From Oral to Written
A Text-linguistic Study
of Wakhi Narratives

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Appendix E
Wakhi Text Corpus

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Abbreviations

1 = first person
2 = second person
3 = third person
ABL = ablative
ACC = accusative
ADD = additive particle
ADJ = adjective
ADR = form of address
CONF = confirming particle
DAT = dative
DEM1 = demonstrative first degree (this - near distance)
DEM2 = demonstrative second degree (that - middle distance)
DEM3 = demonstrative third degree (that - far distance)
DIM = diminutive
DIST = distal
EMP = emphatic particle
EZ = ezafe (linking particle)
F = feminine
HERE1 = adverb 1st degree (here – near distance)
HSY = reporting/hearsay particle
i = facultative suffix -i (or its dialectal variant -ǝy)
IND = individuation suffix (also specific, referential indefinite)
INF = infinitive/verbal noun on -ak
INF2 = infinitive/verbal noun on -n
IPFV = imperfective
M = masculine
N = noun
NEG = negation, negative
OBL = oblique
PF = perfect
PL = plural
PPF = pluperfect
PROH = prohibitive
PRX = proximal/proximate
PST = past
PTCP = participle
Q = question particle/marker
SBJV = subjunctive
SG = singular
SUB = subordinator
THERE2 = adverb 2nd degree (there – middle distance)
THERE3 = adverb 3rd degree (there – far distance)
VOC = vocative
E. Interlinear text

E.1 Wakhi written corpus

E.1.1 Witnessed story W_A01

**Leopard**

W_A01:1.1

Цәқлаӣ наклиц цә халг ёдэн нәрәӵән.

цәқлаӣ naql-iš сә xalg yod-en нә-rač̣-әn

Childhood story-PL from human memory-ABL NEG-go-3PL

*Stories from childhood stay in the memory.*

W_A01:1.2

И даврао и планг ԝәсту а рәм спо ӈча.

и даvrə-o и plang wǝstu a r-әм спо ӈча

One time-PL one leopard come.PPF EMP to.down-DEM1 our street

*One day [lit ‘one times’], a leopard had come right to our street.*

W_A01:1.3

Уз ӈәл мактабәш ӈәйдәм.

uz ӈәл maktab=ǝʃ ӈoid=ǝm

I still school=IPFV read.PST=1SG

*I was still studying at school.*

W_A01:1.4

Йәм планг аԝәл ӈәвзәтк сәк спо бог дивол.

yәм plang aԝәl ӈәwzǝtк sәk spo boy diвол DEM1 leopard first jump.PF on our garden wall

*This leopard had first jumped onto the wall of our garden.*
We have two gardens, a big one and a small one.

In our big garden, there is an irrigation ditch passing (through); its water comes from Boghak [name of the place, lit. ‘Little garden’] itself.

In summer there is water in it, in winter there is not.

In winter, the water is shut off, because the irrigation ditches freeze in the cold.

This event happened around the year 1984.
One summer morning my father had entered our big garden to wash his face.

All of a sudden something crackled, my father looked (and saw) that something jumped from the wall and ran away [lit. ‘came out-ran away’] through the gate.

My father was surprised (and asked) [lit. ‘that’]: “What was this?”

We were drinking [lit. ‘are drinking’] tea, my father was telling [lit. ‘is telling’] this story when my little sister came running in.
(She) said [lit. ‘that’]: “I can’t believe, [lit. ‘no’ - negative particle expressing surprise/disbelief], there is something on the tree, it has a long tail.”

But she herself was scared, trembling and chattering.

We all ran out to the yard [lit. ‘to the door’], we went right to the street (and saw) that there (was) a crowd of people.

Old and young [lit. ‘big and little’] had gathered there and were looking [lit. ‘are looking’] at the tree.

(There is) a leopard, though not so big, at the top of the tree.
For everyone it (was) curious (to see) a live leopard in the village.

This leopard at the top of the tree is going to this side or that side, but it is scared, it is not going down.

They made a call to Ishkashim.

After that they brought a rope and a netted bag.

These older men, with difficulty, almost two-three hours, with that rope and bag they brought the leopard down.
E. Interlinear text

W_A01:4.4
Сак а ранг ্вšьк-вšьк тмощоәш царән.
sak a rang wšélk-wšélk tmošo=әә car-әә
we EMP manner fear-fear look=IPFV do-1PL

We are watching, so scared.

W_A01:4.5
И мошын вәзди, я планги вырәв кәрти ютәв.
i mošin w̌әž-i ya plang-i vyr=әв kәrt-и yut=әv
one car come.PST-i DEM3 leopard-ACC load=3PL do.PST-i take.PST=3PL

A car came, they took [lit. ‘loaded-took’] that leopard away.

W_A01:4.6
Сак ам в̌әз̌әкән, ам а ́ди хыщән ки, зинда плангән.
sak am w̌әž-̌әкәn am a ǯи xы̌š=әn ki zinda plang=әn
we too fear.PF=1PL too EMP so happy=1PL SUB live leopard=1PL

viňdi.
vind-i
see.PST-i

We were both scared and so happy that we saw a live leopard.

E.1.2 Legend W_A02

Rukhshona

W_A02:1.1
А йәм спо ́Вахон цә ́чойон тарихиәв әә бой.
a yәm spo Waxon сә joy-o-i tarixi-v-әә ya boy
EMP DEM1 our Wakhan from place-PL-EZ historical-PL.OBL-ABL very rich

This our Wakhan is very rich in historical places.

W_A02:1.2
Биуда ́Вахонәр осорхонаи тарихиәв нəънәтк, криб дә
biuda Waxon-әr osorxona-i tarixi=әв nə-x̌nәtк qrib dә
for no reason Wakhan-DAT museum-EZ historical=3PL NEG-say.PF almost in

ap қәшләк қла тәй.
ar qәšloq qla tәү
every village fortress is

Wakhan is not called a museum of history for no reason, in almost every village there is a fortress.
Among the fortresses that are the biggest and that everybody knows, (there are) are basically two fortresses – one is the Yamchun fortress, the other is the one of Namadgut.

A lot has been written about them in historical books as well as in fiction books.

There are smaller fortresses about which less information has been preserved [lit. ‘has come’].
Apart from the historical and scientific information, there are also some legends about those fortresses which have been preserved from generation to generation.

In this (village of) Zong, there is also a fortress, it is called the Silk fortress.

In comparison with other fortresses, (people) know less about that fortress.

Perhaps as it is farther from the road or higher, few people have been seen that fortress.

They say that the fortress was very big and (that) water was brought into the fortress from the mountain.
That fortress was entirely [lit. ‘top to top’] wrapped in silk.

It was so beautiful that from distance it shone in the sunshine.

They say (that) in that fortress there was a woman chief.

Her name was Rukhshona.
E. Interlinear text

W_A02:4.4
Йәм хыңууғій Чинән яй подцо кшыйд, ڭанд, ۇуз яй
үәм хыңруүій Чин-ән yaw podшо ḵš̱уy-d ģan-d wuz yaw
DEM1 beauty China-ABL its king hear-3SG say-3SG I her

юндәм.
yund-әм
take-1SG

The king of China heard about her beauty, he said: “I will take her.”

W_A02:4.5
И рв̌ор дә ҳы ләшкарән йизит.
i rwor dә х̱ы лә̱ш̱к̱ар̱-әn wizi-t
one day with own army-ABL come-3SG

One day he came with his army.

W_A02:4.6
Рухшона цәм клаән х̯ы ләшкари стыйд бар зиди
Ruxšona c-әm qla-әn х̱ы лә̱ш̱к̱ар̱-i sṯy̱y-d bar ziddi
Rukhshona from-DEM1 fortress-ABL own army-ACC send-3SG against

яви.
yav-i
they.OBL-ACC

Rukhshona sent her army from the fortress against them.

W_A02:4.7
Ҳат дәм бләндый дәм кла алдөт ҹа ӡирән йәт
ҳat d-әm blandi d-әm qла al-d=әt ҹa diɾ-әn yәt
self in-DEM1 height in-DEM1 fortress stay-3SG=and from far-ABL DEM2

ҹәнги ӡидиғ̌д.
jang-i didıɣ̌-d
fight-ACC watch-3SG

She herself stayed on the height in the fortress and watched the fight from afar.

W_A02:4.8
Йәм ләшкарәш хила ҹанг ҹарәән ки нәй, йәм Чин ләшкар ga
үәм лә̱ш̱к̱ар̱=әʃ xila jang car-әn кi нәy үәм Ğin лә̱ш̱к̱ар̱ ҹa
DEM1 army=IPFV very fight do-3PL SUB no DEM1 China army very
The soldiers were [lit. ‘are’] fighting very hard (but saw/see) that [Oh no!] the soldiers of China were [lit. ‘are’] very many and they were [lit. ‘are’] approaching the fortress.

Rukhshona saw that her army was being defeated [lit. ‘is eating defeat’].

She said: “Bring me men’s clothing.”

They brought her men’s clothing from head till foot.

She put on that (men’s) clothing, bound her [lit. ‘this her’] hair and hid it inside her hat.
E. Interlinear text

рәм  майдон.
р-ǝm  maydon
to.down-DEM1  open field

She mounted a tall horse and jumped into the open field.

W_A02:4.14
Йәм  арбы зарб  сар  ёост  ки,  чиз  ǝхǝнакǝр.
yǝm  arby zarb  sar  wos-t  ki  çiz  ǝxǝnak-ǝr
DEM1  battle  beginning  become-3SG  SUB  what  say.INF-DAT

Such a [lit. 'this'] battle started that can't be expressed by words.

W_A02:4.15
Цәм  зарби  ѣамшерǝн  йәм  күищ  кы  ǝл  ырзǝ.
c-ǝm  zarb-i  šǝmsǝr-ǝn  yǝm  ku-iš  kы  ǝl  ыrzǝ
from-DEM1  blow-EZ  sword-ABL  DEM1  mountain-PL  all  in  trembling

в̌оцән.
woc-ǝn
become-ABL

From the blows of the sword(s) all the mountains started trembling.

W_A02:4.16
Йәм  кургǝрд  ки,  ǝхән  киәмәт  қоим  витк.
yǝm  kurgard  ki  ǝxәn  qiyomat  qoim  vitk
DEM1  duststorm  SUB  say  Judgement  Day  become.PF

Such a [lit. 'this'] dust whirl [appeared] as if the Day of Judgement had come.

W_A02:4.17
Ру̌шона  хила  цǝ  чапǝт  цǝ  ростǝн  дәйтǝт  йәм  ләшкари
Ruxšona  xila  cǝ  čǝp=ǝt  cǝ  rost-ǝn  dǝy-t=ǝt  yǝm  lǝṣ̌kar-i
Rukhshona  very  from  left=and  from  right-ABL  hit-3SG=and  DEM1  army-EZ

Чин  қатли  нı̱хьывд.
Čin  qatl-i  ni̱xı̱yv-d
China  slaying-ACC  take out-3SG

Rukhshona  hit  from  the left  and  from  the right  and  slayed  the army  of  China.

W_A02:4.18
Йәм  Чин  подцо  хила  тмошо  царт  ки  нǝй,  йәм  дәштǝш
yǝm  Čin  podǝsǝ  xila  tmošo  car-t  ki  nǝy  yǝm  dašt=ǝs
DEM1  China  king  very  look  do-3SG  SUB  no  DEM1  plain=IPFV
The king of China watched for long time but (saw) that the plain was [lit. `is'] filling up with the corpses of his army, and the new coming (Rukhshona’s) army was [lit. `is'] still fighting them.

_He jumped onto the (battle) field._

_He hit many soldiers and got close to Rukhshona’s side._

_They were fighting with each other a lot when (suddenly) the hat of Rukhshona flew (away)._
E. Interlinear text

W_A02:4.23
Йәм Ӂ&_жмәт врәй ки, Ӂ_ән дә ҝәләән хшәткәв, Јәм
yǝm çajın=ǝt vraw ki Ӂ_ән qlam-әәn xṣ̌atk=ǝv yǝm
DEM1 eye=and eyebrow SUB say with pencil-ABL draw.PF=3PL DEM1

_each the eyebrow with a pencil, as if drawn by a pencil, the [lit. ‘this’] hair.

W_A02:4.24
Подщо айрон Ӂәрәшт.
podšo ayron wǝrǝṣ̌-t
king surprised remain-3SG

The king was surprised.

W_A02:4.25
Ќап Ӂәрә ҜtoHaveәнән сә Ӂ_ы ящ кә yakәр.
qap car-t Ruxšona-i sә Ӂ_ы yaš katak-әr
seize do-3SG Rukhshona-ACC on own horse put.INF-DAT

He seized Rukhshona to put her on his horse.

W_A02:4.26
Рухшона Ӂәрә дәйт ки, нив Јәм подщо ҝәз юәнд бәндї.
Ruxšona čǝrt dǝy-t ki niv yǝm podšo maẓ̌ yund bǝndi
Rukhshona thought hit-3SG SUB now DEM1 king i.OBL take slavery

Rukhshona thought [lit. ‘that’]: “Now this king will take me as a slave.

W_A02:4.27
А ѕәм бәндї ږоцәкән жы мәрдан баф.
a c-ǝm bәndi wocak-әn Ӂ_ы mǝrdan baf
EMP from-DEM1 slavery become.INF-ABL my death good

It’s better to die than to become a slave.

W_A02:4.28
Мәрйәмәт Ԁә бәнд mәpәrvәйәм.
мәry-ǝm =at Ԁә band mә-pәrvәy-ǝm
die-1SG=and in captivity PROH-be caught in-1SG

I will die and will not be taken in captivity.”
W_A02:4.29

She pulled her sword and killed [lit. ‘hit-killed’] herself.

W_A02:4.30

This is how the story of Rukhshona has remained until our era.

E.1.3 Historical account W_A03

Story of an Old House

W_A03:1.1

In the book of the traveller Graf Bobrinsky there is a picture of a house.

W_A03:1.2

That house in Vrang, in Inef [part of Vrang district] has remained the same even until today.

W_A03:1.3

They say, it was very old and the first house in this (village) Vrang.
In that house a big family [lit. ‘household’] lived.

All inhabitants of Inef-PL have originated from that house.

They have originated from that house and one half have gone to Kozvesh [name of the place], the other half, (they) have become residents nearby.

Kozvesh is also in Vrang, on the right side of the brook.
away’].

W_A03:2.2
Цә күм трафән, ки спо Ñахонәр вәдәл әү түәтк, а сә күм traf-әn ki spo Waxon-әr вәдәл сә түәтк а from which side-ABL SUB our Wakhan-DAT road SUB be.PF EMP

cә - наг гөрөттәрән әүзәгәвәт мардымвий
сә наг yoratgar-iш wazg = әv = әt мәрдым-ви from-DEM3 side robber-PL come.PF=3PL=and people-PL.OBL

azобәш рәткәв.
azob =әʃ rәtк =әv torment=IPFV give.PF=3PL

From any side where there was road to our Wakhan, from there the robbers used to come and torment the people.

W_A03:2.3
Цә дәст и явән дәм хүнүнә а явәм төң - сә дәст-и yav-әn d-әm xun-vи a yәм төң from hand-EZ they.OBL-ABL in-DEM1 house-PL.OBL EMP DEM1 window

пөкәт барви доим шүхцәракәр түәткәв.
pәкәт bar-vи doim ʃ̌ux-cәrak-әr түәтк =әv (rhyme)=and gate-PL.OBL always locked-do.INF-DAT be.PF=3PL

Because of them, the windows and the doors of these houses would always be locked [INF+DAT and be.PF in the function of inference].

W_A03:2.4
Цәнән, а дәт хүн и ыңчүрүй ыңйнан түәтк, Чушанамо нунг. цәнән a d-әt хүн и ҳүярүй қўйнан түәтк Juʃ̌anamo nung say-3PL EMP in-DEM2 house one beautiful woman be.PF Jushanamo name

They say, in that house there was a beautiful woman called Jushanamo.

W_A03:2.5
И рв̌ор а йәт гөрөттәрән а яви бә ыңдән
и rwor a yaw yoratgar-iʃ a yaw-i ba ыңдән one day EMP DEM2 robber-PL EMP she-ACC ADD take-3PL

юңдән.
yund-әn carry away-3PL

One day those robbers kidnapped her, [lit. ‘took-carried away’], too.
This house, which is very ancient, here, there are indeed many signs of that robbery.

They tell (a story) that one day those robbers came again, they burnt this house, they took those people away [lit. 'put in front-took away'].
‘took-took out’] milk, kefir and doog [type of youghurt-based drink] from the pantry, they extinguished the fire and they themselves escaped.

**W_A03:3.5**

\[\text{А я әткүн ысүү то нив гал а да кона хүн а уа әткүн was-iš to нив yal a d-a kona xun EMP DEM3 burnt beam-PL until now yet EMP in-DEM3 ancient house} \]

Those burnt beams have remained until now in this old house.

**W_A03:4.1**

\[\text{Арбобалаёр нунг зай цә мир траф-ән a дрәт мәфизатгар Arbobalayor nung day cә mir traf-әn a drәt mәfizatgar Arbobalayor name man from emir side-ABL EMP THERE2 guardian} \]

A man named Arbobalayor, representantive of the emir, was a guardian there.

**W_A03:4.2**

\[\text{Яй йәм әмдәт әмдәт. yaw yәm bit-i win-d=әt wizi-t he DEM1 smoke-ACC see-3SG=and come-3SG} \]

He saw this smoke and came.

**W_A03:4.3**

\[\text{То әтатывд ки, йәм халгви тәм Вранг to әтатыв-d kи yәm xalg-vi t-әm Vrang until self arrive-3SG SUB DEM1 man-PL.OBL in-DEM1 Vrang} \]

By the time he himself arrived, (he saw) that (the robbers) were making [lit. ‘are making’] these people go up through the place of the salt deposits on the soil in Vrang and leading [lit. ‘are leading’] them to the other side.
He wondered (what to do), he said: “Well, now when they have carried those (people) away, I will not escape the emir’s punishment”, and he killed himself with a gun in the place called Toqachigh.

Nobody lives in that big old house anymore.

That house has remained as a monument from the earlier era until now.

It was the year 1992, the month of November.

I was studying in the fifth year of university.
E.1.4 Witnessed story W_A04

We were staying in the dormitory.

Our dormitory was in the 33rd district of the town.

In the morning it was 9 AM, I was thinking about going to a lesson.

I put on my clothes, I was preparing to go out when my friends came [lit. 'came-said']: “A man turned us back from the street.

He said [lit. ‘that’], ‘oh no! [lit. ‘no’ - expression of doubt, disbelief], war has started.
In some places there is shooting.

There is no class.

All the people are fleeing this or that way.

A lorry passed by, on top of it there were bearded men with automatic weapons.

We were wondering, saying: “What are we going to do now?”

At that time there was not even bread for one or two weeks.
E.1.4 Witnessed story W_A04

**W_A04:2.3**

Бә зурәш цә ар чайән готән.

**W_A04:2.4**

Бәзи вахт фақат холй айқөт би Ҙөчәш итән.

**W_A04:2.5**

А ёпт рәбор бә спо айқөт холй ощәк ту.

**W_A04:2.6**

Сак студент – күй ки цә Помирәт Щәкошман цә ту –

**W_A04:2.7**

Оста остан ыйәм автомата сдо тәкитәрәш йост.

**W_A04:2.8**

Сак ази ԝәткән ки, чиз ސәнакәр.

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We used to get (it) with difficulty from any place.

Sometimes, we used to eat only a plain meal without bread.

On that day our meal was also a plain pasta.

We students – whoever was from Pamir, from Ishkashim – we gathered in one room in second floor.

Gradually, the sound of the automatic weapons intensified [lit. ‘intensifies’].

We got so scared that (we didn’t know) what to say.
E. Interlinear text

\textbf{W_A04:2.9}

A  ранг  въшки-въшки  алдэп  ки,  соати  4  и  мошин—
a  rang  wšyšk-wšyšk  ald=ǝn  ki  soat-i  4  i  mošin

EMP  way  fear-fear  remain.\text{PST}=1\text{PL}  \text{SUB}  \text{hour-EZ}  4  one  vehicle

Самосвал  възди.
Samosval  wǝzd-i
Samosval  come.\text{PST}-i

This way we remained scared when, at 4 o’clock, a vehicle – a Samosval [type of a heavy truck] came.

\textbf{W_A04:2.10}

Спо  и  хиш  млц  ту,  я  мошини  яй  вызмэтк.
spo  i  xiṣ  mlc  tu  ya  mošin-i  yaw  wyzmǝtk

our  one  relative  policeman  be.\text{PST}  DEM3  vehicle-\text{ACC}  he  bring.\text{PF}

One of our relatives was a policeman, it was he who had brought that truck.

\textbf{W_A04:2.11}

Сакән  кы  вити  ска  куз.
sak=ǝn  ky  vit-i  sk-a  kuz

we=1\text{PL}  all  become.\text{PST}-i  on-DEM3  truck’s  cargo  bed

We all got on the truck’s cargo bed.

\textbf{W_A04:2.12}

Х̋ы  бо̔в̌өн  бази  дәжди,  бази  ләкәртәнэ̌т
x̋y  bǒv=ǝn  bazi  dǝzd-i  bazi  lǝkǝrt=ǝn=ǝt

own  clothing-\text{PL}.\text{OBL}=1\text{PL}  some  take.\text{PST}-i  some  leave.\text{PST}=1\text{PL}=and

самосам  тәғ̌дән.
samosam  tǝɣ̌d=ǝn

hurriedly  go  away.\text{PST}=1\text{PL}

Some of us took our (spare) clothings, some of us left them (there) and we went in a hurry.

\textbf{W_A04:2.13}

Ютәв  саки  тә  дгар  общежит.
yut=ǝv  sak-i  tә  dgar  obšə̌žit

take.\text{PST}=3\text{PL}  we-\text{ACC}  to  other  dormitory  (ru)

They took us to another dormitory.
We waited [lit. ‘stayed’] there for a long time, suddenly there was more fighting on the street, we only saw that a man fell.

There were [lit. ‘become’] more men appearing with automatic weapons.

Suddenly a big truck came, all of us hurriedly and noisily got on that truck’s cargo bed.
Many people squeezed, there was [lit. ‘is’] no room to stretch (our) legs.

(We were) wondering and worrying: “What will happen now?

When will the war finish, will we come (back) again or not, will we see Dushanbe again or not?

In this way we escaped the war.

November is a cold month.
On the cargo bed, there was [lit. ‘is’] nothing, (only) plain iron floor, open top.

There was [lit. ‘is’] no bread, everybody (was) hungry.

In one place they brought a little bit of bread; they distributed it to everybody.

In that way we went, cold, hungry and scared.

The truck didn’t [lit. ‘doesn’t’] stop anywhere.
In this way we arrived in Rushan.

Our legs became numb.

When going down from the high cargo bed we were [lit. ‘are’] all falling down flat.

People from Rushan took out bread and tea and apples and mulberries.

We drank tea and again got on the truck (and) went.
We arrived in Ishkashim with difficulty, I went to Shitkharv.

All my friends went to their own places.

In this way the war started, many people disappeared, people were wondering and anxious what would be the consequences.

After a year it became more peaceful and I came back to Dushanbe but I haven’t forgotten those days.
It was the year 2011.

We went to the district Kuybish (now Jomi), to the village Pomir to collect folk-tales, stories, riddles and proverbs.

Kuybish is up to 3 hours journey from Dushanbe.

A separate village, that is where our Wakhi people live.

They are mainly from Afghanistan, in the time of division between Russia and England in 1895 they had remained on that side.
The majority had come from Gozkhun and Sarhad.

Gozkhun and Sarhad are opposite Kikhn ['Kikhn' is a local name for the village Langar on the Tajik side of Wakhan].

They told that around 1942 there was a war in Afghanistan.

They took [lit. ‘took-carried away’] these young guys from among them to the war, the majority of them did not return from the war.
Those (people) were driven to despair and they said: “We must escape to the Soviet side, save ourselves from this war.”

Those who told us this story, they, in that year 2011, were around 70–75 years old.

One with his father; one with his brother; (another) one with his relatives during the night escaped [lit. ‘escaped-came’] through Sarhad up to Kikhn.
At night the Soviet soldiers stayed on both sides (to protect the refugees) and they took them (safely) out.

But a brother of one, a sister of one, relatives of another one, they remained on that side [Afghanistan].

Because on the night when those escaped, they (who remained) were here and there with their relatives.

From Kikhn they brought [lit. 'put-brought'] them by car first to Khorugh.
From there they took them to Roshtqala, to the Kolkhoz [collective farm in Soviet Union] named “New Life.”

**W_A05:5.3**
Дра йәтищ тә соолои 48 – 49 зиндагй царән.
dra yәtiš to sol-o-i 48 49 zindagi car-әn
THERE3 DEM2.PL until year-PL-EZ 48 49 living do-3PL

There, they live until 1948–49.

**W_A05:5.4**
Амо дә айи ҷайәв туәтк ки, дра ёчәк ўнк нәст.
amo dә a-ʒi jәy=әv tuәtк ki dra očәk yupk nast
but in such place=3PL be.PF SUB THERE3 by no means water is not

But they were in such a place where there was no water at all.

**W_A05:5.5**
Зминищ кы лалмый туәтк.
zmin-iš kы lalmı tuәtк
field-PL completely without irrigation be.PF

The fields were completely without irrigation.

**W_A05:5.6**
Гар зәмәт ҭыр дәйт, өсил ϳост, нәй кি нәдәйт, Ӂәй
gar zәm=әt wyr dәy-t osil wos-t nәy ki na-dәy-t żәw
if snow=and rain hit-3SG crop become-3SG but NEG-hit-3SG grain

нәвәост, мәрдым би Ҳәч ҭәрәшт.
nә-wos-t mәrdым bi Ҳәч ҭәрәш-t
NEG-become-3SG people without bread remain-3SG

If it snowed and rained, there was a crop, but if it didn’t snow or rain, there was no grain, people went without bread.

