

B5 LIFE IN 'ĒN-NUNE (1)

Informant: Dawið Bakus ('Ēn-Nune)

*Weddings*

(1) 'áxn̄i q̄amθa<sup>1</sup> gu-maθwàθa,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwal̄n 'urxáθ̄at g'án̄n,<sup>1</sup> dác mǎθǎlan y-oðáxwa xlulàne.<sup>1</sup> š̄uraye<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa,<sup>1</sup> náš̄at xát̄na y-az̄iwa<sup>1</sup> l-bēθ-be-k'ə̀lo.<sup>1</sup> níxa níxa<sup>1</sup> maš̄méwala b̄onta qamàye<sup>1</sup> 'i-maš̄mèwala<sup>1</sup> y-amr̄iwa 'áxn̄i b̄ə̀yax<sup>1</sup> ʔalbáxxa brat̄exu<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó bronèni.<sup>1</sup> y-ámri b-xàzexi.<sup>1</sup> (2) tà-ma.<sup>2</sup> q̄amθa<sup>1</sup> líθwa qá-t mbaqr̄iwa bràta.<sup>1</sup> báb̄at bràta<sup>1</sup> xazéwa yámm̄at bràta<sup>1</sup> xazéwa ḡd̄àðe 'àni,<sup>1</sup> gaȳat-tré mádre y-az̄iwa<sup>1</sup> y-amr̄iwa mù wiðl̄exu.<sup>2</sup> hal-l̄eka yá'ni<sup>1</sup> xəyálexu mù-q̄t̄ila.<sup>2</sup> yá'ni raz̄itu 'ə̀n-la.<sup>2</sup> (3) y-oráwa š̄aqláwa dàna<sup>1</sup> rába ḡə̀ye<sup>1</sup> 'ə̀št̄à yarxé<sup>1</sup> xamš̄à yarxé<sup>1</sup> biz-zàwda.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni béna xác̄ča zàm̄at 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-də-trè<sup>1</sup> le-y-yawíwa mən-'ój̄ax l-'ój̄ax.<sup>1</sup> ham-kút-xa 'ój̄ax g'áne qamàye,<sup>1</sup> kóma maš̄iwa<sup>1</sup> 'a-bràta<sup>1</sup> yawíwala ʔla-'ój̄ax g'ána.<sup>1</sup> fa-hal-hád̄ax š̄aqláwa dàna.<sup>1</sup> (4) bár hād̄ax<sup>1</sup> 'ín qāʔiwa xəyalè<sup>1</sup> y-amr̄iwa 'áxn̄i ràziyax.<sup>1</sup> y-az̄iwa tré naš̄è<sup>1</sup> mən-bēθ-xətna,<sup>1</sup> y-az̄iwa be-k'ə̀lo.<sup>1</sup> y-atw̄iwa<sup>1</sup> m̄šawθ̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> xaml̄iwa.<sup>1</sup> d̄oryaxxa g'án̄n gu-beθ̄exu.<sup>1</sup> b̄ə̀yax ʔ-ód̄ax xəzmayúθa mən̄n̄exu.<sup>1</sup> rába b-xáðexi qá-t mxaθ̄axθ̄áxxa xəzmayùθa.<sup>1</sup> (5) bálki qam-dána háwa wíye xázme m-ḡd̄àðe.<sup>1</sup> fa-mbáqri ḡd̄àðe<sup>1</sup> ʔ-ámri hé 'áxn̄i ràziwax.<sup>1</sup> qemíwa dàna,<sup>1</sup> matt̄iwa niš̄ánqe.<sup>1</sup> niš̄ánqe mòdila.<sup>2</sup> yá'ni xà,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-ʔ-ámri,<sup>1</sup> 'ída hāmànta,<sup>1</sup> 'ída hāmànta<sup>1</sup> matt̄iwa kóma... zùze.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga zúze baš̄òrewa.<sup>1</sup>

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*Weddings*

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

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: What have you done?

<sup>2</sup> Literally: What have your thoughts cut?

<sup>3</sup> I.e. a deposit.

(6) *mattüwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx* *xá xámša* *dinàre*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*m-hàtxa mândi* *yá'ni* <sup>2</sup>*ax-mšèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *líθm*.<sup>2</sup> *péši* *nišanqa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-oráwa* *xa-dána* *biš-hòdæx*,<sup>1</sup> *xákma* *yàrx*.<sup>1</sup> *y-óra* *xákma* *yàrx*,<sup>1</sup> *béna* *m-táma* *hòdæx* *y-ámri* *t-odéxi* *talòbe*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áwewa* <sup>2</sup>*íla* *flàbta* *yá'ni* <sup>2</sup>*íða* *hámánta* *doqùwala*,<sup>1</sup> *xárθa* *béna* *y-azíwa* *talòbe*.<sup>1</sup>

(7) *talòbe*,<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa* *mexòlta*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*á* *mexòlta* *násæt* *k'álo* *y-odíwala*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áni* *táma* *mrazgíwa* *mexòlta*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ítlæn* *mexolyàθa*...<sup>1</sup> *meθéwa* *xá-árbæt* *xwàre* *y-amrúxwa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*árbæt* *xwàre*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*íθ-árbæt* *xwàre*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*árbæt* *kòme*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*árbæt* *xwàre* *permüwale-u*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*árbæt* *kòme*...<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa* *básra* *mbaşlíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *béna* *başlíwa* *rèzza*.<sup>1</sup> *qawürma* *y-amrúle*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áwewa* *rèzza-w*<sup>1</sup> *dére* *básra* *gáwe* *díye*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áwewa* *y-ámri* *qawürma*.<sup>1</sup> (8) <sup>2</sup>*u-y-azíwa* *táma*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*o-yóma* *qáííwa* *nàqda*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *béna* *y-atwíwa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *mšawθíwa-w* *bánta* *qamáye* *mšeríwa* *yá'ni*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ax-t-ámrx* *mazyátta*.<sup>1</sup> *t-amórwa* *qamáye*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*é-ga* *náqda* *xànčí* *y-awéwa*,<sup>1</sup> *mæn-ásrí* *dinàre* *hal-tlâθi*,<sup>1</sup> *bálki* *xámší*,<sup>1</sup> *kliθéla* <sup>2</sup>*ahwáltæt* *d-ò* *naša* *kóma* <sup>2</sup>*íθwále* *mšèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *t-amèrwa* <sup>2</sup>*áxni* *báyæx* *xámší* *dinàre*.<sup>1</sup> *hè*,<sup>1</sup> *t-ámri* *xámší* *dinàre*,<sup>1</sup> *t-ámri* *hè*,<sup>1</sup> *lííla* *xàm*.<sup>1</sup> (9) *qayámwa* *xéna* *t-amèrwa* *bèna* <sup>2</sup>*íθ* *xatràna-w* <sup>2</sup>*áxni-x* *pyáša* *xèzme*.<sup>1</sup> *t-ámèr* *mót* *mára* *fálln* <sup>2</sup>*àti*.<sup>1</sup> *t-amèrwa* <sup>2</sup>*ána* *màšlèn* <sup>2</sup>*ásra* *dinàre*.<sup>1</sup> *háwæt* *basíma* *ràba* <sup>2</sup>*u-máxa* *çàppe* *zamrúwa-w*.<sup>1</sup> *kále* *m-bar-hádæx* *mó-ytu* *màra*.<sup>2</sup> *mádre* *m-bar-hádæx*,<sup>1</sup> *mašléwa* *xá-mændi* *xèna*.<sup>1</sup> (10) *násæt* *k'álo* *y-amrúwale*,<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri* *xátær* *xatràna* *lán-ðaya* *mòdi*,<sup>1</sup> *xèzme* <sup>2</sup>*u-péšæx* *dóste-u* *xèzme-u*,<sup>1</sup> *t-la-páyæš* *lóbbæn* *b-gðàðe*.<sup>1</sup> *qayámwa* *mašléwa* *xámša* *xène*.<sup>1</sup> *t-ámèr* *péšíwa* *fláθi-u* *xámša*.<sup>1</sup> *qayámwa* *bábæt* *xètna*,<sup>1</sup> *dawóqwala* <sup>2</sup>*íð* *báb* *k'álo*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *diwáqa* *dawóqwa* <sup>2</sup>*íð-ðíye* *qá-t* <sup>2</sup>*ó-mændi* *wèle*.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: is there not?

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the deposit.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: 'so that our heart does not become against each other'.

(11) *mən-táma hódax zamrúwa-w<sup>1</sup> raqðúwa-w<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa zamrúwa diwàne.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa tíwe diwáne mšawòθe<sup>1</sup> ’u-zamrúwa...<sup>1</sup> zmaryáθa basímewa t-’áθra táma.<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa ’áraq.<sup>1</sup> béna gu-d-á-dana meθéwa štèθa.<sup>1</sup> ’a-štèθa<sup>1</sup> har-tàma mpalíxwala,<sup>1</sup> ’áraq.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (12) *’áraq mpaltíxla<sup>1</sup> m-yabiše,<sup>1</sup> sab-é-ga xúrme liθwa táma,<sup>1</sup> y-amrúwala qázbe.<sup>1</sup> fa-’áraq mpaltíwa b-yabiše,<sup>1</sup> yabiše ’u-’ònwé.<sup>1</sup> paláttat ’áraq,<sup>1</sup> t-amrèxi,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa meθéwa líne ’íθwa,<sup>1</sup> deréwa líne,<sup>1</sup> ’u-deréwa miya gáwa.<sup>1</sup> ’u-mkasèwala-w<sup>1</sup> mat-túwala xa-dúkθa šaxínta<sup>1</sup> t-amrúxxa gòma.<sup>1</sup> t-óya šaxínta mkasèwala.<sup>1</sup> ’u-šagláwa qúrbə l-’árbi, xamši yomáθa<sup>1</sup> (13) qa-’íma.<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó-yomə t-wéwa t-ámrx talòbe.<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó-yomət meθéwa ’áraq náše.<sup>1</sup> y-atúwáwa ’əsvi,<sup>1</sup> t-làθi<sup>1</sup> ’árbi náše y-atúwáwa zmára rqaða.<sup>1</sup> meθéwa ’áraq,<sup>1</sup> deréwa šatèwa,<sup>1</sup> ’u-y-odíwa mázze-u básre-u mándi-u šabùðe.<sup>1</sup> (14) ’áraq—’íθwa masína.<sup>1</sup> masína mturáštewa m-’ùpra,<sup>1</sup> fa-’án məndiyáne deréwa gu-d-a-masína,<sup>1</sup> ’a-masína ’íθwa glās zòra.<sup>1</sup> deréwale-u šatèwale t-là miya.<sup>1</sup> fa-’a-štèθa šatèwala t-lá miya.<sup>1</sup> šagláwa t-ámrx trè-sa’əte,<sup>1</sup> tre-t-là-sa’əte.<sup>1</sup> m-bár xamlíwa,<sup>1</sup> raqðúwa,<sup>1</sup> zamrúwa.<sup>1</sup> béna meθéwa mexòlta.<sup>1</sup> (15) mexòlta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,<sup>1</sup> ’u-kəfláne.<sup>1</sup> ’u-béna ’íθwa ləxma y-amrúxwa zedàye.<sup>1</sup> ’aw-zedàya mtúršewa m-xəttə.<sup>1</sup> an-xəttə zǎrúwala... čeri zǎrúwala.<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa rába ’i-zǎrúwala čeri.<sup>1</sup> bəhər,<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət xámša,<sup>1</sup> ’àšta,<sup>1</sup> ’i-xazdúwala.<sup>1</sup> fa-’áni ’i-xazdúwala-w<sup>1</sup> mdarèwala-w<sup>1</sup> mašléwala ’ərxə,<sup>1</sup> taxnùwala,<sup>1</sup> péši qàmxa.<sup>1</sup> (16) ’o-qàmxa<sup>1</sup> meθéwale bèθa.<sup>1</sup> béna ’íθwa baxtáθa t-yáði t-yàpi<sup>1</sup> lešúwale.<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa tášte gòrta<sup>1</sup> lešúwale,<sup>1</sup> hálbət miya mánne mánne lešúwale.<sup>1</sup> mattúwale xá-sa’ət hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> xáčča pyáša xámèwa y-amrúxle.<sup>1</sup> deréwa xmíra gáwa diye,<sup>1</sup> xámèwa.<sup>1</sup> bár xámèwa,<sup>1</sup> y-ámri dān-diye<sup>1</sup> tla-pàya.<sup>1</sup> (17) nablíwa tanùre.<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa tanùra,<sup>1</sup> ’áx t-y-ámrx,<sup>1</sup> hár tla-d-ò-məndi y-áwe mtúrša.<sup>1</sup> ’u-’íθwa baxtáθa gu-màθa,<sup>1</sup> là-kulley yapéwa,<sup>1</sup> ’áni súley ’àwwewa.<sup>1</sup> ’u-yapýàwale<sup>1</sup> yawíwala xà-məndi,<sup>1</sup> xà-ləxma,<sup>1</sup> trè-ləxme,<sup>1</sup> ’ap-’áyya xamyáwa biye-diye.<sup>1</sup>*

(11) From then onwards they would sing and dance. Some would sing *diwane*. They would sit and say *diwane* and sing. The songs of our land there were beautiful. There was arak. At that time they brought drink. We produced that drink, arak, there. (12) We produced arak from raisins, because at that time there were no dates there—they were called *qazbe*. So, they produced arak with raisins, raisins and grapes. As for the production of arak, they used to bring pots, they would put down the pots and put water into them. Then they would cover them and place them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement). In order for it to be warm they would cover them. It would take about forty or fifty days. (13) For when (did they prepare the arak)? For the day on which what we call the betrothal took place. For that day people would bring arak. Twenty, thirty, forty people would sit singing and dancing. They would bring arak, they would serve (food) and they would drink. They would make snacks, meat dishes, kebabs and the like. (14) As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay. Those things<sup>7</sup> they would put in the *masina*. The *masina* had a small glass. They would serve it and drink it without water. They would drink that drink without water. This would take let's say two hours, two to three hours. Afterwards they would make merry, dancing and singing. Then they would bring the food. (15) As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls. There was bread which we called *zedaya*. The *zedaya* was made out of wheat. They would sow the wheat... in Autumn they would sow it. Many people sowed it in Autumn. In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it. They would harvest it, thresh it and take it down to the water-mill. They would grind it and it would become flour. (16) They would bring the flour home. There were women who knew how to bake and they kneaded it.<sup>8</sup> There was a large dish, (on which) they kneaded it. Of course they kneaded it together with water. They put it aside for about an hour and it gradually rose, as we say. They would put yeast in it and it rose. After it rose, they would say 'Its time (has come) for baking'. (17) They would take it to the ovens. There was an oven, as we say, which was made specially for this. There were women in the village whose profession was this, not all of them baked. She (the baker-woman) would bake it and they gave her something, a loaf of bread, two loaves, and she made a livelihood by this.

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<sup>7</sup> I.e. the drinks.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. the dough.

(18) *fa-m-bar-hàdæx*<sup>1</sup> *y-atwìwa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *y-axlìwa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *mádre* <sup>2</sup>*i-zamríwa-w* *šatèwa*<sup>1</sup> *hál* *y-oráwa gu-léle*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>*áyya b-léle y-oðíwa* <sup>4</sup>*ašràre*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup>*u-qayámwa kút-xa y-azólwa* *bèθ-dìye*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-hàdæx*<sup>1</sup> *y-oráwa káma yàrx*.<sup>1</sup> *béna bálki* <sup>6</sup>*o-náša*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>7</sup>*o-xètna t-ámrx*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>8</sup>*o-úrza*,<sup>1</sup> *lè-y-awe táma*.<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa pláxa gu-mðinàθa máθálan*.<sup>1</sup> *t-amrìwa*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-<sup>9</sup>áxni* *xluláne* *dìyæn*<sup>1</sup> *hammáše y-oðáxwala*<sup>1</sup> *čeriyáwàθa*. (19) *čeriyáwáθa* <sup>10</sup>*ímela*.<sup>1</sup> *yáñi* *b-yárxæt* <sup>11</sup>*əçça*<sup>1</sup> <sup>12</sup>*u-ášra*,<sup>1</sup> *w-hal-xadəssə*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>13</sup>*áni y-amrəxxa čeri*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-<sup>14</sup>é-ga náše b-qéta* *y-áwa plìxe*,<sup>1</sup> *mjümíye mexòlta*,<sup>1</sup> *mjümíye mändiyàne*,<sup>1</sup> *kúlla mtugəbrəlla qa-d-è-ga*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>15</sup>*é-ga y-áwa bíš sapìqe*,<sup>1</sup> *lá y-awéwa šúla raba*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-y-ámri flan-yóma xlùlele*. (20) *tre-šabbáθa qam-dána čedi*.<sup>1</sup> *y-ázi maθwàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *čyàda čediwa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>16</sup>*é-ga líθwa càrd*<sup>1</sup> *líθwa wəràqa*<sup>1</sup> *mándi šúle nablìwa*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-náša y-azólwa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>17</sup>*iθwa maθwáθa qurbèni*.<sup>1</sup> *šaqólwa čánta mənne-u*<sup>1</sup> *máttu ləxma gəwa*,<sup>1</sup> *y-azólwa čyàda*,<sup>1</sup> *béθa bèθa*. (21) *šláma* <sup>18</sup>*əlləxu*.<sup>1</sup> *b-šena b-tawàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *yába čdetu xlúlə brøn-fəllən b-flàn-yoma*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>19</sup>*o-béθa kúlla hàdæx*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>20</sup>*iθwa tre-tlá maθwàθa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>21</sup>*o-náša y-azólwa* <sup>22</sup>*əlla dìyey*,<sup>1</sup> *l-ay-gòta*. (22) <sup>23</sup>*iθwalən maθwàθa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>24</sup>*ášta*, *xamša-<sup>25</sup>əštə maθwáθa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>26</sup>*i-mpálìwala*.<sup>1</sup> *y-azólwa l-bèθa-w*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər čdetu*<sup>1</sup> *xlúl-d-èni*?<sup>27</sup> *fəllən-ile*.<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər basíma raba*. (23) *béna* <sup>28</sup>*an-márxət xətna qemíwa mtagbòre*.<sup>1</sup> *mádre deréwa* <sup>29</sup>*áraq tla-xlúla*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-xlúla raba náše čediwa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>30</sup>*u-meθéwa* <sup>31</sup>*ərwe permíwa y-oðíwa qəlyə*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>32</sup>*u-meθéwa rəzza* <sup>33</sup>*u-məndyàne*<sup>1</sup> *béna hál-yomət xlúla*. (24) <sup>34</sup>*iθwalən xlúla táma*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>35</sup>*iθwa dáwla-w zòrna y-amrəxwale*.<sup>1</sup> *dáwla-w zòrna*<sup>1</sup> <sup>36</sup>*áni sáma zóda* <sup>37</sup>*iθwa suráye* <sup>38</sup>*u-hám mən-mšəlmáne t-íwa tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-<sup>39</sup>áni meθéwa* <sup>40</sup>*ašərtə*,<sup>1</sup> *šəbθa y-aθéwa*.<sup>1</sup>

(25) *xá-yoma qám dána*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəxla xyáptət xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *šadəsta y-áwe* <sup>41</sup>*o-yóma*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla náše y-aθéwa yatwíwa* *béθət xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *xamlíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *raqðíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *zamrìwa*.<sup>1</sup> *dárt yòma*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>42</sup>*iθwa xyáptət xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *xyáptət xətna y-aθéwa dáwla-w zòrna*.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>10</sup> For close family and friends.

