

The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of
Barwar

Volume Three: Texts

by

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B5 LIFE IN ʔĒN-NUNE (1)

Informant: Dawiḏ Bakus (ʔĒn-Nune)

Weddings

(1) ʔáxni qàmθa¹ gu-maθwàθa,¹ ʔiθwalən ʔurxáθət gʔànən,¹ dáx máθálan y-oðáxwa xlulàne.¹ šūraye¹ y-azəxwa,¹ nášət xətna y-azìwa¹ l-bēθ-be-kʔàlo.¹ níxa níxa¹ mašmèwala bánta qamàye¹ ʔi-mašmèwala¹ y-amríwa ʔáxni báyax¹ ʔalbáxxa bratèxu¹ qa-d-ó bronèni.¹ y-ámri b-xàzexi.¹ (2) tà-ma.² qàmθa¹ líθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bràta.¹ bábət bràta¹ xazéwa yámmət bràta¹ xazéwa gđáðe ʔàni,¹ gayət-tré módre y-azìwa¹ y-amríwa mù wiðlèxu.² hal-lèka yáʔni¹ xəyálexu mù-qíla.² yáʔni razítu ʔən-la.² (3) y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna¹ rába gàyè¹ ʔəštà yarxé¹ xamsà yarxé¹ biz-zàwda.¹ yáʔni béna xáčča zàmət ʔiyáwa.¹ ʔu-də-trè¹ le-y-yawíwa mən-ʔójax l-ʔójax.¹ ham-kút-xa ʔójax gʔàne qamáyè,¹ káma mašíwa¹ ʔa-bràta¹ yawíwala ʔla-ʔójax gʔàna.¹ fa-hal-hádax šaqláwa dàna.¹ (4) bár hādax¹ ʔən qāʔíwa xəyalè¹ y-amríwa ʔáxni ràziyax.¹ y-azíwa tré našè¹ mən-bēθ-xətna,¹ y-azíwa be-kʔàlo.¹ y-atwíwa¹ məsawθíwa,¹ xamlíwa.¹ dəryəxxa gʔánən gu-beθèxu.¹ báyax ʔ-óðax xəzmayúθa mənèxu.¹ rába b-xádexi qá-t mxaθaxθáxxa xəzmayúθa.¹ (5) bálki qam-dána háwa wíye xázme m-gđáðe.¹ fa-mbáqri gđáðe¹ ʔ-ámri hé ʔáxni ràziwəx.¹ qemíwa dàna,¹ mattíwa nišánqe.¹ nišánqe mōdila.² yáʔni xà,¹ ʔax-ʔ-ámri,¹ ʔída hāmànta,¹ ʔída hāmànta¹ mattíwa káma... zùze.¹ ʔé-ga zúze bašòrewa.¹

B5 LIFE IN ʔĒN-NUNE (1)

Informant: Dawið Bakus (ʔĒn-Nune)

Weddings

(1) In the old days we in the villages used to have our own ways (of doing things), like, for example, the way we used to hold weddings. First of all we would go, the family of the groom would go to the house of the bride's family. They would first politely make an announcement to them saying 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son.' They would say 'We shall see'. (2) Why (did they do this)? In the old days it was not the practice to ask the girl. The father of the girl would see the mother of the girl, they (both parties) would see each other. Again they (the family of the boy) would go and say 'What have you decided?'¹ How far (have you got with your thoughts)?² That is 'What decision have you made?'² Do you agree or not?' (3) It would take time. Often it would take almost five or six months or more. In those days it was rather difficult. Moreover they did not give (brides) from one tribe to another. Everybody used to have his own tribe and as far as possible they would give the girl (in marriage) to (somebody in) her own tribe. So, it took time for such (arrangements to be made). (4) Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say 'We agree'. Two people from the family of the groom would go to the family of the bride. They would sit, talk and enjoy themselves. 'With great respect (we announce to you) that we want to form a family relationship with you.' (Or they would say) 'We would be very happy to renew the family relationship.' (5) Perhaps previously they had become relatives of one another. They would ask each other and would say 'Yes we agree'. After some time they would deposit tokens (of betrothal). What are these tokens? This is what is called 'a trusted hand', 'a trusted hand'.³ They would deposit some money. At that time money was in short supply.

¹ Literally: What have you done?

² Literally: What have your thoughts cut?

³ I.e. a deposit.

(6) *mattüwa*¹ *t-ámrx* *xá xámša* *dinàre*¹ *ʔn-hàtxa* *màndi*¹ *yáʔni* *ʔax-mšèθa*,¹ *liθan*.² *péši* *nišànqa*.¹ *y-oráwa* *xa-dána* *biš-hòdax*,¹ *xákma* *yàrx*.¹ *y-óra* *xákma* *yàrx*,¹ *béna* *m-táma* *hòdax*¹ *y-ámri* *t-oðéxi* *ʔalòbe*.¹ *ʔáw* *ʔila* *ʔlábta*¹ *yáʔni* *ʔiða* *hámánta* *doqüwala*,¹ *xárθa* *béna* *y-azüwa* *ʔalòbe*.¹

(7) *ʔalòbe*,¹ *y-oðüwa* *mexòlta*.¹ *ʔá* *mexòlta* *násət* *k'álo* *y-oðüwala*.¹ *ʔáni* *táma* *mrazgüwa* *mexòlta*,¹ *ʔítlən* *mexolyàθa*...¹ *méθéwa* *xá-ʔərbət* *xwàre* *y-amrúxwa*,¹ *ʔərbət* *xwàre*.¹ *ʔiθ-ʔərbət* *xwàre*,¹ *ʔərbət* *kòme*.¹ *ʔərbət* *xwàre* *permiwale-u*¹ *ʔərbət* *kòme*...¹ *y-oðüwa* *básra* *mbašlüwa*.¹ *béna* *bašlüwa* *rəzza*.¹ *qawürma* *y-amrúle*.¹ *ʔáw* *rəzza-w*¹ *dére* *básra* *gáwe* *düye*,¹ *ʔáw* *y-ámri* *qawürma*.¹ (8) *ʔu-y-azüwa* *táma*,¹ *ʔo-yóma* *qáʔüwa* *nəqda*.¹ *yáʔni* *béna* *y-atwüwa-w*,¹ *mšawθüwa-w*¹ *bánta* *qamáye* *mšerüwa* *yáʔni*,¹ *ʔax-t-ámrx* *mazyátta*.¹ *t-amówa* *qamáye*,¹ *ʔé-ga* *nəqda* *xànči* *y-awéwa*,¹ *mən-ʔsrí* *dinàre* *hal-ʔlathi*,¹ *bálki* *xámši*,¹ *kliθéla* *ʔahwáltət* *d-ò* *naša*¹ *káma* *ʔiθwále* *mšèθa*,¹ *t-amòwa*¹ *ʔáxni* *báyax* *xámši* *dinàre*.¹ *hè*,¹ *t-ámri* *xámši* *dinàre*,¹ *t-ámri* *hè*,¹ *lúlla* *xàm*.¹ (9) *qayámwa* *xéna* *t-amòwa*¹ *béna*¹ *ʔiθ* *xatràna-w*¹ *ʔáxni-x* *pyáša* *xəzme*.¹ *t-ámər* *mót* *mára* *fállən* *ʔati*.¹ *t-amòwa*¹ *ʔána* *màslən*¹ *ʔýsra* *dinàre*.¹ *háwət* *basíma* *ràba*¹ *ʔu-máxa* *çàppe*¹ *zamrúwa-w*.¹ *kále* *m-bar-hádax* *mó-ytu* *màra*.² *mádre* *m-bar-hádax*,¹ *mašléwa* *xá-məndi* *xèna*.¹ (10) *násət* *k'álo* *y-amrúwale*,¹ *y-ámri* *xátər* *xatràna*¹ *lán-ðaya* *mòdi*,¹ *xəzme*¹ *ʔu-péšəx* *dóste-u* *xəzme-u*,¹ *t-la-páyəš* *labbən* *b-gðàðe*.¹ *qayámwa* *mašléwa* *xámša* *xène*.¹ *t-ámər* *pešüwa* *ʔlathi-u* *xámša*.¹ *qayámwa* *bábət* *xətna*,¹ *dawóqwa* *ʔiða* *bábə* *k'álo*.¹ *yáʔni* *dawáqa* *dawóqwa* *ʔiða-düye* *qá-t* *ʔó-məndi* *wèle*.¹

(6) They would deposit let's say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (to pay), you see.⁴ These become the token (of betrothal). Further time would pass, a few months. A few months would pass, then at that point they would say 'Let us make the betrothal.' This is the act of betrothing, that is they would hold (the ceremony) of the 'trusted hand'⁵ then afterwards would proceed to hold the betrothal.

(7) As for the betrothal, they would make food. The family of the bride would make this food. They would prepare food. We have various types of food. They would bring one of the 'white small cattle' (sheep), as we say, white small cattle. There was white small cattle (sheep) and black small cattle (goats). They would slaughter sheep. As for goats.... They would prepare meat and cook it. Then they would cook rice. It is called *qawurma*. This rice, in which they put the meat, this is called *qawurma*. (8) They would go there (to the bride's house) and on that day they would decide on money. They would sit and speak, then they would start the bidding, as we say. He (a representative of the bride's family) would say—in the old days, at that time money was scarce, (one requested) from twenty to thirty dinars, perhaps fifty, depending on the circumstances of that man, on how much he was able to pay—he would say 'We want fifty dinars'. 'Yes', they say 'fifty dinars', they say 'Yes, that's fine'. (9) Another man would stand up (and say) 'There is (the obligation of) respect (for our family relationship), we are becoming relatives.' He says 'What do you, so-and-so, say?' He says 'I shall deduct ten dinars.' 'Thank you very much'. Then they would clap hands and sing. (The clapping) would stop and after that (one would say) 'What do you say?' Again after that they would deduct something else. (10) The family of the bride would say to him, they would say 'For the sake of respect (we shall decrease the amount).' I do not know what, '(We are) relatives, we are becoming friends and relatives. (We should do so) so that we do not feel anger with each other.'⁶ He would then proceed to deduct five more, so that thirty-five remained. The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.

⁴ Literally: is there not?

⁵ I.e. the deposit.

⁶ Literally: 'so that our heart does not become against each other'.

(11) *mən-táma hódəx zamrìwa-w¹ raqðìwa-w¹ 'íθwa zamríwa díwàne.¹ y-áwa tíwe díwàne mšawòðe¹ 'u-zamríwa...¹ zmaryáθa basímeiwa t-'áθra táma.¹ 'íθwa 'àraq.¹ béna gu-d-á-dana meθéwa štèθa.¹ 'a-štèθa¹ har-tàma mpaltáxwala,¹ 'àraq.¹ (12) 'àraq mpaltáxla¹ m-yabiše,¹ sab-é-ga xúrme liθwa táma,¹ y-amrìwala qàzbe.¹ fa-'àraq mpaltíwa b-yabiše,¹ yabiše 'u-'ənwə.¹ paláttət 'àraq,¹ t-amrèxi,¹ y-aθéwa meθéwa líne 'íθwa,¹ deréwa líne,¹ 'u-deréwa mìya gáwa.¹ 'u-mkasèwala-w¹ matíwala xa-dúkθa šaxínta¹ t-amrəxxa gòma.¹ t-óya šaxínta mkasèwala.¹ 'u-šaqláwa qúrba l-'árbi, xamšì yomáθa¹ (13) qa-'íma?¹ qa-d-ó-yomə t-wéwa t-ámrxəx talòbe.¹ qa-d-ó-yomət meθéwa 'àraq náše.¹ y-atwíwa 'əsrì,¹ t-làθì¹ 'árbi náše y-atwíwa zmára raqàð.¹ meθéwa 'àraq,¹ deréwa šatèwa,¹ 'u-y-oðíwa mázze-u básre-u mándi-u šabùðe.¹ (14) 'àraq—'íθwa masína.¹ masína mturáštewa m-'ùpra,¹ fa-'án mənndiyáne deréwa gu-d-a-masína,¹ 'a-masína 'íθwa glás zòra.¹ deréwale-u šatèwale t-là mìya.¹ fa-'a-štèθa šatèwala t-lá mìya.¹ šaqláwa t-ámrxəx trè-sa'əte,¹ tre-tl-à-sa'əte.¹ m-bár xamlíwa,¹ raqðìwa,¹ zamrìwa.¹ béna meθéwa mēxòlta.¹ (15) mēxòlta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,¹ 'u-kəflàne.¹ 'u-béna 'íθwa ləxma y-amrəxxwa zedəyē.¹ 'aw-zedəyē mtúršewa m-xəttē.¹ an-xəttē zāríwala... çeri zāríwala.¹ 'íθwa rába 'i-zāríwala çeri.¹ bēher,¹ b-yárxət xámša, 'əšta,¹ 'i-xazdìwala.¹ fa-'áni 'i-xazdìwala-w¹ mdarèwala-w¹ mašléwala 'ərxē,¹ taxnìwala,¹ péšì qàmxa.¹ (16) 'o-qàmxa¹ meθéwale bèθa.¹ béna 'íθwa baxtáθa t-yáði t-yàpì¹ lešìwale.¹ 'íθwa tášte gòrta¹ lešìwale,¹ hálbət míya mánne mánne lešìwale.¹ mattíwale xá-sa'ət hətxa,¹ xáčča pyáša xāmèwa y-amrəxle.¹ deréwa xmíra gáwa dìye,¹ xāmèwa.¹ bár xāmèwa,¹ y-ámri dān-dìye¹ tla-pàya.¹ (17) nablíwa tanùre.¹ 'íθwa tanùra,¹ 'áx t-y-ámrxəx,¹ hár tla-d-ò-məndi y-áwe mtúrša.¹ 'u-'íθwa baxtáθa gu-màθa,¹ là-kulley yapéwa,¹ 'áni šúley 'əwewewa.¹ 'u-yapya'əwale¹ yawíwala xà-məndì,¹ xà-ləxma,¹ trè-ləxme,¹ 'ap-'áyya xamyáwa biye-dìye.¹*

(11) From then onwards they would sing and dance. Some would sing *diwane*. They would sit and say *diwane* and sing. The songs of our land there were beautiful. There was arak. At that time they brought drink. We produced that drink, arak, there. (12) We produced arak from raisins, because at that time there were no dates there—they were called *qazbe*. So, they produced arak with raisins, raisins and grapes. As for the production of arak, they used to bring pots, they would put down the pots and put water into them. Then they would cover them and place them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement). In order for it to be warm they would cover them. It would take about forty or fifty days. (13) For when (did they prepare the arak)? For the day on which what we call the betrothal took place. For that day people would bring arak. Twenty, thirty, forty people would sit singing and dancing. They would bring arak, they would serve (food) and they would drink. They would make snacks, meat dishes, kebabs and the like. (14) As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay. Those things⁷ they would put in the *masina*. The *masina* had a small glass. They would serve it and drink it without water. They would drink that drink without water. This would take let's say two hours, two to three hours. Afterwards they would make merry, dancing and singing. Then they would bring the food. (15) As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls. There was bread which we called *zedaye*. The *zedaya* was made out of wheat. They would sow the wheat... in Autumn they would sow it. Many people sowed it in Autumn. In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it. They would harvest it, thresh it and take it down to the water-mill. They would grind it and it would become flour. (16) They would bring the flour home. There were women who knew how to bake and they kneaded it.⁸ There was a large dish, (on which) they kneaded it. Of course they kneaded it together with water. They put it aside for about an hour and it gradually rose, as we say. They would put yeast in it and it rose. After it rose, they would say 'Its time (has come) for baking'. (17) They would take it to the ovens. There was an oven, as we say, which was made specially for this. There were women in the village whose profession was this, not all of them baked. She (the baker-woman) would bake it and they gave her something, a loaf of bread, two loaves, and she made a livelihood by this.

⁷ I.e. the drinks.

⁸ I.e. the dough.

(18) *fa-m-bar-hàdax*¹ *y-atwàwa-w*,¹ *y-axlìwa-w*,¹ *módre* ¹*i-zamíwa-w* *šatèwa*¹
hál *y-oráwa gu-lèle*.¹ ¹*áyya b-léle* *y-oðíwa* ¹*ašràre*,¹ ¹*u-qayámwa kút-xa* *y-azálwa*
bēθ-diyē.¹ *bar-hàdax*¹ *y-oráwa káma yàrxē*.¹ *béna bálki* ¹*o-náša*,¹ ¹*o-xètna t-ámrx*,¹
¹*o-úrza*,¹ ¹*lè-y-awe táma*.¹ *y-awéwa pláxa gu-mðinàθa máθàlan*.¹ *t-amrìwa*,¹ *sab-áxni*
*xluláne diyən*¹ *hammáše y-oðàxwala*¹ *čeriyáwàθa*.¹ (19) *čeriyáwáθa* ¹*ímela*.²¹ *yáñi*
b-yárxət ¹*əčča*¹ ¹*u-ášra*,¹ *w-hal-xadəssə*,¹ ¹*áni y-amráxxa čeri*.¹ *sab-é-ga náše b-qéta*
y-áwa plìxe,¹ *mjümíye mexòlta*,¹ *mjümíye məndiyàne*,¹ *kúlla mtugəbrəlla qa-d-è-ga*,¹
¹*é-ga y-áwa bíš sapìqe*,¹ *lá y-awéwa súla rəba*.¹ *fa-y-ámri flan-yóma xlùlele*.¹ (20)
tre-šabbáθa qam-dána čedi.¹ *y-ázi maθwàθa*,¹ *čyàda čedíwa*.¹ ¹*é-ga líθwa càrd*¹ *líθwa*
*wàràqa*¹ *mánda šúle nablíwa*.¹ *xa-náša y-azəlwa*¹ ¹*íθwa maθwáθa qurbəni*.¹ *šaqlwa*
*čánta mənne-u*¹ *máttu ləxma gəwa*,¹ *y-azəlwa čyàda*,¹ *béθa bèθa*.¹ (21) *šláma* ¹*əlləxu*.¹
b-šəna b-tawàθa,¹ *yába čidetu xlúlə brøn-fəllən b-flàn-yoma*.¹ ¹*o-béθa kúlla hàdax*.¹
¹*íθwa tre-!lá maθwàθa*¹ ¹*o-náša y-azəlwa* ¹*šlla diyey*,¹ *l-ay-gòta*.¹ (22) ¹*íθwalən*
maθwàθa,¹ ¹*ššta*, *xamša-əštà maθwáθa*,¹ ¹*i-mpəlìwala*.¹ *y-azəlwa l-bèθa-w*¹ *y-ámər*
*čidetu*¹ *xlúl-d-èni*.²¹ *fəllən-ile*.¹ *y-ámər basíma rəba*.¹ (23) *béna* ¹*an-márət xətna qemíwa*
mtagbòre.¹ *mádre deréwa* ¹*áraq !la-xlúla*,¹ *sab-xlúla rəba náše čedíwa*.¹ ¹*u-məθéwa*
¹*šrwe permíwa y-oðíwa qàlyá*.¹ ¹*u-məθéwa rəzza* ¹*u-məndyàne*¹ *béna hál-yomət xlúla*.¹
(24) ¹*íθwalən xlúla táma*,¹ ¹*íθwa dáwla-w zòrna y-amráxwale*.¹ *dáwla-w zòrna*¹
¹*áni sáma zóda* ¹*íθwa suráye* ¹*u-hám mən-mšəlmáne t-íwa tàma*.¹ *fa-áni məθéwa*
¹*ašərtá*,¹ *šəbθa y-aθéwa*.¹

(25) *xá-yoma qám dāna*¹ *y-amráxla xyáptət xətna*.¹ *šadəsta y-áwe* ¹*o-yóma*.¹ *kúlla*
náše y-aθéwa yatwíwa bəθət xətna.¹ *xamlíwa*,¹ *raqðíwa*,¹ *zamrìwa*.¹ *dárt yóma*,¹ ¹*íθwa*
xyáptət xətna.¹ *xyáptət xətna y-aθéwa dáwla-w zòrna*.¹

(18) After this they sat, ate and again sang and drank until it was night. At night they would hold evening celebrations and then everyone would go to their home. After that several months would pass. Perhaps the person, that is the groom, the man, was not there. He was working in the towns, for example. (This passage of time) was because we always used to hold our weddings in Autumn. (19) When was Autumn? It was September, October until November, we called these Autumn. This is because in those days people would have worked in summer and gathered food, gathered various things and prepared them for that time, then at that time (in the Autumn) they were more free and there was not much work. They would say ‘Such-and-such a day is (that of) the wedding’. (20) Two weeks beforehand they would invite (people). They would go to the villages and make invitations. There was no (invitation) card at that time. It was not the practice to take a piece of paper or the like. A man would go to villages that were near us. He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations. (21) ‘Greetings to you’. ‘You are welcome’. ‘You are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day.’ All the family was likewise invited. There were two or three villages in one direction where the man would go (first). (22) We had five or six (neighbouring Christian) villages, which they would divide (into groups).⁹ He would go to a house and say ‘You are invited’. ‘The wedding of whom?’ ‘It is so-and-so’. He (the guest) would say ‘Thank you very much’. (23) The parents of the groom would start making preparations. They would put out arak for the wedding, since they invited many people to the wedding. They would bring sheep, slaughter them and make *qalya* (roasted meat preserved in fat). They would bring rice and other things (and continue thus) until the day of the wedding. (24) (When) we had a wedding there, there was the drum and pipe, as we called it. The drum and pipe, these were mainly (played by) Christians and also some Muslims who were there. They would bring these in the evening, they would come on Saturday.

(25) A day before there was what we call ‘the bathing of the groom’. The *šadasta* (pre-wedding party)¹⁰ was held on that day. Everybody came and sat in the house of the groom. They would enjoy themselves, dance and sing. The next day was the bathing of the groom. At the bathing of the groom the drum and pipe band would come.

⁹ I.e. the man making the invitations would divide the villages into groups and go to one group at a time.

¹⁰ For close family and friends.

(26) *ʔi-jāmíwa nàše,¹ lošíwa jülle¹ ʔu-xepìwale.¹ qám t-xépi xàtna,¹ meθéwa xa-yalúnka zòra.¹ ʔap-ʔáwowa xa-nišānqe.¹ mxallíwale rēs-díye¹ xepìwale.¹ ʔu-xaráye xepíwa xàtna.¹ y-asqíwa malwəšíwale jull-díye¹ ʔu-y-atwíwa.¹ (27) y-áwa wíde xa-rámša yòma.¹ y-áwa wíde dúxwa.¹ dúxwa ʔíle mtúrša mən-dàwwe-u¹ sàre-u¹ básre gáwe díye¹ kùll xa-mánda.¹ fa-ʔánna¹ yáʔni y-oráwa dàna¹ tre-ʔlǎ-sa² ʔate ʔárba sà² ʔate.¹ ʔáxni y-oðáxwa dúxwa táma.¹ (28) ʔo-lèle¹ y-azáxwa be-k'álo.¹ y-azáxwa be-k'álo.¹ y-atwíwa b-dawère,¹ ʔé-ga b-dawère,¹ kodənta y-amrəxxa.¹ y-azíwa be-k'álo.¹ ʔən-d-à-maθele.¹ ʔən-d-a-máθa xètele,¹ y-azíwa y-atwíwa táma be-k'álo.¹ (29) ʔap-táma dáwla-w zórna xmála hál b-lèle.¹ xátna-w qaríwa¹—ʔáv šaqáwla qaríwa mónne díye,¹ qaríwa y-áwe mánne díye ʔap-ʔáv¹—qaríwa-w xátna pešíwa bé k'álo,¹ yáʔni xákma xa-béθa qurbèy.¹ hé yáʔni t-amrəxxe be-k'álo.¹ (30) m-léle mbàdla táma,¹ yáʔni mbarxíwa.¹ y-aθéwa qáša.¹ har-gu-bèθa¹ y-asríwale gnùna-w¹ yáʔni t-ámrx mbarxíwale.¹ ay-qàmθewa.¹ xàrθa¹ bār mbarxíwa,¹ ʔu-razgíwa¹ béna y-atwíwa k'álo-w xàtna-w¹ qaríwa-w qaríwota mənney-u¹ béna náše raqðíwa zamríwa¹ hál pešáwa qédamta jàlde xáčča.¹ (31) béna meθéwa fīarta¹ fafríwa.¹ meθéwa¹... jəjək y-awéwa,¹ gùpta,¹ kùlla mturášta tàmá,¹ dùša,¹ duwàna¹—duwána ʔi-mtaršíwale mən-qámxa¹ ʔu-məšxa,¹ məšxa hùr,¹ məšxət ʔərwə,¹ məšxət ʔərwə m-áwowa tàza.¹ ʔé-ga līθwa,¹ la-k'ása mārāwa¹ ʔu-la-xàša mārēwa,¹ la-dǎgəṭ y-awèwale.¹*

(32) *fa-fafríwa razgíwa m-kül-xa-mənda,¹ hál kawùθra.¹ béna qám t-mšére xàtna,¹ mattíla tàmta¹ l-mes-íla¹ l-ʔárela xzi-dàxíla táma.¹ mattíwa tàmta,¹ xátna y-amórwə: ʔana-lè ʔaxléna.¹ ʔáwowa ʔíle xa-nišānqa díyən,¹ yáʔni m-záwona qadím hàtxa y-ámriwa.¹ lé-y-axəl xàtna.¹*

(26) People would gather together wearing (fine) clothes and bathe him. Before they bathed the groom, they would bring a small boy. This also was symbolic. They would wash his head and bathe him. Finally they would bathe the groom. They would come up (from the river)¹¹ and dress him in his clothes. (27) Then they would sit down. They would have made the evening meal during the day. They would have made *duxwa*. *Duxwa* is made from diluted yoghurt and barley, with meat and so on put in it. It took time (to make),¹² two or three hours. We used to make *duxwa* there. (28) In the evening we would go to the house of the bride. We would go to the house of the bride. They would sit on mules, at that time (they sat) on mules. They called it a *koḍanta* ('female mule'). They went to the house of the bride. Whether it was in the village or in another village, they would go and sit there in the house of the bride. (29) Also there there would be the drum and pipe and merriment into the night. The groom and the best man—he would take a best man with him, the best man would be together with him—the best man and the groom would stay at the house of the bride, that is in a house nearby. Yes, we call this the house of the bride. (30) In the early morning they would hold perform the blessing (of the wedding ceremony) there. A priest would come. In the house they would tie the band. We say 'They blessed it'. This was beforehand. Afterwards, after they performed the blessing and were finished, the bride and the groom sat down together with the best man and the bridesmaid. Then people would dance and sing, until it was almost early morning. (31) Then they would bring breakfast and they would eat breakfast. They would bring...there used to be jajik, cheese, all made there, honey, *duwana*—they made *duwana* from flour and butter, pure butter, the butter of sheep, good quality sheep's butter. At that time there was no (illness), there was no stomach ache, no backache, one did not have (high blood) pressure.