**W_A05:5.7**
Цә дәсти а йәтән Ӂәнән, саки и бафтәр ҷай ҭәндәв
сә дәсти a yәt-әn Ӂәнәn sak-i i бафтәr jәy yund-әn
because of EMP DEM2-ABL say-3PL 1PL-ACC one better place take-2PL
Because of that they said: "Take us to a better place so that there are better conditions."

Thus, in November 1948 or 49 they brought them by cars to Dushanbe.

From there they brought them with the goods train to Kuybish, to that village.

That village is not so far from the district centre.

Even now Kuybish is very hot in summer.
E. Interlinear text

W_A05:7.2
Амо ҳанёң, да даёра соф гарм тутк.
amo ҳан-ǝn d-a dawra sof garm tутk
but say-3PL in-DEM3 time totally hot be.PF

But they say (that) at that time it was extremely hot.

W_A05:7.3
Айи гарм ки, мисол скәм-наг ҳы бәтиви ыздйөн, a-ʒi garm kи misol sk-әm-nag ҳy bәt-vi wыzdy-ǝn
such hot SUB for instance on-DEM1-side own clothing-PL.OBL wash-3PL

ска-наг фар ырәкәр ки, яё өәк.
sk-a-nag far ыrәk-ǝr kи yaw өәk
on-DEM3-side turn turn.INF-DAT SUB it dry

It was so hot, for instance, they washed their clothes and before you turn around they were already dry.

W_A05:7.4
Йәт бичораныч дә Помир салқиниәт сырй ыәхкї, йәт yǝt bičora-i š dә Pomir salqini=ǝt сырї ыәхкї yǝt
DEM2 poor fellow-PL in Pamir coolness=and cold used to DEM2

гармирақ әчәк токат нәбасвәзйөн.
garmi-rǝk әčǝk toqat no-baswǝzy-ǝn
heat-DAT by no means endure NEG-be able to-3PL

Those poor fellows, used to the coolness and cold in Pamir, were not at all able to endure that heat.

W_A05:7.5
Данән а йәт чәй юпк гәт тутк, айи гәт ки, и d-ǝn a yәt jәy yupk gәt tутk a-ʒi gәt kи i
with-it-ABL EMP DEM2 place water muddy be.PF such muddy SUB one

чләк юпки цәвир – панд соат ләрән таашин چләк yupk-i cәvир panz соат ләрән тaaʃин
bucket water-ACC four five hour leave-3PL leave to stand

йәцакәр, цә и чләк юпкән ним чләк ыәт wocak-ǝr cә i چlәk yupk-әn nim (taj) چlәk ыәт
become.INF-DAT from one bucket water-ABL half bucket soil
Moreover, the water in that place was muddy, so muddy that when they left a bucket of water to stand four–five hours, from one bucket of water half a bucket of soil came out.

From that dirty water and from the heat too many people got sick and died.

And every day people died there by twos, by threes, every day there were two–three dead in this village.

It was also the case that from one house three–four people and in that village 10–11 people were [lit. ‘are’] dying in one day.
They suffered very much.

They ploughed these very large cotton fields with horses and oxen, they sowed the fields, there was no technology.

Finally, they were forced to write a request to Moscow [lit. ‘that’]: “Give us permission, we will go back to our place.”

The committee from Moscow came very late, they saw that the conditions (were) very hard and they gave (them) permission to return to their former place.
E.1.5 Reported true story W_A05

W_A05:8.3
Нәй ки то а йәт дайра бичорави қатл ныйызд.
пәу ки то а yat dawra bičora-vi qatl ныйызд.
but until EMP DEM2 era poor fellow-PL.OBL killed come out-3SG

But up to that time the poor people kept dying.

W_A05:8.4
Тумәр, халгищ дрәт хиliйәxк ёоцәрешт йәт
tum-ǝr xalg-iš drәt xili yәxk woc-ǝn =әt yәt
as much-DAT man-PL THERE2 very learned become-3PL=and DEM2

щароити сә ҳx сап дырзән.
шароит-и сә ҳx sar дырз-әn
condition-ACC on own head take-3PL

By then, the people became used to and accepted those conditions.

W_A05:8.5
Ҳанән, сак нив а дрәм ален, бәт іч ҹай нәрәән.
хан-ǝn sak niv a drәm al-ǝn bәt ič ǰay nә-рәә-ǝn
say-3PL we now EMP HERE1 stay-3PL anymore not any place NEG-go-1PL

They said: “Now we will stay here, we won’t go anywhere anymore.”

W_A05:9.1
А дрәт зиндаги ҹарән, цәқлайиш лүпәт ҹищiц
a drәt zindagи car-ǝn cәqlay-iš lup=әt yoʃ-iʃ
EMP THERE2 living do-3PL small-PL big=and young-PL

бачкачдорәт змандор ёоцән, ҹә 40 хоҹатiән криb
бачкач-дор=әt zman-dor woc-ǝn сә 40 xoʃagi-ǝn qrib
wife-having=and child-having become-3PL from 40 household-ABL almost

то 95 хoҹати ҹатән ки, солoи навадым дә Тoҹикистон
то 95 xoʃagi ҹat-ǝn ki sol-o-i navadым dә Toʃikiston
until 95 household reach-3PL SUB year-PL-EZ ninety in Tajikistan

ҹанәг сап вост.
jang sar wos-t
war beginning become-3SG

They lived there, the small (ones) grew up, the young got married, had children, from 40 households they grew to almost 95 households when in the nineties the war started in Tajikistan.
First refugees appeared just there [in this region].

These our Wakhi people became refugees, they fled each to every side, most of them escaped [lit. ‘escaped-went’] to Pamir.

In Pamir, some stayed with their relatives, some others were offered places here and there.

In this manner for nearly one, one and a half years they remained refugees here and there.

In Afghanistan own
Some at that time crossed to Afghanistan to visit their relatives, they visited their brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces and grandchildren and again returned back to this side.

The war ended, it became more peaceful and they gradually returned to their place.

This or that organization helped them and there they again built their houses totally from the beginning, they built a school, they worked in their fields and led their lives.
Now, in that village, they made a kindergarten for the small children of our Wakhi people.

There is a school made for big children up to grade nine.

There is a separate medical center, a community prayer house is in service.

The main road in the village is open and covered with asphalt.

Every household has a field, they work in cotton fields.

Until the war they had almost 90 hectares of fields, after the war when the conditions were not so good, the fields were taken by anybody.
Now, they have only 60 hectares of fields there.

99 percent of those who live there are Wakhi.

But although they were roving around so much and endured many hardships [lit. ‘eat difficulty’], they haven’t forgotten our language, customs, traditions and hospitality.

Our wish is such that they never suffer, and all the time are in good condition and in peace.
How a strong man saved a girl

Once, it was a very difficult era.

The Afghans gave people a lot of trouble.

But the people were good to each other.

One summer day, everyone from women to men were working in the fields.
At that [lit. ‘this’] time, one or two mujahids with horses came from Afghanistan, they kidnapped a pretty girl from the village, threw her on the horse stirrup [this is probably supposed to mean ‘saddle’] and fled.

After some time, in the village the rumour spread that the Afghans had kidnapped such and such a daughter [‘daughter’ is used also in the meaning of younger girls in relation to older or more respectable women].

Everybody wondered.

The elders gathered and agreed [saying ‘that’]: “It is necessary to get our daughter back from the hands of the Afghans, otherwise it will be very shameful for us.”

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1Use of the plural ending -on suggests a social category, while the plural ending -iš is a regular plural marker.
From this village, a strong man came forward and said: “I will liberate that girl.”

Thus, the elders gave him a good horse and at night he crossed the river and went to Afghanistan.

He asked one-two Afghans and finally he found that house of the mujahids.

It was dark outside [lit. ‘at the door’], this strong man went up on the roof and he looked down through the ceiling window.
He saw that those mujahids were there roaring with laughter and were boasting (about how they managed to kidnap the girl).

They put the pretty girl up on the cooking place [part of the Pamir house behind the fireplace where women prepare food] and put paranja on her face.

This strong man waited for a moment, he directed his gun down at the house and said: “No one moves from his place, (or) I will kill you all.”
He said to that girl: “You come out and from outside lock the door behind you.”

This girl went down and came out in a hurry, she locked the door behind her.

The Afghans at their place shivered from fear and didn’t move from their place.

That girl got on the strong man’s horse and they ran away.
The strong man made the horse run and they crossed the river.

W_B03:6.1
Йәм қәщлоқ халгиц наѓд нәнәстүәв.  
yәм qә̗šloq xalg-i̯s na̯d nә-nәstú=əv  
DEM1 village man-PL night NEG-sleep.PPF=3PL

The village people were not sleeping at night.

W_B03:6.2
Кыәв хв̌ос ту ки, йәм пала̀вон тоқа црәнг гох̌тәй.  
ky=əv xwos tu ki yәm palawon toqa crәn goх̌t-әy  
all=3PL concerned you.SG SUB DEM1 strong man alone how make.PST-i

All were concerned to know [lit. 'that']: “How did our strong man, alone, do?”

W_B03:6.3
Фарсәр ки, ящ сдо ъостәг я прчод әанән  
farsәr ki ya̯s sdo wo̯s=t=ət ya̯ přod c-an-әn  
after some time horse sound become-3SG=and DEM3 girl from-it-ABL

хәмд.  
хәm-d  
go down-3SG

After some time, they heard the sound of a horse and that girl got down from it.

W_B03:6.4
Трәм х̌ы татнан әардан әыдыртәг нывд.  
tr-әm х̌ы tatnan әarдан әыдыr-t=әt ныw-d  
to-DEM1 own parents neck hold-3SG=and cry-3SG

She flung herself around her parents’ necks and cried.

W_B03:6.5
Луп то ъәқлай йәм пала̀вони раматбод әәро̯ән.  
lup to ъәqlay yәm palawon-i̯ ramatbod car-әn  
big until little DEM1 strong man-ACC gratefulness do-3PL

(Everyone) from old to young [lit. ‘big to little’] expressed their gratefulness to this strong man.
The father of this girl gave his daughter to that strong man.

After two-three days they organized their wedding and they lived a happy life.

There was a very wealthy and well-known merchant.

Every day he traded, here and there [lit. ‘to this to that side’] and became very rich and wealthy.

All his life he was trading.
One day he arrived [lit. ‘make oneself arrive’] in the Chinese empire and he bought everything from the Chinese market.

He stayed there overnight [lit. ‘made white’] and was going to return back home.

Suddenly, at this moment, (the angel) Azrael came and delivered the news to the merchant [lit. ‘that’]: “You have to die today.”

The merchant was surprised and said: “Azrael, I will give you half of my wealth [lit. ‘world’], give me permission for one day so I (can go to) see my children.”

Azreal laughed and said: “Merchant, your time and hour (is) until this very day, (your life) will end in this empire of China.

The merchant started pleading (and said) [lit. ‘that’]: “Well, take my worldly possessions and allow me one day so I can reach my home.”

Azrael didn’t accept.
The merchant started crying and threw himself on his knees [lit. ‘feet/legs’] (saying) [lit. ‘that’]: “Well, then give me a bit of time so that I can write a letter to my son.”

Azrael agreed and took his worldly possessions.

The merchant wrote a letter to his son and gave it to another merchant.

Azrael then took his soul.

Some time passed and his son received the letter.
E. Interlinear text

**W_B07:6.2**

Дырзд яви чыйд ки, яй тат нвищэтк: “Э пэтрфон, дэ дырз-д yaw-i joy-d ki yaw tat nwištak e patřon de receive-3SG it-ACC read-3SG SUB his father write.PF VOC dear son in

зиндаги цә басвэзи, хы вахти моли дэнё ҷам
zindagi ca baswaz-i xu waxt-i mol-i dənyo jam living SUB be able to-2SG own time-EZ possessions-EZ world gathered

цәракәр нәйэт дә хы наздик ҳалгвән ӱшхәв.
cǝrak-ǝr nǝy=ǝt dǝ x̌y nazdik xalg-v-ǝn ʃǝxǝv do.INF-DAT no=and with own close man-PL.OBL-ABL make pass

*He read [lit. ‘received-read’] that his father had written: “Dear son, if you can, spend your lifetime with your close ones, not on gathering worldly possessions.*

**W_B07:6.3**

Цә дәсти моли дэнёән сави бәт
ca däst-i mol-i dənyo-ǝn sav-i bät because of possessions-EZ world-ABL you.PL.OBL-ACC anymore

нәвинәмәт дә гриби мәрйәм”.
nǝ-vin-ǝm=ǝt dǝ gribi mǝry-ǝm NEG-see-1SG=and in foreign country die-1SG

*For the sake of worldly possessions, I will not see you again, I will die in a foreign country.”*

E.1.8 Witnessed story W_B08

**Clock**

**W_B08:1.1**

Солои 2009 рә Хорәгәмәш чойди.
sol-o-i 2009 rǝ Xorǝg=ǝm=ǝʃ joy-d-i year-PL-EZ 2009 in.down Khorog=1SG=IPFV read.PST-i

*In 2009 I was studying in Khorog.*

**W_B08:1.2**

Дә хобгөәш алдәм, сак дә малаән тру прчод ту.
dǝ xobgo=ǝʃ ald=ǝm sak dǝ mala-ǝn tru pʁod tu in dormitory=IPFV stay.PST=1SG we in room-ABL three girl be.PST

*I was staying in the dormitory, in the room we were three girls.*
My friends were very good girls [lit. ‘people’].

One was from Rushan, one from Shughnan and another one from Bartang.

We had a tiny room.

In the morning we used to go to class [lit. ‘read lesson’], in the afternoon we used to prepare for our lessons, either in the room or in the library.
I drank tea and slept a little.

A little bit later the door opened and my aunt and two other women entered [lit. ‘from door’, meaning ‘from outside’].

I put out the kurpacha [type of a narrow mattress filled with cotton used for sitting on the floor] for them to sit on, bid them welcome and made milk-tea [tea with milk, salt and butter; together with bread it is a staple in the Pamir communities] for them.

My aunt and those two women ate the meal and went to sleep.

As they had come from the road, they were very weary [lit. ‘collapsed from their feet’].
My aunt (and the other two), they were our guests for eight days, they had come for a seminar.

For eight days they had lessons.

In the mornings they would go to class and in the evenings they would come (back) to the room.

One day my aunt said: “My dear [lit. ‘mother’ here (and often elsewhere, too) is just an address formula], take us to the bath [in most houses in Pamir there is no bath. There is usually a common ‘banya’ - a bath house - in every village and town].
E. Interlinear text

**W_B08:4.2**
Сак ҳы вдәки дәм шар нәдицән”.
sak ҳы vdәk-i d-әм ษәr нә-diш-ән
we own road-ACC in-DEM1 town NEG-know-1PL

_We don’t know our way in this town._

**W_B08:4.3**
В̌узәм роз витәй.
wuz =әm roz vit-әy
I=1SG agreed become.PST-i

_I agreed._

**W_B08:4.4**
Х̌атәм:  “саарӣ  баҳтәр гизән ки, тқи халг дра
xford=әm saarɨ wахtǝr giz-әn ki тқи xalg dra
say.PST=1SG in the morning early get up-1PL SUB many people THERE3

чәм мәбост
jam mә-wos-t
gathered PROH-become-3SG

_I said: “We will get up early in the morning, so that there are not too many people gathered there.”_

**W_B08:4.5**
Нағ̌д витиәт сакән нәсти.
naɣ̌d vit-i=әt sak =әn nәst-i
night become.PST-i=and we=1PL sleep.PST-i

_Night came and we went to sleep._

**W_B08:4.6**
Ив̌ки ҳы воч маж қы訾 кәрти ки, рухн витк, рәчән
iwki ҳы voč maž qyw kәrt-i ki рuxn vitk rәč-әn
suddenly my aunt I.OBL call do.PST-i SUB daylight become.PF go-1PL

баяна.
banya
bath

_Suddenly my aunt called me [saying ‘that’]: “Daylight has come, let’s go to the bath.”_
I, still sleepy, got up and went before them.

Outside, there was moonlight.

I assumed that perhaps morning had come.

I didn’t even look at the clock and went ahead of them.

Outside, it was snowing.

(It was) good that we had put on very thick clothes.
We arrived [lit. ‘went-arrived’] at the door of the bath (but saw) that the door was closed with a big lock hanging on it.

I was wondering [lit. ‘that’]: “Why is this door locked and there is no attendant at the doors?”

I called (someone) at the gate door when the dogs started to bark.

We then ran away and these dogs (ran) after us.
Another biting dog chased us up to the door of our apartment (room).

In some places, from fear, I fell in the snow and in some places I stumbled, and I arrived [lit. 'made myself arrive'] at the door of the apartment.

Now, very scared, I turned back (and I saw) that my aunt had fallen there.

I returned, shouting, when that dog then ran away.

I lifted up my aunt from the snow (and saw) that that dog had bitten her hand.
E. Interlinear text

W_B08:5.15
Яв̌ х̌ат ц̌о ѣыш̌к̌ен дранг-дранг лар̌д̌еш.
yaw х̌ат с̌о wš̌yk-ǝn drang-drang lарz-ǝ=ǝ̱
she self from fear-ABL shiver tremble-3SG=IPFV

She herself was shivering and trembling from fear.

W_B08:5.16
Я бу ѣйинанищ б̌о ѣэнд̌в̌ ҳ̌о, ре̱д̌ен б̌о мала.
ya bu ѣйунан-и̱s б̌о wǝzd-ǝ=ǝ̱ ҳ̌о rǝy̌д̌=ǝ̱ е̱ ň г̌ м̌aла
DEM3 two woman-PL ADD come.PST=3PL and go.PST=1PL to.down room

Those two (other) women came, too, and we went to our room.

W_B08:5.17
Ила ѣу̱пк̌ яв̌әр ̌р̌ө̱т̌ө̱м̌ө̱т̌ н̌и̱в̌ ѣ̱̱ь̱м̌ со̱ат̌ө̱ш.
ila yupk yav-ǝr rǝt=ǝm=ǝt niv yǝm soat=ǝ̱]
a bit water they.OBL-DAT give.PST=1SG=and now DEM1 hour=IPFV

didiɣ̌-ǝm ki, ч̌ори на̱д̌.
didiɣ̌-ǝm ki čor(taj)-i na̱ď
look-1SG SUB four-EZ night

I gave them a little bit of water and, now I am looking at the clock (and see) that it's four in the morning [lit. 'at night'].

W_B08:5.18
А ц̌аң̌ө̱н̌ т̌р̌ө̱м̌ с̌аң̌и̱й̌ ̌в̌ах̌т̌ ̌т̌о̱ со̱а̱т̌ө̱и̱
a c-an-ǝn tr-ǝm saari waxt to soat-i
EMP from-it-ABL to-DEM1 in the morning time until hour-ACC

н̌а̱ди̱д̌ө̱м̌, ц̌о ѣ̱̱ь̱н̌ ѣ̱̱нь̌й̌э̱м̌.
nǝ-didiɣ̌-ǝm čo xun-ǝn nǝ-nыwz-ǝm
NEG-look-1SG from house-ABL NEG-come out-1SG

From that time on, in the morning, I don’t leave the house before looking at the clock.

E.1.9 Reported true story W_B09

Uncle Dilowar

W_B09:1.1
Д̌о̱ и̱ к̌и̱ш̌л̌о̱к̌ б̌е̱ч̌ Д̌и̱ло̱вар̌ н̌у̱н̌ г̌ай̱ з̌ин̌д̌аг̌и̱ ̌к̌ә̱р̌к̌.
da i qišloq bač Dilowar nung ǝ̱y zindaǧi këřk
in one village uncle Dilowar name man living do.PF

In a village lived a man named uncle Dilowar.
Every year he gathered the big-footed and the small-footed livestock, and with his wife he went to the summer pasture.

Everybody in the village liked [lit. ‘friend-had’] him.

Uncle Dilowar was a very good man.

When/if he went to the summer pasture as a shepherd, he didn’t take anybody with him.

He himself was very energetic and capable.
Every summer they stayed in the summer pasture, uncle Dilowar to do shepherding and aunt Bika to make dairy products.

On the summer pasture they made butter and qurut and in winter they lived off their earnings from those (products).

In this way, several years passed.

One day (the weather) became very cold on the summer pasture and uncle Dilowar with the livestock (was) on the hill surface, when the livestock became completely dispersed.
Uncle Dilowar ran every which way [lit. ‘this side and that side’], gathered the livestock, put them in front of him and quickly came down to the shepherd’s hut.

He put the livestock in the cattle pen and saw that one [lit. ‘one head of’] goat was missing [lit. ‘didn’t arrive’].

He retraced his steps, went up to the cave, when he met seven goats and he saw that the goat with one white stripe was not with them.
He thought that perhaps that goat with a white stripe had hidden inside that cave because of the cold.

Aunt Bika milked the livestock and cows and separated the calves from their mothers (so that there is enough milk for the people).

She saw that the weather was very cold and uncle Dilowar was still not (back).

She started calling (him), (but) she saw that there was nobody.

Very concerned she entered the shepherd’s hut and cooked milk and started preparing the evening meal.

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E.1.9 Reported true story W_B09

**W_B09:4.1**

Йәм бәч Диловар чирмит та шый дәстәт
yәм бәч Dilowar čirmi-t t-a ѣyы dәst = ǝt
DEM1 uncle Dilowar enter-3SG in-DEM3 cave in the fallen rocks inside=and

чири-чири царт.
jiри-jiри car-t
a cry for calling a goat do-3SG

[Lit. ‘this’] Uncle Dilowar went inside that cave and called the goat.

**W_B09:4.2**

Хили чай рәшт ки, я туў дә и қилагй чай
xили jay rәš-t ki ya tuў dә i qilagi jay
a lot place go-3SG SUB DEM3 goat in one difficult place place

житк.
žитk
give birth (animal).PF

He had gone (around) a lot when (he saw) that that goat had given birth in a place that was difficult to access.

**W_B09:4.3**

Туғ хы соиби ывнәт благас царт.
tuғ jy soib-i win-d = ǝt blayas car-t
goat own owner-ACC see-3SG=and bleating do-3SG

The goat saw her owner and bleated.

**W_B09:4.4**

Бәч Диловар га хыщ ыйнәт ырыәт ки, нив
bәч Dilowar ga хыщ wos-t = ǝt ырыәt day-t ki нив
uncle Dilowar very happy become-3SG=and thought hit-3SG SUB now

йәми црәнг нињәм, йәм шый га қила.
yәm-i crәng niњәm yәm ѣyы ga qila
DEM1-ACC how take out-DEM1 DEM1 cave in the fallen rocks very difficult

Uncle Dilowar became very happy and thought [lit. ‘that’]: “Now how shall I take this one out? This case is very difficult.”

**W_B09:5.1**

Бәч Диловар оста-оста да туў шәән (MouseEvent) day-3SG
bәч Dilowar оста-оста d-a tuў ʃәәn day-3SG
uncle Dilowar very slowly in-DEM3 goat near self deliver-3SG

Uncle Dilowar very slowly got near that goat.
He took that kid in his hands (and saw) that it was cold.

He pulled off his jacket and wrapped that kid in it.

He saw that night was coming [lit. ‘becomes night’].

He thought [lit. ‘that’]: “I will take this kid and its mother will follow it.”

As he started descending, a rock fall came.
Uncle Dilowar bent his head down and pressed this kid strongly to his bosom and waited a moment.

He had gone down a little bit when a rock fell and hit the goat and it (the mother-goat) came out (of the cave) bleating.

Uncle Dilowar’s heart was breaking but there was no choice.

He went a little bit to that side and started to call the goat.

He knew that the goat had broken its leg.
He came out of the cave with difficulty with that kid and in the black darkness arrived at the shepherd’s hut.

He arrived at the shepherd’s hut and his wife had a headache from worrying.

She said: “How come, you got lost!”

Uncle Dilowar said: “Look, here is a kid for you.
E.1.9 Reported true story W_B09

I will go bring that goat, otherwise by morning a wolf [lit. ‘biting animal’] will eat it or a rock fall will kill it.”

W_B09:7.1 Aunt Bika didn’t agree and said: “We will bring her tomorrow.

W_B09:7.2 Now, outside it has become dark, don’t risk losing your way.”

W_B09:7.3 Uncle Dilowar didn’t agree, he said: “I am going right now, I will bring that goat.

W_B09:7.4 I have grown up on this hill, I know all the places.”

W_B09:8 a little milk to.up own mouth hit-3SG and rope=and light-ACC
He swallowed a bit of milk and then took the rope and the light, and went away.

W_B09:9.1
Да торикиән та шый ҭат
d-a toriki-әән t-a ҭуу ҭат
in-DEM3 darkness-ABL in-DEM3 cave in the fallen rocks self

ѣатывдәт чирмит рост а ра ҭист.
ѣатыv-d=әәt čirmi-t rost a r-a ҭист
make arrive-3SG=and enter-3SG right EMP to.down-DEM3 inside

In the darkness he arrived at that cave and entered right inside.

W_B09:9.2
Илой яѣ пзыви шыйи пахч цаҕэт ҭанд: “Ҳай,
iloy yaw pзыv-i ҭууwi пахч car-t=әәt ҭаn-d xay
immediately his heart-ACC blackness pressure do-3SG=and say-3SG well

Ҳәдой jon ёри паногор”.
Ҳәdoy jon yori panogor
dear God help and refuge

At once a blackness squeezed his heart and he said: “Dear God, my help and refuge.”

