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Narrative Structure of Wakhi Oral Stories

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Abstract

The Wakhi people live in the remote areas of the high Pamir mountains. Their original homeland is situated in the Wakhan Corridor in the Badakhshan region, and is divided by the border between southeast Tajikistan and northeast Afghanistan. They also inhabit the mountainous areas in northern Pakistan and western China. The Wakhi language belongs to the Pamir sub-group of Eastern Iranian languages and is spoken by about 58,000 people in the above-mentioned four countries.

The discourse of Wakhi as spoken in Tajikistan has not yet been the subject of analysis. This study is an attempt to identify the features of the fundamental narrative structure of Wakhi oral stories. The analysis of narrative genres recorded in the Wakhan valley in Tajikistan is based on Labov & Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972 and 1997) models.

The first part examines the properties of temporal sequence and narrative clauses, and concludes that two sets of narrative tense-aspect forms are found throughout Wakhi oral narratives: simple past tense for eyewitness accounts, and non-past alternating with perfect for non-eyewitness narratives.

In the second part, the overall structure of the Wakhi oral narrative is examined, to define the properties of each of the narrative stages (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda) and of the transitions between them. A separate chapter is dedicated to evaluation, which may be present explicitly, as a comment made by the narrator by stepping out of the narrative frame, or as part of the narrative frame, either embedded in direct speech or expressed implicitly using a range of internal evaluative devices.

The final part starts a discussion on further aspects of narrative as presented by Labov (1997), namely reportability, credibility, causality, the assignment of praise and blame, and objectivity, that can direct possible future research beyond the narrative frame and into areas of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology.

The study is complemented by a corpus of twenty-one transcribed, glossed, and translated Wakhi stories, representing various narrative genres described in the study.

Keywords: Wakhi, discourse, oral narratives, Pamir languages, text corpus

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To the Wakhi people

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	15
1. Introduction.....	17
2. Wakhi language and oral culture.....	23
2.1. Alphabet and transcription	23
2.2. Overview of Wakhi verb tense and aspect system	26
2.3. Oral narrative genres	30
3. Methodology	33
3.1. Presentation of the data	33
3.2. Methodology – Labov’s model	34
4. Temporal sequence	39
4.1. Narrative head	39
4.1.1. Texts collected by Russian scholars	47
4.2. The discourse functions of verb forms	49
4.2.1. Stories told in non-past	49
4.2.2. Stories told in past tense	51
4.3. Narrative clauses	51
5. Overall narrative structure	55
5.1. Abstract	55
5.2. Orientation.....	56
5.2.1. Verbs in orientation	65
5.3. Complicating Action and Resolution	66
5.3.1. Marking the transition between Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution	67
5.3.2. Structure and syntactic properties of Complicating Action	72
5.4. Coda	76
6. Evaluation and evaluative devices	81
6.1. External evaluation.....	81
6.2. Embedded evaluation	85
6.3. Internal evaluation.....	86
7. Further aspects of narrative.....	93

7.1. Credibility.....	94
7.2. Causality.....	100
7.3. The assignment of praise and blame	102
8. Conclusion	105
A. Text Corpus.....	109
References.....	249

Maps and Tables

Map 1. Map of Tajikistan and surrounding countries.....	17
Map 2. Villages in the Wakhan valley	18
Table 1. List of Narratives	21
Table 2. Wakhi Vowel Chart.....	24
Table 3. Wakhi Consonant Chart	24
Table 4. Wakhi Alphabet.....	25

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
...	incomplete sentence
[...]	intentionally omitted/skipped part
[]	additional explanatory note in free translation
()	implied information not explicitly stated in the original text
>	turns into
ABL	ablative case (also genitive or source)
ACC	accusative case (also called oblique ² , focused oblique)
AD	Anecdote [in text corpus]
adr	form of address
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
AN	Anvil [in text corpus]
BO	Boboantar [in text corpus]
COMP	comparative
CONF	confirming particle
CW	Central Wakhan
DAT	dative case (also goal)
DB	Dog and Bear [in text corpus]
DEM1	demonstrative 1st degree (this – near distance)
DEM2	demonstrative 2nd degree (that – middle distance)
DEM3	demonstrative 3rd degree (that – far distance) ¹
DIM	diminutive; also occurring as a suffix attaching to verbs
DM	development marker
DR	Disrespect [in text corpus]
EMP	emphatic particle
EZ	ezafe (linking particle) ²

¹ In combination with certain prepositions, the demonstratives sometimes acquire adverbial meaning, distinguishing three degrees as well. Thus, the same form can sometimes represent a preposition combined with a demonstrative, and sometimes an adverb, depending on the context.

² Under the influence of Tajik and Dari, ezafe also occurs in Wakhi. However, it is not a genuine Wakhi construction since Wakhi original word order prevents it.

F	female
FM	From the History of Mirbugha [in text corpus]
GF	Girl Stolen by Fairies [in text corpus]
here1	adverb 1st degree (here – near distance)
HS	Hazrati Shoh Nosir [in text corpus]
HT	Hunter [in text corpus]
i	facultative suffix <i>-i</i> (or its dialectal variant <i>-əy</i>) ³
IMP	imperative
IND	individuation suffix (also specific, referential indefinite)
INF	infinitive (also called first infinitive, ending in <i>-ak</i>)
IPFV	imperfective aspect
L&W	Labov & Waletzky
LW	Lower Wakhan
M	male
MB	Mirbugha [in text corpus]
n	noun
NEG	negative particle
NP	noun phrase
OBL	oblique case
PF	perfect
PL	plural
PoD	point of departure
PPF	pluperfect
PROH	prohibitive particle
prt	particle
PST	(simple) past tense
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle
REL	relative particle
SB	Shodmonbig [in text corpus]
sfx	so-far unidentified suffix
SE	Story from the Early Soviet Era [in text corpus]
SG	singular
SK	Story about the Kidnapped Girl [in text corpus]
SM	Shermalik [in text corpus]
SOV	subject-object-verb (constituent order)
SBJV	subjunctive
TB	Tirbar [in text corpus]
there2	adverb 2nd degree (there – middle distance)
there3	adverb 3rd degree (there – far distance)
TO	Two Old Men [in text corpus]

³ *-i* /*-əy* attaches to a past tense stem when no personal (subject marking) clitic is attached to the stem. It is not a person-marking suffix and its exact semantic function has yet to be discovered.

TS	Tirbarshakh [in text corpus]
UW	Upper Wakhan
VG	Vaghd [in text corpus]
VNoun	Verbal noun (also called second infinitive, ending with <i>-n</i>)
WA	Water [in text corpus]
WC	Wolf and Calf [in text corpus]
WV	Wolves [in text corpus]
(ru)	Russian word/expression ⁴
(taj)	Tajik word/expression ⁵

⁴ The transcription reflects the pronunciation of the speaker, and does not reflect the correct Russian orthography or pronunciation.

⁵ The transcription reflects the pronunciation of the speaker, and does not reflect the correct Tajik orthography or pronunciation. Sometimes, the distinction between borrowed words in Tajik that have made their way into the Wakhi language and expressions quoting Tajik sources is not clear. Therefore, the sign (taj) will only be used in obvious cases.

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1. Introduction

Wakhi (also called Khik, Khikwor) is one of the minority languages spoken in the area of the Pamir Mountains. It belongs to the Southeastern branch of Eastern Iranian in the Indo-Iranian family, which is a branch of Indo-European. Wakhi is spoken by about 58,000 speakers (Lewis et al. 2016) in four countries: Tajikistan (15,000 speakers), Afghanistan (17,000 speakers), Pakistan (20,000 speakers) and China (6,000 speakers). UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* gives a total number of 75,000 Wakhi speakers living in the Badakhshan region in Tajikistan, Badakhshan Province in Afghanistan, northern Pakistan and Tashkurghan district of Xinjiang Province in China (Moseley 2010).⁶ The original homeland of the Wakhis is the Wakhan Corridor in the southeast Tajikistan in the Gorno-Badakhshan region and northeast Afghanistan in Badakhshan Province.



Map 1. Map of Tajikistan and surrounding countries. Source: Wikimedia Commons Atlas of the World (edited with indication of the Wakhi settlements in the Wakhan valley added by the author)⁷

In the Wakhan in Tajikistan three dialectal variants have been identified related to their geographical positions: the Lower Wakhan villages (LW) from Namatgut to Shitkharv, the Central Wakhan villages (CW) from Zmudg to

⁶ Information about Wakhi updated 11th September 2015.

⁷ <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/71/Ti-map.gif>

Drizh, and the Upper Wakhan villages (UW) from Shirgin to Ratm (Steblin-Kamensky 1999:10). These dialectal variants in Tajik Wakhan are sometimes identified as a western dialect for LW, central dialect for CW and eastern dialect for UW. The dialectal differences are not significant, and all three dialectal variants are mutually intelligible across the Wakhan valley. However, for the sake of future linguistic and discourse analysis, the dialectal location will be indicated for each story in the present corpus.



Map 2. Villages in the Wakhan valley

Several descriptions of the Wakhi language are available. Most have focused on describing Wakhi phonetics and grammar with samples of language data. Probably the first attempt to give a sketch of the Wakhi grammar was made as early as 1876 by Shaw. Among the most significant resources, we should mention the work of Russian linguists who published studies between the 1930s and 1970s: Klimchitskiy (1936), Sokolova (1953), Pakhalina (1975) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976). They focused primarily on the Wakhi language spoken in Tajikistan, although the latter two also complemented their studies with material collected in Afghanistan and China. Alongside these publications were studies conducted among Wakhis in northern Pakistan by Morgenstierne (1938) and Lorimer (1958). A chapter dedicated to the Wakhi language in *The Iranian Languages* (Windfuhr 2009) written by Bashir (2009) presents the most recent sketch of Wakhi grammar, taking into consideration the above mentioned previous publications as well as the author's own field notes from Hunza in northern Pakistan. Equally important is the publication of the *Etymological dictionary of the Wakhi language* (Steblin-Kamensky 1999). The first study dedicated to Wakhi oral narrative forms was undertaken by Mock (1998), who studied the discursive forms of the construction of reality among Wakhis in northern Pakistan.

The present book, however, is the first study of the discourse of Wakhi language from a linguistic perspective to analyse oral narratives of the Wakhi language as spoken in the Wakhan valley in Tajikistan.

In this study I will examine various types of Wakhi oral narratives using Labov's model of narrative structure as a theoretical framework. My goal is to identify the features of fundamental narrative structure typical for the Wakhi language. The chosen method of narrative analysis, i.e. Labov's model, seems to be a suitable approach for several reasons. My analysis, like those of Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972, 1997), is based on oral narratives produced by a large sample of ordinary speakers. It is not based on the production of a small group of professional storytellers. The collected narratives represent a sample of the language as it is currently spoken across the villages of Wakhan, by speakers of various ages, education and social status. The second reason is that Labov's model is not merely a text linguistic analysis; it addresses sociolinguistic aspects, which are important for the discourse analysis of narratives of a minority language that has not yet fully developed a written form and that is spoken among other living and developed languages. The analysis can not only provide a technical description of the features of Wakhi oral narratives, it can also give insight into the cultural values and beliefs and the use of the language across various age or social groups within the Wakhi community.

This study does not focus primarily on grammatical description, and therefore it does not present any significant discussion in this area. The terminology regarding the morphological and syntactic properties of the Wakhi language refers to the earlier publications mentioned above. The first part of the book (Chapters 2 and 3) gives only the basic characteristics of the Wakhi language, such as a brief overview of verb tense-aspect forms to the extent that they are relevant for the further discussion on the narrative structure; information about the transcription and alphabet used in the text corpus; and information about Wakhi oral narrative genres (Chapter 2). It is followed by an overview of methodology (Chapter 3).

The second part of the book focuses on the description of the narrative structure in Wakhi oral stories. It starts by examining the *basic framework of narrative*; i.e., it analyzes the temporal sequence and defines the properties of three types of clauses - narrative, restricted and free clauses (Chapter 4). Chapter 5 looks at the *overall structure of narratives* using Labov's model consisting of the following stages: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. Chapter 6 addresses the *evaluation* in more detail and specifically examines the evaluative devices as they appear throughout the Wakhi oral narratives. Chapter 7 discusses *further aspects of narrative* in Wakhi oral narratives, as proposed by Labov (1997), specifically credibility, causality, and the assignment of praise and blame. This part of the book ends with the *Conclusion* (Chapter 8).

The last part of the book (Appendix) presents the *text corpus* consisting of 21 stories that represent various narrative genres and are analysed using the FieldWorks Language Explorer program (FLEx). These 21 narratives were selected from the full corpus of 46 recorded, transcribed and grammatically analysed oral stories. They are presented in the Wakhi Cyrillic orthography (first line) with the equivalent in International phonetic transcription (second line), gloss (third line) and free translation (fourth line) for each sentence. However, throughout the study (Chapters 4–7), in the examples the Cyrillic orthography form is excluded, it being used only for the full glossed stories in the text corpus in the Appendix. The transcription does not reflect the full representation of prosodic features. However, the orthographic form of the text in the Cyrillic script marks the division of the units by commas and full stops based on intonation and pause. Falling intonation at the end of a logical unit indicates the end of the sentence and is represented by a full stop, while pauses or intonation not falling at the end of a logical unit are represented by a comma. Some sentences in the transcribed and glossed text corpus are thus very long, and some are short, as they reflect the oral expression of the narrator. Sentences in the narrative are numbered. In the examples throughout the study, if there is a need to divide long sentences into smaller logical units (clauses) these smaller units will be marked with a letter (e.g. 1a, 1b, 1c as three clauses of sentence 1).

The following table gives the list of narratives in the text corpus in the Appendix with basic information about each of the narratives. Throughout the study, in examples the stories are referred to by ID and sentence number(s). Some examples in the study are taken from the stories not present in the text corpus. In that case they are referred to by the full name of the story and example number.

Table 1. *List of Narratives*

	Story	ID	Genre	Narrative Head	Location – Gender – Age
1	Anecdote	AD	Anecdote	Non-Past	CW – M – 46
2	Anvil	AN	Eyewitness account	PST	CW – M – 91
3	Boboantar	BO	Traditional story	Non-Past	CW – F – 81
4	Disrespect	DR	Traditional story	Non-Past	LW – M – 50
5	Dog and Bear	DB	Eyewitness account retold	PST	LW – M – 50
6	From the History of Mirbugha	FM	Ancestor's history	Non-Past	CW – M – 90
7	Girl Stolen by Fairies	GF	Eyewitness account	PST	CW – F – 47
8	Hazrati Shoh Nosir	HS	Legend	Non-Past	CW – M – 91
9	Hunter	HT	Non-eyewitness account	Non-Past	LW – M – 50
10	Mirbugha	MB	Ancestor's history	Non-Past	CW – M – 90
11	Shermalik	SM	Traditional story	Non-Past	UW – F – 85
12	Shodmonbig	SB	Ancestor's history	Non-Past	LW – M – 80
13	Story about the Kidnapped Girl	SK	Historical account	Non-Past	CW – M – 52
14	Story from the Early Soviet Era	SE	Autobiographic story	PST	LW – M – 75
15	Tirbar	TB	Historical account with eyewitness elements	Non-Past / PF / PST	UW – F – 53
16	Tirbarshakh	TS	Historical account	Non-Past / PF	UW – F – 85
17	Two Old Men	TO	Traditional story	Non-Past	LW – F – 72
18	Vaghd	VG	Traditional story	Non-Past	CW – F – 86
19	Water	WA	Traditional story	Non-Past	LW – M – 80
20	Wolf and Calf	WC	Eyewitness account	PST	LW – M – 50
21	Wolves	WV	Eyewitness account	PST	LW – M – 50

2. Wakhi language and oral culture

Until recently Wakhi was classified as a non-written language (Muller et al. 2008). However, there are ongoing efforts to establish orthographies in at least three of the four countries where Wakhis live. Given the different political and historical background of each of the four countries, Wakhi orthography is being developed in Cyrillic (Tajikistan), Latin (Pakistan) and Arabic (Afghanistan) scripts. Wakhi is an endangered language, but the degree of endangerment varies depending on the country, ranging between 6a (Vigorous) and 7 (Shifting) on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) scale of endangerment (Ethnologue: Lewis et al. 2016).⁸

2.1. Alphabet and transcription

In 2010–2011 a discussion was held with the Wakhi linguists in Tajikistan on the creation of an alphabet that would be accessible to the Wakhi speakers in the Tajik Wakhan. Factors such as the rich phonetic complexity and sociolinguistic context of the Wakhi language had to be taken into account.⁹ The outcome of this discussion was a proposal for a Wakhi alphabet based on the Cyrillic script. This new alphabet was tested among Wakhi mother-tongue speakers in 2011. The final form of the Wakhi alphabet¹⁰ (see Table 4) was published and used for the first time in a collection of short stories for children *Āikwor naqliš zavər* (Shaideoev 2012). Since 2012, several other Wakhi books have been published in Tajikistan using this alphabet¹¹ and more are being readied for publication in the near future.

All the narratives in the text corpus of this study were transcribed in the above-mentioned Wakhi alphabet. However, for the purpose of this study, in

⁸ <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/wbl>

⁹ A more detailed account of the recent language development activities and the process of creating the Wakhi alphabet and orthography in Tajikistan was presented under the title “Steps being taken to reverse language shift in the Wakhi language in Tajikistan” by Obrtelova & Sohbnazarbekova at the International Symposium on Endangered Iranian Languages (ISEIL), Paris, July 2016.

¹⁰ The Wakhi alphabet was created in 2011 in Dushanbe by Obrtelova, J.; Sohbnazarbekova, R.; Saidmamadov, A.; Mirboboev, A.; Matrobov, S.; Ghulomaliev, Sh.

¹¹ *Wuṣṣ diyor ganj* (Davlatmamadov, 2015), *Āikwor žindaiš* (Obrtelova et al. 2016), *Čistoniš* (Matrobov & Sohbnazarbekova, 2016), *Mətališ* (Matrobov & Sohbnazarbekova, 2016), and *Asob* (Matrobov 2016).

addition to the Cyrillic script, I use the International phonetic transcription that is based on the Latin script and is used in scientific descriptions of Wakhi by Pakhalina (1975) and Grynberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976), as well as by Payne (1989) and Bashir (2009) with slight modifications, where Payne used *i* instead of *ы* and Bashir used *dz*, *ts* instead of *з*, *с*, respectively. Tables 2 and 3 present vowel and consonants charts of Wakhi as it is spoken in Tajikistan. Table 4 gives a full overview of the Wakhi alphabet based on the Cyrillic script and developed in Tajikistan (2011), Wakhi phonemes (an alphabet using Latin script) and their phonetic realizations.

Table 2. *Wakhi Vowel Chart*

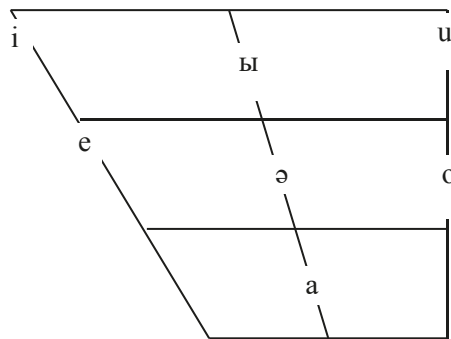


Table 3. *Wakhi Consonant Chart*

	bila bial	labio dental	dental	alve olar	alveo palatal	retro- flex	pala- tal	ve- lar	uvu lar
stops	p			t		ʈ		k	q
	b			d		ɖ		g	
affrica- tes				c	č	č̣			
				ʒ	ǰ	ǰ̣			
frica- tives		f	θ	s	š	ṣ̌		χ	x
		v	ð	z	ž	ẓ̌		ʁ	ʁ
nasals	m			n					
liquids				l					
				r					
semi- vowels							y	w	

Table 4. *Wakhi Alphabet*

	Tajik	Wakhi Cyrillic	Wakhi Latin	IPA	example	<i>English</i>
1.	А, а	А, а	A, a	[e]	бар / bar	<i>door</i>
2.	Б, б	Б, б	B, b	[b]	бач / bəč	<i>uncle</i>
3.	В, в	В, в	V, v	[v]	вэрз / vərz	<i>long</i>
4.		Ӧ, ӧ	W, w	[w]	ӧыш / wыš	<i>herb</i>
5.	Г, г	Г, г	G, g	[g]	гыл / gыл	<i>flower</i>
6.		Ӧ, ӧ	Ӧ, ӧ	[ɣ]	ӧыӧ / ӧыw	<i>cow</i>
7.	Ғ, ғ	Ғ, ғ	Ғ, ғ	[ɣ]	цоғд / соғд	<i>when</i>
8.	Д, д	Д, д	D, d	[d]	дындык / дындык	<i>tooth</i>
9.		Ӣ, ӣ	Ḑ, ḑ	[d]	Ӣох / Ӣох	<i>thin</i>
10.	Е, е	Е, е	E, e	[e]	ме / me	<i>behold</i>
11.	Ё, ё	Ё, ё			ёц / yoš	<i>young</i>
12.		Ӣ, ӣ	Ž, ž	[ʒ]	ӢарӢ / žarž	<i>milk</i>
13.	Ж, ж	Ж, ж	Ž, ž	[z]	кӢж / kӢž	<i>knife</i>
14.	З, з	З, з	Z, z	[z]	зик / zik	<i>tongue</i>
15.		Ӣ, ӣ	Δ, δ	[ð]	ӢӢд / δӢd	<i>daughter</i>
16.	И, и	И, и	I, i	[i], [ɪ]	исп / isp	<i>shoulder</i>
17.	Ӣ, ӣ	Ӣ, ӣ			шкорӢ / škorḡ	<i>hunter</i>
18.	Ӣ, ӣ	Ӣ, ӣ	Y, y	[j]	Ӣай / δау	<i>husband</i>
19.	К, к	К, к	K, k	[k] [k ^h]	каш / kaš	<i>boy</i>
20.	Қ, қ	Қ, қ	Q, q	[q]	қрыт / qryt	<i>qurut</i> (milk product)
21.	Л, л	Л, л	L, l	[l], [l̥], [l̥]	лӧорч / lworč	<i>sand</i>
22.	М, м	М, м	M, m	[m]	мыр / мыг	<i>apple</i>
23.	Н, н	Н, н	N, n	[n], [ŋ]	нағд / naғd	<i>evening</i>
24.	О, о	О, о	O, o	[o], [ɔ]	тоқ / toq	<i>window</i>
25.	П, п	П, п	P, p	[p], [p ^h]	палч / palč	<i>leaf</i>

	Tajik	Wakhi Cyrillic	Wakhi Latin	IPA	example	English
26.	Р, р	Р, р	R, r	[r], [r̥]	рвор / rwor	<i>day</i>
27.	С, с	С, с	S, s	[s]	сыр / сыр	<i>cold</i>
28.		Ї, ѳ	Θ, θ	[θ]	ѳин / θin	<i>hot</i>
29.	Т, т	Т, т	T, t	[t], [t ^h]	туѳ / tuѳ	<i>goat</i>
30.		Ў, ў	Ṭ ṭ	[t]	бәт / bəṭ	<i>clothes</i>
31.	У, у	У, у	U, u	[u], [u]	пуп / pup	<i>grand-father</i>
32.	Ф, ф	Ф, ф	F, f	[f]	фукс / fuks	<i>snake</i>
33.	Х, х	Х, х	X, x	[χ]	хун / xun	<i>house</i>
34.		Ӧ, ӧ	Ӧ, ӧ	[x]	ӧэч / ӧэч	<i>bread</i>
35.		Ц, ц	C, c	[ts]	цогд / coɟd	<i>when</i>
36.		Ѓ, ӑ	ǰ, ǰ	[dʒ]	панӑ / paɳʒ	<i>five</i>
37.	Ч, ч	Ч, ч	Č, č	[tʃ]	чван / čwan	<i>apricot</i>
38.		Ӈ, ӈ	Č, č	[tʃ]	Ӈэжм / čəʒm	<i>eye</i>
39.	Ч, ч	Ч, ч	ǰ, ǰ	[dʒ]	юмч / yumǰ	<i>flour</i>
40.		Ӈ, ӈ	ǰ, ǰ	[dʒ]	Ӈорж / ǰorʒ	<i>rubble</i>
41.		Щ, щ	Š, š	[ʃ]	щач / šač	<i>dog</i>
42.	Ш, ш	Ш, ш	Š, š	[ʃ]	шапт / šapt	<i>wolf</i>
43.		Ы, ы	Ы, ы	[ɯ], [i]	ыб / ыb	<i>seven</i>
44.		Э, э	Э, э	[ə]	әт / әṭ	<i>open</i>
45.	Э, э	Э, э	E, e	[e]	э врыт / e vɣyt	<i>(hey), brother</i>
46.	Ю, ю	Ю, ю			юпк / yupk	<i>water</i>
47.	Я, я	Я, я			ярк / yark	<i>work</i>

2.2. Overview of Wakhi verb tense and aspect system

In Wakhi the following verb tense-aspect forms have been described:

The non-past, also called **present-future** in Pakhalina (1975), Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976) and Bashir (2009), is used for present and future events, and for expressing general truth and regularly repeated events. According to Bashir (2009:837), the non-past is also used as a historical present.

However, as will be shown later (section 4.1, *example 2*), in narrative contexts the non-past is only used in some genres (non-eyewitness stories). In non-past the verb consists of non-past stem and person-marking verb suffix. In the glossed texts, the non-past is unmarked and is translated into English with the present tense.

*Examples a–c*¹²

(a)	wuz tə xun rəč-əm, tu rəč-a? I to house go-1SG you go-Q <i>'I am going home, are you going?'</i>
(b)	də baor wыr ɣa rəš-t in spring rain very go-3SG <i>'In spring it rains a lot.'</i>
(c)	wuz saar d -ət diyor rəč-əm I tomorrow to-DEM2 village go -1SG <i>'Tomorrow I will go to that village.'</i>

With the aspectual clitic =əš (IPFV) the **non-past imperfective** expresses the immediacy or continuity of the present event, or just simply an event in the present.

Examples d–f

(d)	yəm kəbit-əy win =əš? DEM1 dove-ACC see=IPFV <i>'Do you see this dove?'</i>
(e)	yaw ыы kla-rək ɣa alaf=əš rand ki kla farbi he own ram-DAT much herb=IPFV give that ram fat wos-t become-3SG <i>'He gives his ram a lot of herbs so that the ram becomes fat.'</i>
(f)	tu kumjay=əš rəč-i you where=IPFV go-2SG <i>'Where are you going?'</i>

The (simple) past tense (PST) is used for referring to past events or to express anteriority in the subordinate clause to a future event in the main clause. The verb in past tense consists minimally of the past stem. The pronominal subject

¹² All examples a–o in 2.2 are taken from Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976:624–626) and from Pakhalina (1975:82–84), and have been glossed and translated into English by the author.

agreement clitics may be attached to the past stem or to another clause constituent, in the latter case always occurring prior to the past stem; sometimes the clitic attaches to both. In the 3rd person singular (for which there is no subject-marking pronominal clitic) or when the subject marking pronominal clitic attaches to a constituent other than verb, the past stem often (but not necessarily) ends with **-i** or its dialectal variant **-əy**. This suffix occurs only in past tense and marks Ø person/number. Its function has not yet been sufficiently described and needs further research. In the glossed texts it will be marked as **-i**.

Examples g–h

(g)	yi xalg safar reŷd-əy , də yi dəryo lav ŷat-əy one man journey go.PST-i to one river bank arrive.PST-i ‘One man went on a journey, he arrived at a river bank.’
(h)	yan d-a xun=ət ki ŷat=ət , yan tər ǰы then to-DEM3 house=2SG that arrive.PST=2SG then to own cəbas didiŷ behind look ‘When you arrive [will have arrived] home, look behind.’

With the aspectual clitic =əŷ the past tense imperfective (**PST.IPFV**) expresses the past events in imperfective, continuous, habitual, or iterative meaning.

Examples i–k

(i)	də ǰы diyor ki tu , ar ruz= əŷ tə in own village that be.PST every day=IPFV to ku= əŷ rəŷd-əy mountain=IPFV go.PST-i ‘When he was in his village, he went to the mountain every day.’
(j)	a ya mum a ya tuŷ-vi= ŷ EMP DEM3 grandmother EMP DEM3 goat-PL.OBL=IPFV δəŷn-əy milk.PST-i ‘The grandmother (always) milked those goats.’
(k)	yaw= əŷ zəqlay δəŷd-i dust= əŷ δord-i . he=IPFV little daughter-ACC friend=IPFV have.PST-i ‘He loved the younger daughter.’

The **perfect (PF)** is used to express the resultive-stative function, as in *Example (l)*. It also expresses ‘inferential and mirative senses’ (Bashir 2009:839), as in *Example (m)*. It is used as a non-witnessed (indirective) form of a verb that expresses past events or facts not known to the speaker through immediate personal experience. According to Bashir, ‘the perfect also appears typically in the opening sentence of traditional (folk) tales about the past’ (Bashir 2006:36), as in *Example (n)*. However, the full semantic scale of this form, and whether it should be considered tense or aspect, remain to be studied and described in more depth. The present discourse analysis already gives some hints about the possible interpretation of this verb form. The subject-marking pronominal clitics may be attached to the perfect stem or to another clause constituent, always prior to the stem. In the glossed texts, the perfect is translated as present perfect, past perfect, simple past or past continuous in English, depending on its function in the translated sentence.

Examples l–n

(l)	yaw tat ʎa xyar vitk his father very old become.PF <i>‘His father has become very old.’</i>
(m)	yəm a žы kənd tuətk this EMP my wife be.PF <i>‘Apparently, it was my wife.’</i>
(n)	tuətk nə-tuətk ... yət kəmpir azī be.PF NEG-be.PF DEM2 old woman so kəmbayal tuətk-it ki [...] poor be.PF-sfx that <i>‘Once upon a time [lit. ‘it was, it was not’] ...this old woman was so poor that [...]’</i>

The **pluperfect (PPF)** or distant past is used for events that happened before another past event or for events that happened in the distant past. As with past tense and perfect, the pronominal clitics may be attached either to the pluperfect stem or to another clause constituent, always prior to the stem.

Examples o–p

(o)	žы vгыт pard wəstu my brother last year came.PPF <i>‘My brother came [lit. had come] last year.’</i>
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- (p) yəz yi ʃəwɔn yaʃ ʒɪnən mər̩tu
 yesterday one young horse mine die.PPF
 wuz az ruyi ʃɣɪ yaʃ ɣa xafa=əm vit-əy
 I because of own horse very upset=1SG become.PST-i
 ‘Yesterday a young horse of mine died [lit. had died], I got very
 upset because of my horse.’

2.3. Oral narrative genres

Not much has been written yet about Wakhi narrative genres. According to Mock, who did research on oral expressive forms among Wakhis in northern Pakistan, ‘the most common narrative genre is *ʒindak* (Mock 1998:44) which he translates as ‘story’. Mock remarks that Wakhis make a clear distinction between truth and fiction, ‘between *ʒindak* told as fiction and *ʒindak* told as true’ (Mock 1998:201).

As understood by the Wakhi people in the Tajik Wakhan, the genre called *ʒinda* only refers to a kind of folktale. They have a specific form and are introduced by an equivalent of ‘once upon a time’, in Wakhi: *tuətk – nətuətk* or *tu – nətu* (translated as ‘it was – it was not’). Often they are ‘animal tales’. Some *ʒindas* were published in Pakhalina (1975) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976).

Another fictional genre is what Wakhis call *riwoyat*. This genre includes legends and traditional stories. Legends tell the story of a place or of a historical personage, or they can have a religious character. Traditional stories are stories where supernatural personages interact in various ways with humans; often they are stories with a moral, or just stories about a human meeting with a supernatural being and the consequences of this kind of meeting.

The most typical supernatural personages in these traditional stories are:

prəy – a female supernatural being. *Prəys* are beautiful; often they are heard but not seen. Men can fall in love with them. They are dangerous, and can kill people when the people do something that the *prəys* do not like. They live in remote places in the mountains, herding and milking the mountain goats or sheep (*ʃondor*). In Wakhi, the term *ʃondor* refers specifically to an ibex (mountain goat) or a Marco Polo sheep. There are many stories about people who are said to have met a *prəy* and who have consequently become *prəynog* (a person who has entered in contact with fairies). These are people who behave differently from other people; usually they talk to themselves, hear voices, or do other unusual things.

vaʃd – a female supernatural being with long breasts. She has a scary appearance, produces strange sounds and scares people. She can do harm to people.

ʃaxs – a stranger, an old man with supernatural power. Often he appears suddenly, and he looks like a man and speaks the human language. He is wise

and his actions always lead to a moral lesson. He teaches moral values and educates people by blessing them or punishing them.

This is definitely not the full list of supernatural beings. Listed here are only the beings that appear in the narratives collected in the Tajik Wakhan. To obtain a more complete list of supernatural beings with a detailed description of their characteristics, more research would be necessary.¹³ It is also not easy to get full information about these supernatural beings because they are a type of ‘taboo’. Reluctance to give details about certain phenomena is also a feature of a high-context culture.¹⁴ Even the stories where these beings appear and act as major participants provide as little information about them as possible, which makes such stories almost incomprehensible for foreign listeners unless they receive more detailed complementary information.

Apart from these fictional genres, there is a second group of genres, genres more or less based on truth and real life. We have anecdotes, short narratives that serve an entertainment. Most anecdotes relate a funny episode taken from real life. An ancestor’s history usually refers to an ancestor and his/her accomplishments. A historical account is based on a real event that happened in history.

The third group of genres comprises narratives that relate to recent events. An autobiographic story gives details about some important events in the narrator’s life. Usually it covers a longer period of time, giving details about time and place and a chronological succession of events. An eyewitness account tells an episode that was witnessed by the narrator. Sometimes the exact details about time or place are not necessary, but it is clear that this episode happened in a real time and a real place and was witnessed by the narrator.

¹³ Mock (1998:68–78) provides a fuller description of the supernatural beings appearing in Wakhi stories collected in northern Pakistan.

¹⁴ In the field of intercultural communication founded by the anthropologist Edward Hall in the 1970s, the terms high-context culture vs. low-context culture refer to the style of communication. Low-context cultures prefer a direct style of communication, one that is more explicit, relying on verbal expressions and relatively more explanations. High-context cultures prefer an indirect style of communication, using implicit and non-verbal elements and relying on the ‘unwritten’ and unexpressed rules and knowledge of the culture.

3. Methodology

3.1. Presentation of the data

This study is based on data collected during three visits to the villages in the Wakhan valley in Tajikistan between June 2010 and August 2011, and on research and language analysis work undertaken between 2010 and 2013 in Dushanbe. Therefore, in this study, the term Wakhi refers to the Wakhi language as it is spoken in Tajikistan.

The data corpus consists of 46 recorded, transcribed and grammatically analysed oral narratives collected in various villages in the Wakhan valley in Tajikistan. The narrators were adult men and women of various ages, levels of education and professions. From this corpus of 46 narratives, 29 were subjected to more detailed discourse analysis. Of these, 21 are presented in this study in the form of full interlinear text (see Table 1. *List of Narratives*). In addition, I had at my disposal ten narratives published by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976) and seven narratives published by Pakhalina (1975), who collected their stories between 1955 and 1968.

Although the choice of the types of narratives recorded during my visits to the Wakhi villages was more or less random and depended mostly on what the people we visited wanted to talk about or tell us, we collected quite a balanced sample of different types of narratives. To get the most authentic narratives, we did not ask people to tell us a specific story on a specific topic. We wanted to collect the narratives that are the most common and most natural. Here, I must give credit to my friend, Ms Raihon Sohibnazarbekova who accompanied me during my language data collection trips. She was the bridge between me, a foreigner, and the Wakhi people. When we recorded the stories, it was she who initiated the conversation and to whom the stories were primarily told. I was recording them on a voice recorder. In this way, we could avoid distortion of the narrative form, for example through giving too many explanations or using simplified vocabulary, which would have happened if the story was told to me as a foreigner. Thus, the stories were told to a Wakhi person, to someone who speaks the same language, has the same cultural background and understands the context without needing extra explanation. We realized this advantage only later during analysis of the recorded narratives. Stories that made little sense to me, as a foreigner, although translated and analysed, made perfect sense to Ms Raihon. I was obviously missing some background information that every Wakhi person naturally has. In this sense,

the collected narratives are performed in their natural form, as told to a person with the same language and cultural background.

The only genre that we were not able to get, and thus is not present in this study, is folktales. Surprisingly, we did not meet anybody who could tell us a folktale. Is it a genre in the process of disappearing? Or is it a more elaborate genre with a specific form? In the latter case we can assume that it would be harder to obtain such story as a spontaneous response because, unless the narrator is a skilled storyteller, (s)he would need more time to prepare the story in advance. In any case, even when we tried to ask people specifically to tell us a folktale, we were not able to get any. Maybe we were just not lucky enough to find a skilled storyteller.¹⁵ The material collected and published by Pakhalina (1975) and Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976) contains several folktales however, and although I did not analyse these narratives, at least they provide a point of reference. It would certainly be worth looking for the causes why the folktale seems to be a disappearing genre today.

It is also worth mentioning that while most of the recordings were made spontaneously, without any preliminary preparation by the narrators, our collection contains six narratives that the narrator prepared in advance. These (and several more) stories later went through an editing process and were published in a book *Āikwor naqliš zavər* 'Wakhi stories for children' (Shaidoev 2012). However, for the purpose of this study, we use the unedited versions, in the form they were told to us and recorded.

Although Labov & Waletzky in their framework focused primarily on oral narratives of personal experience, and not on any other narrative genres, Labov himself claims that:

The L&W framework developed for oral narratives of personal experience proved to be useful in approaching a wide variety of narrative situations and types, including oral memoirs, traditional folktales, avant garde novels, therapeutic interviews and most importantly, the banal narratives of every-day life. (Labov 1997:396)

3.2. Methodology – Labov's model

Labov & Waletzky (1967) presented a model of narrative analysis that was later revised and developed by Labov (1972, 1997, 2001, 2004 and 2006). Their goal was to define the most fundamental narrative structures of stories. They suggest that 'such fundamental structures are to be found in oral versions

¹⁵ Although at the time of writing this study we were not able to find any folktales, during our later visit in Wakhan we collected a good number of folktales which were later edited and published in a book of Wakhi folktales *Āikwor žindaiš* (Obrtelova et al. 2016). This new collection does not contradict the findings in the present study, and will be included in the next publication about Wakhi narrative genres.

of personal experiences' (Labov & Waletzky 1967:12). Their material is not collected from skilled storytellers, nor does it consist of often re-told traditional genres such as folktales, legends or myths. They collected the narratives of ordinary people telling an original oral version of personal experience. Moreover, in order to reduce the speaker's consciousness of being recorded, which could lead to a more formal form of speech, Labov & Waletzky asked the speakers to tell about an emotionally significant event in their lives ('Have you ever been in danger of dying?'), which was a way to get a spontaneous response and the most natural form of speech.

Labov & Waletzky defined narrative as 'one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred' (1967:20). Not every recapitulating past experience is a narrative. Narrative is defined by temporal sequence. According to Labov & Waletzky (1967:21) 'only independent clauses are relevant to temporal sequence' and 'any subordinate clause is removed from the temporal sequence of narrative, even if it retains its own temporal reference'.

Examples given by Labov & Waletzky and describing the same situation show the difference between what is considered narrative and what is not.

Example of what is considered narrative: the sequence of clauses corresponds to the sequence of events as they occurred.

(Labov & Waletzky 1967:20)

- [5] a. Well, this person had a little too much to drink
 b. and he attacked me
 c. and the friend came in
 d. and she stopped it.

Example of what is not considered narrative: 'this form of presenting depends upon syntactic embedding' (Labov & Waletzky 1967:20) and does not correspond to the temporal sequence of the events as they occurred.

(Labov & Waletzky 1967:20)

- [5'] c. A friend of mine came in
 d. just in time to stop
 a. this person who had a little too much to drink
 b. from attacking me.

Another example of what is not considered narrative: Although this example is expressed by independent clauses and not by subordination, the verbal order

of clauses is the reverse of the sequence of events it describes, and therefore cannot be considered as narrative.

(Labov & Waletzky 1967:20)

- [5'']
- d. A friend of mine stopped the attack.
 - c. She had just come in.
 - b. This person was attacking me.
 - a. He had had a little too much to drink.

Temporal sequence is a sequence of independent clauses that match the successive order of events or situation, and it is represented by narrative (or bound) clauses. The position of a narrative clause in a sequence cannot change without modifying the interpretation of the events. A narrative clause that is simultaneous with another narrative clause in a sequence is a coordinate clause (Labov & Waletzky 1967:23). In other words, narrative and coordinate clauses represent the foreground of the story.

On the other hand, there are clauses whose position in the sequence do not modify the interpretation of the sequence of events. 'A free clause is a clause which refers to a condition that holds true during the entire narrative' (Labov 1997:401) and may move freely within the frame of the narrative without changing the order of the events presented by narrative clauses in temporal sequence. There are also clauses whose position in the sequence may be altered within a certain range, but they are not valid throughout the entire narrative. They function as free clauses for only part of the narrative. This type of clause will be called a restricted clause (Labov & Waletzky 1967:23, Labov 1997:401). Free and restricted clauses are not included in the events in temporal sequence. In other words, they represent the background of the story.

Narratives 'must contain at least one temporal juncture'. (Labov 1997:399). Temporal juncture is what separates two clauses in such a way that the 'reversal of their order results in a change in the listener's interpretation of the order of the events described' (Labov 1997:399). 'This juncture has no relation to any free or restricted clauses which may fall in between the temporally ordered clauses' (Labov & Waletzky 1967:26). The verb carrying the tense and aspect marker of the narrative clause will be called the narrative head (Labov & Waletzky 1967:27).

Labov (1997:401) gives an *example* (below) of different types of clauses with the temporal junctions between b and c (because a and b overlap), c and e (because d is a free clause), e and f, f and g, g and h, h and i, and j and k. Because i and j overlap, there is no junction between them.

- a. restricted Oh I w's settin' at a table drinkin'
- b. restricted And – this Norwegian sailor come over
- c. bound an' kep' givin' me a bunch o' junk
about I was sittin' with his woman.

d. free	An'everybody sittin' at the table with me were my shipmates.
e. bound	So I jus' turn aroun'
f. bound	an' shoved 'im,
g. bound	an' told 'im, I said, 'Go away.'
h. bound	[and I said] 'I don't even wanna fool with ya.'
i.	An' nex' thing I know
restricted	I'm layin' on the floor, blood all over me,
j. restricted	An' a guy told me, says, 'Don't move your head.'
k. bound	[And he said,] Your throat's cut."

While the basic narrative unit in Labov's model is the independent clause, these clauses form part of higher units. According to Labov (1972:363), a well-formed narrative usually contains the following sections:

- Abstract
- Orientation
- Complicating action
- Evaluation
- Resolution
- Coda

Not all narratives must contain all these six sections. At a minimum, a narrative consists of *complicating action* and *resolution*, which are a temporally ordered sequence of narrative clauses and where resolution is the terminating moment in this sequence. The *abstract* is a short summary of the story. Not all narratives have it. *Orientation* consists of free clauses that provide information about participants, place, time or situation. Sometimes, however, this information can be included in the first narrative clauses. The *coda* also consists of free clauses at the end of the narrative, and has the role of a bridge between the end of narrative and the present. *Evaluation* is 'perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause' (Labov 1972:366). It presents the narrator's point of view, indicates the point of the narrative and why it is told, and presents the narrator's judgement of the events.

