i sul-nendz to iw-əw jur
CATA=ANA 3SG.NOM.PROX one year-ADJ TERM one-NMLZ another

nəwruuz jet its k=di qadam mu=ri
Neawreez come.INF TERM ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX step 1SG.NNOM=DAT

psist levdz=endz mukamal i a=χalg çəwguuni
be.lucky.3SG.IPFV say.PRF=REL perfect one ACC=person Sheawgeeni

ka=in
do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘for this whole year until the next Neawreez comes, whose step will bring me good luck—we make that perfect person the Sheawgeeni.’

83

tom wi tar um tçed pa tçed mas dið=in
then 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC there house LOC house also enter.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
‘Then after that, they go into all of the houses.’

84

kumutç wixt mas di ar darun jost
thick.bread gather.INF also 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC inside be.IPFV
‘Collecting thick bread also happens.’

85

imi=ri veðdz=endz χejrdur-i mēhrbun-i qati
RECP=DAT be.PRF=REL good.deed-NMLZ loving-NMLZ COM

k=a=di ejd narzamb=in
ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX festival celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They celebrate this festival with the good deeds and care they have for each other.’

86

çəwgun avon levd=itçuz k=dund der
Sheawgeen BEN say.INF=REL ANA=AMT CPRV

‘What I have to say about Sheawgeen is about that much.’

A.4 ‘The scoop, the camel, and the mirror’ (folktale)

haroj vrud = an wi χosiat-in əwqut

A story about three brothers who receive three magical objects.

1

a pa mu qarib niθ = it = o
 INTJ LOC 1SG.NNOM near sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV = Q
 ‘Ah, will you sit closer to me?’

2

a = səwg = am bur tçi ləvd sut
 ACC = story = 1SG.PFV then LOC say.INF become.PFV
 ‘I have begun to tell a story, then.’

3

tçardz kəwl wejð = it χejr = o
 good ear pour.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV good = Q
 ‘Listen well, okay?’

4

veðdz na veðdz i putxu veðdz
 be.PRF NEG be.PRF one king be.PRF
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a king.’

5

wazond = af = o
 know.PFV = 2PL.PFV = Q
 ‘Got it?’

6

ə?ə
 yes
 (Children) ‘Yes.’

7

putxu-an haroj puts veðdz
 king-GEN three son be.PRF
 ‘The king had three sons.’

8

i maθ i ruz haroj puts az tçed naxtizd
 one day one day three son ABL house go.up.3SG.IPFV
 ‘One day, the three sons leave home.’

9

tom tsaxa seðdz
 then how become.PRF
 (Children) ‘Then what happened?’

10

az tçed naxtedz = in χu tēdz = in
 ABL house go.up.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They leave home and go.’

11

tɛdz=in *χu* *lɔwr-əw* *dɛðd* *i* *pa* *ðɛr*
 go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ big-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley

tizd

go.3SG.IPFV

‘They go, and the oldest enters a valley and goes.’

12

dzuul-əw *dɛðd* *i* *pa* *ðɛr* *tizd*
 small-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley go.3SG.IPFV

‘The younger one enters another valley and goes.’

13

sar *i* *dzuul-əw* *dɛðd* *i* *pa* *ðɛr*
 head one small-NMLZ enter.3SG.IPFV one LOC valley

‘The youngest one enters another valley.’

14

tar *haroj* *ðɛr* *dið=in* *tɛdz=in* *doð*
 LOC three valley enter.IPFV=3PL.IPFV go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV 3PL.NOM.PROX

‘They enter three different valleys and go.’

15

tid *az* *zabu* *ki=wi* *rang* *ɛirs=in* *at*
 go.INF ABL back ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ

ɛirs=in *at* *ɛirs=in* *at* *i* *puɬs* *az*
 turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ one son ABL

wɛf

i *dzom* *vrejd*
 3PL.NNOM.DIST one scoop find.3SG.IPFV

‘After going, he goes around and around and around and around like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.’

16

dzom *wazon* *nej*
 scoop know.IPFV NEG

‘You know what a scoop is, right?’

17

əʔə

yes

(Children) ‘Yes.’

18

xats *broxt=itɕuz*
 water drink.INF=REL

‘Used for drinking water.’

19

di *dzom-an* *di* *χosiat* *tsejz*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop-GEN 3SG.NNOM.PROX function what

‘What is this scoop’s special function?’

20

levd waχt k=pa di dzom i xats zozd
 say.INF time ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop one water get.3SG.IPFV

məwɣdʒ=ɛndʒ χalg ar ɸov tsa weðd tik tci peð
 die.PRF=REL person LOC mouth COND pour.3SG.IPFV straight LOC foot

səwd
 become.3SG.IPFV

‘To tell you, if you get water into this scoop and pour it into the mouth of a dead person, he will stand up straight on his feet.’

21

tsarang dzom
 how scoop
 ‘How do you like this scoop?’

22

jad iw sut=o
 3SG.NOM.PROX one become.PFV=Q
 ‘That was one, right?’

23

iw-əw jur puts tizd at tizd at tizd
 one-NMLZ another son go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV

at i dzuj joðd iko i xtur ahudz
 CONJ one place come.3SG.IPFV COMP one camel lie.PRF

‘Another son goes and goes and goes and comes to a place and there is a camel lying there.’

24

ε
 INTJ
 (Children) ‘Huh?’

25

i xtur
 one camel
 ‘A camel.’

26

i xtur k=dos ðust ðid at ðid at
 one camel ANA=manner hand give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

ðid at a=xtur vijujd
 give.3SG.IPFV CONJ ACC=camel ride.3SG.IPFV

‘He pets and pets and pets the camel and rides it.’

27

a=xtur vijujd χu xtur χu az dzuj
 ACC=camel ride.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ camel REFL.NNOM ABL place

indezd *χu* *tizd*
 get.up.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘After riding it, the camel gets up from its place and goes.’

28

jad *xtur* *tsarang* *xtur*
 3SG.NOM.PROX camel how camel
 ‘What kind of camel is this?’

29

haroj *most-undz* *a=pond* *haroj* *maθ=ir* *tid=itεuz*
 three moon-ADJ ACC=road three day=DAT go.INF=REL

k=di *rang* *i* *xtur* *veðdz*
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB one camel be.PRF
 ‘It is a camel that goes three month’s journey in three days.’

30

i *puts* *uz* *rejd=o*
 one son again remain.PFV=Q
 ‘Is there one more son remaining?’

31

jad *puts* *k=dos* *tizd* *at* *tizd* *at*
 3SG.NOM.PROX son ANA=manner go.3SG.IPFV CONJ go.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tizd *at* *m=k=dund-i* *i* *ujnak* *vrejd*
 go.3SG.IPFV CONJ CATA=ANA=AMT-NMLZ one glass find.3SG.IPFV
 ‘This one goes and goes and goes like that and finds a mirror this size.’

32

a=ujnak *vrejd* *χu* *di* *ujnak-an*
 ACC=glass find.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.PROX glass-GEN

di *χosiat* *tsejz*
 3SG.NNOM.PROX function what
 ‘He finds the mirror and what is the special function of this mirror?’

33

na *wazon=an*
 NEG know.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 (Children) ‘We don’t know.’

34

ar *ujnak* *agar* *m=k=dos* *tεost* *tσα* *u* *putun*
 LOC glass if CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND COND all

a=dzawun *jad* *k=ar* *wi* *wand*
 ACC=world 3SG.NOM.PROX ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.’

35

a = ujnak k = dos χu pa prud lakaxt tçost
 ACC = glass ANA = manner REFL.NNOM LOC front put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV

at tçost at tçost at tçost at
 CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tçost iko di-an i vrud xtur vijođz
 look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF

karst = ik

turn.3SG.IPFV = DUR

‘He puts the mirror in front of him like that and looks and looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one of his brothers is riding and camel and going around.’