W_B09:10.1
Да туӌ шӌән хати ҭаты vz
д-a туӌ ѣӌән хат-i ѣatables дyum пыdi ванд
in-DEM3 goat near self-ACC make arrive-3SG DEM3 leg-ACC bind

қарт яѣ тәм ҭы дамәт ца ҹайән ҷит.
kar-t yaw t-әәм ҭы dam=әәt c-a ҹайәn ҹi-t
put-3SG it on-DEM1 own back=and from-DEM3 place-ABL go away-3SG

He got near the goat, bound its legs, put it on his back and set off from that place.

W_B09:10.2
Да бробари вдәк ҭат ки, и ҹәрхә ҹизиҭәт бәч
dә brobar-i vдak ҭat ki i ҹәrxa wizi-t=әәt bәә
in middle-ACC road arrive SUB one rock fall come-3SG=and uncle
He arrived halfway when a rock fall came and hit uncle Dilowar.

At once he sighed ‘oh mother’, and he fell on his back.

A long time passed, he regained consciousness, wondering: “Where am I?”

They passed the night there [lit. ‘make white/daylight’ = spend night somewhere].

This goat bleated and didn’t go far from that place.

Uncle Dilowar wrung his hands and started weeping.
"He said: “I will lift myself up”, but (saw that) he was not able (to do it)."

"By morning, aunt Bika became very worried [lit. ‘with heart-cracking’] [lit. ‘that’]: “What happened to this uncle Dilowar?”"

"Early in the morning she rode on the donkey to another temporary enclosure [where cattle spend the night in the summer pasture] and said (to the people there) [lit. ‘that’]: “Uncle Dilowar went for the goat and didn’t return.”"
They went up to the cave and entered.

W_B09:12.3

They went a lot (and saw) that uncle Dilowar was lying [stretched flat] under a big boulder and his goat with a white stripe was asleep by his side.

W_B09:12.4

They thought that uncle Dilowar had died [lit. 'hadn’t remained'].

W_B09:12.5

They came closer (and saw) that he was weeping.

W_B09:12.6

These guys lifted him up, took him out of the cave and seated him on the donkey and brought down to the shepherd’s hut.
Aunt Bika wept for joy and sent a message to the village [saying ‘that’]: “Uncle Dilowar has been injured, would someone come for him?”

A crowd of village people came and took uncle Dilowar to the hospital.

After some time uncle Dilowar said: “I will go to the summer pasture.”

They told him: “Don’t go up to the summer pasture until your health is restored.”
He said: “No, I am used to spending my summers in the summer pasture, its water and greenery are also a medicine for me.”

Pasture

It was a summer day.

I came back from the lesson and my mother gave me tea.

I drank tea, released the kids and lambs, and took them towards the garden for shepherding.

Every day after my lesson I used to go and look after kids and lambs.
We were many children.

Every day we were shepherding the kids and lambs.

We liked shepherding the kids and lambs very much, we used to spend our time very well.

We brought the kids and lambs to the mountain and we ourselves started to play.

Our kids and lambs went up towards the mountain.
We used to take turns in herding [lit. ‘diverting’] them.

Now, we were so focused on our playing that we (suddenly) noticed the sun had set and our kids and lambs were not there.

Everybody found their kids and lambs but [lit. ‘and’] I didn’t find two of my kids and lambs.

These other children drove their kids and lambs before them and went down towards
E. Interlinear text

their homes.

W_B10:3.2

В̌узәм цә в̌ышыкән тә хүн нээрәләй.
wuz=ǝm сә wšyk-ǝn тә xun nә-рәф̌д-ǝy
I=1SG from fear-ABL in house NEG-go.PST-i

I was afraid [lit. ‘from fear’], I didn’t go home.

W_B10:3.3

То шумәм тә боғ чә̌в̌и шкүрд̌и ки, нэәм
to щum=ǝm тә boy čә̌v̌-vi škurd-i ki нә=ǝm
until evening=1SG in-DEM3 garden kid-PL.OBL search.PST-i SUB NEG=1SG

I looked for the kids and lambs in that garden until evening but I didn’t find them.

W_B10:3.4

Дә и борӣ сар нәйинәт сә нәйнәм витәй.
dǝ i борī sar nәyn-i=ǝt сә нәwn=ǝm vit-әy
on one boulder top sit.PST-i=and on cry.INF2=1SG become.PST-i

I sat on a boulder and started crying.

W_B10:3.5

Нив х̌ы сарөм ёуч кәрт̌и ки, и лүп шәпт дә жы сар
нив х̌ы sar=ǝm wuch kərt-i ki i lup śapt do žy sar
now own head=1SG up do.PST-i SUB one big wolf on my top

Now, I lifted up my head (and saw) that there was a big wolf above me.

W_B10:3.6

Жы чәрт ёагак ки, жы сдоөш нэңыйызд.
žy čərt wayak ki žy sdo=ǝʃ nә-пьwyz-d
my thought shout.INF SUB my voice=IPFV NEG-come out-3SG

I wanted to shout [lit. ‘my thought shouting’] but my voice didn’t [lit. ‘doesn’t’] come out.

W_B10:3.7

Нәвิตи, х̌ы ğә̌в̌ми барст̌әм.
na-vit-i х̌ы ğә̌v̌m-i barst=ǝm
NEG-become.PST-i own eye-ACC close (eyes).PST=1SG

No voice [lit. ‘it didn’t happen’], I closed my eyes.

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This wolf watched me intensively and sat there.

A little bit later dog’s barking started.

As the dog’s barking became stronger, I gathered my strength and opened my eyes, (then I saw) that that wolf went up towards the mountain.

I started to shout (because I thought) that that wolf maybe ate those kids.

I went up towards the mountain, (and saw) that it was [lit. ‘is’] becoming dark.
I said, let the wolf not eat me, (I was) scared and went down very quickly.

I had arrived at the door of the house when my mother came out.

She said: “Oh dear [lit. ‘mother’ here doesn’t refer to the mother, it serves as the exclamatory address form], why is your face so white [lit. ‘yellow’]?”

I started to cry and I said: “Mom, two of our kids got lost in that garden.”

My mother said: “Really, you will cry for this? Tomorrow we will find them.”
E.1.10 Witnessed story W_B10

**W_B10:6.2**

Perhaps they mixed with someone’s livestock.”

**W_B10:6.3**

I said: “No, mum, however much I looked for them, I didn’t find them.

**W_B10:6.4**

Let the wolf not eat them.

**W_B10:6.5**

I saw a big wolf in that garden.”

**W_B10:6.6**

Then my mother with my older brother went quickly to that garden.
I was afraid so I didn’t go into the house.

I took our dog and followed behind them.

I was going up towards the garden when those kids came out from under the buckthorn and were [lit. ‘are’] coming down.

I was happy and called my mother: “Come back, those kids were inside the buckthorn.”
Then they came, we drove the kids in front of us and we came home.

_W_B10:8_

It was winter

_W_B11:1.1_

Our cousin [lit. ‘the son of our uncle’] came from Russia to have [lit. ‘make’] his wedding.

_W_B11:1.3_

They watched the preparations and took the bride price [paid by the groom’s family to the bride’s family].
Then they confirmed the wedding day.

After one week the wedding should take place.

But the livestock of our uncle were on the summer pasture [some more remote ‘ayloqs’ in East Pamir are run all year round, not only in summer].

I and my uncle, in winter, we set off on foot to the pasture [those remote pasture areas are not accessible by car during winter].

They didn’t have livestock in the village for slaughter.

It took us three whole days to arrive at the pasture.
We stayed there for one day with the shepherd.

Early the next day we had tea and they gave us food supplies and we drove before of us several sheep and a bull-calf and set off.

The weather was very cold, snow was up to our knees.

We were not able to set out on the road.

With some difficulties we arrived at Khargushi [name of a place in East Pamir].
Outside it was dark, it started snowing.

We got very cold.

We had walked a long distance when we saw a small hut there.

We put the sheep inside with the bull-calf.

Because of the cold we also entered the hut (and saw) unexpectedly that there (was) fodder in the corner.
We understood that the fodder had remained from before when the livestock had been brought to (or from) the summer pasture.

The livestock saw this fodder and started eating.

We lay down [lit. ‘threw ourselves’] next to the animals.

We were very sleepy [lit. ‘sleep is taking us’] but we were cold.

My uncle took (some) of those hard remains of straw and hay and made a fire in the hut.
We warmed up and ate a little bit of bread with water.

Then we slept.

I was very thin, I could not get warm at all.

In my clothes I went down next to the fire and I slept there.

In the middle of the night I woke up.
My uncle was [lit. ‘is’] extinguishing my burning sheepskin coat.

Then I understood that my sheepskin coat had caught fire.

If my uncle hadn’t woken up I would have caught fire.

Hurriedly I got up (and saw) that half of my sheepskin coat was [lit. ‘is’] missing.

My uncle gave me a little bit of water and again put me to sleep.

I was awake until morning.

I couldn’t fall asleep (from fear) that now I would die of cold.
My sheepskin coat was completely burnt on the back.

Gradually, daylight came.

We got up, gathered those remains of straw and hay and made a little fire.

I put snow in the teapot [i.e. made tea] and we drank tea.

Then once again we drove the livestock ahead of us.
We set off towards home.

We had continued a little bit when a military truck Kamaz came from behind.

My uncle then stopped it.

That driver then said something to my uncle and opened the back door of the truck.

Then I carried the livestock to the truck door.
My uncle and that driver loaded this livestock onto the truck.

We got into the cab.

I became very happy.

Then I pulled that burnt sheepskin coat off me and fell asleep.

I woke up (and saw) that I (was) at the gate of our yard.
I will never forget this day.

About a Fairy (From my brother’s life)

I was still a little (child) and I was in the summer pasture with my mother.

My father was working in Pamir [from the perspective of Wakhan, Pamir designates the area of East Pamir].

They were building these very roads (in East Pamir).

They have built these roads with their own hands.
I and my brother with our mother, we were alone up on the summer pasture.

One day I went after the (flock of) kids and lambs, and I found myself far from the shepherd’s hut [shelter made of stone in the summer pasture].

I arrived near the shepherd’s hut (and saw) that (there was) a woman, exactly like my mother, with a bucket on her shoulder, with a headscarf tied around her face, and she went up along the ravine.
However much I call my mother, she does not even turn (to me).

I was surprised and had gone down to the shepherd’s hut when (I saw that) my mother was [lit. ‘is’] milking livestock in the cattle pen.

I asked my mother: “Mom, why were you by the ravine? Did you go to get water [lit. ‘after water’]?”

My dear mom was surprised and said: “Dear son, I am milking the livestock, it was your brother who brought water.”
I said: “Mother, a woman exactly like you, with a bucket on her shoulder, went up along the ravine.”

My mother said: “It was not me in the ravine.

Say the ‘bismilloh’ [religious formula], dear son.

I made doogh and now, look, I am milking the livestock.

Perhaps you only imagined it [lit. ‘it came to your eye’].”
I said: “No, mom, I really saw her.

She passed by my side.

My mother quickly gave me water and said: “Always say ‘bismilho’ and don’t be afraid of them.

On the summer pasture (there are) many fairies.
They call people, they hit them with stones, don’t say anything to them and ignore them.”

E.1.13 Reported true story W_B18

Bear’s kindness (from a neighbour’s life)

W_B18:1.1
И щбын ѣй туртк.
i šbyn da day tuatk
one shepherd man be.PF

There was a shepherd.

W_B18:1.2
Яй пак рв̀ор мрдым мови чам цартөт щбынй
yaw pak rwor mardым mol-vi jam car-t=ət šbynī
every day people livestock-PL.OBL gathered do-3SG=and shepherding

рашт.
раš-t
go-3SG

Every day he collected the livestock of the people and went shepherding.

W_B18:1.3
Змистонөт тобистон а йөт ранг ҳы зиндагии щоҳсэвд.
zmiston=ət tobiston a yot rang ҳы zindagi-i šəxsəv-d
winter=and summer EMP DEM2 way own living-ACC make pass-3SG

Winter and summer, he passed his life like that.

W_B18:2.1
И зимистон айо га сырй царт.
i zimiston awo ya сырî car-t
one winter weather very cold do-3SG

One winter, the weather was very cold.

W_B18:2.2
Мрдымиши хўос ёбчан ки, пуп Зафар дөм сырй
mardым-iṣ xwos woc-ən ki pup Zafar d-əm сырî
people-PL concerned become-3PL SUB grandfather Zafar in-DEM1 cold
The people became concerned [saying ‘that’]: “How is Grandfather Zafar doing in this cold weather with the livestock on the mountain?”

The elders called a few guys, they said (to them): “Go up the mountain (and see) how the Grandfather Zafar is doing in this cold weather.”

These guys decided [lit. ‘that’]: “We must go up this very day.”

They put on their sheepskin coats and went up the mountain.

It was [lit. ‘is’] snowing on the mountain.

See Footnote 1 in W_B03: 3.1
The guys, very concerned, said: “Let’s see what happened to Grandfather Zafar.”

They went from mountain to mountain, from hill to hill, (but saw) that there (was) no news, either about the livestock or about Grandfather Zafar.

The higher they went, the colder the weather became [lit. ‘becomes’].

They called so much (but) there (was) no sign of them.

It surprised them and they descended back home.
They had gone down a little bit when Grandfather Zafar’s dog appeared in front of them.

W_B18:3.6
Йәм заищ яй пәс цбас царәнәт ŋатән дә и шый уәм за-ӣш yaw рәς цбас car-ән =әт ŋат-ән дә и щ̄ы дем1 guy-PL it after back do-3PL=and arrive-3PL in one fallen rocks шъән.

These guys followed (the dog) and arrived near some fallen rocks.

W_B18:3.7
Я ща̄ч чӣрмит ра шый дәст=әt нәшт. ya ша̄ч цӣрмит r-a щ̄ы дәст =әt nāx-t DEM3 dog enter-3SG in.down-DEM3 fallen rocks inside=and disappear-3SG

That dog went in among those fallen rocks and disappeared.

W_B18:3.8
Йәм заищ бо оста-оста чә̄рмән ра шый ки, уәм za-ӣш бо оста-оста чә̄рм-ән r-a щ̄ы ки DEM1 guy-PL ADD very slowly enter-3PL in.down-DEM3 fallen rocks SUB

These guys then very slowly went in among those fallen rocks (and saw) that the livestock were asleep there.

W_B18:3.9
Тратә̄рәр рө̄чән ки, дра и нә̄γәрдүм. trә̄rәr rә̄ч-әn ki dra i нә̄γәрдүm on the side-DAT go-3PL SUB THERE3 one bear

They went to the side (and saw) that there (was) a bear.
That bear saw the guys and went towards them.

The guys were about to run away and they noticed that Grandfather Zafar (was) in the middle of the livestock and was [lit. 'is'] making a sign towards them [lit. 'that']: "Stay firm where you are."

The guys were surprised.

Grandfather Zafar said: "Why did you put your life in danger in this cold weather?

Don't worry about me, I know what I am doing."
These guys said: “What shall we do?”

He said: “Go, tell my wife [lit. ‘my old woman’, expressing respect] that I am fine, the people’s livestock are also all in good health.

When the weather has become better [lit. ‘opened’] I will come down with the livestock.”

The guys left the food supplies for him and returned (back home).

This dog of Grandfather Zafar again went before them and accompanied these guys.
In the village a rumour arose that Grandfather Zafar had become friends with the bears.

Two days later Grandfather Zafar came down to the village.

People gathered and said: “Grandfather Zafar, if your dog hadn’t been there, we would have been mourning you now.” [lit. ‘lighting the lamp’ – a ceremony performed on the third night after the funeral].

Grandfather Zafar laughed and said: “The bear is my friend.

Some time ago I saved the baby of that bear.
One of those years there were many stonefalls.

I was on the mountain with the livestock.

At that moment a stone came and hit this baby bear.

I took [lit. ‘went-took’] that baby bear in my bosom, (I heard) that it was [lit. ‘is’] groaning.
E. Interlinear text

W_B18:6.10
Ди̱дәм ки, я́й пы́д шкәнг.
didiɣ̌d=ǝm ki yaw pyd škәng
look.PST=1SG SUB its leg break.PF

I saw that its leg had been broken.

W_B18:6.11
Саридәв мәндричәм чо̱пти̱ет ва̱стэкм скам пыд.
saridaw mәndri=č=ǝm ɕ̌opt-i = ǝt vast = ǝm sk-am pyd
quickly nepeta glutinosa=1SG pick.PST-ı=and bandage.PST=1SG on-its leg

Quickly I picked the nepeta glutinosa [type of a catmint plant used for healing broken bones] and put a bandage on its leg.

W_B18:6.12
А дәм ү̱ахт я́й нан пидо вит̱и.
a d-ǝm waxt yaw nan pido vit-i
EMP in-DEM1 time its mother appear become.PST-ı

At that moment its mother appeared.

W_B18:6.13
Йәм нә̱гәрдүмзмән̨̣ й̱ы нани ү̱инд̱и̱ет ла̱нг̱-лән̣г̱и рә̱д̱и
yǝm nǝɣ̌әrdum-zmaṇi ɕ̌y nan-i ɕ̌opt-i = ǝt la̱ng̱-la̱ng̱i rǝɣ̌ḏ-i
DEM1 bear-child own mother-ACC see.PST-ı=and limping go.PST-ı
tram-nag.
tr-am-nag
to-her-side

This baby bear saw its mother and limping went to her side.

W_B18:6.14
В̱уз цә йʃ̌ыкән ца Ӌйән рә̱ң̣әм.
wuz cǝ wʃ̌ык-ǝn c-a ʃ̌ay-ǝn rǝn=ǝm
I from fear-ABL from-DEM3 place-ABL run away.PST=1SG

Scared I ran away from that place.

W_B18:6.15
Цум сөл щшәләст̱и, ә я нә̱гәрдүмү цә вин̣әм, ичи тәр
cum sol ʃ̌əxost-i a ya nǝɣ̌әrdum-i cә vin-ǝm içi tәr
some year pass.PST-ı EMP DEM3 bear-ACC SUB see-1SG nothing to
Some years passed, if I see that bear, it does not react on me.

In these cold days I go inside her den with the livestock, (the bear) doesn’t do [lit. ‘say’] anything.

Otherwise, both I and your livestock would have frozen to death.

If a man does good, a bear also returns his good (deed).”
In those years, when we were living in S., I was in the ninth or eighth grade.

I don’t remember well, we had a neighbour; it seems to me his name was G.

What I remember is that his daughter’s name was Sh.

She was such a beautiful fair-skinned girl.

Fair hair (and) skin, and blue eyes [lit. ‘green-eye’].

She was not like other girls, she used to play on her own, all the time she used to sit
all alone.

But she was such an intelligent and alert girl.

They were from the Gh. area, from the village Kh.

We also don't have connection with them anymore, to ask where she (is now).

Her uncle's name was Sh., for sure.

Until recent years, he was also director in Kh. or some other place.
W_GF:2.5
А  йәтищ  дә жы ёд.
a  yat-iš  dә žy yod
EMP DEM2-PL in my memory

Those (things) I remember.

W_GF:2.6
Яй бәч, ази ки химик ё биология номіет намыті сол малими
yaw bač azı ki ximik yo biolog-i nomi=at malim-i
her uncle because chemist or biologist-EZ famous=and teacher (M)-EZ

бақвәт ки ту, яй дә жы ёд үрәк.
bəqwat ki tu yaw dә žy yod wrәk
strong SUB be.PST he in my memory remain.PF

Her uncle, because he was a famous chemist or biologist and a great teacher, he has remained in my memory.

W_GF:2.7
Шәш dav хун алды.
Ṣ̌=ǝṣ̌ d-av xun ald-i
Sh.=IPFV in-their house stay.PST-i

Sh. [the girl] was staying in their house.

W_GF:3.1
Ян и рвәр а йәт Ш дә со кыча нашти.
yan i rwor a yat Š dә spo kyča našt-i
then one day EMP DEM2 Sh. in our street disappear.PST-i

Then one day, that Sh. disappeared from our street.

W_GF:3.2
Сак амсояищ  чәй бә  çaоәнән шкурди.
sak amsoya-iš jay bә jәon=әn škurd-i
we neighbour-PL place to world=1PL search.PST-i

We, the neighbours, searched everywhere.

W_GF:3.3
Яй хишқомвәрән  кыч кәртиәт трәмәт-тра
yaw xişqom-v-әr=әn qyw kәrt-i=at tr-әm=әt-tr-a
her relative-PL.OBL-DAT=1PL call do.PST-i=and to-DEM1=and-to-DEM3
We called all her relatives and we searched here and there, in every place.

**W_GF:3.4**
Яв̌ хунән  кы зириуй  ёировди.
yaw xun =әn кы ziruy ȳirovd-i
her house=1PL all upside down turn.PST-i

*We turned her house all upside-down.*

**W_GF:3.5**
Шкурдән,  нән яй готи.
ṣ̌kurd =әn n =әn yaw got-i
look for.PST=1PL nә=1PL her find.PST-i

*We looked for her, (but) we didn’t find her.*

**W_GF:3.6**
Дә шфанир дәстән яй шкурди, цум лой цә
dә ṣ̌fanir dәst=әn yaw ṣ̌kurd-i cum loy cә
in wardrobe inside=1PL her search.PST-i how many time SUB

дидиɣ̌дән,  яй дра нәту.
didiɣ̌d=әn yaw dra nә-tu
look.PST=1PL she THERE3 NEG-be.PST

*We looked for her inside the wardrobe, as many times as we looked, she was not there.*

**W_GF:3.7**
Вуләт пилтаәв  картиәт шкурдәәт,  охирон
vulǝtpilta =әv kart-i =әt ṣ̌kurd =әv =әt oxiron
traditional way of enchanting=3PL put.PST-i=and look for.PST=3PL=and finally

а я прчоди да  шфанир дәст готәв.
a ya prčod-i d-a ṣ̌fanir dәst got =әv
EMP DEM3 girl-ACC in-DEM3 wardrobe inside find.PST=3PL

*They performed the enchanting ceremony [produced ceremonial fragrance and lit a wick in order to chase away evil spirits] and they looked for her, finally that girl was found inside that wardrobe.*
Bread in her [lit. ‘that’] hand.

They asked [lit. ‘that’]: “How on earth did that bread appear in your hand?”

Finally, in the evening when it was getting dark, they opened the wardrobe door one more time, they saw that she has sat there, eating bread.

Everyone was surprised about [lit. ‘that’] how all the long summer day, from morning until evening, she [lit. ‘this one’] could have been inside this wardrobe, they looked there too, she was not there.
Then, moreover, from where did she entered it [the wardrobe]?

She says: “My uncle gave (it) to me and my aunt gave (it) to me.”

She mentions the names of those uncles and aunts that nobody remembers.

On the grounds of her story we concluded [lit. ‘it came out’] that she was stolen by the fairies.

But now I don’t remember her story fully.
Then, those names that she said, people like that are not in this world anymore, they are dead.

She (was) a little girl, I think, a child never tells lies.

If it hadn’t been that way, she wouldn’t have said: “I was in such a place.”

But those places that she mentioned, there are no such places around.
E.1.14 Witnessed story W_GF

W_GF:4.11
Вузәм дә ёы бәчән, дә ёы вочән тү.
wuz=ǝm dǝ ǝy bǝč-ǝn dǝ ǝy voč-ǝn tǝ
I=1SG with own uncle-ABL with own aunt-ABL be.PST

“I was with my uncle, with my aunt.

W_GF:4.12
Дә күм ҹайәм тү, йәт дә жы ёд нив настоящ.
dǝ kum ǰay=ǝm tǝ yǝt dǝ ǝy yod niv nast
in which place=1SG be.PST DEM2 in my memory now is not

What place I was in, I don’t remember that now.”

W_GF:4.13
Бәди яв جيدәк тумор тәйизәв яр гохти.
badi yaw gutak tumor tawiz=ǝv yar goxt-i
after her find.INF amulet charm=3PL to her make.PST-i

After finding her they made a charm for her.

W_GF:4.14
Яв татнаниш яви кәртәв.
yaw tatnaniš yaw-i kǝrt=ǝv
her parents-PL caution=IPFV she-ACC do.PST=3PL

Her parents were cautious about her.

W_GF:4.15
Ӗч вахташ яв тоқа неләкәртәв ки, яв нашт ёоз
әч вахташ яв тоқа неләкәртәв ки, яв нашт ёоз
no time=IPFV her alone NEG-leave.PST=3PL SUB she get lost-3SG again

They never left her alone so she wouldn’t get lost anymore.

W_GF:5.1
Нәй ки нив я прчод бояд лупымыйт.
nǝy ki niv ya prčod boyad lup ымы-t
but now DEM3 girl must big be.SBJV-3SG

But now that girl must be grown up.
In those times when I was in the eighth–ninth grade, she was about five–six years old.

But now I don't know if she is alive or not.

If I was in grade nine, it may have been the years seventy or seventy one.

It was so because until those years we lived in that district, after that we went away from there.
E.1.15 Traditional story W_N01

But I saw this event with my own eyes, I heard it with my own ears.

E.1.15 Traditional story W_N01

Not My Child

Some years (ago) a man went from Wakhan to the big world and vanished without a trace.

At first, no news came from him.

His mother, morning and evening, mourned her child.

Because of crying so much her eyes became blind.
E. Interlinear text

флонӣ, шарәм ту, ти пәтри виндәм.
flonī šar = am tu ti pәtr-i vind = am
so-and-so town=1SG be.PST your son-ACC see.PST=1SG

One day a man came and said to her: “Mother, I am so and so, I was in the city, I saw your son.

W_N01:2.2
Яй сиат-сломат.
yaw siyat-slomat
he healthy and well

He is doing well.

W_N01:2.3
Яйән зодәт быд, хүнәт бар”.
yaw-әn zodәt быd xun =әt bar
he-ABL family house=and door

He has a family with children and a house [lit. ‘house and door’].”