While Labov & Waletzky (1967:35) treated evaluation as a separate section, Labov later acknowledged that, although it is usually concentrated at the end of the narrative in the evaluation section, it 'may be found in various forms throughout the narrative' (1972:369). He recognizes external, embedded and internal evaluation. *External evaluation* is explicit, and 'the narrator can stop the narrative, turn to the listener, and tell him what the point is' (Labov 1972:371). Sometimes the narrator *embeds the evaluation* in the narrative, either by quoting his own thoughts or by reporting someone else's comments without having to step out of the story. The third type of evaluation is *internal evaluation*. 'Labov regards internal evaluation that is deeply embedded into

the complicating action as highly complex' (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012:29).

In the revision of his model of narrative analysis made in 1997, Labov explores further aspects of narrative such as reportability, credibility, causality, the assignment of praise and blame, and objectivity.

4. Temporal sequence

The analysis of temporal sequence will show the typical characteristics of narrative clauses in Wakhi narratives. One issue that arose during the analysis was the need to identify the tense-aspect form of the narrative head in Wakhi oral stories. Another task was to describe other tense-aspect forms used in the oral narratives and to define their function.

4.1. Narrative head

In Section 3.2 the narrative head was defined as ‘the verb carrying the tense and aspect marker of the narrative clause’ (Labov & Waletzky 1967:27). The sequence of narrative heads (verbs) organized in a chronological order thus represents the succession of events moving the action of the story forward. The analysis of the sample of Wakhi oral narratives showed that with respect to the narrative head there are two types of narratives: narratives with heads in the non-past tense, and narratives with heads in the past tense (PST). It was interesting to note that, perhaps unexpectedly, in the majority of collected stories the narrative heads were in the non-past. Of 46 narratives, the narrative heads of 29 are in non-past, while only 16 are they in past tense. One narrative – ‘Tirbar’ [TB] – seems to combine the non-past, past tense and perfect. We will return to this issue later.

We can assume that the tense-aspect form of the narrative head used in a narrative is not a purely random choice of the narrator, but rather seems to follow certain rules. The analysis shows that in all eyewitness accounts the narrative heads are in past tense. This is the case in autobiographic stories and in eyewitness accounts. Moreover, stories reporting the eyewitness account of someone else as embedded direct speech are told in past tense. That is, the stories whose focus is to report recent past events exactly as they occurred in reality, and which should not be doubted because the narrator saw what happened with his/her own eyes and heard it with his/her own ears, have narrative heads in past tense. On the other hand, in all anecdotes, legends and traditional stories, the narrative heads are in non-past tense. That is, the stories that report events that are not necessarily and exactly based on true and experienced facts (although many of them are based partly on historical facts) and whose purpose, rather than to report events as they happened, is to entertain or educate, use non-past tense. For example, although anecdotes are often based on a real

recently witnessed event, and report the event quite faithfully, their purpose is to entertain, and therefore they are told in non-past tense. This is also the case for an ancestor's history, where the history is not so recent and the facts are difficult to verify, or for tales with a moral, the main purpose of which are to educate or teach some principle.

*Example 1*¹⁶. Narrative in past tense [WV:1–6]

In this story, all narrative heads (marked in bold) are in past tense. Clauses 2a and 2b are free clauses. 2a is in past tense; 2b is in past tense imperfective. Clauses 4a and 5b are subordinate clauses. For the full story see Text Corpus in Appendix [WV].

1 *ircraxī wuz=ət žы rcorp də bu xur-ən tər jəngal*
 at sunrise I=and my cousin with two donkey-ABL to forest
žuz-ərk rəžd=ən
 firewood-DAT **go.PST=1PL**

'At sunrise, I and my cousin with two donkeys went to the forest for firewood.'

2a *awo baf=ət bi mur tu*
 weather good=and without cloud be.PST

2b *amo cə wuč nag kam-kamək нызык=əš di*
 but from up side a little wind=IPFV hit.PST

'The weather was good and clear but wind was blowing from the upper end a little bit.'

3a *də jəngal ʃat=ən=ət*
 in forest **arrive.PST=1PL=and**

3b *žы xur-v=ən vast=ən*
 own donkey-PL.OBL=1PL **tie.PST=1PL**

'We arrived at the forest and tied our donkeys.'

4a *yal iw-i band žuz nə-dyətu=ən ki*
 yet one-ACC binding firewood NEG-hit.PPF=1PL that

4b *xur-v-ən ar=ət byf sar vit-i*
 donkey-PL.OBL-ABL roar=and roar beginning **become.PST-i**

'We hadn't yet made one bundle of firewood when the donkeys' bellowing and roaring started.'

¹⁶ All examples from here on are taken from the data corpus of Wakhi oral narratives, and are numbered as whole units.

5a Niv gəsogəs **rəŷd=ən** ki
now running **go.PST=1PL** that

5b xur-vi ŷapt-iš qbal=əv kərək
donkey-PL.OBL wolf-PL surrounded=3PL do.PF

'Now, we ran [lit. running we went] (and saw) that the wolves had surrounded the donkeys.'

6a Sak bə **wayd=ən=ət**
we too **shout.PST=1PL=and**

6b də ŷar-ən=ət ŷung-ən də ǰı tpar-v-ən
with stone-ABL=and wood-ABL with own axe-PL.OBL-ABL

ŷapt-vi ay **kərt=ən**
wolf-PL.OBL chasing **do.PST=1PL**

'We, too, shouted and, with the stones and sticks, with our axes, we chased the wolves away.'

Example 2. Narrative in non-past [WA:1–12]

In this story all narrative heads (marked in bold) are in non-past.¹⁷ Clause 1 is a free clause in perfect,¹⁸ clauses 3b, 4b and 5b are direct speech, and clauses 8, 12a, 12b are free evaluative clauses. For the full story see Text Corpus in Appendix [WA].

1 yəm məmləkət tuətk bɣnətkin
DEM1 region be.PF deserted

'This region has been deserted [because there was no water].'

2a i šaxs **wizi-t** a drət yan aǰon
one person **come-3SG** EMP there2 then dear.adr
yəm bɣnətkin
DEM1 deserted

'One person [‘šaxs’ – a stranger with supernatural power] comes there, then, my dear, this (was) deserted... [inaudible]'

3a e **ǰan-d**
adr **say-3SG**

3b tu kišt nə-car-o
you.SG sowing NEG-do-Q

'He says: "Don't you sow (the field)?"'

¹⁷ As stated in Section 2.2., in the free translation I translate the non-past tense with the present tense in English.

¹⁸ As stated in Section 2.2., in the free translation I translate the perfect with the present perfect, past perfect, simple past or past continuous, depending on its function in the sentence and on the context.

4a **ǰan-d**
say-3SG

4b xəy yʊpk nast crəng goǰ-əm
well water is not how make-1SG

‘(The man) says: “Well, there is no water, how do I do (it)?”’

5a **ǰan-d**
say-3SG

5b yʊpk wos-t
water become-3SG

‘(The stranger) says: “there will be water”.’

6 yan aǰon ǰy bilča-i yaw-ər **rand**
then dear own small shovel-ACC he-DAT **give.3SG**

‘Then, my dear, he gives him his little shovel.’

7 yəm bilča-i **yund** a dra
DEM1 small shovel-ACC take.3SG EMP there3

‘(The man) takes this little shovel there.’

8 me a yəm me niv=əǰ ǰan-d ki spo pup
behold EMP DEM1 behold now=IPFV say-3SG that our grandfather

‘This one, now he is saying that our grandfather... [inaudible]’

9a yət yan **dəy-t**
DEM2 then hit-3SG

9b rost yaw **nə-xaǰ-t**
right it NEG-pull-3SG

‘That (one) then hits (the ground), he doesn’t pull it out (right away)
[as he was supposed to do].’

10a yan **tapɪv-d**
then swing-3SG

‘Then [instead] he swings (it).’

11a yan ki tapɨv-d
then that swing-3SG

11b yəm bilča a r-a wəɾəʃ-t=ət
DEM1 small shovel EMP in-DEM3 remain-3SG=and

11c yəm yupk sk-a wizi-t
DEM1 water through-DEM3 come-3SG

11d a sk-a dəsta wizi-t
EMP through-DEM3 handle come-3SG

'Then as he swings it, the little shovel stays inside and the water comes out, it comes out through the handle.'

12a niv a sk-a bilča ʃat=əʃ
now EMP through-DEM3 small shovel self=IPFV
cə wəzd-i
REL come.PST-i

12b mɨmkɨn buy a yət ʃəʃma dod yupk
maybe two EMP DEM2 spring amount water

'Now, if (the water) had been coming through the little shovel itself [not only through the handle], maybe there would have been twice as much water in this spring.'

The question I had to address was whether there would be a difference in the understanding and interpretation of a story if we exchanged the tenses-aspect form of narrative heads. To find the answer I did an experiment. I took some stories and exchanged the past tense verbs in the narrative heads for non-past, and non-past verbs in the narrative head for past tense, and presented the adapted stories to a Wakhi listener. Such stories did, however, not make any sense to a Wakhi listener. In an attempt to overcome this problem, I asked a Wakhi speaker to try to re-tell the stories in the other tense-aspect form to see if the interpretation of the story would change. Again, the reaction showed that it was not possible. However, when trying to understand why it would not be possible, some answers began to emerge.

The argument against trying to convert the story with past tense narrative heads into non-past was that with non-past narrative heads it would no longer be an eyewitness account, and the story would shift into a fictional sphere or into the future (i.e. something that did not happen). Since an eyewitness account gives many temporal and spatial details and other references supporting the credibility of the story and indicating that the narrator was a direct participant in the events, shifting it to the fictional sphere or to what had 'not happened', would not make sense. Telling the same story in non-past would require changing the overall structure of the story, that is, changing much more than just the tense-aspect form of the narrative head.

The same happened when we tried to convert a story with non-past narrative heads into past tense. The fictional nature of the story was so obvious that using the past tense in narrative heads, and thus forcing it to sound like an eyewitness account, sounded unnatural. However, there did appear to be one possibility. While using the past tense was not accepted, using the perfect was acceptable. Although we have not found evidence in the Wakhi spoken in Tajikistan of any narrative that would be told exclusively using the perfect in narrative heads, and the most often used narrative tense-aspect form is still the non-past, we did find occurrences of non-past together with perfect. In such occurrences, the perfect does not express anteriority; it simply follows the preceding clause in temporal sequence (*Example 3* below). We can infer that although this combination of non-past and perfect is not common, it is possible. Given the semantic properties of non-past tense and perfect, we cannot assume they are identical, and further research will be necessary to analyse and describe in more detail the relation between non-past and perfect in this type of narratives, as well to make a deeper study of the functions of each tense-aspect form of Wakhi verbs.

Example 3. [TO:3–5] (narrative heads are marked in bold)

3a aʃon yaw yan **pši-t** **wizi-t** xun-ər
 dear he then return-3SG come-3SG house-DAT

3b **didīŷ-d** ki
 see-3SG that

3c Səltonbaxt=əš ǰəč xmir car-t
 Sul-tonbakht=IPFV bread dough make-3SG

‘My dear, he then returns to the house, sees that Sul-tonbakht is making dough for bread.’

4a **ǰan-d**
 say-3SG

4b e Səltonbaxt i δay-ək d-ət črir-ək šǰən
 adr Sul-tonbakht one man-DIM in-DEM2 wild rose-DIM near
 musfid-ək ǰan-d=əš ki
 old man-DIM say-3SG=IPFV that

4c wuz=əm mərz.
 I=1SG hungry

‘He says: “Sul-tonbakht, there is a man near the wild rose, an old man, he is saying that he is hungry”.’

5a **ǰnətk**

say.PF

5b xay təy i ǰuʈ-ək ǰəǰ drəm təy

well is one half-DIM bread here I is

‘(Sultobakht) has said: “Well, there is half (a loaf) of bread here”.’

If we now look at the story Tirbar [TB] mentioned earlier, which looks as if it confuses the three narrative tenses-aspect forms – past tense, non-past, and perfect – we can now see that in fact there is not as much confusion as there seemed to be at first sight. The story sounds natural for a Wakhi listener, and therefore we cannot simply assume that the tense-aspect forms are confused. If we admit that the non-past and perfect are interchangeable and that using either of them would not significantly change the semantics of the story, we are left with only one question: Why are there still occurrences of the past tense alongside the non-past/perfect in the narrative heads of this story? The overall structure of the story is more complex than that of the other stories. In fact, it would be possible to separate the long story into three smaller parts, although they would still be interconnected, and such a division does not seem to be very clear and natural. After all, the story was originally told as a whole. This superficial division can however show us that during the process of narration, the perspective of the narrator changes. The entire complex story oscillates between what the narrator had heard from somebody but did not witness herself on the one hand (non-past and perfect), and what she personally witnessed on the other hand (past tense). It is true that this story is not easy to follow, and we still must take into consideration that the telling of the story was a spontaneous act, and the narrator did not have time to prepare or pre-think the story, yet there is no wrong use of narrative tense-aspect forms.

Example 4. [TB:11–13; 16–20a]

11a yan yawiʃ bə rəǰ-ən r-a

then they more go-3PL in-DEM3

11b ǰərm-ən ki

enter-3PL that

11c dra aʒi ki awo r-a kam r-a dəst

there3 such that air in-DEM3 little in-DEM3 inside

‘Then, they go more there, they enter (and they notice) that there is like that, there is very little oxygen inside there.’

12a waxti ki rəǰk=əv

when go.PF=3PL

12b za-išt=əv črəng=əv a r-a dəst

guy-PL=3PL enter.PF=3PL EMP in-DEM3 inside

12c čiz=əv r-a gytətk yəm xun-išt

thing=3PL in-DEM3 find.PF DEM1 house-PL

yəm rang xun-iš

DEM1 manner house-PL

12d yəm rang **rəč-ən** tr-əm tr-a palıw nag

DEM1 manner **go-3PL** to-DEM1 to-DEM3 side side

12e sək mobəyn roraw=ət tr-əm tr-a nag mala-išt=əv

on middle path=and to-DEM1 to-DEM3 side house-PL=3PL

‘When the guys have entered inside (and when) they have found things there, they have found houses, houses like this, they go in different directions, in the middle (there is) a path and on the sides (there are) houses.’

13a **črəng=əv**

enter.PF=3PL

13b i kilometr=əv **rəǰk** ki

one kilometre=3PL **go.PF** that

13c dra aži xalgış də ǰy dəwra a r-a dəst

there3 such people in own era EMP in-DEM3 inside

kərk zindagī

do.PF life

‘They have entered and have gone one kilometre when (they saw) that in that time such people had lived there.’

[...]

16 yan woz gıyo d-əm nazdiki məktab-i XX

then again it is said in-DEM1 recently school-EZ XX

za-išt=əv **rəǰk** ta

child-PL=3PL **go.PF** here3

‘Then again (I heard that) recently the children from the school XX have gone there.’

17 zi də ǰy malim-ən=əv **rəǰk** ekskursiya

such with own teacher-ABL=3PL **go.PF** educational excursion

‘They have gone there for an educational excursion with their teacher.’

18a sayoat=əv rəǰk ki
travel=3PL go.PF that

18b ɣytək=əv ta spundr-vi
find.PF=3PL there3 carriage shaft-PL.OBL

18c a spundr-išt=əv niv də məktab
EMP carriage shaft-PL=3PL now in school

‘They have travelled there and found the carriage shafts there, the carriage shafts (are) now in the school.’

19a ya rwor yawiř yaw mar rətk ki
DEM3 day they it to me give.PF that

19b tu yaw də ǰat-ən yund
you it with self-ABL take

‘That day they have given it to me (saying): “take it with you [...]”

20a wuz=əm yan ǰat
I=1SG then say.PST

‘Then I said [...]’

In the examples above we can see that in the first part of the narrative, the first complicating action is told in non-past (clauses 11a, 11b, 12d). Clause 12 is more complicated, with its subordinate clause, but the narrative head still remains in non-past. However, from clause 13 on, the narrative continues in perfect. In clause 16 a new complicating action starts; here the narrative heads are all in perfect. In clause 19, the narrator becomes personally involved, and already by clause 20, which reports the narrator’s reply in 1st person, the narrative head changes to the witnessed form of the past, which is past tense.

In regards to **evidentiality**, Wakhi manifests a dual system where the simple past tense is the witnessed verb form expressing direct experience/knowledge, and the perfect (apart from the resultative-stative function) represents the non-witnessed verb form used for indirect knowledge (equivalent to English ‘apparently’). The correlation between evidentiality and tense-aspect also exists on the discourse level. The source of the narrator’s information/knowledge is marked by the tense-aspect verb form in the narrative head. Thus, eye-witnessed information in a story is reflected in the use of past tense in the narrative head, and non-eye-witnessed information (also referred to as indirective or mediative information) is identified by the use of non-past tense/perfect in the narrative head.

4.1.1. Texts collected by Russian scholars

Here, I cannot avoid mentioning a problematic observation that may cast doubt on my inference above.

In addition to the narratives that I collected, there is a small collection of folktales published by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky (1976) and Pakhalina (1975). Of the 10 narratives published by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky, five were collected in Tajik Wakhan and five in Afghan Wakhan. Four of the five stories from Tajik Wakhan are told in past tense and one in non-past. All the stories from Afghan Wakhan are in past tense and all the stories are folktales or animal tales; i.e. none of them can be considered to report an eye-witness event. Similarly, out of seven stories published by Pakhalina (1975), one was collected in Afghan Wakhan, three in China, and three in Tajik Wakhan. Of the three stories collected in Tajik Wakhan, two are in non-past and one in past tense. Again, all of them are folktales; none of them report eye-witnessed events.

Unfortunately, we do not know now how Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky and Pakhalina collected their narratives. Their stories seem to be more elaborate. We can assume that the narration might have been prepared in advance and that there is influence of other languages (Tajik, Dari, Russian). Interestingly, it seems to be the case that the stories narrated in non-past are produced by the youngest narrators (aged 30, 16 and 16). Another interesting observation is that all stories collected outside of Tajik Wakhan (i.e. in Afghanistan and China) are in past tense. Also, the tales and legends collected by Mock (1998) among the Wakhis in Pakistan show a preference for past tense over non-past.

Is using non-past in the narrative head characteristic for Tajik Wakhan more than for Wakhi speakers from Afghanistan, China or Pakistan? Or is it a sociolinguistic feature distinguishing between a spontaneous, non-polished narrative and a formally well-constructed narrative? Unfortunately, at this point we do not have enough data to give an answer to the first question. As for the second question, there are indications that do not support this statement. We have at our disposal a collection of 31 short stories published in 2012 (Shaidoev 2012) using a newly established Wakhi alphabet (see Section 2.1.). These stories were carefully edited, yet all of them still follow the same pattern of using the non-past or past tense in narrative heads; that is, eyewitness stories (or reported eyewitness accounts) are in past tense and traditional stories are in non-past.

It may just as well be that the folktales (the genre collected by Gryunberg & Steblin-Kamensky and Pakhalina) are not an original Wakhi genre and they were adopted from the written traditions of other languages (Tajik, Russian), and therefore the use of the tense-aspect patterns may reflect the written traditions of these languages rather than typical use of tense-aspect forms in Wakhi. This claim can be supported by the observation that even in our later collection of data, which includes folktales, the occasional use of past tense in non-eyewitness narratives is observed only in folktales, rarely in legends and traditional stories, which are of genuinely local origin and have not been adopted from the written traditions of other languages.

4.2. The discourse functions of verb forms

As we have already noted in Section 4.1., the narrative heads, that is, verbs in narrative or narrative-coordinate clauses in Wakhi oral stories, can be either in past or in non-past tense, occasionally in perfect. Tense-aspect forms used in free or restricted clauses, i.e. clauses not included in the temporal sequence (see Section 3.2.), in embedded direct speech or in subordinate clauses are non-past, past tense (PST), perfect (PF), pluperfect (PPF), imperfective or iterative aspects (IPFV) of past and non-past tense.

4.2.1. Stories told in non-past

With stories told in non-past, the non-past *in narrative clauses* has the role of a non-witnessed (indirective) form (see *Example 2*). Rarely, a non-past imperfective is used in a narrative clause, in which case it serves to highlight the action and give it a sense of immediacy. In the traditional story ending with a moral [HS], Hazrati Shoh Nosir, who is a respectable religious personage, appears in a village where the people do not recognize him. When he takes on the appearance of a poor man, the people treat him with disrespect. When he appears at the same place in a rich garment, the people show him respect. The non-past imperfective occurs at the moment when Hazrati Shoh Nosir comes to a wedding as a poor man. Although the narrative heads in the whole story are in non-past, three narrative clauses that tell how people mistreat him use the non-past imperfective, highlighting the contrast between how this respectable person should be treated (which the listener knows already) and how he is treated in reality.

Example 5. [HS:11]

- | |
|---|
| <p>8. 'There has been a wedding, then he enters.'</p> <p>9. 'After he enters the house, my dear, then they seat him over there [in the not respectable place].'</p> <p>10. 'They seat him there, well, he (is like) a poor person [that's why they treat him badly].'</p> |
|---|

- 11a iw=əʃ čaqək-i **дырз-д**
 one =IPFV small container for ash-ACC take-3SG
- 11b dəy-t r-am sar
 hit-3SG to-DEM3 head
- 11c iw=əʃ šəpk **kar-t** sk-a sar
 one=IPFV twig put-3SG on-DEM3 head
- 11d ajon qloγ=əʃ **выдр-ən** tr-əm nag=ət
 dear mockery=IPFV catch-3PL to-DEM1 side=and
 tr-ət nag=ət
 to-DEM2 side=and
- 11e alo yan yaw sk-a bar **нымыз-д**
 adr then he through-DEM3 door come out-3SG
- 11f γəyb **wos-t**
 disappeared become-3SG

‘Someone is taking a small container for ash, hits him on the head, someone else is putting a twig on his head, my dear, they are pushing him with mockery this way and that way, dear brother, so he goes out and disappears.’

Sometimes the perfect is used in a temporal sequence as a variant of the non-past (as we have seen in *Example 3*), sometimes to express an already accomplished action or anteriority to an action in non-past (as in *Example 6* below).

Example 6. [VG:6–7]

[A woman finds a ‘vaghd’ that has just given birth to a child in the cattle-shed. She goes to the house to prepare food for the ‘vaghd’. But when she returns back to the cattle shed, the ‘vaghd’ has already gone.]

- 6a elo=ət xay badi i soat bu soat **wizi-t** ki
 adr=and well after one hour two hour come-3SG that

- 6b iči nast
 nothing is not

‘My dear, well, after one or two hours she comes (back and sees) that there is nothing there.’

- 7a ya хы zman-i бə **dəʒg** **taħk=ət**
 DEM3 own child-ACC too take.PF leave.PF=and

- 7b me yəm dod c-a хы luq-ən **бынатк**
 behold DEM1 size from-DEM3 own rag-ABL throw.PF
 a r-a kbun
 EMP to-DEM3 wooden bowl

‘(The vaghd) has taken her child and has left, look, she has left the piece of her cloth in the wooden bowl.’

In *free or restricted* clauses, the non-past is most often used in comments by the narrator relating to the present or to general truths. It can also be used to express habitual or iterative actions as a background to the narrative clauses, in the same way as the non-past imperfective adds the imperfective or iterative aspect. However, most typically, the background to narrative clauses in non-past is expressed by using perfect. The past tense is used in narrator's comments relating to the past. Here, the witnessed form of the past is used.

In *embedded direct speech*, the non-past, non-past imperfective, past tense (witnessed form) and perfect (non-witnessed form), past tense imperfective and the imperative are used in their primary functions, as described in Section 2.2.

In *subordinate clauses*, non-past and non-past imperfective indicate simultaneity with the main clause, while anteriority is expressed by perfect or pluperfect.

4.2.2. Stories told in past tense

When it comes to stories told in past tense, in *narrative clauses* the past tense is a witnessed form of the past and is used to tell the past actions as eye-witnessed events, as we have seen in *Example 1*. In this function it does not alternate with any other tense-aspect verb forms.

In *free or restricted clauses*, the background to the narrative clauses is most often expressed by past tense or past tense imperfective, as in clauses [WV:2a and 2b] in *Example 1*. The perfect and the pluperfect are used to express anteriority to the actions in the narrative clauses. The non-past or non-past imperfective are used in the narrator's comments relating to the present or to general truths.

In *embedded direct speech*, the non-past, non-past imperfective, past tense (witnessed) and perfect (non-witnessed), past tense imperfective, pluperfect and the imperative forms are used in their primary functions.

In *subordinate clauses*, simultaneity with the main clause is expressed with the past tense or past tense imperfective to add imperfective aspect, as well as with the non-past. The non-past is also used to express simultaneity that extends to the present. The perfect is used to express anteriority that is still valid at the time of the main clause; the pluperfect is used to express anteriority.

4.3. Narrative clauses

If we isolate the narrative clauses and merge the coordinate clauses into single units, we get a string of narrative units divided by temporal junctures. Semantically, the temporal juncture is the equivalent of 'then'. In a narrative sequence, we essentially find an 'a-then-b' relationship between narrative

clauses. Another type is the ‘a-and at the same time-b’ relationship, or occasionally ‘a-and now that I think back on it-b’ relationship between narrative clauses (Labov & Waletzky 1967:30).

Although the organization of oral narratives is typically simple and linear, only rarely do we find a narrative that would be a simple and uninterrupted sequence of unmarked narrative clauses. ‘Narratives are usually told in answer to some stimulus from outside, and to establish some point of personal interest’ (Labov & Waletzky 1967:34). There are different functions of narrative as we will see in the following chapters, and they all have an effect on the narrative structure. Therefore, it is useful to identify the unmarked temporal ordering and syntactic structure of the narrative clause. We will see that ‘departures from the basic narrative syntax have a marked evaluative force. The perspective of the narrator is frequently expressed by relatively minor syntactic elements in the narrative clause’ (Labov 1972:378).

As observed in the narratives collected for the purpose of this study, we can describe the surface structure of a narrative clause in the following way. Although the Wakhi language shows more flexibility of word order than we find in Persian or Tajik, the unmarked word order is subject-object-verb (SOV). The typical constituent ordering in a narrative clause would be:

- [embedded subordinate]
- 1. Temporal: most typically the development marker¹⁹ (DM) *yan* (then, afterwards)
- 2. Adverbial (temporal, locative, manner) – However, adverbials seem to be the most flexible component of a clause; they can appear in any position, depending on the constituent they modify. If they are a temporal or spatial point of departure²⁰ (PoD), they are placed before the subject.
- 3. Subject – Since the subject is also marked, either by a personal ending attached to the verb or by an enclitic typically attached to the first constituent of the clause, the subject in the form of a noun or a pronoun after a noun has often already been introduced earlier, and does not appear.
- 4. Complement – direct object
- 5. Complement – indirect object

¹⁹ The development marker is a particle used to ‘constrain the reader to *move on to the next point*’ and indicates ‘that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument’ (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:93; Levinsohn 2011:95).

²⁰ Point of departure ‘establishes a setting for what follows. (...) In narrative, points of departure relate events to their context on the basis of time, place or reference’ (Levinsohn 2011:39–40).

6. Verb
7. Adverbial (locative prepositional phrase)
8. Conjunction: most typically coordinate enclitics =ət ('and'), ʃə (enclitic designating consecutive actions) and subordinate ki ('that' – with a wide range of subordinate functions).²¹

- [embedded subordinate]

Some of the narratives have almost only unmarked forms, i.e. are entirely composed of syntactically unmarked narrative clauses (see *Example 1*). However, most of the stories are a combination of narrative, free and restricted clauses, in both marked and unmarked syntactic form.

Example 7. Constituent order in a Wakhi narrative [FM:12–13]

<p>(1) (..... 4)</p> <p>12 yan yav vdək-i wydyt</p> <p>then their road-ACC hold-3SG</p> <p><i>'Then he blocks their road.'</i></p>	<p>(... 6 ...)</p>
<p>(1) (..... 4)</p> <p>13a Yan ya ʃy zman-vi cbyr nfar-i rimi-t</p> <p>then DEM3 own child-PL.OBL four person-ACC order-3SG</p>	
<p>(..... 7)</p> <p>t-a paɣw</p> <p>to-DEM3 side</p>	<p>(8)</p> <p>=ət</p> <p>=and</p>
<p>(..... 3.....)</p> <p>13b ʃat d-a truy-ən c-əm paɣw</p> <p>self with-DEM3 three-ABL from-DEM1 side</p> <p><i>'Then he orders his four sons to go to the other side and he, himself, with three others, stays on this side.'</i></p>	

²¹ One could ask why we don't place these conjunctions at the beginning of the clause. Two of them are enclitics; especially the enclitic =ət seems to form an inseparable unit with the word to which it is connected. It is impossible to separate the enclitic from the word with which it is connected by placing it in the next clause. As for the subordinate conjunction ki (that), the audio recordings prove that in speech the pause that separates two clauses comes after ki, and so it naturally forms a unit with the preceding clause, rather than with the following one.

5. Overall narrative structure

As already mentioned in Section 3.2., a ‘fully-formed narrative’, according to Labov (1972:363), usually consists of six sections: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. However, not all narratives necessarily contain all of these sections. At minimum, a narrative has a complicating action and a resolution. Moreover, as Labov (1972:369) states in his revision of the overall structure of narratives, the evaluation does not necessarily need to take the form of a separate section. We may find the evaluation in different forms presented directly in the complicating action and resolution. Because of the complexity of the question and the importance of evaluation, we will examine the evaluative devices in a separate chapter.

5.1. Abstract

‘It is not uncommon for narrators to begin with one or two clauses summarizing the whole story’ (Labov 1972:363). The abstract answers the question: What the story is about? Our data collection consists mostly of narratives acquired in an interactive setting, some narratives being embedded in longer conversational sections. Therefore, only some narratives are introduced by an abstract that would be a consistent part of the story. Usually, if it occurs it gives information about the type/genre of the story (as in *Example 8*) or summarizes the story that follows (as in *Example 9*).

Example 8. [SK:1]

1a	xa	wuz	ɣali	i	riwoyat	sav-ər	ħan-əm
	well	I	yet	one	legend	you.PL.OBL-DAT	say-1SG

1b	yaw	čiz-i	tarixi-o
	it	thing-EZ	historical-CONF

‘Well, I will tell you yet another story, it’s a historical story.’

Example 9. [HS:3]

3a yan a ya zmon-e ki Imit Hazrati Piri Şonosir drət
then EMP DEM3 time-IND that Imit Hazrati Shoh Nosir there2
wəzg=ət
come.PF=and

3b noşinos kərk=əv
unknown do.PF=3PL

3c sil cə wəzg
flood REL come.PF

3d me a ya zmon me a yəm şy
behold EMP DEM3 time behold EMP DEM1 rock
niv r-əm pɾɨt ziʎn ət cəy yəm dan
now in-DEM1 front side open REL DEM1 wasteland

‘Then, in that time when the Pir Shoh Nosir [Nasir Khusraw] has come to Imit but nobody has recognized him, when the flood has come, it (was) in that time that this rock (has appeared) from the front side of the village, on the wasteland.’

Some narratives incorporate an equivalent of the abstract into the conversation preceding the actual narrative, sometimes given by another speaker when asking the narrator to tell such and such a story or about such and such an event which is apparently already known to some of the listeners. However, these ‘abstracts’ that precede the actual narratives and are part of conversation are not part of our transcribed data corpus.

Of the 29 analysed narratives, eight have an abstract as a part of the narrative, and in at least five other narratives the equivalent of an ‘abstract’ is embedded in the conversation that precedes the actual narrative. However, we cannot easily draw conclusions from these numbers because even our audio recordings do not always contain whole conversations. Sometimes the actual recording only began after a topic of the narrative had already been presented in the casual conversation preceding the recording.

5.2. Orientation

Orientation gives information about the time, place, persons, and situation of the narrative (Labov 1972:364). Typically, though not always, this information, or at least as much as is necessary to understand the narrative is given in free clauses in a separate section preceding the complicating action. However, the orienting clauses are not necessarily placed at the beginning of the narrative. As Labov states, ‘in practice, we find much of this material placed at strategic points later on’ (Labov 1972:364).

Of 29 narratives analysed, five do not have an orientation section preceding the complicating action, and the orienting information is found in the first narrative clauses of the complicating action. 24 other narratives have a separate orientation section of variable length; however, it usually only contains necessary initial information, while the rest of the orienting information (introducing new participants, time and space setting, or situation) is presented in the complicating action, either as orienting free clauses between narrative clauses or in the narrative clauses. The length of the orientation section, and consequently the amount of information given in orienting clauses, seems to depend on the function and purpose of the narrative.

The *eyewitness accounts* are interesting in the sense that some of them have a very long orienting section (as in *Example 10*) while some others give orienting information in a very concise way, either briefly in orienting free clauses or directly in narrative clauses (as in *Example 11*).

Example 10. [SE:1–7]

ORIENTATION

1a N markaz-i ilmy farhang tuatk
N center-EZ knowledge and culture be.PF

1b yət-i ičkuy inkor nə-car-t
DEM2-ACC nobody denial NEG-do-3SG

1c baroi ki ya spo pup mylo Q maktab-dor tuatk
because DEM3 our grandfather mullah Q school-having be.PF

‘N. was a center of culture and education, nobody denies it because our grandfather [ancestor] Mullah Q. had a school there.’

2 maktab-dor tuatk ar bu soli-ər am yəm paływ
school-having be.PF all two shore-DAT also DEM1 side

am ya paływ

also DEM3 side

‘He had a school for both sides of the river, this side and that side, too.’

3 sol-i čilym bu sınduq kitob yaw-ən tu
year-EZ fortieth two coffer book his-ABL be.PST

‘In 1940 he had two coffers (full) of books.’

4 yan sol-i čilym a yəm kitob niga cərak
then year-EZ fortieth EMP DEM1 book keeping do.INF

ya qing tu
very difficult be.PST

‘Then in 1940 it was very difficult to keep this book [=these books].’

5 band=əṣ̌ kərt=əv xalg-i
 arrest=IPFV do.PST=3PL man-ACC
 ‘They used to arrest people [for having books].’

6 ba sol-i čilym spoc-ən a drət i čalək tu
 to year-EZ fortieth ours-ABL EMP there2 one small stove be.PST
 гыхnig=əṣ̌ goxt=əv
 fire=IPFV make.PST=3PL
 ‘Until 1940 we had a little stove there (where) they used to make fire.’

COMPLICATING ACTION with orienting information

7 bad i nfar=əv wozomd-i
 after one person=3PL bring.PST-i
 ‘Then they brought one person [...].’

Example 11. [WC:1]

COMPLICATING ACTION with orienting information

1 sak tɨtvart tobiston də i mošin-ən tə wuč nag rəỵd=ən
 we year before last summer with one car-ABL to up side go.PST=1PL
 ‘The year before last, in summer, we went to (the villages) on the upper side.’

2 də Zmɨdg j̣yngalsar spo mošin-ən čiz ki cəy
 in Zmudg forest-beginning our car-ABL something
 slot vit-i
 broken become.PST- i
 ‘Near the forest in Zmudg something broke in our car.’

In *Example 10*, ‘Story from the Early Soviet Era’ [SE], the whole narrative is made up of 15 sentences, the first six of which are the orientation section. In *Example 11*, ‘Wolf and calf’ [WC], there is no orientation section; the narrative consists of 11 narrative sentences and the orienting information is found in the first narrative clauses of the complicating action, where we find identification of ‘who’, ‘when’, ‘where’, and ‘what’. We can see that the dynamics of these two stories are different.

The ‘Story from the Early Soviet Era’ [SE] contains much more background information. It seems important for the narrator to specify the exact place, time, participants and circumstances. The narrative part of the story then tells about how the narrator and his relatives were preserving and hiding the books. All information in the orientation section is relevant. It happened in N., a village that was known as a cultural and educational centre in the region. The relatives of the narrator were educated people; his grandfather had a religious school. This tells us that it was not only simply saving and hiding some

books, it tells us about the importance of the books for these people. Another piece of information specifies the time, the year 1940, which was a difficult period in Soviet history, when people were persecuted for having religious books. This adds a dimension of danger and tension to the story. Hiding such books was very dangerous activity at that time. We can say that the choice of the orienting information has a specific function in the story. The action itself would have been banal as a story if the narrator did not present this orienting information. The point of the story is not the hiding of the books itself, but the fact that the books being hidden were so important, and that the narrator and his relatives risked persecution for hiding them.

By contrast, the story ‘Wolf and calf’ [WC] introduces a story that is composed uniquely of narrative clauses. The orienting information is reduced to a minimum, and even the information that is provided is not very specific (*Example 11*). The ‘we’ introduces the narrator and someone else; we don’t know who and how many other people. Later in the story, this information is completed by ‘we – three or four people’ [WC:6] which is not very specific either. We know it happened in the summer of the year before, in the village of Zmudg, near the forest. Unlike the previously mentioned narrative (*in Example 10*), this one does not need more orienting information. The focus is more on the action itself, rather than on when or where it happened. It could have happened some other year or in some other place without changing the understanding of the story.

The orientation section in *legends* usually gives more spatial information, especially if the legend is about a place. In this case the orientation often not only presents the place historically but also describes it in its contemporary setting. The legend *Chiltan* (‘Forty Sons’) is about a place called *Chiltan*. The long orientation section gives many spatial details in the first 14 orienting sentences, as we can see in the following example.

Example 12. From Chiltan (not in the present text corpus)

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------|--------|----------|-----------|---------|--------|---------|--|
| 1a | Čiltan | bə | də | Zung=ət | | | | | |
| | Chiltan | too | in | Zong=and | | | | | |
| 1b | aft | kilomitr | cə | Zung-ən | bland-ər | Δirč | nung | qşloq | |
| | eight | kilometre | from | Zong-ABL | high-COMP | Zirch | name | village | |
| | ‘Chiltan is also in Zong, and seven kilometres above Zong there is a village named Zirtch.’ | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | wudg | ruz | bə | a | yət | deha | tət | təy | |
| | today | day | too | EMP | DEM2 | village | there2 | is | |
| | ‘Even today that village exists there.’ | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | mərdım | ta | | zindagı | car-t | | | | |
| | people | there3 | living | do-3SG | | | | | |
| | ‘People live there.’ | | | | | | | | |

[...]

5 tuətk i mærdina δay
be.PF one man man
'There was a man.'

6 yaw d-ət Δirč kærk zindagī də ǰy kænd-ən
he in-DEM2 Zirch do.PF living with own wife-ABL
'He lived in that Zirch with his wife.'

7a yan ǰa zindagī kærk=ət
then very living do.PF=and

7b xəy yoš tuətk=ət
well young be.PF=and

7c kænd-i yutk=ət
wife-ACC take.PF=and

7d a d-ət Δirč kærk zindagī
EMP in-DEM2 Zirch do.PF living

7e a dra də Žuy yaw-ən tuətk xun
EMP there3 in Zhuy his-ABL be.PF house

'Then he lived long, well, he was young and he got married and he was living in that Zirch, he had a house there in (the place called) Zhuy.'

8 Žuy bə a d-a Δirč
Zhuy too EMP in-DEM3 Zirch
'Zhuy is also in that Zirch.'

9 Δirč cəy yaw-ən bə woz azor=ət i kyča
Zirch REL its-ABL too again thousand=and one street
'What (was) Zirch, there (were) thousand and one streets.'

10a yaw bə lup Δirč ǰan-ən
it too big Zirch say-3PL

10b zi xalg tasawyr car-t ki yaw pisək nəy ki
such people imagination make-3SG that it small but

10c sk-a cusk cə san-i yan ǰan
on-DEM3 top REL go up-2SG then say

10d yəm pałyrw nung čiz ya pałyrw čiz
DEM1 side name what DEM3 side what

'It (was) also a big (place), about Zirch they say, people imagine that it's a very small place, but when you go up, then (you) say, "what is it called on this side, what is on that side".'

11a yaw bə təy Žuy=ət cəqlay Δirč=ət lup Δirč=ət ajon
 it too is Zhuy=and small Zirch=and big Zirch=and dear
 Wɣid=ət yəm rang jay-iš yaw-ən
 Wyd=and DEM1 manner place-PL its-ABL
 Pastxun=ət əm rang čiz-iš yaw-ən
 Pastkhun=and DEM1 manner thing-PL its-ABL

‘There is also Zhuy and little Zirch and big Zirch and, my dear, there is Wyd and it has such places, such as Pastkhun and it has such things.’

12 yan a d-a Δirč yət də ǰı kənd-ən kərk zindagī
 then EMP in-DEM3 Zirch DEM2 with own wife-ABL do.PF living
 ‘Then, in that (village) Zirtch, he lived with his wife.’

13a xəy yoš=əv tuətk
 well young=3PL be.PF

13b tum yav-ər nə-sdyətk=ət
 so they.OBL-DAT NEG-seem.PF=and

13c lup woc-ən=ət
 big become-3PL=and

13d yav-ən əčək farzand nə-vitk
 they.OBL-ABL none child NEG-become.PF

‘Well, they were young, they didn’t realize so [time has gone by so quickly] and they become old and they did not have any children.’

14a yan qin woc-ən
 then sad become-3PL

14b yəm zman yav-ən ki nə-vitk
 DEM child they.OBL-ABL that NEG-become.PF

14c yan qin woc-ən
 then sad become-3PL

‘Then they become sad, because they haven’t got any children, they become sad.’

Traditional stories usually do not have a long orientation section or any at all. They give the information that is relevant for understanding the point of the story. Since the point of most of the traditional stories is telling about supernatural experiences, meeting a supernatural being (good or bad) and the consequences, as well as giving a moral lesson, it is usually not important where and when the story happens, and the narrative often does not contain this information, or it is expressed only vaguely (*Example 13*).

Example 13. [WA:1–2]

ORIENTATION

1 yəm məmləkət tuətk bɨnətkin

DEM region be.PF deserted

‘This region has been deserted [because there was no water].’

COMPLICATING ACTION

2 i šaxs wizi-t a drət

one person(supernatural) come-3SG EMP there2

‘One person [‘šaxs’ – a stranger with supernatural power] comes there [...].’

However, some traditional stories may have the characteristics of legends. As already mentioned, the Wakhi uses one word *riwoyat* for what we translate as ‘traditional story’ or ‘legend’. The distinction I make in this study is that legend refers to a real place or historical personage. In legend, the traditional supernatural elements are used to support the explanation or origin of a place, phenomenon or tradition, while a traditional story is built around a moral or a supernatural experience where place, time or historical personage do not play a big role. Some of the traditional stories collected give more spatial details that make them look more like legends, but they are centred on traditional supernatural elements (meeting with a supernatural being). The narratives ‘Shermalik’ [SM] and ‘Boboantar’ [BO] are two variants of the same plot about a person who was in contact with fairies and who was killed by them when he disobeyed them. ‘Shermalik’ [SM] gives the exact location and identifies the person by name, even giving the name of his grandfather, which makes it sound more like a legend or an ancestor’s history. On the other hand, ‘Boboantar’ [BO] tells the story about a *prəynog*, a man who had contact with fairies, not giving any identification details about the participants or place, thus making it sound more like a traditional story.

Example 14. [SM:1–3]

1 Kiħn ĵrav-ən ayloq Šabxun Bəržəč Mrək

Kixn canyon-ABL summer settlement Shabkhun Berzhetch Mrek

‘In the Kikhn canyon there are summer pasture settlements of Shabkhun, Berzhech and Mrek.’

2 yan=əv t-ət rəħk ayloq

then=3PL to-DEM2 go.PF summer pasture

‘Then they used to go there for the summer pasture.’

3 yan yəm kuy alo Širmlik nung Xoldorbig yav pup
 then DEM1 who adr Shermalik name Kholdorbeg their grandfather
 ‘Then (there was) someone, my dear, his name was Shermalik, he was
 grandfather of Kholdorbeg (and his family).’