36

uz ar wi tçost at tçost at
 again LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tçost at tçost iko i vrud tçi đust i
 look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV COMP one brother LOC hand one

đzom ju = ik karst
 scoop 3SG.NOM.DIST = DUR turn.3SG.IPFV

‘Again, he looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one brother is going around with a scoop in his hand.’

37

k = jad i vrud k = a = wef wand
 ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX one brother ANA = ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV

ar ujnak
 LOC glass

‘This one brother sees them in the mirror.’

38

k = ar wi ujnak wand χu tom levd
 ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST glass see.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ then say.3SG.IPFV

iko was çitç a = def tsarang vrej = am
 COMP 1SG.NOM now ACC = 3PL.NNOM.PROX how find.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘He sees them in the mirror and says, “How shall I find them now?”’

39

tsarang def χejz so = am
 how 3PL.NNOM.PROX side become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

‘How shall I go to their side?’”

40

tsund most tar maðon nardzεst at k=ar wi
 some moon LOC middle pass.3SG.IPFV CONJ ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST

χu ujnak iχil tçost
 REFL.NNOM glass continually look.3SG.IPFV

‘A few months pass by in the middle and he looks into the mirror continually.’

41

tçost iko wi vrud xtur-in jur tar əwd
 look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother camel-ADJ another LOC here

joðd tar um ðer joðd gap tçejg fursat
 come.3SG.IPFV LOC there CPRV come.3SG.IPFV word do.INF opportunity

nist
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘He looks into it and sees his brother with the camel coming a little bit this way, a little bit that way, but there is no opportunity to talk to him.’

42

jad mas tizd ju mas joðd
 3SG.NOM.PROX also go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST also come.3SG.IPFV

jad mas tizd ju mas joðd
 3SG.NOM.PROX also go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST also come.3SG.IPFV

k=wi rang at k=wi rang at
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB CONJ ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB CONJ

a=imi vrej=in
 ACC=RECP find.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘This brother goes, that brother comes, this brother goes, that brother comes, and in that way, they find each other.’

43

vrej=in χu jad ðəw i tçi dzuɟ
 find.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NOM.PROX two one LOC place

so=in
 become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They find each other and these two come together in one place.’

44

k=jad xtur-in at k=jad ujnak-in
 ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX camel-ADJ CONJ ANA=3SG.NOM.PROX glass-ADJ

‘This one with the camel and this one with the mirror.’

45

ju levd ta ujnak-an tsezj χosiat jost
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM glass-GEN what function be.IPFV
 ‘He says, “What special function does your mirror have?”’

46

ju levd m-ar ujnak tços
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM-LOC glass look.IPFV
 ‘He says, “Look into my mirror”.’

47

ar ujnak tçost iko k=dos tçost at
 LOC glass look.3SG.IPFV COMP ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tçost at tçost at tçost iko
 look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV COMP

wi vrud i dzuj=ik k̄arst wi
 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one place=DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST

tçi ðust k=ju dzom
 LOC hand ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST scoop

‘He looks and looks and looks and looks into the mirror and sees that his brother is going around in a place with that scoop in his hand.’

48

tsarang levd
 how say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘“How do you like it?” he says.’

49

ε maç vrud veðdž u ju
 INTJ 1PL.NNOM brother be.PRF there 3SG.NOM.DIST
 ‘“Oh, that is our brother over there!”’

50

a=di na vrej=an=o
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX NEG find.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q
 ‘Shall we not find him?’

51

ju levd ta xtur vijuj=an
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM camel ride.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘He says, “Let us ride your camel.”’

52

a=xtur vijuj=an wi χejz so=an
 ACC=camel ride.IPFV=1PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST side become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us ride the camel and go to his side.’

53

a=xtur vijuj=in χu wi χejz
 ACC=camel ride.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST side

so = in

become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They ride the camel and go to his side.’

54

haroj vrud i tçi dzuj so = in

three brother one LOC place become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘The three brothers get together in one place.’

55

haroj i tçi dzuj set az zabu tom lev = in

three one LOC place become.INF ABL back then say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘The three get together in one place and say,’

56

ta dzom-an tsejz χosiat jost

2SG.NNOM scoop-GEN what function be.IPFV

‘‘What special function does your scoop have?’’

57

ju levd iko waz χu pa dzom
3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop

a = xats iw zoz = am mawydž = endž ar kov
ACC = water one get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV die.PRF = REL LOC mouth

wejđ = am tsa u zuundo jad sawd
pour.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COND COND live 3SG.NOM.PROX become.3SG.IPFV

‘He says, ‘‘If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person’s mouth, he becomes alive.’’

58

tom levd iko taw tar dzawun i na tços = o

then say.3SG.IPFV COMP 2SG.NOM LOC world one NEG look.IPFV = Q

‘Then he says, ‘‘Aren’t you going to look into the world?’’

59

tar di dzawun tsejz tçer seđdz χu

LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX world what work become.PRF TEMP.CONJ

‘What kind of things are happening in this world?’’

60

ju χu ujnak hat kaxt tçost ar
3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM glass open do.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV LOC

wi

3SG.NNOM.DIST

‘He opens his mirror and looks into it.’

61

tçost at tçost at tçost at tçost
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV

at i xwor
 CONJ one city

‘He looks and looks and looks and looks into it and sees a city.’

62

i læwr çahar ar darun i çalg mæwydž pur çalg
 one big city LOC inside one person die.PRF much person

wi makol çu
 3SG.NNOM.DIST around TEMP.CONJ

‘In a large city is a person who has died, with many people around him.’

63

tom haroj verθ vrud a=wi tços=in
 then three both brother ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

tços=in tços=in tços=in
 look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

çu
 TEMP.CONJ

‘Then all three of them look and look and look and look at it,’

64

ε lævd na tε=o
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV NEG go.IPFV=Q

‘“Hey!” he says, “Shall we not go?”

65

k=a=di xtur vijuj=an
 ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX camel ride.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘Let us ride this camel,’

66

maç haroj k=um so=an
 1PL.NOM three ANA=there become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘and let the three of us go there.’

67

k=di dçom qati wi ar kov xats
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX scoop COM 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC mouth water

wejð=an a=wi zundo na
 pour.IPFV=1PL.IPFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST live NEG

ka=an=o
 do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV=Q

‘Shall we not pour water into his mouth with this scoop and make him alive?’

68

mejli læv=in k=dos kan=an
 okay say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV ANA=manner do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV

‘“Okay,” they say, “Let us do that”.’

69

a = xtur vijuj = in jad haroj χuður k = ar
 ACC = camel ride.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.PROX three until ANA = LOC

wi xwor so = in
 3SG.NNOM.DIST city become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They ride the camel and the three of them go all the way to that city.’

70

ar xwor so = in χu ðar a = χu
 LOC city become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ far ACC = REFL.NNOM

ka = it dzuj = it levd
 do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV place = 2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV

‘They go to the city and say, “Step back and make room!”’

71

a = di maç zuundo kan = an
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX 1PL.NOM live do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘We will make this person alive’.

72

woð lev = in iko a mawydž = endž tsarang zuundo
 3PL.NOM.DIST say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP INTJ die.PRF = REL how live

sawd
 become.3SG.IPFV

‘They say, “Huh? How can a dead person become alive?”’

73

levd maç zuundo kan = an
 say.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NOM live do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘He says, “We will make him alive”.’

74

k = um-ik jad haroj verθ so = in
 ANA = there-DIM 3SG.NOM.PROX three both become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

χu ju levd iko k = di-an
 TEMP.CONJ 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN

rust k = di rang vid = i jo na vid = i maç
 true ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB be.INF = SC or NEG be.INF = SC 1PL.NOM

i wejn = an
 one see.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘All three of them go there and he says, “Let us see whether it is truly like that or not”.’