W_N01:3.1
Яй нан цә хыщиән гирди я әй фар-фар ғ̌ирдәт
yaw nan сә хыщиәn girdi ya ãy far-far ɣ̌ir-d=әt
his mother from joy-ABL around DEM3 man turning-turning turn-3SG=and

ба яви царт.
ba yaw-i cәr-t
kiss he-ACC door=3SG

His mother was so happy, she went around that man and kissed him.

W_N01:3.2
Кла явәр чәх̌тәт чәрабәт скидәт
kla yaw-әr чәx̌-t=әt ǰrab=әt skid =әt
ram he-DAT kill-3SG=and woolen socks=and Wakhi skull-cap=and

пәэф явәр рәнд ки, әй пәтр ыҿцдаи
pәэf yaw-әr rand-d ki әy pәtr ыңҙa-i
string of apricot kernels he-DAT give-3SG SUB my son good news-ACC

марәк ғозомдә.
mar-әk wozomd-i
to me-DAT bring.PST-i

She killed a ram for him, and gave him woolen socks, a Wakhi skull-cap and a string of apricot kernels [these are typical presents given to guests visiting Wakhi households], because [lit. ‘that’] “good news from my son was brought to me.”
Until midnight she begged and asked that man (for more news) about her son.

Then finally, she asked that man [lit. ‘that’]: “What language did you and my son talk together?”

The man said [lit. ‘that’]: “Mother, your son has forgotten Wakhi, I and he, we talked in Russian.”
The old woman paused in thought and said: “Dear son [lit. ‘dear father’ – a respectful form of address], he won’t be my son and my child, it seems to me that you are making a mistake.

*W_N01:6.2*  
Явәш жы пәтр цә туәту, щы татәт нан зики  
yaw = аคำถาม рәтр сә туәту щы tat = ат нан zik-i  
he=IPFV my son SUB be.PPF own father=and mother language-ACC  
нәромоштиш.  
nә-romošt-i = §  
NEG-forget.PST-i=IPFV

*If he had been my son, he wouldn’t have forgotten his mother’s and father’s language.*

*W_N01:6.3*  
Халг ки щы зики цә ныст, цанән бәт әч  
xalg ки щы zik-i сә nыs-t c-an-әn бәт әч  
man SUB own language-ACC SUB lose-3SG from-him-ABL anymore any  
чиз амид наст”.  
čiz amid nast  
thing hope is not

*A man who forgets his language, there is no hope for him anymore."

*W_N01:7*  
Me а йәм рәнд, щы зики ки ностәт, ти  
me a yәm rang щы zik-i ki nost=әт ти  
behold.PRX EMP DEM1 manner own language-ACC SUB lose.PST=2SG your  
nан бә цә тәңән руй ѣирыыд.  
nan bә cә taw-әn ruy ѣirыв-d  
mother ADD from you.SG.OBL-ABL face turn-3SG

*See, when you lose your own language like this, even your mother turns away from you.*
My grandfather was a shepherd in Pamir; this is the story I heard from him: “One year a very heavy snowstorm came [lit. ‘became’].”

I thought [lit. ‘said’] that now the flock will be destroyed and I myself will die, too.

Suddenly I saw that the animals gathered in one place.

I also threw myself in the middle of them.
After I don’t know how much time the sky became clear again.

Neither I, nor the flock came to any harm.

Then I understood that, although animals don’t have language and intellect, they are still able to save themselves from danger.”

At sunrise, I and my cousin, with two donkeys, went to the forest for firewood.
The weather was good and clear, but from the upward direction a cold east wind was blowing a little bit.

We arrived at the forest and tied our donkeys.

We hadn’t yet prepared a bundle of firewood when the donkeys’ braying and groaning started.

Now, we ran [lit. ‘running we went’] (and saw) that wolves had surrounded the donkeys.
We, too, shouted and with stones and sticks, with our axes, we chased the wolves away.

The wolves ran away.

We chopped the firewood without difficulties and returned home.

This story was told to me by a hunter: “I went hunting on the mountain.”
Even though I walked from morning till evening, I didn’t find anything to hunt.

Around afternoon I saw that something was [lit. ‘is’] descending from the mountain.

I looked more carefully (and saw) that it was a bear.

At once, I got very scared.

I looked more (closely and saw) that my dog was [lit. ‘is’] barking in the direction of the bear.
**E. Interlinear text**

_W_N05:2.5_

Нәғәрдүм ба саки виндиәт рәни”.

*bear* ADD *we-ACC* see.PST-i=and *run away.PST-i*

The bear saw us, too, and ran away.”

**E.1.19 Reported true story W_N07**

**Yak**

_W_N07:1.1_

Жы бач цә мис дәйраән ға ткис накләш кәртис.

*my uncle* from *early era-ABL* very much *story-PL.OBL=IPFV* do.PST-i

My uncle used to tell a lot of stories about former times.

_W_N07:1.2_

A йәм йүү накләм ғанән кшәнг: “Споцән и шый йүү а ғаң 3үү naql-=әм c-an-ән kšәng spoc-әn і ѣуw 3үү*

*EMP* *DEM1* *yak* story=1SG *from-him-ABL* hear.PF ours-ABL one black yak
tu.

I have heard this story about a yak from him: “We had a black yak.

_W_N07:1.3_

Я йүү а йәм халг ғанән кылы чизи дищтиш.

*DEM3* *yak* *EMP* *DEM1* *man* manner all *thing-ACC* know.PST-i=IPFV

That yak understood everything exactly like people.

_W_N07:2.1_

Дә куцхмак ѣвах споцән дә бу луп-луп

dә *kučxmak* *waxt* spoc-әn dә *bu* lup-lup

in descending from the summer pasture time ours-ABL in two very big

вайч мод йәрәкты.

vayč *mod* wәрәкту

milk pail soured milk remain.PPF

At the time of descending from the summer pasture, we had soured milk left in two big milk pails.
We put two churns on the yak and loaded them on two sides (of the yak).

We poured that soured milk into the churn.

We placed the yak in front (of us) and went down.

We arrived at the bridge and (saw) that the bridge had been taken (out) by the water.

We brought down the churns and led the yak towards the mountain.
We crossed the ford and came out through the brook.

Now we saw that the yak tugged and jumped over the brook to the other side.

We were all surprised.”

The year before last, in summer, we went in a car to (the villages) on the upper side.

Just inside of Zmudg Forest something broke in our car.
We started to walk around the place.

At that time we saw that from the edge of the forest something red was appearing and coming out.

We looked closer (and saw) that it (was) a wolf dragging a calf by the neck.

We, three–four people, shouted and screamed and started to throw stones at the wolf.
That wolf got scared and dropped the calf and ran away.

We lifted the calf [lit. ‘went-lifted’] (and saw) that there was a little bit of blood on its neck and it was [lit. ‘is’] shivering strongly from fear.

His owner arrived (and saw) that nothing bad had happened to his calf, he was very happy and expressed thanks to us.

By that time our car also had been repaired and we went off.
On a Walk

We were school age [lit. ‘we were studying at school’].

I don’t know (exactly), we were in the fourth or fifth class.

It was spring.

Trees and herbs had just started to come up.

Our teacher was a Russian girl.

One day she took us for a walk to Boghak [lit. ‘Little garden’ – a place in Shitkhav].
One of our classmates was a big troublemaker and slacker.

He climbed up on the rock.

He hadn’t reached the top yet when his foot slipped and he almost fell down.

He barely held onto a stone.

We all trembled from fear where we stood.

Our teacher’s face became pale.
Fortunately, at that moment Uncle Khudoyor appeared from somewhere and brought our classmate down from the rock.

Our teacher cried.

Our classmate vowed that he wouldn’t do mischief anymore.

Uncle Qosim went to the brook for firewood.

He tied his donkey to a bush and started chopping the firewood.
The firewood place was rough, sloping and slippery.

Suddenly his foot slipped and he started rolling (down), it almost happened that he fell down from the top of the rock.

Fortunately, he caught hold of a conifer and hung on the surface of the rock.

After some time that conifer couldn’t hold (him) anymore and the root became loose.
Uncle Qosim seized that rock with his teeth and the stone with his hands.

He remained hanging like that on the rock surface for around one or two hours.

His mouth started bleeding and his hands became completely weak.

A person saw him from a distance and took the news down to the village.
People came and lifted him up from that rock with a rope.

Uncle Qosim didn’t have his front teeth, he used to say [lit. ‘that’]: “I had wasted my teeth (for the sake of) sweet life.”

They say that in Shitkharv, in that place that (was) formerly a bare wasteland and where now (there is) a big forest, in the past there were three hundred and sixty-six households.
One day a person ['šaxs' – a stranger with supernatural power] appeared and however much he knocked on the people’s doors, nobody allowed him into their house.

There was a cottage high on the top of a cliff.

He greeted her and said: “Dear mother [a respectful form of address], even though I walked around so much, nobody allowed me into their house."

Do you have a place? Allow me to spend night (here).”
The old woman said: “Dear son, come, in this house only I and my grandchild (live), you will not cause me to lack anything.

Now, I will milk my goat, warm the milk, then we will drink it and I will prepare your bed.”

The stranger (with supernatural power) became very glad and again he asked the old woman: “Mother, what possessions have you lent (to the people) in the village?”
“Oh my dear [lit. ‘dear mother’, addressing the stranger respectfully], I don’t have anything, that day I had given a sieve to one woman and my rooster to my neighbour.”

In the evening, that stranger said: “Mother, at midnight then go out [lit. ‘to door’] at once.”

At midnight the whole world started to tremble, a heavy downpour came and knocked down that village.

The old woman woke up, went out (and saw) that smoke [lit. ‘black dust’] had covered [lit. ‘had caught’] the earth and everything (was) under water.
E. Interlinear text

W_N28:7.2
А  ça-t  луп  диёрэн  нашон  нэйёрэхк.
a  c-ǝt  lup  diyor-ǝn  naʃon  na-wərəxk
EMP  from-DEM2  big  village-ABL  sign  NEG-remain.PF

Nothing remained of this big village.

W_N28:7.3
Нив  дидиғ̌д  ки,  ска  юпк  руй  яй  гэлбилет  a
niv  didiɣ̌-d  ki  sk-a  yupk  ruy  yaw  yǝlbil=ǝt  a
now  see-3SG  SUB  on-DEM3  water  surface  her  sieve=and  EMP

р̌-a  гэлбист  даст  яй  хрысаш  əывит.
in.down-DEM3  sieve  inside  her  rooster=IPFV  come-3SG

Now she saw that on the surface of the water (was) her sieve and in the sieve her rooster was [lit. 'is'] coming.

W_N28:7.4
Ҳы  гривони  ыдыртәт  тə  хун  чирмит  ки,  цам  мимонән
x̌y  grivon-i  wыdыr-t=ǝt  tə  xun  čirmi-t  ki  c-am  mimon-ǝn
own  collar-ACC  hold-3SG=and  in  house  enter-3SG  SUB  from-her  guest-ABL

dрәк  наст.
drǝk  nast
news  is  not

She grabbed her collar [in horror] and entered the house (and saw) that there was no [lit. 'is no'] trace of her guest.

W_N28:8.1
То  цум  дод  йәм  накл  рост ымыт,  ыәти  Хәдо
to  cum  dod  yәm  naql  rost  yмы-t  yәt-i  Xәdo
to  how  much  extent  DEM1  story  right  be.SBJV-3SG  DEM2-ACC  God
dищт.
diš-t
know-3SG

To what extent this story is true, only God knows.

W_N28:8.2
Ҳанән  ки,  то  хиli  əвхто  ракищц  хрысән  яй  бонг
x̌an-ǝn  ki  to  xili  wаxt-o  raki-iš  хрыс-ǝн  yaw  bong
say-3PL  SUB  until  a  lot  time-PL  passer-by-PL  rooster-ABL  his  crow
They say that for a long time the passers by used to hear a rooster’s crowing in the evening and in the morning, and the children used to find wooden remains of the house in that wasteland.

*W_N28:9.1*

А йәм ранг нәкәвә диә хила чәйөви цәрән.

A yǝm rang naql-vi dǝ xila jәy-o-vi car-әn

EMP DEM1 manner story-PL.OBL in many place-PL-PL.OBL do-3PL

These types of stories are told in many places.

*W_N28:9.2*

Мәқсад бә ий, халг диә күм поя цә ымәт, яви урмат

Maqsad bә iw xalg dǝ kum poya cǝ ыmә-t yaw-i urmat

purpose ADD one man in which degree SUB be.SBJV-3SG he-ACC respect

cәрак дәрәкө.

cәрак dәrkө
do.INF necessary

The purpose, however, is the same [lit. ‘is also one’], whatever the position of a person may be, he must be shown respect.

*W_N28:9.3*

Охири биүрматәләй мәлым ки, цәрән ƅост, сәиңц цәм

Oxir-i biurmәtәlәy мәlым ki crәng wос-t saiš c-әm

end-EZ disrespect evident SUB how become-3SG you.PL from-DEM1

нәкәвә алба дистәв.

Naql-әn alba dišt=әv

story-ABL perhaps know.PST=3PL

The consequence [lit. ‘end’] of disrespect is clear, you might have understood that from this story.
E.1.24 Traditional story W_N29

**Avarice**

**W_N29:1.1**

И сол дә и чай га щак биюпкĩ ӈост.

one year in one place very bad drought become-3SG

*One year, in a place, a big drought came.*

**W_N29:1.2**

Мәрдымищ цә биюпкиән дә бөөри кишт цәрак нәкәрән.

people-PL from drought-ABL in spring sown field do-INF NEG-can-3PL

*Because of draught, in spring, people were not able to work their fields.*

**W_N29:1.3**

А дәт ўхт a dәt time EMP in-DIM2 EMP in-DIM2 village one person appear become-3SG

*At that time, in that village, a person [‘šaxs’ – a stranger with supernatural power] appeared.*

**W_N29:1.4**

Йәм мәрдымви айоли виндәт яй пзыв скави

 DEM1 people-PL.OBL situation-ACC see-3SG=and his heart for-them-ACC

*He saw the situation of the people and took pity on them.*

**W_N29:1.5**

И ӡайи ӈый картэт ӈанд: – „Ме, а йәм жы

one man-ACC call do-3SG=and say-3SG behold.PRX EMP DEM1 my

*biilča-i dәrz=әt san o sk-a blandï d-a small shovel-ACC take=and go up behold.DIST on-DEM3 height in-DEM3*
He called a man and said: “Look, take my [lit. ‘this my’] little shovel, go up (and) when you arrive at the bottom of that boulder thrust this small shovel one time down into the soil and take it out, beware not to swing the little shovel.”

The man then took the little shovel and went up.

When he thrust the little shovel into the soil, water came up in a strong stream.

When this man saw the water, he became disconcerted and he told himself [lit. ‘that’]: “Let more water come out.”
He started swinging that small shovel.

Suddenly the handle of the small shovel broke and remained in the soil.

He turned around (and saw) that the person (with supernatural power) was behind him, shook his head and said to him: “I said [lit. ‘that’], don’t swing the small shovel.

It was good that the little shovel stayed in the soil, otherwise because of your avarice
the village would have been taken by the flood.”

See how avarice is a bad think, it won’t bring any results or blessings.

Near our cultural centre, many parents, relatives and friends gathered to give the guys a nice send-off to their military service.
E. Interlinear text

xыщиөв кәрти.
xыši=ǝv kart-i
joy=3PL do.PST-i

People danced and recited poems and had fun.

W_N30:2.1
Дәм жы палый бу хыйнан ту.
d-ǝm ǝy pal=ǝw bu x̌y̌an tu
in-DEM1 my side two woman be.PST

There were two women next to me.

W_N30:2.2
А ив га новди ки, жы пәтри тәр аскәр
a iw ya nowd-i ki ǝy potr-i tǝr askarī
EMP one very cry.PST-i SUB my son-ACC to military service
dәжгәвәт марәк га қиниәш царт.
dǝẓ̌g=ǝv=ǝt mar-ǝk ya qini=ǝṣ̌ car-t
take.PF=3PL=and to me-DAT very difficulty=IPFV do-3SG

One of them cried a lot saying [lit. ‘that’]: “They have taken my son for military service and it is very difficult for me.”

W_N30:2.3
А и ёр хыйнан яәр ҳати: — „Э хыййңөн, щә
a i yor ǝy̌n-ǝn yaw-ǝr ҳat-i e ǝy̌y̌jon ǝr
EMP one friend woman she-DAT say.PST-i VOC dear sister from
tәйән марәк қинтәр ту.
taw-ǝn mar-ǝk qintǝr tu
you.SG.OBL-ABL to me-DAT more difficult be.PST

The other woman-friend said to her: “Dear sister, for me it was even more difficult than for you.

W_N30:2.4
Жыңән и пәтр, тинән щыкә ки явиш тәр амдгарәв
Ʒyn-ǝn i potr tin-ǝn ʃuːkә ki yawiʃ tǝr amdgar=ǝv
mine-ABL one son yours-ABL thankfully SUB they to each other=3PL
tәй.
tǝy
is

I have one son, you, thank God, have several sons [lit. ‘they are for each other’].
My son was badly spoiled.

I did not demand that he do any work.

He wouldn’t go shepherding, or collecting wood, or milling, or scything.

He was very cowardly, he was afraid of everything.

Then, when they took him for military service, I said, it’s done, let’s see how he will come out of there.
How those two years passed, I and my God know.

After two years he came back as such (a person), that I, myself, didn’t recognize my son.

He had become a strong young man and nothing had remained of his former thinness.

He would do all work, he had become skillful.

He said to me: ‘Mom, you had spoiled me in vain, this spoiledness is the worst thing in the world.'
Fortunately, they took me for military service and that military service made a man of me.‘

Dear sister, don’t spoil your child, he is under the protection of the Creator and Imomi Zamon [spiritual leader of the Ismailis].

After two years, you too, like me, will not recognize your son.”

The cars arrived and the boys got on.
We said the prayer, may [lit. 'that'] their bodies be well, their faces happy [lit. 'red'], may they serve well, and may they return home in good health.

E.1.26 Traditional story W_N31

Mirzosalmon

In the land of Ishkashim, there was a man named Mirzosalmon, very rich and wealthy, very merciful and truthful.

He built [lit. 'took out'] the irrigation canal from the brook of Ryn and Namadgut [names of the villages] and made this burned wasteland inhabited.
Many labourers from Sarhad and Wakhan, from Ishkashim and Ghoron, from Afghan Badakhshan came and worked to make Dasht inhabited.

**W_N31:1.5**

Мирзосалмон пайдалану боғ илмпани, қоғиғи қараби қараби.
Miryosalmun yot xalq-v-ork cə ruy-i yaw yark-ən
Miryosalmun DEM2 man-PL.OBL-DAT from face-EZ they.OBL work-ABL

tañko rətk.
tañko rətk
salary give.PF

**W_N31:1.6**

Еч маал нокиет боинсофий накар.
əç mal noqı =ət biinsofı nə-kərk
never inequity=and injustice NEG-do.PF

Never did he (commit) any inequity and injustice.

**W_N31:1.7**

Я баф мардикорварк воз пойтахс бо рəтк.
ya baf mardikor-v-ork woz poytaxs bo rətk
DEM3 good labourer-PL.OBL-DAT more gift ADD give.PF

He even gave presents to the good labourers.

**W_N31:2.1**

Naql car-ən ki i sol də Оогын яцви гəсвəн.
naql car-ən ki i sol də Ŝogun yaš-vi gəsv-ən
story do-3PL SUB one year in Shogun horse-PL.OBL make run-3PL

They say that one day during Shogun [‘Shogun’ is a Wakhi name for ‘Nowruz’, Persian New Year – starting on the spring equinox] they organized a horse race.
Mирзосалмон-ǝн я́в ǝ́нг ǝ̄ ǝ́н ыңән ǝйзит.
Мирзосалмон-ән ǝ̄ яң ǝ́нг ǝ̄ ǝ̄ ыңән ыә̃-ән ǝвизит.
Мирзосалмон-ABL ǝн ǝ̄ сән ADD with ǝ́н ǝ̄ өөрыйм ǝвизит.

*Mирзосалмон’s son came, too, with his horse.*

Гәсвак сәр ǝ̄ о̊вст, дә норә Mirzosalмон ǝ̄нг
gǝsvak sar wos-t dǝ poga Mirzosalmon pǝtr
make run.INF beginning become-3SG in hippodrome Mirzosalmon son
dә ыңән ыңән ыңән ыңән ыңән ыңән ыңән
with own horse-ABL second come-3SG

*The race started, in the hippodrome Mirzosalmon’s son with his horse came second.*

Ян я́в ǝ̄нг ǝ̄ яң ǝ̄нг ыңәң өөрыйм ǝ̄ яң ǝ̄нг
yan yaw rǝ̄tr sә̄ yāš-әn xamd=әt yaw-i dә řış̌ыp-әn
then his son from horse-ABL go down.PST=and ǝ̄нг-ACC with whip-ABL

пәрсими ｄинг ǝ̄ о̊вст ǝ̄н гә̄ ǝ̄нг ǝ̄нг ǝ̄нг ǝ̄нг ǝ̄нг
beginning-EZ hit become-3SG SUB fortune=and welfare-EZ Mirzosalmon

тәр ти мис ｎыв̌ызд, ту сәи ǝ̄р̌ымд̌ә́т ǝ̄р̌ымд̌ә́т ǝ̄р̌ымд̌ә́т
to your front come out-3SG you.SG we-ACC ashamed=2SG do.PST-i first

ǝ̄взят̌ә́т ǝ̄взят̌ә́т ǝ̄вз yaťә́
come.INF=2SG NEG-be able.PST

*Then his son got down from the horse and started beating his horse with the whip (and said) [lit. ‘that’]: “May all the fortune and welfare of Mirzosalmon make you sick [lit. ‘fortune and welfare of Mizosalmon to your front come’], you brought shame upon us, you were not able to come first.”*

Мирзosalмонәрк я́в ɬә́нг ярк хуш нә̄в̌ызд.
Мирзosalмон-әрк я̄в ɬә́нг ярк хуш ǝ̄-wos-t
Mирзosalмон-DAT ǝн ǝ̄ сән ADD with ǝ̄н ǝ̄ өөрýм ǝвизит.

*Mирзosalмон didn’t like his son’s attitude.*
He became very angry, took out his pistol and said: “Oh you damned godless one, if God gives everything (only) to Mirzosalmon, then what would His [God’s] other servants receive?

Be very thankful for what you have.”

Mirzosalmon’s son was very embarrassed about his attitude and asked his father for forgiveness.

Look what a truthful and godly man he was, he was not greedy and didn’t ask for all things to come only to him [lit. ‘all things come only to me’].
Once upon a time [lit. ‘it was - it was not’] there was a king.

He had three sons.

One day he gave each of his sons an arrow, he said: “Shoot, whichever target it reaches, marry that one [lit. ‘take her’].”

The sons shot the arrows (and saw) that two of the (arrows) reached two beautiful girls, the (arrow) of the (third) one reached a frog.
Those two brothers laughed (at the third one) [saying ‘that’]: “His arrow reached a frog.”

That one [the third brother] said: “Well, what shall I do, let my fate be this, I will marry her.”

He married that frog.

Night came and that frog turned into a beautiful girl, the lad was surprised and understood that this (was) a fairy.
That fairy pleaded with him, she said: “Don’t tell your father and your brothers that I am a fairy; when my time has come, then they will understand.”

At daybreak that fairy turned back into a frog.

One day the king commanded his daughters-in-law to scythe.

The lad said: “What shall I do, this frog is not able to scythe.”

His [the king’s] two daughters-in-law scythed and the frog, also, threw off her skin, turned into a human, scythed nicely and finished before the other two sisters-in-law [“andarč” – ‘wives of brothers in relation to one another’].
She finished (the work) and again entered in her (frog) skin.

The other sisters-in-law were wondering, they said: “What sort of (work) it is that the frog scythed?”

One day the king again said to his sons [lit. ‘that’]: “Tell your wives to make good bread for me.”

The lad was wondering (and) said: “What shall I do, my wife is frog, she is not able to make bread.”
E. Interlinear text  

мацар, ÿуз гохэм.
mǝ-car wuz gox-ǝm  
PROH-do I do-1SG  

He came, told (it) to the frog, she said: “Don’t be sad at all, I will do it.

W_Z03:3.4  
Ту нәси, сааrió диди́ф, ÿуз щрёңг ѓчам ѓєтк”.
tu nasi saari didiñ wuz crēŋ xәch = ǝm xǝtk  
you.SG sleep in the morning look I how bread=1SG make.PF  

Go to sleep, tomorrow morning look how I made bread.”

W_Z03:3.5  
Яв ÿазий ниситәт яв сар царт ѓәч ѓак.
yaw ÿay nisi-t =ǝt yaw sar car-t x̌әc x̌әc  
her man sleep-3SG=and she beginning do-3SG bread make.INF  

Her husband went to sleep and she started making bread.

W_Z03:4.1  
Сарәк подщоән я бу пәтрищ ÿызман яр ѓәч ки,
sarǝk podšo-ǝn ya bu pәt-ιʃ wыzм-ǝn yar xәc ki  
tomorrow king-ABL DEM3 two son-PL bring-3PL to him bread SUB  

The next day the king’s two sons brought him bread which was patchy and ugly.

W_Z03:4.2  
Подщо яв ѓәчви қбыл нәцарт.
podšo yav xәc-vi qәyл nә-car-t  
king they.OBL bread-PL.OBL accept NEG-do-3SG  

The king didn’t accept their bread.

W_Z03:4.3  
Я мүкт ÿай йызымд ки, айи ѓәцруй ѓәч ки, подщо хыц  
ya mukt ÿay wыzum-d ki a-ʒi xәšruy xәc ki podšo xыʃ  
DEM3 frog man bring-3SG SUB such nice bread SUB king happy  

The husband of the frog brought (bread) that was such nice bread that the king
began happy, he said: “There you are, this is good nice bread.”