(26) <sup>2</sup>i-jāmīwa nāše,<sup>1</sup> lošīwa jülle<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-xepīwale.<sup>1</sup> qām t-xēpi xātna,<sup>1</sup> meθēwa xa-yalūnka zōra.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ap-<sup>2</sup>āwowa xa-nišānqele.<sup>1</sup> mxallīwale rēs-dīye<sup>1</sup> xepīwale.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-xarāye xepīwa xātna.<sup>1</sup> y-asqīwa malwāšīwale jull-dīye<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-y-atwīwa.<sup>1</sup> (27) y-āwa wīde xarāmsa yōma.<sup>1</sup> y-āwa wīde dūxwa.<sup>1</sup> dūxwa <sup>2</sup>ile mtūrša mən-dāwwe-u<sup>1</sup> sārē-u<sup>1</sup> bāsre gāwe dīye<sup>1</sup> kull xa-māndi.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>anna<sup>1</sup> yāni y-orāwa dāna<sup>1</sup> tre-ṭlā-sa<sup>2</sup>ate <sup>2</sup>ārba sā<sup>2</sup>ate.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>āxni y-ođāxwa dūxwa tāma.<sup>1</sup> (28) <sup>2</sup>o-lēle<sup>1</sup> y-azāxwa be-k'ālo.<sup>1</sup> y-azāxwa be-k'ālo.<sup>1</sup> y-atwīwa b-dawēre,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>é-ga b-dawēre,<sup>1</sup> kođānta y-amrāxxa.<sup>1</sup> y-azīwa be-k'ālo.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>m-d-ā-maθele.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>m-d-a-mātha xētele,<sup>1</sup> y-azīwa y-atwīwa tāma be-k'ālo.<sup>1</sup> (29) <sup>2</sup>ap-tāma dāwola-w zōrna xmāla hāl b-lēle.<sup>1</sup> xātna-w qarīwa<sup>1</sup>—<sup>2</sup>āw šaqāliwa qarīwa mōnne dīye,<sup>1</sup> qarīwa y-āwe mōnne dīye <sup>2</sup>ap-<sup>2</sup>āw<sup>1</sup>—qarīwa-w xātna pēsīwa bé k'ālo,<sup>1</sup> yāni xākma xa-bētha qurbēy.<sup>1</sup> hé yāni ṭ-amrāxxe be-k'ālo.<sup>1</sup> (30) m-lēle mbādla tāma,<sup>1</sup> yāni mbarxīwa.<sup>1</sup> y-aθēwa qāša.<sup>1</sup> har-gu-bēθa<sup>1</sup> y-asrīwale gnūna-w<sup>1</sup> yāni ṭ-āmrx mbarxīwale.<sup>1</sup> ay-qāmθewa.<sup>1</sup> xārθa<sup>1</sup> bār mbarxīwa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-razgīwa<sup>1</sup> béna y-atwīwa k'ālo-w xātna-w<sup>1</sup> qarīwa-w qarīwa mōnney-u<sup>1</sup> béna nāše raqđīwa zamrīwa<sup>1</sup> hāl pēsāwa qédamta jāldē xāčča.<sup>1</sup> (31) béna meθēwa fīarta<sup>1</sup> faṭrīwa.<sup>1</sup> meθēwa<sup>1</sup> ... jājək y-awēwa,<sup>1</sup> gūpta,<sup>1</sup> kulla mturāsta tāma,<sup>1</sup> dūša,<sup>1</sup> duwāna<sup>1</sup>—duwāna <sup>2</sup>i-mtaršīwale mən-qāmxa<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-māšxa,<sup>1</sup> māšxa hūr,<sup>1</sup> māšxət <sup>2</sup>ārwe,<sup>1</sup> māšxət <sup>2</sup>ārwe m-āwowa tāza.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>é-ga līθwa,<sup>1</sup> la-k'āsa mārāwa<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-la-xāša mārēwa,<sup>1</sup> la-đāgāt y-awēwale.<sup>1</sup>

(32) fa-faṭrīwa razgīwa m-kūl-xa-māndi,<sup>1</sup> hāl kawūθra.<sup>1</sup> béna qām t-mšēre xātna,<sup>1</sup> mattīla ṭāmta<sup>1</sup> l-mes-īla<sup>1</sup> l-<sup>2</sup>ārela xzi-dāxila tāma.<sup>1</sup> mattīwa ṭāmta,<sup>1</sup> xātna y-amōrwa:<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ana-lē<sup>1</sup> axlēna.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>āwowa <sup>2</sup>ile xa-nišānqa dīym,<sup>1</sup> yāni m-zāwona qadīm hātxa y-āmriwa.<sup>1</sup> lé-y-axəl xātna.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

<sup>11</sup> The bathing of the groom took place in the river.

<sup>12</sup> Literally: time passed.

<sup>13</sup> Literally: it is on the table, it is on the ground, see how it is there.

(33) *magúrwá g'ān-diye*.<sup>1</sup> *y-odáxwa lèbe-u*,<sup>1</sup> *gaxkàxwa-w*<sup>1</sup> *zamrəxwa-w*<sup>1</sup> *xamláxwa*  
*bíya*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-amrəxwa*:<sup>1</sup> *də-xùlena-w*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər lən-kpina-w*<sup>1</sup> *xəðya-w*<sup>1</sup> *m-án məndiyàne*.<sup>1</sup>  
*'ap-'ayyéwa xa-xumlàna díyən*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni xa-nišànqa díyən*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-a-dàna*,<sup>1</sup> *y-amrúwa*:<sup>1</sup>  
*kəmə t-àxlət*.<sup>2</sup> *y-ámər: bá'yən 'əsrà-dinare*.<sup>1</sup> (34) *gu-d-a-dàna*,<sup>1</sup> *mádre mzanfərwala*  
*g'ān-diye*,<sup>1</sup> *y-amárra: lè-y-axlena*,<sup>1</sup> *lan-ðá'a mòdi*.<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri: xùll'*<sup>1</sup> *dànela*.<sup>1</sup> *qírra*.<sup>1</sup> *xùlena*.<sup>1</sup>  
*lan-ðá'a mòdi*.<sup>1</sup> *qemúwa yawíwale 'əsrà-dinare*<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-axəlwa*,<sup>1</sup> *həl'*<sup>1</sup> *l-kawùtra*.<sup>1</sup> (35)  
*'ána 'axxa nšéli xa-məndi*.<sup>1</sup> *k'əlo*<sup>1</sup> *'íman t-aθyàwa*<sup>1</sup> *páθa díya mkusèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *k'əlo*<sup>1</sup> *páθa*  
*díya mkusèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *məθéwa 'íθwalən xá...*<sup>1</sup> *'ax jùllele*<sup>1</sup> *'ax kunnəkkəθela*,<sup>1</sup> *hátxa daréwa*  
*l-yálma díya*.<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri xəppo*.<sup>1</sup> *'áw y-amrile xəppo*.<sup>1</sup> *xətna lè-y-xaze k'əlo*.<sup>1</sup> (36) *'u-y-átwi*  
*táma m-gòðə'*<sup>1</sup> *hál sá'ət xá'a tré*<sup>1</sup> *béna g'á'əg 'ázi bēθ-be-xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *qam-dàna*,<sup>1</sup> *y-áxli*  
*kawùtra*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúzge xùmša*,<sup>1</sup> *'áyya mēxólta y-óya l-nášt k'əlo*.<sup>1</sup> *'a-mēxólta*  
*yawíla-w*<sup>1</sup> *rázgi mbádla dàna*.<sup>1</sup> *qam-dàna y-áwe rəqáða zmára 'u-štàya*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-dáwla-w*  
*zòrna*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše y-áwa jəmye*,<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúzge qa-d-a-dàna*.<sup>1</sup> (37) *m-bar-t-y-áxli*,<sup>1</sup> *méθe*  
*dawèra*,<sup>1</sup> *koðənta y-amrəxwala*.<sup>1</sup> *mxamlúwala-w*<sup>1</sup> *deráwa qurtána-w m-an-məndiyàne*,<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-deréwa xá jùlla táməz reša-díya-w*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-xətna-w 'u-k'əlo*,<sup>1</sup> *k'əlo y-atúwəwa xa-xəzma*  
*díya mánna díya*,<sup>1</sup> *y-atúwəwa qaməye*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'áy mattúwala báθre díye*,<sup>1</sup> *xāš-t-koðənta*.<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-'úp xətna dawé' g'ān-diye*<sup>1</sup> *qarúwa...*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla b-dawére 'é-ga liθwa?*<sup>2</sup> *'u-xákma*  
*y-áwa p-àqla*,<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'m-wéwa maθwáθa rəhqa*.<sup>1</sup> (38) *'u-gu-d-a-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *'i-mšanúwa*  
*zála l-be-xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-á-dana y-amrúwala máxa čáppe bükə*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni patlúxxa dukáne*  
*'m-yéwa béθa qúrba*<sup>1</sup> *yan-rəhqa*.<sup>1</sup> *'áy y-ámri čáppe bükə*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni maxəðríla 'a-k'əlo*<sup>1</sup>  
*qúrba't bəθa*,<sup>1</sup> *y-áθi máti l-bəθa*.<sup>1</sup> *m-bár máti l-bəθa*<sup>1</sup>—*qam-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúzge xá*  
*'ilána*.<sup>1</sup> (39) *'ilána*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəxwala 'é-ga t-ámrxxa jwànnə*.<sup>1</sup> *'áy 'ilána mšaqlúwala*.<sup>1</sup>  
*deréwa xabúše bíya*.<sup>1</sup> *deréwa ləxma 'állá díya*.<sup>1</sup> *deréwa guttáθa*.<sup>1</sup> *rába mšaqlúwa*<sup>1</sup>  
*rába məndiyáne tazə*.<sup>1</sup> *'ay-'ilána 'əka?*<sup>2</sup> *masqúwala gərə*.<sup>1</sup> *xətna 'u-qarúwa y-asqúwa*  
*l-gərə*.<sup>1</sup> (40) *k'əlo y-aθyáwa l-tārət-bəθa*.<sup>1</sup> *táma y-áwa mtúrše*,<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa xa-'amána*  
*y-amrəxla zawərtə*.<sup>1</sup> *y-awa dorye yabiše gáwa*,<sup>1</sup> *gawze-u*<sup>1</sup> *bətme-u*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča šarníye*  
*'u-məndiyáne gáwa*.<sup>1</sup> *'áy y-óya muttéθa gu-tára qam-t-óra k'əlo*.<sup>1</sup> *qam-t-óra k'əlo*<sup>1</sup>  
*y-odáwa šlíwa məšxa*.<sup>1</sup>

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

(41) *mεθέωα mðšxa,¹ y-oðáwa šlíwa l-tǎra,¹ qa-t-ʼána bawarúθi θáya biyèxula,¹ pyášan m-d-áwewa bèθa.¹ ʼáwewa nišanqele.¹ xa-tušèle¹ qa-t-ʼána ʼáwewa ʼile bèθi¹ m-díya hòdax.¹ gu-d-ε-dàna¹ qemíwa¹ kʼálo toráwala ʼáy zawèrta¹ ʼu-y-oráwa gu-bèθa.¹*  
 (42) *m-bar-hàdax¹ qemíwa¹ mزابóné ʼilána.¹ náše ʼíwa kòpa¹ kùlla,¹ ʼu-ʼáwewa gárewa ràma.¹ ʼáwewa náše ʼiyéwa kùlla spára kòpa.¹ ʼa-ʼilána mزابnìwala y-amrǎxxa.¹ ṭ-aθéwa xázme díye¹ ṭ-amèrwa¹ hé gállak náše,¹ ʼéni záwæn ʼilána.¹ xa-náša díye ṭ-ámèrwa ʼána zonánna b-ʼàšra,¹ šaqlíwa ʼàšra dinàre.¹ ʼu-xéna ṭ-ámèrwa zonánna b-xamšàssar,¹ šaqlíwa xamšàssar.¹ qa-xumlána ʼáwewa mónði¹ sáma zóda lìθm.¹ (43) béna xaràye¹ qayómwa šaqlíwa ʼa-ʼilána¹ maxáwala l-swàna y-amrǎxla,¹ swàna.¹ ʼu-ʼan-gàwze¹ ṭ-ítwa bíya díya-w¹ xabùše¹ ʼu-sparègle¹ ʼu-m-án mændiyàne,¹ kùlla šaléwa gota-xtèθa.¹ ʼu-jámíwa náše mónna díya.¹ ʼu-ʼáy ʼilána mattíwa tàma.¹ ʼu-bár hàdax¹ béna kʼálo θíθa lǎxxa,¹ ʼo-yòma¹ pešíwa tàma.¹ (44) ʼašríta xlùlele.¹ qémi náše rqáða.¹ bár hàdax,¹ bár ṭ-ila-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma¹ yáʼni wára gu-l-bèθa,¹ θáyele qáša¹ ʼu-sára gnùele.¹ ʼó gnúna ʼile nišanqa¹ qa-t-... hāmántat bèθa,¹ pyáša d-o-bèθa.¹ (45) qáša ʼu-šamáše ṭ-íwa tàma¹ mšàli,¹ y-ásri gnúna¹ kul-xa-mèndi.¹ ʼu-ʼáni y-átwi qam-d-ó gnúna,¹ y-áwe mtúrša ʼán qānāšfele,¹ ʼán xa-mèndi,¹ ʼm-l-àrele.¹ y-átwi qám d-o-gnùna¹ ʼu-náše qémi rqáða ʼu-zmàra-w¹ kùlla yóma hàdax.¹ (46) xačča-pyáša xlúla y-awe ṭlā-yomane,¹ yómət trušèba,¹ dárt yòma,¹ ṭ-ámrvax sab-ʼáxni xluláne káslən šàbθa y-áwa.¹ xušèba-w¹ be-kʼálo y-áwa déri náše.¹ yómət trušèba¹ ʼáwewa be-xàtnele.¹ ʼó-yoma xlúla rasmìle.¹ qémi qedámta náše¹ ʼu-jǎmi.¹ (47) y-áwa zìle,¹ kút-xa bēθ-díye.¹ m-maθwáθa y-áwa ʼàθye¹ maθwáθa kùlla y-áwa lwíše júlle šàlla,¹ y-áwa mxùmle,¹ kusyàθa,¹ ʼu-mútte párrre gu-rèša.¹ ʼu-ʼo-ṭ-ítte xànjər¹ mut-téle xànjər.¹ yáʼni mxùmle rába šapíre júlle lwíše tròša.¹ ʼó-mèndi táza ʼò-yomèle¹ sab-ða-xəðyúθa ʼítla kùlla.¹*

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

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<sup>14</sup> Traditional clothes.

(48) *m-táma hódəx har-ò-yoma,<sup>1</sup> y-ámri xádáyət xətna.<sup>1</sup> y-áwe mbúšla kút-xa,<sup>1</sup> xa-rəzza<sup>1</sup> xa-prèxe,<sup>1</sup> xá rəzza smòqa,<sup>1</sup> xa-rəzza xwàra.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa xá-məndi y-áwe mbúšla.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-amríla xádáyət xətna.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xa-xəlləta tla-xətna 'ap-'áyya.<sup>1</sup> (49) 'u-y-áwa múθye bəθqe.<sup>1</sup> táma 'iθ-bəθqe.<sup>1</sup> maθyála báxta m-xəzmàne.<sup>1</sup> meθéla xádàya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-ázi l-xətna 'u-k'əlo<sup>1</sup> našqìle reše-díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-rēš-t-k'əlo.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθ-bəθqa dére b-rešəy.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mbarxìley y-ámrx<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni mbarxìley.<sup>1</sup> (50) 'u-y-àtwi,<sup>1</sup> 'ašərta kúlla jəmi-u<sup>1</sup> šàli.<sup>1</sup> bar-hàdəx,<sup>1</sup> bar-t-y-áxli náše kawúθra kull-xa-məndi,<sup>1</sup> qémi mpálti k'əlo marqðila.<sup>1</sup> y-áθi náše qamθəy,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíla mašlèla,<sup>1</sup> qam-tārət-béθa gòrta y-óya.<sup>1</sup> maduqíla xətna-w k'əlo gotə-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-béna náše ràqði.<sup>1</sup> 'up-'ó-yoma hal-'ašərta y-áwe xlúla.<sup>1</sup> (51) dárt yóma xlúla pàrəq.<sup>1</sup> 'u-k'əlo péša táma hál...yómət šəwwa<sup>1</sup> y-amríle šurèla.<sup>1</sup> hé yómət šəwwa<sup>2</sup> 'ile šurèla.<sup>1</sup> xətna-w k'əlo<sup>1</sup> xáčca mən-d-án-našət bəθa,<sup>1</sup> mən-xəzmàne,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi be-k'əlo.<sup>1</sup> y-ázi be-k'əlo tàma,<sup>1</sup> péšì 'ó-lele tàma.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni qámθa hətxa<sup>1</sup> hadíya lèle hádəx.<sup>1</sup> 'ína qámθa 'urxà 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> péšì xətna-w k'əlo tàma<sup>1</sup> hal-xušəba.<sup>1</sup> kulléy béna deříwa bəθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút-xa y-azəlwa bəθe-díye.<sup>1</sup>*

### Easter

(52) *qyàmta,<sup>1</sup> 'axni gu-maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> trósa rába tazeyèwa.<sup>1</sup> sáma zòda<sup>1</sup> b-lèle šaləxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'ašərta.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən šəwma,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'éða y-aθéwa mən-šəwma.<sup>1</sup> šəwma 'ile xamšì yomáθa.<sup>1</sup> bar-šémi náše xamšì yomáθa,<sup>1</sup> 'i-šəwíwa bə'e.<sup>1</sup> mrazgíwa<sup>1</sup> šábθa 'ašərta.<sup>1</sup> qám-dana y-áwa-mrúzge bə'e,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa xá mrúzge g'anəy.<sup>1</sup>*

(48) Subsequently, on the same day, there was what is called 'the lunch of the groom'. Everybody would have cooked something, one person rice, one stuffed vine leaves, another red rice,<sup>15</sup> another white rice. Everybody cooked something. This is called 'the lunch of the groom'. This also was a gift for the groom. (49) They would have brought sweets to be scattered (over the newly weds). We had (such a custom) of scattering sweets. A woman from among the relatives brings them. They bring the lunch, then go to the groom and bride and kiss his head and the head of the bride. Some people scatter sweets over them. In this way they bless them, according to our custom, they bless them. (50) They sit and in the evening all gather and go down (to dance). Afterwards, after the people have eaten all the lunch, they bring the bride out and make her dance. People come up to them and take them down to a large space outside. They put the groom and bride together side by side<sup>16</sup> and everybody dances. This day also<sup>17</sup> the wedding celebrations last until evening. (51) The next day the celebrations gradually come to an end. The bride stays there until the seventh day, which is called '(the time) she has begun (her functions of a wife)'. Yes, the seventh day is called '(the time) she has begun'. The bride and the groom—some of the family, some relatives, go to the house of the bride. They go to the house of the bride and spend the night there. They did this in the old days, it is not like that now. But in the old days this was the custom. The groom and bride stay there until Sunday. Then they all return home, everybody goes to his home.

### *Easter*

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

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<sup>15</sup> Rice cooked with tomato.

<sup>16</sup> Literally: They make the groom and bride hold each other's side.

<sup>17</sup> I.e. Monday.

(53) *šáβθa 'aš̀rta<sup>1</sup> mrazgíwa g'ána qa-t-šále qyàmta,<sup>1</sup> sab-qyámta b-lèle 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa šahàrta y-amr̀xla.<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda náše y-ázi šahàrta,<sup>1</sup> sab-táma b-màθe<sup>1</sup>wa.<sup>1</sup> b-máθa 'úmra qurbeyewa.<sup>1</sup> w-iyéwala punde,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'iyewále punde.<sup>1</sup> fa-mšalíwa šahàrta,<sup>1</sup> mšeríwa šloyàθa.<sup>1</sup> (54) gu-d-ε-dána,<sup>1</sup> y-oráwa xá-sa'ət biz-zòda,<sup>1</sup> qayəmwa<sup>1</sup>... 'áy y-ámri má dánət plítla qyàmta.<sup>1</sup> šahàrta qa-t-qyàmta páłta.<sup>1</sup> fa-zayəmwa qàša<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút-xa punde b-íde diye.<sup>1</sup> y-aθèwa<sup>1</sup> xá bar-d-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> (55) sáma zóda y-oðáxwala qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> rába šəklánta 'iyáwa basímta.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ana-taxr̀nna rába rába.<sup>1</sup> rába tàza 'iyéwa.<sup>1</sup> qayəmwa,<sup>1</sup> qáša y-awéwa zína qamàye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šamáše báθre bəθre.<sup>1</sup> kút...y-ázi tàma,<sup>1</sup> maxéwale púnda réše diye<sup>1</sup> y-amórwá: qyámət mārən<sup>1</sup> qímle mārən.<sup>1</sup> hál kúlla párqí m-ğ̀ðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (56) šaqláwa<sup>1</sup> bálki xá-sa'əta biz-zóda y-oráwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše xamlíwa.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ε-dána mšeríwa wáða rázət qurbána.<sup>1</sup> 'é kúlla b-lèlele,<sup>1</sup> qedamyàθele yá'ni.<sup>1</sup> bár parqáwa qyàmta,<sup>1</sup> qám mšeríwa rázət qurbána,<sup>1</sup> 'úmra qurbət bεθ-qorayàθa y-awéwa.<sup>1</sup> bεθ-qòra.<sup>1</sup> 'an-náše mìθe<sup>1</sup> 'áni y-amr̀xxa bεθ-qòra.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-azíwa.<sup>1</sup> (57) kút-xa 'itle xa-mìθa.<sup>1</sup> malhéwa púnda,<sup>1</sup> mattíwale kəs-reše-diye<sup>1</sup> mdabšwale.<sup>1</sup> tré-punde t̀l̀àθa<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa zòre,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa zóre qəttàte,<sup>1</sup> mattíwala<sup>1</sup> mdabšwala<sup>1</sup> l-réšəd bεθ-qòra.<sup>1</sup> sáb kúl-xa náša hálbat 'itle mìθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl kúlfət y-azáwa l-míθe diye,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni l-bεθ-qòra,<sup>1</sup> mattáwa 'əlle-diye,<sup>1</sup> malhèwale.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšaléwa 'ap-'áni 'əlle-diye.<sup>1</sup> (58) 'u-deříwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-óriwa mádre gu-'úmra,<sup>1</sup> šeríwa rázət qurbána.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál qedámta—gu-d-ε-dána<sup>1</sup> kút-xa y-áwe múθya bəta mónne.<sup>1</sup> bəta halbát smòqtela,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áwwa xa-nišənqe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše ràbe 'iyéwa.<sup>1</sup> m-bár páłət qurbána,<sup>1</sup> páłti gu-dèrta,<sup>1</sup> qémi mxáya bè'e.<sup>1</sup> y-amr̀xxe mxáya bè'e.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni šmáta bè'e xa-d-o-xèna,<sup>1</sup> twàra.<sup>1</sup> maxéwa bè'e,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-amr̀xxe mxáya bè'e.<sup>1</sup>*

(53) On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil), because Easter was at night. They went to the vigil, as we called it. Most people went to the vigil, since it was there in the village. In the village the church was nearby. They had tallow candles, everybody had tallow candles. Then they prayed the vigil, they began the prayers. (54) Then, after about an hour had passed, the resurrection would be celebrated.<sup>18</sup> What is this called?: The time when the resurrection has taken place. They keep vigil until the resurrection takes place. The priest stands and everybody has a tallow candle in his hand. They come up one after another. (55) Generally we hold it (this ceremony) outside. It was very beautiful and pleasant. I remember well. It was very nice. (When) the resurrection was celebrated,<sup>19</sup> the priest would have stood at the front and the deacons behind him. Everybody came up and they touched his head with a tallow candle and said 'The resurrection of our Lord. Our Lord has arisen'. (This went on) until everybody had finished. (56) It took time, perhaps an hour or more would pass. The people were joyful. Then they began to take communion. All this was at night, that is in the early morning. After the resurrection ceremony had finished, before they began to take communion—the church was near the cemetery, the cemetery. The dead people, they lay in what is called the cemetery.<sup>20</sup> The people would go (there). (57) Each person has a dead (family member). He would light a tallow candle and put it by his head<sup>21</sup> and press it (down on the grave). They made two or three small tallow candles, they made small pieces and placed them, stuck them onto the head of the grave. This was because every man, of course, had a dead (family member). Every family went to his dead, that is to the cemetery, placed (a tallow candle) for him and lit it. They also prayed for him. (58) Then they returned, went back into the church and began the communion mass. The next day—at that time everybody would have brought an egg with him. The egg was red, of course. This was a symbol. There were many people. When the communion is over, they go out into the courtyard and begin to knock eggs together. We call this 'knocking eggs', that is smashing the eggs of one another and breaking them. They would strike eggs together, we call it 'striking eggs'.