75

pa dzom a=xats i zozd ar ɛov weðd
 LOC scoop ACC=water one get.3SG.IPFV LOC mouth pour.3SG.IPFV

məwydɛ=ɛndɛ tik tci pɛð səwd zuundo səwd
 die.PRF=REL straight LOC foot become.3SG.IPFV live become.3SG.IPFV

‘He gets water into the scoop and pours it into the mouth and the one who had died stands up straight on his feet and becomes alive.’

76

zuundo səwd χu tom def=ir utɛ pur
 live become.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ then 3PL.NNOM.PROX=DAT very much

əwqut ðo=in
 thing give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘He becomes alive and then they give them many things.’

77

k=di haroj vrud=ir ðo=in χu
 ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX three brother=DAT give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

m=k=dos dung=aθ ðo=in
 CATA=ANA=manner all=EMP give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They give to the three brothers and like, give everything to them.’

78

pɛt=aθ ðo=in
 all=EMP give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘They give everything.’

79

jad tamaɕ haroj=ir lɛv=in
 3SG.NOM.PROX 2PL.NNOM three=DAT say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

‘“These are for you three”, they say.’

80

lɛvd az zabu woð tɛdz=in χu
 say.INF ABL back 3PL.NOM.DIST go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

doð haroj a=wi balak ka=in
 3PL.NOM.PROX three ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST part do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

k=a=wi əwqut
 ANA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST thing

‘They say that and leave, and the three brothers split those things.’

81

balak ka=in χu iw-əw jur lɛvd iko
 part do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ one-NMLZ another say.3SG.IPFV COMP

mu = ri = af kam ðud az di χu
 1SG.NNOM = DAT = 2PL.PFV few give.PFV ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX TEMP.CONJ
 ‘They split them and one says, “Hey, you gave fewer things to me than to him!”’

82

lev = in ta-an tom tsezj alojdalig jost
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 2SG.NNOM-GEN then what specialty be.IPFV
 ‘They say, “What’s so special about you, then?”’

83

ju levd iko waz = am χ-ar ujnak
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV REFL.NNOM-LOC glass

a = di wand
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX see.PFV
 ‘He says, “I saw this in my mirror.”’

84

mu ujnak tsa na vid ta dzom mas bekur
 1SG.NNOM glass COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM scoop also vain

ta xtur mas bekur χu
 2SG.NNOM camel also vain TEMP.CONJ
 ‘If it were not for my mirror, your scoop is useless and your camel is useless.’

85

ju levd iko mujim mu xtur levd
 3SG.NOM.DIST say.3SG.IPFV COMP important 1SG.NNOM camel say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He says, “What is important is my camel.”’

86

mu xtur tsa na vid taw χali ar ujnak
 1SG.NNOM camel COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NOM only LOC glass

wejn quruw χu tçi dzuj niθ
 see.IPFV only REFL.NNOM LOC place sit.IPFV
 ‘If it were not for my camel, you can only look into your mirror and sit in your place.’

87

χu az dzuj dzumbd na tçi ka tid na tçi
 REFL.NNOM ABL place move.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV go.INF NEG CAP

ka χu
 do.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘You cannot move from your place or go anywhere from your place’, and then’

88

βοç wejð = in
 fight put.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘they fight.’

89

a citɕ tɕidum mujim ar di
 INTJ now which important LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX
 ‘Ah now, which one is important among these?’

90

a muu səwg-ik ta səwg-ik puɣan
 INTJ 1SG.NNOM story-DIM 2SG.NNOM story-DIM tomorrow

indiz = an hawu psəwdz
 get.up.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV weather be.clear.PRF
 ‘Ah, my story, your story, we will get up tomorrow and the weather will be clear.’

A.5 ‘The half-brother who carved saddles’ (folktale)

ugej vrud

A story about an industrious young man who outwits his half-brothers and makes them appear foolish.

1

veðdz na veðdz haroj vrud = af veðdz
 be.PRF NEG be.PRF three brother = 3PL.PFV be.PRF
 ‘Once upon a time, there were three brothers.’

2

ðəw = af χuudi veðdz iw ugej
 two = 3PL.PFV same.father.mother be.PRF one non.blood
 ‘Two were blood brothers; one was a non-blood brother.’

3

ju ugej vrud bðon tuxt = ir veðdz
 3SG.NOM.DIST non.blood brother saddle carve.INF = DAT be.PRF
 ‘The non-blood brother carved saddles.’

4

ju ða vrud = af χu = ri nalist = ir veðdz
 3SG.NOM.DIST two brother = 3PL.PFV REFL.NNOM = DAT sit.INF = DAT be.PRF
 ‘Those two brothers just sat around.’

5

jad a = bðon tuxt just para ðid
 3SG.NOM.PROX ACC = saddle carve.3SG.IPFV take.3SG.IPFV sell give.3SG.IPFV
 ‘This one carves the saddles, takes them, and sells them.’

6

para ðid a = wi tɕi tilu ðid
 sell give.3SG.IPFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC gold give.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He sells them, exchanges them for gold.’

7

a = tilu ðerzd joðd χu
 ACC = gold load.3SG.IPFV come.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘He loads the gold and comes.’

8

di ða vrud lev = in iko naj
 3SG.NNOM.PROX two brother say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP NEG

a = di tilu tçi tsejz zuxtç jad
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX gold LOC what get.PRF 3SG.NOM.PROX
 ‘His two brothers say, “No way! How did he get this gold?”

9

az di pars = an
 ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX ask.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us ask him.’”

10

levd a = tilu = at tçi tsejz zuxt
 say.3SG.IPFV ACC = gold = 2SG.PFV LOC what get.PFV
 ‘He says, “What did you get the gold from?”’

11

levd iko tçi bðon = am zuxt
 say.3SG.IPFV COMP LOC saddle = 1SG.PFV get.PFV
 ‘He says, “I used the saddles to get them.”’

12

tçi bðon = at tsava zuxt
 LOC saddle = 2SG.PFV how get.PFV
 ““How did you get it for saddles?””

13

levd iko a = bðon = am θawond
 say.3SG.IPFV COMP ACC = saddle = 1SG.PFV burn.CAUS.PFV
 ‘He says, “I burned the saddles.’

14

a = radzur = am jud
 ACC = charcoal = 1SG.PFV take.PFV
 ‘I took the charcoal.’

15

levd = am radzur = ir bðon ðo = it
 say.PFV = 1SG.PFV charcoal = DAT saddle give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
 ‘I told them, “Give me saddles for this charcoal.”’

16

bðon = af mu = ri ðud levd
 saddle = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘And they gave me saddles,” he says.’

17

ə tsejz tilu = af mu = ri δud
 INTJ what gold = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV
 ‘Uh, I mean, “They gave me gold.’

18

a = tilu = am vəwg ləvd χu
 ACC = gold = 1SG.PFV bring.PFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘Then I brought the gold,” he says, and then’

19

woð χu bðon-ef θawon = in
 3PL.NOM.DIST REFL.NNOM saddle-PL.NNOM burn.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

χu
 TEMP.CONJ

‘Then they burn their saddles, and then’

20

ləv = in iko radzur = ir tilu tsa δo = it
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP charcoal = DAT gold COND give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

χu
 TEMP.CONJ

‘they say, “Give us gold for the charcoal,” and then’

21

ju χalg-χejl ləv = in iko tamaç = af
 3SG.NOM.DIST person-PL.NOM say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP 2PL.NOM = 2PL.PFV

tsa aχmoq veðdz
 what foolish be.PRF

‘those people say, “How foolish you guys are!’

22

radzur = ir χalg tsava tilu δid
 charcoal = DAT person how gold give.3SG.IPFV
 ‘How can someone give you gold for charcoal?’”

23

az um joð = in a = χu ugej vrud
 ABL there come.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ACC = REFL.NNOM non.blood brother

δo = in iko
 hit.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP

‘They come back from there and beat up their non-blood brother and say,’

24

təw = at a = maç fand δudz χu
 2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV ACC = 1PL.NNOM false give.PRF TEMP.CONJ

‘“You have lied to us,” and then’

25

çitç tsaba ka=an tsaba kan=an aj
 now how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV INTJ
 ‘‘Now what do we do, what do we do...’’