W_Z03:4.4
Яв андарчиц царән кар, айрон өәрән ки, йәм
yaw andarč-iš car-әn qar ayon wәәә-әn ki yәm
her sister-in-law-PL do-3PL upset surprised remain-3PL SUB DEM1
цәрәнгән мүкт ки әәрүй ёәч ёәтк.
crәngin mukt ki xaәrүу ёәә ёәтк
what kind frog SUB nice bread make.PF

Her sisters-in-law were upset, they wondered what kind of frog (it was) that had made nice bread.

W_Z03:5.1
Йәт әәр я мүктәр әәnd: „ounsel, бәт дәәм
yәt day i rwor ya mukt-әr xәnd wәzi bәt d-әm
DEM2 man one day DEM3 frog-DAT say-3SG come anymore in-DEM1
хәү пист мәәрәәм, әүз әү тәәт вәртәәр тәй
хәү pist mo-әәрәәm wuz әү tat-әt wәt-v-әr tәw
own skin PROH-enter I own father=and brother-PL.OBL-DAT you.SG.OBL
dисвәм”.
disv-әm
show-1SG

One day that man said to the frog: “Come, don’t enter your (frog) skin anymore, I will show you to my father and my brothers.”

W_Z03:5.2
Хәнд: „Нәй, жы вәкт ки әәздәи, әүз цәәәән хләс
xәn-d nay әү wәxt ki wәzd-i wuz c-әt-әn xләs
say-3SG no my time SUB come.PST-i I from-DEM2-ABL liberated
йоәләм”.
woc-әm
become-1SG

(She) said: “No, when my time comes, I will be liberated from it.”

W_Z03:5.3
Йәт каәш әәм яәй шинәәәәл цәрәт ки, яәй рәәз
yәt kaәʃ cum yaw әәәәәәл car-t ki yaw roәz
DEM2 lad how much her pleading do-3SG SUB she agreed
However much the lad begged her, she did not agree.

**W_Z03:5.4**

Чырт дайт ки, ўз бойд а йәм писти нысәм.

Thought hit-3SG SUB I must EMP DEM1 skin-ACC destroy-1SG

_He thought [lit. ‘that’]: “I must destroy this skin.”_

**W_Z03:5.5**

И рвор наъд мукт ўз ёирд хаъруй прцодат инык яй юнд,

One day night frog again turn-3SG pretty girl=and sleep her take

йәт зай бо яй писти дырзд пицывд.

DEM2 man ADD her skin-ACC get-3SG burn-3SG

One day at night the frog again turned into a pretty girl and fell asleep, that man then burnt her skin [lit. ‘took-burnt’].

**W_Z03:5.6**

Пицывдәт фар ёирд ки, яй кәнд наст.

Burn-3SG=and round turn-3SG SUB his wife is not

_He burnt it, turned around (and saw) that his wife was not (there)._
Then he beat his head and became regretful, but what is the use of being sorry.

**Bear and Hunter**

A long time ago there was a hunter.

One day he went hunting, it snowed on top of the mountain, it became cold.

This hunter fell into a crevice, he got stuck [lit. ‘remained’] there.

He was not able to return home anymore.
Inside that crevice he saw that two bears had fallen into hibernation.

The hunter said: “The bears will now wake up, they will eat me.”

He waited a lot (and/but saw) that they didn’t move at all.

The hunter took his knife and killed one of those bears.

He killed one of them and gradually kept eating that meat [lit. ‘ate, ate, ate, ate’], pulled the skin over his head and springtime came.
The people in the village took out the seeds, yoked the oxen, when they said “bosh bya, bosh bya” [a call for driving oxen] this voice reached the bears’ ears and they knew that spring had come.

Slowly, the bear stirred [started moving].

The bear stirred and this hunter also stirred.

(The bear) got up and this one [the hunter] also got up.

He [the bear] shook and this one [the hunter] also shook.
He shook himself and this one also shook himself.

The bear slowly came out through that crevice.

This hunter was not able to come out.

The bear took the hand of that man and pulled him with force.

He kept pulling [lit. ‘pulled, pulled, pulled’] him with force, he took him out of the crevice.

Gradually, they set out to walk.
They set out to walk towards the steppe.

The hunter lagged further and further behind [lit. ‘pulled behind, pulled behind, pulled behind’] and the bear found himself far (ahead).

The bear went very far and this man then threw away the bearskin from his head and ran away.

The bear kept running [lit. ‘ran, ran’] after him, (but saw) that he couldn’t catch up with him anymore.

Then DEM1 stone-PL.OBL take-3SG=and from anger-ABL hit-3SG to down
Then (the bear) took stones and in anger beat his head.

He arrived (and saw) that it was an empty skin.

The man arrived in that village, he went to his house.

His [lit. ‘these’] parents, his [lit. ‘these’] relatives thought perhaps that he had died.

He [lit. ‘that one’] was given life from God for a second time, and he returned home.

Three daughters
Once upon a time [lit. ‘it was - it was not’] there was a farmer.

He had one daughter [lit. ‘of him was one daughter’].

That daughter was very pretty and wise.

Three kings heard that the farmer’s daughter was very wise and pretty, they came to ask for her hand.

Her father didn’t not say “no” to any king.

E.1.29 Fairy-tale W_Z18
E. Interlinear text

kart  вул  рәшт.
kar-t  vul  rәš-t
put-3SG  fragrance  go-3SG

One king performed the engagement ceremony [lit. ‘came-put fragrance-went’; perform the ceremony with the ritual fragrance], the second king performed the engagement ceremony.

W_Z18:1.7
Сәйым подщо бә  визит карт  вул,  дикон  щов,  ич  куйәр
sayым podšо bә  wizi-t  kar-t  vul  diqон  šov  ič  kuy-әr
third king  ADD  come-3SG  put-3SG  fragrance  farmer  silent  nobody-DAT

нәхәнд  ки,  жынән  и  тока  әәд.
nә-хәn-d  kи  żыn-әn  i  toqa  әәd
NEG-say-3SG  SUB  mine-ABL  one  alone  daughter

The third king also performed the engagement ceremony [lit. ‘came-put fragrance’], the farmer was silent, he didn’t say to anybody [lit. ‘that’] “I have only one daughter.”

W_Z18:2.1
Дикондыхтар  хамд  а  рәм
diqondыxтар  xam-d  а  r-әm
farmer’s daughter  go  down-3SG  EMP  to.down-DEM1

ёрч,  ѧы  шафши  карт  рә  ѧы  гәрданәт
yorč  ѧы  şafš-i  kar-t  rә  ѧы  gәrdan=әt
central part of the living area  own  hair-ACC  put-3SG  to.down  own  neck=and

хәнд:  „Э  падарн  киәмат,  вузәм  ти  шәхән  гынагәр.
хәn-d  e  padarн  kиәmat  wuz=әm  ти  şxәn  гынагәr
say-3SG  VOC  only  and  true  father  I=1SG  your.SG  side  guilty

The farmer’s daughter came down to the middle of the room, put her hair on her neck [in embarrassment] and said: “My only and true father, I am guilty before you [because of the words she is going to say].

W_Z18:2.2
Амо  түәт  гә  сода  түәтк.”
amo  tu=әt  гә  soda  tuәtk
but  you.SG=2SG  very  naive  be.PF

But you must be very simple-minded.”
The father said: “How”?

(She) said: “Well, you engaged me to three persons, didn’t you?”

You give me to one, what do you say to the other two?

You didn’t say [lit. ‘that’] ‘I have only one daughter’?

They (will) come (and) tear up all your household like a sieve.”
E. Interlinear text

cartz. car-t do-3SG

So, the farmer wondered and at night he went out, near the tree he lay down face down, cried and made a supplication to God.

W_Z18:2.9
Ив̌ки мак ŋат ки, хла яй дин̌ән.
iwki mak ŋat ki xla yaw din-әn
suddenly moon reach SUB jab he hit-3PL

When the moon arrived, suddenly something jabbed at him.

W_Z18:2.10
Дидиъд ки, и мусфід да прыт.
didiɣ̌-d ki i musfid d-a pryt
see-3SG SUB one old man in-DEM3 in front

He saw that there was an old man in front of him.

W_Z18:2.11
„Э, - х̌анд, - дикон, ту̌әш й̌әм цум р̌әр чиз
e ŋan-d diqon tu=ǝʃ̌ yәm cum rwor čiz
voc say-3SG farmer you.SG=IPFV DEM1 how many day why

tәзәр̌й̌ цар?
tәzәři car supplication make

He said: “Farmer, why are you making a supplication for so many days?

W_Z18:2.12
Ти тәзәр̌й̌ бә дари Хәдә ғәәди”.
ti tazәři bә dari Xәdo wәzd-i
your supplication towards God come.PST-1

Your supplication came to God’s ears [lit. ‘to God’s door’].”

W_Z18:2.13
Х̌анд: „Жын̌ән и төка ғә̌әд, тру подшоәр яй кәрт̌әм
хәнд ғә̌ән-әn i toqa ғә̌әд tru podʃә-әr yaw kart =әm
say-3SG mine-ABL one alone daughter three king-DAT her put.PST=1SG
He said: “I have one sole daughter, I engaged her to three kings, now, tomorrow what shall I say to the two (of them)?”

I have been wondering, may I not be ashamed.”

(The old man) said: “Do you have a young donkey?”

He said: “I do.”

“A puppy?”

He said: “I do.”
E. Interlinear text

скәнәт и кәгәт юнд кәт тә и мала, саарый рәг
skǝn=t и kwot унд кәt тә и mala saaṛ и rәg
puppy=and one young donkey take put in one room in the morning go

яв дидиъ”.
yav didi̱y
they.OBL see

He said: “When evening comes, put a puppy and a young donkey in a room with your
daughter, in the morning go see them.”

W_Z18:2.20
Яв бә визит хунәр.
yaw bә wizi-t xun-ǝr
he ADD come-3SG house-DAT

So he came home.

W_Z18:2.21
И кәгәт и скән кәрт дә ҳы ҙәфән дә и
i kwot=t и skǝn kar-t dә ҳы ҙәфәn dә i
one young donkey=and one puppy put-3SG with own daughter-ABL in one
мала.
mala
room

He put a young donkey and a puppy in a room with his daughter.

W_Z18:2.22
Нағә дикони эчәк инык нәюнд, ҳәнд: „Элай-лай, нив
naq̣d diqon-i эчәk inыk nә-yund ҳәn-d e lay-lay niv
night farmer-ACC by no means sleep NEG-take say-3SG oh dear now
щач жы ҙәфәи алба ити, ё кәгәт жы ҙәфәи
šаč ҙы ҙәфә-i alba it-i yo kwot ҙы ҙәфә-i
dog my daughter-ACC perhaps eat.PST-i or young donkey my daughter-ACC

кәп ди”.
qap di
bite hit

That night the farmer couldn’t sleep at all, he said: “Oh dear, now maybe the dog ate
my daughter, or the young donkey bit my daughter.”
Нағдинӣ
naɣ̌dinī
at dawn
рәшт,
rǝṣ̌-t
go-
бәсмило
bǝsmilo
bismilloh
царт,
car-t
do-
чирмит
čirmi-t
erenter-
t-a
мала ки дра
mala ki dra
мала
mala
room
ки,
ki
sub
dra
there

tru
хәцруй-хәцруй
прцод
малым
наst
малым
наst
 Kumyor
yaw
do'yд
кы
three
pretty
pretty
girl
clear
is
not
which
one
his
daughter
all

и
сырат.
i
suɣrat
one
picture

At dawn he went, he said ‘bismilloh’, entered the room (and saw) that there were
three very pretty girls, it was not clear which one (of them was) his daughter, all
looked the same [lit. ‘all one picture’].

For each (of the) three kings he held a wedding, there we go.

A year later, the father prepared food supplies and flour fried with butter, (and) went
to visit his newly married daughters.

He entered the house of the first king, they ate a meal and he said: “Dear king, is my
daughter worthy?”
He said: “Your daughter is a very good girl, she works very much, only at times she turns into a dog.”

“Eh” – he said to himself [lit. ‘in his belly’] – “this is that dog-daughter.”

He said: “It doesn’t matter, in my house, at times she was also like a dog.”

He went to the house of the second king.

They ate a meal, when setting off he said: “Dear king, how is my daughter?”
“Your daughter is a very good girl, she works a lot but at times she is obdurate like a donkey.”

“In my house at times she was also like that.”

They went to the third king.

They entered the house, (the hosts) brought a meal and the father-in-law said to his daughter-in-law: “Go, bring the watermelon.”

She brought [lit. ‘went-brought’] (it).
E. Interlinear text

W_Z18:6.4
Я хурс ханд: „Йәт нәй, иви дгар”.
ya xurs xan-d yәт nәy iw-i dgar
DEM3 father-in-law say-3SG DEM2 no one-ACC other

*The father-in-law said: “Not this one, (bring) another one.”*

W_Z18:6.5
Рәшт йоэ ыызымд.
рәш-t woz wyzým-d
go-3SG again bring-3SG

*(She) brought (it) again.*

W_Z18:6.6
Ҳанд: „Йәт бә нәй, иви дгар”.
ҳан-d yәt bә nәy iw-i dgar
say-3SG DEM2 ADD no one-ACC other

*(The father-in-law) said: “Not this one either, (bring) another one.”*

W_Z18:6.7
Я причод йоэ рәшт йызымд.
ya pr琦od woz rәш-t wyzým-d
DEM3 girl again go-3SG bring-3SG

*The girl again brought (it).*

W_Z18:6.8
Я хурс тру лой яй пщывд, я причод тру лой
ya xurs tru loy yaw p琦w-d ya pr琦od tru loy
DEM3 father-in-law three time her drive away-3SG DEM3 girl three time

рәштәт ыызит.
рәш-t=әt wizi-t
go-3SG=and come-3SG

*Three times the father-in-law drove her away, three times that girl went and came back.*

W_Z18:6.9
Сәйым лой харбызаи чуә царәән, каәән дав прыт.
sәйым loy xarбыza-i чуә car-әәn kaәәn d-av pryt
third time watermelon-ACC half do-3PL put-3PL in-their front

*The third time, they cut the watermelon in half (and) put (it) in front of them [the guests].*

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They were about to leave and the farmer said: “Dear king, are you satisfied with my daughter?”

(The king-father-in-law) said: “There is no girl like your daughter; she is a girl that has a mouth but doesn’t say a word.

Now, I had that one watermelon.

I ordered her three times, she went three times, didn’t say no.
E. Interlinear text

W_Z18:6.15
Нәй ки йәм ти Ѣэд  цә инсонән”.
нәй ки йәм ти Ѣэд  еә инсон-ән
but DEM1 your daughter from human-ABL

But this, your daughter, is human.”

E.2 Wakhi oral corpus

E.2.1 Reported true story O_6S

Sixth sense

\textbf{O \_6S:1}
Йәм накли савәр царәмәк, йәм накли жы врыт
yǝm naql-i sav-ǝr car-ǝm-ǝk yǝm naql-i ż̌ы vrьt
DEM1 story-ACC you.PL.OBL-DAT do-1SG-DIM DEM1 story-ACC my brother

маp қәрк.
mar kǝrk
to me do.PF

I'll tell you this story, it was my brother who told me this story.

\textbf{O \_6S:2}
Жы врыт нунг тәй X.
ž̌ы vrьt nung tǝy X
my brother name is Kh.

My brother’s name is Kh.

\textbf{O \_6S:3}
Яв̌ змандор, тру пәтр яв̌ән.
yaw zman-dor tru pǝtr yaw-ǝn
he child-having three son he-ABL

He has children, three sons.

\textbf{O \_6S:4}
Дә К-и тёр карти гиолог.
dǝ K-i tyor kart-i giolog (ru)
in K.-i finished do.PST-i geologist

He studied in K. to become a geologist.
But this is what he said, if you hear this from him personally [lit. ‘his own tongue’] it will be even better.

While we sometimes say that there are no miracles or other things (like that), I think that these certain celestial bodies are real [lit. ‘truth’].

“Some things, which they say, which the Russians also call [lit. ‘say’] ‘the sixth sense’, they [lit. ‘these’] are other things, they [lit. ‘those’] exist.”
Or if you pray to God sincerely, those things will happen.

O_6S:9
X ħati ki, - sakǝn dǝ Xǝrgǝ student -.  
X ħat-i ki sak=ǝn dǝ Xǝrgǝ student (ru)  
Kh. say.PST-i SUB we=1PL in Khorog student

Kh. said [lit. 'that']: “We (were) students in K.”

O_6S:10
Йәм солои мыщкили.  
yǝm sol-o-i мыщkilи  
DEM1 year-PL-EZ hardship

These (were) the years of hardship.

O_6S:11
Мыщкилий ўуз савǝр нив ҳанǝм, йәт солои  
мыщkilи wuz sav-ǝr нив ҳан-ǝm yǝt sol-o-i  
hardship I you.PL.OBL-DAT now say-1SG DEM2 year-PL-EZ

навады панч мымкин ымыт,  
nawadы панj myмkiн ымы-t  
nawadы панj nawadы ҷор  
ninety five maybe be.SBJV-3SG ninety five ninety-four

Hardship, I tell you now, it may have been the years ninety-five, ninety-five - ninety-four.

O_6S:12
Йәмищ а рǝм K студент.  
yǝm-iš a r-ǝm K student (ru)  
DEM1-PL EMP in.down-DEM1 K. student

They [lit. 'these'] (were) students in K.

O_6S:13
Йәмищ раёдеваш  цәй,  цәмǝн  бǝштǝр  ѩй  
yǝm-iš raёd =ǝv =әʃ  cǝy c-ǝm-ǝn bǝʃtǝr ѩy  
DEM1-PL go.PST=3PL=IPFV SUB from-DEM1-ABL more place
If they [lit. ‘these’] went (to K.), from there to most places, they would go by foot.

If there (was) a car to P. or Sh., they (got) on the truck deck, on Kamaz and on Zil [marks of trucks], from there they went half (way) on foot, half (way) by car.

Those years were really very difficult.

From over there in winter they also used to come on foot.

Bread was also not such a cheap thing.
There was a little bit of a shortage (of bread).

But the people used to make an effort to share a piece of bread with each other.

Then they used to go to K. and come back.

Two of my brothers were studying in K.

He says [lit. ‘that’]: “I and one of my brothers (were) in the room, now, on the second floor, in the hotel rooms (where) the students used to stay.”
He says: “We are looking at the street but we (are) very depressed.

We (are) depressed because our clothes (are) completely dirty, our faces dirty, now, there is no soap to wash.

There is no soap to wash ourselves, there is no money either for us to buy [lit. ‘go-buy’] (any) from the market.

But now, that night, for already two days we had gone to bed hungry.

We hadn’t eaten anything.
There were only two potatoes, we cooked one [lit. ‘cooked-boiled’], divided into two halves, I ate one (half), my brother ate one (half), the next morning, again we did the same.”
Then he says: “We were on that balcony and I am thinking at last ‘now what shall we do?’”

O_6S:33

Хәндәш, - и щаč а ца ʒирән ɛздиәт, и ƛan-d = əʃ i šač a c-a δиr-әn wәzd-i = ət i say-3SG=IPFV one dog EMP from-DEM3 far-ABL come.PST-i=and one

чиз ки цәй лхтан ьоәәмди, карти а да и бори
čiz ki сaу lxta-i wozomd-i kart-i a d-a i бори
something packet-ACC bring.PST-i put.PST-i EMP in-DEM3 one boulder

cusk ani, ца нәг ŋар.
cusk ani c-a nag ŋar
top HSY from-DEM3 side stone

He says: “A dog came from afar and brought a packet, put it on top of a boulder [’ani’ – hearsay particle], on the other side (there was) a stone.”

O_6S:34

Вузәм ани тром ҳы врыйt M нәг ҳати ки, -- э, ыәәй,
wuz=әm ani tr-әm хy vтyт M nag ҳaт-i ki e wәzi I=1SG HSY to-DEM1 own brother M. side say.PST-i SUB VOC come

tu хам рәӵ, а да ŋар цуск чиз ки цәй я щаč
tu xam rәӵ a d-a ŋar cusk čiz ki сaу ya щač
you.SG go down go EMP in-DEM3 stone top something DEM3 dog

карти --.
kart-i
put.PST-i

“I [’ani’ – hearsay particle] said (turning) towards my brother М [lit. ‘that’]: ‘come, go down (and see), that dog put something on top of the stone.’”

O_6S:35

Явәш ани ҳанд ки, -- э, ту аблиаа --.
yaw=әʃ ani ƛan-d ki e tu abla-a
he=IPFV HSY say-3SG SUB VOC you.SG stupid-Q

“He [’ani’ – hearsay particle] says: ‘are you stupid?’”
E. Interlinear text

O_6S:36

**Xatәм, -- э, рәӵ, яй мымыслын ҳәч ымыт, ҙ игүн чи**

say.PST=1SG VOC go it maybe bread be.SBJV-3SG or something

`ымыт, кәтәк а дра.
имы-т кәтәк а дра
be.SBJV-3SG place.PF EMP THERE3`

*I said: ‘Go, it may be bread or something, (it) has been placed there.*

O_6S:37

**Шачәш гыё нив ызымд картәш а дра **

dog=IPFV as if now bring-3SG put-3SG=IPFV EMP THERE3

**As if a dog is now bringing it and putting it [lit. ‘bringing-putting’] there’**.

O_6S:38

**Янән хамдән а ра ки, нивәм рәӵдә**

then=1PL go down.PST=1PL EMP to.down-DEM3 SUB now=1SG go.PST-i

**дра ки, яй о сабынниц и дайра помощвәш**

THERE3 SUB it behold.DIST soap-PL one era aid-PL.OBL=IPFV

рәт.
рәt
give.PST

*Then we went down there, and now I went there (and saw) that, look, it (was) the soaps that used to be distributed during the time of (humanitarian) aid.*

O_6S:39

**Я сабын лхта сабын, бу сабын па ёман пайваст цәй**

ya sabun lxta sabun bu sabun pa yoman payvast cәy

DEM3 soap piece soap two soap to.up each other joined SUB

**That soap was a piece of soap, two (pieces of) soap which were joined to each other.**

O_6S:40

**Ме нив мисол русищ йәмәр ҳәнән чудо.**

me niv misol rus-iš yәm-әr ҳәнәn чudo (ru)

**Look, now the Russians, for instance, call it a miracle [in Russian].**
O_6S:41

We say miracle, wonder.

O_6S:42

He says: “Now, I don’t have courage, should I take that soap or I shouldn’t.”

O_6S:43

The dog [‘ani’ – hearsay particle] was watching me from behind like that but there are many people passing by.

O_6S:44

Like this, whoever comes near, the dog turns (towards that person).

O_6S:45
I also ['ani’ – hearsay particle] came near, that dog turned (towards me), I said: ‘let the dog not bite me’, (I went a bit) farther (and I saw) that the dog stood like that, I took the soap (and) went away, the dog, too, went away.

О_65:46
Вузәм ани үәзд тә мала.
wuz=әm ani wәzd tә mala
l=1SG HSY come.PST in room

I ['ani’ – hearsay particle] came to the room.

О_65:47
Возәм нйәшт да балкон ки, нив ало үәпк
woz=әm nyәst d-a balcony (ru) ki niv aло yupk
again=1SG come out.PST in-DEM3 balcony SUB now ADR water
dырзәмәт, йәм бәтvi үыздйәм.
dыrz-әm=әt yәm бәt-vi үызdy-әm
take-1SG=and DEM1 clothing-PL.OBL wash-1SG

Again I came out to the balcony (with the intention), that ‘now, dear, I will take water and I will wash my clothes.’

О_65:48
Сарәм кәртi илаәк үыздякәт, а дәт үәхт нив
sar=әm kәrt-i ilaәk үызdyak=әt a dәt wәxt niv
beginning=1SG do.PST-i a little bit wash.INF=and EMP in-DEM2 time now

ани тру зәй тра 嗄ртәр, малым ки, явиш шарй әй бә
ани tru zәй tr-a 嗄рtәr mәlым ki yawиш әәри әй do
HSY three man to-DEM3 farther evident SUB they from town man with
I started washing (the clothes) a bit and at that time, now ['ani' – hearsay particle] (I saw) three men in the distance, (it was) clear that they (were) from town, they were [lit. 'are'] talking to each other.

It (was) clear that they were not from here [they were coming from town].

They were [lit. ‘are’] talking and talking to each other, I stood there, I looked towards them, one of those men called me.

I ['ani' – hearsay particle] was about to go down, my younger brother said [lit.
E. Interlinear text

‘that’]: ‘Don’t go down!

O 6S:53
Йәтищ цә сохти халг ымйән.
yәтищ сә sox-i xalg ымү-ән
DEM2.PL SUB form-IND man be.SBJV-3PL

What sort of people might they be’.

O 6S:54
Ха да К а я солови мышкыл ту тмәк.
ха d-a a K a ya sol-o-vi мышкыл ту тмәк
well in-DEM3 K. EMP DEM3 year-PL-PL.OBL difficult be.PST a bit

Well, in K. those years were a bit difficult.

O 6S:55
Нәйки яв̌ хҌат хамди.
нәйки яв̌ x̌at xamd-i
but he self go down.PST-i

But he himself went down.

O 6S:56
Яв̌ хҌат ани хамди рәғ̌дәм а драәт ани,
yaw x̌at ani xamd-i rǝɣ̌d-i a dra=ǝt ani
he self HSY go down.PST-i go.PST-i EMP THERE3=and HSY

dавән пәсвәрзи вәрәфст, ўузәм бә вити ҳәос,
d-av-ән пәсвәрз-i вәрәфст wuz=әм бә vit-i xwos
with-them-ABL very long-i stand.PST I=1SG ADD become.PST-i concerned

хамдәм, рәғ̌дәм а дра.
xamd=әм rǝɣ̌d=әм a dra
go down.PST=1SG go.PST=1SG EMP THERE3

He himself [‘ani’ – hearsay particle] went down [lit. ‘went down-went’] there (to them) and [‘ani’ – hearsay particle] he stood with them for very long time, I became concerned, went down [lit. ‘went down-went’] right there.