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<sup>18</sup> Literally: He (Christ) arose.

<sup>19</sup> Literally: He (Christ) arose.

<sup>20</sup> Literally: We call them the cemetery.

<sup>21</sup> I.e. on the headstone of the grave.

(59) *gu-d-ε-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *toráwa bèta*,<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər mǎxðərra*!<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-o-géba yáʔni góta xèta*.<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔən-twírwala tórna*<sup>1</sup> *t-xa mǎnnèy*<sup>1</sup> *y-awólwala qa-t-wáha šaqəlwa mǎnne*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni*  
*qəm-qarəm̄la t-ámrx*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bár parqíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *náše y-áwa mútʔe táma t-amrǎxxe káde*.<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáni káde y-áwa mtúrše*... *mən-qámxele-u*<sup>1</sup> *mǎšxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rába mǎnnéy y-áwe duwána*,<sup>1</sup>  
*lá?*<sup>1</sup> *hè*,<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe duwána-w qámxa-w m-án mǎndiyàne*.<sup>1</sup> (60) *ʔáni kullèy*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mútʔe*  
*táma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mpǎlila náše*.<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔax nišǎnqe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-áwɔwa*... *y-áwa mútʔe bɛʔe xa-yáwəl*  
*qa-d-o xèna*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-jámi táma-w*<sup>1</sup> *mbárxi náše gðàðe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xámli*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kúl xa-mǎndi*.<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔu-ʔən-ʔíθən náše ʔóʔe m-maθwáθa xène*,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa šaqəlwa xákma xəzmǎn-diye*,<sup>1</sup>  
*masǎqla kǎsle-diye tla-fǎarta*.<sup>1</sup> (61) *ʔu-bar-párqi rázgi*... *qamáye ʔaxni táma y-azǎxwa*  
*béθət rǎyyəs*—*rǎyyəs*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwɔwa ʔíle góra mǎθa y-amrǎxle*—*ʔu-be-qǎša*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-jǎmíwa*  
*náše*,<sup>1</sup> *níxa níxa níxa níxa*,<sup>1</sup> *pešíwa xámša-w ʔəʔra-w hál xamšǎssǎ*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-péši xa-béna*  
*maṭáwa hal-ʔəʔri*,<sup>1</sup> *doqíwa béθa bèθa*<sup>1</sup> *xá bar-d-o-xèna*,<sup>1</sup> *liθən?*<sup>1</sup> (62) *ʔédux bríxa*,<sup>1</sup>  
*šláma-w yatwíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *béna meθéwa štèθa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔǎraq*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m-xámra-w*<sup>1</sup> *zamrìwa-w*<sup>1</sup>  
*xámliwa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa lwíše kúlla jülle*,<sup>1</sup> *mxùmle*,<sup>1</sup> *xákma mǎndiyàne*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni rába tǎza*,<sup>1</sup>  
*sab-ʔó-yoma xa-xəðyùθewa*,<sup>1</sup> *hál kawùθra*,<sup>1</sup> *pálgəd yòma*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ε-dàna*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔékɛyɛwa*  
*mùtʔe*<sup>1</sup> *pálgət yòma*<sup>1</sup> *táma y-axlíwa kúlla*.<sup>1</sup> (63) *ʔáni y-ámri xǎdàya*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-y-áwa*  
*wíðe xǎdàya*,<sup>1</sup> *wíðe rǎzza-w šorba-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-básre ʔu-mǎndiyáne ʔu-štèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *kúl-xa mǎndi*  
*táma y-axlíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *mǎdre*<sup>1</sup> *mšeríwa*<sup>1</sup> *l-ʔéðawáθa*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni jwája l-ʔéðawáθa d-an-xène*,<sup>1</sup> *hál*  
*ʔəʔrta*,<sup>1</sup> *hál dart-yòma*.<sup>1</sup> *tre-yomáθa ʔiyéwa ʔéða*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-áwa blíge b-ánna mǎndiyàne*.<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáwɔwa ʔíle ʔax-t-ámrx*<sup>1</sup> *éðət-qyámta*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-nišǎnqa rába góra tròša*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwɔwa ʔéða góra*  
*y-amrǎxle*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwɔwa ʔéða góra*.<sup>1</sup>

(64) *ʔéða góra*<sup>1</sup> *yómət trùšeba*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe duxràna*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe duxràna*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-duxrána*  
*mòdile?*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-náše*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla báte*<sup>1</sup> *kut-béθa mbášəl xa-mǎndi*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-rǎzzɛle*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-dùxwɛle*,<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔən-prèxela*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-bušàlela*,<sup>1</sup> *gǎrðo*,<sup>1</sup> *sáma zóda y-ámri gǎrðo*.<sup>1</sup> *gǎrðo ʔíla mən-màsta*.<sup>1</sup>  
*màsta ʔíla mən-xəlyá*,<sup>1</sup> *xəlyət ʔərwe*.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>23</sup> I.e. *bušala* and *gərđo* are alternative names for the same dish.

(65) *fa-mεθέλε l-bèθα xályá.*<sup>1</sup> *xalwíle mεθέλε l-bèθα.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-másta marèla.*<sup>1</sup> *mátti š-nùra-w<sup>1</sup> šáxna-w dére marèθα.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla šáxna péša màsta.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-masta y-ódi gèrðo.*<sup>1</sup> *gèrðo mòdila.*<sup>2</sup> *rázza-w màsta.*<sup>1</sup> *mباشللا.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-sáma zóda y-ódi gèrðo.*<sup>1</sup> (66) *'é-ga táma kasléni 'íθwaløn tùθα.*<sup>1</sup> *túθα xa-dúkθα gòrtela,*<sup>1</sup> *pθixtela,*<sup>1</sup> *rába náše jámi tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya qam-tárat bèθα t-amráxla.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-kul-náše kút-xa mεθéwa xádáye díye 'u-mattúwa tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-áwa tíwe náše<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mrúzge dùka.*<sup>1</sup> (67) *'é-ga qèse<sup>1</sup> mattúwa qésa y-atwíwa réše díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'an-xoríyáθα y-amráxxa qèse,*<sup>1</sup> *y-atwíwa rēš-díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-áwa mríze kúlla mexòlta,*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mútta gota-gòðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> *'ó-t mεθéwa bušála<sup>1</sup> be-pálge díye y-awóðwale maqòra y-amráxle.*<sup>1</sup> *matúwíwa xá tàsa,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa gáwe díye,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'a-báxta maθyàwa<sup>1</sup> gu-xá 'amána xèna<sup>1</sup> mǎšxa<sup>1</sup> deryáwa gáwe díye.*<sup>1</sup> *mǎšxa-w napóxta yan-duwána dérya gáwe díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-y-ámri gèrðo.*<sup>1</sup> (68) *'u-y-aθéwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'m-'íθ-qaša táma mšaléwa-w<sup>1</sup> kúlley y-axlíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa wéwa xa-'iqàra.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa yómət tré 'éða góra y-odíwale.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-parqíwa-w xamlíwa<sup>1</sup> ta-'ap-'o-yóma zamríwa xamlíwa raqðíwa kúl-xa mèndi.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xárθα y-azíwa bèθα.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa 'éða góra,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa nišánqat 'éða góra.*<sup>1</sup>

### *The Saint's Festival*

(69) *šera<sup>1</sup> xa-təxrúnýele,*<sup>1</sup> *'áw xà-yoméle.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-jámi náše rába.*<sup>1</sup> *náše jámi qa-šera.*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'áw 'íle xa-təxrúnýa d-ó qadíša,*<sup>1</sup> *d-o-'úmra təxrúnýa díyele.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ε-dàna<sup>1</sup> y-áθi náše m-wáðər rába.*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa dwíxe g'anè,*<sup>1</sup> *dwíxe xa-nišánqa tla-'úmra,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-xèllət,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-mèndi.*<sup>1</sup> (70) *fa-'áxni gu-Mar-Sàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-'En-Nùne,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa yíwe qàble y-amráxle.*<sup>1</sup> *qàbla mòdile.*<sup>2</sup> *'ərba.*<sup>1</sup> *'ərba 'i-mεθéle,*<sup>1</sup> *'i-pεrmíle 'o-yòma.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše y-áwa rába 'óθye m-maθwàθα.*<sup>1</sup> *pεrmíle 'ərba<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-áwa rába náše mruzgálla gané qa-d-o-yòma.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-pèrmi<sup>1</sup> rába gáye<sup>1</sup> 'əsrà-réšət 'órwé.*<sup>1</sup> *y-amráxxe rēša.*<sup>1</sup> *'íθn rába gáye<sup>1</sup> ṭḷàθi,*<sup>1</sup> *'əsri.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa xa-dúxa y-áwe.*<sup>1</sup> *pεrmíle.*<sup>1</sup>

(65) They bring the milk to the house. They draw milk and bring it to the house. They congeal (the milk to make) the yoghurt. They put it on the fire, it warms up and they add a congealing agent (rennet). It all warms up and becomes yoghurt. They make the yoghurt into *gərðo*. What is *gərðo*? Rice and yoghurt. They cook it. They generally make *gərðo*. (66) At that time in our village we had a mulberry tree. The mulberry is in a big, spacious place and many people gather there. This was 'before the door of the house' (i.e. outside), as we say. Everybody would bring his own lunch and set it out there. People would sit there and would have prepared a place (for the food). (67) On this occasion they would put out wood and sit on it. They would sit on wood of poplar trees, as we called them. They would have lined up all the food, each (item) placed beside the other. Whoever brought stew would make what we call a *maqora* 'hole' in the middle of it. He would put a small dish in it, like this, and a woman would bring, in another vessel, butter, which she would put in it. She would put butter, date syrup or cake paste in it. They call this *gərðo*. (68) Then people would come. If a priest was there, they would pray and everybody would eat. This was a (sign of) respect. They did this on the second day of the Great Festival. (When) they finished (the festival), they enjoyed themselves, singing, making merry, dancing and so on also that (second) day. Afterwards, they went home. This is the Great Festival. This is the customary way of celebrating<sup>24</sup> the Great Festival.

### *The Saint's Festival*

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

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<sup>24</sup> Literally: the sign.

(71) *fa-m-báθar t-y-áθa nàše<sup>1</sup> y-áwe qurbána-w prìqe.<sup>1</sup> y-átwi fáθri qamàye.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mrúzge fìarta.<sup>1</sup> m-bár fìarta<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa dúxa t-ìle prìma<sup>1</sup> y-oðìle tla-kawùθra.<sup>1</sup> ’ína gu-d-ε-dàna<sup>1</sup> har-’íθ rǵàða-w<sup>1</sup> zmàra-w<sup>1</sup> mεθóye štèθa,<sup>1</sup> ’àraq-u<sup>1</sup> xumlàna.<sup>1</sup> yá’ni ’ap-’ánna xa-nišánqət šèrela,<sup>1</sup> ’ap-’aw-diya.<sup>1</sup> rába y-oðíwa spáy,<sup>1</sup> rába ràba.<sup>1</sup> rába tàze.<sup>1</sup> (72) ’ani myaqrìle tla-’èta.<sup>1</sup> jámi nàše.<sup>1</sup> rába náše y-áwa mrúzgàlla ganéy qa-d-áw m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> ’àxni<sup>1</sup> gu-’En-Nùne<sup>1</sup> ’itl̀n šèra.<sup>1</sup> halbát díya léle ’ax-qàmθa.<sup>1</sup> ’ína qàmθa lošíwa jùlle,<sup>1</sup> yá’ni y-oðíwale xa-šàqla<sup>1</sup> rába šapíra<sup>1</sup> rába tàza.<sup>1</sup> díya<sup>1</sup> ’ahwalátte šuxl̀pla,<sup>1</sup> l̀la-’ax-qàmθa,<sup>1</sup> ’ína šèra<sup>1</sup> har-’o-šèra,<sup>1</sup> har-o-’iqàra<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup>*

### Ploughing

(73) *gu-d-ε-dàna<sup>1</sup> y-awèwale<sup>1</sup> pθánət tàwre.<sup>1</sup> pθánət táwre zǎréwa bìya.<sup>1</sup> ’íman ’i-zǎréwa bìya,<sup>1</sup> ’aráθe díye zǎrèwala,<sup>1</sup> tla-nàše.<sup>1</sup> yá’ni xá-mdi zòra,<sup>1</sup> šaqáqlwa zùze<sup>1</sup> m̀n-nàše<sup>1</sup> sab-kùlla l̀θwale táwre.<sup>1</sup> zǎríwa x̀t̀t̀e,<sup>1</sup> zǎríwa pràge,<sup>1</sup> zǎríwa màše.<sup>1</sup> qàmθa rəzə-’íθwa,<sup>1</sup> xartm̀ane.<sup>1</sup> ’ánna m̀ndiyàne<sup>1</sup> kùlla zǎríwa qàmθa<sup>1</sup> ’u-xǎyíwa bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> yá’ni l̀θwa m̀ndiyàne t-zoníwa ràba.<sup>1</sup> (74) ’u-’áw...y-awèwale tàwre,<sup>1</sup> ’an-tàwre<sup>1</sup> dǎx zǎríwa?<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa bzàra.<sup>1</sup> ’áw ’akàra<sup>1</sup> t-’íθwale pθánət tàwre,<sup>1</sup> fa-’áwowa ’íθwale m̀anne díye...zǎréwa b-bzàra.<sup>1</sup> bzàra modíla?<sup>1</sup> ’áyya mturáštela m̀n-qèse.<sup>1</sup> béna ’áy ’íθwala s̀kθa,<sup>1</sup> s̀kθa t-amrǎxla pr̀z̀l̀ela,<sup>1</sup> ’áy s̀kθət pr̀z̀la.<sup>1</sup> ’u-zǎréwa bìya díya,<sup>1</sup> yá’ni mtagb̀rwala g’ān-díye xayùθe.<sup>1</sup>*

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

### *Ploughing*

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

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<sup>25</sup> Literally: He would support his life.

*The Cultivation of Apples (1)*

(75) *bar-hàdax*<sup>1</sup> *náše mšuréla tróša...yá'ni xayútha qəm-mšaxəlpila*<sup>1</sup> *qímila zrá'a xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> *qímila zrá'a xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> *xabùše muntéwala bíya díya.*<sup>1</sup> *bás 'áθra šuxləpwale.*<sup>1</sup> *'ína xabùše biš-senàyiwa*<sup>1</sup> *pəlxanèy.*<sup>1</sup> *'ína halbát bǎyéla šúla gòra,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hal-hadíya xayuthèy*<sup>1</sup> *l-xabùšela.*<sup>1</sup> *zrúta rába bašorta 'iθena,*<sup>1</sup> *'anna məndiyáne 'i-mpəlxíwala qəmθa*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-maşéwa xāyíwa.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Rice*

(76) *zrétət rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *zrútət rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *'ára 'iyáwa sapiqta.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-dána,*<sup>1</sup> *tré-yomaθa t̩ləθa,*<sup>1</sup> *maštéwala*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t xáčča péšawa rakixta.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-'áyya 'i-zǎrúwala šuráye b-yárxət t̩ləθa,*<sup>1</sup> *'arba,*<sup>1</sup> *xámša hatxàne,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-'áwəwa b-qèṭa y-áwe rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-deréwa míya gáwa díya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-məθéwa tàwre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-zǎrúwala.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwəwa y-amrǎxxe wáða herike.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya lé-y-amri zrá'a*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri wáða herike.*<sup>1</sup> (77) *fa-y-oðíwa herike,*<sup>1</sup> *zǎrúwala.*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa m-bár hàdax*<sup>1</sup> *xámša 'əštà ganáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xámša 'əštà 'úrze,*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðíwa məššare.*<sup>1</sup> *'án məššare manáy díya modila?*<sup>2</sup> *qá-t t̩la-maštéθət rəzza yéwa biš-senàyi.*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t yǎðíwa kút-xa məššare kəma b-šále míya gáwa díya.*<sup>1</sup> *bár d-ày,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-tre yomàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa*<sup>1</sup> *mašéwa 'áni míya,*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa baðqíwa rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> (78) *rəzza xá-yoma qam-dána 'iyéwa murǎkxa gu-juwàla.*<sup>1</sup> *məθéwale*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa baðqíwale.*<sup>1</sup> *bðàqa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni baðqíwa rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> *bár baðqíwale,*<sup>1</sup> *hammáše míya gǎrǎg háwa 'álle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *šaqlàwa*<sup>1</sup> *xà-šabθa,*<sup>1</sup> *trè šabbáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *mšére bráya 'o-rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *hál mašéwa t-rayəmwa,*<sup>1</sup> *qám .. t-amrǎxxe šaləpwə,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni šləpa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni qám pálət bəp-zǎra díye.*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni bár t-rayəmwa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa baxtáθa yàda.*<sup>1</sup> *yáda modile?*<sup>2</sup> *yáda 'ila... 'íθwa kəma gəllále paltíwa mən-d-ò-rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t la-'oðíwa kèš,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t 'áw-rəzza maxərwíwale t̩-awéwa zǎbun.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-jámíwale-'o baxtáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla b-iθaθèy.*<sup>1</sup> *y-óri gu-míya*<sup>1</sup> *tàma*<sup>1</sup> *xazéwa xuwəwəwe.*<sup>1</sup> *baxtáθa kəma zǎdíwa mən-xuwəwəwe!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-gu-d-è-dana,*<sup>1</sup> *xákma doqíwale xúwəwa qaṭlívale.*<sup>1</sup> *rába zirə̀k-wəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *xákma zǎdíwa.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Apples (1)*

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

*The Cultivation of Rice*

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

<sup>26</sup> The cultivation of apples was introduced in the 1960s.

<sup>27</sup> Literally: so that they could live.

<sup>28</sup> I.e. after preparing the soft mud beds.

<sup>29</sup> The verb is denominal, derived from *šāble* 'ears of seed'.

(79) 'u-mtāmazīwale rəzza,<sup>1</sup> nixa nixa,<sup>1</sup> hál qayəmwa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale xà-yarxa,<sup>1</sup> trè-yarxe hatxáne,<sup>1</sup> ṭlàθa,<sup>1</sup> béna 'i-sàməq.<sup>1</sup> bar-sàməq,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ámrx̄x dān-t xzàttela.<sup>1</sup> mbarzíwa miya.<sup>1</sup> bár mbarzíwa miya,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa xazdìwale.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa xazdìwale,<sup>1</sup> bár xazdìwale,<sup>1</sup> gu-mšanəθe mən-d-à-'āra,<sup>1</sup> nablíwale xá-dukθa xèta,<sup>1</sup> y-amrívwa bədra.<sup>1</sup> (80) 'íman ṭ-ila-nabólle bədra<sup>1</sup> m-gu-'āra,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa xá y-amrəxle... xa-jùlla<sup>1</sup> 'abàya y-amrəxwale,<sup>1</sup> 'abàya.<sup>1</sup> 'o-'abàya mattíwale l-xà-dəpna,<sup>1</sup> 'an-réšət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'an-bòle y-amrəxxa,<sup>1</sup> bòle,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa l-ò 'abàya.<sup>1</sup> 'áw xāđíwale pálga-w pálga... rəzza,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'íman majwəjìwale,<sup>1</sup> t-lá nablíwa... t-la-nápl 'o-rəzza 'urxà-w-urxa.<sup>1</sup> (81) sab-mattíwa xās-t-dawère.<sup>1</sup> xákma ṭeníwa xāša<sup>1</sup> masqíwale bədra.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa dukáne rəhqa,<sup>1</sup> dukáne qìrba.<sup>1</sup> mattíwa táma 'ax-hudàla y-amrəxwale,<sup>1</sup> y-amrívale hudàla.<sup>1</sup> maθíwale xa-'árba xámša yomàθa,<sup>1</sup> šaxənwa,<sup>1</sup> hál maṭéwa gərre,<sup>1</sup> sab-'íθwa yá'ni garrè,<sup>1</sup> xá bar d-ó-xena y-amrəxxe gərre.<sup>1</sup> (82) gu-d-ε-dána<sup>1</sup> yómət ṭ-amrəxxe dɔwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərtə y-azíwa šarəwale.<sup>1</sup> šáre modíle?<sup>1</sup> mattəxwale gu-bədra,<sup>1</sup> mpaθəxwale.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-y-ámri šrəya.<sup>1</sup> bás 'o-bola-diye<sup>1</sup> y-áwe rima.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-murize ṭ-ámrx̄x,<sup>1</sup> kul-xá-mdi mtugəbra.<sup>1</sup> (83) 'u-dárt yòma<sup>1</sup> qədámta,<sup>1</sup> qemóxwa jàlde,<sup>1</sup> nabləxwa tàwre,<sup>1</sup> 'ásita tàwre,<sup>1</sup> šàwwa tàwre.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-ámri dɔwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'íman ṭ-ix nabóle 'an-tàwre,<sup>1</sup> šalwəxwala,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwala qatira<sup>1</sup> b-qđaléy 'áw t-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> y-amrívwa qatirət qəsa<sup>1</sup> t-qđala,<sup>1</sup> yasóre y-asrívale b-púmmət tàwra<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá 'axəlwa m-rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'u-doríwa.<sup>1</sup> (84) dɔwàra, yá'ni patlíwa tàwre.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa síre b-gđàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá-mənna 'áw y-amrívwa sar-gèra.<sup>1</sup> sar-gèra,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áwən majújwala 'an-tàwre.<sup>1</sup> šaqláwa 'árba sà'əte,<sup>1</sup> xámša sà'əte.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kul-xa-dána 'ó-rəzza jámíwale 'o-qése diye,<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwale púwus.<sup>1</sup> jámíwale y-ođíwale qəpla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-napšìwale,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'an-rəzza la-páyəš gàwe<sup>1</sup> napšìwale.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>30</sup> Literally: They would dry the water.