26

çitç di ano di tçat-xedz zon=an
 now 3SG.NNOM.PROX mother 3SG.NNOM.PROX cow-bull kill.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘Now let us kill his mother and his bull.’

27

a=tçat-xedz zon=in çu i pa qapoq
 ACC=cow-bull kill.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ one LOC calabash

wi waçin zozd deðd tizd
 3SG.NNOM.DIST blood get.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘They kill the bull and he (the non-blood brother) gets its blood in a calabash
 (gourd bottle), enters, and goes.’

28

tizd çu um səwd iko
 go.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ there become.3SG.IPFV COMP
 ‘He goes, and there he sees’

29

ar dzangal lej xtur waruudz
 LOC forest much camel stand.PRF
 ‘a lot of camels standing in the forest.’

30

pütun xtur-ef tar kol waçin ðext roft
 all camel-PL.NNOM LOC head blood sprinkle.3SG.IPFV spread.on.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He sprinkles and spreads the blood on all the camels’ heads.’

31

roft çu a=xtur-ef deç
 spread.on.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ ACC=camel-PL.NNOM drive.3SG.IPFV

tizd
 go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He spreads it and drives the camels.’

32

a=di xtur-ef=at az ko vəwg
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX camel-PL.NNOM=2SG.PFV ABL where bring.PFV

levd
 say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘‘Where did you get these camels?’’ He (one of the brothers) asks.’

33

tamaç=af mu tçat-xedz zed
 2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM cow-bull kill.PFV
 ‘‘You killed my bull,’’

34

a = di dund xtur = af mu = ri δud
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX AMT camel = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV

levd

say.3SG.IPFV

‘and they gave me all these camels,’ he says.’

35

tçi waxin = af mu = ri δud levd
 LOC blood = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT give.PFV say.3SG.IPFV

‘‘They gave me camels in exchange for the blood,’’ he says.’

36

wi qati tsejz kaxt a
 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM what do.3SG.IPFV INTJ

‘With that, what does he do...’ (storyteller thinking)

37

tsaba kan = an tsaba kan = an
 how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV how do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘‘What do we do, what do we do...’

38

jad maç mas χu tçat-xedz zon = an
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1PL.NOM also REFL.NNOM cow-bull kill.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘Let us also kill out bulls,’

39

waxin zoz = an tedz = an
 blood get.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV

‘and get the blood and go’.

40

a = tçat-xedz zon = in waxin jus = in
 ACC = cow-bull kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV blood take.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘They kill the bull and take the blood.’

41

lev = in iko naj waxin = ir xtur maç = ir
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP NEG blood = DAT camel 1PL.NNOM = DAT

δo = it

give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘They say, ‘‘Give us camels for the blood’’.’

42

m = doδ = af tsa aχmoq veδdz lev = in
 CATA = 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV what foolish be.PRF say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘‘How foolish these guys are!’’ they say.’

43

waxin = ir a = xtur tsaba δo = in χu
 blood = DAT ACC = camel how give.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

‘‘How can they give camels for blood?’’ and then’

- 44
jad mu vrud par maç narç weðd
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM brother LAT 1PL.NNOM trouble put.PFV
 ‘My brother has placed trouble upon us.’
- 45
çitç tε çitç di ano zon = an
 now go.IPFV now 3SG.NNOM.PROX mother kill.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘Now go, let us kill his mother.’
- 46
az um so = in wi ano zon = in
 ABL there become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST mother kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘They come from there and kill his mother.’
- 47
tom a = ç-ono murðo tçi çer ðerzd çu
 then ACC = REFL.NNOM-mother corpse LOC donkey load.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

tizd
 go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Then he loads his mother’s corpse on a donkey and goes.’
- 48
um səwd a dejqun-çejl mintawu = it levd
 there become.3SG.IPFV VOC farmer-PL.NOM hard.work = 2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He goes there and says to the farmers, “You are working hard!”’
- 49
a borikalo lev = in çu
 INTJ thanks say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘“Ah, thank you!” they say, and then’
- 50
a = çer dos = ik tar wi çrum sar
 ACC = donkey manner = DUR LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST threshing.floor side

dεt
 drive.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He drives the donkey like this toward the threshing floor side.’
- 51
ju çer pa çrum səwd = aθ utçiça
 3SG.NOM.DIST donkey LOC threshing.floor become.3SG.IPFV = EMP INTJ

lev = in
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘When that donkey gets to the threshing floor, the farmers say, “Uchisha (hey, get away!)!”’
- 52
utçiça levd alo di çer a = çu tçap
 INTJ say.INF TEMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX donkey ACC = REFL.NNOM start

ðid *χu* *murðo wuxt*
 give.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ corpse fall.3SG.IPFV

‘When they say “uchisha”, the donkey turns quickly and the corpse falls.’

53

atoto levd *putxu a=yin=af* *χu* *zed*
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV king ACC=wife=2PL.PFV REFL.NNOM kill.PFV

levd
 say.3SG.IPFV

‘“Oh my goodness,” he says, “you have killed the king’s wife herself!’

54

putxu a=muu *zed* *a=tamaç* *mas putum zind*
 king ACC=1SG.NNOM kill.PFV ACC=2PL.NNOM also all kill.3SG.IPFV

levd
 say.3SG.IPFV

‘The king is going to kill me, and will kill all of you, too!’

55

çitç tsava kan=am *levd* *χu*
 now how do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

‘Now what shall I do?’ he says.’

56

lev=in *naj putxu-an wi* *yin tsa vid*
 say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV

u *təw* *k=az* *di* *ɓots-ef* *surəw*
 COND 2SG.NOM ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM separate.IPFV

a=iw *zoz* *tədz* *di* *putxu=ri*
 ACC=one get.IPFV go.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX king=DAT

‘They say, “No, if this is the king’s wife, pick one girl from among these and take her to this king.’

57

a=putxu ar əwd mo vor *levd*
 ACC=king LOC here PROH bring.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV

‘Don’t bring the king over here,” they say.’

58

i *ɓots surəwd* *zozd* *tizd*
 one girl separate.3SG.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV

‘He picks a girl, takes her, and goes,’

59

a=wi *χu=ri* *yin kaxt*
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM=DAT wife do.3SG.IPFV

‘and makes her his own wife.’

60

um səwd a lɛvd m-ono = af zɛd
 there become.3SG.IPFV INTJ say.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM-mother = 2PL.PFV kill.PFV
 ‘He goes there and says, “A, you killed my mother.’

61

mu = ri = af m-ono pa murðo i kots ðud
 1SG.NNOM = DAT = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM-mother LOC corpse one girl give.PFV

lɛvd χu
 say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

‘They gave me a girl in the place of my mother’s corpse,’ he says, and then’

62

waðor = in a = χ-ono zon = in
 grab.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ACC = REFL.NNOM-mother kill.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

woð
 3PL.NOM.DIST

‘they grab and kill their own mother.’

63

lɛv = in iko naj məwydz = endz = ir zuundo kots
 say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV COMP NEG die.PRF = REL = DAT live girl

maç = ir ðo = it
 1PL.NNOM = DAT give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

‘They say, “Give us live girls in the place of this dead one.”’

64

u jad tsa aχmoq batço-χejl = af veðdz
 INTJ 3SG.NOM.PROX what foolish child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV be.PRF
 ‘“Wow, how foolish these kids are!’

65

məwydz = endz = ir a = zuundo tçoj ðid lɛv = in
 die.PRF = REL = DAT ACC = live who.NOM give.3SG.IPFV say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘Who gives live girls in the place of dead ones?’ they say,’

66

doð = af ðejw veðdz lɛv = in χu
 3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV crazy be.PRF say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘“These guys are crazy,” they say, and’

67

a = wɛf zatran ka = in dɛ = in
 ACC = 3PL.NNOM.DIST chase do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV drive.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

χu
 TEMP.CONJ

‘They chase them and drive them away.’