O 6S:57
Рәғ̌дәм дра ки -, нив а я пылицц цә ҳәнд,
rǝɣ̌d=әм dra ki niv a я пыл-ishment сә ҳән-d
go.PST=1SG THERE3 SUB now EMP DEM3 money-PL SUB say-3SG
E.2.1 Reported true story O_6S

cum sum yaw dǝ žy yod nast
toward much somoni it in my memory is not

I went there when...” – now, the amount of money he says, how much it was, I don’t remember.

O_6S:58
Χατι ки, - явищ рэти пыл -. say.PST-i SUB they give.PST-i money

He said [lit. ‘that:’] “They gave (us) money.”

O_6S:59
Явищ туәтк цә Б наг. they be.PF from W. side

They were from W.

O_6S:60
Χнәтк, - санщ цә Ŵ-әна -. say.PF you.PL from W.-ABL-Q

They asked: “Are you from W.?”

O_6S:61
Χнәтк, - нәй, сак цә Ш-ән -. say.PF no we from Sh.-ABL

They said: “No, we are from Sh."

O_6S:62
Ян явәр рәтк пыл, Χнәтк, - цә Ŵ-ән дә then they.OBL-DAT give.PF money say.PF from W.-ABL with
cәвән заищ чойәна -.? sav-әn za-iš joy-a PL

Then they gave them money, they said: “Do you have any classmates from W.? [lit. ‘(any) guys study with you?’]”
E. Interlinear text

**O_6S:63**

ξνατκ, - ξόιϊ ξαντκ joy-3pl
say.PF study-3PL

*They said: “Yes, we do [lit. ‘they study’].”*

**O_6S:64**

ξνατκ, - ξα λε ξαντκ xa me yund-3pl amtum pыl-i car-3pl ya W
say.PF well here take-2PL this amount money-ACC make-2PL DEM3 W.

 завәр тәкәсимәт, _PARSE:me йәм пылә дырәәв guy-PL.OBL-DAT distributed=and behold.PRX DEM1 money-ACC take-2PL

*They said: “Well, here, share [lit. ‘take-make distributed’] this amount of money with the guys from W., and look, take this money for yourself.’”*

**O_6S:65**

Нәдәшәм яй цүм сум туәтк.
neg know-DEM1 it how much money be.PF

*I don’t know how much money it was.*

**O_6S:66**

Ну К-әр а я вахт яй хила пыл туәтк.
nu (ru) K-3pl a ya waxt yaw xila pыl tuәtк
well K.-DAT EMP DEM3 time it very money be.PF

*Well, for K. at that time it was a lot of money.*

**O_6S:67**

Яв̌ищ туәткәв а яәм соибкәра, ну нормалим темәгия
yawιʃ tuatк=3pl a yәm soibkor-a nu (ru) normalni (ru) xalg-iш
they be.PF=3PL EMP DEM1 businessman-Q well common man-PL

tуәтк, сумдор халг явιиʃ туәткәв.
tuatк sum-dor xalg yawιiʃ tuatк=3pl
be.PF Tajik currency-having man they be.PF=3PL

*Perhaps they were businessmen, well, they were common people, they had money.*

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Яв́ищ ьәзг ә дәт Қ, выра́в ыымметка, выра́ш
they come.PF EMP in-DEM2 Қ. load=3PL bring.PF-Q load=IPFV

They came to Қ., they were either bringing a load, or carrying it away, I don’t know that.

Нив ә X-ән сак встреч цә ьоцән, Ҳ ۃат ьәти
now with Kh.-ABL we meeting SUB become-1PL Kh. self DEM2-ACC

Now, when we meet Қ., he will tell this story himself in a more interesting way.

Then he says: “They gave us that money, then we also went to the room very much surprised, but this money was Russian money, they gave us Russian money.”

He says: “Now we have to go to the market and get change [lit. ‘go-make changed’] them.”
E. Interlinear text

O_6S:72
Ки мида яй царэн, я й-ивəр бо рандəн.
ki mida yaw car-ən ya W-i-v-ər bo rand-ən
SUB small change it do-1PL DEM3 W.->ADJ-PL.OBL-DAT ADD give-1PL

When we get the small change, we will also give it to the W. guys.

O_6S:73
Сакəн вэзд дə маалəт, фикрəн кəрт ки, сак а йəт
sak=ən wəzd də mala=ət fikr-ən kərt ki sak a yət
we=1PL come.PST in room=and think-1PL do.PST SUB we EMP DEM2

й-ивəр рандəн ё мəрандəн.
W-i-v-ər rand-ən yo mə-rand-ən
W.->ADJ-PL.OBL-DAT give-1PL or PROH-give-1PL

We came to the room and thought, ‘should we give the money to the W. guys or not?’

O_6S:74
Нив бипылъ дэвра, сак агар нəрандəн, яйищ яв
niv bipu=li dəwra sak agar nə-rand-ən yawiš yav
now without money period we if NEG-give-1PL they they.OBL

хиш-ком nast.
xiṣ-qom nast relative-relative is not

Now, it (is) a period without money, if we don’t give (them the money, after all) they are not their relatives [meaning ‘they would not find out if we gave the money or not’].

O_6S:75
Айи хатəв, -- кум Ы за цə ымыт, рандəв --.
a-ʒi xat=əv kum W za cə ымы-t rand-əv
like this/that say.PST=3PL which W. guy SUB be.SBJV-3SG give-2PL

They said it like this: ‘whoever there is from W., give (them the money).’

O_6S:76
Сакəн ани йəзэн дə маалəт, ян ани дə ёманəнəн
sak=ən ani wəzd də mala=ət yan ani də yoman-ən=ən
we=1PL HSY come.PST in room=and then HSY with each other-ABL=1PL

алдəт, хила чыртəн дəйтəн ки, йəм рандəна
ald=ət xila čurt=ən dəyt=ən ki yəm rand-ən-a
stay.PST=and very thought=1PL hit.PST=1PL SUB DEM1 give-1PL-Q

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We came back ['ani’ – hearsay particle] to the room and then ['ani’ – hearsay particle] we stayed together and we thought a lot about [lit ‘that’] ‘shall we give (the money) or not.’

Then finally we came to a conclusion, saying [lit. ‘that’], ‘we have been been hungry for three days.'

A dog dropped [lit. ‘brought-threw’] this soap there.

This money, too, now, was given to us around midday.

Now, if we don’t give (it), will God like it or not?’”
E. Interlinear text

O_6S:81

Наша мнение, - я веду бунтара ред.

\( \text{xan-d} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{yan} = \text{\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{bunafa\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{r\textasciitilde d} \)

say-3SG=IPFV then=1PL two people go.PST

He says: “Then we, two people, went.

O_6S:82

Редан та бозорат, картен яй мидаат,

\( \text{r\textasciitilde d} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{bozor} = \text{\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{kart} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{yaw} \) \( \text{mida} = \text{\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \)

go.PST=1PL in market=and do.PST=1PL it small change=and

Воздан я В заван да общежит карти

\( \text{w\textasciitilde d} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{ya} \) \( \text{W} \) \( \text{za-v} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{d-a} \) \( \text{ob\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde zit} \) \( \text{kart-i} \)

come.PST=1PL DEM3 W. guy-PL.OBL=1PL in-DEM3 dormitory (ru) do.PST-i

мы.

цы.

call

We went to the market and changed it for small change and went to the dormitory to call the guys from W.

O_6S:83

Натан, йэм ранг.

\( \text{\textasciitilde xat} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{yem} \) \( \text{rang} \)

say.PST=1PL DEM1 like

We explained the situation to them [lit. ‘we said, like this’].

O_6S:84

Нийш ани явр \( \text{xana\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{yavi\textasciitilde} \) бойарш ндасар ки,

\( \text{niv} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{ani} \) \( \text{yav-\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{xan-\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{yawi\textasciitilde s} \) \( \text{bowar} = \text{\textasciitilde e\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{no-car-\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{ki} \)

now=IPFV HSY they.OBL-DAT say-1PL they belief=IPFV NEG-do-1PL SUB

-- ма меня савер тум - туми пыл

\( \text{ma} \) \( \text{me} \) \( \text{sav-\textasciitilde o\textasciitilde} \) \( \text{tum} \) \( \text{tum-i} \) \( \text{pyl} \)

here you are behold.PRX you.PL.OBL-DAT so much so much-ACC money

--.

Now, we [‘ani’ – hearsay particle] told [lit. ‘are telling’] (this) to them, they did not believe [lit. ‘do not believe’], that ‘here you are, so and so much money for you’. 
In short, we set aside the money for them, but we kept (for ourselves) as much as they told us (to keep).

We didn’t take more than that.
And after that ['ani' – hearsay particle] we managed to spread [lit. 'spread-deliver'] that money for a long time, from then on it is like our support for living kept coming, in such way we did our spending and for up to one year we lived like that, with the support for living coming from here or there [lit. 'from this-from that side'].

**O 6S:88**

Амо а йәт се найдән, қи сак мәрзә цә хаштиәт,

but EMP dem2 three night=1PL SUB we hunger SUB pull.PST-i=and  

a rang sar dar ҹәрт=ән ту қи, сак бәт цәрәң ҹы

EMP way head in thought=1PL be.PST SUB we more how own  

оли би ҹәрәәn.  

ol-i bi car-әn  

situation-ACC better do-1PL

*But for those three nights [lit. 'that/which'] we were hungry and we thought about how to make our situation better.*

**O 6S:89**

Мымкин a йәт спo ән ба дәргәй Хәдә ҹылв витi,

maybe EMP DEM2 our oh towards God accept become.PST-i  

ме a йәтән дә ҹы ҹәжәәәәn сәк ани виндi -.  

me a йәт=әn дә ҹы ҹәжәәәәn сәк ани vind-i  

behold.PRX EMP DEM2=1PL in own eye-ABL we HSY see.PST-i

*Maybe God accepted our sighs, look ['ani’ – hearsay particle] we saw that with our own eyes.”*

**O 6S:90**

Ян йәти цәрәә нәкәл ҝәɾt-i?  

then DEM2-ACC why story do.PST-i

*Then, why did he [my brother Kh.] say that?*
E.2.1 Reported true story O_6S

**O_6S:91**
Яв̌ ян обычно жы вр̃ьтиц̆н̃ь йөт накл̌вөыв̌ш
yaw yan обычно (ru) žy vр̃ьт-in-iš yət naql-o-v=ə̈ʃ
it then usually my brother-PL-PL DEM2 story-PL-PL.OBL=IPFV

tөм нөкэрти ки, жы татөт жы нан кин
t-əm na-көи-т-и ki žy tat=ət žy nan qиn
in-DEM1 NEG-do.PST-i SUB my father=and my mother difficult

мә̂й̂ощ̂ән ки, жы эмə̂ниц̂и̂ а ра мэ̂р̂з.
ma-woc-əн ki žy zman-и̂ш a r-a marz
PROH-become-3PL SUB my child-PL EMP in.down-DEM3 hungry

*Usually my brothers were not telling such stories so that my parents wouldn’t become worried (and think) that “my children are hungry there.”*

**O_6S:92**
Сакәш яв̌ яр̌ картощ̃ө̄̄т юм̃ча̂ш цө̐м̂эн стэ̂т̂и.
sak =ə̈ʃ yaw-əř kartoš̂ (ru)=ə̈t yumj=ə̈ʃ c-əm-ən stat-i
we=IPFV they.OBL-DAT potato=and flour=IPFV from-DEM1-ABL send.PST-i

*We used to send them potatoes and flour from here.*

**O_6S:93**
Ян и р̃ьор да д̃өт̃о жы вр̃ьт̃ х̃ати б̃ын̃̄т̂к йөм р̃ан̃г
yan i rwор d-a д̃ө̂т̃о žy вр̃ьт̃ х̃ат-i б̃ын̃̄т̂к yəm rang
then one day in-DEM3 hallway my brother self-ACC throw.PF DEM1 way

tоби̂ст̂о̂н̂̄т̂, ян м̂ар̂ды̂ми̂ң̂ т̂ө̂м н̂а̂ г̂ ф̂а̂к̂ат
tobiston=ə̈t yan м̂ар̂ды̂ми̂ң̂-и̂ш t-əm nag faqат
summer=and then people-PL in-DEM1 side only

gазв̂в̂а̂ш го̂х̂ти ит̂ә̂в̂щ̂, ё̂вы̂в̂щ̂
yazg =ə̈v =ə̈ʃ goxt-i it=ə̈v =ə̈ʃ wŷʃ-v =ə̈ʃ
tobiston=ə̈t yan м̂ар̂ды̂ми̂ң̂-и̂ш t-əm nag faqат
summer=and then people-PL in-DEM1 side only

*Then, one day my brother threw himself down on the hallway (floor), it was summer and the people over here used to eat [lit. ‘make-eat’] meal made only from greens, they used to eat grass.*
Then when the neighbours came to our door to ask for bread, my mother gave (some) to each of them.

(Shedid it) secretly (so that father wouldn’t know), because my father also used to give but he used to say, “give (only) so much, that there is enough for yourselves.”

Then my mother’s heart, which was even more compassionate, then (she did it) that way.
Then my brother went down to the road (and saw) that these neighbours, one-two people came, their eyes were completely swollen, their faces swollen, then he didn’t know why it was like that.

Then he asked my mother and [lit. ‘that’] she said: “They are like that because of eating the grass, what can we do?”

Then he laid down [lit. ‘came-made flat’] in the hallway and my mother came (and saw) that he was (lit. ‘is’) distressed, tears in his eyes, he was (lit. ‘is’) crying, (she asked): “K., what (happened)?”

3From Russian “nastroenie” (‘mood’).
O_6S:101

He said: “Mother, I am so sorry [lit. 'my heart burns'] for these neighbours.

O_6S:102

Is it really that bad?”

O_6S:103

(The mother) said: “Well, that’s how it is.”

O_6S:104

Then he told that story.

O_6S:105

He said: “Well, they are not asking God in a proper way.

O_6S:106

Otherwise, that support for living would appear by itself.”
Then he told exactly this story.

"Look, in K. I came out onto the balcony, and look, this (happened)."

We also had some difficulties in those year.

We were without tea, we used to make [lit. 'put'] herb tea.

But we haven't been without bread.

We have not been completely without bread.
In those years that were so difficult, at least we had something.

We didn’t have so much but in comparison with others, we had sufficient supplies.

In U., the soldiers were building buildings.

My father was a very capable man, he was very zealous.
He also found a (common) language with them, he used to go there, used to do the work for them, build the wall, he was a teacher himself, he used to get flour (from them).

He used to get pearl barley, a little bit of millet, we were never without flour and without bread.

In those years when people used to eat only grass, we used to eat white bread.

Because those soldiers used to give (it) to us.
to M., he used to trade them.

From there he used to bring the millet and pearl barley and used to bring all of it and grind it in the mill, he used to make flour.

That’s why, although we also experienced those difficulties, it was not like the others.

Look, this story that I told you, this is indeed a real event we experienced [‘cə sarən šəxsvak’ = endure].
Now, we are thankful for this independence, thankful for the Tajik government that it became viable again, today, although everything is a bit expensive, unaffordable, at least people have enough food.

O_6S:126
Serы пыр, дгар ной да магазинэш чирмитээк, яв
prosperous other no in-DEM3 store=IPFV enter-3SG-DIM they.OBL

(People) prosper, at least they go to a store, they see many things [lit. ‘their eyes are satisfied’].

O_6S:127
А я дайра айи вити ки, кы границшканиэв
EMP DEM3 era like this/that become.PST-i SUB all border-disruption=3PL

At that time it happened that they even crossed the border.

O_6S:128
Халк брои хы яанч раъдёв тра палыви Авгонастон,
people for own stomach go.PST=3PL to-DEM3 side-EZ Afghanistan
E. Interlinear text

Е. Interlinear text

бартәрвәш кәрт, нәйки ўудиӵәш нәкәрт әч ҝәхт.
barter= v=ә.gdx kәrt нәйки ўудиӾәш нә-кәрт әч wәxt
barter=3PL=IPFV do.PST but stealing=IPFV NEG-do.PST never

People went to that side of Afghanistan for their stomach, they used to barter but they were never stealing.

O_6S:129
Рәғ̌дәвәш а давән сәйдо кәртиәт,
rәɣ̌d=ә=ә.gdx a d-av-әn sәwdo kәrт-i=ә
go.PST=3PL=IPFV EMP with-them-ABL trade do.PST-i=and

в̌озомдәвәш а ҳы ризқы рузии.
wοzomd=ә=ә.gdx a ҳы rизқы рузi-i
bring.PST=3PL=IPFV EMP own support for living-ACC

The used to go there, trade with them and they used to bring their own support for living.

O_6S:130
Ўудг руз хәй нив ҳатәш кы кишт қарән.
wudg ruz xәy niv ҳат=ә.gdx кы киʃт car-әn
today day (taj) well now self=IPFV all sown field do-3PL

Today, well, now we all work on our own fields.

O_6S:131
А я замин явән тәй, и чиз дғәр тәй, ба ар ол
a ya zamin yav-әn tәy i чιz dғәr tәy ba ar ol (taj)
EMP DEM3 earth they.OBL-ABL is one thing other is in any case

ба дәст қарән.
ba dәst (taj) car-әn
obtain do-3PL

They have lands, they have other things, in any case, they (can) obtain them.

O_6S:132
Амо йәт дәўра айи ту ки, цә
amo yәt dәwра a-ɠи tu ki cә
but DEM2 era like this/that be.PST SUB from

амборвәнәш рәт панҷ килои қай дә
ambor-v=әn=ә.gdx рәt панԓ kilо-i қaw dә
warehouse-PL.OBL=1PL=IPFV give.PST five kilo-EZ grain in
But at that time things were such that from the warehouses they used to give out five kilos of grain a month, whatever the norm was, I don’t remember well.

However, it was not enough, as provisions.

People had many difficulties [lit. ‘ate difficulty’], they were hungry.

Behold, there are also such things as that God directed the dog, maybe God did it, or maybe someone sent (the dog) but it is interesting that (the dog) came opposite their balcony and he [my brother] then came down and took it [the soap].
Then around midday he [Kh.] went down and said [lit. ‘that’]: “Look, those three men appeared, well, although there was a big dormitory, everybody can come out to their balcony.”

Then we went there, got the money.”

Now, when we talk with Kh. himself, he will tell that (story) even better.
Now, I will tell him, if he has time, he will come.

He will come and tells it nicely.

Look, that (story is/was) real.

E.2.2 Reported true story O_EF

**Encounter with a fairy**

Fairies exist in reality [lit. ‘fairy is truth’].

They exist, they [lit. ‘she/he/it’] appear sometimes.

For instance, they exist, look, I personally have seen one myself, right?
O_EF:4
Лекин яй мар ягон чиз щиетк нэй.

but it to me any thing say.PF no

But she hasn’t said anything to me.

O_EF:5
Яй касала⁵м витэй а данэн.

then ill=1SG become.PST-i EMP with-it-ABL

Then I became ill because of (seeing) her.

O_EF:6
Жы нан ту айлоқ, яй ёузэм соати чорәш

my mother be.PST summer pasture then I=1SG hour-EZ four=IPFV

раэди айлоқ,  
rǝd-i ayloq

go.PST-i summer pasture

My mother was on the summer pasture, then at four o’clock I used to go to the summer pasture.

O_EF:7
Яркәмәш کرت, нэя?

work=1SG=IPFV do.PST no-Q

I used to work, right?

O_EF:8
Рәɣдәмәш ѣузәр.

go.PST=1SG=IPFV firewood-DAT

I used to go for firewood.

O_EF:9
Яй мэ дэм спо ѣы хун сарэм рә́ди, тэм

then behold.PRX in-DEM1 our own house top=1SG go.PST-i in-DEM1
Then, look, I went up around our house [xun sar = upper side around / near the house], I went higher, then I thought that this is perhaps a woman over there, her house [lit. ‘house door’ = meaning the whole house] is also there.

O_EF:10
Х̌атәм, йәм алба а яй, нәя?
χat=ǝm yǝm alba a yaw na-y-a
say.PST=1SG DEM1 perhaps EMP her no-Q

I thought [lit. ‘said’] “it is probably that one”, right?

O_EF:11
В̌узәм я хури айи ай кәрти, яйеш нәкимит.
wuz=ǝm ya xur-i a-zi ay kәrt-i yaw=ǝʃ нә-kimi-t
l=1SG DEM3 donkey-ACC thus spur do.PST-i it=IPFV NEG-want-3SG

I thus spurred that donkey on, it didn’t [lit. ‘doesn’t’] want to go.

O_EF:12
Пщитәш тәр цбас.
pši-t=ǝʃ tәr cbas
return-3SG=IPFV to back

It was [lit. ‘is’] returning back.

O_EF:13
Ян в̌узәм яй диәт, ийки и рухнбо́й бо в̌әзди.
yan wuz=ǝm yaw di=ǝt iwk-i i ruxн-bәt bo wәzd-i
then l=1SG it hit=and suddenly one white-clothing ADD come.PST-i

Then I hit (the donkey) and suddenly (someone in) a white dress came, too.

O_EF:14
В̌әзди а да чиз ш̌ән хә, ну жы пзыв әй и
wәzd-i a d-a čiz š̌әn хә nu (ru) жы рзыв әй i
come.PST-i EMP in-DEM3 thing near and well my heart so one
He/She came near and, well, I became a bit alarmed [lit. ‘my heart such a form’], I thought [lit. ‘that’] this is that woman.

Moreover, I said [lit. ‘say’]: “oh you damned one, are you dying, or what? [an expression when someone does something unappropriate], are you now taking bath here? [are you not ashamed?]”, and I went past her.

Then I passed that place [lit. ‘came from that side’] and, I was shaking [lit. ‘my bone(s)’] like...

Well, I was like trembling.
Then I told (that event) there [on the summer pasture].

Then, there was a woman called aunt Kh., the wife of uncle Q. from M..

Then she said [lit. ‘that’]: “Oh dear, if only you had said ‘bismilloh’, now when you leave from here, go through smoke or through water [traditional way of enchanting someone], or tell kahlifa to read a prayer over you.”

Then I came, in fact I went to him.
Then he said to me: “Oh boy, she... well, in short, you saw her first, if she had seen your first, you would have become very ill.

You noticed her very quickly.

She saw you very little.

Then (moreover), first it was the donkey who looked at her.

The donkey doesn’t want (to go), a donkey feels quickly.

A man feels (things) late.”
Then he said: "Look, (the donkey) looked at her quickly, she looked at you only a little, it's not a big issue."

Then he made an amulet and a charm for me, and with that I recovered at last.

Such fairies exist.

Then, they used to say [lit. 'that'], look, the fairy is such, when....
You know M.? You don’t know, grandfather A.’s wife, she was coming to our house very often from Kikhn [local name for the village Langar], she used to tell us (stories), we used to sit right here, we used to put our feet here [by the fireplace]... (inaudible).

Look, she was saying [lit. ‘that’]: “when I went to Ratm [last settlement at the east end of Tajik Wakhan, part of the village Langar] for work, my companions (went) before me, I went, I went to one place, where there was a ruin.”

Look, she had gone right there and then she went there and then a woman appeared in front of her.

She assumed [lit. ‘that’]: “It is my companions”, right?
Ян рәшт.
then go-3SG

Then she went.

Ян рәшт дра ки, я хинан а да шла шхән
then go-3SG THERE3 SUB DEM3 woman EMP in-DEM3 ruins near

рәшт нәшт.
go-3SG disappear-3SG

Then she went there (and saw) that the woman disappeared [lit. ‘went-disappeared’] near the ruin.

Йәт хәнд ки, - йәм рушый маж нәдиғди, йәм күй
DEM2 say-3SG SUB DEM1 damned i.OBL NEG-wait.PST-i DEM1 who
tu.
be.PST

She said [lit. ‘that’]: “This damned one, she didn’t wait for me [verb didʒak here means ‘wait’, it can also mean ‘see, watch, look’], who was this?

Йәмәш а рәм шла чиз гох-т
DEM1=IPFV EMP to.down-DEM1 ruins what make-3SG

What is she doing in that ruin?”

Яв шла бә нәтуәтк, айи очра түәтк.
yaw шла бә нә-tuәtk a-zi oǰra tuәtk
it ruins ADD NEG-be.PF like this/that hut be.PF

It was not a ruin either, it was like a hut.
Then she entered right there (and saw) that she [the other woman] had sat down right here.

But she was all dishevelled...

She [M.] entered inside (and saw) that she [the other woman] looked so dishevelled.

Then when she [M.] entered she said: “Oh you damned one, you don’t know me?”

She assumed that those were our people, right?
Then she [the dishevelled one] laughed in such way that (it revealed) she had two teeth.

One or two on this side, two on that side.

She then immediately said: “Aaa, this is something else.”

Then she [the dishevelled one] said [lit. ‘that’]: “Can you do something for me, give me water or something?”, she said.
Then she turned back, she said: “Then I turned back and I didn’t say anything [lit. ‘neither this nor that’] to her anymore.

I went to work and I was so scared [lit. ‘like with tremulous bones’], then in the evening I came from work to the house”, and then she says: “We slept and then at once it was midnight.”
The she said: “I was sleeping there with my husband A. and suddenly something went up on the roof.”

It went up on the roof and there was such a rattling [sound], I woke up (and saw) that she appeared in front of me here, that one [the dishevelled woman].”

She then... well, she called uncle A. and well, it was a vaghd [a type of demon / mythical being / evil spirit].

They call it a vaghd.
Then when Grandfather A. got up, he threw a piece of wood (at her) and she ran away from the place.

She ran away.