(32) They ate breakfast and finished everything until it was lunchtime. Before the groom began, they would lay out the breakfast, on the table and on the ground, as was the practice there.¹³ They would lay out the breakfast and the groom would say 'I shall not eat'. This is a symbolic act of ours. From times of old they would say that the groom will not eat.

¹¹ The bathing of the groom took place in the river.

¹² Literally: time passed.

¹³ Literally: it is on the table, it is on the ground, see how it is there.

(33) *magúřwa g'ān-diye.*¹ *y-odáxwa lèbe-u,*¹ *gaxkàxwa-w*¹ *zamrəxwa-w*¹ *xamláxwa*
*bíya.*¹ *'u-y-amrəxwa:*¹ *də-xùlena-w*¹ *y-ámər len-kpina-w*¹ *xəđya-w*¹ *m-án məndiyàne.*¹
*'ap-'ayyéwa xa-xumlàna díyən,*¹ *yá'ni xa-nišànqa díyən.*¹ *gu-d-a-dàna,*¹ *y-amrìwa:*¹
*kəmə t-àxlət?*¹ *y-ámər:* *báyən 'əsrà-dinare.*¹ (34) *gu-d-a-dàna,*¹ *mádre mzanfəřwala*
*g'ān-diye,*¹ *y-aməřra:* *lè-y-axlena,*¹ *lan-đá'a mōdi.*¹ *y-ámri:* *xùl!*¹ *dànela.*¹ *qìrra.*¹ *xùlena!*¹
*lan-đá'a mōdi.*¹ *qemúwa yawíwale 'əsrà-dinare*¹ *'u-y-axəłwa,*¹ *hàl' l-kawùθra.*¹ (35)
*'ána 'áxxa nšéli xa-màndi.*¹ *k'əlo*¹ *'íman t-aθyàwa*¹ *páθa díya mkusèθa.*¹ *k'əlo*¹ *páθa*
*díya mkusèθa.*¹ *məθéwa 'íθwalən xá...*¹ *'áx jùllele*¹ *'áx kunnə̀kθela,*¹ *hátxa daréwa*
*l-yálma díya.*¹ *y-ámri xəppo.*¹ *'áw y-amrile xəppo.*¹ *xátna lè-y-xaze k'əlo.*¹ (36) *'u-y-átwi*
*táma m-gòđəđe*¹ *hál sá'ət xá'a trè*¹ *béna gářag 'ázi bēθ-be-xətna.*¹ *qam-dàna,*¹ *y-áxli*
*kawùθra.*¹ *y-áwa mrúžge xùmsa,*¹ *'áyya mexólta y-óya l-násət k'əlo.*¹ *'a-mexólta*
*yawila-w*¹ *rázgi mbádla dàna.*¹ *qam-dána y-áwe rqáđa zmára 'u-štáya.*¹ *'u-dáwla-w*
*zòrna.*¹ *'u-náše y-áwa jəmye,*¹ *y-áwa mrúžge qa-d-a-dàna.*¹ (37) *m-bar-t-y-áxli,*¹ *méθe*
*dawèra,*¹ *kodənta y-amrəxwala.*¹ *mxamlìwala-w*¹ *deráwa qurtána-w m-an-məndiyàne,*¹
*'u-deréwa xá jùlla táməz reša-díya-w.*¹ *'u-xátna-w 'u-k'əlo,*¹ *k'əlo y-atúwewa xa-xəzma*
*díya mánna díya,*¹ *y-atúwewa qamàye*¹ *'u-'áy mattúwala báθre díye,*¹ *xāš-t-kodənta.*¹
*'u-'úp xátna dawéř g'ān-diye*¹ *qaríwa...*¹ *kúlla b-dawéře 'é-ga lìθwa?*¹ *'u-xákma*
*y-áwa p-àqla,*¹ *'ap-'ən-wéwa maθwáθa rəhqa.*¹ (38) *'u-gu-d-a-dàna*¹ *'i-mšaníwa*
*zála l-be-xətna.*¹ *gu-d-á-dana y-amrìwala máxa čáppe bükə,*¹ *yá'ni patlāxxa dukáne*
*'ən-yéwa béθa qùrba*¹ *yan-rəhqa.*¹ *'áy y-ámri čáppe bükə.*¹ *yá'ni maxəđrila 'a-k'əlo*
*qùrbət bèθa,*¹ *y-áθi máti l-bèθa.*¹ *m-bár máti l-bèθa*¹—*qam-dàna*¹ *y-áwa mrúžge xá*
*'ilána.*¹ (39) *'ilána*¹ *y-amrəxwala 'é-ga t-ámřəxxa jwànnə.*¹ *'áy 'ilána mšaqliwala.*¹
*deréwa xabúše bíya.*¹ *deréwa ləxma 'álla díya.*¹ *deréwa guttəθa.*¹ *rába mšaqliwala*
*rába məndiyàne tazè.*¹ *'ay-'ilána 'əka?*¹ *masqíwala gəre.*¹ *xátna 'u-qaríwa y-asqíwa*
*l-gəre.*¹ (40) *k'əlo y-aθyáwa l-təřət-bèθa.*¹ *táma y-áwa mtüršə,*¹ *y-awéwa xa-'amána*
*y-amrəxla zawəřta.*¹ *y-awə dərye yabíše gáwa,*¹ *gəwze-u*¹ *bə̀tme-u*¹ *xáčča řarníye*
*'u-məndiyàne gəwa.*¹ *'áy y-óya muttéθa gu-tára qam-t-óra k'əlo.*¹ *qam-t-óra k'əlo*
*y-odáwa řlíwa məřxa.*¹

(33) He would act pompously. We made tricks, laughed, sang and enjoyed the occasion. We would say 'Eat!' and he would say 'I am not hungry', in fun, things like that. This also was a form of merriment of ours, and a symbolic act of ours. At that time they would say 'How much (do you want) in order for you to eat?' He would say 'I want ten dinars'. (34) Then he would pompously puff himself up again and say to them 'I shall not eat', I don't know why.' They would say 'Eat! It's time. It's got cold. Eat!' 'I don't know why (but I shall not eat)'. Then they would give him ten dinars and he would eat. (This would go on) until lunchtime. (35) But I have forgotten something here. The bride, when she came, her face was covered. The bride's face was covered. They brought something that was like a cloth, like a kerchief. They put it like this over her face. It is called a *xap̄po* ('cover'). It is called a *xap̄po*. The groom does not see the bride. (36) They sit there together until one or two o'clock, then they have to go to the house of the groom's family. Beforehand they eat lunch. They would have prepared *xum̄sa*. This food is for the family of the bride. They give this food to them and they finish (eating) in the early morning. Beforehand there is dancing, singing, drinking, the drum and pipe. The people would be gathered and prepared for that time. (37) After eating, they bring a mule, we call it a *koðanta* ('female mule'). They decorate it and put on it a saddle blanket or the like, and put on it a clean cloth. As for the bride and groom, a relative sits with the bride, he sits at the front and he would put her behind him, on the back of the mule. The groom also (has) his own mule, and the best man... they were all on mules at that time, you see. Some were on foot, even if the villages were far off. (38) At that time they move to the house of the groom. At that time (they do what) is called 'clapping hands for the bride', that is we would take her around various places, whether her house was close or far. This is called 'clapping hands for the bride'. That is, they take the bride around towards her house and come to her house. After they arrive at the house—beforehand they have prepared a tree. (39) We used to call the tree a thorn-tree. They used to decorate the tree. They put apples on it. They put bread on it. They put balls on it. They decorated it with many beautiful things. Where was this tree? They put it up on the roof. The groom and the best man went up on the roof. (40) The bride would come to the door of the house. There they made a vessel that we call a *zawarta* ('pot'). They put raisins in it, walnuts, terebinth nuts, some sweets and other things. This is placed at the door before the bride enters. Before the bride enters she makes (the sign of) the cross in oil.

(41) *mεθέωα māsxa, y-odáwa šlúwa l-tára, qa-t-ána bawarúθi θáya biyèxula, pyásan m-d-áwowa bèθa. áwowa nišânqele. xa-tušèle qa-t-ána áwowa íle bèθi m-díya hòdax. gu-d-ε-dána qemíwa k'álo toráwala áy zawèrta u-y-oráwa gu-bèθa.*
 (42) *m-bar-hàdax qemíwa mزابونه ílana. náse úwa kòpa kúlla, u-áwowa gárewa ràma. áwowa náse iyéwa kúlla spára kòpa. a-ílana mزابنؤوا y-amrâxxa. t-aθéwa xázme díye t-amàrwa hé gállak nàše, éni záwàn ílana. xa-náša díye t-ámàrwa ána zonánna b-àšra, šaqlúwa àšra dinàre. u-xéna t-ámàrwa zonánna b-xamsàsšar, šaqlúwa xamsàsšar. qa-xumlàna áwowa mândi sáma zóda liθan. (43) béna xaràye qayámwa šaqálwa a-ílana maxáwala l-swàna y-amrâxla, swàna. u-an-gàwze t-ítwa bíya díya-w xabùše u-sparàgle u-m-án mândiyàne, kúlla šaléwa gota-xtèθa. u-jámíwa náše mánna díya. u-áy ílana mattíwa tàma. u-bár hàdax béna k'álo θíθa lāxxa, o-yòma pεšúwa tàma. (44) ašárta xlùlele. qémi náše rqáða. bár hàdax, bár t-íla-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma yá'ni wára gu-l-bèθa, θáyεle qàša u-sára gnùnele. ó gnúna íle nišânqa qa-t... hāmántat bèθa, pyáša d-o-bèθa. (45) qáša u-šamáše t-úwa tàma mšàli, y-ásri gnúna kul-xa-màndi. u-áni y-átwi qam-d-ó gnúna, y-áwe mtúrša an qānāfele, an xa-màndi, an-l-àrele. y-átwi qám d-o-gnúna u-náše qémi rqáða u-zmàra-w kúlla yóma hàdax. (46) xačča-pyáša xlúla y-awe t-là-yomane, yómæt trušèba, dárt yòma, t-ámrx sab-áxni xluláne kásln šàbθa y-áwa. xušèba-w be-k'álo y-áwa dèri nàše. yómæt trušèba áwowa be-xàtnεle. ó-yoma xlúla rasmile. qémi qedámta nàše u-jámi. (47) y-áwa zúle, kút-xa bēθ-díye. m-maθwáθa y-áwa àθye maθwáθa kúlla y-áwa lwíše júlle šàlla, y-áwa mxúmlε, kusyàθa, u-mútte párrε gu-rèša. u-o-t-ítte xànjær mut-téle xànjær. yá'ni mxúmlε rába šapíre júlle lwíše tròša. ó-màndi táza à-yomεle sab-à-xàðyúθa úlla kúlla.*

(41) They would bring oil and she would make (the sign of) the cross on the door, (to indicate) that ‘I place my trust in you. I am becoming a member of this family’. This is a symbolic act. It is a sign that ‘This is my house from now on’. At that time the bride would break the pot and enter the house. (42) After that they would sell the tree. The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof, all the people were waiting below. They sold the tree, as we say. His relatives came and (one) said ‘Hey, everybody, who will buy the tree?’ One relative of his would say ‘I shall buy it for ten’ and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say ‘I shall buy it for fifteen’ and they would receive fifteen. This was mainly for fun, you see. (43) In the end, he (the groom) would take the tree and they would knock it against the eaves, as we call them, the eaves. The walnuts that were on it, the apples, the quinces and such things all fell down. Then the people gathered them up. They set up the tree there. After that, when the bride had come, they remained there that day. (44) In the evening there were wedding celebrations. People got up and danced. Afterwards, after the woman has become official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band. The band is a symbol (expressing) trust in the family (and that) she is becoming (a member) of the family. (45) The priest and the deacon who are there pray, tie the band and (do) everything. They (the bride and groom) sit before the band, which is placed either on a sofa or something else, or on the ground. They sit before the band and the people get up and dance and sing, all day long. (46) The wedding celebrations last almost three days, (until) Monday, the next day, let’s say, since in our community weddings took place on Saturday. On Sunday the people are at the bride’s house and then return. On Monday it (the wedding) is at the groom’s house. This day is the official wedding. The people get up the next morning and gather together. (47) They went (there), each (from) his home, they came from the villages, from the villages, all dressed in the *šalla*.¹⁴ They dressed up, with hats, in which they put feathers. If somebody had a dagger, he put on the dagger. They dressed up and indeed the clothes were very beautiful. This splendid event took place on that day, since they were all very joyful.

¹⁴ Traditional clothes.

(48) *m-táma hódax har-ò-yoma,*¹ *y-ámri xǎdáyat xàtna.*¹ *y-áwe mbúšla kút-xa,*¹ *xa-rǎzza¹ xa-prêxe,*¹ *xá rǎzza smòqa,*¹ *xa-rǎzza xwàra.*¹ *kút-xa xá-màndi y-áwe mbúšla.*¹ *ʔáy y-amríla xǎdáyat xàtna.*¹ *yáʔni xa-xállèta ʔla-xàtna ʔap-ʔáyya.*¹ (49) *ʔu-y-áwa múθye bəθqe.*¹ *táma ʔiθ-bəθqe.*¹ *maθyála báxta m-xəzmàne.*¹ *mεθéla xǎdàya,*¹ *ʔu-y-ázi l-xàtna ʔu-kʰàlo¹ našqìle reše-díye¹ ʔu-rēš-t-kʰàlo.*¹ *ʔu-ʔiθ-bəθqa dére b-rešəy.*¹ *yáʔni mbarxìley y-ámrxə¹ ʔap-ʔáni mbarxìley.*¹ (50) *ʔu-y-àtwi,*¹ *ʔašǎrta kúlla jǎmi-u¹ šàli.*¹ *bar-hàdax,*¹ *bar-t-y-áxli náše kawúθra kull-xa-màndi,*¹ *qémi mpáli kʰàlo marqǎila.*¹ *y-áθi náše qamθèy,*¹ *šaqlíla mašlèla,*¹ *qam-tǎrət-béθa gòrta y-óya.*¹ *maduqíla xàtna-w kʰàlo gotə-gǎdǎde,*¹ *ʔu-béna náše ràqǎdi.*¹ *ʔup-ʔó-yoma hal-ʔašǎrta y-áwe xlíla.*¹ (51) *dárt yóma xlíla pàraq.*¹ *ʔu-kʰàlo péša táma hál... yómət šáwewa¹ y-amríle šurèla.*¹ *hé yómət šáwewa² ʔile šurèla.*¹ *xàtna-w kʰàlo¹ xáčča mən-d-án-našət bəθa,*¹ *mən-xəzmàne,*¹ *y-ázi be-kʰàlo.*¹ *y-ázi be-kʰàlo tàma,*¹ *péši ʔó-lèle tàma.*¹ *yáʔni qámθa hàtxa¹ hadíya lèle hádax.*¹ *ʔina qámθa ʔurxà ʔiyáwa.*¹ *péši xàtna-w kʰàlo tàma¹ hal-xušəba.*¹ *kulléy béna deříwa bəθa,*¹ *ʔu-kút-xa y-azǎlwa bεθe-díye.*¹

Easter

(52) *qyàmta,*¹ *ʔáxni gu-maθwàθa¹ tróša rába tazəyèwa.*¹ *sáma zòda¹ b-lèle šaláxwa,*¹ *ʔašǎrta.*¹ *ʔiθwalən šàwema,*¹ *yáʔni ʔéða y-aθéwa mən-šàwema.*¹ *šàwema ʔile xamsi yomáθa.*¹ *bar-šémi náše xamsi yomáθa,*¹ *ʔi-šáwíwa bəʔe.*¹ *mrazgíwa¹ šábθa ʔašǎrta.*¹ *qám-dana y-áwa-mrúzge bəʔe,*¹ *kút-xa xá mrúzge gʰanèy.*¹

(48) Subsequently, on the same day, there was what is called ‘the lunch of the groom’. Everybody would have cooked something, one person rice, one stuffed vine leaves, another red rice,¹⁵ another white rice. Everybody cooked something. This is called ‘the lunch of the groom’. This also was a gift for the groom. (49) They would have brought sweets to be scattered (over the newly weds). We had (such a custom) of scattering sweets. A woman from among the relatives brings them. They bring the lunch, then go to the groom and bride and kiss his head and the head of the bride. Some people scatter sweets over them. In this way they bless them, according to our custom, they bless them. (50) They sit and in the evening all gather and go down (to dance). Afterwards, after the people have eaten all the lunch, they bring the bride out and make her dance. People come up to them and take them down to a large space outside. They put the groom and bride together side by side¹⁶ and everybody dances. This day also¹⁷ the wedding celebrations last until evening. (51) The next day the celebrations gradually come to an end. The bride stays there until the seventh day, which is called ‘(the time) she has begun (her functions of a wife)’. Yes, the seventh day is called ‘(the time) she has begun’. The bride and the groom—some of the family, some relatives, go to the house of the bride. They go to the house of the bride and spend the night there. They did this in the old days, it is not like that now. But in the old days this was the custom. The groom and bride stay there until Sunday. Then they all return home, everybody goes to his home.

Easter

(52) Easter in our community in the villages was indeed very beautiful. Generally we went down (to the church) at night or in the evening. We had a fast, that is the festival came after a fast. The fast is fifty days. After people fast for fifty days, they would paint eggs. They would prepare them on Saturday evening. They would have prepared the eggs beforehand, each person prepared them himself.

¹⁵ Rice cooked with tomato.

¹⁶ Literally: They make the groom and bride hold each other’s side.

¹⁷ I.e. Monday.

(53) *šáβθa 'ašə̀rta' mrazgíwa g'ána qa-t-šále qyàmta, 'sab-qyámta b-lèle 'iyáwa. 'y-azíwa šahàrta y-amr̀xla. 'sáma zóda náše y-ázi šahàrta, 'sab-táma b-màθewa. 'b-máθa 'úmra qùrbeyewa. 'w-iyéwala pùnde, 'kút-xa 'iyewále pùnde. 'fa-mšalíwa šahàrta, 'mšeríwa šloyàθa. (54) gu-d-ε-dàna, 'y-oráwa xá-sa'ət biz-zòda, 'qayəmwa'... 'áy y-ámri má dánət plítla qyàmta. 'šahàrta qa-t-qyàmta pálta. 'fa-zayánwa qàša' 'u-kút-xa pùnde b-íðe dìye. 'y-aθèwa' xá bar-d-o-xèna. (55) sáma zóda y-oðáxwala qam-tàra. 'rába šklánta 'iyáwa basímta. 'yá'ni 'ana-taxr̀anna rába ràba. 'rába tàza 'iyéwa. 'qayəmwa, 'qáša y-awéwa zína qamàye. 'u-šamáše báθre báθre. 'kút...y-ázi tàma, 'maxéwale púnda réše dìye' y-amárwa: qyámtət mārən' qímle mārən. 'hál kúlla párqí m-g̀dàðe. (56) šaqláwa' bálki xá-sa'ata biz-zóda y-oràwa. 'u-náše xamlíwa. 'gu-d-ε-dána mšeríwa wáða rázət qurbàna. 'é kúlla b-lèlele, 'qedamyàθele yá'ni. 'bár parqáwa qyàmta, 'qám mšeríwa rázət qurbàna, 'úmra qùrbət bεθ-qorayàθa y-awéwa. 'bεθ-qòra. 'an-náše mìθe' 'áni y-amr̀xxa bεθ-qòra. 'fa-y-azíwa. (57) kút-xa 'itle xa-mìθa. 'malhéwa púnda, 'mattúwale kəs-reše-díye' mdabšíwale. 'tré-punde t̀làθa' y-oðíwa zòre, 'y-oðíwa zóre qə̀ttàte, 'mattúwala' mdabšíwala' l-réšəd bεθ-qòra. 'sáb kúl-xa náša hálbət 'itle mìθa. 'u-kúl kúlfət y-azáwa l-míθe dìye, 'yá'ni l-bεθ-qòra, 'mattáwa 'əlle-díye, 'malhèwale. 'u-mšaléwa 'əp-'áni 'əlle-díye. (58) 'u-deříwa, 'u-y-óříwa mádre gu-'úmra, 'šeríwa rázət qurbàna. 'u-hál qedàmta—gu-d-ε-dàna' kút-xa y-áwe múθya bèta mánne. 'béta halbát smòqtela, 'yá'ni 'áwíwa xa-nišànqe. 'u-náše ràbe 'iyéwa. 'm-bár pálət qurbàna, 'pálti gu-dèrta, 'qémi mxáya bè'e. 'y-amr̀xxe mxáya bè'e. 'yá'ni šmáta bè'e xa-d-o-xèna, 'twàra. 'maxéwa bè'e, 'áxni y-amr̀xxe mxáya bè'e.*

(53) On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil), because Easter was at night. They went to the vigil, as we called it. Most people went to the vigil, since it was there in the village. In the village the church was nearby. They had tallow candles, everybody had tallow candles. Then they prayed the vigil, they began the prayers. (54) Then, after about an hour had passed, the resurrection would be celebrated.¹⁸ What is this called?: The time when the resurrection has taken place. They keep vigil until the resurrection takes place. The priest stands and everybody has a tallow candle in his hand. They come up one after another. (55) Generally we hold it (this ceremony) outside. It was very beautiful and pleasant. I remember well. It was very nice. (When) the resurrection was celebrated,¹⁹ the priest would have stood at the front and the deacons behind him. Everybody came up and they touched his head with a tallow candle and said ‘The resurrection of our Lord. Our Lord has arisen’. (This went on) until everybody had finished. (56) It took time, perhaps an hour or more would pass. The people were joyful. Then they began to take communion. All this was at night, that is in the early morning. After the resurrection ceremony had finished, before they began to take communion—the church was near the cemetery, the cemetery. The dead people, they lay in what is called the cemetery.²⁰ The people would go (there). (57) Each person has a dead (family member). He would light a tallow candle and put it by his head²¹ and press it (down on the grave). They made two or three small tallow candles, they made small pieces and placed them, stuck them onto the head of the grave. This was because every man, of course, had a dead (family member). Every family went to his dead, that is to the cemetery, placed (a tallow candle) for him and lit it. They also prayed for him. (58) Then they returned, went back into the church and began the communion mass. The next day—at that time everybody would have brought an egg with him. The egg was red, of course. This was a symbol. There were many people. When the communion is over, they go out into the courtyard and begin to knock eggs together. We call this ‘knocking eggs’, that is smashing the eggs of one another and breaking them. They would strike eggs together, we call it ‘striking eggs’.

¹⁸ Literally: He (Christ) arose.

¹⁹ Literally: He (Christ) arose.

²⁰ Literally: We call them the cemetery.

²¹ I.e. on the headstone of the grave.

(59) *gu-d-ε-dàna*¹ *toráwa bèta*,¹ *y-ámær màxðarra*!¹ *ʔap-o-géba yáʔni góta xèta*.¹
*ʔæn-twírɔwala tórna*¹ *t-xa mǎnnèy*¹ *y-awáɔlwala qa-t-wáha šaqǎɔlwa mǎnne*,¹ *yáʔni*
qǎm-qarǎmla t-ámrx.¹ *ʔu-bár parqíwa*,¹ *náše y-áwa múθye táma t-amrǎxxe kàde*.¹
*ʔáni káde y-áwa mtúrše... mǎn-qǎmxele-u*¹ *mǎšxa*¹ *ʔu-rába mǎnnéy y-áwe duwána*,¹
là.² *hè*,¹ *y-áwe duwána-w qámxa-w m-án mǎndiyáne*.¹ (60) *ʔáni kullèy*¹ *y-áwa múθye*
*tàma*¹ *ʔu-mpǎlila náše*.¹ *yáʔni ʔáx nišǎnqele ʔap-áwɔwa*¹ ... *y-áwa múθye béʔe xa-yáwǎl*
qa-d-o xèna.¹ *ʔu-jámi tàma-w*¹ *mbárxi náše gǎððe*¹ *ʔu-xàmlí*,¹ *ʔu-kúl xa-mǎndí*.¹
ʔu-ʔæn-ʔíθǎn náše ʔóθye m-maθwáθa xène,¹ *kút-xa šáqǎɔlwa xákma xǎzmǎn-diye*,¹
masǎqla kǎsle-diye tla-ftǎrta.¹ (61) *ʔu-bar-párqi rázgi... qamáye ʔáxni táma y-azǎxwa*
*béθǎt ráyyas*¹—*rǎyyas*¹ *ʔáwɔwa ʔíle góra màθa y-amrǎxle*¹—*ʔu-be-qǎša*.¹ *fa-jǎmíwa*
náše,¹ *níxa níxa níxa níxa*,¹ *péšíwa xámša-w ʔǎra-w hál xamšǎssǎn*.¹ *ʔu-péší xa-béna*
matáwa hal-ʔǎsri,¹ *doqíwa béθa béθa*¹ *xá bar-d-o-xèna*,¹ *liθǎn*.² (62) *ʔéðux bríxa*,¹
šláma-w yatwíwa.¹ *béna mǎθéwa štèθa-w*,¹ *yáʔni ʔǎraq*,¹ *ʔu-m-xámra-w*¹ *zámriwa-w*¹
xamlíwa.¹ *y-áwa lwíše kúlla jülle*,¹ *mxúmle*,¹ *xákma mǎndiyáne*,¹ *yáʔni rába tǎza*,¹
sab-ʔó-yoma xa-xǎðyùθeɔwa,¹ *hál kawùθra*,¹ *pálgǎd yòma*.¹ *gu-d-ε-dàna*,¹ *ʔékeɔeɔwa*
*mùtye*¹ *pálgǎt yòma*¹ *táma y-axlíwa kúlla*.¹ (63) *ʔáni y-ámri xǎdǎya*,¹ *sab-y-áwa*
wíðe xǎdǎya,¹ *wíðe rázza-w šǎrba-w*¹ *ʔu-bǎsre ʔu-mǎndiyáne ʔu-štèθa*,¹ *kúl-xa mǎndí*
táma y-axlíwa.¹ *mǎdre*¹ *mšeríwa*¹ *l-ʔéðawáθa*,¹ *yáʔni jwǎya l-ʔéðáwáθa d-an-xène*,¹ *hál*
ʔašǎrta,¹ *hál dart-yòma*.¹ *tre-yomáθa ʔiyéwa ʔéða*.¹ *ʔu-y-áwa blíge b-ánna mǎndiyáne*.¹
ʔáwɔwa ʔíle ʔax-t-ámrx ʔéðǎt-qyámta,¹ *xa-nišanqa rába góra trǎša*.¹ *ʔáwɔwa ʔéða góra*
y-amrǎxle,¹ *ʔáwɔwa ʔéða góra*.¹

(64) *ʔéða góra*¹ *yómǎt trǎšeba*¹ *y-áwe duxràna*.¹ *y-áwe duxràna*.¹ *ʔo-duxrána*
mòdile.² *ʔan-náše*¹ *kúlla báte*¹ *kut-béθa mbášǎl xa-mǎndí*.¹ *ʔm-rǎzzεle*,¹ *ʔm-dùxwεle*,¹
ʔm-prǎxela,¹ *ʔm-bušǎlela*,¹ *gǎrðo*,¹ *sáma zóda y-ámri gǎrðo*.¹ *gǎrðo ʔíla mǎn-mǎsta*.¹
mǎsta ʔíla mǎn-xǎlyá,¹ *xǎlyǎt ʔǎrwe*.¹

(59) Then, when the egg broke, one would say ‘Turn it round!’ and (the opponent struck) also the other side.²² If both (sides) of one of the eggs broke, he would give it to the other person to take it from him. He has won it, as we say. After they finish—people would have brought there what we call *kade*. The *kade* were made from flour and butter, and many had *duwana* (cake paste) in them, is that not so? Yes, they were (made of) *duwana*, flour and the like. (60) They brought all these there and people shared them out. This was also a symbolic act. They brought eggs and people gave to one another. They gather there, bless one another (with greetings of the season) and enjoy themselves, and so forth. If there are people who have come from other villages, each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast. (61) After they had finished and were ready... in the old days there (in our land) we used to go the house of the (village) head—the head is ‘the man of the village’, as we call him—and to the house of the priest (to offer Easter blessings). The people would gather and would gradually become five, ten, up to fifteen, sometimes they would reach twenty (in number), then they would call on each house, one after the other, you see. (62) (They would say) ‘May your festival be blessed. Greetings’ and they would sit. Then they would bring drink, arak and some wine, and they would sing and enjoy themselves. They were all dressed in festive clothes and the like, very smart, since that day was a joyful occasion. (This went on) until lunchtime, midday. At that time, wherever they had got to, at midday they all ate. (63) They say *xādaya* (‘lunch’), they would have made lunch, rice, soup, meat and so on, also drink, everything, and they ate. Then they would again start on the festival visits, that is they would make festival visits to other people, until evening, until the next day. The festival was two days. They were busy (in this period) with these things. This is, as we say, the festival of resurrection (‘Easter’), a really big symbolic event. We call this the ‘Great Festival’, it is the ‘Great Festival’.