(85) *baxtáθa y-áwa zíne napšiwale.<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa 'aşrá daqíqe<sup>1</sup> řaqlíwa xákma mánna b-malxáwa<sup>1</sup> mεθèwale,<sup>1</sup> mattíwale l-d-à-gota<sup>1</sup> 'u-'an-baxtáθa<sup>1</sup> kapšíwale,<sup>1</sup> napšíwale gu-d-a-npàřta<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwale l-qóma báθar xàsey.<sup>1</sup> xa-xèna<sup>1</sup> 'úrza y-áθe y-asəřwale<sup>1</sup> dàrze y-amrəxwala,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'áwwa payářwa qa-mexóltət táwre qa-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> (86) 'úrza payářwa tàmá,<sup>1</sup> bar-hádəx,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa mdarèwale<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-hawa píře řəxtə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-gu-práqtət 'ařərtá,<sup>1</sup> bar-priqla,<sup>1</sup> mεθéwa juwàla,<sup>1</sup> deréwa gáwe diyə.<sup>1</sup> palťíwa xamsà-juwale,<sup>1</sup> 'əřtá-juwale,<sup>1</sup> 'aşrá-juwale,<sup>1</sup> 'u-masqíwa bèθa b-dawére 'u-b-kodənta,<sup>1</sup> liθən.<sup>2</sup> (87) məlxáwa modíle?<sup>2</sup> məlxáwa 'íwa mńurřa m-qèsa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθwale dásqa ríxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-reře-díye 'ítla řlá qéře hatxa-zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'áw napářwala 'an-rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'áw məndiyáne řúle,<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa məndi.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amrəxwa məlxáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áy 'iyéwa qářřət yá'ni rəzza,<sup>1</sup> m-éka mřarəye<sup>1</sup> 'u-laxxa prəqe.<sup>1</sup>*

(88) *bar-hádəx rəzza mbárzi brəza.<sup>1</sup> masqíwale gàre,<sup>1</sup> masqíwa gār-t bèθa.<sup>1</sup> mpaθèwale.<sup>1</sup> baróřwa tàza.<sup>1</sup> bar-baróřwa mjämíwale.<sup>1</sup> bar-mjämíwale parəqwa.<sup>1</sup> (89) 'iθwa gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa kàwe y-amrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> y-oya-mruzəgta xa-dúkθa mən-kàwe.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-é-kawe 'o-rəzza külle deréwale řále gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya kúlla b-čeriye ř-amrəxəlla,<sup>1</sup> b-čeriye.<sup>1</sup> qemíwa<sup>1</sup> héwən ř-ámřəx 'əřxe.<sup>1</sup> (90) 'ap-'əřxe b-gàre y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-'əřxe módi řúl diyá.<sup>2</sup> qářřət řxánət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa pənxá,<sup>1</sup> t-'əřxe,<sup>1</sup> pənxət 'əřxe.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa 'o-t-k'épa 'áw 'o-t-xəťte,<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwa qámxa,<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'áw t-rəzza<sup>1</sup> 'íwa t-qèsa.<sup>1</sup> har-ta-d-áwwa mándi wéwa t-qèsa.<sup>1</sup> řa-deráwa rəzza qa-t-lá 'awáđle qámxa qa-t-la-tàwərre.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa mřuzgewa.<sup>1</sup> (91) 'u-gu-d-ó pənxá<sup>1</sup> nqire wéwa<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'an-xəťte ř-oríwa bēl-pənxá l-pənxá.<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'o-gəřəř-díye<sup>1</sup> 'áw ř-azáwa.<sup>1</sup> řabbákθət gān-díya<sup>1</sup> 'áyya...yá'ni ře-qayáθwa řú-mdi bi-díya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-palťáwa ř-azáwa 'u-mjämíwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-masqíwa bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-gəřəř-díya b-zadèwale,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwale pàrta.<sup>1</sup>*

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

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

<sup>31</sup> *čeri qamaya* 'October' and *čeri xaraya* 'November'.

<sup>32</sup> Literally: nothing struck it.

(92) 'íman-t y-aθéwa mašléwa rózza l-<sup>2</sup>ǝrxe,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa pǝnxa.<sup>1</sup> pǝnxa 'éni mǝnnèle.<sup>2</sup> 'iθ-pǝnxǝt qèsa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-pǝnxǝt kèpa.<sup>1</sup> pǝnxǝt qèsa 'áwewa ta-rǝzzεle.<sup>1</sup> sab-<sup>2</sup>ǝn muttúlǝn pǝnxǝt kèpa,<sup>1</sup> marǝxle kúlla-w páyǝš qǝmxa.<sup>1</sup> hadíya bud-qèsa<sup>1</sup> béna 'áwewa y-áwe xriṭa<sup>1</sup> gáwe y-áwe mǝtǝrša.<sup>1</sup> (93) 'iθ-náše súle 'áw-ile.<sup>1</sup> garsile biye-diye<sup>1</sup> yá'ni ṭaxníle biye-diye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mpálṭa rózza ḏa-gòta<sup>1</sup> 'u-párta ḏa-gòta.<sup>1</sup> pártá zadèla.<sup>1</sup> y-àza,<sup>1</sup> ta-čú-mdi la-nǝḏfa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-rózza mǝmèle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-másqi bèṭa.<sup>1</sup> b-násba rózza hal-lǝxxεle,<sup>1</sup> m-tama-hódǝx mšéri mbašòle,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa ta-gǝn-diye.<sup>1</sup>

### The Cultivation of Wheat

(94) zǝrúṭǝt xǝṭṭe pǝrǝšṭela.<sup>1</sup> 'iθǝn 'ávi 'u-dèmi.<sup>1</sup> démi t-lá mǝya,<sup>1</sup> la-bás l-<sup>2</sup>ǝryǝna zǝrǝla.<sup>1</sup> 'áni xǝṭṭe zǝrǝla...<sup>1</sup> 'áni xǝṭṭe huwèdi sáma zóda<sup>1</sup> 'i-zǝrǝla t-là maštóye,<sup>1</sup> y-amrǝxxa dèmi.<sup>1</sup> 'áni zǝrǝ gu-ṭǝra.<sup>1</sup> 'iθ dukáne tǝmǝz y-áwa ṭla-zǝrúta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'a-dúkṭa har-ṭla-hàdǝx-ila.<sup>1</sup> (95) 'á-t gu-<sup>2</sup>aqǝra<sup>1</sup> ṭ-íle gu-màṭa<sup>1</sup> 'aqǝra xǝṭṭe zǝrǝla<sup>1</sup> m-báṭṭǝr xzǝṭṭǝt rǝzza.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-ámri šǝp-rǝzza.<sup>1</sup> xazdǝla rǝzza.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáčča 'i-rǝkxa dúka,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi zǝrǝ xǝṭṭe sáwpa díya,<sup>1</sup> sab-<sup>2</sup>áyya b-qèṭa y-óya.<sup>1</sup> yǝrǝxǝt sáwewa tmǝnya,<sup>1</sup> mšéri xzǝda xǝṭṭǝne.<sup>1</sup> xǝṭṭǝne biš-senǝyila.<sup>1</sup> (96) 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ani dwàrela.<sup>1</sup> bár zǝrǝla-w qèmi,<sup>1</sup> bár xazdǝla,<sup>1</sup> y-ódi dǝrze y-amrǝxla.<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíla dǝrze.<sup>1</sup> mεṭéla 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áni l-bǝdra.<sup>1</sup> 'íman-t doríla,<sup>1</sup> mεṭe-táwre doríla.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-mǝri qa-rózza méṭe tǝwre-u<sup>1</sup> 'u-kul-xa-mǝndi y-asrǝle dǝri.<sup>1</sup> 'áni... qèsa díya kúlla páyǝš 'ax-tǝna y-amrǝxle.<sup>1</sup> xǝṭṭe pǝší ḏà-gota,<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>áw páyǝš ḏà-gota,<sup>1</sup> tǝna lìṭǝn.<sup>2</sup>

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

### *The Cultivation of Wheat*

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

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<sup>33</sup> Literally: With regard to rice it is up to here.

(97) *kul-xa-móndi qam-dorile, liθ-pyáša 'ánna t-amrǎxxa bòla díye, m-d-an-məndi-yáne pyáša gáwe, qəmi, marpéla-tawre y-àzi. sàpri 'ən-háwe pàwxa, 'ánna y-amrǎxxa mdaróye. mdaróye modila. méθe mǎlxàwa. 'ən-íθ pàwxa, 'i-marmíle gu-hàwa. xǎtte y-ázi dá gòta 'u-túna y-ázəl dá gòta. pársi m-ǵðàðe. 'u-túna, m-bár túna pálat ða-gòta xǎtte ða-gòta, xǎtte meθéla juwàla. 'u-deréla gáwa díya.*  
 (98) *'u-túna 'ap-'áw meθéle juwàle, masqíle 'itle dúka mruzágta qa-sətwa. 'ina túna deréle qa-kodənta, qa-tàwre, qa-sətwa, qa-t-xámε biye-díye. 'u-xǎtte masqíla. xǎtte, 'yá'ni mturǎstət xǎtte halbát 'ile lǎxma. lǎxma 'ile 'ap-'áw mən-xǎtte. xǎtte maşléle l-ərxε.*  
 (99) *'áwowa t-in-mára pǎnxət k'əpa, b-d-áw taxnile. txánta díye 'ile pǎnxət k'əpa. m-bár taxnile, páyəs qámxa, masqíle bəθa, 'ax-t-məri 'ən-báyí t-yápi lǎxma mǎnnéy zedáye, mtársi mǎnnéy tǎlme, 'yá'ni lǎxma priša y-áwe.*  
 (100) *leşále bǎxta, bəd-míya mǎnne 'u-leşàle 'u-dére xmirá gáwe díye 'u-mxǎmèle. šáqla xa-sà'ət, xa-sà'ət háxta mǎndi. 'u-'anna baxtáθa yǎði, mattí 'íða 'əlle řéši qá-t 'áwowa mǎndi hóle xmiya. yǎði biye-díye. 'u-nablile tanúra. 'iθ xa-tanúra mtúrşá tla-hàdax-ile. 'u-yapyále bǎxta. m-bár t-yapyále, 'áyya šaqlále zedáye díya 'u-yáwa xá-tre zedáye tla-d-əy. 'u-y-áθya bəθa, 'u-máθya mexòlta, 'y-àxli.*

### Ovens

(101) *tanúra: bár meθéle kəs-d-a-bǎxta, t-yápya lǎxma, y-oðále zedáye. 'áyya mpaθyále mpaθyále. y-oðále guttáθa qamàye, 'u-mpaθyále tǎza. m-bar-hàdax mattále gu-tanúra. 'o-tanúra y-áwe mšúxna qam-dàna. y-áwe dǎrye núra, múθye qèse. mšúxna tǎza, šxíne y-amríwa smìqa.*  
 (102) *'u-y-áθya mdabşála 'əlle-díye kòpa gawàye, hal sàməq. yǎða kméle smìqa. ðà-b-ða šáqla-w mattála xa-xèta. 'u-párqa 'əy 'u-'áni 'árbe xámməs y-áwe mütte, liθən. kut-sámqa jàlde, šaqlàla. 'əy y-oya-priqta, máttá xéta šópa díya. 'ay-y-amríla péθət lǎxma gu-tanúra.*

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

### *Ovens*

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

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<sup>34</sup> As a fee for her services.

*The Cultivation of Apples (2)*

(103) *xabúše xéna šúle xáčča zàmət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾíman t-it-maθóyalle y-amráxxe šǎdla.*<sup>1</sup> *šǎdla,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-a-ʾára t-báyət mattǎtle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾən-báyət zǎrǎtle,*<sup>1</sup> *xaprǎtle šáwpe diyē.*<sup>1</sup> *xaprǎtle t-ámrx xa-šíta,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-šíta biz-zòda.*<sup>1</sup> *mattǎtle ʾo-šǎdla gáwa tàma,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-mkasǎtla*<sup>1</sup> *šáwpe diyē.*<sup>1</sup> *bél-šǎdla l-šǎdla*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg mátteti xa-xamšá ʾaqlàtha,*<sup>1</sup> *xamšá pasùwe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾátxa mǎndi,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-ʾíman t-áwe gòre*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-lá qéθi b-gǎððe,*<sup>1</sup> *bíš yáwi tǎnta rǎbtha.*<sup>1</sup> (104) *m-bár xákma šǎnne,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾáwwa ʾáp-ʾən-hawe marira,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾína bár xa-šéta-w pǎlge,*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg y-amráxle ksàxa.*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg ʾáθax kasxǎxle*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-t-oðǎxle taqlǐm,*<sup>1</sup> *tafǐm y-amrile,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t t-oðǎxle xabúšta ʾixála.*<sup>1</sup> *fá-ʾáw báyále xa-šéta.*<sup>1</sup> *šétət ʾarbe*<sup>1</sup> *xabúšta dòqa.*<sup>1</sup> (105) *ʾína kúššət*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg xaprǎtla čǎnnǎkéra díya,*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg xaprǎt-ži čǎnnǎkéra díya-w derǎtla sùla.*<sup>1</sup> *sùla modile?*<sup>2</sup> *ʾáwwa ʾile šáxtət heywǎne,*<sup>1</sup> *t-tǎwre,*<sup>1</sup> *kodǎnta,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ʾǎrwe.*<sup>1</sup> *derǎtla sùla líθm*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqǎrǎna tǎza.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-béna ʾíman t-ila-pyáša gòre*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *lǎ-ánnahu pyáša gòrtela*<sup>1</sup> *mtagbárta díya biš-rǎbela,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-gǎrǎg rába ʾáxlət xàm.*<sup>1</sup> (106) *ʾu-qéða,*<sup>1</sup> *bár t-ila-dwàqa,*<sup>1</sup> *qám t-mǎti*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg maxǎtla darǎmàna,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t ʾan-márre la-ʾáθi ʾilla díya,*<sup>1</sup> *mtarǎmza,*<sup>1</sup> *yán tarpátha díya xǎrwi,*<sup>1</sup> *xabúšta xǎrwa,*<sup>1</sup> *kul-xa mǎndi.*<sup>1</sup> *fá-ʾánna mǎndiyáne kùlla*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni y-oðǎwala.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-xayuthy*<sup>1</sup> *b-àyyewa*<sup>1</sup> *tròša yǎni.*<sup>1</sup> *rába ʾitley xayútha basímta bǎd-àyya,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni zrǎtət xabúše.*<sup>1</sup> *léle zàmət.*<sup>1</sup> *senàyile,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni xayútha biš-senàyila.*<sup>1</sup>

*Preparations for Winter*

(107) *xayúθət táma dàx-ila?*<sup>2</sup> *qéða,*<sup>1</sup> *qéða ʾimse?*<sup>2</sup> *mən-yárxət tǎlǎ*<sup>1</sup> *ʾile náše mšǎri*<sup>1</sup> *pláxa.*<sup>1</sup> *qéða ʾile šúle yǎni dánət pǎlxàna,*<sup>1</sup> *qéða kùlle y-áwe pláxa hal-čeri.*<sup>1</sup> *čeri manáy y-amrǎxle,*<sup>1</sup> *yárxət ʾǎsra,*<sup>1</sup> *xadǎssar.*<sup>1</sup> *m-táma hòdǎx*<sup>1</sup> *kùlla ʾan-ʾárba yǎrxē,*<sup>1</sup> *xámša yǎrxē,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe náše blíge mjǎmòye,*<sup>1</sup> *mjǎmóye qa-sǎtwa.*<sup>1</sup> *sǎtwa mšǎre mən-yárxət ʾǎsra.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Apples (2)*

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

*Preparations for Winter*

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

(108) bàrya<sup>1</sup> 'áthe tálga ràba.<sup>1</sup> bárya 'áthe mátra hammàše.<sup>1</sup> bas-náše y-áwa-mrùzge.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'ítile 'àrwe,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'ítile tàwre<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xzída gèlla.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-hawéle 'àrwe<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xzída fàrpa.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-ódi kodènta,<sup>1</sup> t-awéle tìna.<sup>1</sup> mən-məndiyáne kùlla mjáméla qa-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> sab-sàtwa hammàše líθ cù məndí.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mən-yárxət xadəssər<sup>1</sup> gəlla lá y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> 'àrwe lé-y-asqi túra xàla.<sup>1</sup> (109) sab-'áxní táma 'ítlan b-qə̀ta,<sup>1</sup> mən-yárxət xàmša,<sup>1</sup> fta-'àrwe<sup>1</sup> dóqəx šāvàna.<sup>1</sup> šāvàna modìle?<sup>1</sup> kut-nášət 'ítile 'àrwe,<sup>1</sup> 'm-'àrwət xwàrela,<sup>1</sup> 'àrwət kòmela,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'əzzela,<sup>1</sup> 'm-wànela.<sup>1</sup> dóqəx šāvàna.<sup>1</sup> 'áv dóqəx b-zùze,<sup>1</sup> yán xzí kəmà yawíle<sup>1</sup> yá'ni fta-d-ày.<sup>1</sup> (110) 'u-'áv qédamta šaqólla... mjámi náše kùlla t-màθa,<sup>1</sup> mjámíle 'an-'àrwèy<sup>1</sup> 'u-masəq l-tùra,<sup>1</sup> mən-qédamta 'u-hál 'ašərta.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərta madəřra qám gnéθət šəmša,<sup>1</sup> xwéθət xùya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kùt-xa<sup>1</sup> 'ítile gómət g'áne,<sup>1</sup> 'ítile dúka mruzáqta y-amrəxla duna.<sup>1</sup> 'áv duna 'ítla... yá'ni pθixtela.<sup>1</sup> góma 'ile gawàye,<sup>1</sup> duna 'ile qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> (111) 'ávwa šúlət qə̀təle kùlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-hádəx tàwre.<sup>1</sup> tàwre,<sup>1</sup> tawərta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ánna y-amrəxla bəqra.<sup>1</sup> dóqəx baqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-baqàra mòdìle?<sup>1</sup> y-ázəl bəθər... nábəl bəqra.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áv hádəx qédamta<sup>1</sup> xálwi tawərta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-qédamta masqila l-bəqra hátta mjámi xà-dukθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqólla 'aw-baqàra<sup>1</sup> 'u-šule-díye y-áwe masəqila l-tùra,<sup>1</sup> mařəla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál 'ašərta mεθəla.<sup>1</sup> (112) 'áyya b-qə̀ta.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərta wíðəla gèlla,<sup>1</sup> gəlla gu-'aqàra.<sup>1</sup> mεθəla,<sup>1</sup> dérela mexòlta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xalwíla-w<sup>1</sup> xošíla gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya qé̀təla fta-heywàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina gu-d-ε-dána har-y-áwa mrùzge<sup>1</sup> mqarqòze,<sup>1</sup> xzáda gəlla qa-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> (113) 'ina y-áwe hal-yárxət 'əšra.<sup>1</sup> yárxət 'əšra<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mjúmye gèlla-w<sup>1</sup> məndí xzída-w mùθya.<sup>1</sup> 'áv y-áwe bríza.<sup>1</sup> 'áv mattíle š-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> y-amrile huðàla.<sup>1</sup> mattíle š-gðàðe<sup>1</sup> y-amrile huðàla.<sup>1</sup> qa-'íma?<sup>1</sup> qa-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> qa-haywáne díyèy.<sup>1</sup> š-d-ó huðàla<sup>1</sup> 'i-mátti pùwuš,<sup>1</sup> sab-pùwuš la-šála míya bi-díye.<sup>1</sup> pùwuš m-éni mənnele?<sup>1</sup> 'o-t rəzza.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

<sup>36</sup> Literally: they put it one on top of the other.

<sup>37</sup> Literally: from which of them.