Example 15. [BO:3]

ORIENTATION

3a prəynog tuətk
 man in contact with fairies be.PF
 ‘He was a man (who was) in contact with fairies.’

COMPLICATING ACTION

3b yar xan-ən ki.
 to him say-3PL that
 ‘They [the fairies] tell him [...]’

Anecdotes have a short orientation section. Giving too many spatial and temporal details would disturb the dynamics of this genre (Example 16).

Example 16. [AD:2]

2 a sol-o-i čiz cə tu yan a yəm Kixn za-iš
 EMP year-PL-EZ what REL be.PST then EMP DEM1 Kikhn guy-PL
 yan aži qobil za yawiš-o
 then such capable guy they-CONF
 ‘In those years then these guys from Kikhn, they were such capable guys.’

Historical accounts and ancestor’s histories, as with legends, usually start with a longer orientation section identifying the place, time, participants and circumstances of the narrative (Example 17).

Example 17. [MB:1–14]

1 žy pup Mirbuğa nung
 my grandfather Mirbugha name
 ‘My grandfather’s [ancestor’s] name (was) Mirbugha.’

2 yət tuətk a d-əm Roštqala mir
 DEM2 be.PF EMP in-DEM1 Roshtqala ruler
 ‘He was a ruler in this Roshtqala.’

3 xədi cə Ruşon=ət Šəynon=ət Vənd=ət Roštqala=ət
 self from Rushan=and Shughnan=and Ghund=and Roshtqala=and
 ‘He himself (was a ruler) of Rushan and Shughnan and Ghund and
 Roshtqala and ...’

[...]

6 Mirbuşa şəyn me a d-əm Roştqala tuətk
Mirbugha Shughni behold EMP in-DEM1 Roshtqala be.PF
'*Mirbugha was Shughni, he was in this Roshtqala.*'

7 yaw-ən tuətk ɨb pətr
his-ABL be.PF seven son
'*He had seven sons.*'

8 yan mir yaw zolim xa mir zolim
then ruler he tyrant well ruler tyrant
'*Then he was a tyrannical ruler, well, a tyrannical ruler.*'

9 ajon kar-t nalog sə xoǰagī žaw ruyn ajon
dear put-3SG tax (ru) to household grain butter dear
to šaşmoa wəšk nalog ar xoǰagī
until six month old calf tax (ru) to household
'*My dear, he imposes a tax on homesteads: grains, butter, my dear, calves
under six months, (it was) the tax on homesteads.*'

10 to šaşmoa wəšk-ən yaw gušt=əş itk ani
until six month old calf-ABL his meat=IPFV eat.PF it is said
'*It is said that he used to eat (only) meat of calves younger than six months.*'

11 can tr-a nag nast-o
from there3 to-DEM3 side is not-CONF
'*What is older than six months, he doesn't (eat).*'

12 yan ruyn kar-t
then butter put-3SG
'*Then he introduces (tax) on butter.*'

13 yaw naql azi
his story such
'*Such is his story.*'

14 ǰan-ən ki i ǰыnan yaw-ən nə tuǰ tuətĸ
 say-3PL that one woman her-ABL nor goat be.PF
 nə may tuətĸ nə ǰыw tuətĸ
 nor sheep be.PF nor cow be.PF

‘They say that there was a woman who didn’t have any goats, any sheep or any cows.’

At this point it becomes clear that the purpose of telling the story is important for the choice of the information presented. We can observe that the orientation section, orienting clauses or orienting elements in narrative clauses give information that is relevant for understanding the point of the narrative. We will examine this aspect more in Section 7.2., which will show that ‘the selection of the orientation is a crucial act of interpretation of the stream of events’ (Labov 1997:409).

5.2.1. Verbs in orientation

The orientation section is made up of free clauses. Although the narrative clauses follow relatively strict rules regarding the use of verb tense-aspect forms, we do not observe the same strictness in orientation. However, certain properties are typical of this part of the narrative.

In the stories with narrative clauses in past tense, the verbs in orienting clauses are most often in past tense when they are non-activity verbs (*Example 18*, clause 3) and *Example 19*, clauses 2–3), and in past tense imperfective when they are activity verbs (*Example 18*, clause 5), or in perfect for giving the orientation anterior to the described events (*Example 18*, clause 2), and non-past for information that is valid until the present (*Example 19*, clause 7).

Example 18. [SE:2–3;5]

2 maktabdor tuətĸ
 school-having be.PF
‘(our grandfather) had a school [...].’

3 sol-i ǰыm bu сындуq kitob yaw-ən tu
 year-EZ fortieth two coffer book his-ABL be.PST
‘In 1940 he had two coffers (full) of books.’

[...]

5 band=əǰ kart=əv xalg-i
 arrest=IPFV do.PST=3PL man-ACC
‘They used to arrest people [for having books].’

Example 19. From ‘Badakhshani night’ (not in the present text corpus)

<p>2 soli azoғы нысады [...] tu year thousand and nine hundred and [...] be.PST ‘It was in 19...’</p> <p>3 wuz=əm yakym kurs tu I=1SG first year be.PST ‘I was in the first year [at university].’</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>7 a d-ət institut niv zabon-i xitoī joy-ən EMP in-DEM2 Institute now language-EZ Chinese study-3PL ‘Now, in this Institute people study the Chinese language [...]’</p>
--

In the stories with narrative clauses in non-past (or in perfect), the orientation is most often presented in perfect, especially giving information about place and participants (*Example 20*), and in non-past when the information is valid in/until the present (*Example 21*).

Example 20. [WA:1]

<p>1. Yəm məmləkət tuətk bınətkin DEM1 region be.PF thrown ‘This region has been deserted [because there was no water].’</p>
--

Example 21. [MB:13a]

<p>13. ǰan-ən ki say-3PL that ‘They say that [...]’</p>

5.3. Complicating Action and Resolution

Complicating action, one of the main parts of the narrative, is made up of narrative clauses in temporal ordering and is terminated by the resolution. It answers the question: What happened then? Chapter 4 gives characteristics of the narrative clauses and identifies two main narrative forms: narratives in past tense and narratives in non-past/perfect tense, where the criterion for choosing the verb tense-aspect form is whether or not the story is an eyewitness account. This distinction is consistently observed in all 29 narratives collected in the Tajik Wakhan that were analysed for the purpose of this study. Moreover, even in the 17 unanalysed narratives, from the whole corpus of 46 collected

narratives, we see the same principle being observed in the choice of the narrative tense-aspect form.

5.3.1. Marking the transition between Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution

In Section 5.2.1., we have identified the verb properties of the orientation section, and in Chapter 4 the use of verb tense-aspect forms in narrative clauses. We will now look at how orientation typically joins complicating action and what syntactic elements are used for this purpose. This will first be shown in the case of an eyewitness narrative, i.e. a narrative in past tense (*Example 22*), then in a legend and a historical narrative (*Examples 23 and 24*), both in non-past.

Example 22. [GF:1–2;7–9]

ORIENTATION

1a a d-ət sol-o-vi ki sak=ən=əš də S zindagī
 EMP in-DEM2 year-PL-PL.OBL that we=1PL=IPFV in S life
 cə **kərt-i**

REL **do.PST-i**

‘In those years when we were living in S’

1b wuz=əm sinf-o-i ny yo ašt=əm tu
 I=1SG class-PL-EZ nine or eight=1SG **be.PST**

‘I studied in the eighth or ninth grade’

1c baf tər žy yod **nast**
 good in my memory **be.3SG**

‘I don’t remember well.’

2 spoc-ən i amsoya **tu**
 ours-ABL one neighbour **be.PST**

‘We had one neighbour’

[...]

7a ya pčod aži tər dgar pčod-vi monand **nə-tu**
 DEM3 girl such in other girl-PL.OBL resembling **NEG-be.PST**

‘That girl was not like other girls’

7b bdili xat=əš štik **kərt-i**
 with self=IPFV playing **do.PST-i**

‘she used to play alone a lot’

7c doim=əṣ toqa toqa nəyn-i
 always=IPFV alone alone sit.PST-i
 ‘all the time she used to sit alone.’

8 nəy ki baf aži ašyor bidor prčod tu.
 but good such intelligent vigilant girl be.PST
 ‘But she was such an intelligent and prudent girl.’

COMPLICATING ACTION

9 yan i rwor a yət prčod našt-i də spo kyča
 then one day EMP DEM2 girl get lost.PST-i in our street
 ‘Then, one day, that girl disappeared from our street.’

As mentioned earlier, in the narratives in past tense, the orientation verbs in *Example 22* are in past tense for non-activity verbs, as in [GF:1b, 2, 7a], or in past tense imperfective for activity verbs, as in [GF:1a, 7b-c]. Moreover, we find here clauses in non-past that are evaluations by the narrator [GF:1c]. All other clauses in the orientation [GF:1-8] are in the past tense and give the background that the narrator considers necessary for understanding the story. The complicating action opens in [GF:9] with the verb in past tense. Change of tense/aspect is usually not the only indicator that marks the transition from the orientation section to the complicating action. In the first narrative clause, even before we hear the verb, the first element that can be noticed is often a development marker (DM) *yan* (‘then’), which typically appears throughout the text to signal a new development. It may be followed by a temporal point of departure (PoD) and is often accompanied by the emphatic particle *a* (EMP) with the demonstrative (DEM) that serves as a referential PoD of renewal, reintroducing a participant who has already been introduced in detail in the orientation. Sometimes, instead of this referential PoD, we find a noun phrase (NP) with a referential indefiniteness marker (IND) that introduces a new participant. In clause [GF:9] we find all four indicators that mark the joining of orientation with complicating action: the development marker (*yan* – ‘then’), the temporal point of departure (*i rwor* – ‘one day’), the referential point of departure of renewal (*a yət prčod* – ‘that girl’), and the tense/aspect form (PST). Many narratives in past tense (eyewitness) follow the same pattern with some if not all of these indicators, but the minimal indicator is the use of tense/aspect form. The orientation section is not usually rich in development markers and points of departure. However, the development marker *yan* appears in the orientation section in some oral narratives, so it is not a forbidden element, although it appears rarely in other parts of the narrative than the complicating action

In fictional genres, such as legends, told in non-past, the orientation is usually in the perfect. The complicating action is indicated minimally by the change of tense/aspect form, that is, a change from perfect into non-past. Here too, the first narrative clause is often introduced by the development marker **yan** ('then'), sometimes accompanied by the point of departure. Throughout the complicating action, the development markers signal new developments. The resolution also tends to be introduced by a development marker.

Example 23. [HS:7–9]

ORIENTATION

7 **tuətk** dra tuy
be.PF there3 wedding.
'There has been a wedding there.'

8a tuy **tuətk**
wedding **be.PF**
'There has been a wedding.'

COMPLICATING ACTION

8b **yaw yan** čərəm-d.
he then **enter-3SG**
'Then he enters.'

9a **yan** ki čərəm-d, aǰon a d-ət xun=ət
then that enter-3SG dear EMP in-DEM2 house=and

9b **yan** yaw-i o dra **nidv-ən**
then he-ACC behold there3 **seat-3PL**

'After he enters the house, my dear, then they seat him over there [on the not respectable place].'

As in fictional genres, in the historical accounts the transition from the orientation to the complicating action is signalled by the development marker **yan** ('then') and by the change of tense/aspect form from perfect to non-past. In the 'Story about the kidnapped girl' [SK], we find throughout the narrative the development marker signalling new developments, but in this narrative the resolution is not introduced with the development marker. It is signalled by the change of constituent order. In *Example 24*, clause 54a shows inversion within the verb phrase (*xlos cart* 'do-free' would be the unmarked order). In 54b, the number above the constituent indicates what its default position would be and thus shows the departure from the unmarked constituent order.

Example 24. [SK:8–9;54a]

ORIENTATION

8a [...] də Yəmtčyn **tuətk-it**
in Yamchun **be.PF-sfx**

8b i pɾčod ya xɨʃtuɨ **tuətk-it**
one girl very beautiful **be.PF-sfx**

‘[...] it has been in Yamchun, there has been a very beautiful girl.’

COMPLICATING ACTION

9a **yan** awgon-iš c-a paɨw-ən wəzy-ən xə
then Afghan-PL from-DEM3 side-ABL **come-3PL** and

9b wəzy-ən dɨrz-ən yaw-i
come-3PL take-3PL she-ACC

9c rəç-ən
go-3PL

‘Then the Afghans come from the other side, they come, take her and go.’

[...]

RESOLUTION

54a **car-t** xlos bəroi nomɨs-i misol qšloq
do-3SG free for reputation-EZ for example village

‘He frees (her) for the honour of the village’

(.....2.....) (...4...) (.....1.....) (...3...)

54b a c-a awɨon-ən **car-t** ya pɾčod-i xlos
EMP from-DEM3 Afghan-ABL **do-3SG** DEM3 girl-ACC free

‘from those Afghans, that girl he frees [...].’

At this point, it is important to remember that in addition to the narratives recorded in a spontaneous and natural setting and told without any preparation, six narratives were told to us with prior preparation and with the intention to have them published. We can see certain differences between these six narratives and the rest of the oral data. Although the narrator strictly maintains the distinction between an eyewitness account (or reported eyewitness account in 1st person) that is told in past tense and a narrative told in non-past, these narratives contain very little evaluative material, they have either a very short or no orientation section, and no development marker *yan* (‘then’) or any form of address is present at all. However, in the two narratives that have orientation, the verb tense-aspect change is in accord with what we observed in other narratives. When introducing the first narrative clause of the complicating action, the verb form changes from perfect to non-past, or from perfect to past

tense, and the clause is introduced in both cases by a temporal point of departure. This seems to be enough indication for the listener to know that the sequence of narrative clauses is starting. Throughout the stories, the temporal points of departure are used instead of development marker ‘then’.

Example 25. [DR:1–2]

ORIENTATION

1a naql **car-ən** ki
telling **do-3PL** that

1b a d-əm Štxarv a d-a ĵay ki
EMP in-DEM1 Shitkharv EMP in-DEM3 place that
mis šlax đan=ət niv lup ĵəngal cəy
before naked wasteland=and now big forest REL

1c də qdim waxt sisadə šastə šaš bna **tuətk**
in ancient time three hundred and sixty six household **be.PF**

‘They say that in Shitkharv, in that place that (was) formerly a wasteland and where now a big forest (is), in the past there were three hundred and sixty-six households.’

COMPLICATING ACTION

2a i **rwor** i šaxs pəydo **wos-t=ət**
one day one person apparent **become-3SG=and**

2b a tum d-əm xalg-vi bar cə rəš-t
EMP much in-DEM1 man-PL.OBL door REL go-3SG

2c ičkuy yaw-i tə xly xun **nə-ləcər-t**
nobody he-ACC in own house **NEG-let-3SG**

‘One day a person [‘šaxs’ – a stranger with supernatural power] appears and as much as he goes to the people’s doors nobody lets him into their house.’

Although we do not know exactly whether these differences are due to the personal style of the author (since all six of these narratives were told by one person) or are due to not yet defined but probably felt rules about how a written narrative should look, we may assume that certain discourse markers widely used in the oral narratives will not be used in written narratives. That seems to be the case for all forms of address, the extensive use of the development marker *yan* (‘then’) and the particle *xay* (‘well’). Also, the structure of the story will be more linear with less evaluative elements, or at least with evaluation that is more organized and structured. The perception of what a written narrative should look like will very likely be influenced by the features of a written form of the Tajik language, which is the official language of the country and is used for written expression among the Wakhi people.

In addition to what has been said until now, we may also find narratives where the transition point between the orientation and complicating action

sections is less clear. The change of tense/aspect sometimes does not correspond with other indicators, especially the development marker *yan* ('then') or other points of departure. In *Example 26* below, the point of departure *i waxt* ('once, one time') in 3a indicates the change from the orientation to the complication, while the verb remains in perfect and changes into non-past only in the following clause (3b) introduced by the development marker *yan* ('then'), after which the narrative clauses in the complicating action continue in the non-past. The beginning of the complicating action in this story may just as well be the clause 3b, while 3a would still be part of background (orientation) information to give context to what follows, which would explain the use of perfect.

Example 26. From the 'Legend about Silk Fortress' (not in the present text corpus)

3a	i waxt	ziddiyat-i	bayni	šo-on	sar	vitk=ət
	one time	conflict-IND	between	king-PL	beginning	become.PF=and
3b	yan	ujum	car-ən			
	then	attack	do-3PL			
	<i>'Once a conflict between kings has begun and then they attack...'</i>					

5.3.2. Structure and syntactic properties of Complicating Action

Apart from a certain verb tense-aspect form typical of narrative clauses, we identified other typical features of the complicating action. When we compare the six oral narratives that were produced with prior preparation and with the intention to publish them, and the other oral narratives that were recorded in a spontaneous setting, we can see the differences in the dynamics of the narrative. The six narratives prepared in advance have a linear, almost unmarked structure. The complicating action is a string of narrative clauses separated by temporal junctures. Generally, we can observe that it is a simple 'a-then-b-then-c-etc.' pattern with almost no evaluative clauses and very few narrative-coordinate clauses.

By contrast, the structure of the complicating action in the spontaneously produced oral narratives is not always a simple series of temporal junctures. The narrative clauses are interlaced with the orientation and evaluative clauses, as well as with direct speech. Generally, we can observe that in the beginning part of the narrative, the free clauses slowing down the action are mostly orientation clauses. The free clauses that appear towards the end are usually evaluations.

We find many clauses or even sections of direct speech in Wakhi narratives, both in the prepared and the spontaneous oral narratives. Wakhi does not normally use reported speech, and this is a common feature of the Tajik language as well. Words uttered by someone else are almost exclusively transmitted in

the form of direct speech, which explains its frequent use in Wakhi narratives. Direct speech adds dramatic character and authenticity to the narrative, as we will see in Section 7.1. It also slows down the action, because more than moving the action forward its main function is to make the narrative sound authentic, to make the listener experience the story rather than just be informed of the sequence of events. Direct speech can also be an evaluative device (see Section 6.2.) that allows the narrator to present an evaluation of the events by reporting the words of someone else, a participant in the story.

Also, the order of the narrative clauses themselves is not always in an ‘a-then-b’ sequence. Often we find ‘a-and at the same time-b’ relationships or even ‘a-then-b-and again-a-then-b-then-c’ relationships. We find many narrative-coordinate clauses. Repetition is also frequently used as a slowing down and evaluative device: ‘it intensifies a particular action, and it suspends the action’ (Labov 1972:379), see Section 6.3. It may occur as a simple repetition of the verb within a clause, in the form of tail-head linkage, or as repetition of the whole section. In a tail-head construction, the repeated element is the verb or part of the clause or even the whole clause (sometimes even with the address form and development marker) marked with falling intonation (indicating the end of the sentence) which re-appears at the beginning of the following sentence in exactly the same or only slightly modified wording. Repetition and tail-head linkage are very common in Wakhi oral narratives. In *Example 27*, a tail-head linkage, we see that the clauses [HS:7–8a, 8b–9a, 9b–10a] are almost identical, with only a slight change in constituent order. *Example 28* further shows the tail-head linkage [AN:2b and 2c] and the repetition of the verb within a clause [AN:3].

Example 27. [HS:7–9]

7 tuətk dra tuy

be.PF there3 wedding.

‘There has been a wedding there.’

8a tuy tuətk

wedding be.PF

8b yaw yan čərəm-d

he then enter-3SG

‘There has been a wedding, then he enters.’

9a yan ki čərəm-d aǰon a d-ət xun=ət

then that enter-3SG dear EMP in-DEM2 house=and

9b yan yaw-i o dra nidv-ən

then he-ACC behold there3 seat-3PL

‘After he enters the house, my dear, then they seat him over there [in the not respectable place].’

10a dra yaw nidv-ən

there3 he seat-3PL

10b xay bə ol-i bičoragī

well in state-EZ poor

‘They seat him there, well, he (is like) a poor person [that’s why they treat him badly].’

Example 28. [AN:2–3]

2a wuz a d-ət korga bar=əm wrəfsət̪k=ət
I EMP in-DEM2 blacksmithery door=1SG stand.PF=and

2b iwki i δay [...] wəzd
suddenly one man [...] come.PST

2c wəzd-i wɣr t-a dam
come.PST-i load in-DEM3 back

‘I was standing at the blacksmithery door and suddenly a man came [...], he came with a load on his back.’

3 wəzd-i wəzd-i ʔat-i də ʒɣr pɣɣt
come.PST-i come.PST-i arrive.PST-i in my front

‘As he came [lit. he came, he came], he arrived in front of me [...].’

Repetition of the whole section refers to the same event or situation as a review of past events before the string of narrative clauses is interrupted by a section of free clauses introducing a new development. The ‘Story about the Kidnapped Girl’ [SK] (*Example 29* below) tells that bandits frequently visited the Wakhi villages to steal girls and cattle. When they stole yet another Wakhi girl, a strong man decided to go find the abductors and bring the girl back. The narrator in this story repeats the same passage three times [SK:30c, 36b and 39c], so the repeated picture (bandits sitting in the house, eating and smoking opium – implying that they were not aware of the presence of the young man who came to save the girl) is very vivid. Also interesting is the use of deixis in the first situation [SK:30c] which uses the first degree of deictic adverb (here1), while the second time [SK:36b] it is referred to with the second degree (there2) and the third time [SK:39c] with the third degree (there3). The action is slowed down not only by repetitions, but also by several free explanatory clauses. After that the action speeds up and is moves forward telling about how the man surprises the bandits, takes the girl from them and returns home with the girl.

Example 29. [SK:30, 36, 39]

[narrative clause with subordinate]

30a wizi-t ki
come-3SG that

30b xa a ya awyon-iš ki ya pṛod-i ʃudī cə kərk
well EMP DEM2 Afghan-PL that DEM3 girl-ACC theft REL do.PF
'He comes (and sees that), well, those Afghans who kidnapped the girl'

30c yawiř kɪ təm nyəng=ət tryok=əř xař-ən=ət
they all **here1** sit.PF=and opium=IPFV pull-3PL=and
awqot=əř yaw-ən=ət
food=IPFV eat-3PL=and

*'they have all sat down **here1**, they are smoking opium, eating a meal'*

30d a ya pṛod t-ət ʃanz
EMP DEM3 girl in-DEM2 pantry
t-ət spoc-ən spicalni (ru) jay tu a waxt ki
in-DEM2 ours-ABL special place be.PST EMP time that

30e dra faqat oʃiz-iř alətk
there3 only woman-PL stay.PF

'that girl is in the pantry, at that time we had this special place where only women have been staying.'

31-35 [section of evaluative clauses – explanatory comments made by the narrator]

[narrative clause with subordinate; 36b repeating 30c]

36a xa didiř-d a c-ət-ən didiř-d ki
well see-3SG EMP from-DEM2-ABL see-3SG that

'Well, he sees, from there he sees that'

36b yawiř tət nyəng tryok=əř xař-ən
they **there2** sit.PF opium=IPFV pull-3PL
awqot=əř yaw-ən=ət yəm=ət yaw
food=IPFV eat-3PL=and DEM1=and DEM3

*'they have sat **there2**, they are smoking opium, eating a meal, this and that.'*

37-38 [narrative clauses – flashback returning the situation back to the point immediately preceding the section repeated for the 3rd time]

[narrative clause with subordinate; 39c repeating 30c and 36b]

39a san-d sk-əm kut didiŷ-d ki
 go up-3SG from-DEM1 roof see-3SG that
 39b ya δay-iš ki ŷudi cə kərək=əv ya prčod-i
 DEM3 man-PL that theft REL do.PF=3PL DEM2 girl-ACC
 ‘He goes up on the roof, he sees that those men who have stolen the girl’

39c yawiř ta tryok=əř xař-ən=ət awqot=əř yaw-ən
 they **there3** opium=IPFV pull-3PL=and food=IPFV eat-3PL
 ‘they are **there3** smoking opium and eating a meal.’

In addition to the devices mentioned above we find other syntactic properties with various functions. Throughout the complicating action, whenever DM *yan* (‘then’) is used it signals new developments in the narrative. In many narratives, various forms of address are directed towards the listener, e.g. *ařon* (‘my dear’), *ařonikəm* (‘my dearest’), *elo / elol* (‘brother’). This is very typical at highlighted moments of the narrative. Sometimes it co-occurs with DM *yan* (‘then’) to draw attention to a new development, and sometimes it appears separately or with another highlighting marker, for instance with the non-past imperfective in a narrative clause where the unmarked form would be just non-past, as shown in *Example 5* [SK:11a, c, d], to highlight the action and indicate the tension. Another device that is often used in spontaneous oral narratives is use of *xay* (translated in English as ‘well’) – an introductory particle that signals logical inference or introduces an explanatory note and slows down the action. Often it introduces free evaluation clauses, as we see in *Example 30*. The use of the forms of address and other particles will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Example 30. [HS:10]

10a. dra yaw nidv-ən [narrative clause]
 there3 he seat-3PL
 ‘They seat him there [on a not respectable place]’
 10b. **xay** bə ol-i bəçoragī [free clause – evaluation]
 well in state-EZ poor
 ‘well, he (is like) a poor person [that’s why they treat him badly].’

5.4. Coda

A coda is a set of free clauses at the end of the narrative that serve as a bridge between the narrated story and the present time. The majority of the Wakhi narratives collected end with codas of various lengths. Some are only made

up of one clause signalling that the story has ended, using deixis (*Example 31*). Some others make only a brief link between the narrative and a specific place or specific people, as in an ancestor’s history (*Example 32*).

Example 31. [VG:10]

10a **yət** woz **me** **yət** **rang**
 DEM2 again behold DEM2 manner
 10b diš-əm-a yaw kumyor tuətk
 know-1SG-Q she who be.PF
 ‘*It (was) this way; I don’t know who this woman was.*’

Example 32. [BO:21–22]

21 me tum
 behold such
 ‘*That’s it.*’
 22 Boboantar niv ya stxon ta
 Boboantar now DEM bone there3
 ‘*Now Boboantar’s bones are there.*’

In some narratives, the coda is a longer section, such as when it gives a moral resulting from the story, or when the narrative is related to a certain place, often in the case of legends (*Example 33*). In the ‘Legend about Silk fortress’ the coda is introduced with the point of departure *niv* (‘now’) and the tense changes from non-past in the preceding narrative clauses to perfect in the opening clause of the coda (*Example 33:46*). In the rest of the coda, the narrator gives information about the importance of this place in the contemporary context. The coda closes with deixis (*Example 33:56*). As for the use of verb tense-aspect forms, the non-past is used for the statements that are valid in/until the present (*Example 33:49, 50b, 51, 55, 56c*), perfect is used for past descriptions related to the narrative (*Example 33:46, 47, 48*), past tense is used for events in the recent past that the narrator probably witnessed or at least is sure happened (*Example 33:56a*), perfect is further used to signal resultativity or anteriority to an event in past tense (*Example 33:52, 56b*)

Example 33. From the ‘Legend about Silk fortress’ (not in the present text corpus)

46 **niv** lal de dɔnyo mašur cə **vitk**
now ruby in world famous REL **become.PF**
 bo šarofati a yət kaš Lalmamad ki Ruxšona pətr ki
 thanks to EMP DEM2 boy Lalmamad that Rukshona son that
 ‘*Now, as the ruby [in Wakhi ‘lal’] has become famous in the world, it is thanks to this boy Lalmamad [it was named after him], who (was) Rukshona’s son*’

47 yaw də Abrəšim qla sarwarī **kərk=ət**
 she in silk fortress reign **do.PF=and**
 ‘she has reigned over Silk fortress and’

48 ajonikəm ki yət pətr amčun yodgorī yaw-i **rəǰk**
 my dear that DEM2 son such memory she-ACC **go.PF**
 də wodi-i Үoron=ət
 in valley-EZ Ghoron=and
 ‘my dear, that son has remained such a memory of her in the valley of Ghoron.’

49 wudg ruz a yət Vəřəmqla cəy
 today day EMP DEM2 Silk fortress REL
 yət i jōy-i čiz spoc-ən
 DEM2 one place-IND what ours-ABL
 xəy sak yaw җы čəǰm rang **niga car-ən**
 well we it own eye manner **watch do-3PL**
 ‘These days the Silk fortress which is our (precious) place, well, we cherish it like our own eyes.’

50a yət amčun tarix cə gыzařtagon-i wodi-i Waxon-ən
 DEM1 such history from ancestors-EZ valley-EZ Wakhan-ABL
 sak-ər **wəřəǰk=ət**
 we-DAT **remain.PF=and**

50b sak bo nom-i yaw iftixor **car-ən**
 we with name-EZ it pride **do-3PL**
 ‘Such a history has remained for us from the ancestors of the Wakhan valley and we take pride in its name.’

51 tqi sayo-iř **wəzy-ən** i gala sayo-iř **wəzy-ən**
 many traveler-PL **come-3PL** one lot traveler-PL **come-3PL**
 ‘Many travellers come, a lot of travellers come.’

[...]

55 bo řarofati yəm spo yodgori-i tarixi yawiř tqi **wəzy-ən**
 thanks to DEM1 our memory-EZ historical they many come-3PL
 ‘Thanks to our historical monuments many of them come.’

56a yəm tum **tu** riwoyat-i ki
DEM1 such **be.PST** legend-IND that

56b wuz ʔat=əm cə **kʂəŋg=ət**
I self=1SG REL **hear.PF=and**

56c cə **diʂ-əm** cə tarix-i a yət
REL **know-1SG** from history-EZ EMP DEM2
qla-i vərʂəm-ən
fortress-EZ silk-ABL

‘Such was a legend that I myself have heard and that I understand from the history of that Silk fortress.’

A general observation is that, in the narratives told in non-past, the change of the tense-aspect form in the coda does not always occur. What does change is the function of the tense-aspect form. The non-past in the narrative section (complicating action, resolution) of non-eyewitness stories is a regular narrative tense-aspect form, while in the coda it changes to its primary function, which is to describe events occurring in the present or that are valid until the present, or to refer to general statements. All tense-aspect forms can occur in the coda in their primary functions.

In narratives told in past tense, the coda can mark the break between the past and the present. It is signalled by the change of verb tense-aspect from past to non-past tense and usually also by the temporal point of departure or development marker **yan** (‘then’), as in the following example.

Example 34. [AN:38]

PoD

38. **me niv** səndon təy
behold now anvil is
‘Look, now I have the anvil.’

6. Evaluation and evaluative devices

In the narrative clauses we learn what happened, but evaluation answers the question: What is the point of the narrative? The evaluation is defined as ‘the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d’être*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at’ (Labov 1972:366). There are various levels of evaluation in a narrative. One story can be told in many different ways, with more, fewer or no evaluative elements.

As already mentioned in Section 3.2., evaluation can take various forms, from the most explicit form comprising an entire section of concentrated evaluative clauses, to the implicit evaluation that overlaps with narrative and orientation clauses. In accordance with Labov’s findings, the evaluation in Wakhi oral narratives, in external, embedded or internal form, tends to occur towards the end of the narrative. This is the case for both the eyewitness narratives told in past tense and non-eyewitness narratives told in non-past tense. In the corpus, no specific difference is observed in the frequency of evaluative devices between eyewitness narratives in past tense, historical accounts, and legends. The eyewitness narrative with the most evaluative material is the story of the narrator eye-witnessing a supernatural event. On the other hand, some eyewitness narratives consist of an almost unmarked series of narrative clauses. This is the case for the narratives prepared by the narrator in advance and intended for publishing. As for narratives told in non-past, the historical accounts seem to contain slightly more evaluation than legends, traditional stories and anecdotes, but the difference is small and may more be due to the narrator’s style than the genre. We can thus observe various levels of evaluation in the Wakhi oral narratives.

6.1. External evaluation

External Evaluation has a slowing down effect. The sequence of the narrative clauses is interrupted, the action is suspended, and the narrator steps out of the story to give the evaluative comment. Typically, it occurs close to the end of the narrative in the form of a free evaluative clause or a section of free evaluative clauses; however, evaluative clauses can be found throughout the narrative. Often, though it is not a rule, the evaluative clauses in oral narratives are introduced by the special particle *xay* / *xəy* / *xa* (‘well’). This particle, which

explains logical relations or gives explanations, usually introduces the elements suspending the action in the oral narrative; however not all narrators use it.

In the ‘Story about the kidnapped girl’[SK] we can observe the use of this particle as well as some other evaluative devices (*Example 35*). In all occurrences of the particle *xay/xa* (‘well’) in this narrative, the action is suspended, whether the particle introduces an evaluative free clause where the narrator steps out of the narrative to give an explanation or a comment, or introduces an orientation free clause within the narrative, or an embedded evaluation in direct speech. On two occasions in this narrative it also introduces a narrative clause as a part of complicating action, but even here the action is suspended and does not move forward because both clauses introduced by this particle are narrative-coordinate clauses (i.e. simultaneous with the narrative clause preceding them) and there is no temporal juncture.

Example 35. [SK:3, 10a, 12, 17, 20b]

2 ‘*In the old times the Afghans used to give us a lot of trouble.*’ [orientation]

3 **xay** maɣmi tarix yət əʃ kuy yət nə-diš-t
 well known history DEM2 nobody DEM2 NEG-know-3SG
 ‘*Well, as is known, it’s past, nobody knows it now.*’ [evaluation]

[...]

9 ‘*Then the Afghans come from the other side, they come, take her and go.*’
 [narrative clause]

10a **xa** yawiř truy cbyr nfar=əv tuətk də yař-ən
 well they three four person=3PL be.PF with horse-ABL
 ‘*Well, they were three or four people with horses*’ [orientation placed
 between narrative clauses]

10b-d ‘*they throw her on their load, throw her on their backs and carry her to that side.*’ [narrative clauses]

11 ‘*This is a story from the old times, maybe several centuries had passed.*’
 [evaluation]

12 yan **xa** yət nomys-i qřloq oxir
 then well DEM2 reputation-EZ village after all
 ‘*Then, well, after all, it is a matter of the reputation of the village.*’
 [evaluation]

13 ‘Then the old men [elders] from Ptup, all of them say: “They strangely dishonoured us, this is a shame, they took our girl, went to the other side.”’ [direct speech – embedded evaluation]

[...]

16 ‘They [people from Yamchun and Ptup] then come to Vrang [to take a decision about the abducted girl].’ [narrative clause]

17a **xay** yan wəzy-ən Vrang
well then come-3PL Vrang
‘Well, then they come to Vrang’ [**narrative coordinate clause**, repeating 16]

17b ‘they address the elders’ [narrative clause]

17c-18 “‘They did this to us, they dishonoured us, they took away our girl. If we remain silent, tomorrow they will do other [even worse] things with us.’” [direct speech – embedded evaluation]

19 ‘Then they get together, the elders of Vrang.’ [narrative clause]

20a yan ĵam woc-ən **xay** ʃnətk
then assembled become-3PL well say.PF
‘Then they get together, well, (they) have said:’ [**narrative coordinate clause**, repeating 19 plus specifying]

20b rost yet nomys-i wɨdrak drkor
true DEM2 reputation-ACC hold.INF necessary
‘True, it’s necessary to defend of our reputation’.’ [direct speech – embedded evaluation]

Not all external evaluations are introduced by the particle **xay** (‘well’), and not all evaluations introduced by the particle **xay** (‘well’) are necessarily external evaluation. Sometimes a tag question is used at the end of the evaluative clause (Example 36, clause 31), sometimes the exclamatory interjection **me / ime / ine** (‘behold’) (Example 36, clause 32) is inserted, or sometimes only a simple non-narrative clause is used.

Example 36. [SK:31–32]

31 bazi xun-iʃ niv təy **nəy**
some house-PL now is **no**
‘Some houses still have it, don’t they?’

32 kona xun me niv i xun spo-ən drəm təy
 old house **behold** now one house ours-ABL here1 is
 ‘(It was) an old house, look, now we have one of these old houses here.’

Another set of devices used for external evaluation is found in ‘Girl stolen by the fairies’ [GF], which is very rich in evaluative material (see *Example 37*). This story is about a girl who gets lost and although people look for her all day, they cannot not find her. Finally, they find her in the evening sitting in the wardrobe eating bread. Nobody knows where the bread came from. Although they had looked in the wardrobe several times they had not seen her there. The narrator comes up with a supernatural explanation, because there seems to be no other explanation for the girl’s sudden disappearance and re-appearance. The evaluative devices used in this narrative are a question [GF:18], a negative [GF:23] and a counterfactual conditional [GF:41], all referring to irrealis events.

Example 37. [GF:18, 23–26, 40–41]

EVALUATION

18 yan amidgar yəm sə kum ziŷ bət
 then on the other side DEM1 from what side other
 t-əm čərn-i
 to-DEM1 enter.PST-i

‘Then, on the other hand, from which other side did she enter it?’

[a question implying that there is no natural explanation for the event, it means, the explanation has to be supernatural].

[GF:19-22 – narrative clauses: To the question, where she got the bread, the girl replied that her uncle and her aunt who had died a long time ago gave it to her.]

EVALUATION

23 a ya bəč=ət voč-vi nung=əš ыдыр-t ki
 EMP DEM3 uncle=and aunt-PL.OBL name=IPFV hold-3SG that
 yawiš də əč kuy yod yawiš nast
 they in nobody memory they is not

‘She names (people as) uncle and aunts who nobody remembers.’

[a negative implying that if the people who gave her the bread had been known, it would have sounded possible that the girl got the bread from them]

[...]

25 a can-ən azi nyəšt-i ki
 EMP from there3-ABL such come out.PST-i that
 yaw-i prəy-iš đovoyd-i
 she-ACC fairy-PL steal.PST-i

‘From that we concluded [lit. it came out] that she was stolen by the fairies.’

26 cə ruy-i yaw naql-ən
 from face-EZ her story-ABL

‘From her telling.’

[25 and 26 is a logical inference from the previous clauses. This long evaluative section is followed by resolution. The narrator then returns to evaluation.]

EVALUATION

40 yan can-ən tr-a nag ki a ya kыdak pɾçod
 then from there3-ABL to-DEM3 side that EMP DEM3 child girl
 wuz fikr car-əm ki kыdak əç waxt fand nə-rand-ək

I thought do-1SG that child any time lie NEG-give-DIM

‘So, it is clear from it that, I think, a little girl would never tell lies.’

41 yaw=əš agar a ya rang nə-tuətu cəy
 It=IPFV if EMP DEM3 manner NEG-be.PPF REL

yaw=əš yaw nə-ħnətu wuz=əm flon jay
 she=IPFV it NEG-say.PPF I=1SG such place

‘If it had not been [happened] that way, she wouldn’t have said “I was in such a place”.’ [counterfactual conditional]

Evaluation in modal form is found in the following example, where the narrator comes up with a hypothesis.

Example 38. [TB: 37b]

37b yawiš yan mымkin ki ħы boigari-v=əv yutk мыšətk.
 they then maybe that own treasure-Pl.OBL=3PL take.PF hide.PF
 ‘maybe they had taken and hidden their treasure there.’

6.2. Embedded evaluation

Embedded evaluation allows the narrator to evaluate an event while preserving the dramatic continuity. This is usually done by quoting someone else’s words. Since reported speech is hardly used in the Wakhi language, the Wakhi

oral narratives are rich in direct speech. Not all direct speech clauses or sections have an evaluative function. Many of them just move the action forward. However, some of them are tools the narrator uses for embedding the evaluation. In the already mentioned ‘Story about the kidnapped girl’ [SK] (*Example 35* above) we can see the evaluation embedded in the quoting of the people from the girl’s village. While in [SK:12] the narrator steps out of the story and uses external evaluation, saying that the abduction of the girl dishonours their village, in [SK:13, 17c-18 and 20b] the same idea is expressed by quoting the words of the elders of the village. However, not all evaluations have this double form. Usually quoted words are enough to express the evaluative thoughts.

In *Example 39* below, Shermalik [SM] disobeys the instructions given by the fairies and pays for his mistake with his life. Here, the narrator uses the words of the fairy to evaluate the disobedience of Shermalik instead of saying it directly in external evaluation. The instructions given to Shermalik by the fairies are also in direct speech, and therefore, to preserve the dramatic character of the situation, even the evaluation is embedded in direct speech.

Example 39. [SM:11b]

Complicating Action – [embedded evaluation]

11b. ʃan-d xəy ʃirmlik ʃat bar ʃat=ət goʃt-i

say -3SG well Shermalik self for self=2SG make.PST-i

‘(the fairy) says: "Well, Shermalik, you did it yourself [it’s your own fault].’

This form of embedded evaluation is relatively common in the Wakhi oral narratives. The form of direct speech allows the narrator to evaluate without disturbing the flow of the narration too much. While direct speech can suspend the action, and does so to various degrees, it does not interrupt it, as is the case with external evaluation. Everything happens within the narrative frame. The significant suspension of the action, for example, occurs when the direct speech re-tells what has already been told, either by the same participant, telling the same event to another participant, or by telling in direct speech what has already been said in narrative clauses. This pattern is typical for Wakhi oral narratives and, as was already noted in Section 5.3.2., the repetition involves not only words or entire clauses but also the whole section. This kind of suspension of the action attracts the attention of the listener and serves as an evaluative device.

6.3. Internal evaluation

‘Not all evaluation sections have the structural feature of suspending the complicating action’ (Labov & Waletzky 1967:36). Sometimes evaluation is more

implicit and ‘may be present as lexical or phrasal modification of a narrative clause, or may be itself a narrative clause’ (Labov & Waletzky 1967:36). Defining internal evaluation is a very complex task. It assumes a thorough knowledge of the language and understanding of the nuances of lexical and syntactic expressions. Therefore, I will try to outline the most salient features of internal evaluation as they appear in Wakhi oral narratives, while being aware that much remains to be discovered. Further research on this topic will require making a deeper study of Wakhi grammar and syntax as well as obtaining a more complex set of data. In internal evaluation, the narrator does not step outside of the story, nor does he let a participant in the narrative make his comments. Internal evaluation is expressed by small deflections in the basic syntax and occurs on the level of narrative clauses, while not leaving the framework of the narrative.

Form of address – Wakhi narrators use various introductory forms of address when telling the story. The most typical of these are *aʃon* (‘dear’), *aʃonikəm* (‘my dearest’), *(a/e) lol* (‘brother’), *(a/e) tat* (‘father’), *(a/e) nan* (‘mother’). The meaning of *ʃon* is ‘soul / dear’; the meaning of *lol* is ‘brother’. In free translation, it corresponds semantically to English ‘my dear’. The forms *tat* (‘father’) and *nan* (‘mother’) are used to show respect, and do not necessarily refer to an older relative. The narrator uses these forms to gain the attention of the listener and to highlight what follows. They serve an intensifying function. As we can see in the Legend about ‘Hazrati Shoh Nosir’[HS] in *Example 40*, which tells about how people mistreated him, the form of address sometimes accompanies another introducing particle, e.g. the development marker *yan* (‘then’) [HS:11e] or the particle *xay* (‘well’) or a point of departure [HS:15 and 25], accentuating the function of these particles or points of departure. Sometimes it appears without any other particle and either introduces an unmarked form of the clause [HS:18b and 18d] or combines with another evaluative device other than introductory particle, e.g. imperfective aspect [HS:11d], and with a change of word order [HS:18a] (*Example 41*). The form of address and the particle *xay* (‘well’) are found only in spontaneous oral narratives. They are not found in narratives prepared in advance, and we can assume that they would not appear in written narratives either. Generally, we can observe that their presence is directly proportional to the level of spontaneity of the narrative.