(64) During the ‘Great Festival’, Monday was a (time of) memorial, it was a (time of) memorial. What is this memorial? The people, all the families, each family cooks something. This is rice, *duxwa*, stuffed vine leaves, stew or *gərđo*—generally it is called *gərđo*.²³ *Gərđo* is made of yoghurt. Yoghurt is made from milk, milk of sheep.

²² Literally: ‘also the other side, that is side’. Two different words are used for ‘side’.

²³ I.e. *bušala* and *gərđo* are alternative names for the same dish.

(65) *fa-mεθéle l-bèθα xálya.*¹ *xalwile mεθéle l-bèθα.*¹ *'a-másta marèla.*¹ *mátti š-nùra-w*¹ *šáxna-w dére marèθα.*¹ *kúlla šáxna péša màsta.*¹ *'a-masta y-óði gèrðo.*¹ *gèrðo mòdila.*²¹ *rázza-w màsta.*¹ *mbsáhlila.*¹ *fa-sáma zóda y-óði gèrðo.*¹ (66) *'é-ga táma kəsléni 'íθwaln tūθα.*¹ *túθα xa-dúkθα gòrteλa,*¹ *pθixteλa,*¹ *rába náše jámi tàma.*¹ *'áyya qam-tárat bèθα t-amráxla.*¹ *fa-kul-náše kút-xa mεθéwa xádye diye 'u-mattúwa tàma.*¹ *'u-y-áwa tíwe náše*¹ *y-áwa mrúzge dùka.*¹ (67) *'é-ga qèse*¹ *mattúwa qésa y-atwíwa réše diye.*¹ *'an-xoriyáθα y-amráxxa qèse,*¹ *y-atwíwa réš-diye.*¹ *'u-y-áwa mríze kúlla mεxòlta,*¹ *kút-xa mútta gotə-gðàðe.*¹ *'ó-t mεθéwa bušàla*¹ *be-pálge diye y-awáðwale maqòra y-amráxle.*¹ *matúwwa xá tàsa,*¹ *hátxa gáwe diye,*¹ *'u-'a-báxta maθyàwa*¹ *gu-xá 'amána xèna*¹ *mášxa*¹ *deryáwa gáwe diye.*¹ *mášxa-w napóxta yan-duwána dérya gáwe diye.*¹ *'ay-y-ámri gèrðo.*¹ (68) *'u-y-aθéwa.*¹ *'ən-'íθ-qaša táma mšaléwa-w*¹ *kúlley y-axlúwa.*¹ *'áwwa wéwa xa-'iqàra.*¹ *'áwwa yómət tré 'éða gòra y-odúwale.*¹ *'u-parqíwa-w xamlúwa*¹ *ta-'ap-'o-yóma zamríwa xamlúwa raqdíwa kúl-xa mənđi.*¹ *'u-xárθα y-azíwa bèθα.*¹ *'áwwa 'éða gòra,*¹ *'áwwa nišanqət 'éða gòra.*¹

The Saint's Festival

(69) *šera*¹ *xa-təxrúnyele,*¹ *'áw xa-yomεle.*¹ *'i-jámi náše rába.*¹ *náše jámi qa-šera.*¹ *'ap-'áw 'íle xa-təxrúnya d-ó qadiša,*¹ *d-o-'úmra təxrúnya diyele.*¹ *gu-d-ε-dàna*¹ *y-áθi náše m-wáðər rába.*¹ *y-áwa dwíxe g'anèy,*¹ *dwíxe xa-nišánqa tla-'úmra,*¹ *xa-xəllət,*¹ *xa-mənđi.*¹ (70) *fa-'áxni gu-Mar-Sáwa,*¹ *gu-'En-Nüne,*¹ *y-áwa yíwe qəble y-amráxle.*¹ *qəbla mòdile.*²¹ *'ərba.*¹ *'ərba 'i-mεθéle,*¹ *'i-permíle 'o-yóma.*¹ *'u-náše y-áwa rába 'áθye m-maθwàθα.*¹ *permíle 'ərba*¹ *'u-y-áwa rába náše mruzgálla gané qa-d-o-yóma.*¹ *'i-pèrmi*¹ *rába gáye*¹ *'asrà-rešət 'ərwe.*¹ *y-amráxxe réša.*¹ *'íθən rába gáye*¹ *tłàθi,*¹ *'əsri.*¹ *'áwwa xa-dúxa y-áwe.*¹ *permíle.*¹

(65) They bring the milk to the house. They draw milk and bring it to the house. They congeal (the milk to make) the yoghurt. They put it on the fire, it warms up and they add a congealing agent (rennet). It all warms up and becomes yoghurt. They make the yoghurt into *gərðo*. What is *gərðo*? Rice and yoghurt. They cook it. They generally make *gərðo*. (66) At that time in our village we had a mulberry tree. The mulberry is in a big, spacious place and many people gather there. This was ‘before the door of the house’ (i.e. outside), as we say. Everybody would bring his own lunch and set it out there. People would sit there and would have prepared a place (for the food). (67) On this occasion they would put out wood and sit on it. They would sit on wood of poplar trees, as we called them. They would have lined up all the food, each (item) placed beside the other. Whoever brought stew would make what we call a *maqora* ‘hole’ in the middle of it. He would put a small dish in it, like this, and a woman would bring, in another vessel, butter, which she would put in it. She would put butter, date syrop or cake paste in it. They call this *gərðo*. (68) Then people would come. If a priest was there, they would pray and everybody would eat. This was a (sign of) respect. They did this on the second day of the Great Festival. (When) they finished (the festival), they enjoyed themselves, singing, making merry, dancing and so on also that (second) day. Afterwards, they went home. This is the Great Festival. This is the customary way of celebrating²⁴ the Great Festival.

The Saint’s Festival

(69) A saint’s festival is a memorial, it is a day (of memorial). Many people gather. People gather for the saint’s festival. This is the memorial of the saint of the church, his memorial. At that time, many people come from outside. They would have dedicated themselves, dedicated some symbolic item to the church, a gift, something. (70) In our (the church) of Mar Sawa, in ʔn-Nune, people would have given what we call devotional gifts. What is a devotional gift? A sheep. They bring a sheep and slaughter it that day. Many people came from the villages and slaughtered sheep. Many people would have prepared themselves for that day. On many occasions they slaughtered ten head of sheep. We call it ‘head’ (of sheep), on many occasions thirty, twenty. This was a dedicatory sacrifice. They would slaughter it (the object of this sacrifice).

²⁴ Literally: the sign.

(71) *fa-m-báθər t-y-áθa nàše¹ y-áwe qurbána-w prìqe.¹ y-átwi fátri qamàye.¹ y-áwa mrúze fìarta.¹ m-bár fìarta¹ 'áwwa dúxa t-ile prìma¹ y-oðile tla-kawùθra.¹ 'ina gu-d-ε-dàna¹ har-'iθ rqað-a-w¹ zmàra-w¹ mεθóye štèθa,¹ 'àraq-u¹ xumlàna.¹ yá'ni 'ap-'ánna xa-nišánqat šērēla,¹ 'ap-'aw-diya.¹ rába y-oðíwa spáy,¹ rába rába.¹ rába tàze.¹ (72) 'ani myaqrile tla-'éta.¹ jámi nàše.¹ rába náše y-áwa mrúzgalla ganéy qa-d-áw m̀ndi.¹ 'àxni¹ gu-'En-Nùne¹ 'itlən šēra.¹ halbát díya léle 'ax-qàmθa.¹ 'ina qàmθa loš'wa jülle,¹ yá'ni y-oðíwale xa-šəqla¹ rába šapira¹ rába tàza.¹ díya¹ 'ahwalátte šuxləpla,¹ lela-'ax-qàmθa,¹ 'ina šēra¹ har-'o-šēra,¹ har-o-'iqàra¹ kúl-xa m̀ndi.¹*

Ploughing

(73) *gu-d-ε-dàna¹ y-awéwale¹ pθánət tàwre.¹ pθánət táwre zārēwa bíya.¹ 'iman 'i-zārēwa bíya,¹ 'aráθe díye zārèwala,¹ tla-nàše.¹ yá'ni xá-mdi zòra,¹ šaqólwa zùze¹ mən-nàše¹ sab-kúlla liθwale táwre.¹ zāríwa xətte,¹ zāríwa pràge,¹ zāríwa māsē.¹ qàmθa rəzzà-'iθwa,¹ xarṭmàne.¹ 'ánna m̀ndiyàne¹ kúlla zāríwa qàmθa¹ 'u-xáyíwa bíye díye.¹ yá'ni liθwa m̀ndiyàne t-zoníwa rába.¹ (74) 'u-'áw...y-awéwale tàwre,¹ 'an-tàwre¹ dác zāríwa.²¹ 'iθwa bzàra.¹ 'áw 'akàra¹ t-iθwale pθánət tàwre,¹ fa-'áwwa 'iθwale mánne díye...zārēwa b-bzàra.¹ bzàra modila.²¹ 'áyya mturástela mən-qèse.¹ béna 'áy 'iθwala səkθa,¹ səkθa t-amrəxla prəzlela,¹ 'áy səkθət prəzla.¹ 'u-zārēwa bíya díya,¹ yá'ni mtagbárwala g'ān-díye xayùθe.¹*

(71) After the people came, there would be (holy) communion and then they finished. They would first sit and have breakfast. They would have prepared breakfast. After breakfast they prepare the sacrifice that has been slaughtered for lunch. At that time there is constant dancing, singing, serving of drinks, arak, and jollity. These things are also customary features of the festival, even now. Many people hold the festival in a very beautiful way. (72) They respect it for the sake of the church. The people gathered together. Many people would have prepared themselves for that event. We in ʔEn-Nune have a saint's festival. Of course now it is not as it was in the old days. In the old days people would wear (special) clothes. They would make it a decorative occasion, very beautiful, very fine. Now circumstances have changed. It is not like formerly, but the festival is the same festival, the same respect (is shown), everything.

Ploughing

(73) At that time (a cultivator) had a pair of oxen. He would cultivate with a pair of oxen. When he cultivated with them, he cultivated his own lands and also for other people. He would take something small, some money from the people (as his fee), since not everybody had oxen. People would cultivate wheat, they would cultivate millet, they would cultivate beans. In the old days there was rice, chickpeas. They used to cultivate all such things in the old days and they would live off this. There were not many things that they bought. (74) The person who had the oxen — how did the oxen cultivate? There was a plough. The farmer who had the pair of oxen, he had (them) with him and he would cultivate with a plough. What is a plough? It is made from wood. It had a blade. The thing we call the blade is iron. It is a blade of iron. He used to cultivate with it. He would make his livelihood.²⁵

²⁵ Literally: He would support his life.

The Cultivation of Apples (1)

(75) *bar-hàdax*¹ *náše mšuréla tróša...yá'ni xayútha qəm-mšaxəlpila*¹ *qímila zrá'a xabúše.*¹ *qímila zrá'a xabúše.*¹ *xabúše muntéwala bíya díya.*¹ *bás 'áθra šuxləpəwale.*¹ *'ina xabúše biš-senàyiwa*¹ *pəlxanèy.*¹ *'ina halbát bəyéla šúla gòra,*¹ *'u-hal-hadiya xayuthèy*¹ *l-xabúšela.*¹ *zrúta rába bašórtá 'iθena,*¹ *'ánna məndiyáne 'i-mpəlxíwala qəmθa*¹ *qa-t-məšéwa xəyíwa.*¹

The Cultivation of Rice

(76) *zrétət rəzza,*¹ *zrútət rəzza,*¹ *'ára 'iyáwa sapíqta.*¹ *qam-dána,*¹ *tré-yomaθa t̩l̩əθa,*¹ *mašéwala*¹ *qá-t xáčča péšəwa rakixta.*¹ *fa-'áyya 'i-zəříwala šuráye b-yərxət t̩l̩əθa,*¹ *'ərba,*¹ *xámša hatxàne,*¹ *sab-'áwəwa b-qəṭa y-áwe rəzza.*¹ *fa-deréwa míya gáwa díya*¹ *'u-məθéwa tawre*¹ *'u-zəříwala.*¹ *'áwəwa y-amrəxxe wáḏa herike.*¹ *'áyya lé-y-amri zrá'a*¹ *y-ámri wáḏa herike.*¹ (77) *fa-y-oḏíwa herike,*¹ *zəříwala.*¹ *y-aθéwa m-bár hədax*¹ *xámša 'əštà ganáθa,*¹ *xámša 'əštà 'úrze,*¹ *y-oḏíwa məššəre.*¹ *'án məššəre manáy díya modíla.*²¹ *qá-t t̩la-maštéθət rəzza yéwa biš-senàyi.*¹ *qá-t yəḏíwa kút-xa məššəre káma b-šále míya gáwa díya.*¹ *bár d-ày,*¹ *xá-tre yoməθa,*¹ *y-aθèwa*¹ *məléwa 'áni míya,*¹ *y-aθéwa baḏqíwa rəzza.*¹ (78) *rəzza xá-yoma qam-dána 'iyéwa muráxxa gu-juwála.*¹ *məθéwale*¹ *y-azíwa baḏqíwale.*¹ *bḏàqa,*¹ *yá'ni baḏqíwa rəzza.*¹ *bár baḏqíwale,*¹ *hammáše míya gəřəg háwa 'álle díye.*¹ *šaqləwa*¹ *xə-šabθa,*¹ *trə šabbáθa,*¹ *mšére bráya 'o-rəzza,*¹ *hál matéwa t-rayəmwə,*¹ *qám .. t-amrəxxe šaləpəwa,*¹ *yá'ni šləpa,*¹ *yá'ni qám pálət bəř-zəřa díye.*¹ *yá'ni bár t-rayəmwə,*¹ *y-azíwa baxtáθa yáda.*¹ *yáda modíle.*²¹ *yáda 'íla... 'íθwa káma gəllále palṭíwa mən-d-ò-rəzza,*¹ *qá-t la-'oḏíwa kèš,*¹ *qá-t 'áw-rəzza maxəwéwale t-awéwa zəḏun.*¹ *'i-jámíwale-'o baxtáθa,*¹ *kúlla b-iθaθèy.*¹ *y-óri gu-míya*¹ *tàma*¹ *xazéwa xuwwəwə.*¹ *baxtáθa káma zəḏíwa mən-xuwwəwə.*¹ *'u-gu-d-è-dana,*¹ *xákma doqíwale xúwəwa qaṭlívale.*¹ *rába zírək-wəwa.*¹ *xákma zəḏíwa.*¹

The Cultivation of Apples (1)

(75) Afterwards, people in truth changed their livelihood and began to cultivate apples. They began to cultivate apples.²⁶ They were successful with apples. The country changed (and agriculture became difficult), but the cultivation of apples was easier (than that of other crops). They, nevertheless, required a lot of work. Until now people's livelihood is made by apples. There is very little (field) cultivation. They used to cultivate those things in the old days to make a livelihood.²⁷

The Cultivation of Rice

(76) As for the sowing of rice, the cultivation of rice—the ground was (left) empty. Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft. They cultivated this beginning in March, April or May, in such (months) as these, since by summer it would be rice. They would put water onto it. They would bring oxen and cultivate it. We call this making 'soft mud beds'. This is not called cultivating, it is called making soft mud beds. (77) They would make soft mud beds and cultivate them. Afterwards,²⁸ five or six people, five or six men, would come and make paddy fields. What is the purpose of these paddy fields? So that the irrigation of the rice was easier, so that everybody would know how much water would go into his paddy field. One or two days after that they would come and fill them with water and would come and scatter rice (in them). (78) The rice one day beforehand was softened in a sack (with water). They would bring it and go and scatter it. Scattering, that is they would scatter rice. After they scattered it, water had to be on it constantly. It would take a week, two weeks, then the rice would start to germinate, until it matured and grew high, before producing ears (of seed), as we say, producing ears,²⁹ that is before the seed develops in it. After it grew high, the women would go to weed. What is 'weeding'? Weeding is... there were several plants that they took out of the rice, so that they did not affect it, blighting the rice so that it would be weak. The women gathered it all up with their hands. They entered into the water. They would see snakes there. How the women would be afraid of the snakes! When this happened, some grasped the snake and killed it. They were very courageous. Others were afraid.

²⁶ The cultivation of apples was introduced in the 1960s.

²⁷ Literally: so that they could live.

²⁸ I.e. after preparing the soft mud beds.

²⁹ The verb is denominal, derived from *šable* 'ears of seed'.

(79) ²u-mtāmazīwale rəzza,¹ nixa nixa,¹ hál qayəmwa.¹ ²íθwale xà-yarxa,¹ trè-yarxe hatxáne,¹ t̄làθa,¹ béna ²i-sàməq.¹ bar-sàməq,¹ t̄-ámrx dān-t xzàttela.¹ mbarzíwa mīya.¹ bār mbarzíwa mīya,¹ y-azíwa xazdīwale.¹ y-azíwa xazdīwale,¹ bār xazdīwale,¹ gu-mšanèθe mən-d-à-²āra,¹ nablīwale xá-dukθa xèta,¹ y-amrīwala bədra.¹ (80) ²iman t̄-ila-nabólle bədra¹ m-gu-²āra,¹ mattíwa xá y-amrīxle... xa-jùlla¹ ²abàya y-amrīxwale,¹ ²abàya.¹ ²o-²abàya mattíwale l-xà-dəpna,¹ ²an-réšət rəzza,¹ ²an-bòle y-amrīxxa,¹ bòle,¹ mattíwa l-ò ²abàya.¹ ²aw xāđíwale pálga-w pálga... rəzza,¹ qá-t ²iman majiwəjīwale,¹ t-lá naplíwa... t-la-nápəl ²o-rəzza ²urxà-w-urxa.¹ (81) sab-mattíwa xās-t-dawère.¹ xákma téníwa xàsá¹ masqíwale bədra.¹ ²íθwa dukáne rəhqa,¹ dukáne qūrba.¹ mattíwa táma ²ax-huðàla y-amrīxwale,¹ y-amrīwale huðàla.¹ maθíwale xa-²árba xámša yomàθa,¹ šaxənwa,¹ hál matéwa gərre,¹ sab-²íθwa yáni garrè,¹ xá bar d-ó-xena y-amrīxxe gərre.¹ (82) gu-d-ε-dàna¹ yómət t̄-amrīxxe dware.¹ ²ašərta y-azíwa šarèwale.¹ šáre modíle?¹ mattíxwale gu-bədra,¹ mpaθəxwale.¹ ²ay-y-ámri šràya.¹ bás ²o-bola-dīye¹ y-áwe rima.¹ ²ax-murize t̄-ámrx,¹ kul-xá-mdi mtugəbra.¹ (83) ²u-dárt yóma¹ qədamta,¹ qemáxwa jálde,¹ nablíxwa tawre,¹ ²ášta tawre,¹ šawwa tawre.¹ ²áy y-ámri dware.¹ ²iman t̄-ix nabóle ²an-tawre,¹ šalwəxwala,¹ ²íθwala qatira¹ b-qđaléy ²aw t-qəsa.¹ y-amrīwa qatirət qəsa¹ t-qđàla,¹ yasóre y-asríwale b-púmmət tawra¹ qa-t-lá ²axálwa m-rəzza,¹ ²u-doríwa.¹ (84) dware, yáni patlíwa tawre.¹ y-áwa síre b-gđàðe.¹ ²u-xá-mənna ²aw y-amrīwa sar-gèra.¹ sar-gèra,¹ yáni ²awən majíjwala ²an-tawre.¹ šaqláwa ²árba sà²əte,¹ xámša sà²əte.¹ ²u-kul-xa-dána ²ó-rəzza jāmíwale ²o-qése dīye,¹ y-ođíwale pūwus.¹ jāmíwale y-ođíwale qəpla.¹ ²u-napšiwale,¹ qá-t ²an-rəzza la-páyaš gawe¹ napšiwale.¹

(79) They cleared the rice (of weeds) until it gradually grew tall. It took one month, two or three and then it became brown. After it became brown, we say that it is harvest time. They would drain the water.³⁰ After draining the water, they would go and harvest it. They would go and harvest it and, after harvesting it, they would transfer it from that land and take it to another place, which was called the ‘threshing floor’. (80) When they took it to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a ‘cloth’—we called it a ‘cloak’. They would put the cloak on one side, and they would put on the cloak the heads of the rice, we call them ‘seed heads’, ‘seed heads’. They would roll it up (bringing) each half (together), so that when they transported the grass, the rice, they would not fall, so that the rice would not fall along the way. (81) This was because they put it on the back of mules. Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor. There were places far away and places nearby. People would deposit (the rice) there in the form of a *huḍala* (‘stack of produce’), as we called it. It was called a *huḍala*. They would bring it (and wait) four or five days, while (in the meantime the produce) was warmed (in the sun), until the turn of each person came. This was because they had their turns, one after the other, it is called ‘turn’. (82) Then it is the day of what we call *dwara* (‘the grinding of the grains’). In the evening they would go and untie the rice. What does the untying involve? We would put it on the threshing floor and spread it out. They call that ‘untying’. The seed head of the rice plant would be upright, as if they were in a row, as we say, with everything arranged. (83) The next day, in the morning, we would get up early and take oxen (to the threshing floor), six or seven oxen. They call that *dwara*. When we took the oxen, we would tether them. They had a beam (across) their necks made of wood. They called it a wooden *qaṭira*, (fixed) to their necks, with tethers tying it to the mouth of the bull, so that it did not eat any of the rice, and they would go around. (84) (It was called) *dwara*, that is the oxen would turn round. They were tied together. One of them was called the leader. The leader, that is it would make the (other) oxen walk around. It took four hours, five hours. All the time they gathered the wood (husks) of the rice and they made it into hay. They gathered it into an armful and shook it so that the rice did not remain in it. They shook it.

³⁰ Literally: They would dry the water.