68

naj jad vrud par maç narç weðd
 NEG 3SG.NOM.PROX brother LAT 1PL.NNOM trouble put.PFV
 ‘‘Oh no, this brother has ruined us.’

69

çitç dos kan=an iko a=di çu
 now manner do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV COMP ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX REFL.NNOM
zon=an lev=in çu
 kill.IPFV=1PL.IPFV say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘Now let us do this, let us kill him,’’ they say.’

70

tom a=wi ar bæwn ðo=in çu
 then ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC sack give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘Then they put him in a sack.’

71

a=di tsaba kan=an
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX how do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘‘What shall we do with him?’

72

jus=an ar darju pataw=an
 take.IPFV=1PL.IPFV LOC river throw.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
 ‘Let us take him and throw him into the river.’

73

jad laka merd çu
 3SG.NOM.PROX let.IPFV die.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ
 ‘Let him die.’’

74

wi qati a=wi tçi çer ðerdz=in
 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC donkey load.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
 ‘With that, they load him onto a donkey.’

75

çer tar prud der tizd
 donkey LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IPFV
 ‘The donkey goes a little bit forward,’

76

woð ða vrud az zabu tar vatç
 3PL.NOM.DIST two brother ABL back LOC outside
so=in=aθ
 become.IPFV=3PL.IPFV=EMP
 ‘and the two brothers go to the bathroom in the back.’

77

jad tar uzma a=toz wand
 3SG.NOM.PROX LOC opening ACC=bald.person see.3SG.IPFV
 ‘He sees a bald person through the opening of the sack.’

78

eej levd χon mas na so=am bejg mas na
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV king also NEG become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV ruler also NEG

so=am levd
 become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV

“‘Eh!’ he says, “I don’t want to be a king, I don’t want to be a ruler!” he says.’

79

a=muu laka=it levd χu
 ACC=1SG.NNOM let.IPFV=2PL.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

“‘Let me go!’ he says.’

80

ju toz levd iko naj bejg mas waz
 3SG.NOM.DIST bald.person say.3SG.IPFV COMP NEG ruler also 1SG.NOM

so=am χon mas waz so=am
 become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV king also 1SG.NOM become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘The bald guy says, “No, I want to be a ruler, I want to be a king!”’

81

a χon=ik set=ir vaw m=ar di βawn
 INTJ king=DUR become.INF=DAT be.IPFV CATA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack

dið levd
 enter.IPFV say.3SG.IPFV

“‘Ah, if you want to be a king, go into this sack,” he says.’

82

ar βawn deðd di βawn a=βov vist
 LOC sack enter.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX sack ACC=mouth tie.3SG.IPFV

a=wi tçi çer ðerzd
 ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC donkey load.3SG.IPFV

‘He (the bald guy) goes into the sack, and he (the non-blood brother) ties the mouth of the sack and loads it on the donkey.’

83

kudzur=ik çer waruud k=um=aθ taw bejg at χon
 where=DUR donkey stop.PFV ANA=there=EMP 2SG.NOM ruler CONJ king

set=ir veðdz levd
 become.INF=DAT be.PRF say.3SG.IPFV

“‘Wherever the donkey stops, there you will become a ruler and a king,” he says.’

84

az um k=dos a=çer darju tçi lab vor=in
 ABL there ANA=manner ACC=donkey river LOC bank bring.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

χu

TEMP.CONJ

'From there, they bring the donkey to the bank of the river.'

85

tçi ðod so=in a=wi toz ar
 LOC hit.INF become.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST bald.person LOC

κawn

sack

'They begin beating up the bald guy in the sack.'

86

tom ləvd iko waz χon mas na so=am
 then say.3SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NOM king also NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

bejg mas na so=am

ruler also NEG become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

'Then he says, "I don't want to be a king, I don't want to be a ruler!'

87

a=mu ar darju mo patəw=it
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM LOC river PROH throw.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

'Don't throw me into the river!'"

88

zoz=in patəw=in ar darju
 get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV LOC river

'They take him and throw him into the river.'

89

toz mɛrd
 bald.person die.3SG.IPFV

'The bald guy dies.'

90

az um səwd
 ABL there become.3SG.IPFV

'He (the non-blood brother) goes from there.'

91

wi a=kalo k=dos dɛt χu
 3SG.NNOM.DIST ACC = sheep ANA = manner drive.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

tizd

go.3SG.IPFV

'He drives the bald guy's sheep like that and goes.'

92

a ləvd a=mu=af zɛd ləvd
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV ACC = 1SG.NNOM = 2PL.PFV kill.PFV say.3SG.IPFV

"'Ah," he says, "you killed me.'

93

ar wi dinju so = am iko m-oto
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM-father

mas veððz m-ono mas veððz
 also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also be.PRF

‘I got to that other world, and my father and my mother were there.’

94

a = di dund kalo = af mu tar prud weðð
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX AMT sheep = 3PL.PFV 1SG.NNOM LOC front put.PFV

levd
 say.3SG.IPFV

‘They put all these sheep before me,’ he says.’

95

eej levd tom bajixt veððz levd
 INTJ say.3SG.IPFV then heaven be.PRF say.3SG.IPFV

‘“Hey!” they say, “Then it must be heaven!”

96

a = maç mas pa bæwn ðo ar darju patəw
 ACC = 1PL.NNOM also LOC sack give.IPFV LOC river throw.IPFV

‘Put us into a sack also and throw us into the river.’”

97

tom a = χu vrud-ef ðid ar bæwn χu
 then ACC = REFL.NNOM brother-PL.NNOM give.3SG.IPFV LOC sack TEMP.CONJ

just ar darju patəwd
 take.3SG.IPFV LOC river throw.3SG.IPFV

‘Then he puts his brothers into a sack, takes them, and throws them into the river.’

98

χu vrud-ef zind χu
 REFL.NNOM brother-PL.NNOM kill.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

‘He kills his brothers,’

99

jad χubaθ pa baχt fropt
 3SG.NOM.PROX REFL.NOM LOC happiness reach.3SG.IPFV

‘and he himself reaches happiness.’

100

mu sæwg-ik pur sæwg tar jəwl indiz = an hawu
 1SG.NNOM story-DIM much story LOC dawn get.up.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV weather

psəwdz
 be.clear.PRF

‘My story is a lot, we will get up in the morning and the weather will be clear.’

A.6 ‘A religious teacher’s life and family’ (personal narrative)

mu zundagi

A religious teacher gives a personal account of his life, work, family, and their resettlement in Tojikobod.

1

waz di tçi prud pindzu at nəw sul tçi prud
 1SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC front fifty CONJ nine year LOC front

brumsol levdz=endz i ar jizo azmud seðdz=endz

Brumsol say.PRF=REL one LOC village born become.PRF=REL

‘I was born 59 years ago in a village called Brumsol.’

2

uzir=am pindzu at woxt sulo sut
 now=1SG.PFV fifty CONJ eight year.old become.PFV

‘Now I am 58 years old.’

3

waz=am azmud sut ðes sul its=am ar
 1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV born become.PFV ten year TERM=1SG.PFV LOC

maktab xojd

school read.PFV

‘I was born and went to school for ten years.’

4

az um ðes sul az zabu=am tuluq otro maktab xojd
 ABL there ten year ABL back=1SG.PFV complete middle school read.PFV

‘After ten years there, I studied at a high school.’

5

a wi az zabu=am mi=di
 INTJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back=1SG.PFV CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX

dejgun-i qati maçsul sut

farmer-NMLZ COM focus become.PFV

‘Ah... after that, I occupied myself with farming.’

6

wi az zabu=am m=ki=di dijur
 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL back=1SG.PFV CATA=ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX region

ar darun din-i zuð=am sut

LOC inside religion-NMLZ lineage=1SG.PFV become.PFV

‘After that, within that region, I became part of the religious tradition.’