Example 40. [HS:11, 15, 18, 25]

11a iw=əṣ čaqək-i dьrз-d
one=IPFV small container for ash-ACC take-3SG

11b dəy-t r-am sar
hit-3SG to-DEM3 head

11c iw=əṣ šəpk kar=t sk-a sar
one=IPFV twig put-3SG on-DEM3 head

11d **aǰon** qloy=əṣ wьdr-ən tr-əm nag=ət tr-ət
adr mockery=IPFV catch-3PL to-DEM1 side=and to-DEM2
nag=ət
side=and

11e **alo yan** yaw sk-a bar ньwьыз-d
adr then he from-DEM3 door come out-3SG

11f yəyb wos-t
disappeared become-3SG

‘Someone is taking a small container for ash, hits him on the head, someone else is putting a twig on his head, **my dear [aǰon]**, they are pushing him with mockery to this side and that side, **dear brother [alo]**, then **[yan]** he goes out and disappears.’

15 **iwki aǰon** i ǰalasawor wizit
suddenly adr one rich rider come-3SG
‘**Suddenly [iwki]**, **my dear [aǰon]**, a rich rider comes.’

18a **alo** wьызm-ən me drəm ražsar yaw-i
adr bring-3PL behold here1 respectable place he-ACC
‘**My brother [alo]**, they bring him here, to the respectable place’

18b **aǰon** pipr=əv kətək
adr special sitting place=3PL put.PF

18c drəm yaw-i nidv-ən=ət
here1 he-ACC seat-3PL=and

‘**my dear [aǰon]**, they have prepared a special place for him, they seat him here’

18d **alo** daraw yəm ǰgar=əv pətk də dəmba-ən
adr promptly DEM1 liver=3PL bake.PF with tail fat-ABL

‘**my brother [alo]**, they have promptly prepared liver with tail fat [meal made of sheep].’

25	a	tat	əçinəy	badi	yaknimsoat-i	dgar=ət			
	adr		anyway	after	one and half hour-EZ	another=and			
	a	ʃon	yan	iwki	yəm	ʃrav	nə-wizi-t	nəy	
	adr		then	suddenly	DEM1	little	river	NEG-come-3SG	no

‘*My father [a tat], anyway, after another one and a half hour, my dear [aʃon] then [yan] suddenly [iwki] the little stream doesn’t come, no.*’

Repetition – This device has already been discussed in Section 5.3.2. as a device used for slowing down the action. It is also an evaluative device. The narrator does not step outside the story; the repeated clause or section is part of the body of narrative clauses. However, the repetition suspends the action and intensifies a particular action, as previously shown in *Example 29*.

Aspect / tense – As was already discussed in Chapter 4, the narrative clauses in Wakhi stories follow certain rules regarding the use of verbal tense-aspect forms. The narrative tense-aspect forms are either past tense for eyewitness stories or non-past/perfect for non-eyewitness stories. The imperfective aspect normally does not appear in narrative heads. Any departure from the default use of tense-aspect form may signal an evaluative intention. In *Example 40* [HS:11a, 11c, 11d] are in non-past imperfective, while the default verb form for this type of clause would just be non-past; in [HS:11d] we see the combination of two evaluative devices, the introductory address form *aʃon* (‘my dear’) being used together with non-past imperfective.

Word order – The most noticeable change of word order in Wakhi is the change of the position of the verb. Wakhi being a SOV language, the unmarked position for the verb is at the end of the clause. Therefore, a change of position of the verb may, among other functions, signal an evaluative function as well.

Example 41. [HS:18a]

18a	alo	wyzm-ən	me	drəm	raʒsar	yaw-i
	adr	bring-3PL	behold	here	respectable	place he-ACC

‘*My brother [alo], they bring him here, to the respectable place,*’

The example above shows the fronting of the verb accompanied by address form *alo* (‘brother’). Moreover, the preceding two clauses are in non-past imperfective, and the whole section of [HS:17a–18a] is evaluated and presents a mirror image of clauses [HS:11a–11d] with contrasting action, one describing the action of mistreating the respectable visitor when he comes as a poor man, the other describing the action of honouring him because he comes with a rich garment, both of which are evaluated negatively by the narrator, as the resolution shows at the end of the story. In Section 4.2. the typical surface structure

of narrative clauses with the usual constituent order is described. Departures from this structure call for attention and contain evaluative elements. We have already mentioned that the word order is more flexible in Wakhi than in Tajik or in Persian, and therefore the change of the position of the verb is not so unusual and allows the narrator to highlight the action. When it serves the evaluative function, it is usually accompanied by another evaluative device, for example the form of address, as mentioned above, or repetition.

Quantifiers – These are lexical tools that do not affect the surface structure of the narrative clause but rather intensify it, often by exaggeration. In the story mentioned above [HS], Hazrati Shoh Nosir punishes the village for not honouring the guests properly. *Example 42* shows the dramatic effect of the punishment of the village, as it occurs in the resolution section of the narrative through intensification of the clause.

Example 42. [HS:29]

31 niðəng-miðəng-i	кы	vərdənz-d
harves-(rhyme)-ACC	all	knock down-3SG
<i>'Harvest or no harvest, it sweeps away everything.'</i>		

Negative action – An action that did not happen is also an evaluative element (Labov 1972:381). In the story ‘Girl stolen by the fairies’ [GF] we learn that the girl disappeared from the village and that people ‘searched every place’ [GF:11b]. The fact that they did not find her anticipates the supernatural resolution of the story. After all, if they had searched everywhere, they would have expected to find the girl, yet it did not happen (*Example 43*)

Example 43. [GF:14]

11b кыли	ǰay=ən	ǰkurd
every place=1PL	search.PST	
<i>'we searched every place'</i>		
14 ǰkurd=ən	n=ən	yaw got-i
look for.PST=1PL	NEG=1PL	she find.PST-i
<i>'We looked for her (but) we didn't find her.'</i>		

Rhyme – Rhyme is a device often used in Wakhi. It has a generalizing function. Instead of drawing attention to the rhymed word, it rather obscures it, and points more to the surrounding information. It may also serve as an evaluative device. In the Legend about ‘Hazrati Shoh Nosir’[HS], the final clause of the narrative (*Example 42* above) the ‘harvest or no harvest’ implies that the one who punished the village with the catastrophic flood did not care that it was a harvest season, the most important season for making food provisions

for the whole year. The fact is that the village was punished and ‘the river knocked down everything’. It shows the absolute degree of the punishment and thus implies an evaluation of the degree of offence. The narrator could have expressed it more explicitly in an evaluative comment or in a subordinate clause.

7. Further aspects of narrative

While the previous chapters have dealt with the structural properties of narratives, this chapter goes beyond the structure. Narrative, especially oral narrative, is not a unit that exists in itself, isolated from its environment. Therefore, the narrative analysis should not stop at the analysis of the structure. The audience and its situational context are as important as the narrator and the story. Although the narratives we collected were primarily recorded as monologues, the majority of them are set in a conversational context that serves as a springboard for the narrative monologue. In some places the evaluation begins to extend beyond the frame of the narrative; however, there are many more connections to be discovered in the narrative itself – in the way it is told, in the choice of information presented, and in the devices for presenting it. In addition to temporal organization and evaluation, Labov (1997:397) considers further aspects of narrative such as reportability, credibility, causality, the assignment of praise and blame and objectivity. I am aware that the topic is too large to be analysed extensively in this chapter, and would need to be researched more thoroughly in a separate study. This chapter will however outline some ways of analysing Wakhi oral narratives, specifically from the point of view of credibility, causality, and the assignment of praise and blame. The concepts of reportability and objectivity will only be briefly summarized.

Reportability evaluates the justification for the narrative on a broader scale: Is the topic interesting enough to occupy more social space than would be the case in ordinary conversation? This is difficult to judge, because the potential listeners' level of interest may be very variable and situational. What is more interesting and relevant for the discourse analysis, however, is the smaller scale evaluation of 'the most reportable event' (Labov 1997:405). This refers to the event around which the narrative is constructed, the event which is evaluated as the most interesting and most worth telling (or from the perspective of the audience – is most worth listening to). Labov's concept of reportability is applied to the oral narratives of personal experience, which correspond to eyewitness narratives in my data corpus. However, in the case of fictional or semi-fictional genres (i.e. traditional stories and legends) the most reportable event might be identified using different criteria. It must also be taken into account that these fictional and semi-fictional genres focus not on telling something new, as is the case with personal experience narratives, but rather on how well the narrator tells what is already known (and has been told many times before).

The concept of objectivity is related to the concept of credibility, as we will see in section 7.1.

An objective event is one that became known to the narrator through sense experience. A subjective event is one that the narrator became aware of through memory, emotional reaction or internal sensation. (Labov 1997:412).

Among the credibility building material in the non-fictional narratives, we find evidence that is described as objective experience acquired through the senses. Generally, not many subjective descriptions are found in my data corpus. For further research it would be interesting to collect some narratives of personal experience with more internal and subjective descriptions of events, to understand how this affects reportability and credibility, or how they are generally accepted as narratives by a Wakhi audience.

7.1. Credibility

The credibility of a narrative is evaluated by the degree to which it describes the events as they really happened and in the right order. Labov's definition of credibility says that it is 'the extent to which listeners believe that the events described actually occurred in the form described by the narrator' (Labov 1997:407). There seems to be an inverse relation between reportability and credibility. The more distant an event is from ordinary life (in other words the more 'unbelievable' it is), the more reportable it is. However, at the same time the narrator has to achieve credibility and make an effort to establish this credibility.

Credibility is the issue that specifically concerns 'true' stories. In eyewitness narratives, the most noticeable feature that can establish the credibility claim is the use of narrative tense, i.e. past tense as the witnessed form of narrative tense. Among them we find narratives with various degrees of evidence-providing information to back up the credibility claim.

In accordance with Labov's claim that 'reportability is inversely correlated with credibility' (Labov 1997:407), we see that among the eyewitness narratives, the one which describes the most incredible experience, i.e. that is very high on a reportability scale, is equipped with the most credibility building material, without which the narrative would sound improbable as an eyewitness account and would lose the reportability point. The narrative 'Girl stolen by the fairies' [GF] is about the sudden disappearance and equally sudden re-appearance of a girl, which led people to conclude that she must have been kidnapped by fairies. Because the conclusion is so unusual and supernatural, the narrator uses a lot of evidence providing material and evaluation throughout the narrative in order not to lose the claim to credibility. Some of these evaluative devices have already been discussed in Section 6.1., and illustrated

in *Example 37*. In addition, the narrative is interlaced with clauses such as ‘I don’t remember it well’, ‘I remember that well’, ‘it seems to me’. This implies the narrator’s impartial attitude toward the truth. Admitting that she does not remember some details well [GF:3] leads to more credibility being attributed to details that she says she does remember well [GF:4] in *Example 44* below. In one instance, the narrator states that the story must be true because she saw it with her own eyes and heard it with her own ears [GF:39]. The narrative is introduced with a long orientation where the narrator presents many temporal and spatial details, and is closed with a very long coda that is interlaced with evaluation clauses.

Example 44. [GF:3–4, 39]

3 spo amsoya nung tu G mar sɔɣy-d tu
 our neighbor name be.PST G to me.OBL seem-3SG be.PST
 baf də ʒɣɣ yod nast
 good in my memory is not
 ‘The name of our neighbour was G., it seems to me it was G., I don’t
 remember exactly.’

4 nəy ki yaw dəɣd nung tu ʃ yət də ʒɣɣ yod
 but his daughter name be.PST Sh DEM2 in my memory
 ‘But the name of his daughter was Sh., I remember it.’

[...]

39 ammo yəm ikoya-i voqei-e ki wuz=əm vind-i
 but DEM1 story-EZ true-IND that I=1SG see.PST-i
 də ɣɣ ʧəʒm-ən də ɣɣ ʃiʃ-ən=əm kʃən-i.
 with own eye-ABL with own ear-ABL=1SG hear.PST-i
 ‘But this is a real story, which I saw with my own eyes and heard with my
 own ears.’

There are other ways of achieving credibility in other eyewitness narratives. In ‘Anvil’[AN] the narrator, who was a blacksmith at the time, tells the story of how he acquired a large amount of materials and tools necessary for his work. He tells that one day a Russian traveller whose car had broken down needed him to fix it. After he had done so, the Russian traveller did not pay him anything, but promised to pay on his way back. (He might not have been coming back at all – it is not expressed in the narrative but it is indirectly implied.) One day he did come back and brought a whole load of materials and many other practical tools for the narrator and his wife. This narrative does not contain any supernatural elements and the credibility building material is of a different character than in the previous story. The orientation and

coda are short, giving only minimal necessary information. The credibility building material is incorporated into the narrative structure by using direct speech and quoting the participants' words. It is assumed that the conversation between them was in Russian. The narrator then quotes the direct speech in Russian [AN:15], or in both Wakhi and Russian [AN: 21b–24]. For the comprehensibility of the story it would be perfectly sufficient to use Wakhi to report this conversation. However, the narrator chooses Russian or both Russian and Wakhi translation, see *Example 45*.

Example 45. [AN:15, 21–24]

15 wuz=əm ǰat-i
I=1SG say.PST-i
'I said:'

yesli znayu sdelayu, yesli ne znayu, kak sdelayu (ru)
"If I can, I will fix it, if I can't, how will I fix it." [in Russian]

[...]

21b ǰat-i xay niv iǰiz wuz tar əǰiz-i
say.PST-i well now nothing I to you.OBL nothing-ACC
nə-rand-əm
NEG-give-1SG
'he said: "Well, I won't give you anything now."'

22 sčas tebe ničevo ne dayu (ru)
"I won't give you anything now" [in Russian].'

23 poyedu s Oša tebe kak nibud pošylayu (ru)
"When I will be returning from Osh, I will send you (something) somehow." [in Russian]'

24 alo yan ǰat-i ki niv wuz tar əǰi
adr then say.PST-i that now I to you.OBL nothing
nə-rand-əm=ət cə Uǰ-ən tar wɪzm-əm
NEG-give-1SG=and from Osh-ABL to you.OBL bring-1SG
'My brother, then he said that: "I will not give you anything now, I will bring it to you from Osh."'

In addition to eyewitness narratives that report the experience of the narrator, we have other narratives with various levels of credibility. The historical accounts, ancestor's histories and legends overlap in some ways. They are narrated in non-past/perfect which is a non-witnessed form of narrative tense-

aspect. Although some of these narratives seem to report historical events, the narrators themselves explicitly comment that they are not always sure about the full credibility of the narrative they tell. From this we can infer two things. The first is that our data set does not contain any example of a genuine historical report, and since Wakhi has been a non-written language until now, it seems to be difficult to obtain any. Therefore, this area, i.e. narratives reporting true events that occurred in the more distant past than that of eyewitness accounts, remains blank. The second is that authenticity and credibility seem to be important concepts in Wakhi culture. Many narratives, especially those which to some extent claim to be based on historical events, contain comments made by the narrator about the source of the narrative or the narrator's stance on the credibility of the narrative, which usually appear either at the beginning, in the abstract, or in the coda. Examples of such explicit comments are to be found in the following stories.

Example 46. [SK:1, 3, 53, 55] – Historical account

In Abstract

1 xa wuz ɣali i riwoyat sav-ər ʃan-əm
 well I yet one story you.PL.OBL-DAT say-1SG
 yaw čiz-i tarixi-o
 it thing-EZ historical-CONF

'Well, I will tell you yet another story, it's a historical story.'

3 xay maɣmī tarix yət əč kuy yət nə-diš-t
 well known history DEM2 nobody DEM2 NEG-know-3SG

'Well, (as is) known, it's past, nobody knows it now.'

In Coda

53 ine a əm rang i odisa yəm tarixī odisa
 behold EMP DEM1 manner one event DEM historical event
 aqonī vitkin
 really become.PTCP

'Behold, such is the event, this historical event really happened.'

55 yəm rang yark-o-iš tuətk a yəm ɣa sak-ən
 DEM1 manner work-PL-PL be.PF EMP DEM1 very we-ABL
 əč kuy xbar nast [...]
 nobody news is not

'Such have been the events, we don't know much about them [...].'

Example 47. [TS:19] – Historical account

In Coda

19 xay kšəngəng vinət̪k=əm nəy yo rost yo druy

well hear.PTCP see.PF=1SG no or right or lie

‘Well, (I know it only from) hearing, I haven’t seen it, (I don’t know) if it’s true or not.’

Example 48. [FM:46] – Ancestor’s history

In Coda

46 aži xa naql-v=əš kərt yan bət diš-əm-a

such well story-PL.OBL=IPFV do.PST then more know-1SG-Q

rost-a druy

truth-Q lie

‘Well, this is how they used to tell it, (but) then how do I know if it is the truth or a lie.’

Example 49. [MB:45-48] – Ancestor’s history

In the Evaluation section inserted closer to the end of the story

45 i čand waxt ajon naql=əš kərt=əv a mis-o

some time dear telling=IPFV do.PST=3PL EMP before-CONF

‘Sometimes, in older times, they used to tell the story.’

46 žы tat naql=əš kərt-i žы pup xay yaw

my father story=IPFV do.PST-i my grandfather well he

ko vinətu yaw mымkin ko žы tat-ər naql kərt

perhaps see.PPF he maybe perhaps my father-DAT story do.PST

‘My father used to tell me, my grandfather, well, he had perhaps seen it, maybe he told it to my father.’

47 wuz=əš ya naql-i tar car-əm

I=IPFV DEM3 story-ACC to you do-1SG

‘I tell this story to you.’

48 wuz cə ǰat-ən nə-car-əm-o

I from self-ABL NEG-do-1SG-CONF

‘I don’t make (it) up by myself.’

Example 50. [SB:1-2] – Ancestor’s history

In Orientation

1 spo bobokalon təy Šodmonbig

our great-grandfather is Shodmonbig

‘Our great-grandfather [ancestor] is Shodmonbig.’

2 yaw-ən yaw tat-i yaw nan-i sak=ən a c-a
 his-ABL his father-ACC his mother-ACC we=1PL EMP from-DEM3
 lup-v-ən nə-kšəng yaw tat kuy tuətk yaw nan
 big-PL.OBL-ABL NEG-hear.PF his father who be.PF his mother
 kuy tuətk yawiš kuy tuətk nə-diš-əm
 who be.PF they who be.PF NEG-know-1SG
 ‘We haven’t heard from our ancestors [lit. ‘from the big ones’] who his
 father was, who his mother was, who they were, I don’t know.’

Example 51. From the ‘Legend about Silk fortress’ (not in the present text corpus)

In Coda

56 yəm tum tu riwoyat-i ki wuz xat=əm cə kšəng=ət
 DEM1 such be.PST legend-IND that I self=1SG REL hear.PF=and
 cə diš-əm cə tarix-i a yət qla-i Vəršəm-ən
 REL know-1SG from history-EZ EMP DEM2 fortress-EZ Silk-ABL
 ‘Such was a legend that I myself have heard and I know from the history of
 that Silk fortress.’

Example 52. From the legend *Chiltan* (not in the present text corpus)

In Coda

75 nə-diš-əm ki rost-a druγdruγguy cə druγguy-ən kšy-d
 NEG-know-1SG that true-Q lie liar from liar-ABL hear-3SG
 ‘I don’t know if it’s true or not, because a liar hears it from a liar.’
 76 aḵon=ət a yət təy tarix
 dear=and EMP DEM2 is history
 ‘And so, my dear, is the history.’

Traditional stories are completely fictional narratives and do not contain any comments by the narrator regarding the credibility or the source. Anecdotes, though sometimes based on true events, also do not have credibility claims; their function is to be purely entertaining.

As we concluded earlier, every time the narrator tells a story (s)he makes the subconscious choice whether to tell an eyewitness story or a non-eyewitness story, and chooses the tense-aspect form of the verb accordingly. From this, and from the comments made by the narrator about the source or the credibility of the narrative, we can conclude that it is important for Wakhi listeners to know how much credibility they can ascribe to the narrative. This claim finds support in the observation made by Mock in his study on the discursive forms of the construction of reality among the Wakhis in northern Pakistan. Mock (1998:201) claims that the Wakhis make a distinction between truth and fiction, between *žindak* (‘story’ in Pakistani Wakhi) told as fiction and *žindak* told as true. Moreover, the narratives often contain ‘formulaic

phrases that serve as tropes to mark the narrative as not a true story' (Mock 1998:202). Credibility is built by providing reference to actual places, people, or events (Mock 1998:201). Although Mock's data corpus of the Wakhi recorded in northern Pakistan does not show the same pattern in the use of tense-aspect forms for marking the indirectivity of a narrative as observed among the Wakhis in Tajikistan, the concept of credibility, i.e. the distinction between a story being told as true or as fiction, seems to be no less important.

7.2. Causality

Once the narrator chooses the most reportable event (s)he starts the narrative construction. This is a backwards process in which the narrator constructs 'a recursive series of events preceding the most reportable event, each linked causally to the one that follows' (Labov 2006:2). The process continues until it reaches an event 'that is not in itself reportable and does not require an explanation' (Labov 2006:2). At this point the narrator reaches the orientation, the point where the narrative will start. Naturally, this is a somewhat unconscious process, but it does occur in the mind of the narrator because (s)he makes a decision as to what events are important to the flow of the action and what information the audience needs to know to understand the point of the narrative. The narrator has to decide how many temporal and spatial details are needed to achieve credibility or make the point of the story understandable, as we have seen in the discussion in Section 5.2.

Not only what the narrator chooses to tell but also what (s)he chooses not to tell or considers not worth mentioning are hints for decoding the narrative. On the one hand, we find narratives that may seem to contain too much superfluous information (but in fact, as we have seen, they are helping to establish important aspects of the narrative), while on the other hand there are narratives that may seem to be confusing because of the lack of necessary information in the orientation. This occurs most often in the traditional stories that are not expected to achieve credibility and that have a different function. Temporal and spatial details, or details about personages, are not necessary here for understanding the point of the narrative; therefore the Wakhi traditional stories usually have either a very short orientation or do not have any at all. As is aptly stated by the narrator at the end of one of the traditional stories [DR:18-19] '*This type of story is told in many places. The purpose is also the same; whatever position a person may have, he must be shown respect*'. [free translation]. The reluctance to give details about participants may seem disturbing or confusing for a listener who does not share the same cultural background as the narrator. A typical feature of Wakhi traditional stories is that supernatural beings are explicitly mentioned as little as possible, and often are not mentioned at all. They might be referred to by a noun phrase, e.g. *i šaxs* ('a

stranger with supernatural power’) or *praŷiš* (‘fairies’) or *vaŷd* (‘female supernatural being with long breasts’), but without any details or description. In a less explicit way they are referred to only by a pronoun or subject agreement on the verb. This is a means of presentation that only a Wakhi person is able to decode. In the story ‘The summer settlement of Old woman’ (*Example 53*) the fairies (implied but never mentioned in the story) are first introduced as ‘a voice’ in clause 5a, and in the clause 7d referred to only in the form of a subject clitic attached to the object of the clause. This is sufficient information for a Wakhi listener to understand who the narrator is referring to. We may assume that the reason for this minimal coding is the context that is known to the listener, therefore any extra mention would sound superfluous. However, there is also another reason that coincides with the first one. As in many other cultures, among the Wakhis there exists a concept of **taboo**; mentioning certain creatures is not allowed in certain circumstances lest they appear and do some harm. Thus, for example, at the summer pasture, a very high and remote place in the mountains where a shepherd’s family spends long months in isolation tending and shepherding the village’s livestock, the mention of certain animals such as wolf or mouse is not allowed. If the mention cannot be avoided they are called different names, such as *bu-ŷiŷək* [‘two-ears-diminutive’ for a wolf] or *xondorək* [‘house-tend-diminutive’ for a mouse]. Explicit mention of some supernatural beings in Wakhi stories may also be considered taboo, and Wakhi narrators usually avoid mentioning them.

Example 53. From ‘The summer settlement of Old woman’ (not in the present data corpus)

3 i kəmpir də ɣy nɣys-ən dra tuətʰk ɣb tuŷ
 one old woman with own grandson-ABL there₃ be.PF seven goat
 ‘There (on the summer pasture) was one old woman with her grandson and
 with seven goats.’

4a də ɣb tuŷ-ən də ɣb rwoɾ al-d
 with seven goat-ABL in seven day stay-3SG

4b goŷ-t ɣb ʝoga ruŷn
 make-3SG seven big bowl oil
 ‘With seven goats, she stays for seven days, she makes seven bowls of
 butter.’

5a yan yar-ək sdo wizi-t ki
 then she.OBL-DAT voice come-3SG that

5b tu niv ɟaw bas a əm tum tar-ər
 you now go enough EMP DEM1 extent you.OBL-DAT

‘Then **a voice** comes to her (saying) that: “Now go, it’s enough for you”.’

6a yaw woz ғыш̣nagī car-t
she again greed do-3SG

6b woz goḥ-t dra ruḥn
again make-3SG there3 butter

‘(But) she becomes greedy again (and) she makes more butter there.’

7a yan ḫat rəṣ-t ya ḫы tuḣ-vi wызmak
then self go-3SG DEM3 own goat-PL.OBL bring.INF

7b wizi-t ki
come-3SG that

7c qḡyt-i dra kṭətk
cheese-ACC there3 put.PF

7d ya ныс=əv dyətk d-a dig d-a qḡyt dəst
DEM3 grandson=3PL hit.PF in-DEM3 pot in-DEM3 cheese inside

‘Then she herself goes to bring her goats, she comes (and sees) that they [the fairies] have put her grandson into the hot cheese [type of diary product].’

7.3. The assignment of praise and blame

The assignment of praise and blame is a very interesting concept that relates to the ‘social’ or ‘anthropological’ side of discourse analysis. When telling a story, the narrators (and the audience as well) take moral stances; they evaluate the situation, as we have already seen in Chapter 6, however, there is more to it than that. As we have seen in Section 7.2., the narrator makes choices about what actions and descriptions are relevant and important to mention to lead to the point of the story, the most reportable event. It is therefore natural that the narratives are polarized to present and describe a participant as a negative character or as a positive hero. In the ‘Story about the kidnapped girl’ [SK] this polarization is noticeable. In this story the bandits attacking the Wakhi villages are presented as abductors and opium smokers. On the other hand, there is a local Wakhi hero, presented as a strong and bold man who is concerned about the honour of his village. It is interesting that the abducted girl herself is not the reason for taking action, it is rather the fact that the village was dishonoured by this abduction. Therefore no details are given about the abducted girl.

In many traditional stories with a moral we can observe polarization ‘where the antagonist is viewed as maximally violating social norms, and the protagonist maximally conforming to them’ (Labov 1997:409). In the story ‘Disrespect’ [DR], the contrast is between the poor old woman who receives the visitor (*i šaxs* – a stranger with supernatural power) with respect and the other

village people who, we may assume, are wealthier yet do not show any hospitality. The negative characters (antagonists) are punished and the old woman (protagonist) is rewarded.

We may observe a certain set of topics, especially in traditional stories, that establish the system of values and beliefs, for example that a good deed is rewarded and a bad deed is punished. Although this rule is valid in (presumably) all cultures, the specific sets of deeds that are considered good deeds and bad deeds differ from culture to culture. From the Wakhi narratives, we may get a picture of the cultural values, for example, that the reputation or honour of the village is a more valid reason for saving the abducted girl than the girl herself. That may lead to the inference that the collective cause is more important than the individual cause. Hospitality and generosity are highly valued, while greed and selfishness are severely punished.

This topic is too large to be examined fully in the scope of this chapter and this book. Further research would be necessary to elaborate a list of rewarded and punished actions, a list of positively or negatively evaluated actions or protagonists. Furthermore, social types emerge along with the characteristics attributed to them.

8. Conclusion

The goal of this study was to identify the fundamental features of narrative structure typical of Wakhi oral narratives. The analysis was made on three levels; the clause level, the story/narrative level, and the context level.

On the clause level, the characteristics of the narrative and free clauses were identified. Based on the material at my disposal, 46 narratives, it is possible to conclude that the Wakhi language, as spoken in the Tajik Wakhan, makes a clear distinction between eyewitness narratives and non-eyewitness narratives, thus marking indirectivity on the discourse level as well. This distinction is consistently observed in all narratives in this corpus. The narrative heads of all eyewitness accounts or the reported eyewitness accounts are exclusively in past tense, while the narrative heads of the non-eyewitness accounts (historical accounts, ancestors' histories, legends, traditional stories and anecdotes) are in non-past tense or occasionally switch into perfect. It was also observed that restricted and free clauses, i.e. non-narrative clauses outside the temporal sequence, do not observe the distinction as strictly, and the use of verb tenses and aspects is more variable. Having defined the two sets of narratives and the use of verb forms in them we can re-address and complement the overview of Wakhi tense-aspect verb system by taking into account the findings of this analysis.

As mentioned earlier, the non-past tense refers to present and future events, and to general truth and regularly repeated events. In narratives, this claim holds for free and restricted (non-narrative) clauses that represent evaluative and explanatory comments that are made by the narrator outside the frame of the story and are valid in/until the present. It also holds true for direct speech. Within the frame of the narrative, the use of non-past also extends to the narrative heads (and sometimes also orientation clauses) of past events that were not witnessed by the narrator (such as for ancestors' histories and historical accounts not witnessed by the narrator) and to narrative heads in all fictional genres. We may conclude that in addition to the functions described earlier, the non-past tense also serves as a default narrative tense for all non-eyewitness stories. The claim that the non-past can express the historical present does not seem to be supported, because only in one set of stories (non-eyewitness) is it used consistently throughout an entire narrative. In another set of stories (eyewitness), it is not used.

The (simple) past tense refers to past events. However, in the Wakhi narratives its use is restricted to past events witnessed by the narrator, and does not

extend to past events that are outside the narrator's direct experience. Past tense thus serves as a default narrative tense in the eyewitness narratives. In most of narratives collected in Tajik Wakhan, it does not occur in the non-eyewitness stories, neither in the narrative head, nor in the orientation (background of the story). The rare occurrences of past tense in the storyline of the non-eyewitness narratives can be explained by language contact, especially with the written texts from Tajik/Dari or Russian languages.

The perfect expresses resultativity-stativity, not a tense (Bashir 2009:837). In narratives, this correlates with the most typical use of perfect in the orientation of non-eyewitness stories, setting the background of the story. In this function, it may also be used in the orientation of eyewitness stories, although more rarely. As an indirective form, it may alternate with the non-past in its function as the narrative tense in non-eyewitness stories. It is also used to express anteriority to another event in past or present (resultative function). In a non-narrative context or in direct speech, the perfect can be used as both an indirective form to convey inferentiality and mirativity, and a present or past perfect form.

The pluperfect is used rarely in Wakhi. In narratives, it never occurs in narrative clauses, be they eyewitness or non-eyewitness stories. It is used almost exclusively to express the distant past and anteriority, although this function is often covered by the perfect.

On the narrative or story level I looked at the characteristics of the six sections of a typical narrative, as proposed by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and later revised by Labov (1972). At a minimum, a Wakhi narrative contains complicating action and a resolution. Some narratives are only composed of narrative clauses. Typically, the traditional stories and anecdotes have a short orientation section or none at all, while the eyewitness accounts (except for the eyewitness accounts prepared in advance before being told and intended for publication), historical accounts, ancestors' histories and legends usually have a longer orientation section. The use of a coda by the narrators varies. The transitions between the orientation and the complicating action and between the resolution and the coda are marked by a change of verb tense-aspect form. In non-eyewitness narratives, the transition from the orientation typically represented by the perfect to the complicating action is indicated by the change of verb form to the non-past tense. In the eyewitness stories this transition is usually signalled by the change from past tense imperfective in orientation to the past tense in the complicating action. There may also be no change if the verb in the orientation is in the past tense. Usually this transition is signalled by some other device, e.g. the development marker *yan* ('then').

The dynamics of the complicating action are variable. Some narratives consist of a string of narrative clauses, while others have a slower pace with many evaluative comments and repetitions that resume the action after evaluation. Usually a development marker *yan* ('then') introduces a new development in

the action, sometimes accompanied by other devices. Evaluation may be distributed throughout the whole narrative, but is usually concentrated towards its end. It is present in various forms, from the most explicit forms, where the narrator steps outside the story and comments on the events, to implicit ones, which are incorporated into the narrative structure.

Concerning the level that reaches beyond the story and connects the narrator with his/her audience I have explored further aspects of narrative. Credibility seems to be an important factor for Wakhi narratives. Apart from choosing a particular narrative tense, many narratives contain comments made by the narrator about the existence or non-existence of the sources, and present the narrator's stance towards the credibility of the events (s)he is telling.

This analysis is only a first attempt to describe the properties of Wakhi narratives and it is obvious that many questions still remain unanswered. More data and further research will be needed, especially in the area of evaluation and identifying evaluative devices. The further aspects of narrative given by Labov (1997), i.e. reportability, credibility, causality, objectivity and the assignment of praise and blame, will need more research based on more data.

A. Text Corpus

A.1 Text 1: AD

Anecdote

AD:1

Ха а йэм ранг нақл ривоятищэт ачон.
 ха а уэм rang naql riwoyat-iš=ət ajon
 well EMP DEM1 manner story tale-PL=and dear.adr

Well, there are such stories and tales, my dear.

AD:2

А солои чиз цə ту, ян а йэм Киҳн заищ ян
 a sol-o-i čiz sə tu yan a yəm Kixn za-iš yan
 EMP year-PL-EZ what REL be.PST then EMP DEM1 Kikhn guy-PL then

аџи қобил за яџищо.
 aži qobil za yawiš-o
 such capable guy they-CONF

In those years then these guys from Kikhn [Langar], they were such capable guys.

AD:3

Ян рəчəн а тəм Помирəт ян ки рəчəн, йэм спо
 yan rəč-ən a t-əm pomir=ət yan ki rəč-ən yəm spo
 then go-3PL EMP to-DEM1 Pamir=and then that go-3PL DEM1 our

аџратищ а ра шад, охир дəм џыџвəн,
 awrat-iš a r-a šad oxir də-əm ȳıw-v-ən
 woman-PL EMP to-DEM3 cattle pen after all in-DEM1 cow-PL.OBL-ABL

џицəнəшəт ян яв флаг руџни џыџыйд.
 ȳic-ən=əš=ət yan yav flag ruȳn-i ȳıwıy-d
 milk-3PL=IPFV=and then their churn butter-ACC steal-3SG

Then they go to Pomir [name of the summer pasture] and as they go, these our women (are) in the cattle pen, that is, they (are) with the cows, they are milking them and then (someone) steals their churn.

A. Text Corpus

AD:4

Ха эчкуй тэм ктич наст.
ха эц куу t-эм ktič nast
well nobody in-DEM1 shepherd's hut is not"

Well, there is nobody in the shepherd's hut.

AD:5

Флаг руғни ыывыйд, юнд хэщруй чай мыцт Һә, ян
flag ruǧn-i дывыу-d yund хәšruy јай мыš-t Һә уан
churn butter-ACC steal-3SG take.3SG nice place hide-3SG and then

цбас а канән дидиғд ки, йәмищ а дрәт
cbas a can-ән didiǧ-d ki уәм-iš а drät
back EMP from there3-ABL see-3SG that DEM1-PL EMP there2

чиз ки цәй алалот, ян Һизит.
čiz ki cәy alalot уан wizi-t
something commotion then come-3SG

He steals the churn with butter, brings it to a nice place, hides it and after that he looks from the behind (and sees) that there is some commotion, then he comes.

AD:6

"Ә Һыйәт нанви саищ чиз алалот?"
е Һыу=әт nan-vi saiš čiz alalot
adr sister=and mother-PL.OBL you.PL what commotion

"Hey sisters and mothers, what is going on?"

AD:7

Һәнән: "а врыт, спо чиз нашти, ачон.
Һән-ән а vгыт spo čiz našt-i ајон
say-3PL EMP brother.adr our what get lost.PST-i dear.adr

They say: "Brother, our thing got lost, my dear."

AD:8

И чиз руғн споцән ту, дә қча споцән руғн ту."
i čiz ruǧn спос-ән tu дә qča спос-ән ruǧn tu
one thing butter ours-ABL be.PST in dish ours-ABL butter be.PST

We had our butter, in the dish we had our butter."

AD:9

Хай флагэвэш хати, а да флаг руҕн ту,
хай flag=эв=эҕ хат-и а дә-а flag ruҕn tu
well churn=3PL=IPFV say.PST-i EMP in-DEM3 churn butter be.PST

ачон, яв ншәтк.
aҗon yaw nšәtk
dear.adr he disappear.PF

Well, they were saying 'churn', in that churn there was butter, my dear, it had disappeared.

AD:10

"Э" ханд, "а хыйәт нанви, а дрәм а эм
е хан-d а хыу=әт nan-vi а drәм а эм
adr say-3SG EMP sister=and mother-PL.OBL EMP here1 EMP DEM1

ранг чиз вост.
rang čiz wos-t
manner thing become-3SG

He says: "Sisters and mothers, here such things happen.

AD:11

Дрәм ар сол иҕун а эм ранг вост.
drәм ar sol iҕun а эм rang wos-t
here1 every year sometimes EMP DEM1 manner become-3SG

Every year such things happen here occasionally.

AD:12

Зарби вуләт пилта, зарби
zarb-i vulәt pilta zarb-i
intensity-EZ traditional way of enchanting intensity-EZ

вуләт пилтаәт яв бәр қой вост".
vulәt pilta=әт yaw bәр joy wos-t
traditional way of enchanting=and he to place become-3SG

Perform the traditional enchanting intensively and it will be found."

AD:13

Нив хат яви вахт зывийәтк ютк.
niv хат yaw-i waxt дывуйәтк yutk
now self it-ACC early steal.PF take.PF

Now, he himself had earlier stolen and taken it [the butter] away.

A. Text Corpus

A.2 Text 2: AN

Anvil

AN:1

Ме нив ъуз тар нақләм.
me niv wuz tar naql=əm
behold now I to you story=1SG

Now, I tell you a story.

AN:2

Ўуз а дэт корга барәм врэфсәткәт ивки и
wuz a də-ət korga bar=əm wrəfsətək=ət iwki i
I EMP in-DEM2 blacksmithery door=1SG stand.PF=and suddenly one

жай а тәм луп заҳ жи а тәм Бодыр хун
day a t-əm lup zaḥ ḍi a t-əm Bodur xun
man EMP to-DEM1 big thorn side EMP to-DEM1 Bahodur house

сар жиғн вәзд, вәзди, выр та дам.
sar ḍiḡn wəzd wəzd-i vyr t-a dam
beginning side come.PST come.PST-i load in-DEM3 back

I was standing at the blacksmithery door and suddenly a man came from the side of the big thorn bush along the house of Bodur, he came with a load on his back.

AN:3

Вәзди, вәзди фати дэ жы прыт ки, яв рус.
wəzd-i wəzd-i fət-i də žy prytki yaw rus
come.PST-i come.PST-i arrive.PST-i in my front that he Russian

As he came [lit. he came, he came], he arrived in front of me, (I saw that) he was a Russian.

AN:4

"Издрасте", "издароѡа".
izdraste (ru) izdarowa (ru)
Hello Hello

"Hello", "Hello" [they exchanged greetings in Russian]

AN:5

Ало, хай, дастәм дан дэйтиәт хати ки, "э
alo xay dast=əm dan dəyt-i=ət xat-i ki e
brother.adr well hand=1SG with him hit.PST-i=and say.PST-i that adr

друг".
drug (ru)
friend

My brother, well, I shook his hand and he said: "Hey friend".

AN:6

Я выри бонди а дра, и бцэй бробар угл.
ya vyi-i bond-i a dra i bčej brobar ugl (ru)
DEM3 load-ACC throw.PST-i EMP there3 one bag half coal

He threw down that load there, a bag half full of coal.

AN:7

"Э друг, а дрэмэш ханэн и кузниц, а кузници
e drug (ru) a drəm=əš xan-ən i kuznic (ru) a kuznic (ru)-i
adr friend EMP here1=IPFV say-3PL one smith EMP smith-ACC

дища, марэк дисыв.
diš-a mar-ək disyv
know-Q me-DAT show

He says: "Friend, they say there is a smith here, do you know the smith? (please) show me.

AN:8

Жынэн жы пидал шкэнг, а жы пидали мар
žyn-ən žy pidal (ru) škəng a žy pidal (ru)-i mar
mine-ABL my pedal break.PF EMP my pedal-ACC to me.OBL

гохт.
gox-t
make-3SG

My pedal has broken, I (need him to) fix my pedal.

AN:9

ЗИЛ мощинэн."
ZIL mošin-ən
ZIL car-ABL

It's on the car (mark) ZIL".

A. Text Corpus

AN:10

Хайгэм: "хай вьуз хат я вьистод".
xat=əm xay wuz xat ya wɨstod
say.PST=1SG well I self DEM3 master

I said: "Well, I myself am that master."

AN:11

"Э, я ранг га баф, я ранг га баф".
e ya rang ɣa baf ya rang ɣa baf
adr DEM3 manner very good DEM3 manner very good

(He says) "This is very good, this is very good."

AN:12

Ало, ян дэждэм, чэрнэм, тэ хун нагэм бэ
alo yan dəʒd=əm čərn=əm tə xun naɣ=əm bə
brother.adr then get.PST=1SG enter.PST=1SG in house side=1SG too

нэвэзд.
nə-wəzd
NEG-come.PST

My brother, then I took (the pedal), entered (the blacksmithery), I didn't even come to the house.

AN:13

Чэрнэм, корга барэм эт кэрти, чэрнэм
čərn=əm korga bar=əm ət kərt-i čərn=əm
enter.PST=1SG blacksmithery door=1SG open do.PST-i enter.PST=1SG

да корга, яв дэ мажэн.
də-a korga yaw də maʒ-ən
in-DEM3 blacksmithery he with I.OBL-ABL

I entered, I opened the door of the blacksmithery, I entered the blacksmithery, he (came) with me.

AN:14

А я кона ки кынэtk яви цэй, яви нив вьозомди
a ya kona ki kɨnətɕ yaw-i cəy yaw-i niv wozomd-i
EMP DEM3 old that tear up.PF it-ACC REL it-ACC now bring.PST-i

марэр ныхса.
 мар-эр ныхса
 me-DAT sample

That old (pedal) that he had removed (from the car), he brought it now to me as a sample.

AN:15

Ўузэм ҳати: "если знаю сделаю, если не знаю как сделаю".
 wuz=эм ҳат-i yesli znayu sdelayu (ru) yesli ne znayu kak sdelayu (ru)
 I=1SG say.PST-i if I can I will fix it if I can't how will I fix it

I said: "If I can, I will fix it, if I can't, how will I fix it." (russ)

AN:16

Ало, ян чэрнэм да коргаэт ачон, я
 alo уан чәrn=эм дә-a korga=эт ајон уа
 brother.adr then enter.PST=1SG in-DEM3 blacksmithery=and dear.adr DEM3

конаэм дэжди, трэт дидиҗдәмэт а ранг ищни
 kona=эм дәжд-i tr-эт didiҗd=эм=эт а rang išn-i
 old=1SG take.PST-i to-DEM2 look.PST=1SG=and EMP manner iron-ACC

Ызмәтк, црәнг ки а я ищн цәй а ранг ищн.
 ызмәтк сrәng ki а уа išn сәу а rang išn
 bring.PF how that EMP DEM3 iron REL EMP such iron

My brother, then I entered the blacksmithery and, my dear, I took the old one, I looked there and he had brought a type of iron, the type of iron [the pedal is made of].

AN:17

Ўозомдәм ян кы, а ска форма кәртәм яҗи
 wozomd=эм уан кы а sk-a форма (ru) kәrt=эм уаw-i
 bring.PST=1SG then all EMP to-DEM3 form do.PST=1SG it-ACC

сәрв.
 сәrv
 hole

Then I brought it all, I made a hole in it according to the form [sample].

AN:18

Кы тәрәм кәртиәт ачон, хай ҳатәм: "ме
 кы тyор=эм кәрт-i=эт ајон хау ҳат=эм ме
 all completed=1SG do.PST-i=and dear.adr well say.PST=1SG behold

A. Text Corpus

витэй".
vit-əy
become.PST-i

I completed everything and, my dear, well, I said: "Look, it's done".