(85) *baxtáθa y-áwa zíne napšiwale.¹ kúl-xa ʔəsrá daqìqe¹ šaqláwa xákma mánma b-məlxáwa¹ məθèwale,¹ mattíwale l-d-à-gota¹ ʔu-ʔan-baxtáθa¹ kapšiwale,¹ napšiwale gu-d-a-npàšta¹ ʔu-mattíwale l-qóma báθər xàsey.¹ xa-xèna¹ ʔúrza y-áθe y-asərwale¹ dərze y-amrəxwala,¹ qá-t ʔáwwa payášwa qa-mexóltət táwre qa-sətwá.¹ (86) ʔúrza payášwa tàmá,¹ bar-hádəx,¹ y-aθéwa mdarəwale¹ qa-t-lá-hawa píše šəxte.¹ ʔu-gu-práqtət ʔaşərta,¹ bar-prìqla,¹ məθéwa juwála,¹ deréwa gáwe dýe.¹ palťíwa xamšá-juwale,¹ ʔáštá-juwale,¹ ʔəsrá-juwale,¹ ʔu-masqíwa bəθa b-dawére ʔu-b-kodənta,¹ liθən.² (87) məlxáwa modíle.² məlxáwa ʔíwa múrša m-qəsa.¹ ʔu-ʔíθwale dásqa ríxa.¹ ʔu-reše-dýe ʔíla ṭlá qése hatxa-zòre.¹ ʔáw napášwala ʔan-rəzza,¹ ʔáw mənđiyáne šúle,¹ kúl-xa mənđi.¹ ʔáwwa y-amrəxwa məlxáwa.¹ ʔu-ʔáy ʔiyéwa qásšət yáʔni rəzza,¹ m-əka məsarəye¹ ʔu-laxxa prəqele.¹*

(88) *bar-hádəx rəzza mbárzi brəza.¹ masqíwale gəre,¹ masqíwa gār-t bəθa.¹ mpaθèwale.¹ barəzwa tàza.¹ bar-barəzwa mjəmíwale.¹ bar-mjəmíwale parəqwa.¹ (89) ʔíθwa gu-bəθa,¹ ʔíθwa káwe y-amrəxwala.¹ y-oya-mruzəgta xa-dúkθa mən-káwe.¹ gu-d-é-kawe ʔo-rəzza külle deréwale šále gu-bəθa.¹ ʔáyya kúlla b-čeriye ṭ-amrəxəlla,¹ b-čeriye.¹ qemíwa¹ héwan ṭ-ámrx ʔərx.¹ (90) ʔap-ʔərx b-gərre y-áwa.¹ ʔa-ʔərx módi šúl dýa.² qásšət ṭxánət rəzza,¹ mattíwa pənxá,¹ t-ʔərx,¹ pənxət ʔərx.¹ ʔíθwa ʔo-t-képa ʔáw ʔo-t-xətṭe,¹ y-ođíwa qámxa,¹ ʔína ʔáw t-rəzza¹ ʔíwa t-qəsa.¹ har-ta-d-áwwa mənđi wéwa t-qəsa.¹ fa-deráwa rəzza qa-t-lá ʔawəðle qámxa qa-t-la-təwərre.¹ ʔáwwa mrüzgewa.¹ (91) ʔu-gu-d-ó pənxá¹ nqire wéwa¹ qá-t ʔan-xətṭe ṭ-oríwa bəl-pənxá l-pənxá.¹ qá-t ʔo-gəšər-dýe¹ ʔáw ṭ-azəlwa.¹ habbákθət gān-dýa¹ ʔáyya...yáʔni lə-qayəθwa čú-mdi bi-dýa.¹ ʔu-palťáwa ṭ-azáwa ʔu-mjəmíwala¹ ʔu-masqíwa bəθa.¹ ʔu-gəšər-dýa b-zadèwale,¹ y-amrəxwale pàrta.¹*

(85) The women stood and shook it. Every ten minutes or so, they would take some from it with a threshing fork. They would bring it and place it on one side. The women would gather it and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back. Another man comes and ties it up into bundles (*darze*), as we called them, in order for it to remain for cattle fodder for the winter. (86) The man would remain there, then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain. At the end of the evening, after they finished, they would bring a sack and put (the produce) in it. They would bring away five sacks, six sacks, ten sacks and take them up to the house on mules, on a she mule, you see. (87) What is a winnowing fork (*malxawa*)? The winnowing fork was made from wood. It had a long handle. Its end had three pieces of wood, small like this. It would spread out the rice, or various other things, everything. They called this a ‘winnowing fork’ (*malxawa*). This is the story of rice, from where it begins, and it ends here.

(88) After that they dry the rice out. They would take it up to the roof, take it up to the roof of the house. They spread it out. It became thoroughly dry. After it dried, they gathered it together. After they gathered it, it (the process) was over. (89) In the house there was what we called a ‘small window’ (*kawe*). A place was prepared with a small window. They put the rice in this small window in order for it to run down into the house. This all took place in the *čeri* months (October and November), as we call them, the *čeri* months.³¹ They were undertaking (this) in the season of what we call the ‘water-mill’. (90) Also the water-mill was by turns. What is the job of the water-mill? As for the story of grinding the rice, they would install a grind wheel, of a water-mill, a grind wheel of a water-mill. There was a stone (grind wheel), which was for wheat, with which they made flour, but the one for rice was of wood. It was for exactly the same thing, but of wood. They put rice (onto it) so that it would not make it flour and not break it. It was set up (for grinding). (91) In the grind wheel there were bore holes so that the wheat would enter between one wheel and the other, so that its husk would be removed. But the grain itself was not damaged.³² It came out (of the mill) and they gathered it and brought it up to the house. They would throw out its husks, it was called ‘chaff’

³¹ *čeri qamaya* ‘October’ and *čeri xaraya* ‘November’.

³² Literally: nothing struck it.

(92) 'iman-t y-aθéwa mašléwa rǎzza l-ʔǎrxɛ,¹ mattíwa pǎnxa.¹ pǎnxa ʔéni mǎnnèle.² ʔiθ-pǎnxat qèsa,¹ ʔiθ-pǎnxat kèpa.¹ pǎnxat qèsa ʔáwɛwa ta-rǎzzɛle.¹ sab-ʔán muttúlǎn pǎnxat kèpa,¹ maráxle kúlla-w pǎyǎš qǎmxa.¹ hadíya bud-qèsa¹ béna ʔáwɛwa y-áwe xriṭa¹ gáwe y-áwe mǎrɛsa.¹ (93) ʔiθ-náše súle ʔáw-ile.¹ garsíle biye-diye¹ yáni taxníle biye-diye,¹ ʔu-mpálda rǎzza ḍa-gòta¹ ʔu-párta ḍa-gòta.¹ pártá zadèla.¹ y-àza,¹ ta-čú-mdi la-nǎfa.¹ ʔu-rǎzza mjǎmèle,¹ ʔu-másqi bèṭa.¹ b-násba rǎzza hal-lǎxxɛle,¹ m-tama-hódǎx mšéri mbašòle,¹ kút-xa ta-gǎn-diye.¹

The Cultivation of Wheat

(94) zǎrǎt xǎtte pǎštela.¹ ʔiθǎn ʔávi ʔu-dèmi.¹ dèmi t-lá mǎya,¹ la-bás l-ʔǎryǎna zǎrǎla.¹ ʔáni xǎtte zǎrǎla...¹ ʔáni xǎtte huwèdi sáma zóda¹ ʔi-zǎrǎla t-là maštóye,¹ y-amrǎxxa dèmi.¹ ʔáni zǎri gu-túra.¹ ʔiθ dukáne támǎz y-áwa ṭla-zǎrǎta,¹ yáni ʔa-dúkṭa har-ṭla-hǎdǎx-ila.¹ (95) ʔá-t gu-ʔaqǎra¹ ṭ-ile gu-màṭa¹ ʔaqǎra xǎtte zǎrǎla¹ m-báṭṭar xǎttǎt rǎzza.¹ ʔáy y-ámri šǔp-rǎzza.¹ xazdǎla rǎzza.¹ ʔu-xáccǎ ʔi-rǎkxa dúka,¹ y-ázi zǎri xǎtte šáwpa diya,¹ sab-ʔáyya b-qèṭa y-óya.¹ yǎrxǎt šáwɛwa tmǎnya,¹ mšéri xǎzǎda xǎttǎne.¹ xǎttǎne biš-senǎyila.¹ (96) ʔáp-ʔáni dwǎrɛla.¹ bǎr zǎrǎla-w qèmi,¹ bǎr xazdǎla,¹ y-óḍi dǎrze y-amrǎxla.¹ y-oḍíla dǎrze.¹ mǎṭéla ʔap-ʔáni l-bǎdra.¹ ʔiman-t dorila,¹ mǎṭe-táwre dorila.¹ ʔax-mǎri qa-rǎzza mǎṭe táwre-u¹ ʔu-kul-xa-mǎndi y-asrǎle dǎri.¹ ʔáni... qèsa diya kúlla pǎyǎš ʔax-túna y-amrǎxle.¹ xǎtte pǎši ḍa-gota,¹ ʔu-ʔáw pǎyǎš ḍa-gota,¹ túna liθǎn.²

(92) When they came and brought the rice down to the water-mill, they would install a grind wheel. Which of the (types of) grind wheel was it? There was a grind wheel of wood and a grind wheel of stone. The grind wheel of wood is for rice, for if we installed a stone grind wheel, it would crush everything and it would become flour. Now with regard to the wood, it is made with a groove in it. (93) There are people whose job that is. They crush it (the rice) with it, that is they mill it with it, and it (the mill) sends forth rice on one side and chaff on the other side. They throw the chaff away. It is discarded, since it is of no use. They gather up the rice and take it up to the house. This is all there is to say about rice.³³ Thereafter they start cooking, everybody for himself.

The Cultivation of Wheat

(94) The cultivation of wheat is different. There is irrigated land and unirrigated land. Unirrigated land is without water. Rather, they sow it relying only on rainfall. They sow the wheat. The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigation, they call it 'unirrigated' (*demi*). They sow it in the mountains. There are places that are clear for sowing, such a place is always used for this purpose. (95) As for the (sowing place) in the farm land in the village, they sow wheat in this land, after the harvest of the rice. They call this (sowing) 'in place of the rice'. They harvest the rice. The place has become quite soft and they go and sow wheat in its place, since this takes place in the summer. In July or August, they begin to harvest the wheat plants. Wheat plants are easier (to harvest). (96) Wheat also is threshed. After they sow it and it grows, after they harvest it, they make what are called 'bundles' (*darze*), they make it into bundles. They bring also these to the threshing floor. When they thresh it, they bring oxen to thresh it. As I said regarding the rice, they fetch oxen and so forth, tie them together and they turn and thresh (the wheat). The wood of the wheat all becomes like straw, as we call it. The wheat grains stay on one side and this stays on the other side, that is straw, you see.

³³ Literally: With regard to rice it is up to here.

(97) *kul-xa-mánda qəm-dorìle,¹ liθ-pyáša 'ánna t-amráxxa bòla díye,¹ m-d-an-məndi-yáne pyáša gáwe,¹ qèmi,¹ marpéla-tawre y-àzi.¹ sàpri¹ 'ən-háwe pàwxa,¹ 'ánna y-amráxxa mdaròye.¹ mdaróye modíla.² méθεε məlxàwa.¹ 'ən-'íθ pàwxa,¹ 'i-marmíle gu-hàwa.¹ xáŋte y-ázi ðá gòta¹ 'u-túna y-ázal ðá gòta.¹ pársi m-gðàðe.¹ 'u-túna,¹ m-bár túna pálat¹ ða-gòta¹ xáŋte ða-gòta,¹ xáŋte məθéla juwàla.¹ 'u-deréla gáwa díya.¹ (98) 'u-túna 'ap-'áw məθéle juwàle,¹ masqíle 'ítile dúka mruzáŋta qa-sàtwa.¹ 'ína túna deréle qa-kodànta,¹ qa-tàwre,¹ qa-sàtwa,¹ qa-t-xámε biye-díye.¹ 'u-xáŋte masqíla.¹ xáŋte,¹ yá'ni mturástat xáŋte¹ halbát 'ile ləxma.¹ ləxma 'ile 'ap-'áw mən-xáŋte.¹ xáŋte maslélle l-'ərxε.¹ (99) 'áwwa t-in-mára pánxat k'əpa,¹ b-d-áw taxnùle.¹ txánta díye 'ile pánxat k'əpa.¹ m-bár taxnùle,¹ páyəs qàmxa,¹ masqíle bəθa,¹ 'ax-t-mári 'ən-báyi t-yápi ləxma mənnéy zedàye,¹ mlársi mənnéy təlme,¹ yá'ni ləxma priša y-áwe.¹ (100) ləšále bəxta,¹ bəd-míya mənne¹ 'u-ləšàle¹ 'u-déréε ximúra gáwe díye¹ 'u-mxámèle.¹ šáqla xa-sà'at,¹ xa-sà'at hátxa məndi.¹ 'u-'anna baxtáθa yáði,¹ matti 'ída 'əlle¹ řéši qá-t 'áwwa məndi¹ hóle ximúra.¹ yáði biye-díye.¹ 'u-nablíle tanúra.¹ 'íθ xa-tanúra mtúrša tla-hàdax-ile.¹ 'u-yapyále bəxta.¹ m-bár t-yapyále,¹ 'áyya šaqlále zedàye díya¹ 'u-yáwa xa-tre zedàye tla-d-à.¹ 'u-y-áθya bəθa,¹ 'u-máθya məxòlta,¹ y-àxli.¹*

Ovens

(101) *tanúra:¹ bár məθéle kəs-d-a-bəxta,¹ t-yápya ləxma,¹ y-oðále zedàye.¹ 'áyya mpaθyále mpaθyále.¹ y-oðále guttáθa qamàye,¹ 'u-mpaθyále tàza.¹ m-bar-hàdax¹ mattále gu-tanúra.¹ 'o-tanúra y-áwe məšuxna qam-dàna.¹ y-áwe dórye núra,¹ múθye qèse.¹ məšuxna tàza,¹ šxíne y-amríwa smìqa.¹ (102) 'u-y-áθya mdabšála 'əlle-díye¹ kòpa¹ gawàye,¹ hal sàməq.¹ yáða kméle smìqa.¹ ðà-b-ða šáqla-w¹ mattála xa-xèta.¹ 'u-párqa 'áy¹ 'u-'áni 'árbe xáməš y-áwe mütte,¹ liθən.² kut-sámqa jàlde,¹ šaqlàla.¹ 'áy y-oya-priqta,¹ málla xéta šópa díya.¹ 'ay-y-amríla p'éθat ləxma gu-tanúra.¹*

(97) (After) they have threshed everything and no more of its heads, as we call them, remain, none of such things remain, they let the oxen go. They wait for there to be wind and they do what we call winnowing. What is winnowing? They bring a winnowing fork. If there is wind, they raise it in the air. The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other. They separate. After the straw goes out on one side and the wheat grains on the other side, they bring a sack for the wheat grains and put them in it. (98) They bring sacks also for the straw and take it up to a place that has been prepared for it for the winter. They lay out the straw for the mule, for the cattle, for them to live off for the winter. They bring the straw up. Something that is made of wheat is, of course, bread. Bread is made of wheat. They take the wheat down to the water-mill. (99) They grind it with the stone grind wheel, as I said. Its grinding is with the stone grind wheel. After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house, as I said, if they want to bake pitta breads from it or make thin breads, there being different types of bread. (100) A woman kneads it, together with water. She kneads it and they put yeast in it and leaven it. It takes an hour or so. The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is leavened. They know about it. They take it to the oven . There is an oven that is prepared for this purpose. Then a woman bakes it. After she bakes it, she (the other woman) takes her pitta breads and gives one or two pitta breads to her (the baker woman).³⁴ She comes home and brings food and they eat.

Ovens

(101) The oven: After they bring the bread to the woman who bakes, she makes it into pitta breads. She spreads it out. First she makes it into balls and then spreads it out well. After that, she puts it into the oven. The oven is heated beforehand. They have put fire (in it), brought wood. It is heated well, (the wood becoming) hot and (the oven) red. (102) She (the baker woman) comes and presses (the flat bread) onto it, down below, inside, until it becomes brown. She knows how brown it has become. She takes them one by one and puts another in. (When) she finishes, four or five are laid out. She takes out whichever one is brown soonest. That one is finished and she puts in another in its place. This is called baking bread in the oven.

³⁴ As a fee for her services.

The Cultivation of Apples (2)

(103) xabúše xéna šúle xáčča zàmət-ile.¹ 'íman t-it-maθóyalle y-amrǎxxe šǎdla.¹
 šǎdla,¹ gu-d-a-²ára t-báyət mattǎtle.¹ 'm-báyət zǎrǎtle,¹ xaprǎtle šáwpe dýe.¹ xaprǎtle¹
 t-ámrx xa-šǎta,¹ xa-šǎta biz-zòda.¹ mattǎtle 'o-šǎdla gáwa tàma,¹ 'u-mkasǎtla¹ šáwpe
 dýe.¹ bēl-šǎdla l-šǎdla¹ gǎrǎg mátteti xa-xamšá 'aqlàθa,¹ xamšá pasùwe,¹ 'átxa
 mǎndi,¹ qa-t-²íman t-áwe gòre¹ qa-t-lá qéθi b-gǎððe,¹ bíš yáwi tǎnta rǎbθa.¹ (104)
 m-bár xákma šǎnne,¹ 'áwwa 'áp-²m-hawe marira,¹ 'ína bár xa-šéta-w pǎlge,¹ gǎrǎg
 y-amrǎxle ksàxa.¹ gǎrǎg 'áθax kasxǎxle¹ 'u-t-odǎxle taqlǎm,¹ tařǎm y-amrǎle,¹ qá-t
 t-odǎxle xabúšta 'ixàla.¹ fa-²áw báyále xa-šéta.¹ šétət 'àrbe¹ xabúšta dòqa.¹ (105)
 'ína kùššət¹ gǎrǎg xaprǎtla čǎnǎkǎéra dýa,¹ gǎrǎg xaprǎt-ži čǎnǎkǎéra dýa-w derǎtla
 sùla.¹ sùla modile?¹ 'áwwa 'ile šǎxtət heywàne,¹ t-tàwre,¹ kodǎnta,¹ t-²ǎrwe.¹ derǎtla
 sùla liθǎn¹ qá-t šéta b-šéta bíš-mqǎrǎna tàza.¹ 'u-béna 'íman t-ila-pyáša gòre¹ xáčča
 šúla bíš-zàmət-ile.¹ lǎ-²ánnahu pyáša gòrtela¹ mtagbárta dýa bíš-rǎbela,¹ 'u-gǎrǎg rába
 'áxlət xàm.¹ (106) 'u-qéřa,¹ bár t-ila-dwàqa,¹ qám t-mǎti¹ gǎrǎg maxǎtla darǎmàna,¹
 qá-t 'an-márre la-²áθi 'álla dýa,¹ mtarǎmza,¹ yán řarpáθa dýa xǎrwi,¹ xabúšta xǎrwa,¹
 kul-xa mǎndi.¹ fa-²ánna mǎndiyáne kùlla¹ yá'ni y-odǎwala.¹ 'u-xayuthèy¹ b-àyyewa¹
 trǎša yá'ni.¹ rába 'úley xayúθa basímta bǎd-àyya,¹ yá'ni zrátət xabúše.¹ léle zàmət.¹
 senàyile,¹ yá'ni xayúθa bíš-senàyila.¹

Preparations for Winter

(107) xayúθət táma dàx-ila?¹ qéřa,¹ qéřa 'imele?¹ mǎn-yǎrxət tǎl¹ 'ile náše mšèri¹
 pláxa.¹ qéřa 'ile šúle yá'ni dánət pǎlxàna,¹ qéřa kùlle y-áwe pláxa hal-čèri.¹ čèri manáy
 y-amrǎxle,¹ yǎrxət 'àřra,¹ xadǎssǎr.¹ m-táma hòdǎx¹ kùlla 'an-²árba yǎrxè,¹ xámša yǎrxè,¹
 y-áwe náše blíge mjǎmòye,¹ mjǎmóye qa-sǎtwa.¹ sǎtwa mšère mǎn-yǎrxət 'àřra.¹

The Cultivation of Apples (2)

(103) The cultivation of apple trees is somewhat difficult. When you bring it (to be planted), we call it a sapling. You put the sapling in whatever land you like. If you want to plant it, you dig its place. You dig it, let's say a span or more than a span (in size). You put the sapling in this place and cover it over. Between the saplings you must leave about five steps, five paces, something like that, so that when they are big, they do not touch one another and they will yield more abundant fruit. (104) After a few years, even if the fruit is (still) bitter, after a year and a half it must be pruned, as we say. We must come and prune it and trim it and perform what is known as grafting, in order to make an apple tree bearing edible fruit. This requires one year. In the fourth year the apple tree produces fruit. (105) Each year you must dig around it. You must dig around it and place manure on it. What is manure? It is the muck of animals, of oxen, a mule, of sheep. You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better. When they become big, the work is a little more difficult. This is because, when they become big, the job to maintain them is bigger, and you must be very careful. (106) In summer, after it bears fruit, before (the apples) become ripe, you must apply chemical (insecticide), so that diseases do not afflict it, whereby it wilts or its leaves are spoilt and the apple tree is spoilt, and so forth. They did all these things. Indeed their livelihood was in this. They had a very good life by this, that is by the cultivation of apples. It (their life) is not difficult. It is easy. Their life is easier.

Preparations for Winter

(107) What is the life there like? When is summer? It is from March that people begin to work. Summer is (for) jobs, that is the time for working, all the summer is work, until the autumn. The autumn means October, November. From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter. Winter begins from November.

(108) *bàrya*¹ 'áthe *tálga ràba*.¹ *bàrya* 'áthe *mátra hammàše*.¹ *bas-nàše y-awa-mrùzge*.¹ 'o-t-'ítile 'àrwe,¹ 'o-t-'ítile *tàwre* y-áwe *xzída gälla*.¹ 'o-t-hawéle 'àrwe¹ y-áwe *xzída tàrpa*.¹ 'an-t-òdi *koðànta*,¹ t-awéle *tùna*.¹ *mən-məndiyáne kúlla mjáméla qa-sàtwa*,¹ *sab-sàtwa hammàše líθ cù mändi*.¹ yá'ni *mən-yárxət xadàsə*¹ *gälla lá y-àwe*,¹ 'àrwe *lé-y-asqi túra xàla*.¹ (109) *sab-áxni táma 'ítlən b-qèta*,¹ *mən-yárxət xàmša*,¹ *tla-àrwe*¹ *dóqəx šāvàna*.¹ *šāvàna modíle*?¹ *kut-násət 'ítile 'àrwe*,¹ 'm-àrwe¹ *xwàrela*,¹ 'àrwe¹ *kómela*,¹ yá'ni 'àzəla,¹ 'ən-wànela.¹ *dóqəx šāvàna*.¹ 'áw *dóqəx b-zùze*,¹ yán *xzí kəmà yawíle*¹ yá'ni *tla-d-à*.¹ (110) 'u-áw *qédamta šaqólla*... *mjámí náše kúlla t-màθa*,¹ *mjámíle 'an-àrwe*¹ 'u-masáq *l-tùra*,¹ *mən-qédamta 'u-hál 'ašarta*.¹ 'ašarta *madárra qám gnéθət šəmša*,¹ *xwéθət xùya*.¹ 'u-kùt-xa¹ 'ítile *gómət g'áne*,¹ 'ítile *dúka mrúzəgta y-amrəxla duna*.¹ 'áw *duna 'ítla*... yá'ni *pθixtela*.¹ *góma 'ile gawəye*,¹ *duna 'ile qam-tàra*.¹ (111) 'áwəwə *šúlət qètele kúlla*.¹ 'u-har-hádəx *tàwre*.¹ *tàwre*,¹ *tawərtə*,¹ yá'ni 'ánna *y-amrəxla bəqra*.¹ *dóqəx baqàra*.¹ 'aw-baqàra *mòdile*?¹ *y-ázəl báθər*... *nábəl bəqra*.¹ 'ap-áw *hádəx qédamta*¹ *xálwí tawərtə*,¹ 'u-qédamta *masqíla l-bəqra hátta mjámí xà-dukθa*.¹ 'u-šaqólla 'aw-baqàra¹ 'u-šule-díye *y-áwe masáqla l-tùra*,¹ *mařəla*,¹ 'u-hál 'ašarta *məθəla*.¹ (112) 'áyya *b-qèta*.¹ 'ašarta *wíðəla gälla*,¹ *gälla gu-àqàra*.¹ *məθəla*,¹ *dérela mexòlta*.¹ 'u-xalwíla-w¹ *xošíla gu-góma*.¹ 'áyya *qétəla tla-heywàne*.¹ 'ina *gu-d-ε-dána har-y-áwa mrúzge*¹ *mqarqòze*,¹ *xzáda gälla qa-sàtwa*.¹ (113) 'ina *y-áwe hal-yárxət 'àšra*.¹ *yárxət 'àšra*¹ *y-áwa mjúmye gälla-w*¹ *mändi xzída-w mùθya*.¹ 'áw *y-áwe bríza*.¹ 'áw *mattíle š-gðàðe*,¹ *y-amrile huðàla*.¹ *mattíle š-gðàðe*¹ *y-amrile huðàla*.¹ *qa-àma*?¹ *qa-sàtwa*,¹ *qa-haywáne diyè*.¹ *š-d-ó huðàla*¹ 'i-mátti *púwəš*,¹ *sab-púwəš la-šála míya bi-díye*.¹ *púwəš m-éni mənnele*?¹ 'o-t *rəzza*.¹

(108) It sometimes happens that a lot of snow falls. It sometimes happens that it rains all the time. People, in any case, are prepared. A person who has sheep or who has cattle has harvested grass. A person who has sheep would have harvested leaves. Those who keep mules have hay.³⁵ They gather everything for winter, since in winter there is never anything. From November onwards there is no grass. The sheep do not go up into the mountains to eat. (109) For there, in the summer, from May onwards we hire a shepherd for the sheep. What is a shepherd? Anybody who has small cattle, whether they are 'white small cattle' or 'black small cattle', that is whether they are goats or sheep. We hire a shepherd. We hire him for money, whatever they (agree to) give him for that. (110) He takes them in the early morning. All the people of the village muster and gather the sheep. He then goes up into the mountains, from the morning until the evening. He brings them back in the evening before the setting of the sun and the coming of darkness. Everybody has his own basement stable and a place prepared (for feeding), which we call a *duna* (feeding pen). This feeding pen is open (to the sky). The basement stable is inside and the feeding pen is outside. (111) This is all a job of the summer. (The care of) oxen is just the same. Oxen, a cow, we call these cattle. We hire a cowherd. What is this cowherd? He goes and fetches the cattle. Likewise early in the morning they milk a cow and take it up to the cattle so that they are collected in one place. The cowherd takes them and it is his job to take them to the mountains, graze them and bring them back by evening. (112) This is in summer. By the evening they have prepared grass in the farm-land. They bring them back and put food out for them. They milk them and shut them in the stable basement. This is (the activity of) the summer with regard to animals. Yet at that time they would have already made preparations, putting things in order and harvesting grass for the winter. (113) This is the case until October. In October (after) they have gathered the grass and what they had harvested and brought it home, it becomes dry and they stack it up.³⁶ This is called a *huḍala* (fodder stack). They stack it up, it is called a fodder stack. For when (is this prepared)? For the winter, for their animals. On top of this fodder stack they put hay, since water does not seep through hay. What type of hay is it?³⁷ That of rice.

³⁵ The pronominal suffix on the verb *t-awele* is singular rather than the expected plural, agreeing with what precedes.

³⁶ Literally: they put it one on top of the other.

³⁷ Literally: from which of them.