7

χalifa = am sut
 religious.teacher = 1SG.PFV become.PFV
 ‘I became a religious teacher.’

8

wi qati δes at pindz sul tçi prud maç ar
 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM ten CONJ five year LOC front 1PL.NNOM LOC

dijur i ofat sut
 region one disaster become.PFV

‘With that, our region got a natural disaster fifteen years ago.’

9

hawu δud sejl jot
 precipitation fall.PFV flood come.PFV
 ‘It rained and it got flooded.’

10

a nuk = ju ofat qati puutun maç dzuj dzawun
 INTJ ANA = 3SG.NOM.DIST disaster COM all 1PL.NNOM place world

maç bus-χejl maç zemdz-χejl maç
 1PL.NNOM garden-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM field-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM

mala-χejl pa xats = af tujd
 housing.compound-PL.NOM LOC water = 3PL.PFV go.PFV

‘Because of that natural disaster, our whole world, our gardens, our fields, and our housing compounds got totally swept away by the flood.’

11

tsavur nafar χalg mas pa xats tujd
 four CL person also LOC water go.PFV
 ‘Four people also got swept away by the flood.’

12

ki = wi qati ukmat a = maç katç tçəwg
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM government ACC = 1PL.NNOM move do.PFV
 ‘With that, the government resettled us.’

13

a = maç varçide ar nohija vəwg
 ACC = 1PL.NNOM Varshide LOC county bring.PFV
 ‘They brought us to the Varshide county seat.’

14

um = an i sul paqad nahust
 there = 1PL.PFV one year whole.duration sit.PFV
 ‘We lived there for a whole year.’

15

ukmat xamχuri qati m = ki = jad i dzuj = af
 government concern COM CATA = ANA = 3SG.NOM.PROX one place = 3PL.PFV

- maç = ir zuxtç*
 1PL.NNOM = DAT buy.PRF
 ‘Out of concern for us, the government bought a place for us.’
- 16
- mala = af maç = ir weðdž*
 housing.compound = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT put.PRF
 ‘They built housing compounds for us.’
- 17
- zemdž = af maç = ir hat tçəwɣdž*
 field = 3PL.PFV 1PL.NNOM = DAT open do.PRF
 ‘They opened fields for us.’
- 18
- a = maç = af əwd vəwɣ*
 ACC = 1PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV here bring.PFV
 ‘They brought us here.’
- 19
- ðes at pindž sul sut əwd = an naluçtç*
 ten CONJ five year become.PFV here = 1PL.PFV sit.PRF
 ‘We have lived here for fifteen years.’
- 20
- çitç maç-an maç ruzagur tçardž*
 now 1PL.NNOM-GEN 1PL.NNOM living good
 ‘Now our living situation is good.’
- 21
- dejqu-n-i kan = an*
 farmer-NMLZ do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘We farm,’
- 22
- mul puɣ = an*
 livestock herd.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘we herd our livestock,’
- 23
- a wi tar ter uz səwdugar-i mas kan = an*
 INTJ 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC high again merchant-NMLZ also do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
 ‘and on top of that, we also do business.’
- 24
- ukmat mas har az džat maç = ir = ik jordam kaxt*
 government also every ABL hurry 1PL.NNOM = DAT = DUR help do.3SG.IPFV
 ‘The government also helps us in every aspect.’
- 25
- ki = wi qati = an m = k = əwd naluçtç*
 ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST COM = 1PL.PFV CATA = ANA = here sit.PRF
 ‘With that, we live here.’

26

tsavur batço mu-an jost
 four child 1SG.NNOM-GEN be.IPFV
 'I have four children.'

27

tsavur puvs ða radzen çel batço jost
 four son two daughter six child be.IPFV
 'four sons and two daughters, six children.'

28

çel batço mas asos az dzat dzam dejqun iw = ik
 six child also foundation ABL hurry all farmer one = DUR

maç-an oli maktab xujd
 1PL.NNOM-GEN high school read.3SG.IPFV

'The six children are mostly all farmers as well; one of them is studying in university.'

29

digaru-çejl dzam-an wi tçed tuqo
 others-PL.NOM all-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST house separate
 'The others all have their own house.'

30

a xuj = in = ik dejqun-i ka = in
 INTJ read.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV = DUR farmer-NMLZ do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 'Ah, they are studying and farming.'

31

k = dos = an naluçtç
 ANA = manner = 1PL.PFV sit.PRF
 'That is how we live.'

32

a tom wi az balak mu sul mas pa
 INTJ then 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL part 1SG.NNOM year also LOC

di dzuj jot
 3SG.NNOM.PROX place come.PFV

'Ah, then other than that... my age has also reached this place.'

33

waz ki = di dijur-an wi çalifa
 1SG.NOM ANA = 3SG.NNOM.PROX region-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST religious.teacher
 'I am a religious teacher in this region.'

34

əwd maç uvvd çalifa jost
 here 1PL.NOM seven religious.teacher be.IPFV
 'There are seven religious teachers here.'

35

wef az darun iw waz
 3PL.NNOM ABL inside one 1SG.NOM
 ‘One of them is I.’

36

waz wef ar darun peçqadam der
 1SG.NOM 3PL.NNOM LOC inside elderly CPRV
 ‘Among them, I am more on the elderly side.’

37

a k = dos set alo
 INTJ ANA = manner become.INF TEMP
 ‘Ah, with things being like that,’

38

uzir dzul dzul tidzorat kan = am
 now small small business do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘now I am doing a little bit of economic activity.’

39

səwdugar-i ka = am
 merchant-NMLZ do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
 ‘I do business.’

40

digar tçer qati kutç mas na fropst
 other work COM strength also NEG reach.3SG.IPFV
 ‘My strength is not sufficient for other work anyway.’

41

digar a = tçer-ef batço-çejl ka = in
 other ACC = work-PL.NNOM child-PL.NOM do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
 ‘The children do the other work.’

42

waz səwdugar-i qati = am nahuçtç
 1SG.NOM merchant-NMLZ COM = 1SG.PFV sit.PRF
 ‘I make a living by doing business.’

A.7 ‘You have gone’ & ‘Hometown’ (personal narrative & poems)

təw = at tujd & watan

Two original poems composed by a young Tajik man: on the topic of love and loss and the other about his hometown and culture.

1

mu num alimamad
 1SG.NNOM name Alimamad
 ‘My name is Alimamad.’

- 2
waz varçide nohija baldir jizo azmud seðdz = endz
 1SG.NOM Varshide county Baldir village born become.PRF = REL
 ‘I was born in Baldir Village of Varshide County’
- 3
sul az saksan at woxt most az pindz maθ az uvd
 year ABL eighty CONJ eight moon ABL five day ABL seven
 ‘on the seventh of May in 1988.’
- 4
waz az dzul-i varçide ar nohija læwr seðdz = endz
 1SG.NOM ABL small-NMLZ Varshide LOC county big become.PRF = REL

xojdz = endz
 read.PRF = REL
 ‘I grew up and went to school in the county seat of Varshide since I was little.’
- 5
daçu = am waz bedzin dzongjangmindzudaçu
 university = 1SG.PFV 1SG.NOM Beijing Central.University.for.Nationalities

xojd
 read.PFV
 ‘I went to university at the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing.’
- 6
az um = am jot tçi xuzmat = am naxtuug
 ABL there = 1SG.PFV come.PFV LOC work = 1SG.PFV go.up.PFV
 ‘I came back from there and got a job.’
- 7
tom mu = ri çir naviçt xuuç
 then 1SG.NNOM = DAT poem write.INF happy
 ‘I like writing poetry.’
- 8
tom rasim jad ju tizd xuuç
 then picture 3SG.NOM.PROX 3SG.NOM.DIST pull.INF happy
 ‘And I like taking pictures and whatnot.’
- 9
mu-an lej = ir tizdz = endz rasim jost
 1SG.NNOM-GEN much = DAT pull.PRF = REL picture be.IPFV
 ‘I have many pictures that I took.’
- 10
çir jost iw kond naviçtç = endz
 poem be.IPFV one piece write.PRF = REL
 ‘And I have a few poems that I wrote.’
- 11
pur nist kut kut çir-xejl
 much NEG.be.IPFV short short poem-PL.NOM
 ‘It’s not much; they are all short poems.’