Then she was telling (this story) to us, then here, too, she was telling us, then here, Uncle Q. is her son-in-law, she is the mother of M.

Then (M.) used to go and stay in his [Q.'s] house.

Then she always used to tell this story.
Ян пуп К пуъ йост дайт мө а
then grandfather Q. рәм.
r-әм
to.down-DEM1

Then grandfather Q. (when hearing this story) fell on the floor right here [lit.
‘became round and hit the ground’].

He said: “Ey, you are a vaghd yourself and your stories are also vaghd.”

(M.) always used to say that.

She said [lit. ‘that’]: “When I was telling this, I said: Look! she came! then he fell
down in the pit in front of the fireplace.”
E. Interlinear text

**O_EF:68**
Ян ме йәт ранг.
yan me yeṭ rang
then behold.PRX DEM2 manner

Then, that’s the story.

**O_EF:69**
Яв нив тқи диішт.
yaw niv tqi diš-t
she now a lot know-3SG

Now, she knows a lot (of things).

**O_EF:70**
Яв̌әш яр га тқи жинда ѣати.
yaw=ǝṣ̌ yar ya tqi žinda ǝxat-i
she=IPFV to him very much folk-tale say.PST-i

She used to tell him a lot of tales.

**O_EF:71**
М га тarihчинос ту.
M ya tarix-šinos tu
M. very history-knowing be.PST

M. knew history very well.

E.2.3 Reported true story O_FL

**Flood**

**O_FL:1**
Жы mum биёмэрзда сакәр нәкәл кәрти ки, а дәм
žy mum biyomɜrdza sak-ǝr naql kәrt-i ki a d-ǝm
my grandmother deceased we-DAT telling do.PST-i SUB EMP in-DEM1

спо амсоя, а рәм ѣиғн и луп чрав (туәтк).
spo amsoya a r-ǝm ʒiɣ̌n i lup ʃrav tuǝtκ
our neighbour EMP in.down-DEM1 side one big mountain stream be.PF

My late grandmother told us [lit. ‘that’]: “In our neighbourhood, on this side, there (was) a big mountain stream.”

**O_FL:2**
А рәм ѣиғн ян и дәврао бәори туәткәт, ян а
a r-ǝm ʒiɣ̌n yan i dawra-o bәorı tuǝtκ=ǝt yan a
EMP in.down-DEM1 side then one time-PL spring be.PF=and then EMP
On this side then, in those times there was spring and then, that year, there were a lot of things.

That year it snowed and it rained too much.

Then when it got too hot in spring, then in our mountain stream, next to our house, which was that big mountain stream, we say ravine, along that ravine something came down, water came down along that (ravine).
Then our neighbour, whose house is opposite us, then along there, right along there that water came.

Then (the water) came and then it took the whole house.

Then, the name of our grandmother was P. and the name of our grandfather was Grandfather N..

Then her grandchildren and things, they were all in that house.
Вода опрокинула дом, и они все покинули свой дом, (вода) ударила по их дому и дом матери П. Затем сказали [лит. ‘то’]: “Я не жду на пороге, я пойду в дом”. [В доме были дети, вещи, она хотела убедиться, что они все в порядке.]
Then, she didn’t even manage to say the prayer [lit. ‘put the ritual fragrance’] and then she was entering the house when that water came (and) took her.

The water reached up to the neck and then Grandfather N. (and other neighbours), they entered (the house) and they all entered, they took her out and everything was (fallen) on her.

She then, Grandmother P. died in that flood and then Grandmother Sh. then came out [she managed to save herself].
Then (she) came out and this way they did (some)thing, and they came out from their house and (at that moment) the flood hit her entire house.

**O_FL:18**

Ян яявəр хүн, наст бөт яявəр чай, нәготəн
yan yav-ər xun nast bət yav-ər jay na-got-ən
then they.OBL-DAT house is not anymore they.OBL-DAT place NEG-find-3PL

чаи, ки нәздəн.
jay ki nəzd-ən
place SUB sit-3PL

Then their house, their place didn’t exist anymore, they didn’t have place to stay.

**O_FL:19**

А я чайəв соф қəртə шух ки, бөт бояд ки
a ya jay=əv sof kərt-i ʃux ki bət boyad ki
EMP DEM3 place=3PL fully do.PST-i closed SUB anymore must SUB

dра мыйкəин хүн ǝкə наст.
dra mýmkin xun ǝkə nast
THERE3 allowed house make.INF is not

That place was made completely off limits because it was not allowed to build a house there.

**O_FL:20**

Ян ǝчəк=əв яявəр (чаи нәготи), явиш ян и
yan ǝčək=əv yav-ər jay na-got-i yawiʃ yan i
then by no means=3PL they.OBL-DAT place NEG-find.PST-i they then one

бу рəор ади ǝтм - ǝ та хүнəк алдəиəт, ǝт
bu rwor a-zi ǝt-m t-a xun-ək ald-i=ət ǝt
two day in such way in-DEM1 in-DEM3 house-DIM stay.PST-i=ǝnd in

ҳы хиш-комви барəт, бади яй дайлат яявəр
ҳы xiiʃ-qom-vi bar=ət badi yaw dawlat yav-ər
own relative-relative-PL.OBL door=and after it government they.OBL-DAT
Then they never found place for them, they stayed in such way for a day in this or that house and at their relatives’ houses [lit. ‘door’], after that the government helped them and built a house for them down there.

On the wasteland (they built a house) for those, whose houses were damaged by a flood, just for them (the government) built house(s) and on the lower end, all in one row, (the government) built house(s) for them and they settled [lit. ‘took-seated’] them there and then on that place of the flood, all sorts of crockery, bowls, everything was there.
All their belongings and household goods, everything was there inside and then we have another neighbour; he is also from that wasteland, his house is on the low end, then he did (some)thing.

_Then he came and made a house for himself there [where it was forbidden]._

*He made that old house inhabited again, he built a house for himself on the other side and there was a kitchen, earlier.*

*It [the kitchen] was somewhat usable and after that he reconstructed it nicely.*
E. Interlinear text

O FL:26
Гох̌ти яр истиңәт, чизи яр дәйтиңәт, гох̌ти яйи.
goх̌т-i yar istin=ǝt čiz-i yar dәyt-i=ǝt goх̌t-i yaw-i
make.PST-i to it pillar=and thing-ACC to it hit.PST-i=and make.PST-i it-ACC

He built pillars (in the house) and (made) other things, he built it.

O FL:27
И бу соләкә, панч щащ соләш а дра алдыңәт,
i bu sol-ǝk-i panǰ šaš sol=ǝš a dra ald-i=ǝt
one two year-DIM-i five six year=IPFV EMP THERE3 stay.PST-i=and

ниви юз а дра џатәр џәтк ҳыщруй шәфд хун.
niv-i woz a dra џат-ǝr џәtk ҳышrуй џәфд xun
now-i again EMP THERE3 self-DAT make.PF nice new house

One-two, or five-six years he lived there and now again he built a new nice house
there (in the same place).

O FL:28
Ца наг я и хочагин дгәр яв амсоя (ту),
c-a nag ya i xoǰagi-i dgar yaw amsoya tu
from-DEM3 side DEM3 one household-EZ other his neighbour be.PST

яв̌әш бо яв нив қындәт, гох̌тәш яв џатәр
yaw=ǝš bo yaw niv қын-d=ǝt goх̌-t=ǝš yaw џат-ǝr
he=IPFV ADD it now tear up-3SG=and do-3SG=IPFV he self-DAT

хүнәт, а я чай, нив юзәв яв ћәрк обод.
xun=ǝt a ya jay niv woz=ǝv yaw ћәrк obod
house=and EMP DEM3 place now again=3PL it do.PF inhabited

On the other side, there (was) another household of his neighbour; he is also tearing
it [his house] down now and building a (new) house for himself and that place [the
place where it was forbidden to build houses after the flood] now they have made it
inhabited again.

O FL:29
Бөз и соли дгәр бо а рөт, пард,
woz i sol-i dgar bo a r-ǝt pard
again one year-EZ other ADD EMP in.down-DEM2 last year

тытвартәнәш юздәи сил, юздәи и лой тки юпк.
tytvart-әn=ǝš wazd-i sil wazd-i i loy tqi yupk
year before last-ABL=IPFV come.PST-i flood come.PST-i one time much water

Yet another year again, last year (or) the year before last, the flood was coming, a lot
of water came at once.

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They say [lit. ‘that’]: “Come out of your house”, well we didn’t go out, we said: ‘Whatever God did’ and then nothing happened, everything was fine.

God watched over us, we didn’t experience any harm, nothing at all.

Now, those households, those former people [those who had built those houses] are not (there) anymore.
In that place, where our neighbour had built a house and in the flood which hit the other house, from where (the neighbours) dug out things, all things like hammers, axes and crowbars and all those things they found there [in the place where that house had been].

It is obvious that the household things, those things from earlier times, didn't see any damage.

They were only a little bit bruised, that's all, so they brought all those things for themselves, now they use them themselves.

That's it.
Fairy, I have heard, my mother-in-law, your grandmother M., had a daughter.

Your grandmother M. – then they went either to a summer pasture, or not, to V. – then she had three daughters, J., N., B.

Three daughters.

Then, one of her daughters disappeared one day, a fairy stole her.
Then, this way she disappeared, however much they looked for her, they didn’t find her.

Then three-four days, or not, it may have been a week, then this way she disappeared and then one day they brought her back [lit. ‘took-came’].

They made the enchanting ceremony [ceremonial fragrance and lighting the wick] and they mourned her and then one week later (the fairies) brought her back.

The fairies themselves brought [lit. ‘took-came’] her back.
Then they brought her back and (we saw) that she was not so well, she had become a little bit weird.

Well then, thus, they married her to a good man, she had children.

Then, she became a little bit changed from that (event).

She was among the fairies.
E. Interlinear text

E.2.5 Reported true story told as witnessed O_N03

Shepherd

O_N03:1
Жы пуп тә Помир щын тутк.
my grandfather in Pamir shepherd be.PF

My grandfather was a shepherd in Pamir.

O_N03:2
Нақл кәрт-и ки, и сол ға зәмдман ёзмән вит-и
telling do.PST-1 SUB one year very snowstorm-EZ heavy become.PST-i

He told (a story) [lit. ‘that’]: “One year a very heavy snowstorm arrived [lit. ‘became’].

O_N03:3
Вузәм дә щынй ёзәм ки, нив ам молищ қатл
shepherding in say.PST=1SG SUB now too livestock-PL killed

On the pasture, I said [lit. ‘that’]: ‘Now the flock will be destroyed and I myself will die, too.’

O_N03:4
Ивәр дидиғ̌дәм ки, молищ дә и чай ѣортәвәт,
suddenly see.PST=1SG SUB livestock-PL in one place gather.PST=3PL=and

tәр амдгар криб-криб витәв.
to each other very close become.PST=3PL

Suddenly I saw that the animals gathered in one place and came [lit. ‘became’] close to each other.

O_N03:5
Ўз бә ёзәм дә молви қәст қәйтәм.
I ADD self-ACC livestock-PL.OBL inside hit.PST=1SG

I also threw myself in the middle of them.
After I don’t know how much time the sky became clear again.

Neither I nor the flock came to any harm.

Then I understood that although the animals don’t have language and intellect, they are still able to protect themselves from danger.”

Our uncle told (a story) [lit. ‘that’]: “We had a black yak.

That yak understood everything like people.
At the time of descending from the summer pasture, the soured milk had remained in two big milk pails.

We put two churns on the yak and loaded it on two sides (of the yak).

We poured that soured milk into that churn.

We placed the yak before (us) and descended.

We arrived at the bridge and (saw) that the bridge had been taken by water.
We brought down the churns and led the yak towards the mountain.

We, ourselves, crossed the ford and came out through the brook.

Now we saw that the yak tugged and jumped over the brook to the other side.

The [lit. ‘these’] people became very happy.”
I don’t know (exactly), we were in class four or five.

One day our teacher took us to Boghak [name of the place, lit. ‘little garden’] for a walk.

Our teacher was a Russian girl.

It was spring.

Trees and greenery had just started to grow.

One of our classmates was a very big troublemaker and slacker.
He climbed up on the rock.

He hadn’t yet climbed to the top when his foot slipped and he almost fell down.

We all froze from fear [lit. ‘turn to stone’] where we stood [lit. ‘in own places’].

Our teacher turned pale [lit. ‘color and face changed’].
Fortunately, at that time Uncle Khudoyor appeared from somewhere and took hold of our classmate and brought him down from that rock.

Our teacher cried.

This classmate of ours vowed that he won't do anymore mischief.

In 1942, when we came here from Afghanistan, it was such a hard time there, when there were call-up papers (for military service), then some guys came back from the
war, (but) most didn't come back, they died there, for instance around Kabul.

There, in Afghanistan, it was like that.

Then, at that time, I was only four years old, my brother was older.

He is deceased, now his sons are also here.
We got through from Kikhn (local name of the village Langar) side, we came to Kikhn, from Kikhn they took us with cars [lit. ‘brought-threw’], it was winter, they brought us to Khorough on donkeys [lit. ‘riding made-brought’].

From Khorough we came in that way to the district of Roshtqala, to the kolkhoz ‘New Life’.

Look, we lived our lives opposite that Roshtqala.

Until 1948 we stayed there like that.
Then, it’s because the weather there was cool and good, but in those years when there was no precipitation, no snow, there was no crop.

O_RS:11
Ян халгын талаб қарти ки, сакёр и чайи ободи
yan xalg-iš talab karti ki sak-ǝr i ğay-i obod-i
then man-PL require do.PST-i SUB we-DAT one place-EZ developed-ACC

рандәв, ки обий ымыт, мисол лалмий змин
rand-ǝv ki obi ымы-т мисол лалмí змин
give-2PL SUB irrigated be.SBJV-3SG for instance without irrigation field

нәвөст.
na-wos-t
NEG-become-3SG

Then, the people demanded [saying ‘that’]: “Give us a developed place so that there is irrigation, like, land without irrigation is not suitable.”

O_RS:12
Ян соли чилыы аштым мои ноябр сакәв а цанән
yan sol-i čila aštum mo (taj)-i noyabr sak=ǝv a c-an-ǝn
then year-EZ forty eighth month-EZ November we=3PL EMP from-it-ABL

кы дәжди әозомди дәм Куйбиш.
ky dǝzd-i wozomd-i d-ǝm Kuybış
all take.PST-i bring.PST-i in-DEM1 Kuybish

Then, in November 1948 they brought [lit. ‘took-brought’] us all from there to this Kuybish.

O_RS:13
Ткү халг ту, а я участка калхози Зиндагонии нав кы
tqi xalg tu a ya učastka(ru) kalxoz-i Zindagonii nav ky
a lot man be.PST EMP DEM3 village kolkhoz-EZ New Life all
There were a lot of people, everyone who lived in the village kolkhoz ‘New Life’ were all our Wakhi people.

We all came [lit. ‘got up-came’] at once, we lived in this Kuybish, for some years we also suffered a lot.

Many people died, it’s because (they were) coming from the Pamir, the conditions (here were) hard, (it was) hot here, they even wrote an official letter to Moscow, a committee came from there, they answered us [lit. ‘that’]: “Well, you can’t live here, go back again”, they gave us permission.
But it was not the destiny, or people’s life became a little bit better, we didn’t go anymore, look, we stayed here until this year, we lived (here).

Well, so we have got children, we got married, we were 40 households, from 40 households now we have become almost 95 households.

Now, thousand thanks to God, indeed our life is not bad.

There is a legend that there was a king, the king was a woman.
Яв нунг туәтк Рыхшона.
yaw nung tuәtk Ryxsona
her name be.PF Rukhshona

Her name was Rukhshona.

Вахти ки и вахт зиддият байни щоон сар
waxt-i ki i waxt ziddiyat-i bayni Šo-on sar
time-EZ SUB one time conflict-EZ between king-PL beginning

When a conflict started one day between kings and something started, then they made an attack from outside, they attacked from the side of Afghanistan, they made attack right on the Silk fortress.

Вәршәмкала царән учум,
Vәrʃ̌әmqala car-әn uǰum
Silk fortress do-3PL attack

When a conflict started one day between kings and something started, then they made an attack from outside, they attacked from the side of Afghanistan, they made attack right on the Silk fortress.
They attacked the Silk fortress and then right there her soldiers came out and they came out with their weapons and with their army, and that Rukshona who was a king, she also took a sword and put on soldierly clothes, and went out to the battle to face her enemy.

She went out and at once, while they were fighting each other, and well, they were in the middle of a heavy fight and the turban fell from her head.

It fell from her head and suddenly they saw that she (had long) hair, that (she was) such a beauty that it was (lit. ‘is’) not possible to look at her face, and (that) it was a woman.
First they assumed, that (is) the king himself, that is [lit. ‘understand’] a man.

Then at that moment she thought [lit. ‘that’]: “Now, they will not strike me but they will take me into captivity, maybe (you touch) the honour of a woman that is someone fragile and delicate, let them not take me, well, they will do something to me which finally it will remain in history that to such a king they did such a thing.”

Then she hit herself with a sword and killed herself.
The enemy wanted to take her alive, because she (was) very beautiful like the moon \[lit. 'with a face like the moon']\, very beautiful, and she killed herself.

She had a daughter and a son.

(The enemies) captured her daughter, my dear, they captured her alive, (the servants) helped the son escape.

They helped the son escape and led him away \[lit. 'took-went']\.

When they helped the son escape \[lit. 'took-made escape-went']\, they carried him
The valley of Ghoron, they had... they took the army, the fortress from inside; and the fortress had an aqueduct inside, water and everything was there inside that fortress, the aqueduct was coming from Zirch, now it would be a pipeline, at that time people were smart too, they had water inside their house with a yard.

Well, now they say water pipeline [“vodoprovod” in Russian], then it was aqueduct.
She brought [lit. ‘stole - brought’] the water from the brook to the fortress and provided water for the people.

The fortress was such a fortress that, when somewhere something had appeared [lit. ‘something come out.PF’], then they always lit a light for each other [to warn each other].

Having made a light those fortresses used to inform each other [saying ‘that’]: “Look, from such and such place people came, made an attack, or that a guest came” or something came, but it was fully wrapped in silk.
That fortress was fully (wrapped) with silk, now, what they call silk ['abrešim' in Tajik], they call it silk ['vǝrš̌əm' in Wakhi], silk in the Wakhi language.

It was fully wrapped with silk, such silk that, if you touch it with your hand [lit. 'put your hands like this'], it doesn't stick to one's hand.

It was a very beautiful fortress, magnificent and so.
‘took-led away’], my dear, they led him to Ghoron and to the relatives of Rukhshona’s brother who was there, they handed him [Rukhshona’s son] to him [Rukhshona’s brother].

He accepted him and, well, he was very sad because [lit. ‘that’] “they killed my sister and such a thing happened with my sister”, and there he took that boy to take care of his upbringing and...

Well, the boy went out, played with the children and one day he went to the irrigation ditch and found something, he found a stone.

That stone (was) very beautiful, fluorescent and shining, it was [lit. ‘is’] shining in such a way, beautiful and he carried it [lit. ‘took-carried’] to his uncle.
E. Interlinear text

O_SF:28

\[ \text{Ха́нд ки, йәм рәнг, ьу cáм йәм рәнг чиз готи,}
\text{\textit{xan-d ki yәm rang wuz=әm yәm rang çiz got-i}} \]

say-3SG SUB DEM1 manner l=1SG DEM1 manner (some)thing find.PST-i

\[ \text{гәрәм готи, йәм рәнг хычкуй чиз.}
\text{\textit{ɣ̌ar=әm got-i yәm rang xыshruy çiz}} \]

stone=1SG find.PST-i DEM1 manner beautiful (some)thing

\[ \text{He said [lit. ‘that’]: “I found such a thing, I found a stone, such a beautiful thing.”} \]

O_SF:29

\[ \text{Явийц дидғән, явәш айән ялтарасәт, айән хычкуй чизәш}
\text{\textit{yaw=әʃ a-ʒi yaltaras=әt a-ʒi xыshruy çiz=әʃ}}} \]

they look-3PL it=IPFV such brilliant=and such beautiful thing=IPFV

царт...

car-t
do-3SG

\[ \text{They looked, it was [lit. ‘is’] glittering so beautifully, so beautiful (glittering) did [lit.}
\text{‘does’]...} \]

O_SF:30

\[ \text{Я́й я́й дырздәт, я́н кы́й царт али марифати}
\text{\textit{yaw yaw dyrz-d=әt yan qyw car-t ali marifat-i}}} \]

he it take-3SG=and then call do-3SG intelligentsia-EZ

Шкочымәнт, \textit{Waxonә́н...}

Škošыm-әn=әt Waxon-әn

Ishkashim-ABL=and Wakhan-ABL

\[ \text{He [the uncle] took it and then he called the intelligentsia of Ishkashim and of}
\text{Wakhan....} \]

O_SF:31

\[ \text{Хәнд, а йәм ко чиз гәр ымьыт, йәм нунг чиз.}
\text{\textit{xan-d a yәm ko çiz ɣ̌ar ымьы-t yәm нung çiz}}} \]

say-3SG EMP DEM1 let’s see what stone be.SBJV-3SG DEM1 name what

\[ \text{He said: “Let’s see what (kind of) stone it might be, what is its name.”} \]

O_SF:32

\[ \text{Ӗ куй яви нәдищт.}
\text{\textit{әʃ kuy yaw-i nә-diš-t}}} \]

nobody it-ACC NEG-know-3SG

\[ \text{Nobody knew it.} \]

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They said: “Well, we don’t know this one, what stone it is”, and then he did something […]

My dear […] well, he called many (people) from Shughnan, he called (people) from everywhere, nobody at all …

Then they said (to the boy): “What (is) your name?”

He said: “My name (is) Lalmamad.”

They said: “Well, the name of this stone will be your name, Lal.”
Now, ruby [‘lal’ in Wakhi] which has become famous in the world, (it is) thanks to this boy Lalmamad, who was the son of Rukhshona, who was ruling in the Silk fortress ...

My dear, you see that her son has become such a remembrance of her [Rukhshona] in the valley of Ghoron, and what is now the Silk fortress, it is our (precious) place...

Well, we cherish it like our own eyes because such history has been preserved for us
from the ancestors of the Wakhan valley and we take pride in its name.

O_SF:41
Тқи саиёищ ўзёйён, и гала саиёищ ўзёйён.
tqi sayo-iš wǝzy-ǝn i gala sayo-iš wǝzy-ǝn
many traveller-PL come-3PL one crowd traveller-PL come-3PL

Many travellers come, a crowd of travellers come.

O_SF:42
 [...] Босарофати йём спо ёдгорин тарихи явищ доим
 [...] bo šarofati (taj) yǝm spo yodgori-i tarixi yawiš doim
 [...] thanks to DEM1 our remembrance-ACC historical they always

Ўзёйён.
wǝzy-ǝn
come-3PL

Thanks to these our historical monuments they always come.

O_SF:43
Йǝм тум ту ривояти ки ўз уҳатем цә кшәнгәт
yǝm tum tu riwoyat-i ki wuz źat=ǝm sǝ kš̌әng=ǝt
DEM1 so much be.PST legend-IND SUB I self=1SG SUB hear.PF=and

цә дишәм, цә тарихи а йәт қалаи Вәршәмән.
cǝ diš-ǝm cǝ tarix-i a yәt qala-i Varš̌em-ǝn
SUB know-1SG from history-EZ EMP DEM2 fortress-ACC Silk-ABL

Such was the legend that I myself have heard, that I know from the history of that fortress of Silk.

E.2.10 Witnessed story O_SP

On the summer pasture

O_SP:1
Хай йǝм накл цә жы кудаки, цә жы цәклаи дайраән.
hay yǝm naql sǝ ž̌y kudakı sǝ ž̌y caqlai dawra-ǝn
well DEM1 story from my childhood from my childhood era-ABL

Well, this story is from my childhood, from my childhood time.

O_SP:2
Џузәм цәклаиәк туәт, өн жы нан тобистон рәғдий
wuz=ǝm caqlay-ǝk tu=ǝt yan ž̌y nан тобистон рәѓ=ı
I=1SG little-DIM be.PST=and then my mother summer go.PST-i
I was a little (child) and then in summer my mother went to the summer pasture and all (my siblings) were taken [lit. ‘they took all’] to the summer pasture and I stayed in the village with my father.

Then, my mother (went to) where our mountain summer pasture is, she went there.

Then I stayed (in the village) for two months and then, in the third month, it was August, I cried [lit. ‘that’]: “Take me to my mother, too.”

Then my father seated me on the donkey and took me to the summer pasture.
Like this we went slowly through the mountains, I was on the donkey, the weather was hot, we went towards the summer pasture and we arrived at the summer pasture and my father took me down from the donkey, he put me on the ground and our neighbour’s dog was there.

It snatched [lit. ‘came-snatched’] me, it snatched my whole leg.

I remained there, they took me to the shepherd’s hut, they bandaged my leg with a
E. Interlinear text

"bandage and my mother (and the others) told them off saying [lit. ‘that’]: ‘Why did you bring her?’"

O_SP:9
Янәв вөз маж абратана ска хур го сворот,
yan =ǝv woz maẓ abratna (ru) sk-a xur go swor =ǝt
then=3PL again I.OBL back on-DEM3 donkey make.PST riding=and

вөзәв маж вөзәмди, хамовди мажи.
woz =ǝv maẓ wozomd-i xamovd-i maẓ-i
again=3PL I.OBL bring.PST-i bring down.PST-i I.OBL-ACC


Then they seated me on the donkey again and again they brought, they brought me down [to the village].