AN:19

Хэти: "хай, ачон, ча нив нывзэн".
xat-i xay ajon ça niv nywz-ən
say.PST-i well dear.adr come.IMP now come out-1PL

He said: "Well, my dear, come, let's go out now".

AN:20

Нйэшгэн, барэм шух кэртэй, хатэм: "нив ча
nyəʃt=ən bar=əm ʃux kərt-əy xat=əm niv ça
come out.PST=1PL door=1SG locked do.PST-i say.PST=1SG now come.IMP

пэ хун".
pə хун
to house

We came out, I locked the door, I said: "Now, let's come to my house!"

AN:21

Тэм вэзди ачон, йэм чой жы кэмпир хэтк ачон,
t-əm wəzd-i ajon yəm čoy žy kəmpir xətк ajon
in-DEM1 come.PST-i dear.adr DEM1 tea my old woman make.PF dear.adr

йэм пайи яр вэзомди, йэм мэска ало, дрэм
yəm pay-i yar wozomd-i yəm məska alo drəm
DEM1 sour milk-ACC to him bring.PST-i DEM1 butter brother.adr here1

яв гызаронэн кэртиэт хэти: "хай нив ичиз, вүз тар
yaw gызaron=ən kərt-i=ət xat-i xay niv ičiz wuz tar
he entertained=1PL do.PST-i=and say.PST-i well now nothing I to you

эчизи нэрандэм.
əčiz-i nə-rand-əm
nothing-ACC NEG-give-1SG

He came in, my dear, my wife had prepared the tea, my dear, she brought the sour milk and the butter for him, my brother, we entertained him here and he said: "Well, I will not give you anything now.

AN:22

Счас тебе ничего не даю.
 sčas tebe ničevo ne dayu (ru)
 I won't give you anything now.

I won't give you anything now. [in Russian]

AN:23

Поеду с Оша тебе как - нибуд посылаю".
 poyedu s Oša, tebe kak nibud posyлау (ru)
 (Russ) When I will be returning from Osh, I will send you (something) somehow.

When I will be returning from Osh, I will send you (something) somehow." [in Russian]

AN:24

Ало, ян хати ки, "нив ўуз тар эчи нэрандэмэт
 alo уап хат-и ки нив wuz tar эчи нэ-ранд-эм=эт
 brother.adr then say.PST-i that now I to you nothing NEG-give-1SG=and

цэ Ушэн тар ўызмэм."
 сэ Уш-эн тар ыызм-эм
 from Osh-ABL to you bring-1SG

My brother, then he said that "I will not give you anything now, I will bring (it) to you from Osh."

AN:25

Ало янэм рэўд.
 alo уап=эм рэўд
 brother.adr then=1SG go.PST

My brother, then I went.

AN:26

Янэм ачон, яў рэўдиэт афта витиэт иўки и
 уап=эм ајон уау рэўд-и=эт афта vit-и=эт iwki i
 then=1SG dear.adr he go.PST-i=and week become.PST-i=and suddenly one

халг ўэзди бэр сари маж.
 халг wəzd-i bər sari маж
 man come.PST-i for I.OBL

Then, my dear, he went and one week passed and suddenly a man came for me.

A. Text Corpus

AN:27

"Таӳ и шофирәш ани қыӳ царг".
taw i šofir=əš ani qyʷ car-t
you.OBL one driver=IPFV so call do-3SG

"A driver is calling you".

AN:28

Ало ӱзәм бә цәмән бәт пумаӳни, рәӳдәм.
alo wuz=əm bə c-əm-ən bət pumaʷn-i rəʷd=əm
brother.adr I=1SG else, from-DEM1-ABL clothes put on.PST-i go.PST=1SG

My brother, I put on my clothes and went from there [from my house].

AN:29

Рәӳдәм дра ки Валантин.
rəʷd=əm dra ki Valantin
go.PST=1SG there3 that Valentin

I went there (and saw) that it (was) Valentin.

AN:30

Кынчора ыр кәрк.
kynʷora ʷyʷ kərʷk
fodder load do.PF

He had made a load of fodder.

AN:31

"Я тебе сәндон привез, на кузнец, сто
ya tebe (ru) səndon privyoz (ru) na (ru) kuznec (ru) sto (ru)
To you I anvil brought (russ) here you are smith one hundred

килограм."
kilogram
kilogram

"I have brought an anvil for you. Here it is, smith, one hundred kilos." [in Russian]

AN:32

Нив тру зубилник ӱддор ки яӳ скорд ишн, наста, а
niv tru zubilnik wad-dor ki yaw skord iʷn nast-a a
now three chisel handle-having that it bridge iron is not-Q EMP

йәтвәм а дәт Йәмчынәк, а дәт чай
yət-v=əm a də-ət Yəmčyn-ək a də-ət ʷay
DEM2-PL.OBL=1SG EMP in-DEM2 Yamchun-DIM EMP in-DEM2 place

кы рəстовдэй, сыр а ранго.
 кы rəstovd-əy сыр а rang-o
 all cut.PST-i cold EMP manner-CONF

Now, (he brought) three chisels with handles, that (were made) from the iron for the bridge, isn't it? I cut all those chisels there in Yamchun, (although) they were cold.

AN:33

Рəстовдэм, Ш сə штыр дэйтиэт ы́зомди.
 rəstovd=əm Š sə štyr dəyt-i=ət wozomd-i
 cut.PST=1SG Sh... on camel hit.PST-i=and bring.PST-i

I cut (them), Sh.. put (them) on the camel and brought (them here) [Vitchkut].

AN:34

Ало, бу малаток ачон, йəмви марək рəтиэт
 alo bu malatok ajon yəm-vi mar-ək rat-i=ət
 brother.adr two hammer dear.adr DET1-PL.OBL me-DAT give.PST-i=and

тру пичка доры́в жы мэлтиқэр, ало панц нəбəсн жы
 tru pička dorыw žy məltiq-ər alo pañz nəbəsñ žy
 three box gunpowder my rifle-DAT brother.adr five comb my

кəмпирэр.
 kəmpir-ər
 old woman-DAT

My brother, he gave me two hammers, my dear, and three boxes of gunpowder for my rifle, my brother, five combs for my wife.

AN:35

Ы́здэм тə хун.
 wəzd=əm tə xun
 come.PST=1SG to house

I came home.

AN:36

А саарək ачон, хурэм бу бчəй ы́ши дэйти панцла.
 a saarək ajon xur=əm bu bčəy ыш-i dəyt-i pañzla
 EMP tomorrow dear.adr donkey=1SG two bag grass-ACC hit.PST-i load

The next day, my dear, I put the load of two bags of grass on the donkey.

A. Text Corpus

AN:37

Янэм рэҕд, я сэндонэм ди да млунгэт ачон,
yan=əm rəḡd ya səndon=əm di də-a mlung=ət ajon
then=1SG go.PST DEM3 anvil=1SG hit.PST in-DEM3 middle=and dear.adr

вырэм яҕ кэртиэт ачон, ҕозомдэм ҕатовдэм.
vyr=əm yaw kərt-i=ət ajon wozomd=əm ḡatovd=əm
load=1SG it do.PST-i=and dear.adr bring.PST=1SG deliver.PST=1SG

Then I went, I put the anvil in the middle [between the two bags], my dear, I made a load of it, my dear, I delivered it (to this place).

AN:38

Ме нив сэндон тэй.
me niv səndon təy
behold now anvil is

Look, now I have the anvil.

AN:39

Нэдищэм яҕ соли 56 туа.
nə-diš-əm yaw sol-i 56 tu-a
NEG-know-1SG it year-EZ 56 be.PST-Q

I don't know what year it was, perhaps 56.

A.3 Text 3: BO

Boboantar

BO:1

Яҕ ян аҕи туэтк.
yaw yan aḡi tuətk
it then like this be.PF

It was then this way.

BO:2

Ян ки рэшт айлоқ, яҕ прэйног, нэйа?
yan ki rəš-t ayloq yaw prəynog nəy-a
then that go-3SG summer pasture he man in contact with fairies no-Q

Then as he goes to the summer pasture, he was a man who was in contact with

fairies, wasn't he?

BO:3

Прэіног туэтк, яр җанән ки, "дә җатән и
 рэупог tuətʰk yar җан-ән ki də җат-ән i
 man in contact with fairies be.PF to him say-3PL that with self-ABL one

шыў плэк мәди, и чизо, щачи дә җатән
 ʃyʷ plək mə-di i ʧiz-o ʃaʧ-i də җат-ән
 black foot rag PROH-hit one what-CONF dog-ACC with self-ABL

мәвызым."

мә-вызым
 PROH-bring

He was a man who was in contact with fairies, they [the fairies] tell him: "don't put on black foot rag and don't bring a dog with you".

BO:4

Яў ян шыў плэк нэйәт ян и рвор ян скән яў царг
 yaw yan ʃyʷ plək nəy=ət yan i rwor yan skən yaw car-t
 he then black foot rag(s) no=and then one day then puppy he do-3SG

пәсцбас.
 pəscbas
 from behind

He then doesn't (put on) the black foot rags, then one day a puppy follows him from behind.

BO:5

Пәсцбас яў царг җә, ян рәшт.
 pəscbas yaw car-t җә yan rəʃ-t
 from behind he do-3SG and then go-3SG

(The puppy) follows him from behind, then he goes.

BO:6

Ян рәшт ки, яўищ дә айни җицн.
 yan rəʃ-t ki yawiʃ də ayni ʒicn
 then go-3SG that they in time milk.VNoun

Then he goes (and sees) that they [the fairies] are in the time of milking [the mountain goats].

A. Text Corpus

BO:7

Айни йицн хэ, яв бэ йэм ранг ска чиз царт,
ayni ðiɕn xə yaw бэ уэм rang sk-a čiz caɾ-t
time milk.VNoun and he more DEM1 manner to-DEM3 what do-3SG

пжэл тэжяэт скэн бэ рэвэзд.
pžəl təkya=ət skən бэ rəwəz-d
low wall leaning=and puppy more jump-3SG

(It was) the time of milking, then he leans against a low wall, like this, and the puppy then jumps.

BO:8

Йэм жаржэт вхэн кы вост алалац.
yəm žarž=ət wχən кы wos-t alalaš
DEM1 milk=and blood all become-3SG mixed

The milk and the blood get all mixed.

BO:9

Йэм чондориц рэдэн.
yəm čondor-iš rəd-ən
DEM1 mountain goat-PL run away-3PL

These mountain goats run away.

BO:10

Ачонэт ян яви вьдрэн.
ačon=ət yan yaw-i wydr-ən
dear.adr=and then he-ACC catch-3PL

My dear, then they [the fairies] get hold of him.

BO:11

Вьдрэн хэ юндэн, я сари рэствэн хэ, сэк и палыв
wydr-ən xə yund-ən ya sar-i rəstv-ən xə sək i palɣw
catch-3PL and take-3PL DEM3 head-ACC cut-3PL and on one side

жарж катэн, сэк и палыв яв вхэн.
žarž kaɾ-ən, sək i palɣw yaw wχən
milk put-3PL on one side his blood

They get hold of him and take (him), they cut his head off and on one side they put milk, on the other side (they put) his blood.

BO:12

Я сари рэствэн.
 ya sar-i rəstv-ən
 DEM3 head-ACC cut-3PL

They cut his head off.

BO:13

Ян цум рузэр ян рэчэн ки, "сак яв майити ЫЗМЭН,
 yan cum ruz-ər yan rəč-ən ki sak yaw mayit-i ыызм-эн
 then some day-DAT then go-3PL that we his corpse-ACC bring-1PL

шкургэн".
 škurg-ən
 look for-1PL

After several days then (the people) go (and say): "we will bring his corpse, we will look for him".

BO:14

Рэчэн ки, ЫХТЭВ яви щитк.
 rəč-ən ki wəxt=əv yaw-i šitk
 go-3PL that time=3PL he-ACC kill.PF

They go (and see) that they [the fairies] have already killed him earlier.

BO:15

Ян я майитэр ки рэчэн, ян бэт йэм ранг катэн
 yan ya mayit-ər ki rəč-ən yan bət yəm rang kač-ən
 then DEM3 corpse-DAT that go-3PL then more DEM1 manner put-3PL

ска щтэк, аци буй яв нэкэцрэн, ЫОСТ зэмдма.
 sk-a štək azi buy yaw nə-kəcr-ən wos-t zəm-dma
 on-DEM3 bier like this two it NEG-can-3PL become-3SG snowstorm

Then as they go for his corpse to put him on the bier, two (people) are not able to do it, suddenly a snowstorm starts.

BO:16

Йэм зэмдма ЫОСТЭТ йэм аво нэвост.
 yəm zəm-dma wos-t=ət yəm awo nə-wos-t
 DEM1 snowstorm become-3SG=and DEM1 weather NEG-become-3SG

This snowstorm starts and this weather is not (favourable).

A. Text Corpus

BO:17

Цум цэ гохэн, нэвост, ян яв лэцрэн.
cum cə gox-ən nə-wos-t yan yaw læc-ən
how many REL make-3PL NEG-become-3SG then he leave-3PL

Whatever they do, they cannot (take the corpse), then they leave him (there).

BO:18

Ўэйэн рэ хун, я саарй гизэн ки, и
wəzy-ən rə xun ya saarī giz-ən ki i
come-3PL into house DEM3 in the morning get up-3PL that one

чондорэв да бар вэндэtk.
jondor=əv də-a bar vəndətk
mountain goat=3PL in-DEM3 door tie.PF

(The people) return back home, in the morning they get up (and they see) that [the fairies] have tied a mountain goat to the door.

BO:19

Яв чрогэр, яв ткбир.
yaw čroγ-ər yaw tkbir
his memorial-DAT his memorial

For his memorial, for his memorial ceremony.

BO:20

Ачон яви чэхэн.
aʃon yaw-i čəx-ən
dear.adr it-ACC slaughter-3PL

My dear, they slaughter it [the mountain goat].

BO:21

Ме тум.
me tum
behold such

That's it.

BO:22

Бобоантар нив я стхон та.
Boboantar niv ya stxon ta
Boboantar now DEM3 bone there3

Now Boboantar's bones are there.

A.4 Text 4: DR

Disrespect**DR:1**

Нақл царэн ки, а дэм Штхарв а да чай ки,
 naql car-en ki a dë-əm Štxarv a dë-a jay ki
 telling do-3PL that EMP in-DEM1 Shitkharv EMP in-DEM3 place that

мис шлах жанэт нив луп чонгал цэй, дэ қдим вахт
 mis šlax dan=ət niv lup jəngal səy dë qdim waxt
 before naked wasteland=and now big forest REL in ancient time

сисадэ шастэ шащ бна туэтк.
 sisadë šastë šaš bna tuətċ
 three hundred and sixty and six household be.PF

They say that in Shitkharv, in that place that (was) formerly a wasteland and where now a big forest (is), in the past there were three hundred and sixty six households.

DR:2

И рвор и шахс пайдо востэт а тум дэм
 i rwor i šaxs pəydo wos-t=ət a tum dë-əm
 one day one person apparent become-3SG=and EMP much in-DEM1

халгви бар ца рэшт, ичкуй яви тэ хы хун
 xalg-vi bar sə rəšt- ičċuy yaw-i tə xı xun
 man-PL.OBL door REL go.3SG nobody he-ACC in own house

нэлэцэрт.
 nə-ləcər-t
 NEG-let-3SG

One day a person [‘šaxs’ - a stranger with supernatural power] appears and as much as he goes to the people’s doors nobody lets him into their house.

DR:3

Қриби ирвищнй дэ и куға бар ки дэ бландй дэ и шах
 qribi irvišnī dë i kuğa bar ki dë blandī dë i šax
 around sunset in one cottage door that in height in one mountain

сар ца туэтк, фатэт и кэмпирзани виндэт слом
 sar sə tuətċ ŷat=ət i kəmpir-zan-i vin-d=ət slom
 top REL be.PF arrive=and one old woman-ACC see-3SG=and greeting

A. Text Corpus

цартэт ханд;
car-t=ət xan-d
do-3SG=and say-3SG

Around sunset he arrives at a cottage that was high on the top of a mountain and he sees a woman and greets her and says:

DR:4

"Э нанчон, а тумэм цэ ғирдэм, ичкуй мажи
e nan-ʃon a tum=əm cə ǵird=əm ičkuɣ maʒ-i
adr mother-soul EMP much=1SG REL walk.PST=1SG nobody I.OBL-ACC

тә ҕы хун нәләкәрти.
tə ǵy xun nə-ləkərt-i
in own house NEG-let.PST-i

"Dear mother [form of address with respect], as much as I walked, nobody let me into his house.

DR:5

Тинән чай тәйо, мажи ләцәр ки, җудг наҗди шәхсвәм".
tin-ən ʃaj təy-o maʒ-i ləcər ki wudg naʒd-i šəxsv-əm
yours-ABL place is-Q I.OBL-ACC let that today night-ACC pass-1SG

Do you have place? Allow me (to stay) that I pass this night (here)."

DR:6

Я кәмпирзан ханд: "Э пәтрчон җәзи, дәм хун фақат
ya kəmpirzan xan-d e pətr-ʃon wəzi dəm xun faqat
DEM3 old woman say-3SG adr son-soul come in-DEM1 house only

Җузәт жы нпыс, ту жынән чиз кам цари.
wuz=ət ʒy npyɣ tu ʒyn-ən čiz kam car-i
I=and my grandson you.SG mine-ABL thing little do-2SG

The old woman says: "Dear son, come, in this house only I and my grandchild (live), you will not make me lack anything.

DR:7

Нив ҕы туғи җицәмәт я җарҗи пацәмәт ян
niv ǵy tuǵ-i ʒic-əm=ət ya ʒarʒ-i pac-əm=ət yan
now own goat-ACC milk-1SG=and DEM3 milk-ACC cook-1SG=and then

яѳи пувэнэт ти пипри каѳэм".
 yaw-i puv-ən=ət ti pipr-i kaḥ-əm
 it -ACC drink-1PL=and your bed-ACC put-1SG

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

DR:8

Йэт цахс га хыщ ѳостэт ѳоз я кэмпирзани
 yət ṣaxs ɣa xysṣ wos-t=ət woz ya kəmpir-zan-i
 DEM2 person very happy become-3SG=and again DEM3 old woman-ACC

пэрс:
 pərs-t
 ask-3SG

That stranger [with supernatural power] becomes very glad and again he asks the old woman:

DR:9

"Э нан, туэт, ѳанэм, чиз молви дэм
 e nan tu=ət ḥan-əm čiz mol-vi də-m
 adr mother you=2SG say-1SG what possession.PL.OBL in-DEM1

диёрэт амонат рэтк?"
 diyot=ət amonat rətḥ
 village=2SG loan give.PF

"Mother, what possessions, I say, have you lent (to the people) in the village?"

DR:10

"Э нанчон, жынэн ичиз наст, я рѳор и ѳинанэрк и
 e nan-čon žyn-ən ičiz nast ya rwor i ḥinan-ərḥ i
 adr mother-soul mine-ABL nothing is not DEM3 day one woman-DAT one

гэлбилэт ѳы амсоярэк ѳы хрыси рэтум".
 ɣəlbil=ət ḥy amsoya-rək ḥy xrys-i rətu=m
 sieve=and own neighbor-DAT own rooster-ACC give.PPF=1SG

"Oh my dear [lit. 'dear mother', addressing the stranger means an address with respect], I don't have anything, that day I had given a sieve to one woman and my rooster to a neighbour."

DR:11

Айни нсынг я цахс ѳанд: "Э нан, бробарнаѳд ян и
 ayni nəsyng ya ṣaxs ḥan-d e nan brobarnaḥd yan i
 time sleep DEM3 person say-3SG adr mother midnight then one

A. Text Corpus

лой тэр бар ныбыз".
loy tər bar nybyz
time in door come out

In the evening, that stranger says: "Mother, at midnight then go out of your house at once."

DR:12

Бробарнайд зминэт змон дэ лэрза ёост, ёазмин шот
brobarнайḍ zmin=ət zmon də lərza wos-t wazmin ṣot
midnight earth=and time in trembling become-3SG heavy downpour

Ўзитэт йэт диёри вёрдэнцд.
wizi-t=ət yət diyori vėrdənz-d
come-3SG=and DEM2 village-ACC knock down-3SG

At midnight the whole world starts to tremble, a heavy downpour comes and knocks down that village.

DR:13

Йэм кэмпирзан ага ёост, тэр бар ныбызд ки,
yem kəmpirzan aga wos-t tər bar nybyz-d ki
DEM1 old woman awake become-3SG in door come out-3SG that

дэнёи шыў ёбор Ёыдрэткат кыли чай тэ юпк дэст, а
dənyoi-ı Ńyū ybor wydrətk=ət kyli jay tə yupk dəst a
world-ACC black dust catch.PF=and all place in water inside EMP

цэт луп диёрэн нэшон нэвэрэхк.
c-ət lup diyor-ən nəşon nə-vəřəĥk
from-DEM2 big village-ABL sign NEG-remain.PF

The old woman wakes up, goes out (and sees) that the black dust [smoke] has covered [lit. has caught] the earth and everything (is) in the water; nothing has remained of this big village.

DR:14

Нив дидиўд ки, ска юпк руй яў гэлбилэт а ра
niv didiŷ-d ki sk-a yupk ruu yaw ġəlbil=ət a r-a
now see-3SG that on-DEM3 water surface her sieve=and EMP in-DEM3

гэлбил дэст яў хрысэш Ёзит.
ġəlbil dəst yaw xrysəş wizi-t
sieve inside her rooster=IPFV come-3SG

Now she sees that on the water surface there is her sieve and in the sieve her rooster is coming.

DR:15

Җы гривони ыдырдэт тә хун чирмит ки, цам
 җы grivon-i ыдыр-d=эт тә хун čirmi-t ki c-am
 own collar-ACC catch-3ST=and to house enter-3SG that from-DEM3

мимонән бә дрәк наст.
 mimon-ән бә dräk nast
 guest-ABL more news is not

She grabs her collar [in horror] and enters the house (and sees) that there is no trace of that guest.

DR:16

То цум дод йәм нақл рост ымыт, йәти Хәдо
 to cum dod yәм naql rost ымы-t yәt-i Хәдо
 to how much extent DEM1 story true be.SBJV-3SG DEM2-ACC God

дишт.
 diš-t
 know-3SG

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

DR:17

Җанән ки, то хили йахто ракиищ хрысән яв бонг
 җан-ән ki to xili yaxt-o raki-iš хрыс-ән yaw bong
 say-3PL that until very time-PL passer by-PL rooster-ABL his groan

дингаки пырзәт сааряв кшәнгәт заищ а
 dingak-i пырз=эт saari=әv kšәng=әt za-iš a
 hit-INF-ACC evening=and morning=3PL hear.PF=and child-PL EMP

дәт җан хун шунгви гытәткәв.
 dә-әt җан хун šung-vi гытәtk=әv
 in-DEM2 wasteland house wood-PL.OBL find.PF=3PL

They say that for long time the passers by used to hear a rooster's crowing in the evening and in the morning and the children used to find wooden remains of the house in that wasteland.

DR:18

А йәм ранги нақлви дә хила җайови царән.
 а уәм rangi naql-vi дә хила җай-о-ви car-ән
 EMP DEM1 manner story-PL.OBL in many place-PL-PL.OBL do-3PL

These types of stories are told in many places.

A. Text Corpus

DR:19

Мәқсад бә ий, халг дә кум поя цә ымыт, яйи урмат
mäqsad bә iw xalg дә kum poya cә ымы-t yaw-i urmat
purpose too one man in what degree REL be.SBJV-3SG he-ACC respect

цәрак дәркор.
cәrak dәrkor
do.INF necessary

The purpose is also one, whatever the position of a person might be, he must be shown respect.

DR:20

Охири биурматй малым ки, црәнг ёост, саищ цәм
oxir-i biurmatī malым ki crәng wos-t saiš c-әm
end-EZ disrespect evident that how become-3SG you.PL from-DEM1

нақлән алба дищтәв.
naql-ән alba dišt=әv
telling-ABL perhaps understand.PST=2PL

What the end [consequence] of disrespect is, it is clear, you might have understood that from the story.

A.5 Text 5: DB

Dog and Bear

DB:1

И жай нақл кәрти ки, тә ку шкор цәрак рәждәм.
i day naql kәrt-i ki tә ku škor cәrak rәžd=әm
one man telling do.PST-i that in mountain hunting do.INF go.PST=1SG

A man told a story that "I went hunting to the mountain.

DB:2

Дә мажән щач ту.
dә maž-ән šaç tu
with I.OBL-ABL dog be.PST

I had a dog with me.

DB:3

Рвор то пырз цә йирдәм, шкор нэвити.
 rgor to rygz sə ýird=əm ŝkor nə-vit-i
 day until evening REL walk.PST=1SG hunting NEG-become.PST-i

I walked from morning till evening but didn't find anything to hunt.

DB:4

Қриби пицин дидиҗдәм ки, цә куән чиз ки цәй
 qribi pišin didiǰd=əm ki sə ku-ən čiz ki cəy
 near afternoon see.PST=1SG that from mountain-ABL something

хамдәш.
 xamd=əŝ
 go down.PST=IPFV

Around afternoon I saw that something was descending from the mountain.

DB:5

Нив баф тайин кәртәм ки, яв нәғәрдум туәтк.
 niv baf tain kərt=əm ki yaw nəǰərdum tuətk
 now good watching do.PST=1SG that it bear be.PF

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

DB:6

И лойәм га вәштәм.
 i loy=əm ǰa wəŝt=əm
 one time=1SG very fear.PST=1SG

First I got very scared.

DB:7

А тум дидиҗдәм ки, йәм жы щач тәр нәғәрдум нагәш
 a tum didiǰd=əm ki yəm ǰy ŝač tər nəǰərdum nag=əŝ
 EMP much see.PST=1SG that DEM1 my dog to bear side=IPFV

рыйдәш.
 ғы-d=əŝ
 bark-3SG=IPFV

I looked more (and saw) that my dog was barking in the direction of a bear.

A. Text Corpus

DB:8

Нэгэрдүм бэ саки вьиндиэт рэни.
nəγərdum bə sak-i wind-i=ət rən-i
bear too we-ACC see.PST-i=and run away.PST-i

The bear saw us, too, and ran away.

A.6 Text 6: FM

From the History of Mirbugha

FM:1

Ме а йэт Вранги басмачиц а скэм зиř
me a yət Vrang-i basmač-iš a sk-əm ziř
behold EMP DEM2 Vrang-ACC Basmach-PL EMP from-DEM1 side

вэзйэнэт а йэм Вранги горатэв кэрко.
wəzy-ən=ət a yəm Vrang-i γorat=əv kərk-o
come-3PL=and EMP DEM1 Vrang-ACC plunder=3PL make.PF-CONF

These Basmachs [rebels against the Red Army] come from this side and they used to plunder Vrang.

FM:2

Ме а скэтэв чаїтэт хьйнанвэв скэт
me a sk-ət=əv čaı=ət x̣yγnan-v=əv sk-ət
behold EMP from-DEM2=3PL cattle=and woman.PL.OBL=3PL from-DEM2

звйэtk юtk, басмачиц.
δyγyət k yut k basmač-iš
steal.PF take.PF Basmach-PL

From there they used to steal and take away the cattle and the women, the Basmachs.

FM:3

А я жы пуп ян а яви ай кэрк.
a ya žy rup yan a yav-i ay kərk
EMP DEM3 my grandfather then EMP them-ACC chase (away) do.PF

Then my grandfather has chased them away.

FM:4

А яви ян а скәт ки ай кәрк, ян
 а уав-і уан а sk-әт ki ay kәrk уан
 EMP them-ACC then EMP from-DEM2 that chase (away) do.PF then

йәм Җындытән яв мир җнәтк ки, "яви куй
 уәт Җындыт-ән уав mir җнәтк ki уав-і куй
 DEM1 Khandut-ABL his ruler say.PF that they.OBL-ACC who

ай кәрк?".
 ау кәрк
 chase (away) do.PF

Because he has chased them away, the ruler of Khandut has said: "Who has chased them away?"

FM:5

Ян ки җнәткәв флонй, ян жы пупи қыҗ царг
 уан ki җнәтк=әв флонй уан җы pup-і қыҗ car-t
 then that say.PF=3PL so-and-so then my grandfather-ACC call do-3SG

а я мир тра.
 а уа mir tr-a
 EMP DEM3 ruler to-DEM3

When they have said that (it was) so and so [Mirbugha], then he, the ruler, calls my grandfather there.

FM:6

Ян а цәм Срадән о цә Покистон палыҗән
 уан а с-әт Srad-ән о сә Pokiston палыҗ-ән
 then EMP from-DEM1 Sarhad-ABL behold from Pakistan side-ABL

басмачиц туәтк.
 basmaç-iş tuәtk
 Basmach-PL be.PF

Then the Basmachs were there from Sarhad, from the Pakistan side.

FM:7

Ян жы пупәр җанән ки, "ту рәҗ а я
 уан җы pup-әр җан-ән ki tu рәҗ а уа
 then my grandfather-DAT say-3PL that you.SG go EMP DEM3

A. Text Corpus

басмачви агар басвэээй, яв хати ыдыр", а я
 basmač-vi agar baswəz-əy yav хат-i ыдыр а ya
 basmach-PL.OBL if can-2SG they.OBL self-ACC catch EMP DEM3

мир яр хнэтк.
 mir yar хнэтк
 ruler to him say.PF

Then they [ruler and his people] say to my grandfather: "Go and if you can, catch them, those Basmachs", that ruler has said to him.

FM:8

"Агар нэбасвэээй, яви ай цар ки, ачон, бэт
 agar нэ-baswəz-əy yav-i ay car ki ајon бат
 if not-can-2SG them-ACC chase (away) do that dear.adr more

мэвэзиэн, горат мэцарэн".
 mə-wəzi-ən yorat mə-car-ən
 PROH-come-3PL pillage PROH-do-3PL

"If you cannot (catch them), chase them away so that they don't come back and don't plunder here anymore."

FM:9

Ян рэшт, ала, нивэм тар хати, ыб зман явэн туэтк.
 yan рэш-t ala niv=əm tar хат-i ыb zman yaw-ən tuətк
 then go-3SG adr now=1SG to you say.PST-i seven child his-ABL be.PF

Then he goes, as I just told you, he has got seven children.

FM:10

Ян рэшт а да Танг нунг чай ханэн.
 yan рэш-t а дэ-а Tang nung јay хан-ən
 then go-3SG EMP in-DEM3 Tang name place say-3PL

Then he goes to that place called Tang.

FM:11

Яв гирди яв цэг наг шах, цан грэм шах,
 yaw girdi yaw c-ət nag řax can tr-əm řax
 it round it from-DEM2 side mountain from there3 to-DEM1 mountain

бэт чай наст, дрё лав, ска дрё лав зи рэчэн.
 бат јay nast dryo lav sk-a dryo lav ři рэч-ən
 more place is not river bank through-DEM3 river bank side go-1PL

Around it from that side there is a mountain, from the other side also mountain and

there is no more place, (only) the river bank, they go through the river bank side.

FM:12

Ян яв вдэки ыдырт.
 уан уав vdək-i ыдыр-t
 then their road-ACC hold-3SG

Then he [Mirbugha] blocks their [the Basmachs'] road.

FM:13

Ян я ы зманви цбыр нфари римит та
 уан уа ы zman-vi сбыг nfar-i rimi-t t-a
 then DEM3 own child-PL.OBL four person-ACC order-3SG to-DEM3

палыѳэт ыат да труйэн цэм палыѳ.
 ралыw=эт ыat də-a truy-ən с-эм ралыw
 side=and self with-DEM3 three-ABL from-DEM1 side

Then he orders his four sons to go to the other side and he, himself, with three others, stay on this side.

FM:14

Ян бац бац борй а цэ сарэн яв бэни пышт,
 уан baj baj borj a сə sar-ən уав бэн-и рыѳ-t
 then very big boulder EMP from top-ABL their bottom-ACC dig-3SG

илаэк лэцэртэт.
 ila-ək лəсəг-t=ət
 a little-DIM put-3SG=and

Then he digs around the big boulder from the top to the bottom and he leaves only a little path.

FM:15

Ян иўки а цэм Покистон наг фавч ызит,
 уан iwki a с-эм Pokiston nag favč wizi-t
 then suddenly EMP from-DEM1 Pakistan side troop come-3SG

штырдорэт ящдорэт.
 ѳтыг-dor=ət yaš-dor=ət
 camel-having=and horse-having=and

Then, suddenly, from the Pakistan side a troop comes with camels and horses.

A. Text Corpus

FM:16

Ян ки ʋизит, дидиҗд ки, тру ящдор тэр мис, иҗ я
 yan ki wizi-t didiḡ-d ki tru yaš-dor tər mis iw ya
 then that come-3SG see-3SG that three horse-having in front one DEM3

сардори басмачэт я дгарищ тэр цбас.
 sardori basmač=ət ya dgar-iš tər cbas
 chief basmach=and DEM3 other-PL in back

Then, when he comes, he sees that there are three horse riders in front, one of them is the chief of the Basmachs and the others come after (them).

FM:17

Ян а труйищ ʋэйэн чэрмэн а рэм Танг.
 yan a truy-iš wəzy-ən čərm-ən a r-əm Tang
 then EMP three-PL come-3PL enter-3PL EMP into-DEM1 Tang

Then these three come and enter Tang [name of the place].

FM:18

Танг җанэно тэт Срад нагэн.
 Tang ǰan-ən-o t-ət Srad nag-ən
 Tang say-3PL-CONF in-DEM2 Sarhad side-ABL

They say that Tang is on the Sarhad side.

FM:19

Ян ки чэрмэн а рэтэт ян а я дгарищ, аҗи
 yan ki čərm-ən a r-ət=ət yan a ya dgar-iš aǰi
 then that enter-3PL EMP in-DEM2=and then EMP DEM3 other-PL like this

қриби йэм Танг ʋоцэнэт ян римит я җы
 qribi yəm Tang woc-ən=ət yan rimi-t ya ǰy
 near DEM1 Tang become-3PL=and then order-3SG DEM3 own

зманви ки, "нив а йэт җарэт бориви ʋуч
 zman-vi ki niv a yət ǰar=ət borī-vi wuč
 child-PL.OBL that now EMP DEM2 stone=and boulder-PL.OBL up

царэвэт чэрха гоҗэвэт мэлтиқ каҗэв".
 car-əv=ət čərxa goǰ-əv=ət məltiq kaǰ-əv
 do-2PL=and stone fall make-2PL=and gun put-2PL

Then, when they enter there, then the others were approaching this place Tang, then he [Mirbugha] orders his sons: "Now, lift up those stones and boulders and make a stone fall and fire on them".

FM:20

Ян ки явищ яв кынэн, йэтищ вэзиэн а рэм
 yan ki yawiṣ yaw kын-эн уэт-iṣ wəzi-эн а г-эм
 then that they it dig-3PL DEM2-PL come-3PL EMP into-DEM1

пастэт ян та наг гоҳэн чэрха, бэт щэхсак
 past=эт yan t-a nag гоҳ-эн чэрха бэт šəxsak
 down=and then in-DEM3 side make-3PL stone fall more pass.INF

нэкэцрэн.

нэ-кэсг-эн

NEG-can-3PL

Then, when they dig (around the stones), these (Basmachs) come to the bottom and then they [sons of Mirbugha] make a stone fall, (so) they [the Basmachs] cannot pass anymore.

FM:21

А тру сворищ.
 a tru swor-iṣ
 EMP three rider-PL

Those three riders (cannot pass).

FM:22

Ян вэзиэн ме а рэм паструй ца шахэн,
 yan wəzi-эн me а г-эм pastruy с-а šax-эн
 then come-3PL behold EMP in-DEM1 bottom from-DEM3 mountain-ABL

ян хати бынэнэт а дгар фавчищ ян рэдэн
 yan хат-i бын-эн=эт а dgar favč-iṣ yan гэд-эн
 then self-ACC throw-3PL=and EMP other troop-PL then run away-3PL

та наг.

t-a nag

to-DEM3 side

Then they [those three riders] come to the bottom and jump down from the mountain, the other troops then run away to that side.

FM:23

Ян а йэт Мир я тру зманищ цэм нагэн, я
 yan а уэт mir ya tru zman-iṣ с-эм nag-эн ya
 then EMP DEM2 ruler his three child-PL from-DEM1 side-ABL DEM3

A. Text Corpus

цбырищ ца палыѵ ѵэзиэн, гир яв царэн ки, яѵищ
 cbyr-iš c-a palıw wəzi-ən gir yav car-ən ki yawiš
 four-PL from-DEM3 side come-3PL catching they.OBL do-3PL that they

та шах бэн ѵат мыщэтк, цэ ящэнэв хмэтк.
 t-a šax bən ŷat myšəṭk cə yaš-ən=əv xmətk
 to-DEM3 mountain down self hide.PF from horse-ABL=3PL descent.PF

Then three of the ruler's sons come from this side, the other four from that side, they catch them [the Basmachs], as they have hidden themselves at the bottom of the mountain and have got off their horses.

FM:24

Ян яѵи гир царт, ѵызымд а я мирэр дэ
 yan yaw-i gir car-t wyzym-d a ya mir-ər də
 then he-ACC catching do-3SG bring-3SG EMP DEM3 ruler-DAT in

Ўндыт ца руйэн.
 ŷandyt c-a ruj-ən
 Khandut from-DEM3 side-ABL

Then he [Mirbugha] catches him [the chief of the Basmachs] and brings him to the ruler of Khandut, to the other side [Afghanistan].

FM:25

Ўызымд ярэкэт ян мир ярэк ранд хилат.
 wyzym-d yar-ək=ət yan mir yar-ək rand xilat
 bring-3SG to him-DAT=and then ruler to him-DAT give coat

He brings [the chief of the Basmachs] to him [to the ruler] and then the ruler gives him [Mirbugha] a coat.

FM:26

Ўанд ки, "ту нив мар ѵан ки, чиз тар дэркор
 ŷan-d ki tu niv mar ŷan ki čiz tar dərkor
 say-3SG that you.SG now to me.OBL say that thing to you necessary

дэм дэнё", а я мир жы пупэр ѵанд.
 dəm dənyo a ya mir žy pup-ər ŷan-d
 in-DEM1 world EMP DEM3 ruler my grandfather-DAT say-3SG

He [the ruler] says: "now, tell me what you need in this world", that ruler says to my grandfather [Mirbugha].

FM:27

Ян ме а йэм чайи ханд.
 уан ме а уэм јай-і хан-d
 then behold EMP DEM1 place-ACC say-3SG

Then he [my grandfather] names this place.

FM:28

Ханд: "марэк чай дэркор".
 хан-d мар-эк јай дэркор
 say-3SG to me-DAT place necessary

He says, "I need a place".

FM:29

Ян ханд: "кумчай?"
 уан хан-d кумјай
 then say-3SG where

Then (the ruler) says: "Where?"

FM:30

"Ме а йэм чай".
 ме а уэм јай
 behold EMP DEM1 place

(He replies): "This place."

FM:31

Ян ярэр ранд хат.
 уан уар-эр ганд хат
 then to him-DAT give letter

Then he gives him a letter.

FM:32

Ме а йэм чай туэтк Хитойэн яв чай.
 ме а уэм јай туэтк Хитой-эн уав јай
 behold EMP DEM1 place be.PF China-ABL its place

This was a place that belonged to China.

A. Text Corpus

FM:33

Ян я Хитойән Һоз я подшо а дәм Җындыт туәтк.
yan ya Xitoy-ən woz ya podšo a də-əm Җындыт tuәtk
then DEM3 China-ABL more DEM3 king EMP in-DEM1 Khandut be.PF

Then the king of China was also in Khandut.

FM:34

Ян жы пупәр а я мири Җындыт ранд йәм
yan žy pup-ər a ya mir-i Җындыт rand yəm
then my grandfather-DAT EMP DEM3 ruler-EZ Khandut give DEM1

хати.

xat-i

letter-ACC

Then the ruler of Khandut gives the letter to my grandfather.

FM:35

Оху дар куху мойи дар дарё ме а спо чай.
ohu dar kuhu moyi dar daryo (taj) me a spo jay
deer in the mountain and fish in the river behold EMP our place

Deer on the mountain and fish in the river, this is (how) our place is.

FM:36

Цә дрё лавән а тәм җиһн то тәт ку ранд
sə dryo lav-ən a t-əm dijn to t-ət ku rand
from river bank-ABL EMP to-DEM1 side until in-DEM2 mountain give

яр хат.

yar xat

to him letter

He gives him a letter (that indicates) the land from the riverbank to the mountainside.

FM:37

Хәй яв зинда яви Һызмәтк яв шхән.
xay yaw zinda yaw-i wyzmətk yaw šxən
well he alive he-ACC bring.PF he near

Well, it's (because) he has brought him [this chief of Basmachs] alive to him [to the ruler].

FM:38

Ян я жы пуп рәшт дрәм ки, җы пәтри чо бә чо
 уан уа җы руп рәҗ-t дрәм ки җы рәтр-и jo бә jo
 then DEM3 my grandfather go-3SG here1 that own son-ACC settled

царт, ян рәшт Покистон.
 сар-t уан рәҗ-t Pokiston
 make-3SG then go.3SG Pakistan

Then my grandfather comes here to settle his son, then he goes to Pakistan.

FM:39

Ян ца наг җизит а да җин, а ра
 уан с-а nag wizi-t а дә-а win а r-а
 then from-DEM3 side come-SG EMP to-DEM3 gorge EMP to-DEM3

палыҗ, ян дә и қрәҗ туәтка, яҗ чиз туәтк, пай ит.
 ралыҗ уан дә i qraʒ tuətka-a yaw čiz tuətka pay i-t
 side then in one enclosure be.PF-Q he what be.PF sour milk eat-3SG

Then he comes from that side to that gorge, to that side, then there has been an enclosure [a place for livestock on the summer pasture] or something else, he drinks the sour milk there.

FM:40

Ян җизит ноҗахт а та җин мирит, а спо
 уан wizi-t nowaxt а t-а win miri-t а spo
 then come-3SG late EMP to-DEM3 gorge die-3SG EMP our

пуп ме а я Мир Буға.
 руп ме а уа Mir Буға
 grandfather behold EMP DEM3 ruler Bugha

Then he comes late [in the evening] to the gorge and dies [implying that maybe something poisonous was in the sour milk], so this (was) our grandfather, Mir [emir, ruler] Bugha.

FM:41

Ян ки мирит, ян Җындытән а я мир кшыйд ки, яҗ
 уан ki miri-t уан Җындыт-ән а уа mir qʃy-d ki yaw
 then that die-3SG then Khandut-ABL EMP DEM3 ruler hear-3SG that he

тәт мәртк.
 tət mərtk
 there2 die.PF

When he dies, the ruler of Khandut hears that he has died there.

A. Text Corpus

FM:42

Ян халг стыйд тра Покистон наг, ян рэчэн ки, рости яв
yan xalg styu-d tr-a Pokiston nag yan rəç-ən ki rosti yaw
then man send-3SG to-DEM3 Pakistan side then go-3PL that truly he

тра мэртк.
tr-a mərtk
in-DEM3 die.PF

Then he sends the people in the direction of Pakistan, then they go (and find out) that he really has died there.

FM:43

Ян яв чнозай юндэн да кла.
yan yaw jnoza-i yund-ən də-a qla
then his corpse-ACC take-3PL in-DEM3 fortress

Then they bring his dead body to that fortress.