12

k=az di ɕir-ɛf waz iw ɔ̃w
 ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX poem-PL.NNOM 1SG.NOM one two

tamaɕ=ir xuj=am
 2PL.NNOM=DAT read.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘Out of those poems, I will recite one or two for you.’

13

təw=at tujd lɛvdz=ɛndz ɕir
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV say.PRF=REL poem

‘It is a poem called “You have gone”.’

14

mu farixto kəzun jad xug
 1SG.NNOM spirit wither 3SG.NOM.PROX eat.PFV

‘My spirit has withered’

15

təw=at tujd
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV

‘You have gone’

16

tɕuxɬ=am a=ta dil ar buxtɕo
 watch.PFV=1SG.PFV ACC=2SG.NNOM heart LOC bosom

‘I waited for you in my heart’

17

təw=at tujd
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV

‘You have gone’

18

təw=at vud mu hajut-an wi i kandi
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV be.PFV 1SG.NNOM life-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one piece

‘You were a piece of my life’

19

ujsar qati mu umr nardzɛd
 contemplating COM 1SG.NNOM lifetime pass.PFV

‘I spent my lifetime contemplating’

20

təw=at tujd
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV

‘You have gone’

21

gurm tɕejg qati pa dil=ik Ɂirs
 remembrance do.INF COM LOC heart=DUR turn.IPFV

‘As I miss you, you hover around my heart’

22

təw=at tujd
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV
 'You have gone'

23

ansis jad xob na sut tag jəwl
 anxious 3SG.NOM.PROX night NEG become.PFV at.all dawn
 'Anxious at night, morning never comes'

24

təw=at tujd
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV
 'You have gone'

25

xid na tçi ka=am bəwafu ta zord tawuɕ
 hear.INF NEG CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV hearless 2SG.NNOM heart noise
 'I cannot hear the cruel noises of your heart'

26

mu pa dard dard qati sut
 1SG.NNOM LOC pain pain add become.PFV
 'Pain has been added to my pain'

27

təw=at tujd
 2SG.NOM=2SG.PFV go.PFV
 'You have gone'

28

uz di az bəsejr watan ləvdz=endz ɕir jost
 again 3SG.NNOM.PROX ABL except hometown say.PRF=REL poem be.IPFV
 'Besides this, I have another poem called "Hometown".'

29

hej aziz watan tudzɕur-an wi dzuɟ
 VOC love hometown crown.wearer-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST place
 'Oh, dear hometown, the place of crown wearers'

30

farixto tudzɕik ɕuɕruɟ ta ruɕsur
 angel Tajik beautiful 2SG.NNOM visage
 'Angel Tajiks, your visage is beautiful'

31

watan tar buxtɕo tudzɕik ðid wajəw
 hometown LOC bosom Tajik give.3SG.IPFV walk
 'Tajiks walk around close to the bosom of their hometown'

32

qaqawo ðid ɕond hejrɒn mo ris təw
 guffaw give.3SG.IPFV laugh.3SG.IPFV surprise PROH remain.IPFV 2SG.NOM
 'Do not be surprised at their guffawing and laughing'

33

dʒald dər wəzɛfs jəð sarikuj ar makun
 fast CPRV return.IPFV come.IPFV Sarikoli LOC hometown
 ‘Hurry and come back soon to your hometown Sarikoli’

34

χu tçi ðust zoz dof suz ðo az
 REFL.NNOM LOC hand get.IPFV tambourine make.music give.IPFV ABL
dil-i dʒun
 heart-NMLZ life

‘Take a tambourine in your hand and make music with all your heart’

35

tçi dinju vuɔson təw mas χu qarə
 LOC world show.IPFV 2SG.NOM also REFL.NNOM distinct.form
 ‘You also, show your own distinct form to the world’

36

madad tu=ri səwd uluʒ muɔztoʒato
 encouragement 2SG.NNOM=DAT become.3SG.IPFV great Muztagh.Ata
 ‘The great Muztagh Ata be your encouragement’

37

tudʒ tçi kol tudʒik las a=ta waz
 crown LOC head Tajik praise ACC=2SG.NNOM 1SG.NOM

ðo=am
 give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘Tajiks crowned with crowns, I will sing your praise’

38

tar boʒ tar gulzur χuʒ kejf waz
 LOC garden LOC flower.garden happy comfortable 1SG.NOM

so=am
 become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

‘I will be happy and comfortable in the gardens and flowerbeds’

39

ago so indiz χu mɛð təw vis
 awake become.IPFV get.up.IPFV REFL.NNOM waist 2SG.NOM tie.IPFV
 ‘Awake and rise, tie your waist’

40

watan ar puʒgo barakat ka tis
 hometown LOC central.floor blessing do.IPFV spill
 ‘Pour blessings all over your hometown’s hearth’

41

num zoʒd tizd laka tudʒik ta sanat
 name get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV let.IPFV Tajik 2SG.NNOM arts
 ‘Tajik arts, may your name be widely known’

42

mērus laka rast maç urf odat
 inheritance let.IPFV remain.3SG.IPFV 1PL.NNOM tradition custom
 ‘May our culture and traditions be passed down as an inheritance.’

A.8 ‘Proverbs’ (proverbs)

maqol tamsil

A collection of Tajik proverbs.

1

watan pid mud tar dinju bebawu haroj anguŕtar
 hometown father mother LOC world priceless three treasure
 ‘Hometown, father, and mother are the three priceless treasures in the world.’

2

ŕingun-an wi i tçib xats jurkond-an wi
 Shingun-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST one spoon water Yarkand-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

xuŕpo qati barubar
 porridge COM similar

‘A spoon of Shingun water is like porridge from Yarkand.’

3

çuu pid puŕs mo vəw zamuno puŕs vəw
 REFL.NNOM father son PROH be.IPFV age son be.IPFV
 ‘Don’t just be your father’s son; be the son of this age.’

4

az tuŕo kol gəwr tçardz
 ABL separate head grave good
 ‘A grave is better than a separate head (solitude).’

5

bē-watan bē-gəwr
 PRIV-hometown PRIV-grave
 ‘Without a hometown, one is without a grave.’

6

çalg ar dijur bejg vid its çuu ar dijur
 person LOC region ruler be.INF TERM REFL.NNOM LOC region

çezvur vəw
 firewood.bringer be.IPFV

‘It is better to be the firewood bringer in one’s region than to be the ruler of one’s region.’

7

dçamohat laka ubud vid i çalg-an wi
 masses let.IPFV flourishing be.3SG.IPFV one person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