O_SP:10
Вөзомдәв рә балиниц мажи, жы пыды - мыдәв, ха
wozomd=ǝv гә balnic maẓ-i žy pyd myd=ǝv xa
bring.PST=3PL to.down hospital I.OBL-ACC my foot (rhyme)=3PL well
dорывәт чиз дәйти, гарм ту, ўым бизиб.
dorыw=ǝt čiz dat-i garm tu ўm bizib
decision=and (some)thing hit.PST-i warm be.PST DEM1 ugly

They brought me to the hospital, my leg, well, they put medicine and something (on it), (I had) inflammation (in the leg) [lit. ‘it was warm’], so bad [lit. ‘ugly’].

O_SP:11
Ян, хай, дыхтар дорыв рәти, йэм соз вити, бади и
yan xay dxatyr dorыw ret-i ўm soz vići badi i
then well doctor medicine give.PST-i DEM1 fixed become.PST-i after one

афта вөзәм тәфди жы нан шУән.
afta woz =ем тәf-d-i жы нан шУәn
week again=1SG set.off.PST-i own mother near

Then, well, the doctor gave me medicine, this one [the leg] healed, one week later I set off again to my mother.

O_SP:12
Ян, хай, вөзәв маж ска хур го сворот ўтәв
yan xay woz =ǝv maẓ sk-a xur go swor yut =ǝv
then well again=3pl I.obl on-DEM3 donkey make.pst riding take.pst=3pl

маж тәт, ха рәфдәм драәм фат, жы нан явиш
maẓ t-әt xa raфd=ǝm dra=ǝm фat žy nан явиш
I.obl in-DEM3=and well go.pst=1sg there3=1sg arrive.pst my mother they
Then, well, again they took [lit. ‘made riding-took’] me there on the donkey and, well, I arrived [lit. ‘went-arrived’] there, my mother (and the others) brought [lit. ‘took-put’] me to the shepherd’s hut, in that shepherd’s hut where they were staying.

They put me right there and then, there, well, they brought tea, they gave me cream and butter and qurut that they make there.

I (was) so happy that I ate [lit. ‘eat’] that butter, and I walked up on the roof, I ate the qurut and on the roof the qurut was placed all around, they had stored [lit. ‘put’] it there.
I ate those things and then I came down, I stayed with my mother for one or two weeks and then one day my mother was [lit. ‘is’] washing clothes outdoors.

She was [lit. ‘is’] washing the summer pasture clothes and all the shepherds had gone on shepherd’s duty and I and my mother (were) alone in that shepherd’s hut.

Then my mother (told) me [lit. ‘that’]: “Go, look at the water, (see) if it has become hot or not.”
I put [lit. 'went-put'] my whole hand in the hot water, my hand got all burned.

Then this (hand) became all a blister and again that day my father brought [lit. 'made riding-brought'] me home on the donkey and never took me (to the summer pasture) again.

Well, they made butter and qurut and cheese for me, I came home.
Then, after another two months, my mother returned from the summer pasture.

Never again did I go to the summer pasture.

A person there was.

Then he gave an arrow.

(He) gave (it) to his sons.
“Shoot, marry whichever, whatever one it falls on”, right?

He gave (his) three sons (each) an arrow and then they shot and (the arrow) of one (of them) hit a frog.

The (arrows of) the other two (each) hit a human.

My dear, that frog then... it (was) like this, she (was) not frog, she (was) actually a fairy.

That is, at daybreak she turned into a frog and at nightfall she turned into a human
E. Interlinear text

_and at daybreak she turned into a frog._

**O_Z03:10**

А ṣų ар труй скав йазд.  
a wuč ar truy sk-av waz-d  
EMP arrow each three on-them fall-3SG

*The arrows fell on the three.*

**O_Z03:11**

Ска бу ḥинан йазд, сэк и мукт.  
sk-a bu ḥinan waz-d sok i mukt  
on-DEM3 two woman fall-3SG on one frog  

*They fell on two women (and) on one frog.*

**O_Z03:12**

Айи кобил ки, йи тозакор ки..., а я мукт, нәйә?  
a-ʒi qobil ki ʒi tozakor ki a ya mukt nәy-a  
such capable SUB so cleanly SUB EMP DEM3 frog no-Q  

*(She was) so capable, so cleanly that... that frog, right?*

**O_Z03:13**

Ян я буйищ кандән.  
yan ya buy-iš kand-әn  
then DEM3 two-PL laugh-ABL  

*Then, the other two (brothers) laughed.*

**O_Z03:14**

Ян канд, скам сар канд ки, - элә йәтән ваҹт дә мукт.  
yan kand sk-am sar kand ki elo yәt-әn waʃt dә mukt  
then laugh on-his head laugh SUB ADR DEM2-ABL fall.PST in frog  

*Then (they) laughed, they laughed at him [saying ‘that’] “Goodness, his (arrow) fell on a frog!*

**O_Z03:15**

Йәтән ваҹт дә мукт -.  
yәt-әn waʃt dә mukt  
DEM2-ABL fall.PST in frog  

*His (arrow) fell in a frog!”*
Then, my dear, he said [lit. ‘that’]: “Well, whatever they do, perhaps that should be my destiny.”

I (will) marry her.”

He married her.

Then he put her in one place, he put her in like a small hut, then the father ordered... (he ordered) his daughters-in-law that... with their husbands [lit. ‘that’]: “You (must) scythe.”
E. Interlinear text

They then scythed and then, my dear, they scythed and that lad said [lit. ‘that’]:
“'What shall I do now, when, my dear, she is a frog, now, she cannot scythe.’”

O_Z03:21
She threw off her (frog) skin, a human actually, look, a woman, human, she scythed so well that, my dear, she finished before the others, before the other two, the humans.

O_Z03:22
She finished, again entered the frog thing, (she) entered the (frog) skin.

O_Z03:23
She entered that skin again and, my dear, then she entered that (skin) and well, those
(other) were surprised.

O_Z03:24
Xǝnǝn, - ǯǝm ǯǝ coxt tu -. ʃan-ǝn ǯǝm ǝq soxt tu
say-3PL DEM1 from form be.PST

They said: “What sort of (thing) was this?”

O_Z03:25
Woz ǯǝmboǝk Xǝnǝn ki, aqon, - ǯǝ kǝndǝr
woz ǯǝm-v-ǝk ʃan-ǝn ki aqon ǯǝ kǝnd-v-ǝr
again DEM1-PL.OBL-DAT say-3PL SUB my dear.ADR own wife-PL.OBL-DAT

Xǝnǝv ki, mǝ ɡoxǝn XObject ǯǝc -. ʃan-ǝv ki mar gox-ǝn ɡyɬruy ǯǝc
say-2PL SUB to me make-3PL nice bread

Again (the parents) told them that, my dear: “Tell your wives to make a nice (loaf of)
bread for me.”

O_Z03:26
Xǝnǝn, - ǯep tруi ʃanǝv ǯǝ kǝndǝr, ʃanǝv, mǝ ʃan-ǝn ar truy ʃan-ǝv ǯǝ kǝnd-v-ǝr ʃan-ǝv mǝ
say-3PL each three say-2PL own wife-PL.OBL-DAT say-2PL to me

XObject ǯǝc ɡoʃǝn ɡyɬmǝn -. ɡyɬruy ǯǝc gox-ǝn ɡyɬm-ǝn
beautiful bread make-3PL bring-3PL

The said: “All three (of you), tell your wives, tell them to bring me a nice (loaf of)
bread.”

O_Z03:27
Iwki ǯǝt Xǝnd ki, - m工序 ǯǝc ɡoxt -. iwki ǯǝt ʃan-d ki m工序 crǝng ǯǝc gox-t
at once DEM2 say-3SG sub frog how bread make-3SG

At once that one said [lit. ‘that’]: “How will a frog make a (loaf of) bread?”

O_Z03:28
Iwki ǯaw - ǯ - Xǝnd ki, - tǝ ],& ǯama mǝcar,
iwki ǯaw e ʃan-d ki tǝ ǯi ǯama mǝ-car
at once she VOC say-3SG SUB you.SG not any sadness PROH-do
At once she [the frog] said [lit. ‘that’]: “Don’t worry at all, I will make it.”

Go to sleep, see how I can make it.”

Well, he slept and the other two (women) made (bread).

My dear, the next day, he brought it to the king.
E.2.11 Fairy-tale O_Z03

O_Z03:34

(The king) said: “No, (I don’t accept) yours, there you are, this is a good and nicely made (loaf).”

O_Z03:35

During the harvest it (was) also like that, she [the frog] scythed well, they scythed badly.

O_Z03:36

As if she scythed all the field in one minute, with her husband.

O_Z03:37

Those (other two) did not.

O_Z03:38

They were surprised.
Yes, and then... well, they came there and then they said.

(They) said [lit. ‘that’]: “What kind of wife has he got?”

Then, they (were) jealous of her.

That is, the two sisters-in-law [lit. ‘wives of brothers in relation to one another’], right?

The two sisters-in-law with that one.

And then they waited and one particular day they spied on her.
Then they said [lit. ‘that’]: “Wait, when she sits somewhere, we’ll burn her (frog) skin, right? We’ll burn (it).”

They said: “May she not enter that skin.”

Then they burnt (it).

Then they waited, my dear, I don’t know where she went with her husband, then they burnt it.

They burnt it, my dear, she disappeared, that girl, herself, disappeared.
They burnt it [the frog skin], their things remained.

My dear, yes, their things, their work remained.

He himself went around, that lad went around, however much he called (her), however much he ran this way and that [lit. ‘this that side’], (he saw that) she was not (anywhere).

Well then.

I will tell you a story about a bear and a hunter.
Once upon a time [lit. ‘there was - there was not’] there was a hunter.

This was a very long time ago.

Then this hunter went hunting and it was autumn.

The hunter went hunting and this weather had also become cold.

It snowed, in the mountains there was also snow, cold.

Then this hunter fell down into a crevice.

He fell into a crevice and remained there.
He could not go back home anymore.

Then in that crevice he saw that two bears were asleep.

(They) had fallen into a doze.

The hunter said: “Oh, these bears will now wake up, they will eat me.”

Then he looked closely (and saw) that they weren’t moving at all.
As if they had become lifeless.

Then the hunter took his knife and killed one of those bears.

He killed one of them and then he kept eating the meat and the spring came.

Spring came and the weather became a bit warmer and...
Then the people brought out the seed to the village and they yoked the oxen and then they said “Bosh bya!” [a call for driving oxen].

**O_Z12:19**

**Бош бя ки йәм сдө а дәм**
call for driving oxen SUB say-3PL=and EMP DEM1 sound EMP in-DEM1

**нәғәрдүмү ғиш дәйтәт, яйиц дищән ки, алакай боор**
bear-PL.OBL ear hit-3SG=and they know-3PL SUB already spring

*When then said “bosh bya” this sound reached the bears’ ears and they knew that spring had already come.*

**O_Z12:20**

**Ян остә о스타 нәғәрдүм хат тапывд.**
then gradually bear self stir-3SG

*Then, gradually, the bear stirred.*

**O_Z12:21**

**Йәм шкорчӣ то а дәт ьахт а я нәғәрдүмән яй**
hunter until EMP in-DEM2 time EMP DEM3 bear-ABL his

**амра гушти қы イトәт, а яй писти хшәтк ғә ҳы**
friend meat-ACC all eat.PF=and EMP his skin-ACC pull.PF to.down own

*By that time the hunter had already eaten all meat of the other bear and had pulled the bear skin over himself.*
He had pulled (it) over himself and the bear moved and the hunter moved too.

He [the bear] got up and this one [the man] got up too.

He [the bear] shook himself and this one [the man] shook himself too.

They shook themselves and this bear slowly came out through the crevice.

The hunter was not able to come out.
(He) was not able (to come out) and then the bear took the hand of the man and pulled with force.

He kept pulling with force and he took him out of the crevice.

But he didn’t know that it was a human.

(The bear) thought that it was his (bear) companion.

Then, like that, he pulled him out and they set out to walk.
They kept walking across the steppe and the man, the hunter, gradually gradually fell behind and the bear got far ahead.

The bear went very far ahead and then this man took off the bearskin from his head and then ran away.

Then he ran away and the bear ran after him (but saw) that he could not catch him and (the bear) took stones and from anger hit his own head.

(The bear) came (and saw) that it was only an empty bearskin.
His companion was only an empty bearskin, the hunter had run away.

Then the bear kept hitting (his head), the man came down to the village, spring had already arrived.

He came down to the village (and saw) that his parents, his relatives had already made a Khudoyi [funeral ceremonial meal, in Wakhi it is also called ‘boč’] for him, they thought perhaps that he had died.

(But) he, when spring arrived, he again returned.
My dear, he returned to the village, he came to the first house, and then he shaved his beard and cleaned himself and washed himself and then (the people) took him to his parents’ house (and he saw) that they had (almost) died because of (worrying about) him.

So much they mourned for him, so much they became (upset), they thought [lit. ‘that’] he must have died.

God gave his soul to back him for a second time, and he returned home.
E. Interlinear text

E.2.13 Fairy-tale O_Z18

Three daughters

O_Z18:1
Ив̌и дгар үуз йәтвәр ѣәнәм, яй бә тәрих, э
iw-i dgar wuz yǝt-v-ǝr xǝn-ǝm yaw bo tǝrix e
one-ACC other I DEM2-PL.OBL-DAT say-1SG it ADD history VOC

ta.
ta
father

I will tell them another one [story], it is also a history [here, meaning an origin story], dear [lit. ‘father’ - a respectful form of address].

O_Z18:2
Ме одамизод цум хил халг.
me odamizod cum xil xalg
behold.PRX human some type man

Look, there are various types of humans.

O_Z18:3
Цә чизән бә дәнә йәзг, нәя?
cǝ čiz=ǝn bo dǝnyo wǝzg nǝy-a
from what=1PL to world come.PF no-Q

How we have come to (this) world, right?

O_Z18:4
Одамизод тәүәк, одами, ки соф тоза цәй, яй цә
odamizod tuǝtk odam-i ki sof toza sǝy yaw sǝ
human be.PF man-IND SUB completely clean SUB he from

cǝләң тәүәк, нәя?
cǝl-ǝŋ tuǝtk nǝy-a
people-ABL be.PF no-Q

There was a human, a human that (was) completely ideal, (s)he was a human being, right?

O_Z18:5
Ме а йәт жәнда.
me a yǝt žinda
behold.PRX EMP DEM2 fairytale

Look, this is a tale.
Kings had three sons.

No, he had ..... there was that one only-child daughter of a farmer.

(She) was a pretty girl.

(She) was extremely smart.

This one is a fairytale.

(About) this very girl.
My dear, when they heard [lit. 'that'], “Look, there is such a farmer’s daughter, she is both smart and very beautiful [lit. 'in picture’]”, then three kings came to ask for her hand.

That very girl.

When they came, her [lit. 'that'] father didn’t say no to anybody.

Yes, one (of them) performed the engagement ceremony [lit. ‘put fragrance-went’].

The second performed the engagement ceremony [lit. ‘came-put fragrance-went’].

The third one performed the engagement ceremony [lit. ‘put fragrance-went’].
The father kept silent as before.

The girl then went down to the middle of the room, she let her hair down around her neck.

She said: “My only and true father, I am guilty before you [because of the words she was going to say].

But you must be very simple-minded.”

“How come?”
(She) said: “Well, you promised me to three people, right?

What are you going to give to the other two tomorrow?

(If) you give me to one, what will you do about those (other) two then?

You didn’t say to those two [lit. ‘that’]: ‘I have one daughter

I have given (her) to one, there is nothing for the other two’.

You kept silent.

They will demolish [lit. ‘come-demolish’] all your household.
E.2.13 Fairy-tale O_Z18

O_Z18:30
Я буй дгариц. -
yə ya buy dgar-ıš
DEM3 two other-PL

Those other two.”

O_Z18:31
Аҷон, ӣәт бә дәйт дә айрат ӏәрәшт.
aǰon yət bə day-t də ayrat wәrәš-t
my dear.ADR DEM2 ADD hit-3SG in embarrassment remain-3SG

My dear, indeed he was embarrassed [lit. ‘in embarrassment hit-remained’].

O_Z18:32
ӏәрәшт, а ӣәм тәзәрӣ цартәт, аҷон,
wәrәš-t a yəm tәzәrī car-t=ǝt aǰon
remain-3SG EMP DEM1 supplication do-3SG=and my dear.ADR

бә дарий мәйло тәзәрӣ царт.
bə dari mawlo tәzәrī car-t
towards Imam supplication do-3SG

He was (embarrassed), he made supplication and, my dear, he made supplication to the Imam.

O_Z18:33
Аҷон, я на҈д нывъзд, мак Ɂат.
aǰon ya naʔd nỳw'yzd-d mak Ɂat
my dear.ADR DEM3 night go out-3SG moon arrive

My dear, in the night he went out, the moon appeared.

O_Z18:34
Аҷон мак Ɂати, ӣәт нывъд а рәнгәт а
aǰon mak Ɂat-i yət nỳw-d a rang=ǝt a
my dear.ADR moon arrive.PST-i DEM2 cry-3SG EMP way=and EMP

рангәт пүҹ дәйт, хла яй дин.
rang=ǝt puq day-t xla yaw din
way=and hunched up hit-3SG jab him hit

My dear, the moon appeared, he [the man] cried so much, hunched up, someone touched him.
E. Interlinear text

O_Z18:35
 jon ki i musfid d-a pryt
dear SUB one old man in-DEM3 front

Dear, an old man (appeared) in front of him.

O_Z18:36
- Э - х̌анд, - дикон, ту̓ш чиз аҷон йәм тәзәрӣ
e x̌an-d diqon tu=ǝʃ čiz aǰon yәm tәzәрӣ
VOC say-3SG farmer you=IPFV what dear.ADR DEM1 supplication
car yәm cum rwor tu ti tәzәрӣ bә dari mawlo
do DEM1 how many day be.PST your supplication towards Imam

цар, йәм цум рв̌ор ту, ти тәзәрӣ бә дари майло
car yәm cum rwor tu ti tәzәрӣ bә dari mawlo
do DEM1 how many day be.PST your supplication towards Imam

He said: “Farmer, why do you make this supplication, it’s already been several days, your supplication came to the Imam”, like that, my dear.

O_Z18:37
Х̌анд, - в̌узәм эм ранг кәрти хтои, жынән ту и
x̌an-d wuz=ǝm sm rang kort-i xtoi ẓ̌ыn-ǝn tu i
say-3SG I=1SG DEM1 manner do.PST-i mistake mine-ABL be.PST one
ciaрд, в̌узәм яй тру подщоәр карт вул, нив саарәк
car ǝr d wuz=ǝm yaw tru podšo-ǝr kar-t vul niv saarәk
daughter I=1SG her three king-DAT put-3SG fragrance now tomorrow

я буйвәр чиз рандәм?
ya buy-v-ǝr čiz rand-ǝm
DEM3 two-PL.OBL-DAT what give-1SG

(The farmer) said: “I made such a mistake, I had one daughter, I promised her to three kings, now, tomorrow, what shall I give to the other two?”

O_Z18:38
А дәтәм в̌уз айрон ёрәэ̌к, шәрмәнда мәж мәцар -.
a d-ǝt=ǝm wuz ayron wәrәx̌к шәрмәnda maʒ mә-car
EMP in-DEM2=1SG I wondering remain.PF ashamed I.OBL PROH-do

I don’t know what to do [lit. ‘in that I have remained wondering’], don’t make me ashamed.”
The old man said [lit. ‘that’]: “Do you have a young donkey?”

“I do.”

“A puppy?”

He said: “I do.”

He said: “Put [lit. ‘take-put’] them together with your daughter in one room.”

That old man said.
To the farmer.

Dear, he then came to the house.

Dear, it became day, he said to his wife ['that']: “Bring that young donkey with that puppy, we will put them together with my daughter in one room.”

My dear, they also brought food for them [lit. ‘brought-gave’], they put [lit. ‘took-put’] them in one room.

In the afternoon they went (there and saw) that, “look, three girls”, it was not clear
(which one was which).

O_Z18:50
Кы я и сырат.
кы яа и сырат
all DEM3 one picture

All of them looked like one. [interrupted by audience]

O_Z18:51
Аҷон, яң алқисәт Wildcard яви туйи гонән.
ajon yan alqisa=ǝt wǝzy-ǝn yav-i tuy-i gon-ǝn
my dear.ADR then in short=and come-3PL they.OBL-EZ wedding-ACC do-3PL

My dear, then, in short, they held [lit. ‘came-made’] a wedding for them.

O_Z18:52
И рв̌ор ар туйи гонән.
i rwor ar truy tuy-i gon-ǝn
one day each three wedding-ACC do-3PL

They held a wedding for all three on the same day.

O_Z18:53
Бәдарай.
bedaraw
there we go

There we go.

O_Z18:54
Яң бади як сол рәӵди мә
yan badi yak sol rǝǧ-ǝn me
then after one year go.PST-i behold.PRX

дыхтардиданы спо ҹай ҹәй, нә?
dyxтардидан-и spo ǝy ǝy ǝy-ә
visiting the newly married daughter-IND our place SUB no-Q

Then one year later they went to visit their newly married daughters, which is (a custom) in our place, right?

O_Z18:55
Яң рәӵән дыхтардидан.
yan rǝɣ-ǝn dyxтардидан
then go-3PL visiting the newly married daughter

Then they went to visit their daughters. [interrupted by audience]
When they visited the [first] daughter, my dear, then (the parents-in-law) brought food for them, then her [the girl’s] parents asked ['that']: “How do you like [lit. ‘this’] our daughter?”

He [the father in law] said: “We like your daughter very much.

My dear, there is no deficiency in her conduct and work.

[But sometimes] she [lit. ‘this one’] becomes stubborn like a donkey, she works a lot.”
They understood that this (was) that donkey.

It was donkey, she was from the donkey.

My dear, again, the next day they went to the second place.

There too, (the parents-in-law) brought a meal for them, they [the parents of the girl] again asked the same way [lit. 'that']: “Do you like our daughter or not?”

(The father-in-law) said: “We like her, she is very capable, but she barks like a dog.”
"Eh, this is that dog."

Dear, then the next morning they went [lit. ‘got up-went’] to that last one, to that last king.

My dear, then they entered there, (the hosts) brought food the same way, they had a watermelon.

Then the father-in-law said to her: “Go bring that watermelon”, she brought it.

He said: “Not this one, the other one.” [DEM2, he refers to the watermelon that she
is holding, he is not holding it].

O_Z18:70

Тру лой алқиса яй пщит.
trу loy alqisa yaw pši-t
three time in short she return-3SG

Three times, in short, she returned.

O_Z18:71

Я прчод нәй нәх̌ан̸д ки, - хай йәм и тока, йәм. -
ya prčod nәу nә-x̌an-d ki xay yәm i toqa yәm
DEM3 girl no NEG-say-3SG SUB well DEM1 one alone DEM1

That girl didn’t object [lit. ‘that’]: “Well, this is the only one” [there was only one watermelon, she returned with the same one each time].

O_Z18:72

Тру лой ра̲̊ш т ьизит.
trу loy rå̲š-t wizi-t
three time go-3SG come-3SG

She went back and forth [lit. ‘went-came’] three times.

O_Z18:73

Каñән да прыт, чу̰̊й яй цар̸̊ен итак, ҳа̲̊нд, - йәм
kat-әn d-a pryt cuʔ yaw car-әn itak ҳа̲̊nd әm
put-3PL in-DEM3 front cut in half it do-3PL eat.INF say-3SG DEM1

жы ҳә̲̊д савәр мақыл?
žы ҳә̲̊d sav-әr maqыl
my daughter you.PL.OBL-DAT pleasing

They put it in front (of the guests), made them eat one half, (the father) said: “Do you like my daughter?”

O_Z18:74

- Э - ҳа̲̊нд, - ти ҳә̲̊д рәнг ҳә̲̊д әчи наст, йәм
e ҳå̲nd ti ҳә̲̊d rang ҳә̲̊d әči nast yәm
VOC say-3SG your daughter like daughter nothing is not DEM1

ақиқат қо инсо̲̊н̸̊н.
aqiqat қо inson-әn
ture from human-ABL

(The father in law) said: “There is no one like your daughter, she is truly human.
E. Interlinear text

O_Z18:75
Йәм доной...
yǝm donoi
DEM1 smartness

Such smartness...

O_Z18:76
Жын нив а йәт и хәрбыза ту, ёуз брои озмыд, ко,
ẓ̌ыn niv a yǝt i x̌arbyza tu wuz broi ozmud ko
mine now EMP DEM2 one melon be.PST I for test let’s see

йәмәш чиз хәнд,
yǝm=ǝṣ̌ čiz x̌an-d
DEM1=IPFV what say-3SG

Now, I only had that one watermelon, I wanted to test her, ‘let’s see, what she says.’

O_Z18:77
Тру лой рәфд, нәйи нәхәтәй -. tru loy rәf d nәy-i nә-xәt-әy
three time go.PST no-ACC NEG-say.PST-i

She went three times, she didn’t say no.

O_Z18:78
Ме йәт цә инсонән. me yǝt cǝ inson-ǝn
behold.PRX DEM2 from human-ABL

Look, she is human.”

O_Z18:79
Ме нив цә инсонән ар хәлг бә цәй, яә инсәндәрй
me niv cǝ inson-ǝn ar xalg bә cәy yaw insondәrә
behold.PRX now from human-ABL every man ADD SUB she humanity

dишт, нәә?
diš-t nәә-a
know-3SG no-Q

Look, now, everyone who is also human, (s)he knows human behavior, right?

O_Z18:80
А цә айвөнән бази хәлг тәй, яә ярк цәрт, дәйт хур
a cә aywon-ǝn bazi xalg tәy yaw yark car-t dәy-t xur
EMP from animal-ABL some people is he work do-3SG hit-3SG donkey
There are also some people of animal origin, they work (but) are stubborn like a donkey, they work (but) bark like a dog. [interrupted]

There are many people of animal origin.

Humans are rare.

Behold, this is how these have come to this world, the humans.