FM:44

Ханэн, я гымбази хэtk да кла дэст а
xan-ən ya gymbaz-i xətk də-a qla dəst a
say-3PL DEM3 mausoleum-ACC make.PF in-DEM3 fortress inside EMP

дэст Хындыт.
də-ət Xындыт
in-DEM2 Khandut

They say a mausoleum is made there inside the fortress in Khandut.

FM:45

Нив а жы пупэн яв гндос а дра.
niv a žy pup-ən yaw gnɔs a dra
now EMP my grandfather-ABL his cadaver EMP there3

Now, the cadaver of my grandfather is there.

FM:46

Ази ха нақлвэш кэрт, ян бэт дищэма роста друғ.
azi xa naql-v=əş kərt yan bət diš-əm-a rost-a druy
such well story-PL.OBL=IPFV do.PST then more know-1SG-Q truth-Q lie

Well, this is how they used to tell it, (but) then how do I know if it is the truth or a lie.

A.7 Text 7: GF

Girl Stolen by Fairies

GF:1

А дэт солови ки сакэнэш дэ С зиндагй цэ
 a də-ət sol-o-vi ki sak=ən=əš də S zindagī cə
 EMP in-DEM2 year-PL-PL.OBL that we=1PL=IPFV in S.. life REL

кэрти, ўузэм синфои ны ё аштэм ту, баф тэр жы
 kart-i wuz=əm sinf-o-i ny yo ašt=əm tu baf tər žy
 do.PST-i I=1SG class-PL-EZ nine or eighth=1SG be.PST well in my

ёд наст.
 yod nast
 memory is not

In those years when we were living in S., I studied in the eighth or ninth grade, I don't remember well.

GF:2

Споцэн и амсоя ту.
 sproc-ən i amsoya tu
 ours-ABL one neighbour be.PST

We had one neighbour.

GF:3

Спо амсоя нунг ту, Г мар сдыйд ту, аниқ дэ
 spro amsoya nung tu G mar sdyu-d tu aniq də
 our neighbour name be.PST G.. to me.OBL seem-3SG be.PST exactly in

жы ёд наст.
 žy yod nast
 my memory is not

The name of our neighbour was, it seems to me it was G., I don't remember exactly.

GF:4

Нэй ки яв ўэўд нунг ту Ш, йэт дэ жы ёд.
 nəy ki yaw ɔəʋd nung tu š yət də žy yod
 but his daughter name be.PST Sh... DEM2 in my memory

But the name of his daughter was Sh., I remember it.

A. Text Corpus

GF:5

Я прчодэк аџи хыщруйэк зартэк прчод ту.
ya prčod-ək aži xəʃruy-ək zart-ək prčod tu
DEM3 girl-DIM such beautiful-DIM yellow-DIM girl be.PST

That little girl was such a beautiful, fair [lit. 'yellow'-DIM] girl.

GF:6

Шафш бэ зартэт сары сырат бэ зартэт савзчэжм.
ʃafʃ bə zart=ət sarы сыrat bə zart=ət savzčəžm
hair too yellow=and face and figure too yellow=and green-eye

Blonde hair, fair face, green eyes.

GF:7

Я прчод аџи тэр дгар прчодви тум монанд нэту,
ya prčod aži tər dgar prčod-vi tum monand nə-tu
DEM3 girl such in other girl-PL.OBL much resembling NEG-be.PST

бдили хатэш тқи штик кэрти, доимэш тоқа-тоқа нэйни.
bdili xat=əʃ tqi ʃtik kərt-i doim=əʃ toqa-toqa nəyn-i
with herself=IPFV much game do.PST-i always=IPFV alone alone sit.PST-i

That girl was not like other girls, she used to play alone a lot, all the time she used to sit alone.

GF:8

Нэй ки баф аџи ашёр бидор прчод ту.
nəy ki baf aži aʃyor bidor prčod tu
but good such intelligent vigilant girl be.PST

But she was such an intelligent and prudent girl.

GF:9

Ян и рвор а йэт прчод нашти дэ спо кыча.
yan i rwor a yət prčod naʃt-i də spo kyča
then one day EMP DEM2 girl get lost.PST-i in our street

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

GF:10

Шкурдэн яви, ам тум амсояиц чай бэ цаонэв
ʃkurdən yaw-i am tum amsoya-iʃ jay bə jaon=əv
look for.PST=1PL she-ACC to this extent neighbour-PL place to world=3PL

шкурди.
 ŝkurd-i
 look for.PST-i

We looked for her, all the neighbours searched every place.

GF:11

Яв хишқомвэрэн қыў кэртэнэт трэмэт
 yaw xiŝqom-v-ər=ən qyū kərt=ən=ət tr-əm=ət
 her relatives-PL.OBL-DAT=1PL call do.PST=1PL=and to-DEM1=and

тра, кыли чайэн шкурд.
 tr-a kyli jay=ən ŝkurd
 to-DEM3 every place=1PL search.PST

We called her relatives and here and there, we searched every place.

GF:12

Ам тум амсояиц саргэрдон вити.
 am tum amsoya-iŝ sargərdon vit-i
 to this extent neighbour-PL worried become-i

The neighbours were very worried.

GF:13

Яв хунэн кы зируй ғировди.
 yaw hun=ən ky ziruy ğirovd-i
 her house=1PL all upside down turn.PST-i

We turned her house upside down (and inside out).

GF:14

Шкурдэн, нэн яв готи.
 ŝkurd=ən n=ən yaw got-i
 look for.PST=1PL no=1PL she find.PST-i

We looked for her (but) we didn't find her.

GF:15

Ян охирон аџи вити ки, ўоз а да шфанир
 yan oxiron aži vit-i ki woz a də-a ŝfanir
 then finally like this become.PST-i that again EMP in-DEM3 wardrobe

дэст ки шкурдэвэт рўор то пырзэв цэ дидиғди,
 dəst ki ŝkurd=əv=ət rwor to pyrzəv sə didiğdi,
 inside that look for.PST=3PL=and day until evening=3PL REL see.PST-i

A. Text Corpus

яв дра нэту.
yaw dra nə-tu
she there3 NEG-be.PST

Then finally it happened that as they again looked for her inside the wardrobe, from morning till evening we looked for her her, she wasn't there.

GF:16

Охирон шуми торик ёцакэр ки, я шфанир барэв
oxiron ŝumi torik wocak-er ki ya ŝfanir bar=əv
finally evening dark become.INF-DAT that DEM3 wardrobe door=3PL

эт кэрт, ёоз и лой дгарэв та дидиҕд ки, яв дра
ət kərt woz i loy dgar=əv t-a didiḡd ki yaw dra
open do.PST again one time other=3PL to-DEM3 see.PST that she there3

нйэнгэт җэчэш ит.
nyəng=ət ʒəç=əʃ it
sit.PF=and bread=IPFV eat.PST

Finally, in the evening, when it got dark, they opened the door of the wardrobe, looked there one more time (and saw) that she was sitting there and eating bread.

GF:17

Янэв айрон вити ки, ха йэм рвор то пырз
yan=əv айрон vit-i ki ха уэм rwor to пырз
then=3PL surprised become.PST-i that well DEM1 day until evening

тобистонй бэр дроз, йэм халг црэнг дэм шфанир, охир,
tobiston-ī bər droz yəm xalg crəng də-əm ŝfanir oxir
summer-n>adv to long DEM1 person how in-DEM1 wardrobe finally

дидҕакэв дрэм дидиҕди, дрэм нэту.
didiḡak=əv drəm didiḡd-i drəm nə-tu
watch.INF=3PL here1 see.PST-i here1 NEG-be.PST

Then they were surprised that, well, in the long summer day, how did this person get in this wardrobe, after all, they looked here and she wasn't here.

GF:18

Ян amidгар йэм скумзиҕ бэт тэм чэрни.
yan amidgar yəm s-kum-ziḡ bət t-əm çərn-i
then from the other side DEM1 from-which-side other to-DEM1 enter.PST-i

Then, on the other hand, from which other side did she enter it.

GF:19

Ян йэм вулэт пилтаэв картиэт
 yan yəm vulət pilta=əv kart-i=ət
 then DEM1 traditional way of enchating=3PL put.PST-i=and

вулэт пилтаэв картиэт шкурдэвэт охирон
 vulət pilta=əv kart-i=ət şkurde=əv=ət oxiron
 traditional way of enchating=3PL put.PST-i=and look for.PST=3PL=and finally

а я прчод да шфанир ёфт вिति.
 a ya prčod də-a şfanir yoft vit-i
 EMP DEM3 girl in-DEM3 wardrobe found become.PST-i

Then they repeated the enchanting ceremony [for chasing away evil spirits] several times, they searched and finally this girl was found in the wardrobe.

GF:20

Ѓэч да даст.
 ǰəč də-a dast
 bread in-DEM3 hand

Bread in her hand.

GF:21

Янэв пэрсти ки, "йэм ǰэч охир цэ кумэн дэ ти
 yan=əv pərst-i ki yəm ǰəč oxir cə kum-ən də ti
 then=3PL ask.PST-i that DEM1 bread finally from which-ABL in your

даст?".
 dast
 hand

Then they asked: "How did the bread appear in your hand?"

GF:22

Явэш ǰанд ки, "жы воч мар рэтиэт жы бэч мар
 yav=əş ǰan-d ki žy voč mar rat-i=ət žy bəč mar
 she=IPFV say-3SG that my aunt to me give.PST-i=and my uncle to me

рэти".
 rat-i
 give.PST-i

She is saying that, "my aunt gave it to me, my uncle gave it to me".

A. Text Corpus

GF:23

А я бэчэт вочви нунгэш Ыдырт ки, явищ дэ
a ya bæč=ət voč-vi nung=əš ыдыг-t ki yawiš də
EMP DEM3 uncle=and aunt-PL.OBL name=IPFV hold-3SG that they in

эчкуй ёд явищ наст.
əč kuy yod yawiš nast
nobody memory they is not

She names (people as) uncles and aunts who nobody remembers.

GF:24

Янэв яв готи а цанэн.
yan=əv yaw got-i a can-ən
then=3PL she find.PST-i EMP from there3-ABL

Then they found her there.

GF:25

А цанэн аци нйэшти ки, яви прэйищ
a can-ən azi nyəšt-i ki yaw-i prəy-iš
EMP from there3-ABL such come out.PST-i that she-ACC fairy-PL

Зовойди.
dovoyd-i
steal.PST-i

From that we concluded [lit. it came out] that she was stolen by the fairies.

GF:26

Цэ руйи яв нақлэн.
cə ru-y-i yaw naql-ən
from face-EZ her story-ABL

From her story.

GF:27

Амо яв чиз нақл кэрти нив пэ жы ёд наст.
amo yaw čiz naql kərt-i niv pə žy yod nast
but she what story do.PST-i now in my memory is not

But what she was telling, I don't remember it now.

GF:28

А тум дищэм ки, я хэч да даст туэт а
a tum diš-əm ki ya xəč də-a dast tu=ət a
EMP much know-1SG that DEM3 bread in-DEM3 hand be PST=and EMP

да шфанир дэстэв яѳи готи, ян я
 də-a řfanir dəst=əv yaw-i got-i yan ya
 in-DEM3 wardrobe inside=3PL she-ACC find.PST-i then DEM3

нунгви яѳ цə Һати, а ранг халгищ бəт дə
 nung-vi yaw cə řat-i a rang xalg-iř bət də
 name-PL.OBL she REL say.PST-i EMP manner man-PL more in

дəнəв наст, гызашта виткин.
 dənyo=əv nast gyzash̄ta vitkin
 world=3PL is not passed become.PTCP

I know only that much, that bread was in her hand and that they found her inside the wardrobe, then those names of the people that she mentioned, they are not alive anymore, they passed away.

GF:29

Ян а прчодəв готи.
 yan a prčod=əv got-i
 then EMP girl=3PL find.PST-i

Then they found the girl.

GF:30

Ян бəди а яѳ данəн хай гоҺтəв яѳи
 yan badi a yaw dan-ən xay gořt=əv yaw-i
 then after EMP it with her-ABL well make.PST=3PL she-ACC

Һикѳорəк ар чизəк, тумор таѳизəв яр гоҺтиəт,
 řikwor-ək ar řiz-ək tumor tawiz=əv yar gořt-i=ət
 Wakhi -DIM every thing-DIM amulet charm=3PL to her make.PST-i=and

чизəв гоҺтиəт хай тат нанищ атəтəш яѳ кəрт,
 řiz=əv gořt-i=ət xay tat nan-iř atyot=əř yaw kərt
 thing=3PL make.PST-i=and well father mother-PL caution=IPFV she do.PST

əч ѳəхтəш яѳ тоқа нəлəкəрт ки, яѳ нашт ѳоз
 əč wəxt=əř yaw toqa nə-ləkərt ki yaw nař-t woz
 any time=IPFV she alone NEG-let.PST that she disappear-3SG again

мəй.
 мəу
 ПРОН

Then, after that, they treated her in a Wakhi traditional way, they made for her the amulet and the charm, such things and well, her parents were very cautious for her, they were not letting her be alone at any time, so that she won't get lost anymore.

A. Text Corpus

GF:31

Явищ цэ Ғ трафэн ту, цэ Х нунг қццлоқэн явищ.
yawış sə Ү traf-ən tu sə X nung qşloq-ən yawış
they from Gh.. side-ABL be.PST from Kh.. name village-ABL they

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

GF:32

А да Сэвэш зиндагй кэрт дә спо амсоягй.
a də-a S=əv=əş zindagī kərt də spo amsoyagī
EMP in-DEM3 S.=3PL=IPFV life do.PST in our neighbourhood

They were living in S., in our neighbourhood.

GF:33

Амо нив я прчод бояд луп ымыт.
amo niv ya prčod boyad lup
but now DEM3 girl must big be.SBJV

But now, this girl now must be grown up.

GF:34

Тумэр яў нив тэй.
tum-ər yaw niv təy
such-DAT that now is

This is how it is now.

GF:35

Хай дищэма яў зинда, нэй наста, йэт бэ дә жы ёд
hay diş-əm-a yaw zinda nəy nast-a yət bə də žy yod
well know-1SG-Q she alive no is not-Q DEM2 too in my memory

бэт наст.
bət nast
anymore is not

Well, I don't know if she is alive or not, I don't remember this either.

GF:36

Ха ўузэм синфои ны агар туэткэк, йэт солои афтод,
ha wuz=əm sinf-o-i ny agar tuətk-ək yət sol-o-i aftod
well I=1SG class-PL-EZ nine if be.PF-DIM DEM2 year-PL-EZ seventy

афтод як мымкин туэтк.
aftod yak mymkin tuetk
seventy one maybe be.PF

Well, if I was in the 9th grade, it means it may have been year 70 or 71.

GF:37

А тум туэтк, афтод, афтод як, брои ки сакэн то а тум
a tum tuetk aftod aftod yak broi ki sak=эн to a tum
EMP extent be.PF seventy seventy one because we=1PL until EMP extent

дэ С зиндагй кэрти.
dэ S zindagi kert-i
in S.. life do.PST-i

It must have been like that, 70, 71, because we lived in S.. until then.

GF:38

Ян бади яв сакэн цан тағди.
yan badi yaw sak=эн can tağd-i
then after it we=1PL from there3 go.PST-i

After that we moved away from there.

GF:39

Амо йэм икояи воқеие ки, ўузэм винди дэ ўы чэжмэн,
amo yem ikoya-i voqei-e ki wuz=эм vind-i дэ ўы чэжм-эн
but DEM1 story-EZ real-IND that I=1SG see.PST-i with own eye-ABL

дэ ўы ўишэнэм кшэни.
dэ ўы ўиш-эн=эм kšэн-i
with own ear-ABL=1SG hear.PST-i

But this is a real story, that I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears.

GF:40

Ян цанэн тра наг ки, а я кыдак прчод, ўуз
yan can-эн tr-a nag ki a ya kydak prčod wuz
then from there3-ABL to-DEM3 side that EMP DEM3 child girl I

фикр царэм ки, кыдак эч ўахт фанд нэрандэк.
fikr car-эм ki kydak эч waxt fand nэ-rand-эк
thought do-1SG that child any time lie NEG-give-DIM

So, it is clear from it that, I think, a little girl would never tell lies.

A. Text Corpus

GF:41

Явѣш агар а я ранг нѣтуѣту цѣй, явѣш яв
yaw=əʃ agar a ya rang nə-tuətu cəy yaw=əʃ yaw
it=IPFV if EMP DEM3 manner NEG-be.PPF REL she=IPFV it

нѣхнѣту "вѣзѣм флон чай".
нѣ-хнѣту wuz=əm flon jay
NEG-say.PPF I=1SG such place

If it had not been [happened] that way, she wouldn't have said that "I was in such a place".

GF:42

Яв ѣати бѣ цѣй, дѣ жы ѣд нив наст, нѣй ки яв а
yaw xat-i bə cəy də žy yod niv nast nəy ki yaw a
she say.PST-i too REL in my memory now is not but she EMP

я чайви цѣ ѣати, а чайиц а псави
ya jay-vi cə xat-i a jay-iš a ps-av-i
DEM3 place-PL.OBL REL say.PST-i EMP place-PL EMP at-DEM3-PL.OBL

а ранг чай наст.
a rang jay nast
EMP manner place is not

Whatever she said, I don't remember it now, but the places she mentioned, there are not this kind of places here.

GF:43

"вѣзѣм дѣ хы бѣчѣн ту, дѣ хы вѣчѣнѣм ту, дѣ
wuz=əm də xy bəč-ən tu də xy voč-ən=əm tu də
I=1SG with own uncle-ABL be.PST with own aunt-ABL=1SG be.PST in

кумчайѣм ту", йѣт нив нақл дѣ жы ѣд наст.
kumjay=əm tu yət niv naql də žy yod nast
where=1SG be.PST DEM2 now story in my memory is not

"I was with my uncle, with my aunt, somewhere", I don't remember now [what she said].

GF:44

Хай спѣцѣн нив бѣт давѣн алоқа бѣ наст ки, ян
hay spoc-ən niv bət dav-ən aloqa bə nast ki yan
well ours-ABL now more with them-ABL connection more is not that then

пәрсәм ки, яў тәр кум наг тәр кум нәйәт, нәйки яў тат
 pərs-əm ki yaw tər kum nag tər kum nəy=ət nəy ki yaw tat
 ask-1SG that she in what side in what NEG=and but her father

нунг Г мар сдыйд ту.
 nung G mar sdyu-d tu
 name G.. to me.OBL seem-3SG be.PST

Well, we don't have any contact with them anymore to ask where she was, but her father's name was G.., it seems to me.

GF:45

Яў тат нунг Г ту ө нәту, Г мар сдыйд
 yaw tat nung G tu yo nə-tu G mar sdyu-d
 her father name G.. be.PST or NEG-be.PST G.. to me.OBL seem-3SG

ту, амо яў бәч нунг аниқ Ш ту.
 tu amo yaw bəč nung aniq Š tu
 be.PST but her uncle name exactly Sh.. you.SG

Her father's name might or might not be G.., it seems to me that it was G.., but her uncle's name was Sh.., for sure.

GF:46

Яў солои наздик дә Х кумчай ки цәй дрәктор бә
 yaw to sol-o-i nazdik də X kumčay ki cəy drəktor bə
 he until year-PL-EZ near in Kh.. where that REL director too

ту.
 tu
 be.PST

He was also a director in Kh.. or some other place, until recent years.

GF:47

А йәтищ дә жы ёд.
 a yət-iš də žy yod
 EMP DEM2-PL in my memory

Those (things) I remember.

GF:48

Яў бәч брои ки химик ө биологи номй ту, яў бақбат
 yaw bəč broi ki ximik yo biologī nomī tu yaw bəqwat
 her uncle because that chemist or famous biologist be.PST he strong

A. Text Corpus

малим ки ту, яв да жы ёд ёрэхк, явш дав хун
malim ki tu yaw da žy yod wəɾəχk yaw=əʃ dav xun
teacher that be.PST it in my memory remain.PF he=IPFV in their house

алди.
ald-i
stay.PST-i

Her uncle was a respected chemist or biologist, a great teacher; therefore I haven't forgotten him [lit. he has remained in my memory], he was staying in their house.

GF:49

А нив яв хы тат нанищ да жы ёд нёвэрэхкэк
a niv yaw хы tat nan-iš da žy yod nə-wəɾəχk-ək
EMP now her own father mother-PL in my memory NEG-remain.PF-DIM

ки, явищ куй ту.
ki yawiʃ kuy tu
that they who be.PST

Now, I don't remember her father and mother [lit. haven't remained in my memory], who they were.

GF:50

А я прчод нунг Ш ту.
a ya prčod nung Œ tu
EMP DEM3 girl name Sh... be.PST

The name of that girl was Sh...

GF:51

Йэт точни.
yət točni
DEM2 exact

This is sure.

A.8 Text 8: HS

Hazrati Shoh Nosir**HS:1**

Жы пуп Мирэк дэ Имит чиз туэтк,
 жы pup Mirək də Imit čiz tuətk
 my grandfather Mirek in Imit what be.PF

хундомод.

xundomod

son-in-law living with his wife's family

My grandfather Mirek was a son-in-law living with his wife's family in Imit.

HS:2

Яв кэнд цэ Имитэн.
 yaw kənd sə Imit-ən
 his wife from Imit-ABL

His wife (was) from Imit.

HS:3

Ян а я змоне ки Имит Хазрати Пири Шоносир дрэт
 yan a ya zmon-e ki Imit Hazrati pir-i Şonosir drət
 then EMP DEM3 time-IND that Imit Hazrati pir-EZ Shoh Nosir there2

вэзгэт ношинос кэркэв, сил цэ вэзг, ме а
 wəzg=ət noşinos kərk=əv sil sə wəzg me a
 come.PF=and unrecognized do.PF=3PL flood REL come.PF behold EMP

я змон ме а йэм шый нив рэм прыт зйҥн өт
 ya zmon me a yəm şyū niv r-əm pryət diŋn ət
 DEM3 time behold EMP DEM1 rock now in-DEM1 front side open

цэй, йэм зан.

səy yəm dan

REL DEM1 wasteland

Then, in that time when the Pir [religious leader] Shoh Nosir [Nasir Khusraw] has come to Imit but nobody has recognized him, when the flood has come, it (was) in that time that this rock (has appeared) from the front side of the village, on the wasteland.

A. Text Corpus

HS:4

А йэм кы хочагй туэтк.
a уэм кы хојагй туэтк
EMP DEM1 all household be.PF

All this (place) has been full of households.

HS:5

- А яв црэнг ношиносиэв кэрк данэн?
a yaw crəng noʃinosi=əv kərk dan-ən

How is it possible that they have not recognized him?

HS:6

- Яв нофамиэв кэрк.
yaw nofami=əv kərk

They have made a mistake.

HS:7

Туэтк дра туй.
tuətək dra tuy
be.PF there3 wedding

There has been a wedding there.

HS:8

Туй туэтк, яв ян чэрэмд.
tuy tuətək yaw yan čərem-d
wedding be.PF he then enter-3SG

There has been a wedding, then he enters.

HS:9

Ян ки чэрэмд, ачон, а дэт хунэт ян яви о
yan ki čərem-d ajon a də-ət xun=ət yan yaw-i o
then that enter-3SG dear EMP in-DEM2 house=and then he-ACC behold

дра нидвэн.
dra nidv-ən
there3 seat-3PL

After he enters the house, my dear, then they seat him over there [in the not respectable place].

HS:10

Дра яв нидвэн, хай бэ оли бичорагй.
 dra yaw nidv-эн хай бэ ol-i bičoragī
 there³ he seat-3PL well in state-EZ poor

They seat him there, well, he (is like) a poor person [that's why they treat him badly].

HS:11

Ивэш чақәки дырзд, дәйт рам сар,
 iw=эщ čaqək-i дыrz-d дәу-t r-am sar
 one=IPFV small container for ash-ACC take-3SG hit-3SG to-DEM³ head

ивэш щәпк карт ска сар, ачон, қлогәш ыдрән,
 iw=эщ šəpk kar-t sk-a sar ačon qlɔɣ=эщ ыдр-ән
 one=IPFV twig put-3SG on-DEM³ head dear.adr mockery=IPFV catch-3PL

трәм нагәт трәт нагәт, ало ян яв ска
 tr-эм nag=ət tr-ət nag=ət alo yan yaw sk-a
 to-DEM¹ side=and to-DEM² side=and brother.adr then he from-DEM³

бар нывызд, гәйб вост.
 bar nyvyz-d gəyb wos-t
 door come out-3SG disappeared become-3SG

Someone is taking a small container for ash, hits him on the head, someone else is putting a twig on his head, my dear, they are pushing him with mockery to this side and that side, dear brother, so he goes out and disappears.

HS:12

Йәмищ ян хәнән: "э, а яв цәфти, цәфти, ярәк хәч
 yəm-iš yan хән-ән е а yaw cəfti cəfti yar-ək хәч
 DEM¹-PL then say-3PL adr EMP he where where to him-DAT bread

рандәв".
 randəv
 give-2PL

They then say: "Where is he? Where is he? Give him bread!"

HS:13

"Э", хәнән ки, "яв наштәй".
 е хән-ән ki yaw našt-əy
 adr say-3PL that he get lost.PST-i

They say that "he got lost".

A. Text Corpus

HS:14

Ян айи ягон ды соат тэр млунг щэхэстэт дрэм туй.
yan aži yagon ды soat tər mlung šəxəs-t=ət drəm tuy
then like this some two hour in middle pass-3SG=and here1 wedding

Then some two hours in the middle (of the wedding) pass, there is a wedding.

HS:15

Иўки ачон, и чаласавор ѱизит.
iwki ajon i jalasawor wizi-t
suddenly dear.adr one rich rider come-3SG

Suddenly, my dear, a rich rider comes.

HS:16

Свор ки зербанд ктэткин, ачон, чома там тан, калла
swor ki zerband ktətkin ajon joma t-am tan kalla
rider that belt put.PTCP dear.adr coat on-DEM3 body head

вэндэткин, э биёву тамошо.
vəndətkin e biyovu tamošo
tied adr come=and see

A rich rider with a belt, my dear, dressed in a coat, turban on his head, hey, come and see.

HS:17

Иўэш яв пыди ѱыдырт, иўэш яв пыди ба царт.
iw=əš yaw ryd-i wydyrt iw=əš yaw ryd-i ba car-t
one=IPFV his foot-ACC hold-3SG one=IPFV his foot-ACC kiss do-3SG

Someone touches his foot, someone else kisses his foot.

HS:18

Ало ѱызмэн ме дрэм ражсар яѱи, ачон,
alo wyzm-ən me drəm ražsar yaw-i ajon
brother.adr bring-3PL behold here1 respectable place he-ACC dear.adr

пипрэв ктэтк, дрэм яѱи нидвэнэт, ало
pir=əv ktətk drəm yaw-i nidv-ən=ət alo
special sitting place=3PL put.PF here1 he-ACC seat-3PL=and brother.adr

дараѱ йэм чгарэв пцэтк дә дэмбаэн.
daraw yəm jgar=əv pətək də dəmba-ən
promptly DEM1 liver=3PL bake.PF with tail fat-ABL

My brother, they bring him here, to the respectable place, my dear, they have

prepared a special place for him, they seat him here, my brother, they have promptly prepared liver with tail fat [meal made of sheep].

HS:19

Дэмба алойдэт чгар алойдэт чон, Ызмэн сэ
 dəmba aloid=ət jgar aloid=ət jon ызмэн-эн сэ
 tail fat separately=and liver separately=and dear.adr bring-3PL on

лэнгри каҕэн да прыт.
 ləngri kaṭ-ən də-a pɾyt
 wooden plate put-3PL in-DEM3 in front of

Tail fat separately and liver separately, dear, they bring it on the wooden plate and put it in front of him.

HS:20

Ян җанд ки, "э чома, ты быхыр, камчин, ты быхыр, остин, ты
 yan ʒan-d ki e joma ты быхыг kamčin ты быхыг ostin ты
 then say-3SG that adr coat you eat.IMP belt you eat.IMP sleeve you

быхыр, а тумэрэт ачон, йэт халгэр нэтуэтк."
 быхыг а tum-эр=ət ajon уэт халг-эр нэ-туэтк
 eat.IMP EMP such-DAT=and dear.adr DEM2 man-DAT NEG-be.PF

Then he says: "Coat, you eat! Belt, you eat! Sleeve, you eat! It (was meant) for such (things), my dear, this has not been for a man."

HS:21

Ало ян а тумэр ки, ян гэйб вост,
 alo yan a tum-эр ki yan ʒəyb wos-t
 brother.adr then EMP such-DAT that then disappeared become-3SG

скэм бар ныбызд.
 sk-эм bar ныбыз-d
 from-DEM1 door come out-3SG

My brother, then because of this he then goes away, walks out through the door .

HS:22

Ян скэм бар ныбызд, ачон, йэмищ а дэм
 yan sk-эм bar ныбыз-d ajon уэмищ а дэм
 then from-DEM1 door come out-3SG dear.adr these1 EMP in-DEM1

A. Text Corpus

рафы риз ёррчэн.
rafy riz wəgəʒ-ən
confused remain-3PL

Then he walks out, my dear, (and) these (people) remain puzzled.

HS:23

А йэм дэмбаэт а йэм чгар а дэм лэнгри
a yəm dəmba=ət a yəm jgar a də-əm ləngri
EMP DEM1 tail fat=and EMP DEM1 liver EMP in-DEM1 wooden plate

ђар ёирд.
ђar ёir-d
stone turn-3SG

This tail fat and this liver on the wooden plate turn into stone.

HS:24

А лэнгри бэ ёар ёирд, нив дра тэй, дэ Имит яв дэ
a ləngri bə ёar ёir-d niv dra təy də Imit yaw də
EMP wooden plate too stone turn-3SG now there3 is in Imit it in

остон.
oston
shrine

The wooden plate also turns into stone, until today it is there, in Imit, in the shrine.

HS:25

А тат, эчинэй, бади якнимсоати дгарэт ачон,
a tat əʃinəy badi yaknimsoat-i dgar=ət aʃon
EMP father.adr anyway after one and half hours-EZ another=and dear.adr

ян ивки, йэм чрав нэвизит нэй.
yan iwki yəm jrav nə-wizi-t nəy
then suddenly DEM1 little river NEG-come-3SG no

My father [form of address], anyway, after another one and a half hour, my dear, suddenly the little stream doesn't come, no.

HS:26

Ян визит силэт санг дэнёи вищывд.
yan wizi-t sil=ət sang dənyo-i vişyv-d
then come-3SG flood=and stone world-ACC sweep away-3SG

Then the flood of water with stones comes and sweeps the whole place away.

HS:27

Кишт айни низэнг.
kišt ayni niðəng
sown field time harvest

The fields (were in the middle of) harvest season.

HS:28

Тирмо туэтк, айни низэнг.
tirmo tuətk ayni niðəng
autumn be.PF time harvest

It was autumn, in the middle of harvest.

HS:29

Низэнг-мизэнги кы вөрдәнцд.
niðəng-miðəng-i кы vərdənz-d
harvest-(rhyme)-ACC all knock down-3SG

Harvest or no harvest, it sweeps away everything.

A.9 Text 9: НТ

Hunter

НТ:1

И шкорчй нағдинй тә ку шкор цэрак рәшт.
i ŝkorčī naǰdinī tə ku ŝkor cərak rəŝ-t
one hunter early morning to mountain hunting do.INF go-3SG

Early in the morning a hunter goes to the mountain to hunt.

НТ:2

Ўы мәлтиқи дырздәт санд тә ку.
ŭy məltiq-i dırz-d=ət san-d tə ku
own rifle-ACC take-3SG=and go up-3SG to mountain

He takes his rifle and goes up to the mountain.

A. Text Corpus

НТ:3

Ға рәштәт дә и бландиҫ ҫат.
ya rəʃ-t=ət də i blandiʃ ʃat
very go-3SG=and in one height arrive

He walks long way and arrives at a high place.

НТ:4

Үинд ки, а ра бән гозәт да қрибиҫ да
win-d ki a r-a bən goz=ət də-a qribiʃ da
see-3SG that EMP in-DEM3 down grassland=and in-DEM3 proximity ten

биҫт сар чондориҫ чроәш царән.
bist sar ʃondor-iʃ čro=əʃ sar-ən
twenty head mountain goat-PL grazing=IPFV do-3PL

*He sees that down in the meadow and in the proximity some 10 – 20 mountain goats
[‘jondor’ refers to both ibex and marco-polo sheep] are grazing.*

НТ:5

Шкорҫи хыҫ ҫостәт сә қраҫыл нәст.
ʃkorči xıʃ wos-t=ət sə qrawıl nəst-t
hunter happy become-3SG=and on guard sit-3SG

The hunter is delighted and sits on a guard (position).

НТ:6

Нив хы дасти ар хы қибәк дәйт ки, ҫуҫиҫ цам
niv xı dast-i ar xı ʃibək dəyt ki wuʃ-iʃ s-am
now own hand-ACC to own pocket hit that bullet-PL from-DEM3

әдән рәхк.
yod-ən rəxk
memory-ABL go.PF

Now he puts his hand in his pocket (and realizes) that he has forgotten the projectiles.

НТ:7

Шкорҫи чондорвәрк қләғбод цартәт даҫтоли
ʃkorči ʃondor-v-ərək qləɣbod car-t=ət dastxolı
hunter mountain goat-OBL.PL-DAT thank do-3SG=and empty handed

пҫит.
pʃi-t
return-3SG

The hunter expressed thanks to the mountain goats and returned home empty-handed.

A.10 Text 10: MB

Mirbugha**MB:1**

Жы пуп Мирбуға нунг.
 жы pup Mirbuğa nung
 my grandfather Mirbugha name

My grandfather's [ancestor's] name (was) Mirbugha.

MB:2

Йәт туәтк а дәм Роштқла мир.
 yət tuətk a də-əm Roštqla mir
 DEM2 be.PF EMP in-DEM1 Roshtqala ruler

He was a ruler in this Roshtqala.

MB:3

Хәди цә Рушонәт Шәһнонәт Ғәндәт Роштқлаәт...
 xədi sə Ruşon=ət Şəhnon=ət Ƴənd=ət Roštqla=ət
 self from Rushan=and Shughnon=and Ghund=and Roshtqala=and

He himself (was a ruler) of Rushan and Shughnan and Ghund and Roshtqala and ...

MB:4

- Яв җат җик?
 yaw ʒat ʒik

- He himself (was) Wakhi?

MB:5

Нәй, шәһн.
 nəy şəhñ
 no Shughni

No, (he was) Shughni.

MB:6

Мирбуға шәһн, ме а дәм Роштқла туәтк.
 Mirbuğa şəhñ me a də-əm Roštqla tuətk
 Mirbugha Shughni behold EMP in-DEM1 Roshtqala be.PF

Mirbugha was Shughni, he was in this Roshtqala.

A. Text Corpus

MB:7

Явэн туэтк ыб пэтр.
yaw-ən tuətʰk ɨb pətʰr
his-ABL be.PF seven son

He had seven sons.

MB:8

Ян мир яв золим, ха мир золим.
yan mir yaw zolim xa mir zolim
then ruler he tyrant well ruler tyrannical

Then he was a tyrannical ruler, well, a tyrannical ruler.

MB:9

Ачон карт налог сә хоҗагй: жаў, руҗн, ачон, то
aʃon kar-t nalog (ru) sə xoʃagɨ ʒaw ruʃn aʃon to
dear.adr put-3SG tax on household grain butter dear.adr until

щашмоа вәщк налог ар хоҗагй.
šašmoa wəšk nalog (ru) ar xoʃagɨ
six month old calf tax to household

My dear, he imposes a tax on homesteads: grains, butter, my dear, calves under six months, (it was) the tax on homesteads.

MB:10

То щашмоа вәщкән яв гуштәш итк ани.
to šašmoa wəšk-ən yaw gušt=əʃ itk ani
until six month old calf-ABL his meat=IPFV eat.PF it is said

It is said that he used to eat (only) meat of calves younger than six months.

MB:11

Цан тра наг насто.
can tr-a nag nast-o
from there3 to-DEM3 side is not-CONF

What is older than six months, he doesn't (eat).

MB:12

Ян руҗн карт.
yan ruʃn kar-t
then butter put-3SG

Then he introduces (tax) on butter.

MB:13

Яӕ нақл аӕи.
 уау нақл ази
 his story such

Such is his story.

MB:14

Ӕанӕн ки, и ӕыйнан яӕн нӕ туӕ туӕтк, нӕ май туӕтк, нӕ
 ӕан-ӕн ki i ӕыунап уау-ӕн нӕ туӕ туӕтк нӕ may туӕтк нӕ
 say-3PL that one woman her-ABL nor goat be.PF nor sheep be.PF nor

ӕыӕ туӕтк.
 ӕыу туӕтк
 cow be.PF

They say that there was a woman who didn't have any goats, any sheep or any cows.

MB:15

Ян мацбур ӕост, ӕишит, хай мир, яӕ мымкин золим, дӕйт
 уау мацбур wos-t wiʃi-t хау mir уау мымкин zolim дӕу-t
 then forced become-3SG fear-3SG well ruler he maybe tyrant hit-3SG

ӕ вараңд.
 уо varand
 or punish

She was under pressure and afraid that, well, the ruler may be tyrant, he will beat me or punish me.

MB:16

Ян ӕы бапӕки ӕицтӕт цӕ ӕы жаржӕн гоӕт
 уау ӕы бар-ӕк-i дӕс-t=ӕт сӕ ӕы ӕарӕ-ӕн гоӕ-t
 then own breast-DIM-ACC milk-3SG=and from own milk-ABL make-3SG

руӕн.
 руӕп
 butter

Then she takes milk from her own breast and makes butter from it.

MB:17

Ян а яӕ ха дысад грама, сесад грам туӕтк.
 уау а уау ха дысад грамм-а сесад грамм туӕтк
 then EMP that well two hundred gramm-Q three hundred gramm be.PF

Then it was around two hundred or three hundred grams.

A. Text Corpus

MB:18

Дэ и қчаэк дәйт, ранд а я хазиначирэк.
dә i qça-әk дәу-t rand а ya хазиначі-гәк
in one dish-DIM hit-3SG give.3SG EMP DEM3 treasurer-DAT

She puts it into a dish and gives to the treasurer.

MB:19

Яв юнд ранд а я мирэк.
yaw yund rand а ya mir-әk
he take.3SG give.3SG EMP DEM3 ruler-DAT

He takes it and gives it to the ruler.

MB:20

Ян яви юнд, яр ранд.
yan yaw-i yund yar rand
then it-ACC take.3SG to him give.3SG

Then he takes it and gives to him.

MB:21

Яв йәм ранг дәйт тә хы ғаш ки, яв дгар мәза.
yaw yәm rang дәу-t тә хы ғағ ki yaw dgar мәza
he DEM1 manner hit-3SG in own mouth that it other taste

He puts it into his mouth (and notices) that it's a different taste.

MB:22

Эчәк яв җинәтк а ранг нәй.
әчәк yaw winәtk а rang нәу
never he see.PF EMP manner no

He has never seen something like that.

MB:23

Ян я хазиначии қыь царт ки, "йәм руғн црәнг, йәм
yan ya хазиначі-i қыw car-t ki yәm ruғn crәng yәm
then DEM3 treasurer-ACC call make-3SG that DEM1 butter how DEM1

куй йәм җызмәтк, цә сохт, әм рангәм җуз дә хы ымрән
kuy yәm ызмәtk сә soxt әm rang=әm wuz дә хы ымr-ән
who DEM1 bring.PF what kind DEM1 manner=1SG I in own life-ABL

нәйтк".
 нә-itk
 NEG-eat.PF

Then he calls the treasurer (and asks him) that: "What is the butter, who has brought it here, what kind of work is it? I have never in my life eaten something like this".

MB:24

Яв̆ җанд: "Үз дицәм".
 yaw җan-d wuz diš-əm
 she say-3SG I know-1SG

He [the treasurer] says: "I know (who it is)".

MB:25

Ян я җыйнан нунги Үдырт.
 yan ya җыунап нунг-и ыдыг-t
 then DEM3 woman name-ACC hold-3SG

Then he says the name of that woman.

MB:26

Ян җанд: "қыҗ яв̆ царәв".
 yan җan-d қыҗ yaw car-əv
 then say-3SG call she do-2PL

Then (the ruler) says: "Call her".

MB:27

Ян я җыйнани қыҗ царән, яв̆ җанд: "хай, үзәм цә
 yan ya җыунап-и қыҗ car-ән yaw җan-d хай wuz=əm сә
 then DEM3 woman-ACC call do-3PL she say-3SG well I=1SG from

Үшыкән гоҗтәм җы жарҗи а йәм ранг".
 wṣyk-ән goḫt=əm җы žarž-i a yəm rang
 fear-ABL make.PST=1SG own milk-ACC EMP DEM1 manner

Then they call the woman, she says: "Well, I used my own milk because I was afraid".

MB:28

Ян дә нимис яв̆ даст динән қлам.
 yan də nimis yaw dast din-ән qlam
 then with [unclear] she hand hit-3PL cutting

Then they cut her hand off with the [the meaning of 'nimis' is unclear even to other Wakhi speakers; the narrator probably means a type of sharp cutting tool].

A. Text Corpus

MB:29

Бә чои ки яв нан исоб вост, аци нәйа, ки ачон
bə ʃoy ki yaw nan isob wos-t azi nəy-a ki aʃon
instead that his mother count become-3SG like this no-Q that dear.adr

цам жаржи пити, ян динән яв қлам.
c-am žarž-i pit-i yan din-ən yaw qlam
from-DEM3 milk-ACC drink.PST-i then hit-3PL her cutting

Instead of regarding her as his mother, it's obvious that, my dear, he drank from her milk, they cut her hands off.

MB:30

Кәт вьдрәм а я Шәғнонән тәм наг халқ
kəʃ wɨdr-əm a ya šəɣnon-ən t-əm naɣ xalq
short hold-1SG EMP DEM3 Shugnon-ABL to-DEM1 side people

вост бә қингй.
wos-t bə qing-i
become-3SG to difficulty

To make it short, those Shugni people found themselves in a difficult situation [because of his tyranny].

MB:31

А йәт вәщкви ки итк, друкш бәт нәготән ки
a yət wəšk-vi ki itk drukš bət nəgot-ən ki
EMP DEM2 calf-PL.OBL that eat.PF bull more NEG-find-1PL that

кырән.
кыг-ән
plough-3PL

Since he had eaten the calves, they don't find any bulls for ploughing.

MB:32

Мисол ме вүзәм, замин жынән наст, ту абизатни
misol me wuz-əm zamin žyn-ən nast tu abizatni (ru)
for example behold I=1SG land mine-ABL is not you.SG obliged

жав ранд қарз давлатәр.
žaw rand qarz dawlat-ər
grain give credit government-DAT

For example, I don't have land; (nonetheless) you are still obliged to give the grain [the tax] to the ruler as a contribution.

MB:33

Ян бәсир җоцән.
 уан bäsir woc-ән
 then fed up become-3PL

Then they get fed up (with him).

MB:34

Хәй явән халг.
 хай яaw-ән хalg
 well his-ABL man

Well, his people.

MB:35

Ян Шәҗнонән кы, а йәт қццлоқиц царән мәслат ки, "ө
 уан җәҗнон-ән кы а уәт қҗлоқ-иҗ сар-ән мәслат кi yo
 then Shugnon-ABL all EMP DEM2 village-PL do-3PL consultation that or
 сакән яв банд царән, ө щайән яви".
 sak=ән яaw band сар-ән yo җay-ән яaw-i
 we=1PL he arrest do-3PL or kill-3PL he-ACC

Then all the Shugnis, the villages make a consultation (and decide) that "we either arrest him or we kill him".