(114) béna hadiya rázza lèθena.¹ hadiya qíme gu-d-è-dana¹ dére naylor,¹ qá-t² áwwa naylor qa-t-lá-sala míya gáwe¹ d-ó t-ámra¹ huðàla,¹ sab-²án sléla míya xàru.¹ xrùle,¹ táwre-u heywáne péšì t-lá mexòlta.¹ har-hádax mrazgi kúlla mexòlta,¹ máθálan xètte,¹ ràzza,¹ práge,¹ ššme,¹ kúlla ²an-t-áwa zaryàlla.¹ ²anna tla-náše t-axlila b-sàtwa,¹ sáβ zrúta líθ b-sàtwa.¹ (115) l-kúlla d-à¹ qa-t-²anna tla-náše¹ ²u-²anná gálle mändiyáne¹ qa-heywáne diyè,¹ hál yárxat tla.¹ yárxat tla mádre mšére bèher.¹ heywáne y-ásqi tura.¹ ²u-níxa níxa¹ ²o-t-y-áwe píša xá-mdi mexòlta y-axlila.¹ ²u-²áw-ile xa-dánat farqúθa bēl-d-áyya l-d-áyya.¹ (116) kúlla mändiyáne mrazgíla qa-xayúθat sàtwa.¹ b-qèta hal-yárxat ²àra,¹ y-áwe mkapòše y-amráxle.¹ ²áxni y-amráxle mkapòše.¹ mkapòše mòdi?¹ mjámòye.¹ mjámòye mòdi?¹ yá'ni mrazóge qa-sàtwa.¹ sab-sàtwa y-áthe tálga,¹ y-áthe mētra,¹ pàwxa.¹ lá-mše. náša t-ázal dukàne.¹ kút-xa y-áwe gu-bèthe¹ ²u-heywáne y-áwa mánne diyè,¹ har-gu-gòma y-amráxle.¹ yá'ni ²áyya y-amráxle gòma.¹ (117) dére mexòlta ²u-yàtu.¹ ²u-dére mexòlta ²urzat bēθa.¹ ²áw ²o-t-ítte qámxa¹ nabálle l-tanúra,¹ y-apèle¹ ²u-y-áθi y-atwí ²u-mdi.¹ ²anna tla-yarxe tré-yarxe lítley çù-šula,¹ bas-mtagbóre héywan diyè¹ ²u-tíwe bēθa.¹ hal-yárxat tla¹ mšére bèher,¹ béna mšére mgarqóze xabušy¹ ²u-²aqarè¹ ²u-kúl xá-mdi diyè.¹

(118) ²ána mírən... ²áwe yasqíwa tura¹ b-qèta.¹ ²ina b-sàtwa,¹ sáma zòda,¹ náše b-yárxat ²àçça¹ yasqíwa tura¹ qāñíwa tárpe y-amráxle,¹ kút-xa gu-²úpre diyè.¹ ²áy mòdi qtá¹ tárpa?¹ qāñíwale,¹ xá har-íwa-práma zdáya l-àra-w¹ ²an-xéne ²iyáwa báθre báθre wáða táxe¹ zóre qa-t máši mjámèwala.¹ (119) m-bár gam-parqíwa¹ yá'ni t-ámri dánat šalèxi.¹ xá-sa²at qam-dána,¹ ²áw tárpa kúlla mjámíwale,¹ banéwale bar-ðà ²ilána.¹ ²áy y-ámri garúta.¹ banéwa bar-ðà ²ilána¹ ²u-xalšíwale.¹ ²áp-²an-íwa šàlya¹ míya šále bi-díya,¹ sab-dánat talíla y-áwe,¹ y-áwe dwìqa,¹ lè-xàru.¹ ²ay-y-ámri garúta.¹

(114) Now there is no rice. Now, at that time (of year) they put plastic (on it), so that this plastic prevents the water from seeping down into what we call a fodder stack, for if water seeps in, it spoils. If it is spoilt, the cattle and animals remain without food. In the same way they prepare all the food, for example wheat, rice, millet, sesame, everything that they have sown. These are for people to eat in the winter, since in the winter there is no cultivation. (115) In general the practice was that these things were for people whereas the grass and such things were for their animals. (This continued) until March. In March Spring begins again. The animals go up to the mountains and, gradually, they eat any food that is left. This is a time of division between this (season) and the other. (116) They prepare everything for life in the winter. In summer until October they gather, as we say. We call it gathering. What is 'gathering'? 'Collecting'. What is 'collecting'? This means preparing for the winter, since in the winter the snow comes, the rain and the wind. One cannot go to places. Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him, in what we call the basement stable. We call this the basement stable. (117) He lays in food and sits (at home). The householder lays in food. Somebody who has flour takes it to the oven and they bake it. Then they return home and sit and so forth. During these two or three months they have no work. They only look after their animals and sit in the house, until March, when the Spring begins, then they begin to tend the apple trees, their farmlands and all their things.

(118) As I said, the sheep went up into the mountains in Summer. In Winter, mainly in September, people would go up into the mountains and cut down leaves, as we would say, everybody on his own land. What is the cutting down of leaves? They cut them down, one person cutting and throwing them on the ground, while the others were following behind him making small piles, so that they could gather them up. (119) After they finish, they say 'It is time that we go down (to the village)'. About an hour before (going down to the village), they gather up all the leaves and stack them behind a tree. They call this a *garuta*. They would construct it against a tree and press it down. Even if water ran down into it, it does not spoil, since when it is fresh, it is compact. This is called a *garuta*.

(120) ʾanna qa-ʾimela.²¹ qa-sə̀twa.¹ sá̄b dúnyē ʾiman-t-àrya,¹ b-sə̀twa,¹ ʾáni lítla xàm.¹ fa-y-áthe tálga,¹ ʾu-náše mšéri b-hèwaney¹ mašléwa karàtha.¹ y-áthe mattíla kèrta,¹ ʾu-ʾílla xàwla-w¹ çuxa-w¹ řéni xaşə̀y.¹ ʾu-ʾo-t-ítte dawèra¹ máše dawère,¹ yáni koððnta.¹ (121) ʾiman t-íwa tálga,¹ ʾap-dawèra là-mša t-ásqi.¹ fa-mò y-óði.²¹ b-xàsa¹ řenila.¹ ʾítte xáwla mattíle,¹ banéla š-d-ó xàwla,¹ kút-xa ʾax-t máše t-lá-hawe yùgra.¹ ʾu-y-asàřre¹ ʾu-tayànne xáše dīye.¹ y-amrāxxe kèrta.¹ maθèla-w¹ (122) ʾáp bas-dùna¹ y-áwa ʾáwe gu-dùna¹ táma y-áwe bə̀nya.¹ ʾap-táma banéla.¹ ʾi-řéši qa-tré-yomaθa !lá yomáθa¹ hál mádre xámə̀štən t-àsə̀q.¹ ʾay-y-ámri garúta.¹ řářpa y-áwa qřiyə̀lle řla-ʾə̀rwe,¹ qa-sə̀twa mapə̀lxíla,¹ mán-mən gə̀llále xéne t-y-awéla gu-huðàla-w¹ (123) ʾo-t-y-awéla ʾə̀rwe t xə̀wə̀re,¹ yáwile rása¹ ʾu-ʾílla tàwre¹ řúwə̀s t-yawiwə̀lə̀y,¹ ʾu-tína řla-dawèrele¹ ʾu-ʾən-ʾítla řawàde¹ hál bə̀her.¹ ʾu-bə̀her-ile¹ níxa níxa mabə̀říla mə̀xòlta¹ ʾu-ʾína mřálříla řúra,¹ ʾi-mšére řə̀ya.¹ ʾu-hál d-o-sə̀twa xə̀na.¹ ʾay-y-ámri řářpa.¹

Mules

(124) dawèra¹ ʾíwa xa-mə̀ndi ʾax-t-ámřax ʾíde-w ʾə̀qle y-amrāxla,¹ dawèra ʾíde-w ʾə̀qle,¹ yáni xə̀yíwa náše b-dawèra.¹ y-azíwa qə̀rwe.¹ qə̀rwe modíla.²¹ řaqlíwa řə̀na¹ mən-máθa l-màθa,¹ mən-mđíta l-mđíta.¹ ʾu-řaqlàwa¹ rába gə̀ye¹ gu-sə̀twa¹ gu-ʾə̀ryə̀ne,¹ řaqláwa xámša saʾátte.¹ y-amríwa qə̀rwe.¹ (125) mán xá-dukθa ʾíθwa¹ t-ámřax ʾAmedíya¹ ʾə̀l-ʾĔn Níne.¹ ʾína kúlla řurə̀newa.¹ řaqlíwa mə̀θə̀lan xamši kiloʾé biz-zòda¹ hal-řawwí kiloʾé.¹ dére xás-t dawèra¹ ʾu-masíqwa l-Ĕn Níne.¹ . . . mə̀xòlta¹ ʾína rásən qa-t-ʾanna mə̀ndiyə̀ne.¹ ʾáxni y-amrāxwala rásən.¹

(120) When was this made for? For Winter. Since, in this way, when it rained or snowed in winter, they would have no concerns. (When) the snow came, people would start bringing down loads (of leaves) as they needed them.³⁸ They would come and put the load (on their back). They had a rope and a hair coat and they would carry it on their back. Whoever had a pack animal, would bring down his pack animal, that is a mule. (121) When there was snow, even a mule could not go up (into the mountains). So, what do they do? They carry (the loads) on their backs. A person has a rope which he lays down and he builds up (the load) on top of the rope, everybody as much as he can (carry), so that it is not too heavy. He then ties it up and puts it on his back. We call this a *kerta* (load). They would bring these (to feed the sheep). (122) Now, concerning the *duna* (animal feeding pen), sheep were kept in the *duna*. (The *garuta*) is built there (by the pen), they build it there. They wait for two or three days and then once again go up (to fetch loads). This is called a *garuta*. (When) they have cut down leaves for their sheep, they use it for the winter, together with other grasses that they have in the *huḍala* (fodder stack). (123) A person who has sheep gives them *rasa* grass. People who have oxen give them hay.³⁹ Straw is (given) to mules and also cattle, if people have them, until Spring. (When) it is Spring, they gradually reduce the fodder and take the animals into the mountains, and they begin to graze, until the following Winter. They call this *tarpa* (gathering of leaves).

Mules

(124) The mule was something that was (as important to somebody as) ‘his hands and his legs’, as we say. We say the mule is ‘his hand and his leg’, that is people would live by the mule. They would go in a convoy. What is a convoy? They would take a load from village to village, from town to town. In the winter and in rain-storms it often took five hours. They called it a convoy. (125) It (went) from some place, let’s say Amediya to ʾEn-Nune. It was all mountains. They would take, for example, fifty kilos or more, up to seventy kilos. They put it on the back of the mule and took it up to ʾEn-Nune. (This was) food, that is a ‘ration’ of such things. We called it ‘ration’.

³⁸ Literally: In their season.

³⁹ Literally: (it is) hay that they give them.

(126) 'ína rásən mòdila.²¹ rásən 'íla... 'íwa xàtte,¹... 'íθwa šəkər,¹ 'íθwa qámxa t-y-aθéwa šuxra.¹ mēθéwa masqíwala l-màθa.¹ fa-xayuthéy b-dawèrèwa.¹ 'u-dawéra rába xelànewa.¹ 'u-kúl-naše, kút-'íθwa dawéra 'i-xàme bi-díye.¹ dawéra¹ 'i-mtag-brəxwale rába,¹ yá'ni y-axlāxwa xam-díye.¹ (127) yá'ni dawéra 'íθwale qurtāna.¹ qurtāna m-mòdi mtúrša.²¹ mtúrša món y-amrəxxwale čuxa.¹ y-amrəxxwale qurtāna.¹ 'o-qurtāna¹ 'íθwale bar-xarāye díye.¹ 'áwowa t-qəyiš-wewa.¹ 'u-deréwa məndiyàne¹ 'u-wajjúwe xákma xéne xās-t-díye¹ 'u-'íθwale tanga¹ y-asrəwale.¹ 'u-bár qamàya¹ qá-t 'íma t-ásəqwa tura¹ t-lá 'o-qurtāna jawəjwa¹ šaléwa napəlwa tēna.¹ (128) fa-'ən-mätəníwale 'íθwa xàwla.¹ xáwla 'íθwale 'aqólta.¹ b-ó xáwla y-asrəwale tēna.¹ 'íman-t dawéra 'áwwele yá'ni¹ 'i-nablíwa tēna mən-dúka l-dúka.¹ fa-'íman-t y-awéwa bəθa,¹ y-azəxwa mārōye.¹ mārōye modíle.²¹ qédamta nabləxwala gu-'aqàra.¹ (129) dóqəxxwala b-'íðən.¹ sab-har-mrupéwalən rēs-díye¹ leš-maşəxwa doqəxxwale,¹ t-arəqwa.¹ fa-'éka 'íθwa dúkθa basímta maxləxwale¹ qá-t t-awéwa xelàna-w¹ t-awéwa qúya,¹ qá-t mašéwa t-azəliwa qárwən 'u-t-aθéwa.¹

(130) 'ána tàxrena,¹ 'é-ga zòrənwa,¹ b-xšáwən 'iwabi¹ 'əsrá šənnə,¹ xáčča pyàša¹ šét 'àlpa-w¹ 'əččà-mma-w¹ 'árbi w-əšta.¹ b-yárxət šàwweewa,¹ hon-txára díya,¹ xošəbewa.¹ xošəba,¹ yá'ni xošəba lá-palxi nàše.¹ fa-'ána šəlyənwa gu-'aqàra,¹ 'ána-w xàθi.¹ 'áyya qam-'ərwə¹ 'u-'ána qam-kodənta.¹ kodənta b-ìdiyawa¹ šulxəθa.¹ 'ána šobànnənwa xáčča.¹ y-atwánwa xáša díya šulxəθa,¹ yá'ni t-lá qurtāna.¹ yatwánwa xās-t-díya-w¹ lá le-zādənwā ču-bəna.¹ (131) 'o-yòma¹ mārōyənawala.¹ mārōyənawala,¹ gu-ðà-'ára.¹ 'íθwa gawàna,¹ mařoyənawala.¹ bəna¹ 'ána tìwənwa-w¹ 'áy b-o gawàna.¹ táma 'o-gawàna bəl-'ára¹ l-'ára.¹ 'iqa y-áwe¹ 'u-lá-raba pəθya.¹ qəm-maxyále pímma díya l-rəzza¹ zəryəxwa rəzza.¹ 'ap-'ána mərə¹ šríxən hátxa biya-díya.¹ 'áyya qəm-patlála g'ān-díya¹ 'ána xšíwən là maxyáli.¹ qəm-patlála g'ān-díya,¹ 'aqláθa 'an-xarāye... pəna,¹ qəm-maxyála ðà-pəna.¹

(126) What is a ration? The ration consisted of wheat. There was also sugar and flour, which would come by commissioned (pack-animals). They brought it up to the village (in this way). Their livelihood was in the mule. A mule was very strong. Everybody who had a mule lived by it. We looked after a mule very well, we took care of it. (127) A mule had a 'cloth'. What was a cloth made from? It was made from (a thick fabric) that we called *čuxa*. We called it a 'cloth'. The cloth had its 'back end'. This consisted of a belt. They would place things, various items on its back, and would tie them with a strap. (They also attached a belt known as) 'the front end', so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth would not move and the load fall off. (128) When they loaded it, there was a rope. The rope had a buckle.⁴⁰ With this rope they would tie up the load. When the mule was (loaded like this), they took the load from place to place. When the mules were at home, we would go and graze them. What is grazing? In the morning we would take them to the farmland. (129) We would hold them with our hands, for, once we had let a mule's head go, we could not catch it again and it would run away. We would let it eat where there was a good place (for feeding), so that it would become strong, so that it would become tough, so that it could travel in the convoy and return (safely).

(130) I remember, when I was young, I think I was ten, or thereabouts, in the year 1946. It was in the month of July, on a Sunday. On a Sunday people did not work. I had gone down to the farmland, I together with my sister. She was in charge of sheep and I was in charge of a mule. The mule was in my hand, barebacked. I had a bit of a cold. I was sitting on its bare back, that is it was without a cloth. I was sitting on its back. Indeed, I was never afraid (to do so). (131) On that day I was grazing it. I was grazing it in a certain piece of land. There was a boundary area (and this is where) I grazed it. Now, I was sitting (on the ground) while it was on this boundary area. The boundary area there is between one plot of land and another. It was narrow, not very wide. It put its mouth in the rice. We had sown rice. I said, I shouted at it like this. It turned itself round. I thought it would not strike me. It turned itself round. Its back legs (gave) a kick, it gave me a kick.

⁴⁰ This consisted of a triangle of wood through which the ends of the rope were threaded and then pulled tight.

(132) *b-ðá-ʔaqla díya péna qəm-maxyáli ʔaxxa¹ rēši,¹ qəm-tarpáli gu-məššàra.¹ ʔu-šriħəm¹ ʔu-θiθela xàθi,¹ ʔina rēši šmíta ʔaxxàne.¹ qímen bar-hàdax¹ síyənne rēši¹ ʔina xáθi sírtalle rēši.¹ ʔu-θiθela koðánta kəslí¹ ʔu-tíwen xáša díya¹ síqa bèθa.¹ yáʔni hade-m-háde píslən xawràne¹ xaməštən.¹ fa-dawéra rába šēnele,¹ yáʔni ʔamīnele,¹ šēnele rába.¹ ʔu-mtagəbrəxxwale¹ ʔu-xayùθəm¹ taqriban¹ xačča -pyàša¹ l-d-àw-ɔawwa.¹ yáʔni ʔo-t-ʔítwale dawèra¹ xáyūθ-díye rába tàzeyawwa.¹*

(133) *b-dawéra garšəxwa qése.¹ garšəxwa qése m-túra qa-sətwá.¹ yáʔni kú-benat laxmàwa¹ t-lé y-azəlwá qàrwəm,¹ y-ázi túra¹ meθéwa qése brize,¹ kəma mašəxwa qése brize.¹ ʔu-šúlət máθa kulle grášta nabálta məndi¹ mən-ʔára l-b-èθa.¹ (134) xās-dawéra-yewa,¹ sab-rəhqeewa,¹ là-mšewa,¹ grástət rəzza,¹ grástət xətte,¹ sùla.¹ sùla modile.² ʔawwa yáʔni zəblət haywàne.¹ gu-góma mpaləxxwale¹ qam-zəríwa náše rəzza.¹ garšəxwale¹ mašəxwale¹ l-d-à-ʔára¹ derəxwa tàma,¹ ʔu-tàma,¹ báθər t-y-asríwa rəzza.¹ (135) ʔa-šábθa qaméθa deréwa gu-məššàra¹ qa-t-rəzza t-awéwa spəy.¹ ʔawwa sùla dax-mašléwale.² y-amrəxxe qərtála.¹ qərtála modile.² har-türe,¹ y-awéwa túre gu-ʔaqàra,¹ pərməxwala.¹ ʔiθwa yáʔni xa-dárya náše¹ y-oðíwa¹ mtaršíwa¹ y-amrəxwala qərtála.¹ ʔiθwa náše šuléy ʔawwəle líθəm.² qá-t ʔəp-xánčī maṭewaléy.¹ (136) y-oðíwa ʔan-qərtále,¹ meθéwala.¹ béna m-bár hədax¹ ʔan-qərtále kut-tərte¹ y-asríwa b-ğəðəde¹ b-xàwla.¹ y-asríwa b-xàwla b-ğəðəde¹ ʔu-ʔíman garšíwa sùla,¹ deréwa xās-dawéra.¹ deréwa xās-dawéra sapíqe.¹ zayánwa kəs-tárət góma¹ y-áwa mpúlte ʔo-sùla qam-tàra.¹ b-məlxàwa,¹ šaqlíwa ʔó-zəbla mən-ʔára¹ deréwa gu-qərtála.¹ (137) mašléwa qərtála m-ay-gót tərñəy,¹ mašléwala... gu-ʔərəθa¹ gu-ʔaqàra,¹ xzi-éka ʔaqàra díya rəhqa.¹ bār šaléwa l-ʔaqàra,¹ msapáqtət sùla senəyiyewa.¹ m-ða-góta¹ zəpátwala l-d-ó-geba xəna¹ qa-t xadríwa qərtále-u¹ sùla msəpəqtəwale¹ mádre derátwala xās-kodínta.¹*

(132) With one of its legs it kicked me here, on my head, and threw me into the paddy field. I shouted and my sister came. My head was injured around here. I got up and bound up my head, my sister bound my head. The mule came to me. I sat on its back and went up to the house. We became friends again. A mule is very tame. It is safe, very tame. We used to look after it and our livelihood depended to some extent on it. Whoever had a mule had a good livelihood.

(133) With a mule we would transport wood. We would transport wood from the mountains for winter. That is whenever it was convenient and the mule was not going on a convoy, they would go to the mountains and fetch dry wood. As far as we could (we fetched) dry wood. It was the job of the whole village to transport and bring things from the land to the home. (134) This was on the back of a mule, since (things) were far away and they could not do this otherwise, namely the transportation of rice, the transportation of wheat, of manure. What is manure? It is the muck of animals. We took it out of the stable basement, before people sowed the rice. We would take it down to the land and spread it there, and also (spread it) there after they had bound up the rice. (135) During the first week they would put it in the paddy field in order for the rice to grow well. How did they take the manure down? (In) what we call a 'pannier basket'. What is a pannier basket? It consists only of pliable sticks from the farmland, which we cut down. There were many people who made what we called a pannier basket. There were people whose job this was, you see, so that they would gain a little (extra income). (136) They would make the pannier baskets and bring them (for people to buy). Then they would tie together the baskets in pairs⁴¹ with rope. They would tie them together with rope and when they transported manure they would put them on the back of a mule. They would put them on the back of the mule empty. It would stand by the door of the stable basement, (after) they had brought the manure outside. They would lift the muck from the ground with a threshing fork and put it in the pannier basket. (137) They would fill the pannier basket on both sides. They brought them (the baskets) down to the plots of land, the farmland. You see, their farmland was far off. After they went down to the farmland, the emptying of the manure was easy. You would push from one side to the other so that the baskets would turn round and so empty the manure, then put them again on the back of the mule.

⁴¹ Literally: every two of the baskets.

(138) 'u-y-atlaxwa xās-kodānta rēš-d-ān qərṭāle,¹ be-pālgā,¹ y-aθāxwa meθāxwa¹
'u-kūlla yōma b-āyya garšāxwa sūla¹ 'āwōwa sūla mapālxīwa ṭla-rāzzā¹ diya mapālxīle
ṭla-xabūšē¹ 'ina 'āwōwa sūla 'ile xā xayūθat 'aqāra kūlle liθan.¹ kūlla 'aqāra gārāg
māxe m-d-āw.¹

Sheep's Tail

(139) b-mātha¹ y-oḏīwa māndiyāne xēne.¹ 'rwe b-qēṭa¹ mxamāxwa ṭla-qālya.¹ 'rwe
mtagbrāxwala qa-t-ṭarsīwa,¹ qā-t mpermaxwa b-čeri,¹ b-yārxat 'āčča,¹ 'āšra,¹ xadāssar¹
permaxwala qā-t 'e-qālya mbarzāxwale,¹ y-oḏāxwale qəṭṭāte qəṭṭāte.¹ bašlāxwale
derāxwa gu-tanāka.¹ 'u-mxamāxwale magḏāliwa qa-sātwā¹ y-axlāxwa māne-dīye.¹

Instruments Used for Harvesting

(140) b-qēṭa y-azāxwa qərṭa.¹ qərṭa modīle?² y-azāxwa 'ānna xoriyātha ṭ-ūllan tāma,¹
xoriyātha,¹ xelāpela.¹ 'iθwa jawāṭta.¹ jawāṭta 'āyya t-prāzlela.¹ jawāṭta t-prāzlela.¹
y-asqaxwa š-xōrta,¹ qāṭāxwa 'o-tāqa zōrēwa,¹ lēwa rāba gōra.¹ meθāxwale,¹ mattāxwale
'ašrta.¹ (141) 'u-y-aθēwa 'rwe¹ 'u-mattāxwa qamēy¹ y-āxli māne-dīye¹ qa-t-ṭarsīwa.¹
'o-šūla y-amrāxwale qərṭa liθan.² 'u-xzāṭta... t-gālla¹ 'iθwa māgla.¹ 'iθwalan tāma
yāni nāše,¹ ḏā-maḥa gōtān-wāwa Derāške,¹ 'āy šulēy¹ taršīwa māgle.¹ 'āyya xzāda
xāṭte,¹ gālla.¹ jawāṭta ṭla-prāma¹ 'ānna qēse ma-qēse.¹ (142) 'u-gu-d-ē-dana¹
har-'iθwa¹ y-amrāxwala nāra.¹ nāra 'ānna ṭla-prāma qēse xlime.¹ 'aw-nāra 'ap-'āw
'āni mtaršile,¹ 'ānna 'ōste¹ ḥaddāde y-amrāxwa,¹ ḥaddāda.¹ 'ānna xa-Šlēmūn
m-Derāške,¹ 'ānna Derāšknūye y-amrāxwala,¹ šwāwān-wāwa.¹ 'āni mtaršīwa nāre,¹
mtaršīwa jawāṭta,¹ mtaršīwa māgle.¹

(138) We would sit on the back of the mule on top of those baskets, in between them. We would come and fetch the manure, every day we would transport the manure in this way. They used the manure for rice. Now they use it for apples. Manure is a vital feature of the entire farm, you see. The whole farm must spread this.

Sheep's Tail

(139) In the village they would make other things. We looked after sheep in the summer for the fat tail. We would look after sheep so that they became fat, in order to slaughter them in the autumn. We would slaughter them in September, October and November in order to dry the fat tail.⁴² We cut it into pieces, then cooked it and put it into tin. We would keep it (in storage) to set for the winter, in order to eat it.

Instruments Used for Harvesting

(140) In summer we would go trimming. What is trimming? We would go to the poplar trees that we have there (in our village), which are (a type of) willow. There was a chopper. The chopper was made of iron. The chopper was made of iron. We would climb up a poplar tree and cut down a branch that was small, one that was not very big. We would bring it back and in the evening would put it (on the ground). (141) Sheep would come and we would put it down in front of them for them to eat, so that they would become fat. We called this job trimming. As for the harvesting of grass, there was a sickle. We had people there, there was a village near to us (called) Dērāške, this was their job, they used to make sickles. This was (for) the harvesting of wheat and grass. The chopper was for chopping wood and the like. (142) At that time there was what we called an axe. The axe was for chopping thick pieces of wood. The axe was also made by those craftsmen, blacksmith, as we called them. A certain Šlemun from Dērāške (used to make them). These people from Dērāške, as we called them, were our neighbours. They would make axes, they would make choppers and they would make sickles.