(114) *béna hadíya rǎzza liθena.<sup>1</sup> *hadíya qíme gu-d-è-dana<sup>1</sup> *dére naylòn,<sup>1</sup> *qá-t*<sup>1</sup>  
*’áwwa naylòn qa-t-lá-sala míya gàwe<sup>1</sup> *d-ó t-ámrax huðála,<sup>1</sup> *sab-’án šléla míya*<sup>1</sup>  
*xàru.<sup>1</sup> *xrùle,<sup>1</sup> *táwre-u heywáne pǎši t-lá mexòlta.<sup>1</sup> *har-hádǎx mǎzgi kúlla mexòlta,<sup>1</sup>  
*mǎθǎlan xàtǎ,<sup>1</sup> *rǎzza,<sup>1</sup> *prǎge,<sup>1</sup> *ššime,<sup>1</sup> *kúlla ’an-t-áwa zǎryàlla.<sup>1</sup> *’ánna tla-náše t-axlila*<sup>1</sup>  
*b-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> *sáb zrúta liθ b-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> (115) *l-kúlla d-àý<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-’ánna tla-náše<sup>1</sup> *’u-’anná*<sup>1</sup>  
*gólle mǎndiyáne<sup>1</sup> *qa-heywáne diyèy,<sup>1</sup> *hál yárxǎt tǎ.<sup>1</sup> *yárxǎt tǎ mǎdre mšére bǎher.<sup>1</sup>  
*heywáne y-ásqi tura.<sup>1</sup> *’u-níxa níxa<sup>1</sup> *’o-t-y-áwe píša xá-mdi mexòlta y-axlila.<sup>1</sup> *’u-’áv-ile*<sup>1</sup>  
*xa-dánat farqúθa bǎl-d-áyya l-d-áyya.<sup>1</sup> (116) *kúlla mǎndiyáne mrazgíla qa-xayúθat*<sup>1</sup>  
*sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> *b-qǎta hal-yárxǎt ’àšra,<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe mkapòše y-amrǎxle.<sup>1</sup> *’áxni y-amrǎxle mkapòše.<sup>1</sup>  
*mkapòše mòdi.<sup>2</sup> *mǎmòye.<sup>1</sup> *mǎmòye mòdi.<sup>2</sup> *yá’ni mrazóge qa-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> *sab-sàtwa y-áθe*<sup>1</sup>  
*tǎlga,<sup>1</sup> *y-áθe mǎtra,<sup>1</sup> *pǎwxa.<sup>1</sup> *lá-mše. náša t-ázǎl dukàne.<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa y-áwe gu-bèθe<sup>1</sup>  
*’u-heywáne y-áwa mǎnne diyè,<sup>1</sup> *har-gu-gòma y-amrǎxxe.<sup>1</sup> *yá’ni ’áyya y-amrǎxxa gòma.<sup>1</sup>  
(117) *dére mexòlta ’u-yàtu.<sup>1</sup> *’u-dére mexòlta ’úrǎt bǎθa.<sup>1</sup> *’áv ’o-t-ítte qàmxa<sup>1</sup> *nabǎlle*<sup>1</sup>  
*l-tamúra,<sup>1</sup> *y-apǎle<sup>1</sup> *’u-y-áθi y-atwí ’u-mdi.<sup>1</sup> *’ánna tǎl-yarxe tré-yarxe litley çù-šula,<sup>1</sup>  
*bas-mtagbóre héywǎn diyèy<sup>1</sup> *’u-tíwe bǎθa.<sup>1</sup> *hal-yárxǎt tǎ<sup>1</sup> *mšére bǎher,<sup>1</sup> *béna mšére*<sup>1</sup>  
*mqarqóze xabušy<sup>1</sup> *’u-’aqarèy<sup>1</sup> *’u-kúl xá-mdi diyèy.<sup>1</sup>**

(118) *’ána mǎrǎn... ’áwe yasqíwa tura<sup>1</sup> *b-qǎta.<sup>1</sup> *’ína b-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> *sáma zòda,<sup>1</sup> *náše*<sup>1</sup>  
*b-yárxǎt ’àçça<sup>1</sup> *yasqíwa tura<sup>1</sup> *qǎtíwa tǎrpe y-amrǎxle,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa gu-’úpre diyè.<sup>1</sup> *’áy mòdi*<sup>1</sup>  
*qtá’a tǎrpa.<sup>2</sup> *qǎtíwale,<sup>1</sup> *xá har-iwa-práma zdáya l-ǎra-w<sup>1</sup> *’an-xéne ’iyáwa bǎθre bǎθre*<sup>1</sup>  
*wáða tǎxe<sup>1</sup> *zóre qa-t máši mǎmǎwala.<sup>1</sup> (119) *m-bár qam-parqíwa<sup>1</sup> *yá’ni t-ámri dánat*<sup>1</sup>  
*šalèxi.<sup>1</sup> *xá-sa’at qam-dána,<sup>1</sup> *’áv tǎrpa kúlla mǎmǎwale,<sup>1</sup> *banéwale bar-ðà ’ilána.<sup>1</sup>  
*’áy y-ámri garúta.<sup>1</sup> *banéwa bar-ðà ’ilána<sup>1</sup> *’u-xalšiwale.<sup>1</sup> *’áp-’ǎn-iwa šǎlya<sup>1</sup> *míya šále*<sup>1</sup>  
*bi-diya,<sup>1</sup> *sab-dánat talila y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe dwiqa,<sup>1</sup> *lǎ-xàru.<sup>1</sup> *’ay-y-ámri garúta.<sup>1</sup>***************************

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

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

(120) 'ánna qa-'ímɛla?'<sup>1</sup> qa-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> sáb dúnye 'iman-t-àrya,<sup>1</sup> b-sətwa,<sup>1</sup> 'áni lítla xàm.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-áthe tálga,<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše mšéri b-hèwaney<sup>1</sup> mašléwa karàtha.<sup>1</sup> y-áthe mattíla kèrta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ítla xàwla-w<sup>1</sup> cūxa-w<sup>1</sup> tēni xašəy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'o-t-ítle dawéra<sup>1</sup> mášle dawère,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni koðənta.<sup>1</sup> (121) 'iman t-íwa tálga,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-dawéra là-mša t-ásqi.<sup>1</sup> fa-mò y-óði?'<sup>1</sup> b-xàša' tēnila.<sup>1</sup> 'ítle xáwla mattíle,<sup>1</sup> banéla š-d-ó xàwla,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'ax-t máše t-lá-hawe yùqra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-asərrə<sup>1</sup> 'u-ṭayənnə xáše diye.<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxe kèrta.<sup>1</sup> məθəla-w<sup>1</sup> (122) 'áp bas-dùna<sup>1</sup> y-áwa 'ərwə gu-dùna<sup>1</sup> táma y-áwe bənya.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-táma banéla.<sup>1</sup> 'i-péši qa-tré-yomaθa ṭlá yomàθa<sup>1</sup> hál mádre xáməštən t-əsəq.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-y-ámri garúta.<sup>1</sup> ṭərpa y-áwa qṭiyalle ṭla-'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> qa-sətwa mapəlxila,<sup>1</sup> mən-mən gəllále xéne t-y-awéla gu-huðála-w<sup>1</sup> (123) 'o-t-y-awéla 'ərwə t-xwàre,<sup>1</sup> yáwile rása<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ítla tawre<sup>1</sup> púwus t-yawiwəléy,<sup>1</sup> 'u-túna ṭla-dawèrele<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-'ítla šawàde<sup>1</sup> hál bəher.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bəher-ile<sup>1</sup> níxa níxa mabašrila məxòlta<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ina mpáṭṭila ṭúra,<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšère řəya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál d-o-sətwa xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-y-ámri ṭərpa.<sup>1</sup>

### Mules

(124) dawéra<sup>1</sup> 'íwa xa-mándi 'ax-t-ámrxə 'íde-w 'àqle y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> dawéra 'íde-w 'àqle,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xəyíwa náše b-dawéra.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa qərwən.<sup>1</sup> qərwən modíla?'<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa tēna<sup>1</sup> mən-máθa l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> mən-mðíta l-mðíta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqlàwa<sup>1</sup> rába gəye<sup>1</sup> gu-sətwa<sup>1</sup> gu-'əryàne,<sup>1</sup> šaqláwa xámša sa'atte.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa qərwən.<sup>1</sup> (125) mən xá-dukθa 'iθwa<sup>1</sup> t-ámrxə 'Amediya<sup>1</sup> 'əl-'Ĕn Núne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina kúlla ṭurənewa.<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa məθālan xamší kilo'ə biz-zòda<sup>1</sup> hal-šawwí kilo'è.<sup>1</sup> dére xás-t dawéra<sup>1</sup> 'u-masíqwa l-Ĕn Núne.<sup>1</sup> ... məxòlta<sup>1</sup> 'ina rášən qa-t-'ánna məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-amrəxxwala rəšən.<sup>1</sup>

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

### *Mules*

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

<sup>38</sup> Literally: In their season.

<sup>39</sup> Literally: (it is) hay that they give them.

(126) 'ína rášən mòdila?<sup>1</sup> rášən 'íla... 'íwa xàtte,<sup>1</sup>... 'íθwa šèkə,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa qámxa t-y-aθéwa šùxra.<sup>1</sup> μεθέω masqíwala l-màθa.<sup>1</sup> fa-xayúθéy b-dawèrəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dawéra rába xelànewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl-naše, kút-'íθwa dawéra 'i-xàme bi-díye.<sup>1</sup> dawèra<sup>1</sup> 'i-mtag-brèxwale rába,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni y-axlòxwa xam-díye.<sup>1</sup> (127) yá'ni dawéra 'íθwale qurtàna.<sup>1</sup> qurtàna m-mòdi mtúrša?<sup>1</sup> mtúrša mən y-amròxwale çùxa.<sup>1</sup> y-amròxwale qurtàna.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qurtàna<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale bar-xaráye díye<sup>1</sup>. 'áwwa t-qàyiš-zeewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa mändiyàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-wajjúwe xákma xéne xāš-t-díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwale tànga<sup>1</sup> y-asrúwale.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bár gamàya<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'íma t-ásəqwa tura<sup>1</sup> t-lá 'o-qurtàna jawəjwa<sup>1</sup> šaléwa napólwa tēna.<sup>1</sup> (128) fa-'ən-mātmúwale 'íθwa xàwla.<sup>1</sup> xáwla 'íθwale 'aqólta.<sup>1</sup> b-ó xáwla y-asrúwa tēna.<sup>1</sup> 'íman-t dawéra 'áwwele yá'ni<sup>1</sup> 'i-nablíwa tēna mən-dúka l-dúka.<sup>1</sup> fa-'íman-t y-awíwa bèθa,<sup>1</sup> y-azóxwa mǎròye.<sup>1</sup> mǎròye modíle?<sup>1</sup> qédamta nablíxwala gu-'aqàra.<sup>1</sup> (129) dóqəxwala b-'ìðm.<sup>1</sup> sab-har-mrupéwalən rēš-díye<sup>1</sup> leš-mašóxwa doqəxwale,<sup>1</sup> t-arəqwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-'éka 'íθwa dúkθa basímta maxlòxwale<sup>1</sup> qá-t t-awéwa xelàna-w<sup>1</sup> t-awéwa qúya,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mašéwa t-azólwa qárwən 'u-t-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup>

(130) 'ána tàxrena,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga zòrənwa,<sup>1</sup> b-xšátwən 'iwabi<sup>1</sup> 'əsrá šənnə,<sup>1</sup> xáčča pyàša<sup>1</sup> šét 'àlpa-w<sup>1</sup> 'əççà-mma-w<sup>1</sup> 'árbi w-əšta.<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət šàwweewa,<sup>1</sup> hon-txára díya,<sup>1</sup> xošəbeewa.<sup>1</sup> xošəba,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xošəba lá-palxi nàše.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ána šályənwa gu-'aqàra,<sup>1</sup> 'ána-w xàθi.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya qam-'ərwə<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána qam-kodənta.<sup>1</sup> kodənta b-ìdiyawa<sup>1</sup> šulxəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ána šobànnənwa xáčča.<sup>1</sup> y-atwónwa xása díya šulxəθa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-lá qurtàna.<sup>1</sup> yatwónwa xāš-t-díya-w<sup>1</sup> lá le-zādánwa çu-bèna.<sup>1</sup> (131) 'o-yòma<sup>1</sup> mǎròyənwala.<sup>1</sup> mǎròyənwala,<sup>1</sup> gu-ðà-'ára.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa gawàna,<sup>1</sup> maroyənwala.<sup>1</sup> bèna<sup>1</sup> 'ána tìwənwa-w<sup>1</sup> 'áy b-o gawàna.<sup>1</sup> táma 'o-gawána bēl-'ára<sup>1</sup> l-'ára.<sup>1</sup> 'ìqa y-áwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá-raba pəθya.<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxyále pímma díya l-rəzza<sup>1</sup> zəryóxwa rəzza.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'ána məri<sup>1</sup> šríxən hátxa biya-díya.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya qəm-patlála g'ān-díya<sup>1</sup> 'ána xšítwən là maxyáli.<sup>1</sup> qəm-patlála g'ān-díya,<sup>1</sup> 'aqláθa 'an-xaráye... pèna,<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxyála ðà-pena.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

(132) *b-ðá-ʼaqla díya péna qəm-maxyáli ʼàxxa<sup>1</sup> rèšì,<sup>1</sup> qəm-ʼarþáli gu-məššàra.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-šrìxən<sup>1</sup> ʼu-θiθela xàθi,<sup>1</sup> ʼina rēšì šmíta ʼaxxàne.<sup>1</sup> qímen bar-hàdax<sup>1</sup> sírɔnne rēšì<sup>1</sup> ʼina xáθi sírtàlle rešì.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-θiθela kodánta kəsli<sup>1</sup> ʼu-tíwen xáša díya<sup>1</sup> síqa bèθa.<sup>1</sup> yáʼni hade-m-háde píšlən xawràne<sup>1</sup> xaməštən.<sup>1</sup> fa-dawéra rába šēnele,<sup>1</sup> yáʼni ʼamínele,<sup>1</sup> šénela rába.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-mtagəbrəxxwale<sup>1</sup> ʼu-xayùθən<sup>1</sup> taqriban<sup>1</sup> xačča -pyàša<sup>1</sup> l-d-àw-wawa.<sup>1</sup> yáʼni ʼo-t-ʼítwale dawéra<sup>1</sup> xáyūθ-diye rába tàzeyawa.<sup>1</sup>*

(133) *b-dawéra garšəxwa qése.<sup>1</sup> garšəxwa qése m-túra qa-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> yáʼni kú-benət laxmàwa<sup>1</sup> t-lé y-azəlwa qarwən,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi túra<sup>1</sup> meθéwa qése bríze,<sup>1</sup> káma mašəxwa qése bríze.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-šúlət mátha kúlle grášta nabáta məndi<sup>1</sup> mən-ʼára l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (134) xāš-dawéra-yewa,<sup>1</sup> sab-rəhqewa,<sup>1</sup> là-mšewa,<sup>1</sup> gráštət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> gráštət xətte,<sup>1</sup> sùla.<sup>1</sup> sùla modìle?<sup>1</sup> ʼáwewa yáʼni zəblət haywàne.<sup>1</sup> gu-góma mpaltəxxwale<sup>1</sup> qam-zəríwa náše rəzza.<sup>1</sup> garšəxwale<sup>1</sup> mašləxxwale<sup>1</sup> l-d-à-ʼára<sup>1</sup> derəxwa tàma,<sup>1</sup> ʼu-tàma,<sup>1</sup> báθər t-y-asríwa rəzza.<sup>1</sup> (135) ʼa-šábθa qaméθa deréwa gu-məššàra<sup>1</sup> qa-t-rəzza t-awéwa spəy.<sup>1</sup> ʼáwewa sùla dax-mašləwale?<sup>1</sup> y-amráxxe qərtała.<sup>1</sup> qərtała modìle?<sup>1</sup> har-türe,<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa túre gu-ʼaqàra,<sup>1</sup> pərməxwala.<sup>1</sup> ʼíθwa yáʼni xa-dárya náše<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala qərtała.<sup>1</sup> ʼíθwa náše šuléy ʼáwewele líθən?<sup>1</sup> qá-t ʼap-xánčì matewaléy.<sup>1</sup> (136) y-oðíwa ʼan-qərtałe,<sup>1</sup> meθəwala.<sup>1</sup> béna m-bár hədax<sup>1</sup> ʼan-qərtałe kut-tərtə<sup>1</sup> y-asríwa b-ğəðəðe<sup>1</sup> b-xàwla.<sup>1</sup> y-asríwa b-xàwla b-ğəðəðe<sup>1</sup> ʼu-ʼíman garšíwa sùla,<sup>1</sup> deréwa xāš-dawéra.<sup>1</sup> deréwa xāš-dawéra sapíqe.<sup>1</sup> zayínwa kəs-tərtə gòma<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mpúlte ʼo-sùla qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> b-məlxàwa,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa ʼó-zəbla mən-àra<sup>1</sup> deréwa gu-qərtała.<sup>1</sup> (137) məléwa qərtała m-ay-gót tərnyə,<sup>1</sup> mašléwala... gu-ʼərəθa<sup>1</sup> gu-ʼaqàra,<sup>1</sup> xzi-éka ʼaqára díya rəhqa.<sup>1</sup> bār šaléwa l-ʼaqàra,<sup>1</sup> msapáqtət sùla senəyiyewa.<sup>1</sup> m-ða-gòta<sup>1</sup> zepátwala l-d-ó-geba xèna<sup>1</sup> qa-t xadriwa qərtałe-u<sup>1</sup> sùla msapqətwale<sup>1</sup> mádre derátwala xāš-kodínta.<sup>1</sup>*

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

(133) With a mule we would transport wood. We would transport wood from the mountains for winter. That is whenever it was convenient and the mule was not going on a convoy, they would go to the mountains and fetch dry wood. As far as we could (we fetched) dry wood. It was the job of the whole village to transport and bring things from the land to the home. (134) This was on the back of a mule, since (things) were far away and they could not do this otherwise, namely the transportation of rice, the transportation of wheat, of manure. What is manure? It is the muck of animals. We took it out of the stable basement, before people sowed the rice. We would take it down to the land and spread it there, and also (spread it) there after they had bound up the rice. (135) During the first week they would put it in the paddy field in order for the rice to grow well. How did they take the manure down? (In) what we call a 'pannier basket'. What is a pannier basket? It consists only of pliable sticks from the farmland, which we cut down. There were many people who made what we called a pannier basket. There were people whose job this was, you see, so that they would gain a little (extra income). (136) They would make the pannier baskets and bring them (for people to buy). Then they would tie together the baskets in pairs<sup>41</sup> with rope. They would tie them together with rope and when they transported manure they would put them on the back of a mule. They would put them on the back of the mule empty. It would stand by the door of the stable basement, (after) they had brought the manure outside. They would lift the muck from the ground with a threshing fork and put it in the pannier basket. (137) They would fill the pannier basket on both sides. They brought them (the baskets) down to the plots of land, the farmland. You see, their farmland was far off. After they went down to the farmland, the emptying of the manure was easy. You would push from one side to the other so that the baskets would turn round and so empty the manure, then put them again on the back of the mule.

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<sup>41</sup> Literally: every two of the baskets.

(138) 'u-y-attáxwa xās-kodánta rēš-d-án qərtále,<sup>1</sup> be-pàlga,<sup>1</sup> y-aθáxwa meθáxwa<sup>1</sup>  
'u-kúlla yóma b-áyya garšáxwa súla<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa súla maþəlxíwa tla-rəzza<sup>1</sup> diya maþəlxíle  
tla-xabúše<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áwewa súla 'ile xá xayúθət 'aqàra kúlle líθən.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'aqàra gáræg  
máxe m-d-àw.<sup>1</sup>

### Sheep's Tail

(139) b-màθa<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa məndiyáne xène.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə b-qəta<sup>1</sup> mxamáxwa tla-qàlya.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə  
mtagbráxwala qa-t-ťarsíwa,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mþermáxwa b-čəri,<sup>1</sup> b-yárxat 'əčča,<sup>1</sup> 'əšra,<sup>1</sup> xadəssər<sup>1</sup>  
þermáxwala qá-t 'e-qálya mbarzəxwale,<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwale qəttáte qəttáte.<sup>1</sup> bašlaxwale  
deráxwa gu-tanəkkə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mxamáxwale magðəlwa qa-sətwə<sup>1</sup> y-axlaxwale mənne-diye.<sup>1</sup>

### Instruments Used for Harvesting

(140) b-qəta y-azáxwa qərtə.<sup>1</sup> qərtə modíle.<sup>21</sup> y-azáxwa 'ánna xoriyáθa t-ítlən tàma,<sup>1</sup>  
xoriyáθa,<sup>1</sup> xeləpela.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa jawətta.<sup>1</sup> jawətta 'áyya t-þrəzlela.<sup>1</sup> jawətta t-þrəzlela.<sup>1</sup>  
y-asqəxwa š-xòrta,<sup>1</sup> qəťáxwa 'o-táqa zòrewa,<sup>1</sup> léwa rába gòra.<sup>1</sup> meθáxwale,<sup>1</sup> mattáxwale  
'ašrta.<sup>1</sup> (141) 'u-y-aθéwa 'ərwə<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattáxwa qamèy<sup>1</sup> y-áxli mənne-diye<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ťarsíwa.<sup>1</sup>  
'o-šúla y-amrəxwale qərtə líθən.<sup>21</sup> 'u-xzáta... t-gəlla<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa mągla.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən tàma  
y'áni nàše,<sup>1</sup> dā-maθa gótən-wawa Derəške,<sup>1</sup> 'áy šulèy<sup>1</sup> taršíwa mągle.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya xzáda  
xəttə,<sup>1</sup> gəlla.<sup>1</sup> jawətta tla-þràma<sup>1</sup> 'anna qése ma-qése.<sup>1</sup> (142) 'u-gu-d-è-dana<sup>1</sup>  
har-'íθwa<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala nàra.<sup>1</sup> nàra 'ánna tla-þràma qése xlíme.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-nàra 'ap-'áw  
'áni mtaršile,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'òste<sup>1</sup> haddàde y-amrəxwa,<sup>1</sup> haddàda.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna xa-Šlémun  
m-Derəške,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna Derəšknəye y-amrəxwala,<sup>1</sup> šwəwən-wawa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni mtaršíwa nàre,<sup>1</sup>  
mtaršíwa jawəttáθa,<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa mągle.<sup>1</sup>

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

### *Sheep's Tail*

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

### *Instruments Used for Harvesting*

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

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<sup>42</sup> The informant appears to be confusing *qalya*, which is fat used for cooking, with *qadida*, which is dried salted meat.