MB:36

Ян яв кшыйд, я мир Буға ки, а йәм ранг.
 уан яaw кҗыу-d яa mir Буға ki a яәм rang
 then he hear-3SG DEM3 ruler Bugha that EMP DEM1 manner

Then the Mir [ruler] Bugha hears that such (is the plan).

MB:37

Җнәтк ярәк, "ту нив ө гиз җав цәмән рәҗ дә
 җnәtk yar-әk tu niv yo giz җaw с-әм-ән рәҗ дә
 say.PF to him-DAT you.SG now or get up go from-DEM1-ABL go with

җы зод быдән, ө тави ө бандән, ө щайән".
 җы zod быд-ән yo тaw-i yo band-ән yo җay-ән
 own offspring-ABL or you.OBL-ACC or arrest-3PL or kill-3PL

It has been said to him: "Now you either get up and leave from here with your offspring or we will arrest or kill you."

A. Text Corpus

MB:38

Ян ыб пәтр явән туәтк.
уан ыб рәтр уав-ән туәтк
then seven son his-ABL be.PF

Then, he had seven sons.

MB:39

Явищ кы палавон, баф бзиб.
уавиш кы palawon baf bzib
they all strong man good handsome

They were all strong, good, handsome.

MB:40

Ян визит ме а дрэм, ме а йэм Йәмчын чрав
уан wizi-t me a drəm me a уэм Уәмчып jrav
then come-3SG behold EMP here1 behold EMP DEM1 Yamchun canyon

цәй, ме а скәм йин визит хамд, ме а
сау ме а sk-əm win wizi-t хам-d me а
REL behold EMP from-DEM1 gorge come-3SG go down-3SG behold EMP

дрэм.
drəm
here1

Then he arrives here [the place where the narrator lives], here, to this Yamchun canyon that is here, he comes from this gorge, goes down and arrives here.

MB:41

А дрэм йэм чула, нәтуәтк эчизо, эчәк
а drəm уэм čula нә-tuәtk әčiz-o әčәk
EMP here1 DEM1 deprived area NEG-be.PF nothing-CONF nothing

нәтуәтк.
нә-tuәtk
NEG-be.PF

There was only a deprived area here, nothing was here, there was nothing here.

MB:42

Ян яв зманищ палавон.
уан уав zman-iš palawon
then his child-PL strong man

Then his children were strong men.

MB:43

Ян псэм журэк хамэн, ме а трэм чэнгал.
 уан ps-эм dur-эк хам-эн me a tr-эм jəngal
 then through-DEM1 gorge-DIM go down-3PL behold EMP to-DEM1 forest

Then they go down through the little ravine to this forest.

MB:44

Ян дрэм и кута гохт, а дрэм зиндагй царт, а
 уан дрэм i kuṭa goḥ-t a drəm zindagī car-t a
 then here1 one cottage make-3SG EMP here1 life make-3SG EMP

тэм куви шкор цартэг.
 t-эм ku-vi ṣkor car-t=ət
 to-DEM1 mountain-PL.OBL hunting do-3SG=and

Then he builds a cottage here, he lives here, hunts in these mountains.

MB:45

И чанд вахт, ачон, нақләш кэртэв а мисо.
 i čand waxt ačon naql=əṣ kərt=əv a mis-o
 some time dear.adr telling=IPFV do.PST=3PL EMP before-CONF

Sometimes, in older times, they used to tell the story.

MB:46

Жы тат нақләш кэрти, жы пуп хэй, яў ко винэту,
 жы tat naql=əṣ kərt-i жы pup xay yaw ko vinətu
 my father story=IPFV do.PST-i my grandfather well he perhaps see.PPF

яў мымкин ко жы татэр нақл кэрт.
 yaw mymkin ko жы tat-ər naql kərt
 he maybe perhaps my father-DAT story do.PST

My father used to tell me, my grandfather, well, he had perhaps seen it, maybe he told it to my father.

MB:47

Ўузэш я нақли тар царэм.
 wuz=əṣ ya naql-i tar car-əm
 I=IPFV DEM3 story-ACC to you do-1SG

I tell this story to you.

A. Text Corpus

MB:48

Ўз цə җатəн нəцарəмо.
wuz cə җat-ən nə-car-əm-o
I from self-ABL NEG-do-1SG-CONF

I don't make (it) up by myself.

MB:49

Аҷон, ян цəмəн җит, а дə җы ыб пəтрəн
aʃon yan c-əm-ən җi-t a də җы ыb pətr-ən
dear.adr then from-DEM1-ABL go-3SG EMP with own seven son-ABL

рəшт Покəстон.
rəř-t Pokəston
go-3SG Pakistan

My dear, then he goes away from here, with his seven sons he goes to Pakistan.

MB:50

Рəшт а ра, а я ыб пəтри а ра
rəř-t a r-a a ya ыb pətr-i a r-a
go-3SG EMP to-DEM3 EMP DEM3 seven son-ACC EMP to-DEM3

гоҳт қəтхəдой.
goҳ-t qətxədoy
make-3SG married

He goes there, he makes his seven sons marry there.

MB:51

Яви ар як қццлоқəр царт тақсим.
yav-i ar yak qřloq-əg car-t taqsim
them-ACC each one village-DAT do-3SG division

He distributes them one per village.

MB:52

Тру пəтрəт яв җат вəз визит, а скəм рəшт ар
tru pətr=ət yaw җat woz wizi-t a sk-əm rəř-t ar
three son=and he self again come-3SG EMP from-DEM1 go-3SG to

Файзобод.
Fayzobod
Fayzabad

Three of his sons and himself, they come again, from here he goes to Fayzabad.

MB:53

Да хы пәтрвән қти.
 də-a хы pətr-v-ən qti
 with-DEM3 own son-PL.OBL-ABL together

Together with his sons.

MB:54

А хы тру пәтри гохт а ра қәтхәдой.
 a хы tru pətri-i gox-t a r-a qətxədoj
 EMP own three son-ACC make-3SG EMP to-DEM3 married

He makes his other three sons marry there.

MB:55

Ян а дра и хлифа дә Кәнҷид нунг чай, ар Зебок.
 yan a dra i xlifa də Kəñjid nung jaj ar Zebok
 then EMP there3 one khalifa in Kanjid name place in Zebok

Then, there is a khalifa in a place called Kanjid, in Zebok.

MB:56

Аҷон, а дра я хлифа зәғди а и пәтрәк
 aʃon, a dra ya xlifa dəğdi a i pətr-ək
 dear.adr EMP there3 DEM3 khalifa daughter-ACC EMP one son-DAT

рандәт ян ярәк хәнд ки, "Үз жынән чайәт
 rand=ət yan yar-ək xan-d ki wuz žyn-ən jaj=ət
 give=and then to him-DAT say-3SG that I mine-ABL place=and

иҷозат ранд үз йәмви дырзәм рәчән, а дра и
 iʃozat rand wuz yəm-vi dyrz-əm rəç-ən a dra i
 permission give I DEM1-PL.OBL take-1SG go-1PL EMP there3 one

мала йәмвәр гом".
 mala yəm-v-ər gon
 room DEM1-PL.OBL-DAT make

My dear, there they married one of his sons to the daughter of the khalifa and then he [Mir Bugha] says to him [to khalifa]: "I have a place, please give me permission to take them and go, I will build a house there for them".

A. Text Corpus

MB:57

Ян а я хлифаэн яв пэтрищ Ыыстод.
yan a ya xlifa-ən yaw pətr-iš ыыстод
then EMP DEM3 khalifa-ABL his son-PL master

Then the khalifa's sons are masters.

MB:58

Ян да хы хыйэн яви гонэн амра ки,
yan də-a хы хыу-эн yaw-i gon-ən amra ki
then with-DEM3 own sister-ABL he-ACC make-3PL fellow-traveller that

"ту дэ кум чай ки а йэм зай рэштэт хун бар гоҳ,
tu də kum çay ki a yəm çay rəš-t=ət xun bar goç
you.SG in what place that EMP DEM1 man go-3SG=and house door do

йэми бэ тахт бахт җатывэт ян вэзи".
yəm-i бэ taxt baxt җатыv=ət yan wəzi
DEM1-ACC to throne and fortune bring=and then come

Then they send him [khalifa's son] with his sister, they make them fellow-travellers (and they tell him) that: "wherever this man goes, you will build a house for him, you will help him to settle down and then come back". [It is a tradition at Wakhi weddings that the brother accompanies his newly wedded sister to the house of her husband, moreover, as a master, he is expected to build a house for them].

MB:59

Ян визит ме а дэм чула.
yan wizi-t me a də-əm çula
then come-3SG behold EMP in-DEM1 deprived area

Then he [Mir Bugha] arrives in this deprived area.

MB:60

Ян ки визит а дрэмэт Сылтонысайн нунг явэн.
yan ki wizi-t a drəm=ət Sultonysayn nung yaw-ən
then that come-3SG EMP here1=and Sulthonhusayn name his-ABL

Then as he comes here, [Mirbugha's son] his name was Sulthonhusayn.

MB:61

А я хлифаэн яв ӗӗд нунг Ашамбигим.
a ya xlifa-ən yaw ӗӗд nung Ašambegim
EMP DEM3 khalifa-ABL his daughter name Ashambegim

The name of the khalifa's daughter was Ashambegim.

MB:62

Яѝи ранд яр, ѱизит а дрэмэт ян а дрэм и
 yaw-i rand yar wizi-t a drəm=ət yan a drəm i
 she-ACC give to him come-3SG EMP here1=and then EMP here1 one

малаэк яѱ пэтрэкищ яр гоҳэнэт а дрэм ян
 mala-ək yaw pətr-ək-iš yar goҳ-ən=ət a drəm yan
 room-DIM his son-DIM-PL to him make-3PL=and EMP here1 then

зиндагй царт.
 zindagī car-t
 life make-3SG

He gives her to him, he come here and his [the khalifa's] sons build a house for him and he lives here.

MB:63

Ачон, цанэн ѱост Ф нунг, яѝи бэ
 ajon can-ən wos-t F nung yaw-i bə
 dear.adr from there3-ABL become-3SG F.. name he-ACC too

нэдицэм, цан ѱизит М, жы пуп.
 nə-diš-əm can wizi-t M žy pup
 NEG-know-1SG from there come-3SG M.. my grandfather

My dear, they had a son, his name was F., I don't know him either, he had son M., my grandfather.

MB:64

Жы пуп М, Мэш яр ҳати, то нив бэ яѱ нунг
 žy pup M M=əš yar ҳat-i to niv bə yaw nung
 my grandfather M.. M..=IPFV to him say.PST-i until now too his name

М.
 М
 М..

My grandfather was M., they also used to call him M., until now he is called M..

MB:65

Яѱ ян а дра царт зиндагй.
 yaw yan a dra car-t zindagī
 he then EMP there3 do-3SG life

He then lives there.

A. Text Corpus

MB:66

Ян ёост тру пэтрэт тру ǰǰдэт яви тақсим
yan wos-t tru pətr=ət tru ǰǰd=ət yav-i taqsim
then become-3SG three son=and three daughter=and them-ACC division

царт трэм тра наг, ме сак а ца
car-t tr-əm tr-a nag me sak a c-a
do-3SG to-DEM1 to-DEM3 side behold we EMP from-DEM3

аўлоди Мэн а дрэм зиндагй царэн.
awlod-i M-ən a drəm zindagī car-ən
descendants-EZ M.-ABL EMP here1 life do-1PL

Then he had three sons and three daughters, he distributed them to this side and that side [in different places], so, we are descendants of M., we live here.

A.11 Text 11: SM

Shermalik

SM:1

Киҳн цравэн айлоқ Шабхун, Бэржэч, Мрэк.
Kixn jrav-ən ayloq Şabxun Bəržəč Mrək
Kikhn canyon-ABL summer pasture Shabkhun Berzhetch Mrek

In the Kikhn [var. name of Langar] canyon there are summer pasture settlements of Shabkhun, Berzhech and Mrek.

SM:2

Янэв тэт рэхк айлоқ.
yan=əv tət rəxk ayloq
then=3PL there2 go.PF summer pasture

Then they used to go there for the summer pasture.

SM:3

Ян йэм куй, ало, Ширмлик нунг, Холдорбиг яв пуп.
yan yəm kuy alo Şirmlik nung Xoldorbig yav pup
then DEM1 who brother.adr Shermalik name Kholdorbek their grandfather

Then (there was) someone, my dear, his name was Shermalik, he was grandfather of Kholdorbig (and his family).

SM:4

Ало, ян рэшт шкор та, доим.
 alo yan rəʃ-t ʃkor ta doim
 brother.adr then go-3SG hunting there3 always

Then, he goes there to hunt, always.

SM:5

Ало, ян та прэйиц чиз царэн, ханэн: "хэй Ширмлик, ар
 alo yan ta prəy-iʃ čiz car-ən хан-эн хай Širmlik ar
 brother.adr then there3 fairy-PL what do-3PL say-3PL well Shermalik any

вaxтэт ки вэзди цэй, хы щачи дэ хатэн мэвызым".
 waxt=ət ki wəzd-i cəy хы šač-i дэ хат-эн мэ-вызым
 time =2SG that come.PST-i REL own dog-ACC with self-ABL PROH-bring

My dear, then there the fairies tell him: "Shermalik, whenever you would come, don't take your dog with you".

SM:6

Ян яў я ранг рэштэт доим я хы щачи
 yan yaw ya rang rəʃ-t=ət doim ya хы šač-i
 then he DEM3 manner go-3SG=and always DEM3 own dog-ACC

нэюнд.
 нэ-yund
 NEG-take.3SG

Then he goes like that and never takes his dog with him.

SM:7

Ян и рвор я щач яў царг пэсцбас, хэндуні.
 yan i rwor ya šač yaw car-t pəscbas хэндуні
 then one day DEM3 dog he do-3SG from behind puppy

Then, one day that dog follows him, (it was) a puppy.

SM:8

Яў бэ яў дырэд дэйт тэм хы чиз, ало, бэзд.
 yaw bə yaw дырз-d dəy-t t-əm хы čiz alo бэзд
 he too he take-3SG hit-3SG to-DEM1 own what brother.adr bosom

He takes him, too, hides him on his bosom.

A. Text Corpus

SM:9

Ян рəшт ки, я прəйищ дра чиз царэн, ʒицэнəшək.
yan rəʃ-t ki ya prəy-iʃ dra čiz car-ən ðic-ən=əʃ-ək
then go-3SG that DEM3 fairy-PL there3 what do-3PL milk-3PL=IPFV-DIM

He goes (and sees) that the fairies there are in the middle of milking.

SM:10

Ивək я щач бə вəkac царт ʒə, алолəт я ʒарж
iwək ya ʃač bə waqas car-t ʒə alol=ət ya ʒarʒ
suddenly DEM3 dog too barking do-3SG and adr=and DEM3 milk

вост тит.
wos-t tit
become-3SG spilled

Suddenly that dog also barks and, my dear, the milk spills out.

SM:11

Я ʒарж вост титəт ʒанд: "хəй Ширмлик, ʒат бар
ya ʒarʒ wos-t tit=ət ʒan-d xay ʃirmlik ʒat bar
DEM3 milk become-3SG spilled=and say-3SG well Shermalik self for

ʒатəт гоʒти".
ʒat=ət goʒt-i
self=2SG make.PST-i

The milk spills out and (the fairy) says: "Well, Shermalik, you did it yourself [it's your own fault]"

SM:12

Ян яв юндən, динən да ʃар сар яви чиз эло,
yan yaw yund-ən din-ən də-a ʃar sar yaw-i čiz elo
then he take-3PL hit-3PL to-DEM3 stone top he-ACC what brother.adr

сар.
sar
head

Then they take him, on the stone they cut his head off.

SM:13

Сар яви динənəт сək и даст явən вʒən визит, сək
sar yaw-i din-ən=ət sək i dast yaw-ən wʒən wizi-t sək
head he-ACC hit-3PL=and from one hand his-ABL blood come-3SG from

и даст жарж.
i dast žarž
one hand milk

They cut his head off and from one hand his blood comes out, from the other hand milk.

SM:14

Ивэкэт яв зод быдиц ханэн: "эло яв црэнг
iwək=ət yaw zod byd-iš хан-эн elo yaw crəng
suddenly=and his children children-PL say-3PL brother.adr he how

витэй?".

vit-əy
become.PST-i

Suddenly, his children [family] say : "What happened to him?"

SM:15

Ханэн: "эло яв давэн омухт".
хан-эн elo yaw dav-эн omuxт
say-3PL brother.adr he with them-ABL used to

They say: "My dear, he is used to them" [i.e. he is safe with the fairies, surely nothing would happen to him].

SM:16

Ян а наҗд инот винэн ки, алоликэм явэш чиз
yan a nažd inot vin-эн ki alolikəm yaw=əš čiz
then EMP night dream see-3PL that my dear brother.adr he=IPFV what

царт ало, пахстэшэк.
car-t alo paxs-t=əš-ək
do-3SG brother.adr moan-3SG=IPFV-DIM

Then that night they see a dream that, my dear, he is moaning.

SM:17

Ян рэчэн ки йэм ранг.
yan rəč-эн ki yəm rang
then go-3PL that DEM1 manner

Then they go (there and see) that (it happened) like this.

A. Text Corpus

SM:18

Жаржвхэн ғар нив а ска, сәк и палыв жарж, җи
žarž-wxən ƣar niv a sk-a sək i palıw žarž zi
milk-blood stone now EMP from-DEM3 from one side milk this way

нәй ки жарж ска взитәк.
nəy ki žarž sk-a wizi-tək
but milk to-DEM3 come-3SG-DIM

The stone of milk-and-blood is now from that [that's the origin of the stone of milk-and-blood], from one side milk (comes out), but this is (not) milk that comes out.

SM:19

Сәк и палыв жарж сырат, сәк и палыв вхәнән.
sək i palıw žarž syrat sək i palıw wxən-ən
in one side milk picture in one side blood-ABL

From one side it looks like milk, from the other side like blood.

SM:20

Яв тә Кихн чрав.
yaw tə Kixn črav
it in Kikhn canyon

It [the milk-and-blood stone] is in the Kikhn canyon

SM:21

Та остон бә тәй, жаржвхән нив яр хәнән.
ta oston bə təy žarž-wxən niv yar xən-ən
there3 shrine too is milk-blood now to it say-3PL

There is also a shrine there, it is now called blood-and-milk.

A.12 Text 12: SB

Shodmonbig

SB:1

Спо Бобокалон тәй Шодмонбиг.
spo bobokalon təy Šodmonbig
our great-grandfather is Shodmonbig

Our great-grandfather [ancestor] is Shodmonbig.

SB:2

Явэн яв тати яв нани сакэн а ца
 yaw-эн yaw tat-i yaw nan-i sak=эн а с-а
 his-ABL his father-ACC his mother-ACC we=1PL EMP from-DEM3

лупвэн нэкшэнг, яв тат куй туэтк, яв нан куй
 lup-v-эн нэ-kṣəng yaw tat kuy tuətḱ yaw nan kuy
 big-PL.OBL-ABL NEG-hear.PF his father who be.PF his mother who

туэтк, явищ куй туэтк, нэдищэм.
 tuətḱ yawiṣṣ kuy tuətḱ nə-diṣ-əm
 be.PF they who be.PF NEG-know-1SG

We haven't heard from our ancestors [lit. 'from the big ones'] who his father was, who his mother was, who they were, I don't know.

SB:3

Йэтищ си нэфус туэтк.
 yətiṣṣ si nəfus tuətḱ
 DEM2.PL thirty person be.PF

They [Shodmonbig and his family] were 30 people.

SB:4

Йэтви царэн банд, бдарға.
 yət-vi car-эн band bdaṛḡa
 DEM2-PL.OBL do-3PL arrest exile

They are arrested (and sent) to exile.

SB:5

Йэтви юндэн, ачон, Шохдра.
 yət-vi yund-эн аjon Ṣoxdra
 DEM2-PL.OBL take-3PL dear Shokhdara

They are taken, my dear, to Shokhdara.

SB:6

Цанэн вэзиэн дрэм, воз йэтви стыйэн, воз
 can-эн wəzi-эн drəm woz yət-vi styu-эн woz
 from there3-ABL come-3PL here1 again DEM2-PL.OBL send-3PL again

йэтищ царэн фрор.
 yət-iṣṣ car-эн fror
 DEM2-PL do-3PL escape

From there they return back here, again they are sent away, again they escape.

A. Text Corpus

SB:7

Рэдэн цонхлосирэк.
rəd-ən ʃon-xloɬi-rək
run away-3PL life-freedom-DAT

They run away to save their lives.

SB:8

Йэт га ъахт туэтк.
yət ɣa waxt tuətʰk
DEM2 very time be.PF

This was a long time ago.

SB:9

Ачонэт ян рэшт, рэшт Файзобод.
aʃon=ət yan rəʃ-t rəʃ-t Fayzobod
dear.adr=and then go-3SG go-3SG Fayzabad

My dear and then he goes, he goes to Fayzabad.

SB:10

Ян а Щодмонбиг яѳ луп врыт туэтк.
yan a ʃodmonbig yaw lup vryt tuətʰk
then EMP Shodmonbeg his big brother be.PF

Then that Shodmonbig was his older brother.

SB:11

Яѳэн цум врыт туэтк, цум пэтр туэтк, яѳ номалым,
yaw-ən cum vryt tuətʰk cum pətr tuətʰk yaw nomalym
his-ABL how many brother be.PF how many son be.PF it unknown

сак нэдищэн.
sak nə-diʃ-ən
we NEG-know-1PL

We don't know how many brothers, how many sons he had, it's unknown.

SB:12

Ачон янэт рэшт а дэм Файзобод.
aʃon yan=ət rəʃ-t a dɛm Fayzobod
dear then=and go-3SG EMP in-DEM1 Fayzabad

My dear, then he goes to this Fayzabad.

SB:13

Ян йәм җы зманвәр ази җанд, җанд: "Җуз
 уан уәм җы zman-v-әг azi җан-d җан-d wuz
 then DEM1 own child-PL.OBL-DAT like this say-3SG say-3SG I

савәр борй гирон".
 sav-әг boiḡ giron
 you.PL.OBL-DAT rock heavy

Then he says to his children like this, he says: "I am a heavy burden [lit. rock] for you."

SB:14

Мала, хәҗин мала туәтк.
 mala хәҗin mala tuәtk
 room clay room be.PF

The room [where he was staying], it was a clay room.

SB:15

"Җуз йәм пышәм, ныҗзәм.
 wuz уәм рыҗ-әм пыwz-әм
 I DEM1 dig-1SG come out-1SG

"I will dig in this (wall) and get out.

SB:16

Ягон як соат, ё якним соат саиц жы сири
 yagon yak soat yo yaknim soat saiṣ җы sir-i
 some one hour or one and half hour you.PL my secret-ACC

мәҗанәв.
 мә-җан-әв
 PROH-say-2PL

Keep this secret for one or one and a half hour, don't tell anybody.

SB:17

Җуз якним соат дә и борй бән ки җат картәм, ян
 wuz yaknim soat дә i boiḡ bән ki җат kart=әм уан
 I one and half hour in one rock down that self put.PST=1SG then

хбар царәв.
 xbar car-әв
 news do-2PL

After one and a half hour when I will have arrived to the rock, then tell the news.

A. Text Corpus

SB:18

Мэханэн хбарэв нэкэрти, сави бэ рандэн азоб."
mә-xan-әn хbar=әv нә-kәrt-i sav-i бә rand-әn azob
PROH-say-3PL news=2PL NEG-do.PST-i your-ACC too give-3PL trouble

Let them not say that you didn't inform them, otherwise they will give you trouble, too."

SB:19

А йэт зи пышт пыштэт сэрв цартэт ныыызд.
a уәт zi рыш-t рыш-t=әт сәrv car-t=әт нывыз-d
EMP DEM2 manner dig-3SG dig-3SG=and hole do-3SG=and come out-3SG

So, he digs, digs and he makes a hole and gets out.

SB:20

Йәгищ дә банд, юткәвәш а ра наг, ар Кобыл наг.
уәт-iš дә band yutk=әv=әш а r-a nag ar Кобыл nag
DEM2-PL in arrest take.PF=3PL=IPFV EMP to-DEM3 side to Kabul side

Those still under arrest, they have been taken to that side, to the Kabul side.

SB:21

Ян юндән ачон, йәт ян пщит, ян йизит.
уан yund-әn аjon уәт уан рši-t уан wizi-t
then take-3PL dear DEM2 then return-3SG then come-3SG

Then they take (them), dear, he then returns, then comes (back).

SB:22

Йизит, а йәт ранг дәйт дәйтэт алалот
wizi-t а уәт rang дәу-t дәу-t=әт alalot
come-3SG EMP DEM2 manner hit-3SG hit-3SG=and commotion

Үост.

wos-t

become-3SG

He comes, gradually a commotion arises.

SB:23

Йәт ян и чмул туәтк, рәвәзд а тәт чмул.
уәт уан i čmul tuәtk rәwәz-d а t-әт čmul
DEM2 then one [unclear] be.PF jump-3SG EMP in-DEM2 [unclear]

There was a [unclear, possibly čmәndg – type of fireplace, family hearth], he jumps on that [fireplace].

SB:24

Најд а та җат мыщт.
 naʻd a t-a ʒat myš-t
 night EMP in-DEM3 self hide-3SG

At night he hides himself there.

SB:25

Яв зманищ дэ банд а дрэт.
 yaw zman-iš də band a drət
 his child-PL in arrest EMP there2

His children are there under arrest.

SB:26

А дра ян ягон ды соат се соат йэти шкургэн ки,
 a dra yan yagon dy soat se soat yət-i škurǵ-ən ki
 EMP there3 then some two hour three hour DEM2-ACC look for-3PL that

йэт наст.
 yət nast
 DEM2 is not

They look for him there for about two or three hours but he is not (there).

SB:27

"Э", җанэн, "хай, яв мусфид, кумчай ʋашти, мэрти".
 e ʒan-ən xay yaw musfid kumʒay wašt-i mərt-i
 adr say-3PL well he old man (some)where fall.PST-i die.PST-i

"Eh", they say, "he is an old man, he fell and died somewhere."

SB:28

Ян а цанэн йэтви дам нэст.
 yan a can-ən yət-vi dam nəst
 then EMP from DEM3-ABL DEM2-PL.OBL rest sit-3SG

Then from that time they quit looking for him.

SB:29

Йэт ʋизит а йэм ранг ку тэр ку, ʋизит
 yət wizi-t a yəm rang ku tər ku wizi-t
 DEM2 come-3SG EMP DEM1 manner mountain to mountain come-3SG

A. Text Corpus

ме а дэм Зибок.
me a də-əm Zibok
behold EMP in-DEM1 Zebok

He comes over hill and dale and arrives to this (place called) Zebok.

SB:30

А дрэтэт дэ и хун ызит, сэндал ыашк, мэрз,
a drət=ət də i xun wizi-t səndal waʃk mərz
EMP there2=and in one house come-3SG worn out shoes fall.PF hungry

пыщпытк.
рыšрытк
barefoot

There he comes to one house, his worn out shoes have fallen apart, he is hungry and barefoot.

SB:31

Ян и хиш яён туэтк Рамадон нунг туэтк.
yan i xiš yaw-ən tuətк Ramadon nung tuətк
then one relative his-ABL be.PF Ramadon name be.PF

Then he had a relative, his name was Ramadon.

SB:32

Яё мымкин хиш туэтк.
yaw mymkin xiš tuətк
he maybe relative be.PF

Maybe he was a relative.

SB:33

Яё нан туэтк цанэн, яё пуп цанэн, яё
yaw nan tuətк can-ən yaw pup can-ən yaw
his mother be.PF from there3-ABL his grandfather from there3-ABL it

бэт куй дишт.
bət kuy diš-t
more who know-3SG

(Apparently) his mother was from that (family), or his grandfather, who knows it now.

SB:34

Ян а дра дэ и хун чирмитэт а дра пипр каён,
yan a dra də i xun čirmi-t=ət a dra pipr kač-ən
then EMP there3 in one house enter-3SG=and EMP there3 bed put-3PL

яў а да паст раж җат бынд.
 уaw а ды-а past raž җat byn-d
 he EMP in-DEM3 low plank bed self throw-3SG

Then, there he enters one house and they prepare a bed there (for him), he throws himself on the low plank bed [part of the Pamir house architecture].

SB:35

Хай цум рўор мэрз, щлах, пыщпытк, цə хəди Файзободəн
 хay cum rwor mərz šlah ryšpytk sə xədi Fayzobod-ən
 well how many day hungry naked barefoot from itself Fayzabad-ABL

Ўəзг.

wəzg
 come.PF

Well, for many days he (was) hungry, naked, barefoot, he has come from Fayzabad itself.

SB:36

Ян а дра җат мышт, а дра нисит.
 уan а dra җat myš-t а dra nisi-t
 then EMP there3 self hide-3SG EMP there3 sleep-3SG

Then he hides himself there and sleeps there.

SB:37

Иўки тəм хун тқи лоў лоў ўост.
 iwki t-əm хun tqi low-low wos-t
 suddenly in-DEM1 house many noise become-3SG

Suddenly, there is a lot of noise in the house.

SB:38

"Э", җанд, "биуда, нив всеравно мажи ўодордəв".
 e җan-d biuda niv vseravno (ru) maž-i wodord=əv
 adr say-3SG useless now no matter I.OBL-ACC catch.PST=3PL

"Eh", he says: "it (was) useless [that I hid myself], no matter, they caught me now."

SB:39

Хай, ўуч җати царг ки, а я Рамадон а да
 хay wuč җat-i car-t ki а ya Ramadon а də-a
 well up self-ACC do-3SG that EMP DEM3 Ramadon EMP in-DEM3

A. Text Corpus

ражсар,	а	я	чай	қццлоқән	яў	луп	туәтк	а	яў.
raʒsar	а	ya	ʃaj	qʃloq-ən	yaw	lup	tuətʃk	а	yaw
respectable place	EMP	DEM3	place	village-ABL	he	big	be.PF	EMP	he

Well, he gets up (and sees) that that Ramadon (is sitting) on that respectable place [part of the Pamir house architecture], he was an elder [lit. big] in the village in this place.

SB:40

"Э, бобои	Шодмонбиг,	цә	кум	наг?"
e bobo-i	ʃodmonbig	cə	kum	nag
adr grandfather-EZ	Shodmonbig	from	what	side

(Ramadon asks): "Grandfather Shodmonbig, where (are you coming) from?"

SB:41

Ўанд:	"хай	ме	эм	ранг".
ʔan-d	hay	me	əm	rang
say-3SG	well	behold	DEM1	manner

He says: "Well, it (is) like this."

SB:42

Дәйт	мәнодй	йәт	халқи,	ўанд:	"йәми	ўуз	хлос
dəy-t	mənodi	yət	xalq-i	ʔan-d	yəm-i	wuz	xlos
hit-3SG	gathering	DEM2	people-ACC	say-3SG	DEM1-ACC	I	free

царәм,	агар	йәм	сири	цә	ўанән,	ўуз	сав	ға
car-əm	agar	yəm	sir-i	cə	ʔan-ən	wuz	sav	ya
do-1SG	if	DEM1	secret-ACC	REL	say-3PL	I	you.PL.OBL	very

азоб	рандәм".
azob	rand-əm
trouble	give-1SG

He gathers the people (and) says: "I am going to free him, if this secret is revealed, I will give you a lot of trouble."

SB:43

Ян	яўи	ўызымд	дә	ўы	бар.
yān	yaw-i	wyzym-d	də	ʔy	bar
then	he-ACC	bring-3SG	in	own	door

Then he brings him to his home [lit. door].

SB:44

Як мо ды мо а ранг, хай яв чиз, ниҳывд яв тэр
 yak mo dy mo a rang xay yaw čiz niħyv-d yaw tər
 one month two month EMP manner well he what take out-3SG he to

бар мизг цартэт вoз яв карт дэ хун.
 bar mizg car-t=ət woz yaw kar-t də xun.
 door urine do-3SG=and again he put-3SG in house

One month or two months (pass) this way, well, he takes him out [lit. to the door] to take a leak, again brings him to the house.

SB:45

Дэ и очра туэтка, дэ қшхона туэтка.
 də i oĵra tuətġ-a də qšħona tuətġ-a
 in one hut be.PF-Q in guest room be.PF-Q

Maybe he was in a hut, maybe he was in a guest room.

SB:46

Яв зманищ рэҗдэв наштэв.
 yaw zman-iš rəĵd=əv našt=əv
 his child-PL go.PST=3PL get lost.PST=3PL

His children went and disappeared.

SB:47

Аҷон янэт як мо ды мо а дра пытрымдэт җанд:
 aĵon yan=ət yak mo dy mo a dra pytrym-d=ət ĵan-d
 dear then=and one month two month EMP there3 keep-3SG=and say-3SG

"э Шодмонбиг, вuз цэ җы җэчэн нэбэқйэмэк,
 e šodmonbig wuz sə ĵy ĵəč-ən nə-bəqy-əm-ək
 adr Shodmonbig I from own bread-ABL NEG-be concerned-1SG-DIM

цэ җы бэҗэн нэбэқйэмэк.
 sə ĵy bəĵ-ən nə-bəqy-əm-ək
 from own clothes-ABL NEG-be concerned-1SG-DIM

My dear, then he keeps him for one or two months and says: "Shodmonbig, I am not concerned about my bread, I am not concerned about my clothes.

SB:48

Хай, ту охир и кла ымый, вuз чаṯ ранг тар алаф
 xay tu oxir i kla ымыу wuz čaṯ rang tar alaf
 well you.SG finally one ram be.SBJV I cattle like to you forage

A. Text Corpus

рандэмэт ёуз таё чэёэм.
rand-эм=эт wuz taw ёёё-эм
give-1SG=and I you.OBL butcher-1SG

Well, after all, if you were a ram, I would give you forage like to cattle and I would butcher you.

SB:49

Хай ту илой ныёыз, дё и халгэн наёл цар, чаё чаё
hay tu i-loy nywyz de i xalg-en naql car chaq chaq
well you.SG one-time come out with one man-ABL telling do chatting

цар, аёои тоза таё дёйт.
car awo-i toza taw day-t
do air-EZ clean you.OBL hit-3SG

Well, go out sometimes, talk to somebody, chat with somebody, get the fresh air.

SB:50

Ази чай тёйо, ёуз таё ёндём, ту а дра хлос
azi jay tay-o wuz taw yund-эм tu a dra xlos
such place is-Q I you.OBL take-1SG you.SG EMP there3 free

ёост, паного ёатёр гот".
wos-t ranogo xat-er got
become-3SG hiding place self-DAT find

If there is such a place, I will take you (there), you will become free there, find a hiding place for yourself."

SB:51

ёанд: "и чай тёй, дё Ран спо пир Шоабытолиб".
xan-d i jay tay de Ran spo pir Shoabitolib
say-3SG one place is in Ryn our Pir Shoabutolib

He says: "There is a place, in Ryn there is our Pir [religious leader] Shoabutolib".

SB:52

ёём ётандор туётк а дём Ран.
yam wtandor tuatk a de-эм Ran
DEM1 local be.PF EMP in-DEM1 Ryn

He was local in Ryn.

SB:53

Ҷанд: "а дра ки ютэт маж, тамом".
 ʃan-d a dra ki yut=ət maʒ tamom
 say-3SG EMP there3 that take.PST=2SG I.OBL end

He says: "if you take me there, that's all (I need)."

SB:54

Йэгэн айни йэм Щогын дэвра бу яшч дэ хэнэк.
 yət-ən ayni yəm ʃogyn dəwra bu yaʃ də xənek
 DEM2-ABL time DEM1 Navrooz period two horse in readiness

In the time of Navrooz [Persian New Year] he had two horses ready for use.

SB:55

Ян ив Ҷат свор востэт ив йэт, рост ызымдэт а
 yan iw ʃat swor wos-t=ət iw yət rost ызым-d=ət а
 then one self rider become-3SG=and one DEM2 right bring-3SG=and EMP

дэ пир шэхн, дэ Шоабытолиб шэхн.
 də pir šəxn də ʃoabytolib šəxn
 in Pir near in Shoabutolib near

Then he himself sits on one of the horses, the other sits on the other (horse), he takes him directly to the Pir, to Shoabutolib.

SB:56

Ҷанд: "хай соиб, ме эм ранг, йэм мусфид ки,
 ʃan-d xay soib me em rang yəm musfid ki
 say-3SG well master behold DEM1 manner DEM1 old man that

'мажи юнд жы пир шэхн".
 maʒ-i yund ʒy pir šəxn
 I.OBL-ACC take my Pir near

He says: "Well, Master, it's this way, this old man (told me) that 'take me to my Pir'."

SB:57

Хай ягон шац мо ғирд дэ қшлоқ нақл царт.
 xay yagon ʃaʃ mo ғir-d də qʃloq naql car-t
 well some six month walk-3SG in village telling do-3SG

Well, during about six months he walks in the village and tells the story.

A. Text Corpus

SB:58

Ханд: "э Шодмонбиг, вэзи, ту тэй драхти хышкэт вүз
ḡan-d e Šodmonbig wəzi tu təy draxt-i xыḡk=ət wuz
say-3SG adr Shodmonbig come you.SG be tree-EZ dry=and I

тави савз царэм".
taw-i savz car-əm
you.OBL-ACC green do-1SG

(The Pir) says: "Eh, Shodmonbig, come on, you are a dry tree, I will make you young [lit. green]."

SB:59

"Э пир" ханд, "вүзэм савзэр нэвэзг.
e pir ḡan-d wuz=əm savz-ər nə-wəzg
adr Pir say-3SG I=1SG green-DAT NEG-come.PF

(Shodmonbig) says: "Pir, I haven't come to become young [lit. green]."

SB:60

Вүз а тум хатэм ки, вүз мэриэм а дрэмэт ту
wuz a tum ḡat=əm ki wuz məri-əm a drəm=ət tu
I EMP such say.PST=1SG that I die-1SG EMP hereI=and you.SG

и клима ар жы řаш пуф цар".
i klima ar žy řaš puf car
one word to my mouth blow do

I just thought [lit. said] that I would die here and you would only have to blow a word to my mouth [read the prayer over a dying person]."

SB:61

Ханд: "нэй, тинэн бу пэтр вост и зэрд".
ḡan-d nəy tin-ən bu pətr wos-t i zərd
say-3SG no yours-ABL two son become-3SG one daughter

He says: "no, you will have two sons and one daughter".

SB:62

Яв хяр туэтк, хай име йэм жы син.
yaw xyar tuətk xay ime yəm žy sin
he old be.PF well behold DEM1 my age

He was old, well, look, like my age.

SB:63

Ачонэт ханд: "нив рэч, кумчай и биѡа
 aʃon=ət xan-d niv rəç kumjaj i biwa
 dear.adr=and say-3SG now go somewhere one widow

кура гот, ѱэзи дрэм, ѱуз хат рэчэм хишй,
 kura got wəzi drəm wuz xat rəç-əm xišī
 woman with some defect find come here I self go-1SG courtship

рандэм тарэк".
 rand-əm tar-ək
 give-1SG to you-DAT

My dear and then he says: "go now, find a widow somewhere, or a woman with some defect [who would suit you], come here, I myself will go to ask marriage for you and give her to you."

SB:64

Йэт ѱзит ме а йэм Чищ ки нив спо хиш цэй,
 yət wizi-t me a yəm Ķ-iš ki niv spo xiš cəy
 DEM2 come-3SG behold EMP DEM1 J-PL that now our relatives REL

а йэмищ а ца қдимэн хиш туэткэв.
 a yəm-iš a ca qdim-ən xiš tuatk=əv
 EMP DEM1-PL EMP from-DEM3 ancient-ABL relatives be.PF=3PL

He comes to these J...s who are now our relatives, they have been our relatives since long ago.

SB:65

Яѡ ѱзит а дрэт, и ѳэд яѡэн, хай нэ сарэт нэ
 yaw wizi-t a drət i dəyd yaw-ən xaj nə sarət nə
 he come-3SG EMP there2 one daughter his-ABL well not head=and not

сыратэт ян ази тамиз бэ тум нэтуэтк.
 syrat=ət yan azi tamiz bə tum nə-tuatk
 picture=and then such cleanly too such NEG-be.PF

He comes there, he [J..] had a daughter, well, she was not very beautiful and then not so cleanly either.

SB:66

"Э", ханд, "мажи баф црэнг юнд.
 e xan-d maž-i baf crəng yund
 adr say-3SG I.OBL-ACC good how take

He [Shodmonbig] says: "how would a good woman marry me.

A. Text Corpus

SB:67

Нив йәм пир маж кәрк маҷбур.
niv yəm pir maž kərk maǰbur
now DEM1 Pir I.OBL do.PF obliged

Now this Pir has forced me [to marry someone].

SB:68

Нив тавакал, а йәми юндәм".
niv tavakal a yəm-i yund-əm
now risk EMP DEM1-ACC take-1SG

Now, it's a risk (but so what), I will take this one."

SB:69

Хай наўд дрәт алдәт җанд: "Шодмонбиг ту дәр кум?".
xay naǔd drət al-d=ət ǰan-d šodmonbig tu dər kum
well night there2 stay-3SG=and say-3SG Shodmonbig you.SG in which

Well, he stays there for night and he [J..] asks him: "Shodmonbig, where do you live [lit. where (are) you]?"

SB:70

Җанд: "Ѕуз дә пир шәхн".
ǰan-d wuz də pir šəxñ
say-3SG I in Pir near

He says: "I stay with the Pir."

SB:71

Җанд: "Шодмонбиг, црәнг?".
ǰan-d šodmonbig crəng
say-3SG Shodmonbig how

[He returns to the Pir and the Pir] asks: "Shodmonbig, how (did it go)?"

SB:72

Җанд: "хай соиб, мажи баф нәюнд.
ǰan-d xay soib maž-i baf nə-yund
say-3SG well master I.OBL-ACC good NEG-take

He says: "Well, master, a good (woman) will not marry me.

SB:73

А я Цэн и ээд тэй".
 a ya Ĵ-ən i dēyd tēy
 EMP DEM3 J-ABL one daughter is

That J. has one daughter."

SB:74

"О", ханд, "яв щак зай бэ тэй".
 o хан-d yaw šak day бэ tēy
 yes say-3SG he bad man too is

"Yes", he says, "he [J.] is also a bad man."

SB:75

Яв оқсақола чиз ки цэй амалдор туэтк.
 yaw oqsaqol-a čiz ki cēy amaldor tuətk
 he elder-Q something official be.PF

(Perhaps) he was an elder or something official.

SB:76

Ян я хы яци свор вост.
 yan ya хы yaš-i swor wos-t
 then DEM3 own horse-ACC rider become-3SG

Then he [the Pir] gets on his horse.

SB:77

Хай визит.
 xay wizi-t
 well come-3SG

Well, he comes (to J.).

SB:78

"Э" ханэн, "пир вэдэй".
 e хан-ən pir wəzd-əy
 adr say-3PL Pir come.PST-i

"Hey", they say: "the Pir has come".

SB:79

Ханд: "ко диди, яв дә кум қолиб вэзг, яв ази
 хан-d ko didi yaw də kum qolib wəzg yaw azi
 say-3SG now then look he in which appearance come.PF he like

A. Text Corpus

дарвəшй̄ в̄əзго, нəй яв̄ ази дə пирй̄ бəтəно?"
darwəʃi wəzg-o nəy yaw azi də piri bət-ən-o
dervish (adj) come.PF-Q no he like with pir (adj) clothes-ABL-Q

(J..) says: "Now then, (go and) look in what form he has come. Has he come like a derwish [= in a modest form] or he (is) in a Pir fashion?"