⁴² The informant appears to be confusing *qabya*, which is fat used for cooking, with *qadida*, which is dried salted meat.

(143) 'íθwa gállá y-ámri mērgàne.¹ 'áni... mērgàne ràba 'iyáwa.¹ mtaršíwa màgla¹ béna 'aw-léle-šamme màgla¹ y-amríwa gílàndi.¹ gílàndi ràba gòrēle¹ 'anna 'e-ga-násət¹ kúlla lá-mšē zári,¹ 'anna gárəg b-šanətta gòra y-áwe,¹ sab-'anna mērgàne ràbe¹ léla m-an-t-xazdaxla b-màgla.¹ (144) màgla¹ !la-gu-rəzzēle,¹ gəlla-hatxa.¹ xāncī xāncī¹ permáxwa bi-dīye.¹ 'ina gílàndi¹ 'áwowa prəzla¹ 'anna màglət gílàndi xá-mdi gòrēle líθən.² !la-d-án mērgàne góre góre.¹ sab-'anna gárəg tre-!lá 'úrze¹ b-kúlla yóma zór mašíwa¹ xàzdī¹ xá-mdi ràba basəra.¹

Roofs of Houses

(145) 'áxni b-sátwa mšéra dūnye ràya¹ mən-yárxət 'əšra-w¹ xadássər hòdax.¹ fa-mò 'íθwa.² 'íθwalən gərə.¹ gərə y-awéwa yá'ni t-'úpra, !ina.¹ 'ina 'áwowa y-amrəxíwale¹ sarsərra¹ yá'ni qūwye¹. fa-l-gərə¹ 'íman t-aryáwa dūnye¹ 'íθwalən mandórta.¹ mandórta mòdila.² 'áwowa kəpēle,¹ mən-gòte,¹ m-ay-góta m-ay-gòta¹ xríta xa-bòya.¹ 'u-mùθyax¹ mtúršəx qəsa,¹ b-d-ó-qesa nabləxíwala-w mēθəxíwala.¹ (146) 'áyya y-amrəxxa mandóre,¹ qa-t garmáxwa gərə¹ yá'ni gərə qa-t mandərwa,¹ qa-t-daləpe¹ la-šále b-sátwa.¹ 'u-'m-xáčča¹ xáčča xa-béna 'aryáwa-dūnye¹ deréwa xáčča tūna,¹ biš-dawùqwa.¹ qàmθa¹ y-aθéwa tálga ràba.¹ díya lèle-θaya tálga.¹ šuxláppla 'ahwáltət dūnye.¹

Hunting Partridges

(147) qámθa ràba y-áθe tálga,¹ y-azáxwa gərkaíwe.¹ gərkaíwe modíla.² gərkaíwe 'íla b-yárxət trə,¹ !làθa,¹ ràba y-áθe tálga,¹ qəqwàne.¹ 'áw qəqwána gu-túra y-áwe.¹ b-qéta lá-mšəx doqəxle,¹ 'alla-qtála qatliwa náše.¹ 'ina b-sátwa¹ ma-t-yawéwa tálga¹ lá-mšē jawəjwa.¹ fa-y-aθéwa,¹ yǎðáxwa bíya 'ašərtə,¹ y-aθéwa.¹

(143) There was grass called meadows. There were many of these meadows.⁴³ They would make a sickle, but it was not called a sickle, it was called a scythe. The scythe was big. Not all people at that time could work (with it), it needed great skill, for there were many of these meadows and they were not (like) those (types of land) that we harvested with a sickle. (144) A sickle was for (working) in rice (plantations), grass and the like. We would cut down with it a little at a time. But the scythe is made of iron, such scythes are something big, you see, for those large meadows. Since these meadows require two or three men, in a whole day they can barely manage to harvest a very small amount.

Roofs of Houses

(145) In our community it started raining from October, November onwards. What was there (to protect us)? We had roofs. A roof was of earth, mud. We called this *sarsarra* (gravel mixed with mud). It was strong. On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller. What is a roller? It is a stone, bored with a hole in its side, on one side and the other side. We brought and fashioned a piece of wood and with that piece of wood we would move it to and fro.⁴⁴ (146) We call that ‘compressing’ (*mandore*), in that we rolled the roof and the roof became compressed, so that leaking drops did not seep through in the winter. If it rained a little, they put down a little straw, so that it became more compact. In the old days it snowed a lot. Now it does not snow (so much). The climate has changed.

Hunting Partridges

(147) In the old days (when) it snowed a lot, we used to go hunting partridges. What is partridge hunting? Partridge hunting is in February or March, (when) there is a lot of snow. (They are called) partridges. The partridge lives in the mountains. In summer we could not catch them, but rather people would kill them. However, in winter, when there was snow, they could not walk (and we used to catch them). They used to come, we knew that they would come in the evening.

⁴³ Literally: These meadows were many.

⁴⁴ Literally: We would take it and bring it.

(148) ʔàxni¹ ʔĒn-Núne npíltá bəl-túra l-túra.¹ ʔĒn-Núne npíltela l-túra l-túra¹ mən-ná-mənnət nərə.¹ ʔáθra rába basiméle.¹ ba-ròžá¹ ʔáy šəmšēθela,¹ l-ṭalána m-ay-gòta.¹ yámne ṭalána-w¹ ba-róžá čàppe.¹ fa-y-aθéwa qəqwàne.¹ θéle rápət qəqwàne,¹ ʔáyya gu-sətweewa,¹ tálga lá-mšəxwa jójəxwa m-áxxa l-àxxa.¹ y-azəxwa.¹ (149) ʔíman-t jwǰwale xá kilométer m-áxxa l-àxxa,¹ ṭ-ámrx hətxa,¹ ʔíman t-yatúwewa lá-mšə pàrx¹ y-azəxwa doqəxwale senàyi,¹ ma-ṭ-túwa čǰya líθən.¹ ʔáyya y-amrəxxa gərkàwe.¹ ʔìθən,¹ ḏa-xéta y-amrila¹ qúlta.¹ qúlta ʔáy-ʔíla prəžla.¹ mtaršiwala doqúwa.¹ ʔarnùwewe doqúwa.¹ tèle bíya doqúwa,¹ heywánət túra.¹

Celebrations at the End of Āšwut

(150) məndiyáne xène¹ mò ʔamrənnox?¹ ʔádətte prīše.¹ ʔé-ga ʔíθwa y-amrəxwale šəwema,¹ šawəta,¹ doqəxwa bəte.¹ ʔàxni bātən šáwwi tmáni batəwa.¹ mšerəxwa šəwema.¹ ʔíma-t mšerəxwa syàma,¹ derəxwa yómət Mar-Səwa,¹ yáʔni ʔo-yòma¹ basiméle,¹ ʔəwele,¹ tálgele.¹ kút-xa y-amrəxxe yáʔni ʔən-íle náša spəy,¹ ʔó-yoma basimta ṭ-óya šəmša.¹ (151) xəḏexi.¹ ʔó-yoma hətxa yáʔni¹ y-amrəxla mərə.¹ ʔína kúlla spəy náše¹ ləx-mara là.¹ ʔína gu-d-ε-dàna,¹ yáʔni ʔó xa-túsa y-amrəxwa yáʔni¹ ʔən-íla-šəmša¹ basimtela-w¹ ʔən-ləla-šəmša,¹ yáʔni ʔo-náša la-spəy.¹ yómət parəqwa,¹ yóma xarəya,¹ ʔáwwa y-amrəxwale ʔĀšwut.¹ (152) ʔĀšwut rába krét-iwa gu-ʔàθra.¹ rábewa tálga,¹ rábewa mátra ʔu-məndiyáne.¹ ʔən-parəqwa ʔĀšwut,¹ ʔáw ʔasri-tmanyá yomáθa yan-ʔasri-ʔəčča yomànele,¹ y-azəxwa túra.¹ ʔíθən dapràna.¹ xa-ʔilànele¹ y-amrəxxe dapràna.¹ ʔo-dapràna y-azəxwa,¹ ʔàxni yálat mədrəsa¹ wəxwa ʔé-ga zòre,¹ məθəxwale.¹ y-oḏəxwale qóma gòra.¹

(148) ʔEn-Nune lies between one mountain and another. ʔEn-Nune lies between one mountain and another alongside a river. It is a very pleasant place. The (mountain known as) *ba-roža*⁴⁵ is sunny, which lies opposite (the mountain known as) *talana*⁴⁶ on the other side. On the right was *talana* and on the left *ba-roža*. Partridges would come. (When) a flock of partridges came, this was in the winter, (there was) snow and we could not move about (easily). We would go off (hunting). (149) When it had moved a kilometre from one place to another, let's say, when it sat down it could not fly, and we would go and catch it easily, because it was so tired, you see. We call this 'partridge hunting'. There is something else that is called a 'trap'. A trap is made of iron. They would set it up and catch (animals). They would catch rabbits. They would catch foxes with it, mountain animals.

Celebrations at the End of February

(150) What other things shall I tell you? (There were) various customs. At that time there was a fast of *šaweta*.⁴⁷ We would go around the houses. The houses in our community were seventy or eighty in number.⁴⁸ We would begin the fast. When we began fasting, we would predict on the day of Mar Sawa⁴⁹ that the day would be fine, cloudy, snowy. We would say to each person, if he was a good man, that on that day the sun will shine.⁵⁰ (151) We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things. They were all good people, we are not saying they were not. But at that time, it was a ritual for us to say this if the sun was fine. If there was no sun (we said that) the man is not good. On the day (the festival) finished, the last day (was the last day of the month that) we called February. (152) (The month of) February was very bad in our land. There was a lot of snow, a lot of rain and so on. When February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains. There is something called 'juniper'. It is a tree, called 'juniper'. We used to go—we were young school children at that time—and fetch the juniper and make a big pile of it.

⁴⁵ Meaning 'in the sun' (< Kurd. *roj* 'sunshine').

⁴⁶ Meaning 'shady' (< *tal* 'shade').

⁴⁷ Fast beginning twenty-five days before Christmas.

⁴⁸ Literally: We, our houses were seventy, eighty houses.

⁴⁹ I.e. the first day of the fast.

⁵⁰ Literally: the sun will be fine.

(153) *tálga ràba¹ njǎmàxwale¹ mattáxwa š-ǵǵàðe.¹ maqðáxwale¹ ʔǎšwuṭ,¹ y-ámrxax¹ ʔáwwa xàrbewa.¹ mṭapáxwa níra bìye¹ ʔó mǎlmǎlǎwá y-amrǎxwa.¹ túr ʔǎšwuṭ¹ théle¹ ʔǎðar.¹ yáʔni y-amrǎxwe ʔǎðar¹ basimele,¹ yáʔni ʔǎšwuṭ¹ zille.¹ yáʔni ʔáwwa xa-nišànqele¹ t-ʔáθra d-è-ga.¹*

(154) *bar-paràqwa,¹ šaqłáxwa xa-k'èpa,¹ mattáxwale gu-núra.¹ šaxánwa xànci,¹ zadáxwale hàtxa rǎhqa.¹ y-amrúwa só mèθole!¹ kút matéwa qamáya jàldalle¹ mèθewale.¹ sab-iyéwa tálga,¹ w-áw xamímewa,¹ pšúra,¹ šálya gu-tálga.¹ kut-mèθewale¹ y-ámriwa g'ánan basimta!¹ ʔáwwa biš-zǎrkile!¹ (155) yalúnke zòre¹ y-amrúwa ʔánna mǎndiyáne.¹ ʔáyya y-amrúla túr ʔǎšwuṭ,¹ théle ʔǎðar.¹ ʔáyya b-yárxat ʔǎšwuṭ¹ kúsšat y-oðiwale,¹ sab-sátwa y-awéwa yaqúra.¹ ʔu-bar-hádax parqàxwa¹ y-azáxwa l-bàte,¹ kút-xa y-amána zóra b-ʔiðe.¹ y-awile xaššé,¹ kut-xá-mǎndi,¹ xákma làblabi,¹ xákma fašolìye,¹ xákma mǎndiyáne,¹ kúlla y-awa-mrüzge.¹ dére ʔamáne-w¹ kút-xa y-áθe b-èθ-dìye.¹*

(156) *ta-rēš-šàwma,¹ ʔíθwa y-oðáxwa šawmákka.¹ šawmákka mòdile?¹ malwášiwale jülle¹ malwášiwale ǵǎlda-w¹ ʔu-y-azàlwa¹ xadráxwa bâte,¹ ʔu-jámáxwa mǎndiyáne,¹ mánna xabùše¹ ʔu-y-amrúwala kǎčkàje.¹ ʔu-xákma yawúwa zùze.¹ (157) ʔáwwa y-amrúle,¹ šawmákka ta-rēš-šàwma,¹ sab-ʔé-gat mšére šàwma.¹ ʔap-ʔáyya xá ʔadàtta¹ y-oðíwa náše ʔè-ga.¹ ʔu-rába basimléwa.¹ xámša ʔóšta xadrúwa-w¹ mayéwa xá dáwla mǎnnèy.¹ ʔu-xadrúwa gu-tálga.¹ yáʔni rába mǎndiyáne y-oðíwa.¹ ʔla-ʔǎšwuṭ¹ ʔánna mǎndiyáne y-oðíwala.¹*

Sheep and Goats

(158) *xéna ʔáxni gu-maθwàθa¹ y-amrúwa ʔíθwa ʔárwé,¹ ʔárwat xwàre,¹ ʔárwat kòme.¹ b-qéʔa¹ doqúwa šávàna¹ ʔu-pǎrèwale.¹ ʔu-kùt-yoma¹ xa-y-asóqwa mǎn-díye y-amrúwale malgòri.¹ ʔáwwa y-asóqwa mǎn-léle hal-ʔašǎrta¹ ʔu-ʔárwé pǎšúwa gu-ṭúra.¹*

(153) We gathered together a lot of snow and piled (the juniper over it). We would ‘burn February’. We would say that it was a bad thing. We would set fire to it. We called this *məlməlawə*. We would say ‘Good riddance February’⁵¹ (The month of) March has come.’ That is to say (the month) we call March is pleasant and February has gone. This was a symbolic act of our country at that time.

(154) When this was finished, we took a stone and put it in the fire. (When) it had heated up a little, we threw it far away (from the fire) and people would say ‘Go and fetch it!’ Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back. Since there was snow and it was warm, the snow melted and it dropped down into the snow. To whoever brought it back they would say ‘Bravo! He is the winner!’⁵² (155) The young boys would say such things. They would say this: ‘Good riddance February. March has come.’ They would do this every year in the month of February, since the Winter was very severe. After we had finished, we would go around the houses, everyone with a small vessel in his hand. People would give each one boiled wheat, all kinds of things, chickpeas, white beans, various things, all of which the people had prepared. They put these in the vessels and everyone returns home.

(156) For the beginning of the fast (of Lent) some of us made a *şawm-əkka*. What is a *şawməkka*? They would dress it in clothes, they would dress it in leather, then it would go off and we would go around the houses (with it). We would collect (from people) various things, such as apples and what was called *kəčkəje* (dried fruits). Some people gave money. (157) This was called a *şawməkka* for the beginning of the fast (*şawma*), since the fast began at that time. This also was a custom that the people had at that time. It was very nice. Five or six people went around and took a drum with them, and went around in the snow. They did many things. They would do these things for February.

Sheep and Goats

(158) We in the villages had small cattle, white small cattle (‘sheep’) and black small cattle (‘goats’). In summer they would hire a shepherd and pay him (for his services). Every day somebody went up (the mountains) with him called a ‘assistant’. He (the shepherd) would go up in the morning (and work) until evening. The small cattle would remain in the mountains.

⁵¹ Literally: A fart to February.

⁵² Literally: He is the strongest.

(159) *qéʔa y-aθéwa b-yòma¹ y-ásqi māʔwàla¹ y-aθéwa l-dwàra.¹ ʔiman-t y-aθéwa dwàra qúrba l-màθa,¹ y-asqúwa beríye,¹ beríye baxtàθa,¹ kút-ða šaqláwa sátla diya,¹ y-azáwa dwàra,¹ xalwíwa ʔarwe.¹ m-bár xálwi ʔarwe¹ manixíwa.¹ (160) *pešíwa yáʔni ganéwa... tawàrwa xámma y-amrǎxle.¹ y-asqúwa¹ rǎyíwa¹ hál ʔašǎrta.¹ ʔašǎrta meθéwala ða-dúkθa bíš-qurba t-y-awéwa mǐya táma.¹ mádre y-azíwa xalwíwala ʔarwe,¹ y-aθéwa,¹ ʔu-b-léle pešíwa gu-túra.¹ (161) *xàrθa¹ xa-béna b-ʔarbíye y-áwa t-ámrx¹ ʔarwe t-y-áwa píše b-lèle,¹ θéla genàwe y-amrǎxxa,¹ qačǎxe.¹ ʔánna ʔiyéwa xámša ʔásta y-áθe genàwe.¹ qíme ʔáθye b-lèle,¹ dwíqalle šǎwàna-w¹ malgóri diye.¹ šlíwàlla ʔíθaθéy¹ ʔu-gníwàlla ʔarwe¹ ʔu-muʔíðàlla b-ħǔdùd¹ yáʔni ʔáθra d-áy-gotat diyèni.¹ (162) ʔu-píštela háwar gu-màθa¹ béna ʔé-ga ʔíθwa tòpe¹ ʔíθwa čǎkke y-amrǎxwa,¹ tòpe.¹ píštela háwar.¹ tàxrena¹ kúlla náše qímela,¹ síqe l-hàwar,¹ síqe b-hàwar,¹ ʔina ʔarwe mšúre l-xá-ʔáθra xèna,¹ yáʔni gu-Túrki.¹ (163) *táma xáčča plíšela xá-yoma trè,¹ qímela hár ʔan-náše diyan,¹ slibe mǎn-ʔarwət qurðaye d-a-gòta¹ ʔu-muθyàlla.¹ fa-ʔánna mǎndiyáne har-y-awéwa yáʔni.¹ rába gáye wítela ʔánna mǎndiyáne.¹ y-aθéwa ganwíwala.¹****

Yoghurt and Cheese

(164) *ʔó-xǎlyət xalwíwale¹ meθéle bèθa.¹ meθéle bèθa,¹ mšapàwale-u¹ ʔu-deréwa gu-qušxàne.¹ ʔu-marǎxθíwale,¹ yáʔni mšaxníwale-u marǎxθíwale¹ qa-t-áw t-odíwale màsta.¹ m-bár t-ráxəθ ʔo-xǎlyə,¹ mattíwale hal-qayàrwa xánčǎ.¹ qam-qayǎrwa rába rába,¹ ʔíθən mattíwa šabóta gáwe diye¹ qá-t ʔən-qablála šabóta¹ yáʔni dánela qá-t deréla marèθa.¹*

(159) In the summer they would come during the day, they would go up and people would graze them, then they would come back to the resting place. When they came to the resting place near the village, milkmaids would come up, women, each would carry her pail and go to the resting place and they would milk the small cattle. After they milked the small cattle, they left them to rest. (160) They remained (there until the sun) set and the heat was broken, as we say. They would go up and graze until evening. In the evening they would bring them to a place closer (to the village) where there was water. Again they would go and milk the small cattle. They would return and remain during the night in the mountains. (161) Now, in the 1940s,⁵³ thieves, brigands as we call them, came (to steal) the small cattle that remained in the mountains. The thieves who came were five or six in number. They came in the night and seized the shepherd and his assistant. They tied their hands, stole the small cattle and took them over the border, that is (the border of) the country on our side. (162) There was a cry of alarm in the village. In those days there were rifles, weapons, as we called them, rifles. There was an cry of alarm. I remember all the people got up and went up (into the mountains) to (investigate) the alarm, they went up (into the mountains) at the cry of alarm, but the small cattle had been smuggled to another country, that is to Turkey. (163) They battled for a day or two, then our people robbed some of the small cattle of the Kurds on the other side and brought them back. Such things were always happening. Many times such things happened. People would come and steal them (i.e. our sheep).

Yoghurt and Cheese

(164) Now, they brought back home the milk that they milked. They brought it home, strained it and put it in a pan. Then they boiled it, that is they heated it up and boiled it in order to make it into yoghurt. After the milked boiled, they put it aside until it cooled slightly. Before it became very cool—there were some who put a finger in it and if the finger tolerated (the heat), it meant that it was time to add the rennet.

⁵³ Literally: It was in the 1940s let's say.

(165) *ʔa-maréθa mtaršiwala m-rába mǝndiyǎne.¹ derǎwala,¹ mkesǎwale¹ báθǝr xákma dàna.¹ ʔu-m-bar-hádǝx mattiwale xa-dúkθa hal-dawùqwa.¹ ʔu-dártǝ yǝma¹ qemíwa ʔína piša¹ màsta¹ fa-ʔa-màsta,¹ ʔo-xǎlyǎ¹ dáwuqwa qrúšta.¹ qrúšte-diye rába basimléwa.¹ ʔu-deréwa ʔla-náše¹ ʔaxlíwa gu-ftárta mǝndi,¹ ʔla-yalúnke zóre t-yéwa gu-bèθa.¹ ʔa-màsta¹ y-axlíwa mǝnna-diya.¹ (166) ʔo-t-zayǎdwa¹ halbát ʔo-rǎbewa¹ ʔiθwale náše ʔrwe xa-dǎrya.¹ mò y-oǎíwa?¹ mǝn-d-o-xǎlyǎ ʔu-mǝn-d-a-màsta ʔi-mtaršíwa gùpta.¹ ʔáv bár hádǝx mšaxniwale,¹ bar-hádǝx ʔa-màsta mǝθéwala xa-kísta,¹ kista yǎni deréwa gáwe diye.¹ ʔu-bar deréwa gáwe y-asrǎwala,¹ matíwa xa-képa xačča-ǔtóxa xǝθe¹ ʔu-réše mattíwa xa-képa¹ qá-t kǝmá-t ʔiyéwa míya gawe-diye¹ gamšúwa¹ šaléwa.¹ (167) pǝšáwa xa-yóma trǝ,¹ hál barǝzwa.¹ ʔu-bár barǝzwa xáčča taléwale.¹ ʔa-gùpta béna mǝθéwa deréwala.¹ ʔiθwa býyéwa deréwa gǎlla gáwa.¹ ʔiθwa gùpta y-oǎíwa b-gǎlla¹ ʔiθwa sǝrmo deréwa b-gáwa¹ ʔu-šǎbbǎt¹ ʔu-priše priše.¹ ʔýya kúlla gùpta ʔla-ʔiméwa?¹ ʔla-sǎtwa.¹ sab-sátwa la-y-awéwa réčǎl rába.¹ fa-ʔánna mxaméwala.¹ (168) mò y-óǎi?¹ ʔiθwa bár ʔiyáwa rǎbθa¹ deréwa gu-markǎne.¹ ʔan-markǎne mtúršela m-ʔùpra.¹ ʔiθwa gu-ʔáθra har-šulý ʔáwwéwa,¹ mtaršíwa markǎne,¹ line,¹ kawàze,¹ garšíwa míya býa,¹ kúl xa-mǝndi.¹ fa-ʔánna ʔamǎne¹ deréwa gùpta gáwa díya.¹ (169) ladmíwala.¹ kút-xa béθe diye¹ xapǎrwala¹ ʔu-l-páθa d-o-gùpta deréwa matúwewa ʔǎrpe,¹ ʔǎrǔt daliθa,¹ qa-t lá šaléwa šáxta gáwe.¹ y-asrǎwa púmma díya¹ ʔu-mattíwa réše xtáya.¹ (170) hon-txàra¹ ʔε-ga-ʔ-ixwa zóre¹ šǎlǎnwa mǝnnǎt xóni mattúwewala.¹ xapǎrxwa ʔu-mattúwewa réše xtáya¹ ʔu-mkaséwala.¹ yǎǎxwa ʔékewa.¹ kút-xa šwáwe náše yǎǎxwa ʔékewa mǝtte.¹ (171) hál héwǝn čǝrye¹ béna mšǝrǎxwa¹ xá-xa šqǎlǎlla líθǎn.¹ ʔu-náše mapǎlxíwala¹ hal-tǎrǎt sǎtwa.¹ ʔu-b-ó pǎšlá¹ ʔi-mtaršíwa gùpta.¹ yǎni dǎx taršíwa m-xǎlyǎ-w¹ pǎlta béna xaráyá gùpta-w¹ mapǎlxíwa náše ʔla-gu-bèθa.¹*

(165) They used to make rennet from many things. They would add it and cover it after a certain time. Then they would put it in some place until it set. The next day they would get up and see that it had become yoghurt. The yoghurt, (made from) the milk, would set (with) a crust. Its crust was delicious. They would serve it to people for them to eat at breakfast and so on and to the young children in the house. They would eat the yoghurt. (166) As for what was left over—of course there was a lot, people had many small cattle. What did they do? From the milk and the yoghurt they made cheese. They would heat it (the milk) then bring a bag for the yoghurt, in which they put it. After they put it in it they tied it up. They put a flattish stone under it and put a stone on top of it, in order to squeeze out whatever water it had in it, so that it would flow down. (167) It took one or two days until it became dry. After it dried they hung it for a while. They would then bring the cheese and lay it out (to be eaten). Some people liked to put herbs in it. There was a cheese that they made with herbs. Some put the herb *sarmo* into it and dill, and many different ones. For when was all this cheese (made)? For winter. Since in winter there were not many dairy products, so they kept them. (168) What did they do? After the cheese became abundant, they put it in storage jars. These jars were made from clay. There were some people in the country whose job was (to do) this. They made jars, large pots and small pots, in which water was transported, all kinds of things. They would put cheese in these vessels. (169) They compressed it. Everybody in his home would dig (a hole) and over the surface of the cheese they would put leaves, vine leaves, so that dirt would not get into it. They would tie up its mouth and place it upside down (in the ground). (170) I remember, when we were young, I used to go down with my brother and he placed (the cheese in the ground). We would dig (a hole) and he would place it upside down and cover it. We knew where it was. We knew where each of the neighbours had put (their jars). (171) (This was) until the season of Autumn, when we each began to take it (out of the ground). People would use it until the beginning of winter. They would make cheese in this way. (This is) how they made it out of milk and how in the end cheese was produced and people used it for their household.