(143) 'iθwa gólla y-ámri mergáne.<sup>1</sup> 'áni... mergáne rába 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> mtarštwa màgla<sup>1</sup> béna 'aw-léle-šmme màgla<sup>1</sup> y-amrítwa gilándi.<sup>1</sup> gilándi rába gòrèle<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'ε-ga-násət<sup>1</sup> kúlla lá-mše zári,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna gáræg b-šanóttá gòra y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> sab-'ánna mergáne rábe<sup>1</sup> léla m-an-t-xazdóxla b-màgla.<sup>1</sup> (144) mágla<sup>1</sup> ðla-gu-rəzzele,<sup>1</sup> gólla-hatxa.<sup>1</sup> xánčì xánčì<sup>1</sup> pεrmáxwa bi-dìye.<sup>1</sup> 'ína gilándi<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa prəzla<sup>1</sup> 'ánna máglət gilándi xá-mdi gòrèle líθn.<sup>2</sup> ðla-d-án mergáne góre góre.<sup>1</sup> sab-'ánna gáræg tre-ðlá 'úrze<sup>1</sup> b-kúlla yóma zór maštwa<sup>1</sup> xəzdi<sup>1</sup> xá-mdi rába bašəra.<sup>1</sup>

### Roofs of Houses

(145) 'áxni b-sətwa mšéra dùnye ràya<sup>1</sup> mən-yárxət 'əšra-w<sup>1</sup> xadəssər hòdəx.<sup>1</sup> fə-mò 'iθwa.<sup>2</sup> 'iθwalən gərə.<sup>1</sup> gərə y-awéwa yáni t-úpra, ðina.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'áwewa y-amrəxwale<sup>1</sup> sərsərra<sup>1</sup> yáni qùwyeewa.<sup>1</sup> fa-l-gərə<sup>1</sup> 'iman t-aryáwa dùnye<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən mandòrta.<sup>1</sup> mandòrta mòdila.<sup>2</sup> 'áwewa kəpele,<sup>1</sup> mən-gòte,<sup>1</sup> m-ay-gòta m-ay-gòta<sup>1</sup> xrița xa-bòya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mùθyax<sup>1</sup> mtúršəx qəsa,<sup>1</sup> b-d-ó-qesa nabláxwala-w mεθəxwala.<sup>1</sup> (146) 'áyya y-amrəxxa mandòre,<sup>1</sup> qa-t garmáxwa gərə<sup>1</sup> yáni gərə qa-t mandərwa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-dalòpe<sup>1</sup> la-šále b-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'m-xáčča<sup>1</sup> xáčča xa-béna 'aryáwa-dunye<sup>1</sup> deréwa xáčča ðina,<sup>1</sup> biš-dawùqwa.<sup>1</sup> qəmθa<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa tálga rába.<sup>1</sup> díya lèle-θaya tálga.<sup>1</sup> šuxləpla 'ahwáltət dùnye.<sup>1</sup>

### Hunting Partridges

(147) qámθa rába y-áθe tálga,<sup>1</sup> y-azóxwa gərkáwe.<sup>1</sup> gərkáwe modila.<sup>2</sup> gərkáwe 'ila b-yárxət trè,<sup>1</sup> ðlàθa,<sup>1</sup> rába y-áθe tálga,<sup>1</sup> qəqwàne.<sup>1</sup> 'áw qəqwána gu-ðura y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> b-qéta lá-mšəx doqəxle,<sup>1</sup> 'əlla-qtála qatliwa náše.<sup>1</sup> 'ína b-sətwa<sup>1</sup> ma-t-yawéwa tálga<sup>1</sup> lá-mše jawəjwa.<sup>1</sup> fə-y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> yəðáxwa bíya 'ašərta,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup>

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

### *Roofs of Houses*

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

### *Hunting Partridges*

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

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<sup>43</sup> Literally: These meadows were many.

<sup>44</sup> Literally: We would take it and bring it.

(148) 'àxni<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Núne n̄píltá bēl-túra l-túra.<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Núne n̄píltela l-túra l-túra<sup>1</sup> mən-ná-mənnət n̄era.<sup>1</sup> 'áθra rába basimēle.<sup>1</sup> ba-ròža<sup>1</sup> 'áy šəmšèθela,<sup>1</sup> l-talána m-ay-gòta.<sup>1</sup> yámne talána-w<sup>1</sup> ba-ròža çàppe.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-aθéwa qəqwàne.<sup>1</sup> théle rápət qəqwàne,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya gu-sàtwewa,<sup>1</sup> tálga lá-mşaxwa jojəxwa m-áxxa l-àxxa.<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa.<sup>1</sup> (149) 'íman-t jwíjwale xá kilométer m-áxxa l-àxxa,<sup>1</sup> t-ámrx hətxa,<sup>1</sup> 'íman t-yatúewa lá-mşə pàrx<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa doqəxwale senàyi,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-úwa çíya líθən.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amrəxxa gərkàwe.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən,<sup>1</sup> ða-xéta y-amrila<sup>1</sup> qúltá.<sup>1</sup> qúltá 'áy-íla prəzla.<sup>1</sup> mtarşíwala doqíwa.<sup>1</sup> 'arnúwewe doqíwa.<sup>1</sup> tèle bíya doqíwa,<sup>1</sup> heywánət tūra.<sup>1</sup>

*Celebrations at the End of Āšwut*

(150) məndiyáne xène<sup>1</sup> mò 'amrənox?<sup>1</sup> 'ádətte priše.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'iθwa y-amrəxwale şəwma,<sup>1</sup> šawəta,<sup>1</sup> doqəxwa bəte.<sup>1</sup> 'àxni bātən šáwwei tmáni batəwa.<sup>1</sup> mşerəxwa şəwma.<sup>1</sup> 'íma-t mşerəxwa şyàma,<sup>1</sup> derəxwa yómət Mar-Sàwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'o-yòma<sup>1</sup> basimēle,<sup>1</sup> 'əwele,<sup>1</sup> tálgele.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa y-amrəxxe yá'ni 'ən-ile náša spà,<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma basimta t-óya šəmša.<sup>1</sup> (151) xàðexi.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma hətxa yá'ni<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxla mərə.<sup>1</sup> 'ína kúlla spà y náše<sup>1</sup> ləx-mara là.<sup>1</sup> 'ína gu-d-ε-dàna,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ó xa-tùsa y-amrəxwa yá'ni<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ila-šəmša<sup>1</sup> basimtela-w<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lèla-šəmša,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'o-náša la-spà.<sup>1</sup> yómət parəqwa,<sup>1</sup> yóma xaràya,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amrəxwale 'Āšwut.<sup>1</sup> (152) 'Āšwut rába krét-iwa gu-àθra.<sup>1</sup> ráβewa tálga,<sup>1</sup> ráβewa mátra 'u-məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-parəqwa 'Āšwut,<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'asrí-tmanya yomáθa yan-'asrí-'əçça yomànele,<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa tūra.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən dapràna.<sup>1</sup> xa-'ilànele<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxe dapràna.<sup>1</sup> 'o-dapràna y-azəxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'àxni yálət mədràsa<sup>1</sup> wəxwa 'é-ga zòre,<sup>1</sup> məθəxwale.<sup>1</sup> y-oðəxwale qóma gòra.<sup>1</sup>

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

*Celebrations at the End of February*

(150) What other things shall I tell you? (There were) various customs. At that time there was a fast of *šaweta*.<sup>47</sup> We would go around the houses. The houses in our community were seventy or eighty in number.<sup>48</sup> We would begin the fast. When we began fasting, we would predict on the day of Mar Sawa<sup>49</sup> that the day would be fine, cloudy, snowy. We would say to each person, if he was a good man, that on that day the sun will shine.<sup>50</sup> (151) We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things. They were all good people, we are not saying they were not. But at that time, it was a ritual for us to say this if the sun was fine. If there was no sun (we said that) the man is not good. On the day (the festival) finished, the last day (was the last day of the month that) we called February. (152) (The month of) February was very bad in our land. There was a lot of snow, a lot of rain and so on. When February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains. There is something called 'juniper'. It is a tree, called 'juniper'. We used to go—we were young school children at that time—and fetch the juniper and make a big pile of it.

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

<sup>46</sup> Meaning 'shady' (< *ṭalle* 'shade').

<sup>47</sup> Fast beginning twenty-five days before Christmas.

<sup>48</sup> Literally: We, our houses were seventy, eighty houses.

<sup>49</sup> I.e. the first day of the fast.

<sup>50</sup> Literally: the sun will be fine.

(153) *tálga ràba*<sup>1</sup> *mjämàxwale*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwa š-ğðàðe*<sup>1</sup> *maqðáxwale*<sup>2</sup> *Ǻšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámraḫ*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáwwa xàrbewa*<sup>1</sup> *mṭapáxwa níra biye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔó malmálàwa y-amráxwa*<sup>1</sup> *túr Ǻšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *théle*<sup>1</sup>  
*Ǻðar*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni y-amráxwe Ǻðar*<sup>1</sup> *basimsele*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni Ǻšwuṭ zille*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔáwwa xa-nišànqe*<sup>1</sup>  
*t-ʔáθra d-é-ga*<sup>1</sup>

(154) *bar-parəḡwa*<sup>1</sup> *šaqláxwa xa-k'èpa*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwale gu-núra*<sup>1</sup> *šaxánwa xàncí*<sup>1</sup>  
*zadáxwale hàtxa rəḡqa*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa só mèθole*<sup>1</sup> *kút maṭéwa qamáya jaldalle*<sup>1</sup> *məθəwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*sab-iyéwa tálga*<sup>1</sup> *w-áw xamímewa*<sup>1</sup> *pšira*<sup>1</sup> *šálya gu-tálga*<sup>1</sup> *kut-məθəwale*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa*<sup>1</sup>  
*g'ánən basimta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa biš-zirəkile*<sup>1</sup> (155) *yalúnke zòre*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa ʔanna məndiyàne*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáyya y-amríla túr Ǻšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *théle Ǻðar*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya b-yárxət Ǻšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *kúššət y-oðiwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*sab-sátwa y-awéwa yaqúra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bar-hádəx parqəḡwa*<sup>1</sup> *y-azáxwa l-bàte*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa ʔamána*<sup>1</sup>  
*zóra b-ʔiðe*<sup>1</sup> *y-awile xašiše*<sup>1</sup> *kut-xá-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *xákma làblabi*<sup>1</sup> *xákma faşoliye*<sup>1</sup> *xákma*<sup>1</sup>  
*məndiyàne*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla y-awá-mrùzge*<sup>1</sup> *dére ʔamàne-w*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa y-áθe bəθ-diye*<sup>1</sup>

(156) *ta-rēš-šəwma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθwa y-oðáxwa şawməkká*<sup>1</sup> *şawmókka mòdile*<sup>2</sup> *malwəšiwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*jülle*<sup>1</sup> *malwəšiwale gəlda-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-azəlwá*<sup>1</sup> *xadráxwa bâte*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-jámáxwa məndiyàne*<sup>1</sup>  
*mónna xabüşe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-amríwala kəčkəje*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xákma yawíwa zúze*<sup>1</sup> (157) *ʔáwwa*<sup>1</sup>  
*y-amríle*<sup>1</sup> *şawmókka ta-rēš-šəwma*<sup>1</sup> *sab-ʔé-gət mšére şəwma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔáyya xá ʔadətta*<sup>1</sup>  
*y-oðíwa náše ʔé-ga*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rába basimtéwa*<sup>1</sup> *xámša ʔásta xadríwa-w*<sup>1</sup> *mayéwa xá dáwla*<sup>1</sup>  
*mənnəy*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xadríwa gu-tálga*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni rába məndiyàne y-oðíwa*<sup>1</sup> *ṭla-ʔǺšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *ʔanna*<sup>1</sup>  
*məndiyàne y-oðíwala*<sup>1</sup>

### Sheep and Goats

(158) *xéna ʔáxni gu-maθwàθa*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa ʔiθwa ʔərwə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔərwət xwàre*<sup>1</sup> *ʔərwət kòmə*<sup>1</sup>  
*b-qəṭa doqíwa šävàna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-pärəwale*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-küt-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *xa-y-asóqwa mən-diye y-amríwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*malgòri*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa y-asóqwa mən-léle hal-ʔaşərta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔərwə pəšíwa gu-túra*<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

### *Sheep and Goats*

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

<sup>51</sup> Literally: A fart to February.

<sup>52</sup> Literally: He is the strongest.

(159) *qéta y-aθéwa b-yòma<sup>1</sup> y-ásqi māřìwala<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa l-dwàra.<sup>1</sup> ’iman-t y-aθéwa dwàra qúrba l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa beríye,<sup>1</sup> beríye baxtàθa,<sup>1</sup> kút-ða šaqláwa sálla diyá,<sup>1</sup> y-azáwa dwàra,<sup>1</sup> xalwíwa ’érwe.<sup>1</sup> m-bár xálwi ’érwe<sup>1</sup> manixíwa.<sup>1</sup> (160) pεsíwa yá’ni ganéwa... tawòrwa xómma y-amráxle.<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa<sup>1</sup> rāyíwa<sup>1</sup> hál ’ašàrta.<sup>1</sup> ’ašàrta meθéwala ða-dúkθa bíš-qurba t-y-awéwa mīya táma.<sup>1</sup> mádre y-azíwa xalwíwala ’érwe,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> ’u-b-léle pεsíwa gu-řúra.<sup>1</sup> (161) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> xa-béna b-’arbiye y-áwa t-ámra<sup>1</sup> ’érwe t-y-áwa píše b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> θéla genàwe y-amráxxa,<sup>1</sup> qačàxe.<sup>1</sup> ’ánna ’iyéwa xámša ’ásta y-áθe genàwe.<sup>1</sup> qíme ’áθye b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> dviqəlle šāvàna-w<sup>1</sup> malgóri diyé.<sup>1</sup> šlíwəlla ’iθaθəy<sup>1</sup> ’u-gníwəlla ’érwe<sup>1</sup> ’u-mupíðəlla b-hūdūd<sup>1</sup> yá’ni ’áθra d-áy-gotət diyèni.<sup>1</sup> (162) ’u-píštela háwar gu-màθa<sup>1</sup> béna ’é-ga ’iθwa tòpe<sup>1</sup> ’iθwa čàkke y-amráxwa,<sup>1</sup> tòpe.<sup>1</sup> píštela hàwar.<sup>1</sup> tàxrena<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše qímela,<sup>1</sup> síqe l-hàwar,<sup>1</sup> síqe b-hàwar,<sup>1</sup> ’ina ’érwe mšúre l-xá-’aθra xèna,<sup>1</sup> yá’ni gu-Türki.<sup>1</sup> (163) táma xáčča plišela xá-yoma trè,<sup>1</sup> qímela hár ’an-náše diyən,<sup>1</sup> slíbe mən-’érwət qurðaye d-a-gòta<sup>1</sup> ’u-muθyəlla.<sup>1</sup> fa-’ánna məndiyáne har-y-awéwa yá’ni.<sup>1</sup> rába gáye wítela ’ánna məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa ganwíwala.<sup>1</sup>*

### *Yoghurt and Cheese*

(164) ’ó-xəlyət xalwíwale<sup>1</sup> meθéle bèθa.<sup>1</sup> meθéle bèθa,<sup>1</sup> mšapàwale-u<sup>1</sup> ’u-deréwa gu-quxàne.<sup>1</sup> ’u-marəxθíwale,<sup>1</sup> yá’ni mšaxníwale-u marəxθíwale<sup>1</sup> qa-t-’áv t-odíwale màsta.<sup>1</sup> m-bár t-ráxəθ ’o-xəlyə,<sup>1</sup> mattíwale hal-qayəřwa xánčí.<sup>1</sup> qam-qayəřwa rába rāba,<sup>1</sup> ’iθən mattíwa šabòta gáwe diyé<sup>1</sup> qá-t ’ən-qablála šabòta<sup>1</sup> yá’ni dánela qá-t deréla marèθa.<sup>1</sup>

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

### *Yoghurt and Cheese*

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

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<sup>53</sup> Literally: It was in the 1940s let's say.

(165) 'a-maréθa mtaršiwala m-rába mändiyàne.<sup>1</sup> deràwala,<sup>1</sup> mkesàwale<sup>1</sup> báθθr xákma dàna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-bar-hádax mattíwale xa-dúkθa hal-dawùqwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dártə yòma<sup>1</sup> qemíwa 'ína píša<sup>1</sup> màsta<sup>1</sup> fa-'a-màsta,<sup>1</sup> 'o-xəlyá<sup>1</sup> dáwuqwa qrúšta.<sup>1</sup> qrúšte-diye rába basimtéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa tla-nàše<sup>1</sup> 'axlíwa gu-ftárta mèndi,<sup>1</sup> tla-yalínke zóre t-yéwa gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-màsta<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa mænna-diya.<sup>1</sup> (166) 'o-t-zayəðwa<sup>1</sup> halbát 'o-ràbεwa<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale náše 'ərwε xa-dàrya.<sup>1</sup> mò y-oðíwa?<sup>1</sup> mæn-d-o-xəlyá 'u-mæn-d-a-másta 'i-mtaršíwa gùpta.<sup>1</sup> 'áw bár hádax mšaxniwale,<sup>1</sup> bar-hádax 'a-másta meθéwala xa-kísta,<sup>1</sup> kísta yá'ni deréwa gáwe diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bar deréwa gáwe y-asřiwala,<sup>1</sup> matíwa xa-képa xačča-ptóxa xòθe<sup>1</sup> 'u-réše mattíwa xa-képa<sup>1</sup> qá-t kəmá-t 'iyéwa míya gawe-diye<sup>1</sup> gamšìwa<sup>1</sup> šaléwa.<sup>1</sup> (167) pεšáwa xa-yóma trè,<sup>1</sup> hál barəzwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bár barəzwa xáčča talèwale.<sup>1</sup> 'a-gùpta béna meθéwa deréwala.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa bāyéwa deréwa gèlla gáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa gùpta y-oðíwa b-gèlla<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa sèrmo deréwa b-gáwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəbbət<sup>1</sup> 'u-priše priše.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya kúlla gùpta tla-'imεwa.<sup>1</sup> tla-sətwá.<sup>1</sup> sab-sátwa la-y-awéwa réčəl rába.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ánna mxamèwala.<sup>1</sup> (168) mò y-óði?<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa bár t-iyáwa ràbθa<sup>1</sup> deréwa gu-markàne.<sup>1</sup> 'an-markàne mtúršela m-'ùpra.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa gu-'áθra har-šuléy 'àwwewa,<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa markàne,<sup>1</sup> líne,<sup>1</sup> kawàze,<sup>1</sup> garšíwa míya bìya,<sup>1</sup> kúl xa-mèndi.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ánna 'amàne<sup>1</sup> deréwa gùpta gáwa diya.<sup>1</sup> (169) ladmìwala.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa béθe diye<sup>1</sup> xapərwá<sup>1</sup> 'u-l-páθa d-o-gùpta deréwa matúwowa tərpe,<sup>1</sup> tərpeət dalìθa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t lá šaléwa šóxta gáwe.<sup>1</sup> y-asříwa púmma diya<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwa réše xtáya.<sup>1</sup> (170) hon-txàra<sup>1</sup> 'ε-ga-t-íxwa zòre<sup>1</sup> šalmíwa mónnət xóni mattúwowa.<sup>1</sup> xapřáxwa 'u-mattúwowa réše xtáya<sup>1</sup> 'u-mkasèwala.<sup>1</sup> yǎðəxwa 'ékewa.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa šwáwe náše yǎðəxwa 'ékewa mütte.<sup>1</sup> (171) hál héwəm čeríye<sup>1</sup> béna mšerəxwa<sup>1</sup> xá-xa šqàlèlla líθm.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše mapəlxìwala<sup>1</sup> hal-tárət sətwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-ó pəslá<sup>1</sup> 'i-mtaršíwa gùpta.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni dák taršíwa m-xəlyá-w<sup>1</sup> pálta béna xaráya gùpta-w<sup>1</sup> mapəlxíwa náše tla-gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>