- ubud-i* *tsund*
flourishing-NMLZ how.much
'Let all the masses flourish and prosper; what is one person's prosperity worth?'
- 8
sarikuj-an *wi* *xats* *ar* *dzam* *dzuj* *fropst*
Sarikoli-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST water LOC all place reach.3SG.IPFV
'Water from Sarikoli flows to all places.'
- 9
χalg-an *wi* *vunudz* *wi* *tçi* *dəwr* *dinju-an*
person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST navel 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC belly world-GEN

wi *vunudz* *tçi* *pomir*
3SG.NNOM.DIST navel LOC Pamir
'A person's navel is on his belly; the world's navel is in Pamir.'
- 10
muzufir *kudzur=aθ* *tša* *səwd* *χu* *watan=ir*
drifter where=EMP COND become.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM hometown=DAT

gurm *kaxt*
remembrance do.3SG.IPFV
'No matter where a drifter goes, he misses his hometown.'
- 11
χalg *pa* *tçəd* *χalg* *ar* *dijur* *χalg* *dil* *na* *naθt*
person LOC house person LOC region person heart NEG sit.3SG.IPFV
'In another's home or another's region, one's heart is unable to rest.'
- 12
daraxt *az* *zuמוδ* *palwun* *az* *χalg* *naxtizd*
tree ABL ground warrior ABL person go.up.3SG.IPFV
'Trees come out of the ground, and warriors out of people.'
- 13
duxman *tar* *pεð* *tçost* *dεst* *ta* *pa* *pεts*
enemy LOC foot look.3SG.IPFV friend 2SG.NNOM LOC face
'An enemy will gaze at your feet, and a friend at your face.'
- 14
duxman *qil* *ðud* *mas* *tša* *vid* *a=wi*
enemy hair give.PFV also COND be.3SG.IPFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

fil *ðud* *wazon*
elephant give.PFV know.IPFV
'If an enemy gives you a strand of hair, regard it as an elephant.'
- 15
dεst-an *wi* *gəp* *murtç* *rang* *tsex* *duxman-an*
friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST word pepper SEMB spicy enemy-GEN

wi gap çakar rang χεg
3SG.NNOM.DIST word sugar SEMB sweet

‘A friend’s words are spicy like peppers, but an enemy’s words are sweet like sugar.’

16

az kutçin duxman xudz mo ðor, az befam khamru xuj
ABL strong enemy fear PROH fear.IPFV ABL stupid companion fear

ðor
fear.IPFV

‘Don’t fear a strong enemy, fear a foolish friend.’

17

tar maðon nodz tsa na vid ða tsem a=imi χird
LOC middle nose COND NEG be.3SG.IPFV two eye ACC=RECP eat.3SG.IPFV

‘If there is no nose in the middle, the two eyes will eat each other.’

18

zer pa dze tsa patəw wəzəfst ta tçi kol
rock LOC upriver COND throw.IPFV return.3SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM LOC head

buzast
touch.3SG.IPFV

‘If you throw a rock upwards, it will return and hit your head.’

19

pid məwydz=endz xuvdz qetç marzundz-i xuturdz isub tçəwydz
father die.PRF=REL sleep.PRF stomach hungry-NMLZ star count do.PRF

‘The one whose father died sleeps, but the one with a hungry stomach counts stars.’

20

bewafu az puuts pidz-endz χer tçardz
heartless ABL son fall-ADJ son good

‘The autumn sun is better than a heartless son.’

21

asujix nardzəs=am tsa ləv dəst qati hamroz
comfortable pass.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND say.IPFV friend COM likeminded

duxman qati itfuq so
enemy COM unity become.IPFV

‘If you wish to live comfortably, be likeminded with your friend and foster unity with your enemy.’

22

kazd tar χalg set mumin=ir zaχmat wəðd
dirty LOC person become.INF innocent=DAT harm put.3SG.IPFV

‘One who becomes a bad person harms innocent people.’

23

az tçardz naf joðd az kazd gap
ABL good profit come.3SG.IPFV ABL dirty word

‘From the good comes profit; from the bad, words.’

24

buzuuq buzzuuq-i tɕəwydʒ numard qasam χuydʒ
 envious.person envious-NMLZ do.PRF plebeian oath eat.PRF
 ‘An envious person envies, and a plebeian makes oaths.’

25

nafs-i bað beinsuf joðd χuɕomadgi ðod = itɕuz bewiʒdon
 greedy-NMLZ bad ruthless come.3SG.IPFV ingratiation give.INF = REL heartless
 ‘A profiteer is evil and ruthless; a sycophant flatterer is heartless.’

26

garun maθ ta qati tang ter tɕəwydʒ = endʒ dest rust
 heavy day 2SG.NNOM COM simultaneous lift do.PRF = REL friend true

dest
 friend

‘A friend who has lifted heavy days alongside you is a true friend.’

27

iw tɕardʒ-i ranixteg na səwd iw ɓəʒd-i
 one good-NMLZ forgotten NEG become.3SG.IPFV one dirty-NMLZ
 ‘A single good deed will not be forgotten, nor will a single evil deed.’

28

dilnizd dest az zabu stəwd fand dest pa prud
 close.friend friend ABL back praise.3SG.IPFV false friend LOC front
 ‘A close friend compliments behind one’s back, but a false friend to one’s face.’

29

pa dest a = χu nizd ka wi zord zoz
 LOC friend ACC = REFL.NNOM near do.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart get.IPFV

az duuxman ðar warofs wi dʒun zoz
 ABL enemy far stand.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST life get.IPFV

‘Draw near to a friend and buy his heart; stand afar from an enemy and take his life.’

30

dest = ir umr daruz-i talob duuxman = ir marg
 friend = DAT lifetime long-NMLZ request.IPFV enemy = DAT death
 ‘Pray for long life for a friend; for an enemy, death.’

31

boj waz χu dest avon gadoj waz
 rich.person 1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM friend BEN destitute 1SG.NOM

rejd = am jektano
 remain.PFV = 1SG.PFV alone

‘As a rich person I was with friends; destitute, I am alone.’

32

dest-an wi keno-əw tɕardʒ guxt-an wi
 friend-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST old-NMLZ good meat-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST

nudz-əw
new-NMLZ

‘Of friends, the old is good; of meat, the new.’

33

təw = at = ik tsarang vuud ta dəst mas
2SG.NOM = 2SG.PFV = DUR how be.PFV 2SG.NNOM friend also

k = dos
ANA = manner

‘However you are, your friend is likewise.’

34

duxman qati amtaboq so hammo az qast ixjur vəw
enemy COM meal.sharing become.IPFV but ABL treachery alert be.IPFV
‘Share a meal with your enemy, but beware of treachery.’

35

χalg a = χu χubaθ tsa parst quzi χejz tid
person ACC = REFL.NNOM REFL.NOM COND ask.3SG.IPFV judge side go.INF

odzat nist
need NEG.be.IPFV

‘If a person examines himself, there is no need to go to a judge.’

36

i χalg dzafu qati tɕer kaxt hazur χalg ruwat-i
one person toil COM work do.3SG.IPFV thousand person enjoy-NMLZ

wand
see.3SG.IPFV

‘With one person’s toil, a thousand people see enjoyment.’

37

ðutɕaχoz na tɕəwydz a = dzuj mo tɕəw
itch NEG do.PRF ACC = place PROH scratch.IPFV
‘Don’t scratch a place that doesn’t itch.’

38

ano-χejl i ðust qati praxt dzumbon = in uz i
mother-PL.NOM one hand COM cradle move.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV again one

ðust qati dinju dzumbon = in
hand COM world move.CAUS.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV

‘Mothers rock the cradle with one hand, and the world with the other.’

Appendix B

Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim

This appendix presents the orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim (2012). Throughout this grammar, orthographical spellings of personal names, place names, festival names, and names of cultural items or concepts that are unique to Sarikoli are based on this orthography. For more information on the use of this orthography, see §1.2.4.

Table B.1 Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim: Consonants

IPA	Orthography
[p]	p
[b]	b
[t]	t
[d]	d
[k]	k
[g]	g
[q]	q
[f]	f
[v]	v
[θ]	th'
[ð]	th
[s]	s
[z]	z
[ts]	c
[dz]	dz
[ç]	sh
[ʒ]	zh
[tç]	ch
[dʒ]	j
[x]	k'
[ɣ]	g'

IPA	Orthography
[χ]	h
[ɣ]	gh
[h]	kh
[m]	m
[n]	n
[r]	r
[l]	l
[w]	u, w
[j]	i, y

Table B.2 Orthography proposed by Neikramon Ibrukhim: Vowels

IPA	Orthography
[ɑ]	a
[ɛ]	e
[i]	i
[o]	o
[u]	u
[ɯ]	ee
[ə]	ea
[ɑj]	ai, ay
[ej]	ei, ey
[oj]	oi, oy
[uj]	ui, uy
[ɯj]	eei, eey
[iw]	iu, iw
[əw]	eau, eaw