Cows

(172) 'íθwa tawràθa.¹ bás tla-mexólta diyèy-iyawa.¹ tawórta xalwìwala.¹ 'u-'íθwa y-amrǎxla bəqra.¹ sab-b-qé̄ta kúlla deréwa y-asqíwa gu-ṭura.¹ doqíwa xá y-amrǎxle baqàra.¹ 'áw māřéwa tawriyàθa¹ 'u-tàwre.¹ 'áw y-amri baqàra.¹ m-lél mbàdla¹ xalwíwa tawə̀rta¹ y-asqáwa bəqra¹ (173) 'ap-'áy har-hàdax¹ mšaxníwa xálya dīya-w¹ marə̀wale-u¹ 'u-deréwa marə̀θa,¹ har-'ax-ṭ-ođíwa xə̀lya.¹ mtaráštət xálya kúlla xà-mə̀ndila.¹ šaxnile-u¹ pàyas¹ 'u-bar-hádax dére marə̀θa,¹ 'u-šaqlile.¹ 'ina mástət 'ə̀rwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-prištela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.¹ (174) 'u-čeriyǎwàθa¹ beheriye¹ 'ə̀rwe yadlīwa.¹ yá'ni dax-zé̄di 'ə̀rwe.² yadlīwa¹ y-awéwa pàre.¹ 'u-'ə̀zze yadlīwa¹ jisqàθa-w¹ gə̀ðye.¹ 'u-séta b-séta¹ zedīwa-w¹ náše zedīwa 'ə̀wə̀y.¹ (175) 'úrxət xláwota kúlla xa-mə̀ndila.¹ báxta y-àza¹ mattála qasxàne¹ rə̀š-bərka dīya,¹ xalšála-w¹ yá'ni xalwála tawə̀rta.¹ w-áni yá'đi dāx 'i-xálwi tawə̀rta.¹ tawə̀rta šənə̀la.¹ dére gə̀lla-w¹ 'ən-'ítla mója zòra¹ qám-ma xalwàla,¹ māmīšála xáčča-w¹ xalwála-w¹ ap-xáčča xéna šóqa tla-mòja.¹ qá-t 'ap-'áw zòrele,¹ sab-qá-t š-léwa mšúrya xála gə̀lla¹ qa-ṭ-áwe spày,¹ qa-t-mànte.¹

Bees

(176) 'íθwa gu-máθa doqíwa dabàše¹ tla-dùša.¹ 'ánna doqíwale beheriye.¹ deréwa gu-sulämmə̀š.¹ 'an-dabàše¹—kə̀má-ṭ-awə̀ wə̀rde¹ pálṭi wə̀rde,¹ béher y-áwə̀ priše priše¹—y-àzi¹ méθə̀ mexólta diyèy,¹ hál máte héwən diyéy b-čeriyǎwàθa.¹ b-čeri¹ 'íθən náše¹ 'idéy bīsta y-amri.¹ 'u-'íθwa 'úrxə,¹ pə̀ša 'ax-šàna y-amrǎxla.¹ (177) béna bar-pə̀ša šàna,¹—'i-šáqla 'árba xámša yàrxə,¹—bar-pə̀ša šàna,¹ y-ámri hēwə̀mile¹ sab-gárag xáčča pə̀xa dúnye.¹ b-yárxət 'ə̀sra¹ xadə̀ssə̀r¹ y-óya pìxta dúnye,¹ qá-t la-šəri¹ 'árqi y-àzi.¹

Cows

(172) There were cows. They served only to provide their food. They would milk the cow. There was a herd of cattle, as we said, for in the summer they would put all (their cows in the herd) and they would go up into the mountains. They would hire somebody called a cow-herd. He would graze the cows and the oxen. They call him a cow-herd. Early in the morning they would milk the cow and it would go up to the herd. (173) They would heat its milk, in the same way (as described). They would set it by putting rennet into it, just as they made (sheep's) milk. The preparation of the milk is the same. They heat it and it is left (to cool). Afterwards they put rennet into it and take it away (to leave it to set). But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle. (174) In the Autumn and the Spring the sheep would give birth. How do sheep reproduce? They give birth, producing lambs. The goats would give birth to young females and males. From year to year they would increase, the small cattle of people would increase. (175) The method of milking all (animals) is the same. A woman would go and place a pail on her knees and would squeeze it, that is, she would milk the cow. They know how to milk the cow. The cow is domesticated. They put down grass (for it). If it has a small calf, before she milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little, then she milks it and leaves a little more for the calf. This is because it is small and had not yet started to eat grass. (They allowed it to have milk) to be good (in health) and progress (in growth).

Bees

(176) Some people in the village used to keep bees for honey. They would keep them in springtime. They would put them in a beehive. The bees—there were many flowers, in the Spring all kinds of flowers came out—the bees would go to fetch their food (from the flowers) until their season arrived in Autumn. In Autumn, there are skilled people,⁵⁴ as they are called. There was a way to do it. It becomes something called a honeycomb. (177) After it becomes a honeycomb—this took four or five months—after it becomes a honeycomb, they say it is time, for the weather must be somewhat cool. In October or November the weather is cool. This was so that the bees did not start to fly away.

⁵⁴ Literally: their hand is skilled.

(178) ʔi-doqile šàna.¹ ʔu-sulámmāš doqile lóšì xa-jùlla¹ qa-t-lá nesìla-w¹ ʔu-déere gu-ʔamàna,¹ garšile níxa nìxa-w.¹ m-táma hòdax¹ déere gu-qáwwe zòre.¹ ʔáwowa dúša hàtxa mtaršile.¹ ʔu-ʔiθwa náše xa-dàrya¹ yáʔni ʔiθwaley kút l-gʔān-dìye.¹ xákma mána mزابنوا¹ yáʔni sáma zóda ʔla-beθuθéy mapəlxàwala¹ ʔla-našy.¹

Houses

(179) ʔáni qámθa báte bánye b-képa-w ʔina.¹ qámθa,¹ qám šáwwi tmáni šanne yáʔni¹ banèwa.¹ ʔína šét ʔarbíye-u l-àxxa¹ m-bar-náše y-awéwala xákma yaʔni zùze,¹ plíxwala náše,¹ mšuréle bnáyalla batèy¹ b-képa ʔu-gèsa.¹ képa meθéwa m-gu-tùra.¹ y-azíwa l-tùra¹ y-awéwa ʔšya ʔaw-képa¹ mattíwa darmana.¹ (180) ʔiθwa náše¹ ʔánna banàye¹ sàne y-amráxwa,¹ sàne.¹ y-azíwa mpāqìwala¹ palí kepe-xwàre.¹ ʔán kepe-xwàre pərmìwala¹ y-oðíwa zóre zòre.¹ ʔu-ʔánna hár gu-tùra.¹ ʔu-m-tàma¹ ʔánna képa ʔáwowa y-amráxwe pàθa.¹ ʔáwowa kəpət pàθele,¹ naqrìwale.¹ y-awéwa xwàra,¹ táməz rába tàza.¹ (181) ʔu-y-azíwa dawéere garšìwale.¹ dawèere,¹ šaqólwa kùt-xa,¹ kut-téna šaqólwa ʔarbà-kepe,¹ lʔánnahu yaqùreyewa.¹ garšìwala b-stàvle.¹ ʔan-stàvle¹ mtúršewa m-qèsa.¹ ʔan-stàvle xāš-dawèreyewa,¹ síre xāš-dawèra,¹ koðànta y-amráxla.¹ (182) deréwa tre-képe m-ay-gòta,¹ tre-m-ay-gota¹ ʔu-meθéwala màθa-w.¹ yawìwala¹ yáʔni zúzə d-o-nàša¹ yawìwale káma-t daqər.¹ bār meθéwala,¹ mrazgíwa kul-xa-məndì.¹ qam-šeríwa bnàya,¹ y-azíwa y-oðíwa ʔatùna,¹ qá-t mtaršíwa kəlša,¹ qa-t mšeríwa bnàya.¹ (183) ʔatúna modìle.² y-azíwa ʔap-ʔáyya gu-ʔùrela.¹ xaprìwa¹ ʔú...y-amráxwe ʔənnəḱéere y-oðíwa qése banèwala¹ xa-tùxma.¹ ʔu-meθéwa kəpe¹ ʔu-qése.¹ ʔu-m-xòθe¹ y-oðíwa nùra.¹ ʔo-kəlša,¹ ʔan-kəpe¹ y-aqðíwa.¹ bar-t-y-aqðíwa,¹ kùlla pəšíwa ʔax-qámxa.¹ ʔaw-kálša y-ámrxwe qámxa.¹

(178) They (the beekeepers) would take hold of the honeycomb. They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth so that the bees would not sting them. They put it into a vessel and took it away slowly. Afterwards they would put it into small jugs. They would prepare honey in this way. Many people had honey for themselves. Some of them sold it, though most people used it for their household, for their family.

Houses

(179) In the old days houses were built with stone and mud. In the old days, seventy or eighty years ago, they would build like that. But from the forties onwards, after people had money—since the people worked—they began to build their houses with stone and gypsum plaster. They would bring the stone from the mountains. They would go to the mountains—the stone was hidden, so they planted gunpowder. (180) There were builders, labourers we called them, labourers. They would go and blow them up and extract the white stones. They cut these white stones, making them very small. They were only in the mountains. (They were brought) from there. They (made) the stone that we call the ‘facing’ (of the house).⁵⁵ It is the stone of the facing. They would carve it out. It was white, beautifully clean. (181) Mules would go and transport it. Each mule would carry a load of four stones, since they were heavy. They transported them in containers. The containers were made of wood. These containers were on the back of mules, tied to the back of pack animals, which we called a mule. (182) They would put two stones on this side and two on the other side and bring them to the village. They would pay the man’s (i.e. the labourer’s) money, they would pay him however much it cost. After they brought it (to the village), they would prepare everything. Before they began building, they went and set up a furnace to make gypsum, so that they could start building. (183) What is a furnace? They would go—this also was in the mountains. They would dig and put wood around it and build it up into a certain shape. They would bring stones and wood. Then under it they would put fire. The gypsum stones would burn. After it burnt, they all became like flour. We call the gypsum flour.

⁵⁵ I.e. the outer side of the wall.

(184) *bar-t-y-aqíðwa y-amríwa 'áwwa mále tla-bányàna, 'y-azíwa' garšíwale b-juwàle, 'sab-píšewa 'ax-qámxa, 'txìnewa. 'o-kálša deréwale gu-juwàle, 'meθéwale l-màθa, 'xzi 'ékele béθux t-ít-bnáyalle. 'mšéri bnàya. (185) l-gáwət bèθa, 'áni képa-w fínewa, 'ína l-bàθre' páθe dýe, 'páθe dýe' 'an-képe t-in-mára tāməz 'iyéwa, 'príme-u' tàze-u' 'ax-t-ámri nqíre. 'mənnéy mənnéy mattíwa kəlša, 'o-kəlša' rába qúwyeewa, 'yá'ni m-bár xá 'əsrá yomàθa, 'yá'ni t-amrítte dabəšwa, 'kúlla t-amrítte dabəšwa xá képa yá'ni, 'képa-w kəlša. (186) 'u-b-ó-pəsla banəwa. 'áwwa gúda banéwa hətxa. 'xàrθa' halbát tarráne tarránət qèsəyewa táma. 'gyátta' 'ax-t-amrəxxa' t-amrəxla yá'ni gàre. 'mánda qamáye 'íθwa xoriyàθa. 'ánna xoriyáθa xlímeyéwa. 'ánna xoriyàθa' deréwa...y-áwa bánye 'otáxe. (187) máθálan 'íθ bəθa 'əštá 'otáxe, 'xamšá 'otáxe' y-áwa kúlla 'ap-'áni be-pálga bánye. 'áni b-képa 'adi báne, 'lá b-képa xwára. 'm-táma hódəx meθéwa xoriyàθa. 'garšíwa nàše, 'y-ázi gu-néra bār pərmíwala-w' barzíwa xáčča mkalčíwala. (188) garšíwa' y-aθéwa 'ax-t-ámri náše zəbbáre mhéri gódəde. 'garšíwa 'an-gúre xeláne. 'é-ga 'íθwa náše rábe gu-màθa. 'meθéwala, 'masqíwala, 'mattíwala š-gúda. 'mattíwa š-gúda, 'bar-hàdəx' š-d-ó gúda' meθéwa y-amrəxxa nire. (189) 'ap-'áni y-áwe príme. 'ap-'áni t-qəšela. 'bəl-qaríθa l-qaríθa, 't-ámrx bálki y-áwa' métra-w pálge 'átxa' kút bəl-qaríθa l-qaríθa. 'sab-lá-hoya biš-pθíθa, 'ən-wéla biš-pθíθa, 'y-ámrxəxxa dərpa, 'yá'ni šàlyá, 't-áθe sətwa' t-áθya tálga mánda. (190) kəmə t-iyéwa 'iqe-u' xoriyáθa xlíme, 'biš-yá'ni t-amrəxwa xáyíwa biz-zàwda. 'bar-deréwa nire, 'meθéwa' tərpa. 'é-ga qámθa tərpa y-odíwa. 'deréwa tərpa réše dýe, 'ína m-ó mgúbya. 'u-m-bár hādəx, 'deréwa níxa níxa' xíza' 'u-xáčča tina mánda' qa-t dawúqwa.*

(184) After it burnt and they considered that it was enough for building, they would proceed to transport it in sacks, since it had become like flour, it was ground. They put the gypsum in sacks and brought it to the village, wherever⁵⁶ your house that you were building was situated. Then they would begin to build. (185) Inside the house was stone and mud, but behind this was its (outer) facing. Its facing consisted of the stones that I said were clean, nicely cut and carved, as they say. Together with these (stones) they would put gypsum. The gypsum was very strong. After about ten days, you would say that it stuck together, you would say that the gypsum all stuck together in a single stone. (186) They would build in this way. This is the wall, which they built in the this way. Then, of course, (they would make) the doors, which were made of wood there. (They would make) the 'finishing' (at the top of the wall), as we call it, that is (the base of the) the roof. First of all, there were poplar trees. These poplar were thick. They laid these poplar (to make the roof). They had built the rooms (by this stage). (187) There were, for example, six rooms in a house, five rooms. They were all built within (the house). They would build these with ordinary stone, not with white stone. After that they would bring poplar (trunks). People would transport them. They would float down the river after people cut them up. (After) they dried a little, they would remove their bark. (188) Volunteer workers, as they are called, would transport them and help one another (in the task). Those strong men would transport them. At that time there were many people in the village. They would bring them, take them up (to the village) and then place them on top of the wall. They placed them on top of the wall and after that, on top of the wall, they would bring (and fit) slats. (189) These were also cut (to measure) and were made of wood, (placed) between one beam and another. Each (space) between one beam and another was, perhaps, about metre and a half (long). This was because (the space) must not be wider. If it were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived. (190) In proportion as the poplars were narrowly spaced and thick, they survived longer. After they laid the slats, they would bring leaves. They would have previously collected the leaves. They would place the leaves on this, (using only) those that were selected (for good quality). Afterwards they laid a light layer of sand and a little mud, or the like, so that it would all adhere together.

⁵⁶ Literally: see where.

(191) *ʔu-deréwa ʔupra réše diye.¹ ʔu-m-bár deréwa ʔupra rēš-diye,¹ yǎd̥iwa mo-qádra deréwa¹ t-lá-haweewa biz-zàwda¹ yáʔni t-la xarùwowa.¹ bar-xàrθa¹ ʔiθwa har-ʔupra xàs¹ yáʔni la-kùt-ʔupra t-áweewa.¹ yáʔni p̥riša yéwa.¹ ʔa-xarèθa¹ č̣annə̀ḳère-ži mattíwa,¹ č̣annə̀ḳérət gùda,¹ swanàne y-amrǎxla.¹ swanáne pallíwa m-gùda¹ qa-t-lá-miya šále gu-gùda.¹ ʔap-ʔáni ʔiyéwa mtugə̀bre.¹ (192) gu-d-á dàna¹ gàre¹ bená xaràye¹ mēθéwa y-amrǎxxe sarsə̀rra.¹ ʔap-ʔàw¹ xa-ʔùprele¹ ʔu-xáčča t-amrǎxxe kepànele.¹ ʔap-ʔàw b-dawère mēθéle.¹ gótà máθa ʔiθn y-amrǎxla xpàrta.¹ ʔáwwa képa xàs deréle š-gùda.¹ ʔáwwa rába qùwyele.¹ miya lé-šale biye diye,¹ rába dāwouq.¹ (193) ʔu-m-bár t-y-ódi ʔáy kùlla¹ ʔiθn y-amrǎxxa mandòrta.¹ mandòrta ʔíle kèpa¹ gòra y-áwe,¹ yáʔni y-áwe mtúrša xās-d-ó-mə̀ndi¹ ʔáyya y-amrila mandòrta,¹ yáʔni mandrále gàre,¹ dalkále yáʔni,¹ dalkále gàre.¹ gu-d-a-dána¹ ʔiθeni y-amrǎxxe¹ . . . mandòrta ʔu-dére xa-qésa bi-diye,¹ fa-ʔáw qunjiyáθe diye¹ d-áy mandòrta¹ y-áwa bə̀zye¹ y-áwe bóya biye¹ y-áwe ʔax-xp̥ira,¹ nq̣ira y-amrǎxle.¹ (194) fa-morile mən-tárna goyàθa¹ ʔu-garšile b-ó-qesət y-áwe bi-diye,¹ nablíle mēθéle mandrile gáre.¹ mandrile gáre¹ qa-t-qàwe¹ qa-t-íma t-áθya ʔaryàna-w¹ t-áθe tálga¹ qa-t-lá-šala dalòpe.¹ ʔu-b-sə̀twa¹ ʔiθena ʔíma t-y-áθe ʔaryàna¹ ʔáy mandòre mándari.¹ (195) bas-ʔíma t-y-áθe tálga,¹ halbát y-aθéwa tálga rába¹ rába y-aθéwa tálga,¹ fa-mò y-ođíwa.² ʔiθwalən marùθa.¹ garp̥iwale,¹ gràpa y-ámri,¹ yáʔni zadáwale kùlla m-gàre¹ č̣annə̀ḳérət swàna¹ l-yámne č̣ə̀p̣pe.¹ yáʔni kút-dukət t-óya bis-senàyi,¹ sab-ràba-ʔiyewa tálga.¹ (196) ʔó . . . marùθa mturásteewa m-qésa.¹ ʔiθwala dásqa rixa y-áwe.¹ ʔu-mēθéwa qésət ʔilàna¹ ʔu-y-ođíwa dapyàθa¹ ʔu-mtaršiwala-w¹ ʔu-b-àyi¹ garp̥íwa gàre.¹ yáʔni zep̥íwa tálga¹ qa-t-lá payáṣwa b-gàre.¹ ʔiθ-ràba gàye,¹ trè-gaye,¹ ṭḷà-gaye,¹ b-lèle¹ ʔima-t-y-aθéwa tálga¹ sáma zóda b-yárxət trə̀ssər¹ yárxət xà.¹ (197) ʔap-ʔǎšwuṭ krèhət y-áwe,¹ ʔap-ʔáw xelàna y-áwe.¹ ʔu-páyə̀š bə̀her¹ m-tama-hódə̀x mandòrtela-w¹ yáʔni m-tama-hódə̀x la-sáq̣di biya.¹ yáʔni báte b-ò-pə̀šla banéwala.¹ yáʔni bnéθət bate,¹ hál ʔánna ṣ̌anne xaràye¹ mšuréla bnáyalla b-č̣imànto,¹ bar-náše xáčča wéla,¹ ʔurxáθət ʔatnabéle siqla.¹*

(191) Then they would put soil on it. After they put soil on it—they knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and spoil. Furthermore, there was a special soil (which had to be used), that is not any type of soil. It was different. They laid the last (section of the roof) they laid also what was round it, around the wall, which we called ‘eaves’. The eaves protruded from the wall, so that the water would not run down the wall. These also were dealt with. (192) At that time, the last thing (they did for) the roof was that they brought what is called ‘white gravel’. This is also a kind of soil, rather like gravel. They would bring this also on mules. Next to the village there is what is called a quarry (from where they brought it). This is a special stone that they put on the wall. It is very strong. Water does not seep through it, since it retains (water) well. (193) After they do all this, there is what we call a roller. A roller is a stone, which is large and is made specially for this thing. This is called a roller, i.e. it rolls the roof, it compresses it, it compresses the roof. At that time there was a thing called a roller. They would put a piece of wood into it. The ends⁵⁷ of the roller are bored, with holes in them, dug out, carved out, as we say. (194) They insert it (the wood) from both sides and pull it with the (handle of) wood that is attached to it, back and forth, rolling the roof. They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does not seep down (into the house). In the winter, when it rains, they would roll it in this way. (195) But when it snowed—of course there was a lot of snow—what did they do? We had a snow shovel. They would shovel it—they call it shovelling, that is they would throw it all from the roof from around the eaves, on the right and on the left, whatever place was easiest, since there was a lot of snow. (196) The snow shovel was made of wood. It has a long hand. They would bring a branch of wood from a tree and make it into flat pieces and construct it (the shovel). With this they would shovel the roof, that is they would push off the snow, so that it did not remain on the roof. Sometimes (they did this) many times, two times, three times, at night when it snowed, mainly in December and January. (197) (The month of) February is also bad, that is the snow was heavy. Then it is Spring and from then onwards it is the roller (that they use). That is, from then onwards they have no difficulty with it (the weather). They would build houses in this way. This was the method of building of houses, until recent years, when they began to build them with cement, after people became few (in number) and roads for cars came up (to the village).

⁵⁷ Literally: corners.

(198) *mšuréla masóqe čimànto.*¹ *’ína bâte qámθa řina-wεwa.*¹ *’u-pišwala t-amrǎxwa qàsre,*¹ *béna ’áwowa lé y-amrǎxwa bâte¹ y-amrǎxwa qàsra.*¹ *sab-biš muntèwale¹ šamma díya qəm-mšaxəlpìwale.*¹ *béθa ’áwowa t-řinεyewa¹ y-amrǎxwa bèθa¹ badákka zòra.*¹ *’ína ’aw-xéna pišwale qàsra¹ t-yéwa býnya b-kèpe.*¹ *bâte hātxa banéwa.*¹

(199) *xārθa¹ ’é-ga mǎrwali qá-t bâte dǎx banèla,*¹ *bás gu-d-án bâte mò ’íθwa?*¹ *’é-ga... tróša yáři léwa ’ax-díya.*¹ *’é-ga ’íθwa bèθa¹ ’íθwa xá-’otax yan-trè.*¹ *đà-’otax¹ ’áyya mšuwèθa.*¹ *’íθwa y-amrǎxwa xašira.*¹ *xašire meθéwala m-mđinàθa ’é-ga.*¹ *’ànì deréwa xtèθa.*¹ (200) *xéna halbàt¹ d-é-dān d-è-ga¹ líθwa ’ánna qāñǎfe-u mǎndiyáne.*¹ *’íθwa kut-bèθa¹ đa-’otax¹ yan-tárte řǎlləθ,*¹ *la-bi-zóda ’iyéwa ’atxàne.*¹ *’u-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-ğđàðe,*¹ *yalúnke zòre¹ ’u-bèθa-w¹ kúlla m-ğđàðe.*¹ *’é-ga ’ap-’án gorìwa¹ har-m-ğđàðe xaméwa.*¹ (201) *’ǎřt-béθa y-áwa mšuwya¹ t-ámřax xašire y-amrúwala.*¹ *xašire,*¹ *y-áwa-zqire mǎnnat zǎle¹ ma-zále ’u-mǎndiyáne y-áwa zqire.*¹ *deréwa l-’ǎra¹ ’u-réša¹ deréwa gǎle y-amrǎxle.*¹ *gǎle,*¹ *xákma y-awéwala xaliye¹ mánna xáčča biš-xlìme.*¹ *’ánna ’íla řrista y-amrúwala ’é-ga.*¹ (202) *béna ’ánna deréwa rěša-w¹ řǎnnǎkèra¹ y-ođíwa došǎkyàθa,*¹ *y-áwa raqìqe.*¹ *’u-mattíwa¹ barəšyàθa řǎnnǎkèra.*¹ *’u-náše yat-tíwa ’é-ga.*¹ *sáb kúlla tàwta¹ y-aθéwa,*¹ *řawléy řalxìwala¹ ’u-y-aθéwa y-atwìwa,*¹ *řwàwε-u¹ nǎše-u¹ xəzmàne-u¹ ’ən-wéwa naxrǎye,*¹ *dòste.*¹ *’ánna mǎndiyáne t-yéwa gu-bèθa.*¹ (203) *’ína táma ’íθwa qarawǎtte,*¹ *’an-qarawǎtte đà ’iyáwa.*¹ *’ína ’o-t-ítwale đa-qaràwət,*¹ *y-áwa mtúrřət qèsa.*¹ *’íθwa najáre mtaršìwale.*¹ *y-aθéwa m-’Amediya najàre.*¹ *b-qéřa y-aθéwa mtaršìwa kút-xa đà qaràwət.*¹ *kúd-xa-t bǎyèwa,*¹ *y-aθéwa.*¹ *’ana-txárən y-aθéwa xo-túθa řúwa,*¹ *’áw túθa góřa t-’ùmra.*¹

(198) They began to bring up cement. Formerly, however, houses were made of mud. They (the houses) became villas, as we called them. We did not call them houses, we called them villas. Since (people) were more prosperous, (they built bigger houses) and they changed the name of them. A house was made of mud, we would call this a house or a small hut. But the other sort was (called) a villa, which was built of stones. This is the way they built houses.

(199) So, I have said how they built houses, but what (furniture) was there in the houses? At that time, indeed, it was not like today. At that time in a house there was one room or two. One room was furnished. There was a mat, as we called it. They brought the mats from the towns at that time. They put these on the floor.⁵⁸ (200) Of course at that time there were no armchairs and things like that. Each house had one room, or two or three, but no more than that. All the family lived together, small children, family, all were together. At that time, even if people were married, they all lived together. (201) The floor of the house was furnished with what is called mats. The mats were woven from reeds. They were woven from reeds and similar things. They would put these on the floor. On top they would put rugs, as we called them, rugs, and some people had carpets, which are a bit thicker than rugs. These things are what were called at that time a *prista* ('a spread'). (202) So, they put these things on (the floor) and around them they laid thin cushions. They laid around (the floor) also pillows. People would sit down at that time. For when they came to a seated gathering, they would take off their shoes then sit down, neighbours, people (of all kinds), relatives, any strangers who may be there,⁵⁹ friends. These are the things that were in the house. (203) There were also beds there. These beds were one (type). These beds, which people had, were made of wood.⁶⁰ There were carpenters. Carpenters came from Amedia. In the summer they would come and each one would make a bed. If anybody wanted one, they would come. I remember they would come (and sit) under the smooth⁶¹ mulberry tree, the big tree belonging to the church.