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

## Cows

(172) 'íθwa tawràθa.<sup>1</sup> bás tla-mexólta diyèy-iyawa.<sup>1</sup> tawórta xalwàwala.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa y-amròxla bəqra.<sup>1</sup> sab-b-qé̄ta kúlla deréwa y-asqíwa gu-tùra.<sup>1</sup> doqíwa xá y-amròxle baqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw mǎřéwa tawriyàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-tàwre.<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-amrí baqàra.<sup>1</sup> m-lél mbàdla<sup>1</sup> xalwíwa tawèrta<sup>1</sup> y-asqáwa bəqra<sup>1</sup> (173) 'ap-'áy har-hàdəx<sup>1</sup> mšaxníwa xálya diya-w<sup>1</sup> marèwale-u<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa marèθa,<sup>1</sup> har-'ax-t-odíwa xəlyá.<sup>1</sup> mtaráštət xəlyá kúlla xà-məndíla.<sup>1</sup> šaxnile-u<sup>1</sup> pàys<sup>1</sup> 'u-bar-hádəx dére marèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqlile.<sup>1</sup> 'ína mástət 'ərwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-prištela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.<sup>1</sup> (174) 'u-čeriýwàθa<sup>1</sup> beheriye<sup>1</sup> 'ərwe yadliwa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni dax-zé̄di 'ərwe?<sup>1</sup> yadliwa<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa pàře.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əzze yadliwa<sup>1</sup> jìsqàθa-w<sup>1</sup> gəðye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šéta b-šéta<sup>1</sup> zedíwa-w<sup>1</sup> náše zedíwa 'ərwèy.<sup>1</sup> (175) 'úrxt xláwta kúlla xa-məndíla.<sup>1</sup> báxta y-àza<sup>1</sup> mattála qašxàne<sup>1</sup> rēš-bərka diya,<sup>1</sup> xalšála-w<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xalwála tawèrta.<sup>1</sup> w-áni yáđi dāx 'i-xálwi tawèrta.<sup>1</sup> tawórta šənəla.<sup>1</sup> dére gəlla-w<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'ítla mója zòra<sup>1</sup> qám-ma xalwála,<sup>1</sup> mǎmišála xəčča-w<sup>1</sup> xalwála-w 'ap-xəčča xéna šóqa tla-mója.<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'ap-'áw zòrele,<sup>1</sup> sab-qá-t š-léwa mšúrya xála gəlla<sup>1</sup> qa-t-áwe špáy,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-mànte.<sup>1</sup>

## Bees

(176) 'íθwa gu-máθa doqíwa dabàše<sup>1</sup> tla-dùša.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna doqíwale beheriye.<sup>1</sup> deréwa gu-sulämməš.<sup>1</sup> 'an-dabàše—kəmá-t-awə wèrde<sup>1</sup> pálti wèrde,<sup>1</sup> béher y-áwe priše priše—y-àzi<sup>1</sup> méθə mexólta diyèy,<sup>1</sup> hál máte héwən diyéy b-čeriýwàθa.<sup>1</sup> b-čèri<sup>1</sup> 'íθm náše<sup>1</sup> 'idéy bista y-amrila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa 'úrxa,<sup>1</sup> péša 'ax-šàna y-amròxla.<sup>1</sup> (177) béna bar-péša šàna,<sup>1</sup> —'i-šáqla 'árba xámša yàrxə,<sup>1</sup> —bar-péša šàna,<sup>1</sup> y-ámri hēwəmile<sup>1</sup> sab-gárəg xəčča pèxa dúnye.<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət 'əřra<sup>1</sup> xadəssə<sup>1</sup> y-óya pìxta dúnye,<sup>1</sup> qá-t la-šəri<sup>1</sup> 'árqi y-àzi.<sup>1</sup>

*Cows*

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

*Bees*

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

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<sup>54</sup> Literally: their hand is skilled.

(178) 'i-dogíle šàna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-sulámməš doqíle lóší xa-jùlla<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá nesíla-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-déere gu-'amàna,<sup>1</sup> garšíle níxa nìxa-w.<sup>1</sup> m-tàma hòdəx<sup>1</sup> déere gu-qáwwe zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa dúša hàtxa mtaršíle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa náše xa-dàrya<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'íθwaley kút l-g'ān-dīye.<sup>1</sup> xákma mánna mزابنوا<sup>1</sup> yá'ni sáma zóda tla-bəθuθéy mapəlxìwala<sup>1</sup> tla-našəy.<sup>1</sup>

### Houses

(179) 'áni qámθa báte bənye b-képa-w tina.<sup>1</sup> qámθa,<sup>1</sup> qám šáwwi tmáni šənnə yá'ni<sup>1</sup> banəwə.<sup>1</sup> 'ína šēt 'arbye-u l-àxxa<sup>1</sup> m-bar-náše y-awéwala xákma yá'ni zúze,<sup>1</sup> plixwala náše,<sup>1</sup> mšuréle bnáyəlla batəy<sup>1</sup> b-képa 'u-gəsa.<sup>1</sup> képa məθéwə m-gu-tura.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə l-tura<sup>1</sup> y-awéwə tšəyá 'aw-képa<sup>1</sup> mattíwə darmana.<sup>1</sup> (180) 'íθwa náše<sup>1</sup> 'ánna banəye<sup>1</sup> šəne y-amrəxwə,<sup>1</sup> šəne.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə məpəqìwala<sup>1</sup> palí kepe-xwəre.<sup>1</sup> 'án kepe-xwəre pərmìwala<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwə zóre zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ánna hár gu-tura.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-tàma<sup>1</sup> 'ánna képa 'áwwa y-amrəxxe pəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa képəθ pəθele,<sup>1</sup> naqrìwale.<sup>1</sup> y-awéwə xwəra,<sup>1</sup> tāməz rába tàza.<sup>1</sup> (181) 'u-y-azíwə dawéere garšìwale.<sup>1</sup> dawère,<sup>1</sup> šaqólwə kút-xa,<sup>1</sup> kut-téna šaqólwə 'arbə-kepe,<sup>1</sup> lə'ānnahu yaqùreyewə.<sup>1</sup> garšìwala b-stəvle.<sup>1</sup> 'an-stəvle<sup>1</sup> mturšewə m-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> 'an-stəvle xās-dawèreyewə,<sup>1</sup> síre xās-dawèra,<sup>1</sup> koðənta y-amrəxla.<sup>1</sup> (182) deréwə tre-képe m-ay-gòta,<sup>1</sup> tre-m-ay-gota<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwə mətə-w.<sup>1</sup> yawìwala<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zúza d-o-nàša<sup>1</sup> yawìwale kəma-t daqə.<sup>1</sup> bár məθéwə,<sup>1</sup> mrazgíwə kul-xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> qam-šeríwə bnəya,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə y-oðíwə 'atína,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mtaršíwə kəlša,<sup>1</sup> qa-t mšeríwə bnəya.<sup>1</sup> (183) 'atína modíle.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə 'ap-'áyya gu-tùrela.<sup>1</sup> xaprìwə<sup>1</sup> 'ú...y-amrəxxe šənnəxéere y-oðíwə qése banəwə<sup>1</sup> xa-tùxma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwə kəpe<sup>1</sup> 'u-qése.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-xòθe<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwə nura.<sup>1</sup> 'o-kəlša,<sup>1</sup> 'an-kəpe<sup>1</sup> y-aqðíwə.<sup>1</sup> bar-t-y-aqìðwə,<sup>1</sup> kùlla pəšíwə 'ax-qàmxa.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-kəlša y-áməxxe qàmxa.<sup>1</sup>

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

### *Houses*

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

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<sup>55</sup> I.e. the outer side of the wall.

(184) *bar-t-y-aqíðwa y-amríwa 'áwwa mále tla-bnyàna, 'y-azíwa' garšíwale b-juwàle, 'sab-píšewa 'ax-qàmxa, 'txìnewa. 'o-kálša deréwale gu-juwàle, 'methéwale l-màtha, 'xzi 'ékele béθux t-it-bnâyalle. 'mšéri bnâya. (185) l-gáwət bəθa, 'áni képa-w tīnewa, 'ina l-bàθre' páθe diyē, 'páθe diyē' 'an-képe t-in-mára tāməz 'iyéwa, 'prīme-u' tàze-u' 'ax-t-ámri nqire. 'mānnéy mānnéy mattíwa kəlša, 'o-kəlša' rāba qūweyewa, 'yá'ni m-bár xá 'əsrá yomàtha, 'yá'ni t-amrátte dabəšwa, 'kúlla t-amrátte dabəšwa xá képa yá'ni, 'képa-w kəlša. (186) 'u-b-ó-pəšla banéwa. 'áwwa gúda banéwa hátxa. 'xārtha' halbát tarráne tarránət qəšeyewa táma. 'gyátta' 'ax-t-amrəxxa' t-amrəxla yá'ni gāre. 'māndi qamāye 'iθwa xoriyátha. 'ánna xoriyátha xlimeyéwa. 'ánna xoriyátha' deréwa...y-áwa bənye 'otāxe. (187) māθālan 'iθ b'éθa 'əštà 'otāxe, 'xamšà 'otāxe' y-áwa kúlla 'ap-'áni be-pálga bənye. 'áni b-képa 'adi bāne, 'lá b-képa xwàra. 'm-táma hódəx methéwa xoriyátha. 'garšíwa nāše, 'y-ázi gu-néra bār pərmūwala-w' barzíwa xáčča mkalcūwala. (188) garšíwa' y-aθéwa 'ax-t-ámri nāše zəbbáre mhéri gđāde. 'garšíwa 'an-gúre xelāne. 'é-ga 'iθwa nāše rábe gu-màtha. 'methéwala, 'masqūwala, 'mattíwala š-gūda. 'mattíwa š-gūda, 'bar-hàdəx' š-d-ó gūda' methéwa y-amrəxxa nire. (189) 'ap-'áni y-áwe prīme. 'ap-'áni t-qəšela. 'bəl-qaríθa l-qaríθa, 't-ámrx bálki y-àwa' métra-w pálge 'átxa' kút bəl-qaríθa l-qaríθa. 'sab-lá-hoya biš-pθiθa, 'ən-wéla biš-pθiθa, 'y-amrəxxa dārpa, 'yá'ni šàlya, 't-áθe sətwa' t-áθya tálga māndi. (190) kəmə t-iyéwa 'iqe-u' xoriyátha xlime, 'biš-yá'ni t-amrəxwa xáyíwa biz-zāwda. 'bar-deréwa nire, 'methéwa' tārpa. 'é-ga qámθa tārpa y-odíwa. 'deréwa tārpa réše diyē, 'ina m-ó mğūbya. 'u-m-bár hādəx, 'deréwa níxa nixa' xiza' 'u-xáčča tina māndi' qa-t dawūqwa.*

(184) After it burnt and they considered that it was enough for building, they would proceed to transport it in sacks, since it had become like flour, it was ground. They put the gypsum in sacks and brought it to the village, wherever<sup>56</sup> your house that you were building was situated. Then they would begin to build. (185) Inside the house was stone and mud, but behind this was its (outer) facing. Its facing consisted of the stones that I said were clean, nicely cut and carved, as they say. Together with these (stones) they would put gypsum. The gypsum was very strong. After about ten days, you would say that it stuck together, you would say that the gypsum all stuck together in a single stone. (186) They would build in this way. This is the wall, which they built in the this way. Then, of course, (they would make) the doors, which were made of wood there. (They would make) the 'finishing' (at the top of the wall), as we call it, that is (the base of the) the roof. First of all, there were poplar trees. These poplar were thick. They laid these poplar (to make the roof). They had built the rooms (by this stage). (187) There were, for example, six rooms in a house, five rooms. They were all built within (the house). They would build these with ordinary stone, not with white stone. After that they would bring poplar (trunks). People would transport them. They would float down the river after people cut them up. (After) they dried a little, they would remove their bark. (188) Volunteer workers, as they are called, would transport them and help one another (in the task). Those strong men would transport them. At that time there were many people in the village. They would bring them, take them up (to the village) and then place them on top of the wall. They placed them on top of the wall and after that, on top of the wall, they would bring (and fit) slats. (189) These were also cut (to measure) and were made of wood, (placed) between one beam and another. Each (space) between one beam and another was, perhaps, about metre and a half (long). This was because (the space) must not be wider. If it were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived. (190) In proportion as the poplars were narrowly spaced and thick, they survived longer. After they laid the slats, they would bring leaves. They would have previously collected the leaves. They would place the leaves on this, (using only) those that were selected (for good quality). Afterwards they laid a light layer of sand and a little mud, or the like, so that it would all adhere together.

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<sup>56</sup> Literally: see where.

(191) 'u-deréwa 'úpra réše diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-bár deréwa 'úpra rēš-diye,<sup>1</sup> yǎđiwa mo-qádra deréwa<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawewa biz-zàwda<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-la xarùwewa.<sup>1</sup> bar-xàrθa<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa har-'úpra xāš<sup>1</sup> yá'ni la-kùt-'upra t-áwewa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni p̄riša yéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-xarèθa<sup>1</sup> ç̣annəḵère-ẓ̌i mattiwa,<sup>1</sup> ç̣annəḵérət gùda,<sup>1</sup> swanàne y-amròxla.<sup>1</sup> swanáne paltíwa m-gùda<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-miya šále gu-gùda.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni 'iyéwa mtugəbre.<sup>1</sup> (192) gu-d-á dàna<sup>1</sup> gàre<sup>1</sup> bená xaràye<sup>1</sup> mεθéwa y-amròxxe sarsərra.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw<sup>1</sup> xa-'ùprele<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáçça t-amròxxe kepànzele.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw b-dawère mεθéle.<sup>1</sup> gótá mátha 'iθn y-amròxla xpàrta.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa képa xāš deréle š-gùda.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa rába qùwyele.<sup>1</sup> miya lé-šale bíye diye,<sup>1</sup> rába dàwuq.<sup>1</sup> (193) 'u-m-bár t-y-óđi 'áy kùlla<sup>1</sup> 'iθn y-amròxxa mandòrta.<sup>1</sup> mandòrta 'ile képa<sup>1</sup> gōra y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni y-áwe mtúrša xās-d-ó-məndi<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amrila mandòrta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mandrále gàre,<sup>1</sup> dalkále yá'ni,<sup>1</sup> dalkále gàre.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-a-dàna<sup>1</sup> 'iθeni y-amròxxe<sup>1</sup> . . . mandòrta 'u-dére xa-qésa bi-diye,<sup>1</sup> fa-'áw qunjyáthe diye<sup>1</sup> d-áy mandòrta<sup>1</sup> y-áwa bəzye<sup>1</sup> y-áwe bóya bíye<sup>1</sup> y-áwe 'ax-xp̄ira,<sup>1</sup> nq̄ira y-amròxle.<sup>1</sup> (194) fa-morile mən-tárna goyàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-garšile b-ó-qesət y-áwe bi-diye,<sup>1</sup> nablile mεθéle mandrile gàre.<sup>1</sup> mandrile gàre<sup>1</sup> qa-t-qàwe<sup>1</sup> qa-t-'íma t-áθya 'ryàna-w<sup>1</sup> t-áθe tàlga<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-šala dalòpe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-sàtwa<sup>1</sup> 'iθena 'íma t-y-áθe 'ryàna<sup>1</sup> 'áy mandòre mándəri.<sup>1</sup> (195) bas-'íma t-y-áθe tàlga,<sup>1</sup> halbát y-aθéwa tálga ràba<sup>1</sup> rába y-aθéwa tàlga,<sup>1</sup> fa-mò y-ođiwa?<sup>1</sup> 'iθwaln marùθa.<sup>1</sup> garp̄iwale,<sup>1</sup> gràpa y-ámri,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zadáwale kùlla m-gàre<sup>1</sup> ç̣annəḵérət swàna<sup>1</sup> l-yámne çàppe.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kút-dukət t-óya bis-senàyi,<sup>1</sup> sab-ràba-'iyewa tálga.<sup>1</sup> (196) 'ó . . . marùθa mturástewa m-qésa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwala dásqa rixa y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mεθéwa qésət 'ilàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-ođiwa dapyàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-mtaršiwala-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-àyi<sup>1</sup> garp̄iwa gàre.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zep̄iwa tálga<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá payóšwa b-gàre.<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-ràba gàye,<sup>1</sup> trè-gaye,<sup>1</sup> !lā-gaye,<sup>1</sup> b-lèle<sup>1</sup> 'ima-t-y-aθéwa tàlga<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda b-yárxət trèssər<sup>1</sup> yárxət xà.<sup>1</sup> (197) 'ap-'Ášwuṭ krèhət y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw xelàna y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-páyəš bèher<sup>1</sup> m-tama-hódəx mandòrtela-w<sup>1</sup> yá'ni m-tama-hódəx la-sáqđi bíya.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni báte b-ò-pəšla banéwala.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni bnéθət bate,<sup>1</sup> hál 'ánna ṣ̌onne xaràye<sup>1</sup> mšuréla bnáyəlla b-čimànto,<sup>1</sup> bar-náše xáçça wéla,<sup>1</sup> 'urxáθət 'atnabéle siqla.<sup>1</sup>

(191) Then they would put soil on it. After they put soil on it—they knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and spoil. Furthermore, there was a special soil (which had to be used), that is not any type of soil. It was different. They laid the last (section of the roof) they laid also what was round it, around the wall, which we called ‘eaves’. The eaves protruded from the wall, so that the water would not run down the wall. These also were dealt with. (192) At that time, the last thing (they did for) the roof was that they brought what is called ‘white gravel’. This is also a kind of soil, rather like gravel. They would bring this also on mules. Next to the village there is what is called a quarry (from where they brought it). This is a special stone that they put on the wall. It is very strong. Water does not seep through it, since it retains (water) well. (193) After they do all this, there is what we call a roller. A roller is a stone, which is large and is made specially for this thing. This is called a roller, i.e. it rolls the roof, it compresses it, it compresses the roof. At that time there was a thing called a roller. They would put a piece of wood into it. The ends<sup>57</sup> of the roller are bored, with holes in them, dug out, carved out, as we say. (194) They insert it (the wood) from both sides and pull it with the (handle of) wood that is attached to it, back and forth, rolling the roof. They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does not seep down (into the house). In the winter, when it rains, they would roll it in this way. (195) But when it snowed—of course there was a lot of snow—what did they do? We had a snow shovel. They would shovel it—they call it shovelling, that is they would throw it all from the roof from around the eaves, on the right and on the left, whatever place was easiest, since there was a lot of snow. (196) The snow shovel was made of wood. It has a long hand. They would bring a branch of wood from a tree and make it into flat pieces and construct it (the shovel). With this they would shovel the roof, that is they would push off the snow, so that it did not remain on the roof. Sometimes (they did this) many times, two times, three times, at night when it snowed, mainly in December and January. (197) (The month of) February is also bad, that is the snow was heavy. Then it is Spring and from then onwards it is the roller (that they use). That is, from then onwards they have no difficulty with it (the weather). They would build houses in this way. This was the method of building of houses, until recent years, when they began to build them with cement, after people became few (in number) and roads for cars came up (to the village).

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<sup>57</sup> Literally: corners.

(198) *mšuréla masóqe čimànto.*<sup>1</sup> 'ína bâte qámθa òina-wεwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-píšwala t-amráxwa qàšre,<sup>1</sup> béna 'áwwa lé y-amráxwa bâte<sup>1</sup> y-amráxwa qàšra.<sup>1</sup> sab-biš muntèwale<sup>1</sup> ššmma diya qəm-mšaxəlpìwale.<sup>1</sup> bèθa 'áwwa t-òinεyewa<sup>1</sup> y-amráxwa bèθa<sup>1</sup> badákka zòra.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'aw-xéna píšwale qàšra<sup>1</sup> t-yéwa bónya b-kèpe.<sup>1</sup> bâte hàtxa banéwa.<sup>1</sup>

(199) *xàrθa*<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga márwali qá-t bâte dák banèla,<sup>1</sup> bás gu-d-án bâte mò 'íθwa.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> 'é-ga... tróša yáni léwa 'ax-diya.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'íθwa bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa xá-<sup>2</sup>otəx yan-trè.<sup>1</sup> ðà-<sup>2</sup>otəx<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mšuwèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa y-amráxwa xašira.<sup>1</sup> xašire meθéwala m-mðinàθa 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> 'àni<sup>1</sup> deréwa xtèθa.<sup>1</sup> (200) *xéna halbát*<sup>1</sup> d-é-dān d-è-ga<sup>1</sup> líθwa 'ánna qānāfē-u məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa kut-bèθa<sup>1</sup> ða-<sup>2</sup>otəx<sup>1</sup> yan-tórte fəlləθ,<sup>1</sup> la-bi-zóda 'iyéwa 'atxàne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> yalínke zòre<sup>1</sup> 'u-bèθa-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ón gorìwa<sup>1</sup> har-m-gðàðe xaméwa.<sup>1</sup> (201) 'ārət-béθa y-áwa mšúweya<sup>1</sup> t-ámrx xašire y-amrìwala.<sup>1</sup> xašire,<sup>1</sup> y-awa-zqire mánət zàle<sup>1</sup> ma-zále 'u-məndiyáne y-áwa zqire.<sup>1</sup> deréwa l-<sup>2</sup>ara<sup>1</sup> 'u-rèša<sup>1</sup> deréwa gàle y-amrāxle.<sup>1</sup> gàle,<sup>1</sup> xákma y-awéwala xaliye<sup>1</sup> mónna xáčča biš-xlime.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'íla pīsta y-amrìwala 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> (202) *béna 'ánna deréwa rēša-w*<sup>1</sup> čənnəkəra<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa došəkyàθa,<sup>1</sup> y-áwa raqiqe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwa<sup>1</sup> barəšyàθa čənnəkəra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše yat-tíwa 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> sáb kúlla tàwta<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> šawléy šalxìwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθéwa y-atwìwa,<sup>1</sup> šwàwe-u<sup>1</sup> nàše-u<sup>1</sup> xəzmàne-u<sup>1</sup> 'ən-wéwa naxrəye,<sup>1</sup> dōste.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna məndiyáne t-yéwa gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (203) 'ína táma 'íθwa qarawətte,<sup>1</sup> 'an-qarawətte ðà 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'o-t-ítwale ða-qarəwət,<sup>1</sup> y-awa mtúrəət qəša.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa najəre mtaršìwale.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa m-<sup>5</sup>Amedíya najəre.<sup>1</sup> b-qéša y-aθéwa mtaršìwa kút-xa ðà qarəwət.<sup>1</sup> kúd-xa-t bāyèwa,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ana-txárm y-aθéwa xo-túθa čúwa,<sup>1</sup> 'áw túθa góra t-<sup>2</sup>umra.<sup>1</sup>

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

(199) So, I have said how they built houses, but what (furniture) was there in the houses? At that time, indeed, it was not like today. At that time in a house there was one room or two. One room was furnished. There was a mat, as we called it. They brought the mats from the towns at that time. They put these on the floor.<sup>58</sup> (200) Of course at that time there were no armchairs and things like that. Each house had one room, or two or three, but no more than that. All the family lived together, small children, family, all were together. At that time, even if people were married, they all lived together. (201) The floor of the house was furnished with what is called mats. The mats were woven from reeds. They were woven from reeds and similar things. They would put these on the floor. On top they would put rugs, as we called them, rugs, and some people had carpets, which are a bit thicker than rugs. These things are what were called at that time a *prista* ('a spread'). (202) So, they put these things on (the floor) and around them they laid thin cushions. They laid around (the floor) also pillows. People would sit down at that time. For when they came to a seated gathering, they would take off their shoes then sit down, neighbours, people (of all kinds), relatives, any strangers who may be there,<sup>59</sup> friends. These are the things that were in the house. (203) There were also beds there. These beds were one (type). These beds, which people had, were made of wood.<sup>60</sup> There were carpenters. Carpenters came from Amedia. In the summer they would come and each one would make a bed. If anybody wanted one, they would come. I remember they would come (and sit) under the smooth<sup>61</sup> mulberry tree, the big tree belonging to the church.