⁵⁸ Literally: below.

⁵⁹ Literally: strangers if they were (there).

⁶⁰ Literally: Somebody who had a bed, they were made of wood.

⁶¹ I.e. with a smooth bark.

(204) ʔu-y-aθéwa m-ʕAmediya ʔan-najàre,¹ mtaršíwa ʔan-t-y-amráxwa qaràwət.¹
 ʔan-qarawəttle¹ ʔi-masqíwala b-qéta gàre.¹ sab-nàše¹ ʔé-ga gáræg yasqíwa gáre damxíwa,¹
 sab-gu-béθa xəmma ʔiyéwa,¹ yáʕni bíš y-awéwa ráhat ràma.¹ fa-ʔáni masqíwa
 qarawátte gàre-u¹ xákma har-damxíwa l-àra.¹ ʔina sáma zóda ʔiyéwala qaràwət.¹
 (205) sab-mò.² qa-t-deréwa məstik.¹ mástik ʔáw pàrda¹ sab-y-áwe çène.¹ ʔé-ga ʔíθwa
 zǎríwa náše rəzza¹ ʔu-míya gu-ʔaqàra,¹ rába çéne ʔiyéwa.¹ fa-maβəlxíwa məstik.¹ ʔáni
 mattíwa b-gàre¹ hál yárxat tmànya¹ ʔəçça,¹ ʔatxàne,¹ qam-qeráwa dùnye,¹ ʔu-mšeríwa
 níxa níxa sláya gu-bèθa.¹

Flora

(206) táma ʔíθwalən gu-màθa¹ gu-ʔĒn Nūne¹ ʔíθwalən xelàpa.¹ ʔáw xelàpa¹ lá-mšəx
 maβəlxəxxe qa-bnáyət bâte,¹ qése díye léle qúwya.¹ ʔina¹ rába məndyáne sanqáxwa
 ʔalle díye¹ sáma zóda¹ ʔé-gət y-áwe qártət ʔərwə¹ pərmáxwa ʔé-gət y-áwe tárpe díye.¹
 ʔina taqān-díye pərmáxwa mənne-díye¹ ʔítlən ʔərwə¹ maβərsáxwa ʔərwə.¹ qám čeriyàθa¹
 ʔu-beheríye,¹ deráxwala tla-ʔərwə.¹

(207) ʔu-ʔíθwalən xòrta.¹ xwárta ʔáyya rába spày-ila.¹ yáʕni hám mašáxwa
 mzaβnáxwa mánna díya.¹ bár mqārəníwa xalmíwa¹ xà-siṭa¹ yan-trè-siṭe¹ yan-ṭlā-siṭe,¹
 y-aθéwa ʔánna zawnàne,¹ y-aθáwa m-Mòšul.¹ m-dukáne xéne mzaβníwa.¹ rába
 gārən-iwəwa.¹ ʔu-taqanèy¹ hammáše pərməxwala.¹ (208) y-amráxxa behéri pərməx-
 wala¹ mgārəxwala¹ mǎdre¹ šadləxwala y-amráxxa¹ šǎdle,¹ qá-t ʔap-ʔáni mqārəni
 qa-yáʕni xákma šənne xène¹ mzaβni mənne¹ qá-t... dān-t-pərmíla¹ qa-d-áni qémi
 šàwpa.¹ ʔáni y-amráxxa xòrta.¹

(209) táma ʔíθwalən xabúše.¹ xabúše ʔíla ziwàna,¹ yáʕni mzaβníwa náše mənna.¹
 ʔu-ʔíθwa xàwxe.¹ ʔap-ʔáni mzaβni náše mənne¹. ʔina sáma zóda tla-beθúθa.¹ ʔíθwa
 šǎde,¹ ʔap-ʔáni šǎde,¹ y-ođíwa muráβbe mánna.¹ ʔap-xáwxe y-ođíwa muráβbe mənne¹.
 ʔíθwalən šǎde¹ ʔíθwalən ʔina daliyáθət ʔənwə.¹ y-amráxxa kərma.¹ ʔáni t-y-áwe góra
 rába¹ y-áwe zərya¹ ʔáwwa kərma y-amráxle¹ kərma.¹

(204) Carpenters would come from Amedia and make beds, as we called them. In the summer they took the beds up to the roof. People at that time had to go up onto the roof to sleep, since it was hot in the house. It was more comfortable up above. They would take the beds up to the roof. Some would sleep only on the floor (of the roof). Most people, however, had a bed. (205) Why? So that they could attach a mosquito net. A mosquito net is a curtain. (This was necessary) since there were mosquitoes. At that time people cultivated rice and (since there) was water in the farmland there were many mosquitoes. So, they used a mosquito net. They put these (beds) on the roof until August or September, or thereabouts, before the weather got cold. Then they would gradually begin to come down into the house (to sleep). As far as I remember, there were only these things in their homes, not more.

Flora

(206) There, in the village, in ʔen-Nune, we had (what is called) a *xelapa* (small willow). We cannot use the small willow for the building of houses, since its wood is not strong. But we needed it for many things. We cut it down in large quantities at the time of trimming for small cattle, when it had its leaves. We would cut down its branches and fatten our small cattle. Before the Autumn and Spring seasons we would lay them down for the small cattle (to eat).

(207) We had (in the village) the (tree known as) *xorta* (white poplar). The poplar is a very fine (tree). We could even sell some of them. After they had grown up and become one, two or three spans thick, buyers would come from Mosul. They also sold them in other places. They were very expensive. We would always cut down their branches. (208) In Spring we would cut them down and strip them off. We would plant them again (and they would become) what we call saplings, so that when these also grow after a few years, they can sell them, so that when they cut (the others down) these will take their place. They call these poplars.

(209) We had apples there. Apples were for buying, that is they would sell them to people. There were peaches. They would sell also these to people. Yet most of these were for household (use). There were almonds. From these almonds they would make jams. They would make jams also from peaches. We had almonds and we had grape vines. (There was what) we called an orchard. This was something very large, which was cultivated, it was called an orchard.

(210) 'ap-'áw...¹ béna m-d-ó kèrma¹ 'áni...daliyáθa kúlla gáwe diyē¹ y-áwe mǎšmǎšše mǎndi.¹ 'iθ-héwǎn čeriyē¹ 'an-'ánwe laqtìwala.¹ y-oðíwa napòxta mǎnna,¹ y-oðíwa yabiše mǎnna.¹ béna m-bár y-oðíwa yabiše¹ táma y-ódi xámra.¹ mpálti 'áraq mǎnnéy.¹ 'u-rába mǎndiyáne mpáltíwa mǎnnéy.¹ 'u-šoquíwala 'ap-ḥla-mexólta yabiše¹ sab-rába fayda-'ítla.¹

(211) xámra¹ yabiše mašláwala 'iθwa line y-amráxwale.¹ lina rába gòrele.¹ y-ásqi trè tannákke¹ ḥlā tannákke míya¹ 'árba.¹ gu-d-áni dére yabiše.¹ 'áw mášli xá-dukθa t-óya šaxinta y-amráxwa gòma.¹ mkaséwale šaxina,¹ 'áw... xačča-pyáša 'arbi yomáθa¹ gǎrǎg hawé gu-šaxinùθa¹ yá'ni raxòθwa¹ 'áni yǎdi biyē¹ mtaršíwa.¹ (212) 'i-tàxrn 'ána šalánwa m-d-ó-nixat xòni.¹ šalánwa y-awéwa rxàθa,¹ xzi-hóle rxàθa,¹ hóle mátya héwǎn diyē.¹ mbarəxšwale¹ kút-kəma yomáθa mbarəxšwale.¹ w-áy šaqláwa xačča-pyáša¹ 'arbi yomáθa¹ hátxa mǎndi.¹ 'u-xámra... 'iθwa merkáne zóre derəwale¹ 'u-mšapàwale,¹ pálatwa xámra.¹ (213) sáma zòda¹ 'ina kəsléni xámra lè-y-oðíwa rába.¹ yá'ni xǎnci,¹ bašðre.¹ 'ina sáma zòda¹ y-oðíwa 'áraq,¹ 'áraq ḥla-štàya,¹ sab-xumlàna.¹ 'áraq ḥla-čeriyǎwàθa y-oðíwala,¹ sáb mšeríwa xlulàne,¹ qá-t náše goríwa b-čeriyawàθa.¹ (214) mapəlxíwa štèθa-w¹ ḥla-xəzmáne náše 'íman-t y-aθéwa šwàwe,¹ y-áθe xawràne,¹ y-áθe 'árxe.¹ 'u-ḥla-'èða,¹ 'eðǎwàθa,¹ mapəlxíwa štèθa¹ 'áraq 'iyéwa¹ xa-štèθa rába rešèθa¹ qa-xúbbət 'iqárət náše t-y-aθéwa kəs-gǎðə.¹

(215) w-iθwalən gàwze.¹ gáwze 'ánna rába gòreyewa.¹ yá'ni kúl-naše liθwala¹ gu-màθa,¹ lé-qəmi rāba.¹ 'iθwalən gawzàne,¹ yá'ni sáma zóda t-'úmra 'iθwale.¹ fa-'áni kút-xa ḥla-g'áne y-áwe.¹ b-zòr-məle¹ ḥla-maplǎxtət bèθa.¹ 'u-'áni béher hál čeri.¹ (216) čeri y-ázi laqtíla.¹ m-bár laqtíla,¹ méθe t-bèθa¹ derèla¹ bǎrzi y-amráxla.¹ bǎrzi,¹ sab-y-áwe qaləpθa 'əlléy,¹ 'áy rəzyànta y-óya.¹ 'ón har-hóya talílla¹ har-qítla 'iðux bíya díya xàčča,¹ kéma 'iðət nàša,¹ 'i-šǎwa y-amráxla.¹ 'i-šǎwa¹ liθən.¹ ma-t-íle qúwya 'o-qálpa díya.¹

(210) In the orchard there were vines, apricots and other plants. In the season of Autumn, they would gather the grapes and make a syrup from them and make raisins from them. After they made them into raisins, they would make wine. They would (also) make arak out of them. They would make many things out of them. They also left the raisins for eating, since they were very nutritious.⁶²

(211) As for wine, they would put raisins into what we call *line* (jars). (This type of) jar is very big. They go up to the capacity of two gallons, three gallons of water, four. They would put the raisins into these and deposit them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement stable). They would cover the jar while it was warm. It had to be in the warmth for about forty days in order for it to ferment. They know how to make it. (212) I remember I used to go down (into the basement) with my late brother. I would go down when it was fermenting. (He would say) 'Look, it is fermenting, its time has come.' They would stir it. Every few days they would stir it. This would take about forty days or so. (It would become) wine. They would put the wine into small pots and strain it, and it would turn into wine. (213) In general in our community they did not make much, only rarely. Most people, however, would make arak, arak for drinking, since (it provided) enjoyment. They would make arak for the Autumn, since (at that time) the weddings began, people would marry in the Autumn. (214) They would use it as a drink (to offer) to relatives and other people, (when) neighbours came, friends came, guests came. They used it as a drink also for a festival, the festivals. Arak was a very special drink (that was used to express) love and respect for people when they visited one another.

(215) We also had walnuts. Walnuts were very big. Not everybody had them in the village, where they did not grow much. We had some walnut trees, which mainly belonged to the church. Each was for use by (the villagers) themselves, since there was scarcely enough for household use (and none to spare). These (grew) from Spring until the Autumn. (216) In the Autumn they would go and pick them. After picking them, they would bring them to the house and lay them down to dry, as we say. They would (be left to) dry, since they have a peel on them which is dark in colour. If it is still wet, as soon as your hand touches it, the hand of the person (who touches it) becomes black, it is dyed, as we say, dyed, you see. (This is because) the peel is so strong (in colour).

⁶² Literally: they had much benefit.

(217) 'ína m-báθar bārza,¹ šaqliwa qálpe zadèle¹ pēši bas-gáwze g'ān-diyē.¹
 'é-ga-t y-áwe 'eðāwàθa,¹ šēre,¹ xlulàne,¹ mapálxila tla-rába mēndiyàne.¹ tla-máθālan
 bàθqe,¹ tla-máθālan 'íman-t y-óði¹ kuléče tla-èða.¹ yá'ni kúlla mēndiyáne mapálxí
 mánnna,¹ 'ánna gáwze.¹

(218) sparǎgle 'ítleni.¹ sparǎgle.¹ 'áni lé-y-áwa rába rába gu-màθa.¹ 'ína 'ap-'áni¹
 tla-mapláxta gu-bèθa,¹ 'ap-'áwowa xa-fekēle.¹ 'ap-'áni har-'ó-mdi-t xabùšela.¹
 mən-bèher¹ hál čeri,¹ čeri pēši zāre yá'ni¹ tròsa¹ 'áni milàne 'iyéwa,¹ bar-hádax
 gu-práqta pēši zāre.¹ (219) y-ázi laqtila,¹ mapálxí tla-gu-bèθa.¹ 'ən-báyyat t-ódət
 muràbba,¹ 'ap-m-d-áni y-óði muràbba,¹ yá'ni ham-mən-sparǎgle.¹ yá'ni másət t-ódət
 rába mēndiyáne mánne diyē,¹ 'ən-ila zawdàne.¹ yá'ni másət mapálxēti.¹ tla-mo gārǎg
 záwən zwàna,¹ 'ən-mási mapálxí mēnna.²¹ sab-ítle rāba mēnna-diya.¹

(220) gu-túra 'iθwa 'ilána y-amrǎxxe... 'iθ bətme.¹ 'iθən bətma.¹ bətma¹ 'áni
 górtewa rāba.¹ 'ap-'áni 'ítle héwən diyē.¹ 'áni gu-túra y-áwa sáma zòda,¹ lé-y-áwa
 gu-qurbə màθa,¹ rəhqe 'iyéwa.¹ b-čeri¹ 'íman t-māti,¹ y-amrila gūjme.¹ y-ázi laqtila.¹
 (221) 'u-rába tēmane y-áwa-w¹ basime y-áwa.¹ 'u-'iθ nášət 'àθra¹ rāba mēnnéy
 m-zàbni,¹ 'áni sab-gārən-ila-w,¹ basime y-áwa.¹ 'u-xákma mēnnéy tla-g'ána¹
 sab-t-y-áθa 'arxe kəslē.¹ basime y-áwa,¹ rāba tazē.¹ bətme 'ap-'áni 'iθena.¹

(222) gu-túre 'iθən garsəkke y-amrǎxla,¹ harmiyē,¹ dēmi y-amrǎxla,¹ gu-túra líθən.¹
 'ap-'áni 'ε-ga-y-ázi náše¹ qése mēθoye,¹ méθi tla gu-bèθa.¹ halúke,¹ 'ítleni halúke,¹
 'ap-'áni har-gu-'aqàra y-áwa.¹ 'ap-'áni rāba basime y-áwa.¹ 'ap-'áni y-áwa smòqe¹
 zāre¹ basime.¹ 'ap-'áni y-óði muràbbe mánnna¹ tla-xàla.¹ 'ítlən fēka fərya.¹

(223) wèrde¹ y-amrǎxla 'iθən qémi kəškənnela¹ 'u-balazèzela.¹ 'iθən bukine,¹ 'iθ
 wèrde smòqe,¹ rāba táza šapire.¹ 'áni b-bèher y-áwa trósa.¹ 'u-tla-mexóltət hewáne
 'ítlən y-ámrxxe rāsa.¹ 'aw-rása tla-'ərwət xwàre y-áwe.¹ 'áv b-yárxət 'árba xámša
 bāre¹ gu-túra y-áwe.¹ (224) 'áni qurbə máθa gu-túra,¹ léla gu-'aqàra.¹ 'aw-rása
 mapálxí tla-'ərwə,¹ 'ərwət xwàre sáma zòda.¹ wèrde,¹ 'ítlən y-amrǎxxa wèrde zēri.¹ 'áni
 gu-'aqàre y-áwa.¹ rāba šəklàne y-áwa.¹ 'iθwa smòqe,¹ yan-kəškela.¹ 'ánna wèrdela.¹

(217) After it dried, however, they would take away the peel and throw it away, so that only the nuts would remain. On the occasion of festivals, saints' days and weddings they would use them for many things. (They would use them) for example for confetti (scattered over the head of a bride), for cakes made for a festival, all (kinds of) things were made out of these walnuts.

(218) We have quinces. Quinces. There were not so many of these in the village. Also these were for household use. It is also a fruit, that is they are just like apples. (They grow) from Spring until Autumn. In Autumn they become yellow. In fact they were green, then in the end they became yellow. (219) People go to pick them and use them in the home. If you want to make jam—they make jam also from these, that is from quinces. You can make many (other) things from them, if they are left over. You can use them. Why should one buy anything if one can use them? For they had many of them.

(220) In the mountains there was a tree which we called...there were terebinth trees. There was the terebinth. This was a very large (tree). These also had their season. These were mostly in the mountains. They were not close to the village, they were far away. In the Autumn, when (their nuts) become ripe, (they have) what are called bunches (of fruit). People go to pick them. (221) They were very tasty and fine (to eat). Many of the local people used to sell them, since they were expensive (to buy) and they were fine (to eat). (They kept) some of them for themselves, for when guests came to them. They were very fine (to eat), very nice. There were terebinth nuts.

(222) In the mountains there were wild pears, as we call them, pears, un-irrigated, as we say, in the mountains. When people go to fetch wood, they would bring back also these for use in the home. Plums, we have plums. These were only in the farmland. These were also very tasty. They were red and yellow, (they were) delicious. People would make jam from them to eat. We have many fruits.

(223) With regard to flowers, those that grow there include what are called *kaskanne* and *balazeze*. There are *bukine* ('red anemones'). There are red flowers, which are very beautiful. These, indeed, (come out) in Spring. For animal fodder we have what is called *rasa*. This *rasa* is for sheep. It grows in April and May and is (found) in the mountains. (224) It is near the village in the mountains, not in the farmland. They use this *rasa* for small cattle, mainly sheep. We have flowers called *žeri* flowers. These are (found) in the farmland. There are many varieties. There were red ones and those that are green. These are the flowers.

Swimming

(225) ʔu-b-qèṭa,¹ ʔé-ga tàxrexi,¹ ʔé-gət qèṭa,¹ y-áwe nèra y-amráxle,¹ nèra.¹ béna xəm̄ma y-áwe,¹ y-ázi náše bána gàrra.¹ ʔo-gàrra páyəs ʔamùqa.¹ y-áṭi náše msáxi gàwe.¹ qédamta y-azáxwa qam-tàwre¹ ʔu-y-aṭəxwa.¹ sáʔət xadássər tréssər y-azáxwa l-gàrra¹ xmàla,¹ yáʔni mṭawòle¹ ʔu-msaxòye,¹ hál sáʔət tḷáṭa,¹ ʔárba xàmša.¹ (226) ʔu-mádre qá-t-yátwəx qam-beč̣ye,¹ qam-tàwre,¹ ləʔánnahu ʔánna pàre¹ ʔu-kodḏnta¹ yáʔni lə-dérewa l-tùre.¹ y-áziwa náše māřiwala,¹ doqiwala,¹ nablíwala,¹ maxlíwala-w¹ māḏəříwa ʔašərtá.¹

Outings

(227) ʔəxni¹ ʔĒn-Núne y-azáxwa... šaláxwa Bəšmiyàye,¹ šaláxwa Sardàšte.¹ ʔánna kúlla maṭwàṭa.¹ kúlla y-amrila Bèrwar-ila.¹ šaláxwa l-žáwa,¹ yáʔni ʔax-t-y-amráxwa xḏàra.¹ y-aṭéwa náše.¹ m-mḏináṭa y-asqíwa.¹ y-azáxwa xḏàra,¹ táma doqáxwa núne.¹ (228) ʔíṭwa hammáše ʔékewa xa-šəra,¹ y-azáxwa máṭa l-màṭa.¹ ʔánna məndiyáne yáʔni ʔiqárewa xá qa-d-o-xəna.¹ ʔən-wéwa šēr-Dùre,¹ kúlla náše ʔo-yóma y-azíwa šēr-Dùre.¹ sab-šérət Dùre ʔile yóma xošəba¹ qamàya¹ m-báṭər ʔéḏa gòra.¹ y-amrile xošəba xàṭa.¹ (229) ʔíṭən Màyə.¹ áw šēr-Màyəle.¹ yáʔni ʔáni y-aṭéwa ʔĒn-Núne.¹ ʔĒn-Núne šəra díya b-yárxət ʔəč̣əle.¹ ʔarbássər bá... ʔəč̣ə¹ kúlla ʔálma jəme.¹ gu-mḏináṭa y-àsqi¹ ʔu-ʔaṭřáwáṭa xəne.¹ ʔu-har-hàdəx¹ yáʔni ʔánna məndiyáne kúlla y-oḏəxwa,¹ mattáxwa ʔiqára xa-qa-d-o-xəna.¹ (230) ʔu-xa-šəra y-awéwa ʔo-šérət kúlla nášəwa.¹ sab-y-azíwa¹ l-à-maṭa.¹ ʔa-máṭa ʔíṭwa ʔúmra gəwa.¹ y-oḏíwa qurbàna.¹ bār qurbàna,¹ palṭíwa,¹ y-axlíwa,¹ xamlíwa,¹ zamrúwa,¹ raqḏíwa.¹ məṭéwa ʔāraq,¹ məṭéwa xámra.¹ kúl xa-məndi.¹ ʔé-ga qamàye¹ d-a-dúnye biš-basimta.¹ (231) méṭe dáwla-w zòrna.¹ zamrúwa náše¹ ʔu-raqḏíwa.¹ rába rába tazəwa.¹ xadřáxwa maṭwàṭa,¹ kúlla xḏirəxla.¹ b-qèṭa¹ b-səṭwa¹ yáʔni zálta-w ṭéṭa ʔíṭwa kəs-gḏàḏe,¹ yáʔni nášət gḏàḏe wíye xəzmayúṭa.¹ xəzmayúṭa mòdi.²¹

Swimming

(225) In summer, as I remember, in summertime, there was a river, as we call it, a river. When it is warm, people go and build a pool. The pool becomes deep. People come to bathe in it. Early in the morning we would go to look after the cattle and then return. At eleven or twelve o'clock we would go to the pool to have fun, playing and swimming, until three, four or five o'clock. (226) Then we would (go off) again to look after the lambs and the cattle, since they did not put the lambs, (cattle) and mules in the mountains. People would go to graze them, then they took hold of them, took them to be fed and brought them back in the evening.

Outings

(227) We in 'En-Nune used to go down to Bəšmiyaye, we used to go down to Sardašte. These are all villages. They are all what is called the Barwar. We used to go down to the Zab for outings,⁶³ as we would say. People would come. They would come up from the villages. We would go on outings and catch fish there. (228) There was always somewhere where there was a saint's day festival and we would go from village to village. We did such things out of respect for each other. If there was a saint's day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure. The saint's day festival of Dure is on the first Sunday after Easter. It is called the new Sunday. (229) There is (also the village of) Maye, that is the saint's day festival of Maye. They used to come to 'En-Nune. The saint's day festival of 'En-Nune was in September. On the twenty-fourth of September everybody gathers. (Those) in the towns and in other regions come up and so forth. We did all these things to show respect for one another. (230) (When) there was a saint's day festival, it was the festival of everybody. People would go to the village. There was a church in the village and they would hold communion. After communion, they would come out and eat, make merry, sing and dance. They would bring wine, they would bring arak, everything. (This was) in the old days, when the world was more pleasant. (231) They would bring the drum and pipe. People would sing and dance. It was very very nice. We would go around the villages. We went round all of them. In the Summer and the Winter there was a mutual coming and going, since people had a family relationship among one another. What is a family relationship?

⁶³ Literally: to wander about.

(232) *xəzməyùθa ʔila manáy ʔən-xá náša diyux¹ yan-xá bráta diyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,¹ píše xəzme.¹ ʔən-ʔàti¹ xa-xəzmx¹ ʔín xa-nāš-diyux¹ ʔín xa-gwíra m-ðá-maθa xéta ʔóye kəslux,¹ ʔánna y-amríla xəzme.¹ (233) ʔína ʔánna məndiyáne wiyele.¹ yáʔni máθa l-màθa,¹ bráta gòra,¹ ʔən-ʔúrza y-ázəl méθe m-ðá-máθa xéta,¹ ʔáv bráta m-áxxa y-áza ða-máθa xéta.¹ ʔánna məndiyáne¹ fa-ʔáyya y-ámri xəzməyùθa.¹ yáʔni qá-t našùθa¹ la-tálqa y-amríxwala.¹ našùθa la-tàlqa¹ mxaθxəθa.¹ (234) ʔu-ʔé-gət y-azáxwa m-máθa l-màθa,¹ xašwáxwa hár gu-máθət gʻànən-ixwa.¹ hammáše yáʔni xəzγax¹ ʔu-xmílax¹ ʔu-ʔiqàra¹ tìwe¹ ʔu-ɸešíwa tàma,¹ damxíwa ʔla-xlulàne.¹ ɸešíwa xá-lele trè.¹ yáʔni rába ʔíθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa¹ kúlla ʔfàqta.¹ ʔíθwa dostùθa-w¹ našùθa-w¹ xəzməyùθa¹ kúl-xa mándi ʔíθwa.¹*

(232) The meaning of family relationship is (as follows). If you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives. If a relative of yours, a person of your family or somebody married (into your family) comes to you, they call these people family relatives. (233) These things happened, that is (marriages) between one village and another, for example a girl marries (in this way), either a man goes and brings (a wife) from another village or a girl from here goes to another village. These things (happened) and they call this a family relationship. We used to say that this (was necessary) so that humanity did not disappear. Humanity should not disappear but should be renewed. (234) When we went from one village to another, we used to think that we were in our own village. We always saw each other and enjoyed ourselves. People sat (in each other's homes out of) respect and stayed to sleep in order to (participate in) a wedding. They would stay one or two nights. There was a lot of coming and going among the villages, with lots of meetings.⁶⁴ There was friendship, humanity, family relationship, everything.

⁶⁴ Literally: It is all meeting.