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<sup>58</sup> Literally: below.

<sup>59</sup> Literally: strangers if they were (there).

<sup>60</sup> Literally: Somebody who had a bed, they were made of wood.

<sup>61</sup> I.e. with a smooth bark.

(204) 'u-y-aθéwa m-*Amedíya* 'an-najàre,<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa 'an-t-y-amrúxwa qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> 'an-qarawətte<sup>1</sup> 'i-masqíwala b-qéṭa gàre.<sup>1</sup> sab-nàše<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga gárǵg yasqíwa gáre damxíwa,<sup>1</sup> sab-gu-béṭha xəmma 'iyéwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni bíš y-awéwa ráhat rāma.<sup>1</sup> fa-'áni masqíwa qarawətte gáre-u<sup>1</sup> xákma har-damxíwa l-ára.<sup>1</sup> 'ina sáma zóda 'iyéwala qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> (205) sab-mò?<sup>1</sup> qa-t-deréwa màstik.<sup>1</sup> mástik 'áw pàrda<sup>1</sup> sab-y-áwe çene.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'íθwa zāríwa náše rəzza<sup>1</sup> 'u-míya gu-<sup>3</sup>aqàra,<sup>1</sup> rába çéne 'iyéwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-mapəlxíwa màstik.<sup>1</sup> 'áni mattíwa b-gàre<sup>1</sup> hál yárxət tmànya<sup>1</sup> 'əçça,<sup>1</sup> 'atxàne,<sup>1</sup> qam-qeráwa dùnye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšeríwa níxa níxa šláya gu-béṭha.<sup>1</sup>

### Flora

(206) táma 'íθwalən gu-màtha<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>Ēn Nùne<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən xeləpa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw xeləpa<sup>1</sup> lá-mšəx mapəlxáxxe qa-bnáyət bâte,<sup>1</sup> qése díye léle qúwya.<sup>1</sup> 'ina<sup>1</sup> rába məndýáne sanqáxxwa 'šlle díye<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət y-áwe qórtət 'ərwə<sup>1</sup> pərmáxxwa 'é-gət y-áwe tárpe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'ina taqān-díye pərmáxxwa mənne-díye<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən 'ərwə<sup>1</sup> maṭərsáxxwa 'ərwə.<sup>1</sup> qám čeriyàtha<sup>1</sup> 'u-beheríye,<sup>1</sup> deráxwala tla-<sup>2</sup>ərwə.<sup>1</sup>

(207) 'u-'íθwalən xòrta.<sup>1</sup> xwárta 'áyya rába spəy-ila.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni hám mašáxxwa mزابنأxxwa mánna díya.<sup>1</sup> bár mqārəníwa xalmúwa<sup>1</sup> xà-siṭa<sup>1</sup> yan-trè-siṭe<sup>1</sup> yan-!l-<sup>2</sup>siṭe,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa 'ánna zawnàne,<sup>1</sup> y-aθáwa m-Mòsul.<sup>1</sup> m-dukáne xéne mزابنأwa.<sup>1</sup> rába gārəm-iwəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-taqanè<sup>1</sup> hammáše pərməxxwala.<sup>1</sup> (208) y-amrúxxa behéri pərməxxwala<sup>1</sup> mgārəxxwala<sup>1</sup> mādre<sup>1</sup> šadləxxwala y-amrúxxa<sup>1</sup> šədle,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'ap-'áni mqārəni qa-yá'ni xákma šənne xène<sup>1</sup> mزابنأ mənne<sup>1</sup> qá-t...dān-t-pərmíla<sup>1</sup> qa-d-áni qémi šəwpa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni y-amrúxxa xòrta.<sup>1</sup>

(209) táma 'íθwalən xabúše.<sup>1</sup> xabúše 'ila zwàna,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mزابنأwa náše mánna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa xàwxe.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni mزابنأwa náše mənne<sup>1</sup>. 'ina sáma zóda tla-beṭhə.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa šəðe,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni<sup>1</sup> šəðe,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa murábbe mánna.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-xáwxe y-oðíwa murábbe mənne<sup>1</sup>. 'íθwalən šəðe<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən 'ina daliyáθət 'ənwə.<sup>1</sup> y-amrúxxa kərma.<sup>1</sup> 'áni t-y-áwe góra rába<sup>1</sup> y-áwe zərya<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa kərma y-amrúxle<sup>1</sup> kərma.<sup>1</sup>

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

### *Flora*

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

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

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

(210) 'ap-'áv...<sup>1</sup> béna m-d-ó kèrma<sup>1</sup> 'áni... daliyáθa kúlla gáwe diyē<sup>1</sup> y-áwe māšmášše m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-héwən čerýe<sup>1</sup> 'an-'áwwe laqṭíwala.<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwa napòxta mánna,<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwa yabiše mánna.<sup>1</sup> béna m-bár y-oḏíwa yabiše<sup>1</sup> táma y-ódi xámra.<sup>1</sup> mpálṭi 'áraq m̀nnéy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-rába m̀ndiyáne mpaltíwa m̀nnéy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šoqíwala 'ap-ṭla-mexólta yabiše<sup>1</sup> sab-rába fayda-'ítla.<sup>1</sup>

(211) xámra<sup>1</sup> yabiše mašláwala 'íθwa líne y-amŕxwale.<sup>1</sup> lína rába gòrēle.<sup>1</sup> y-ásqi trè tannákke<sup>1</sup> ṭl̀à tannákke míya<sup>1</sup> 'àrba.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áni dére yabiše.<sup>1</sup> 'áv mášli xá-dukθa ṭ-óya šaxína y-amŕxwa gòma.<sup>1</sup> mkaséwale šaxína,<sup>1</sup> 'áv... xačča-pyáša 'arbi yomáθa<sup>1</sup> gárag hawé gu-šaxinùθa<sup>1</sup> yá'ni raxəθwa<sup>1</sup> 'áni yádi biye<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa.<sup>1</sup> (212) 'i-tàxrən 'ána šalónwa m-d-ó-nixət xòni.<sup>1</sup> šalónwa y-awéwa rxàθa,<sup>1</sup> xzi-hóle rxàθa,<sup>1</sup> hóle mátya héwən diyē.<sup>1</sup> mbarəxšíwale<sup>1</sup> kút-kəma yomáθa mbarəxšíwale.<sup>1</sup> w-áy šaqláwa xačča-pyáša<sup>1</sup> 'arbi yomáθa<sup>1</sup> hátxa m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xámra... 'íθwa merkáne zóre derèwale<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšapàwale,<sup>1</sup> pálṭwa xámra.<sup>1</sup> (213) sáma zòda<sup>1</sup> 'ína kasléni xámra lè-y-oḏíwa rába.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xànci,<sup>1</sup> bašòre.<sup>1</sup> 'ina sáma zòda<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwa 'áraq,<sup>1</sup> 'áraq ṭla-štàya,<sup>1</sup> sab-xumlána.<sup>1</sup> 'áraq ṭla-čeriyáwàθa y-oḏíwala,<sup>1</sup> sáb mšeríwa xlulàne,<sup>1</sup> qá-t náše goríwa b-čeriyawàθa.<sup>1</sup> (214) mapəlxíwa štèθa-w<sup>1</sup> ṭla-xəzmáne náše 'íman-t y-aθéwa šwàwe,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe xawràne,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe 'arxe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ṭla-'èða,<sup>1</sup> 'eðáwàθa,<sup>1</sup> mapəlxíwa štèθa<sup>1</sup> 'áraq 'iyéwa<sup>1</sup> xa-štéθa rába rešèθa<sup>1</sup> qa-xúbbət 'iqárət náše t-y-aθéwa kəs-g̀d̀d̀e.<sup>1</sup>

(215) w-íθwalən g̀awze.<sup>1</sup> g̀awze 'ánna rába gòrēyewa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kúl-naše liθwala<sup>1</sup> gu-màθa,<sup>1</sup> lé-qemi rába.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən gawzàne,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni sáma zòda t-'úmra 'iθwale.<sup>1</sup> fa-'áni kút-xa ṭla-g̀'áne y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> b-zòr-male<sup>1</sup> ṭla-mapláxtət bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áni béher hál čeri.<sup>1</sup> (216) čeri y-ázi laqṭíla.<sup>1</sup> m-bár laqṭíla,<sup>1</sup> méθe l-bèθa<sup>1</sup> derèla<sup>1</sup> b̀arzi y-amŕxla.<sup>1</sup> b̀arzi,<sup>1</sup> sab-y-áwe qaləpθa 'alléy,<sup>1</sup> 'áy rəzyànta y-óya.<sup>1</sup> 'ən har-hóya talíla<sup>1</sup> har-qítla 'ídux bíya díya xačča,<sup>1</sup> kéma 'íðət náša,<sup>1</sup> 'i-šàwa y-amŕxla.<sup>1</sup> 'i-šàwa<sup>1</sup> liθn.<sup>1</sup> ma-ṭ-íle qúwya 'o-qálpa díya.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

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<sup>62</sup> Literally: they had much benefit.

(217) 'ína m-báθar bārza,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa qálpe zadèle<sup>1</sup> péši bas-gáwze g'ān-dīye.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga-t y-áwe 'eðāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> šère,<sup>1</sup> xlulàne,<sup>1</sup> mapəlxíla ʔla-rába məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> ʔla-māθālan bəθqe,<sup>1</sup> ʔla-māθālan 'iman-t y-óði<sup>1</sup> kuléce ʔla-'eða.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kúlla məndiyáne mapəlxí mánna,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna gáwze.<sup>1</sup>

(218) sparəgle 'ítleni.<sup>1</sup> sparəgle.<sup>1</sup> 'áni lé-y-awa rába rába gu-màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'ap-'áni ʔla-mapláxta gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áwwa xa-fəkele.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni har-'ó-mdi-t xabùšela.<sup>1</sup> mən-bèher<sup>1</sup> hál çeri,<sup>1</sup> çeri péši zàre yá'ni<sup>1</sup> tròsa<sup>1</sup> 'áni milàne 'iyéwa,<sup>1</sup> bar-hádəx gu-práqta péši zàre.<sup>1</sup> (219) y-ázi laqʔíla,<sup>1</sup> mapəlxí ʔla-gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-báyət ʔ-óðət muràbba,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-m-d-áni y-óði muràbba,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni ham-mən-sparəgle.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mášət ʔ-óðət rába məndiyáne mánne dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ila zawdàne.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mášət mapəlxèti.<sup>1</sup> ʔlá-mo gārəg záwən zwàna,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-mási mapəlxí mánna.<sup>2</sup> sab-ítte rába mánna-dīya.<sup>1</sup>

(220) gu-ʔúra 'íθwa 'ílana y-amrəxxe... 'íθ bəʔme.<sup>1</sup> 'íθən bəʔma.<sup>1</sup> bəʔma<sup>1</sup> 'áni góʔtewa rába.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni 'ítte héwən dīyè.<sup>1</sup> 'áni gu-ʔúra y-áwa sáma zòda,<sup>1</sup> lé-y-áwa gu-qurbə màθa,<sup>1</sup> rəʔqe 'iyéwa.<sup>1</sup> b-çeri<sup>1</sup> 'iman t-məʔi,<sup>1</sup> y-amríla güjme.<sup>1</sup> y-ázi laqʔíla.<sup>1</sup> (221) 'u-rába ʔemàne y-áwa-w<sup>1</sup> basime y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθ nášət 'àθra<sup>1</sup> rába mənney mzaḅni,<sup>1</sup> 'áni sab-gārən-ila-w,<sup>1</sup> basime y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma mənney ʔla-g'ána<sup>1</sup> sab-t-y-áθa 'àrxe kaslèy.<sup>1</sup> basime y-áwa,<sup>1</sup> rába tazè.<sup>1</sup> bəʔme 'ap-'áni 'íθena.<sup>1</sup>

(222) gu-ʔúre 'íθən garsəkke y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> harmīye,<sup>1</sup> dēmi y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔúra líθm.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni 'é-ga-y-ázi nàše<sup>1</sup> qése meθōye,<sup>1</sup> méθi ʔlá gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> halúke,<sup>1</sup> 'ítleni halúke,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni har-gu-'aqàra y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni rába basime y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni y-áwa smòqe<sup>1</sup> zàre<sup>1</sup> basime.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni y-óði muràbbe mánna<sup>1</sup> ʔla-xàla.<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən fəka fərya.<sup>1</sup>

(223) wèrde<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxla 'íθən qémi kəskənnela<sup>1</sup> 'u-balazèzela.<sup>1</sup> 'íθən bukìne,<sup>1</sup> 'íθ wèrde smòqe,<sup>1</sup> rába táza šapire.<sup>1</sup> 'áni b-bèher y-áwa trósa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔla-mexóltət hewáne 'ítlən y-ámrxxe rása.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-rása ʔla-'ərwət xwàre y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> 'áw b-yárxət 'árba xámša bàre<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔúra y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> (224) 'áni qúrbə máθa gu-ʔúra,<sup>1</sup> léla gu-'aqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-rása mapəlxí ʔla-'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> 'ərwət xwàre sáma zòda.<sup>1</sup> wèrde,<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən y-amrəxxa wèrde zèri.<sup>1</sup> 'áni gu-'aqàre y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> rába šəklàne y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa smòqe,<sup>1</sup> yan-kàskela.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna wèrdela.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

## Swimming

(225) 'u-b-qèta,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga tàxrexi,<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət qèta,<sup>1</sup> y-áwe nèra y-amráxle,<sup>1</sup> nèra.<sup>1</sup> béna xəm̄ma y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi náše bána gàrra.<sup>1</sup> 'o-gàrra páyax̄ 'amùqa.<sup>1</sup> y-áθi náše msáxi gáwe.<sup>1</sup> qédamta y-azáxwa qam-tàwre<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθáxwa.<sup>1</sup> sá'ət xadássər tréssər y-azáxwa l-gàrra<sup>1</sup> xmàla,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni m̄tawòle<sup>1</sup> 'u-msaxòye,<sup>1</sup> hál sá'ət t̄láθa, 'árba xàmša.<sup>1</sup> (226) 'u-mádre qá-t-yátwax qam-beč̄iye,<sup>1</sup> qam-tàwre,<sup>1</sup> lə'ánnahu 'ánna pàre<sup>1</sup> 'u-kod̄nta<sup>1</sup> yá'ni le-dérewa l-t̄ure.<sup>1</sup> y-áziwa náše m̄r̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> doq̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> nabl̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> maxl̄iwa-w<sup>1</sup> mād̄r̄iwa 'aš̄erta.<sup>1</sup>

## Outings

(227) 'àxni<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Nüne y-azáxwa... šaláxwa Bəš̄miyàye,<sup>1</sup> šaláxwa Sardàšte.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna kúlla maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla y-amr̄ila Bèrwar-ila.<sup>1</sup> šaláxwa l-žáwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ax-t-y-amráxwa xđàra.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa náše.<sup>1</sup> m-m̄dináθa y-asq̄iwa.<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa xđàra,<sup>1</sup> táma doq̄áxwa nüne.<sup>1</sup> (228) 'iθwa hammaše 'ékewa xa-š̄era,<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa máθa l-màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna m̄ndiyàne yá'ni<sup>1</sup> 'iqárewa xá qa-d-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-wéwa š̄er-Düre,<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše 'o-yóma y-azíwa š̄er-Düre.<sup>1</sup> sab-š̄erət Düre 'ile yóma xoš̄eba<sup>1</sup> qamàya<sup>1</sup> m-báθər 'éða gòra.<sup>1</sup> y-amr̄ile xoš̄eba xàθa.<sup>1</sup> (229) 'iθan Māye.<sup>1</sup> 'áw š̄er-Māyele.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áni y-aθéwa 'Ēn-Nüne.<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Nüne š̄era díya b-yárxət 'əč̄əle.<sup>1</sup> 'arbássər b́... 'əč̄ə<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'álma j̄ame.<sup>1</sup> gu-m̄dináθa y-àsqi<sup>1</sup> 'u-aθr̄áwáθa xène.<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-hàdax<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ánna m̄ndiyáne kúlla y-oðáxwa,<sup>1</sup> mattáxwa 'iqára xa-qa-d-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> (230) 'u-xa-š̄era y-awéwa 'o-š̄erət kúlla náš̄ewa.<sup>1</sup> sab-y-azíwa<sup>1</sup> l-à-maθa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-máθa 'iθwa 'úmra gáwa.<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa qurbàna.<sup>1</sup> bár qurbàna,<sup>1</sup> pal̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> y-axl̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> xaml̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> zamr̄iwa,<sup>1</sup> raq̄ðiwa.<sup>1</sup> mēθéwa 'āraq,<sup>1</sup> mēθéwa xàmra.<sup>1</sup> kúl xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga qamàye<sup>1</sup> d-a-dún̄ye biš-basimta.<sup>1</sup> (231) méθe dáwla-w zòrna.<sup>1</sup> zamr̄iwa náše<sup>1</sup> 'u-raq̄ðiwa.<sup>1</sup> rába rába taz̄ewa.<sup>1</sup> xadr̄áxwa maθwàθa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla xđ̄iraxla.<sup>1</sup> b-qèta<sup>1</sup> b-sàtwa<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zálta-w θéθa 'iθwa kəs-gđ̄àðe,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni náš̄ət gđ̄àðe wíye xəzmayùθa.<sup>1</sup> xəzmayùθa mòdi.<sup>2)</sup>

*Swimming*

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

*Outings*

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

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<sup>63</sup> Literally: to wander about.

(232) *xəzmayùθa ʔila manáy ʔm-xá náša dìyux<sup>1</sup> yan-xá bráta dìyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,<sup>1</sup> píše xəzme.<sup>1</sup> ʔm-ʔàti<sup>1</sup> xa-xəzmux<sup>1</sup> ʔən xa-nāš-dìyux<sup>1</sup> ʔən xa-gwéra m-ðá-maθa xéta ʔəθye kəslux,<sup>1</sup> ʔánna y-amríla xəzme.<sup>1</sup> (233) ʔína ʔánna məndiyáne wiyele.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni máθa l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> bráta gòra,<sup>1</sup> ʔm-ʔúrza y-ázəl méθe m-ðá-máθa xéta,<sup>1</sup> ʔəw bráta m-áxxa y-áza ða-máθa xéta.<sup>1</sup> ʔánna məndiyáne<sup>1</sup> fa-ʔáyya y-ámri xəzmayùθa.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni qá-t našùθa<sup>1</sup> la-tálqa y-amrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> našùθa la-təlqa<sup>1</sup> mxaθxəθa.<sup>1</sup> (234) ʔu-ʔé-gət y-azəxwa m-máθa l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> xašwəxwa hár gu-máθət gʔənən-ixwa.<sup>1</sup> hammáše yáʔni xəzγəx<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xmiləx<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔiqàra<sup>1</sup> tìwe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-pešúwa tàma,<sup>1</sup> damxúwa ʔla-xluláne.<sup>1</sup> pešúwa xá-lele trè.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni rába ʔíθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> kúlla ʔfāqta.<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwa dostùθa-w<sup>1</sup> našùθa-w<sup>1</sup> xəzmayùθa<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa məndi ʔíθwa.<sup>1</sup>*

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

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<sup>64</sup> Literally: It is all meeting.