SB:80

Ханд: "ə соиб, яв̄ ази и ичин сə пəдн цускəт, ази
xan-d e soib yaw azi i ijin sə pədn cusk=ət azi
say-3SG adr master he like this one carpet on saddle top=and like this

фақирй̄".
faqir-i
fakir-n>adj

He says: "Master, he has one carpet on his saddle and he looks like fakir [=ascetic]."

SB:81

Ян рухнптыкəт нывызд яв̄əр пəшвəз, йəтəр Хəдо
yan ruhn-ptyk=ət nyvyz-d yawər pəʃwoz yət-ər Xədo
then white-sweets=and come out-3SG he-DAT welcome DEM2-DAT God

тофиқ сə ранд.
tofiq sə rand
favour REL give.3SG

Then (he takes) the sweets and comes out to welcome him, God gives him [J..] this favour [that he can welcome the Pir with honour].

SB:82

Хай визит юнд яв̄ дə хунəт айзатəт урматəт нəғд
hay wizi-t yund yaw də hun=ət ayzatət urmat=ət nəğd
well come-3SG take.3SG he in house=and honouring=and night

пытрымд.
rytym-d
keep-3SG

Well, he comes and takes him to the house with honour and at night keeps him in his house.

SB:83

Ханд: "э Ц, Ъузэм ти шэхн вэзг".
 хан-d e j wuz=эм ti шэхн wəzɡ
 say-3SG adr J I=1SG your near come.PF

(The Pir) says: "J., I have come to you."

SB:84

Ханд: "чиз?".
 хан-d čiz
 say-3SG what

(J.) says: "What (for)?"

SB:85

Ханд: "а йэм ранг, тинэн и зэйд".
 хан-d а уэм rang tin-эн i зэйд
 say-3SG EMP DEM1 way yours-ABL one daughter

(The Pir) says: "It's that you have a daughter."

SB:86

Ханд: "э соиб яв марэк чиз воз, тарэк яв халг
 хан-d e soib yaw mar-эк čiz woz tar-эк yaw халг
 say-3SG adr master she to me-DAT what again to you-DAT she person

наст".
 nast
 is not

(J.) says: "Master, what is she to me? She is not [a good enough] person for you."

SB:87

Ханд: "марэк а яв лозим".
 хан-d мар-эк а yaw lozim
 say-3SG to me-DAT EMP she necessary

(The Pir) says: "I need exactly her."

SB:88

Ханд: "туэш яви куйэр ранд?".
 хан-d ту=эш yaw-i куй-эр rand
 say-3SG you=IPFV she-ACC who-DAT give

(J.) says: "To whom are you giving her?"

A. Text Corpus

SB:89

Ханд: "Шодмонбигэр".
хан-d Šodmonbig-эр
say-3SG Shodmonbig-DAT

(The Pir) says: "To Shodmonbig".

SB:90

Ханд: "хай ки Шодмонбигэр, ту нив ыхсат.
хан-d хай ki Šodmonbig-эр tu niv ыхсат
say-3SG well that Shodmonbig-DAT you.SG now permission

(J..) says: "Alright, if it's for Shodmonbig, you have my permission now.

SB:91

Ту рэч, я Шодмонбиги ай цар тэм жы шэhn.
tu рэч ya Šodmonbig-i ay car t-эм žы шэhn
you.SG go DEM3 Shodmonbig-ACC chasing do to-DEM1 my near

Go, send [lit. chase] that Shodmonbig to me.

SB:92

Я Шодмонбиг жынэн".
ya Šodmonbig žынэн
DEM3 Shodmonbig mine

That Shodmonbig is mine [my relative]."

SB:93

Ян визит дрэтэт я хы зэди царт явэр
yan wizi-t drət=ət ya хы дэyd-i car-t yawər
then come-3SG there2=and DEM3 own daughter-ACC do-3SG he-DAT

нико.
niko
Nikah

Then (Shodmonbig) comes there and that one [J..) makes a Nikah [religious marriage ceremony] and gives his daughter to him.

A.13 Text 13: SK

Story about the Kidnapped Girl

SK:1

Ха йуз гали и ривоят савэр ханэм, яв чизи
 ха wuz ɣali i riwoyat sav-ər хан-эм yaw čiz-i
 well I yet one story you.PL.OBL-DAT say-1SG it thing-EZ

тарихио.
 tarixi-o
 historical-CONF

Well, I will tell you yet another story, it's a historical story.

SK:2

А йэм дэвраи мис а йэм афғониц сак га азоб
 а уэм дəwra-i mis а уэм awɣon-iš sak ɣa azob
 EMP DEM1 era-EZ before EMP DEM1 Afghan-PL we very trouble

рəткo.
 rətk-o
 give.PF-CONF

In the old times the Afghans used to give us a lot of trouble.

SK:3

Хай малыми, тарих, йəт əчкуй йəт нəдишт.
 хау малымī tarix уəт əč kuy уəт нə-diš-t
 well known history DEM2 nobody DEM2 NEG-know-3SG

Well, as is known, it's past, nobody knows it now.

SK:4

Доим мисол а цанэн явйиц цə вəзгит, вəзг
 doim misol а сан-ən yawiš cə wəzg-it wəzg
 always for example EMP from there3-ABL they REL come.PF-sfx come.PF

трэм, халгəв мисоли мол олвəв зəтк, хыщруй
 tr-əm xalgəv misoli mol ol-vəv zətk xəšruy
 to-DEM1 man=3PL for example possessions-PL.OBL=3PL seize.PF beautiful

прчодəв кəрк йудй, юткəв тра.
 prčodəv kərk йudī yutkəv tr-a
 girl=3PL do.PF theft take=3PL to-DEM3

All the time, for example, when they had been coming from there, they had been coming to people, for example they had been stealing possessions, they had been

A. Text Corpus

abducting beautiful girls and had been taking them away.

SK:5

А эм ранг тқи умуман Ўахонэн.
a ɛm rang tqi umuman Waxon-ən
EMP DEM1 manner many generally Wakhan-ABL

Generally, it (happened) many times in Wakhan.

SK:6

Ға азобэв саки рэтк, спо мәрдымви.
ya azob=ɛv sak-i rɛtk spo mɛrdym-vi
very pain=3PL we-ACC give.PF our people-PL.OBL

They have given us a lot of trouble, to our people.

SK:7

Ян и нақли царэм, йэм ақи тарихй мөқом.
yan i naql-i sar-ɛm yɛm aqi tariħi mɛqom
then one story-ACC do-1SG DEM1 such historical kind of

I will tell you one story, it is kind of historical story.

SK:8

Дэм Птып, дэ Йэмчын туэткит, и прчод ға хыщруй туэткит.
dɛ-ɛm Ptyp dɛ Yɛmɕyn tuɛtk-it i prɕod ɣa xɛʃruy tuɛtk-it
in-DEM1 Ptyp in Yamchun be.PF-sfx one girl very beautiful be.PF-sfx

It was in Ptyp, in Yamchun, there was a very beautiful girl.

SK:9

Ян айғониц ца палыён ёзэйэн хэ, ёзэйэн дырзэн
yan awyɔn-iʃ sa palɣy-ɛn wɛzy-ɛn xɛ wɛzy-ɛn dɣrz-ɛn
then Afghan-PL from-DEM3 side-ABL come-3PL and come-3PL take-3PL

яйи рэчэн.
yaw-i rɛɕ-ɛn
she-ACC go-3PL

Then the Afghans come from the other side, they come, take her and go.

SK:10

Ха яйиц труй цбыр нфарэв туэтк дэ яцэн, бынэн
xa yawiʃ truy cbyr nfar=ɛv tuɛtk dɛ yaʃ-ɛn byn-ɛn
well they three four person=3PL be.PF with horse-ABL throw-3PL

яѳи ска ҕы пәнїла, ска ҕы цбас яѳи бынән
 yaw-i sk-a ҕы рәнзла sk-a ҕы cbas yaw-i бын-ән
 she-ACC on-DEM3 own load on-DEM3 own back she-ACC throw-3PL

юндән та палыѳ.
 yund-ән t-a ралыw
 take-3PL to-DEM3 side

Well, they were three or four people with horses, they throw her on their load, throw her on their backs and carry her to that side.

SK:11

Йәт мис дәѳра нақл, нақл мымкин аср зәтәр щәхсәтк аѳи.
 yət mis dəwra naql naql mymkin asr zyotər šəxsətk aʃi
 DEM2 before era story story maybe century more pass.PF like this

This is a story from the old times, maybe several centuries had passed.

SK:12

Ян ха йәт номыси қщлоқ охир.
 yan xa yət nomysi qšloq oxir
 then well DEM2 reputation-EZ village after all

Then, well, after all, it is a matter of the reputation of the village.

SK:13

Ян йәм мусфиди Птыпищ кы ҕанән: "ачаб
 yan yəm musfid-i Ptyp-iš ky ҕан-ән аҗаб
 then DEM1 old man-EZ Ptyp-PL all say-3PL strange

биномысәв саки кәрти, йәм ләқаб, спо прчодәв
 bi-nomys=əv saki kərt-i yəm ləqab spo prčod=əv
 without-reputation=3PL we-ACC do.PST-Ø-PST DEM1 shame our girl=3PL

дәжди рәѳди та палыѳ."
 dəʒd-i rəʃd-i ta palıw
 take.PST-i go.PST-i to-DEM3 side

Then the old men [elders] from Ptyp, all of them say: "They strangely dishonoured us, this is a shame, they took our girl, went to the other side."

SK:14

Йәгищ ян хай ян туәтк хоҗагї кам.
 yət-iš yan xay yan tuətk hoʃagı kam
 DEM2-PL then well then be.PF household little

There were few households there [on this side of the river].

A. Text Corpus

SK:15

Птып то Йэмчын панч да хоцагй туэтк а тум.
Ptyr to Yэмсѳын panĵ da хојаgĭ tuətĳ a tum
Ptyr until Yamchun five ten household be.PF EMP much

From Ptyr to Yamchun there were around 5–10 households.

SK:16

Яѳищ ян ѳэйэн тэм Вранг.
yawiš yan wəzy-ən t-əm Vrang
they then come-3PL to-DEM1 Vrang

They [people from Yamchun and Ptyr] then come to Vrang.

SK:17

Хай ян ѳэйэн Вранг, йэм мусфидвэр царэн муроѳиат:
hay yan wəzy-ən Vrang yəm musfid-v-ər car-ən muroĳiyat
well then come-3PL Vrang DEM1 old man-PL.OBL-DAT do-3PL address

"сакэв йэм ранг гоѳти, биобруйэв саки кэрти, спо
sak=əv yəm rang goĳt-i biobruy=əv sak-i kərt-i spo
we=3PL DEM1 manner make.PST-i dishonored=3PL we-ACC do.PST-i our

прчоди дэжди рэѳдэв.
prĳod-i dəĳd-i rəĳd=əv
girl-ACC take.PST-i go.PST=3PL

Well, then they come to Vrang, they address the elders: "They did this to us, they dishonoured us, they took away our girl.

SK:18

Сак йэм ранг цов цэ алэн, врокэр чизо ярк дэ
sak yəm rang šov sə al-ən vrokər ĳiz-o yark də
we DEM1 manner silent REL stay-1PL tomorrow thing-PL work with

сакэн царэн".
sak-ən car-ən
we-ABL do-3PL

If we remain silent, tomorrow they will do other [even worse] things with us."

SK:19

Ян йэмищ чам ѳоцэн, йэм мусфидищ Врангэн.
yan yəm-iš ĳam woc-ən yəm musfid-iš Vrang-ən
then DEM1-PL assembling become-3PL DEM1 old man-PL Vrang-ABL

Then they get together, the elders of Vrang.

SK:20

Ян чам ёцэн, хай хнэтк: "рост, йэт номыси
 уан jam woc-ən хау хнэтк rost уэт номыс-и
 then assembling become-3PL well say.PF right DEM2 reputation-ACC

выдрак дэркор".
 wydruk dərkor
 hold.INF necessary

Then they get together, well, (they) have said: "True, it's necessary to defend our reputation."

SK:21

Ян а дрэм и зай туэтк, га палавони зур туэтк.
 уан а дрэм і дау туэтк уа palawon-i zur туэтк
 then EMP here1 one man be.PF very strong man-EZ mighty be.PF

Then, there was a man here, he was a very strong man.

SK:22

Үисман бэ баф туэтк, бэқват туэткэт чиз.
 jisman бэ baf tuətк bəqwat tuətк=ət čiz
 strong too good be.PF powerful be.PF=and what

He was also physically strong, he was powerful.

SK:23

Ян яв ханд ки, "ўуз рэчэм, ўуз рэчэм я чони хлос
 уан уав хан-d ki wuz рэч-эм wuz рэч-эм уа јон-и xlos
 then he say-3SG that I go-1SG I go-1SG DEM3 life-ACC free

царэм.
 car-əm
 do-1SG

Then he says that: "I (will) go, I (will) go and save her life.

SK:24

Ҷы номыси ўуз баргацта царэм.
 хы номыс-и wuz bargашта car-əm
 own reputation-ACC I return do-1SG

I (will) bring back our reputation.

A. Text Corpus

СК:25

Ўз я афғони, падарналёт, варанд яџи".
wuz ya awuon-i padarnalot varand yaw-i
I DEM3 Afghan-ACC scoundrel punish he-ACC

This Afghan, scoundrel, I will punish him".

СК:26

Ян рəшт, цə дрёэн ныџызд, уже наџд џост.
yan rəšt- t sə dryo-ən nywyz-d uže (ru) nažd wos-t
then go-3SG from river-ABL come out-3SG already night become-3SG

Then he goes, he crosses the river, the night already comes.

СК:27

Наџд џост џə, ачон, яџиц уже чрəнг дə и хун,
nažd wos-t џə аjon yawišt uže (ru) črəng də i xun
night become-3SG and dear.adr they already enter.PF in one house

Аџғониц,
awuon-išt
Afghan-PL

Night comes and, my dear, they, the Afghans, have already entered a house.

СК:28

Ўəт санд ска кут.
uət san-d sk-a kut
DEM2 walk up-3SG on-DEM3 roof

He goes up on the roof.

СК:29

Ска кут хыц-хыцəк џизит, ра рицн
sk-a kut xyšt-xyšt-ək wizi-t r-a ricn
on-DEM3 roof secretly-secretly-DIM come-3SG to-DEM3 ceiling window

дидиџд.
didišt-d
see-3SG

He goes up to the roof secretly, he looks down through the ceiling window [part of Pamir house architecture].

SK:30

Ўизит ки, ха а я афғониц ки я прчоди ўудй
 wizi-t ki xa a ya awyon-iš ki ya prčod-i ўudī
 come-3SG that well EMP DEM3 Afghan-PL that DEM3 girl-ACC theft

цә кәрк, явиц кы тәм нйәнгәт трёкәш хашәнәт
 cә kәrk yawiš ky tәm nyәng=әt tryok=әš xaš-әn=әt
 REL do.PF they all here1 sit.PF=and opium=IPFV pull-3PL=and

аўқотәш явәнәт а я прчод тәт ғанй, тәт
 awqot=әš yaw-әn=әt a ya prčod t-әt ғанз t-әt
 food=IPFV eat-3PL=and EMP DEM3 girl in-DEM2 pantry in-DEM2

споцән спицални чай ту а вәхт ки, дра фақат оҷизиц
 spocәn spicalni (ru) jay tu a waxt ki dra faqat oјiz-iš
 ours special place be.PST EMP time that there3 only woman-PL

аләтк.

alәtk

stay.PF

He comes (and sees that), well, those Afghans who have kidnapped the girl, they have all sat down here, they are smoking opium, eating a meal, that girl is in the pantry, at that time we had this special place where only women have been staying.

SK:31

Бази хуниц нив тәй, нәй?
 bazi xun-iš niv tәy nәy
 some house-PL now is no

Some houses still have it, don't they?

SK:32

Кона хун ме нив и хун споцән дрәм тәй.
 kona xun me niv i xun spoc-әn drәm tәy
 old house behold now one house ours-ABL here1 is

(It was) an old house, look, now we have one of these old houses here.

SK:33

Яў и хун дра ғыйнанвәр.
 yaw i xun dra ғыунап-в-әр
 it one house there3 woman-PL.OBL-DAT

It is a house there for women.

A. Text Corpus

СК:34

Нив тэй и хун дрэм Аэн цэй, а ранг тэй.
niv tøy i xun drēm A-ən cøy a rang tøy
now is one house here1 A..-ABL REL EMP manner is

Now, there is one house here which belongs to A.., there is such a one.

СК:35

Аэн а дрэм кона хун.
A-ən a drēm kona xun
A..-ABL EMP here1 old house

A.. has an old house here.

СК:36

Ха дидиҗд, а цэтэн дидиҗд ки, явищ тэт нйэнг,
xa didiḷ-d a c-ət-ən didiḷ-d ki yawiṣ tət nyəng
well see-3SG EMP from-DEM2-ABL see-3SG that they there2 sit.PF

трёкэш хашэн, айқотэш явэнэт йэмэт яв.
tryok=əṣ haṣ-ən awqot=əṣ yaw-ən=ət yəm=ət yaw
opium=IPFV pull-3PL food=IPFV eat-3PL=and DEM1=and DEM3

Well, he sees, from there he sees that they have sat there, they are smoking opium, eating a meal, this and that.

СК:37

Тра руй, йэт цэ дрён нйэшк шумй,
tr-a ruu yət cə dryo-ən nyəṣk ṣumī
to-DEM3 side DEM2 from river-ABL come out.PF in the evening

ныҗызд та палыҗ.
nyḡyz-d t-a palıḡ
come out-3SG to-DEM3 side

On that side, he has come out from the river in the evening, he comes out to that [the other] side.

СК:38

Рэшт ска рицн, дицт ки, яв дэ кум хун,
rəṣ-t sk-a ričn diṣ-t ki yaw də kum xun
go.3SG to-DEM3 ceiling window know-3SG that she in which house

уже пәрст.
 uže (ru) pərst
 already ask.PST

He goes to the ceiling window, he knows which house she is in, he already asked.

SK:39

Санд скәм кут, дидиҗд ки, я җайищ ки җудй цә
 san-d sk-əm kut didiǰ-d ki ya ǰay-iš ki ǰudī cə
 go up-3SG from-DEM1 roof see-3SG that DEM3 man-PL that theft REL

кәркәв я прчоди, явищ та трёкәш хашәнәт
 kərke=əv ya prčod-i yawiš ta tryok=əǰ xaš-ən=ət
 do.PF=3PL DEM3 girl-ACC they there3 opium=IPFV pull-3PL=and

аҗқотәш явән.
 awqot=əǰ yaw-ən
 food=IPFV eat-3PL

He goes up on the roof, he sees that those men who have stolen the girl, they are there smoking opium and eating a meal.

SK:40

А я прчод ха тәт, а та мышәтк, тә руйгин.
 a ya prčod xa tət a ta myšətk tə ruycin
 EMP DEM3 girl well there2 EMP there3 hide.PF in veil

That girl, well, she is there, she has hidden herself there, behind the veil.

SK:41

Руйгина гүә а дра очиз бояд мә яв куй винд.
 ruygina guyo a dra oǰiz boyad mə yaw kuy vin-d
 veil that is EMP there3 woman must PROH she who see-3SG

The veil, it means a woman has to wear it there so that nobody sees her.

SK:42

А әт ранг спочән а җахт туәтк црәнг ки цәй.
 a ət rang spoc-ən a wəxt tuətk crəng ki cəy
 EMP DEM2 manner ours-ABL EMP time be.PF how that REL

We had such things at that time.

A. Text Corpus

SK:43

Аҷон ян яъ хамд цэт хунән.
aʃon yan yaw xam-d c-et xun-ən
dear.adr then he go down-3SG from-DEM2 house-ABL

My dear, he then descends from the house.

SK:44

Ха палавон җы ящи да аъли ванд,
xa palawon ʃy yaʃ-i də-a awli vand
well strong man own horse-ACC in-DEM3 house with a yard fasten

бари дэйт лык.
bar-i dəy-t lyk
door-ACC hit-3SG latch

Well, the strong man hitches his horse in the yard, he latches the door.

SK:45

Ян туәтк лык, қылф нәтуәтк, нәйа.
yan tuətʃk lyk qylf nə-tuətʃk nəy-a
then be.PF latch lock NEG-be.PF no-Q

At that time there was a latch, there were no locks.

SK:46

Лыки мисол шунги дин а ра.
lyk-i misol ʃung-i din a r-a
latch-IND for example wood-ACC hit EMP to-DEM3

A latch, it's like they put a piece of wood there.

SK:47

Яъ рәшт, я бари дэйт лык җә, оста-оста рәм
yaw rəʃ-t ya bar-i dəy-t lyk ʃə osta-osta r-əm
he go.3SG DEM3 door-ACC hit-3SG latch and slowly-slowly into-DEM1

рицн җә, җы мәлтиқи а рәм наг ыдырт.
riʃn ʃə ʃy məltiq-i a r-əm naʒ ɣdyrt
ceiling window and own rifle-ACC EMP in-DEM1 side hold.-3SG

He goes, latches that door and slowly he (moves) to the ceiling window and points his rifle in that direction.

SK:48

Ханд: "иѵ цэт наг тапт цэй, ѳуз кы сави
 хан-d iw с-эт nag tap-t сәу wuz кы sav-i
 say-3SG one from-DEM2 side move-3SG REL I all you.PL.OBL-ACC

димәм.
 dim-әм
 hit-1SG

He says: "Whoever moves, I will kill you all."

SK:49

Иѵ цә хы чайән мэтапәв.
 iw сә хы јәу-ән мә-таp-әв
 one from own place-ABL PROH-move-2PL

No one must move from his place.

SK:50

И халг хынән рәмйәв я прчоди ниҳвәв".
 i xalg хы-нән рәту=әв ја прçod-i niхv-әв
 one man self-ABL order-2PL DEM3 girl-ACC take out-2PL

Tell one of your men to take out the girl."

SK:51

Ха яѵ ки мэлтиқ ѳыдрәтк, йәмищ кы тәм цә ѳшыкән
 ха yaw ki мәltiq ыдрәtk уәmiš кы тәм сә ышык-ән
 well he that rifle catch.PF these1 all here1 from fear-ABL

ларзәнәш.
 larz-ән=әš
 shake-3PL=IPFV

Well, since he has been holding the rifle, they are all shaking from fear.

SK:52

Ачон и халг бәт цә ѳшыкән мчбур скәм цийн я
 ајон i xalg бәт сә ышык-ән мјbur sk-әм зійн ја
 dear.adr one man more from fear-ABL obliged from-DEM1 side DEM3

прчоди, я иѵ ниҳинд хә, ачон я прчоди дырзд
 прçod-i ја iw niхin-d хә ајон ја прçod-i дырз-d
 girl-ACC DEM3 one take out-3SG and dear.adr DEM3 girl-ACC take-3SG

A. Text Corpus

хэ, ʋоз я бари дэйт лык хэ, карт йэти
xə woz ya bar-i dəy-t lyk xə kar-t yət-i
and again DEM3 door-ACC hit-3SG latch and put-3SG DEM2-ACC

скэм ящ хэ, тэм палыʋ.
sk-əm yaʃ xə t-əm paɫyʋ
on-DEM1 horse and to-DEM1 side

My dear, one man then by fear is forced from this side, that one takes that girl out and, my dear, he takes that girl and again latches the door, he puts her on the horse and (takes off) straight to this side.

SK:53

Ине а эм ранг и одиса, йэм тарихй одиса ақонй
ine a əm rang i odisa yəm tarixī odisa aqonī
behold EMP DEM1 manner one event DEM1 historical event really

виткин.
vitkin
become.PTCP

Behold, such is the event, this historical event really happened.

SK:54

Царт хлос брои номыси мисол қцлоқ, а ца
car-t xlos broi nomys-i misol qʃloq a ca
do-3SG free for reputation-EZ for example village EMP from-DEM3

аʋғонән царт я прчоди хлос, ʋоз ʋызымд тэм
aʋɣon-ən car-t ya prčod-i xlos woz ʋyzym-d t-əm
Afghan-ABL make-3SG DEM3 girl-ACC free again bring-3SG to-DEM1

палыʋ.
paɫyʋ
side

He frees (her) for the honour of the village, that is, he frees that girl from those Afghans, again he brings her back to our side.

SK:55

Йэм ранг яркоищ туэтк, а йэм ға сакән эч куй хбар
yəm rang yark-o-iʃ tuətʃk a yəm ɣa sak-ən əʃ kuy xbar
DEM1 manner work-PL-PL be.PF EMP DEM1 very we-ABL nobody news

наст, нэйки азоби тқи саки рэтки афғонищ.
 nast nəy ki azob-i tqi sak-i rətk-i awyɒn-iʃ
 is not but torment-ACC many we-ACC give.PF-sfx Afghan-PL

Such have been the events, we don't know much about them but we know that the Afghans have given us a lot of trouble.

A.14 Text 14: SE

Story from the Early Soviet Era

SE:1

Н маркази илмы фарҳанг туэтак, йэти ичкуй инкор
 N markaz-i ilmy farhang tuətk yət-i ičkuɣ inkor
 N.. centre-EZ knowledge and culture be.PF DEM2-ACC nobody denial

нэцарт, барои ки я спо пуп мыло Қ мактабдор
 nə-car-t baroi ki ya spo pup mylo Q maktab-dor
 NEG-do-3SG because DEM3 our grandfather mullah Q.. school-having

туэтак.
 tuətk
 be.PF

N. was a centre of culture and education, nobody denies it because our grandfather [ancestor] Mullah Q. had a school there.

SE:2

Мактабдор туэтак ар бу соилэр, ам йэм палыў, ам я
 maktab-dor tuətk ar bu soil-ər am yəm palıw am ya
 school-having be.PF all two shore-DAT also DEM1 side also DEM3

палыў.
 palıw
 side

He had a school for both sides of the river [border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan], this side and that side, too.

A. Text Corpus

SE:3

Соли чылым бу сындуқ китоб явэн ту.
sol-i čilym bu synduq kitob yaw-en tu
year-EZ fortieth two coffer book his-ABL be.PST

In 1940 he had two coffers (full) of books.

SE:4

Ян соли чылым а йэм китоб нига цэрак га қинг
yan sol-i čilym a yem kitob niga carak ga qing
then year-EZ fortieth EMP DEM1 book keeping do.INF very difficult

ту.

tu

be.PST

Then in 1940 it was very difficult to keep this book [=these books].

SE:5

Бандэш кэргэв халги.
band=əš kart=əv xalg-i
arrest=IPFV do.PST=3PL man-ACC

They used to arrest people [for having books].

SE:6

Ба соли чылым споцэн а дрэт и чалэк ту,
ba sol-i čilym spoc-en a drət i čalək tu
to year-EZ fortieth ours-ABL EMP there2 one small stove be.PST

рыхнигэш гоxtэв.

gyxnig=əš goxt=əv

fire=IPFV make.PST=3PL

Until 1940 we had a little stove there (where) they used to make fire.

SE:7

Бад и нфарэв ввозомди, жы бэч Л нэту, тэр жы
bad i nfarəv wozomd-i žy bəč L nə-tu tər žy
after one person=3PL bring.PST-i my uncle L.. NEG-be.PST in my

ёд бэч М мар сдыйд ту, то ли жы бэч
yod bəč M mar sdy-d tu to li (ru) žy bəč
memory uncle M.. to me.OBL seem-3SG be.PST whether (russ) my uncle

Л ту, баф пэ жы ёд наст.
 L tu baf pə žy yod nast
 L.. be.PST well to my memory is not

Then they brought one person, it was not uncle L., I remember uncle M., it seems to me, or it was uncle L., I don't remember it well.

SE:8

Янэв ёзомди, йэм барэн кэрти шух.
 yav=əv wozomd-i yəm bar=ən kərt-i šux
 then=3PL bring.PST-i DEM1 door=1PL do.PST-i solid

Then they brought (him), we locked the door.

SE:9

Ян китобищ намэв хшэtk, нэдафкэв пэ якдигар,
 yav kitob-iš nam=əv xšətk nədafk=əv pə yakdigar (taj)
 then book-PL humidity=3PL draw in.PF adhere.PF=3PL to each other

арфищ нашэнэш, бадэн го рыхниг.
 arf-iš naš-ən=əš bad=ən go gыхnig
 letter-PL disappear-3PL=IPFV after=1PL make.PST fire

Then the books had drawn in humidity, they had stuck to each other, the letters were disappearing, after that we made a fire.

SE:10

Ян йэм китовви таф рэтэн, фақат мажи
 yav yəm kitob-vi taf rat=ən faqat maž-i
 then DEM1 book-PL.OBL warmth give.PST=1PL only me.OBL-ACC

тоқаэв тэ хун рэкэртэй, барищ шух, и тан мэвизит,
 toqa=əv tə xun rəkərt-əy bar-iš šux i tan mə-wizi-t
 alone=3PL in house let.PST-i door-PL solid one body PROH-come-3SG

жы нанэт вүзэт а я жы бэч Л.
 žy nan=ət wuz=ət a ya žy bəč L
 my mother=and I=and EMP DEM3 my uncle L..

Then we dried these books, they left only me alone in the house, they locked the door so that nobody comes, (there was) my mother, me and my uncle L.

SE:11

Яв таф рандэт вүз яви рост царэм я
 yav taf rand=ət wuz yav-i rost car-əm ya
 he warmth give.3SG=and I them-ACC right do-1SG DEM3

A. Text Corpus

китобви, ине а йэм раж тқи, чуṭэн карти о
 kitob-vi ine a yəm raž tqi čuṭ=ən kart-i о
 book-PL.OBL behold EMP DEM1 bench full half=1PL put.PST-i behold

та.
 ta
 there3

He dries them, I straighten those books, look, this bench was full (of books), we put half (of them) over there [another place].

SE:12

Ази тахмини нив ханэм, алба и панчо китоб ту.
 azi taxmini niv xan-əm alba i pañço kitob tu
 such approximately now say-1SG perhaps one fifty book be.PST

As I say approximately, there were perhaps about fifty books.

SE:13

Яв нэхати чиз китобиц ту, хы сарэш таповди,
 yav nə-xat-i čiz kitob-iš tu хы sar=əš tapovd-i
 he NEG-say.PST-i what book-PL be.PST own head=IPFV shake.PST-i

Хофиз нунгэш бэ водорди.
 Hofiz nung=əš bə wodord-i
 Hafiz name=IPFV too catch.PST-i

He didn't say what (kind of) books they were, he was only shaking his head, he was also mentioning Hafiz's name.

SE:14

Ана а я китобиц и хатари чиддиэв ту,
 ana a ya kitob-iš i xatar-i jiddi=əv tu
 behold EMP DEM3 book-PL one danger-EZ serious=3PL you.SG

шкурдэвэш, куйэн ки китоб, банд кэртэвэш,
 škurd=əv=əš kuy-ən ki kitob band kərt=əv=əš
 search.PST=3PL=IPFV who-ABL that book arrest do.PST=3PL=IPFV

сакэш яв моштэн, ян моштэн я китобви.
 sak=əš yav mošt=ən yan mošt=ən ya kitob-vi
 we=IPFV they.OBL hide.PST=1PL then hide.PST=1PL DEM3 book-PL.OBL

Look, those books were a serious danger, they used to search (the houses), those who had book(s), they used to arrest them, we were hiding them, then we hid those books.

SE:15

Солхое ки Ъузэм рэҕди чойэн, цан Ъэздэм
 solhoe (taj) ki wuz=əm rəḡd-i ḡoyən can wəzd=əm
 years that I=1SG go.PST-i study.VNoun from there3 come.PST=1SG

ки, ичи китоб наст, пахны парешонэв яв кэрк,
 ki iči kitob nast raxny pareḡon=əv yav kərk
 that nothing book is not spread=3PL they.OBL do.PF

чэлгэткэвэт рэткэв.
 čəlgətk=əv=ət rətk=əv
 request.PF=3PL=and give.PF=3PL

The years when I went to study, when I returned back there are no books anymore, they have spread them, (people) have asked for them, they have given them.

A.15 Text 15: TB

Tirbar**TB:1**

Тирбар бэ дэ Ъирч, яв бэ ривоятэн кшэнг.
 Tirbar bə də ḡirč yaw bə riwoyat=ən kḡəng
 Tirbar too in Zirtch it too tale=1PL hear.PF

Tirbar is also in Zirtch, we have also heard a tale (about it).

TB:2

Аџи ки Ъузэм та и лой туэтк.
 aḡi ki wuz=əm ta i loy tuətk
 like this that I=1SG there3 one time be.PF

It happened that I have been there once.

TB:3

Яв тэ Ъирч рэч хэ, ян ѳир сэк дасти рост.
 yaw tə ḡirč rəč xə yan ḡir sək dast-i rost
 it in Zirtch go and then walk on hand-EZ right

So, go to Zirtch and then turn to the right.

A. Text Corpus

ТВ:4

Ян рэч ці ёар ёарэк чайищ, ян рэч и луп чиз
yan rəç zi ŷar ŷar-ək jay-iš yan rəç i lup çiz
then go such stone stone-DIM place-PL then go one big thing

Ўост пайдо, бой пайдо ўост.
wos-t pəydo boy pəydo wos-t
become-3SG apparent cave apparent become-3SG

Then go, (there are) such stony [rocky] places, then go, a big thing appears, a cave appears.

ТВ:5

Ту ці тасаўыр цар ки, эчизэк наст, нэй ки наздикэт
tu zi tasawyr car ki əçiz-ək nast nəy ki nazdik=ət
you.SG such imagination do that nothing-DIM is not but near=2SG

ки рэўди, ўин ки эм ранг ёор.
ki rəūd-i win ki əm rang ŷor
that go.PST-i see that DEM1 manner cave

You imagine that there is nothing there but after you come closer, (you) see that there a certain cave.

ТВ:6

Луп ёорэт ян чэрэм ра.
lup ŷor=ət yan çəgəm r-a
big cave=and then enter to-DEM3

(There is) is a big cave and then you enter that.

ТВ:7

Ўузэм ра дэст нэтуэтк.
wuz=əm r-a dəst nə-tuətək
I=1SG to-DEM3 inside NEG-be.PF

I have not been inside.

ТВ:8

Ра дэст нэй ки аці ривоят ки, испидицищэв ра
r-a dəst nəy ki açi riwoyat ki ispidic-iš=əv r-a
to-DEM3 inside however such tale that expedition-PL=3PL to-DEM3

тқи туэтк.
tqi tuət̪k
many be.PF

As for the inside, there is a story that there were many expeditions.

ТВ:9

Саёищэв гэр мис цэ ёэзг, ачон куканищэт кукан
sayo-iš=əv tər mis cə wəzɡ aʃon kukan-iš=ət kukan
traveller-PL=3PL in before REL come.PF dear.adr geolog-PL=and geolog

дищэв ки, явищ аци ки мисол ёари қиматбови
diš-əv ki yawiʃ azi ki misol ʃar-i qimatbo-vi
know-2PL that they such that for example stone-ACC expensive-PL.OBL

шкургэнэт чойои тарихиви чиз царэнэт явищтэв
ʃkurg-ən=ət ʃoy-o-i tarixi-vi čiz car-ən=ət yawiʃt=əv
look for-3PL=and place-PL-EZ historical-PL.OBL what do-3PL=and they=3PL

та туэтк.
ta tuət̪k
there3 be.PF

The travellers who had come in past, my dear, the geologists, do you know who a geologist is, for example they look for precious stones, for historical places, and things like that, so they were there.

ТВ:10

Ян рэчэн ра дэст цэ чэрмэн.
yan rəč-ən ra dəst cə čərm-ən
then go-3PL to-DEM3 inside REL enter-3PL

Then they go (further) inside (the cave) which they enter.

ТВ:11

Ян явищ бэ рэчэн ра, чэрмэн ки дра аци ки, аёо
yan yawiʃ bə rəč-ən ra-а чərm-ən ki dra azi ki awo
then they more go-3PL in-DEM3 enter-3PL that there3 such that weather

ра кам ра дэст.
ra-а kam ra-а dəst
in-DEM3 little to-DEM3 inside

Then, they go more there, they enter (and they notice) that there is like that, there is very little oxygen inside there.

A. Text Corpus

ТВ:12

Ёхти ки рэхкэв заицтэв чрэнгэв а ра дэст,
 waxti ki rəxk=əv za-išt=əv črəng=əv a r-a dəst
 when go.PF=3PL guy-PL=3PL enter.PF=3PL EMP to-DEM3 inside

чизэв ра гытэтк, йэм хуницт, йэм ранг хуниц,
 čiz=əv r-a gytətk yəm xun-išt yəm rang xun-iš
 thing=3PL to-DEM3 find.PF DEM1 house-PL DEM1 manner house-PL

йэм ранг рэчэн трэм тра палыь наг, сэк мобэйн
 yəm rang rəč-ən tr-əm tr-a palyw nag sək mobəyn
 DEM1 manner go-3PL to-DEM1 to-DEM3 side side on middle

рораьэт трэм тра наг малаицтэв.
 rorawət tr-əm tr-a nag mala-išt=əv
 path=and to-DEM1 to-DEM3 side house-PL=3PL

When the guys entered inside (and when) they found things there, they found houses, houses like this, they go in different directions, in the middle (there is) a path and on the sides (there are) houses.

ТВ:13

Чрэнгэв и километрэв рэхк ки, дра аци халгиц дэ хы
 črəng=əv i kilometr=əv rəxk ki dra azi xalg-iš də xy
 enter.PF=3PL one kilometre=3PL go.PF that there3 such man-PL in own

дэьра а ра дэст кэрк зиндагй.
 dəwra a r-a dəst kərk zindagī
 era EMP to-DEM3 inside do.PF life

They entered and went one kilometre when (they saw) that in that time such people had lived there.

ТВ:14

Зиндагиэв ра дэст кэрк, гэьраэв ра дэст гытэтк.
 zindagi=əv r-a dəst kərk gəwra=əv r-a dəst gytətk
 life=3PL to-DEM3 inside do.PF cradle=3PL to-DEM3 inside find.PF

They lived inside, they [the guys] found a cradle inside.

ТВ:15

Янэв ра дэст гытэтк чизи, айьонэн яь
 yan=əv r-a dəst gytətk čizi aywon-ən yaw
 then=3PL to-DEM3 inside find.PF thing-ACC animal-ABL its

стхонвэв ра дэст гытэтк, ян пэргиштэв ки
 stxon-v=эв r-a dəst ɣytətɕ ɣan pərg-išt=эв ki
 bone-PL.OBL=3PL to-DEM3 inside find.PF then jewellery-PL=3PL that

Хыйнаништэв цэ чиз кэрк, Хы сарэв Ыздыэткэт янэв
 Хынан-išt=эв сэ čiz kərk Хы sar=эв ɣyzdyətɕ=ət ɣan=эв
 woman-PL=3PL REL what do.PF own head=3PL wash.PF=and then=3PL

ктэтк дэ мих яви, дэ михэв яв кэрк овизон.
 kɕətɕ də miɕ ɣavi, də miɕ=эв ɣav kərk owizon.
 put.PF on nail them-ACC on nail=3PL it do.PF hanging

Then, inside they found the thing, they found the bones of an animal, then the jewellery that women had put on the nail, when they washed their hair, they hanged it on the nail.

ТВ:16

Ян Ёоз гыё дэм наздики мэктаби XX заиштэв рэхк
 ɣan ɣoz ɣyjo dəm nazdiki məktabi XX za-išt=эв rəɕk
 then again it was said in-DEM1 recently school-EZ XX child-PL=3PL go.PF

та.
 ta
 there3

Then again (I heard) that recently the children from the school XX went there.

ТВ:17

Ўци дэ Хы малимэнэв рэхк экскурсия.
 ɕi də Хы malim-ən=эв rəɕk ekskursiya
 such with own teacher-ABL=3PL go.PF educational excursion

They went there for an educational excursion with their teacher.

ТВ:18

Саёатэв рэхк ки, гытэткэв та спундрви, а
 sayoat=эв rəɕk ki ɣytətɕ=эв ta spundr-vi a
 travel=3PL go.PF that find=3PL there3 carriage shaft-PL.OBL EMP

спундриштэв нив дэ мэктаб.
 spundr-išt=эв niv də məktab
 carriage shaft-PL=3PL now in school

They travelled there and found the carriage shafts there, the carriage shafts are now in the school.

A. Text Corpus

ТВ:19

Я рвор яџищ яџ мар рџтк ки, "ту яџ дџ хџтџн
ya rwor yawiř yaw mar rџtk ki tu yaw dџ хџt-џn
DEM3 day they it to me.OBL give.PF that you.SG it with self-ABL

юнд Дыщымби", рузои фарангии Щкощым дџ Дыщымби цџй.
yund Dyřymbi ruz-o-i farangi-i řkořym dџ Dyřymbi cџy
take Dushanbe day-PL-EZ cultural-EZ Ishkoshim in Dushanbe REL

That day they gave it to me (saying): "take it with you to Dushanbe", as there were Days of Ishkashim culture there.

ТВ:20

Ўузџм ян хџт, "хџй йџт ян бџт чиз юндџм.
wuz=џm yan хџt хџy уџт yan bџt џiz yund-џm
I=1SG then say.PST well DEM2 then else what take-1SG

Then I said, "well, why would I take it there?"

ТВ:21

Лџцџр а дрџм алџн, тџш выри зиџтџ
lџcџr a drџm al-џn tџř vyg-i ziyoti
let EMP here1 stay-3PL unnecessarily load-EZ extra

мџџоцџнџт".

mџ-woc-џn=џt

PROH-become-3PL=and

Let them stay here, so that they don't become an unnecessary extra load."

ТВ:22

Нџй ки спундрицтџв цџй, шунги хџщруй туџтк.
nџy ki spundr-iřt=џv cџy řung-i хџřruy tuџtk
but shaft-PL=3PL REL wood-EZ beautiful be.PF

But the carriage shafts, the wood [from which they were made] was very good.

ТВ:23

Я спундри ки аџи цџ гоџџн, яџ гал хџн ки,
ya spundr-i ki аџи cџ гоџ-џn yaw řal хџn ki
DEM3 carriage shaft-ACC that such REL make-3PL he yet say that

шџџдџв яџи хџтк.

řџyđ=џv yaw-i хџtk

new=3PL it-ACC do.PF

Those carriage shafts that they made in such a way, one would say that they have

been newly made.

ТВ:24

Ян ра дэстэв пэрг гот, цам бэнэнэв
 уан г-а дэст=эв пэрг got с-ам бэн-эн=эв
 then in-DEM3 inside=3PL jewellery find.PST from-DEM3 down-ABL=3PL

готи и хзина.
 got-i i xzina
 find.PST-i one treasury

Then inside they found the jewellery, from the bottom they found a treasury.

ТВ:25

Да хзина дэстэв готи колаи а дэвраи мис.
 дэ-а хзина дэст=эв got-i kola-i а дэвра-и mis
 in-DEM3 treasury inside=3PL find.PST-i cloth-EZ EMP era-EZ before

Inside the treasury they found the cloth of the earlier period.

ТВ:26

Ян мурэв готи, мур пчат цэ ханэн, ачоникэм чиз.
 уан мур=эв got-i мур рчат (ru) сэ хан-эн ајоникэм čiz
 then seal=3PL find.PST-i seal seal REL say-3PL my dearest.adr what

Then they found a seal, which they call “petchat” [seal in russian], my dearest, what else.

ТВ:27

Ўоз готэв ра мэлтиқи вэрз вэрзэв гот.
 woz got=эв г-а mältiq-i vėrz vėrz=эв got
 more find.PST=3PL to-DEM3 rifle-ACC long long=3PL find.PST

Moreover, they found inside, they found a very long rifle.

ТВ:28

Ян рыпияэв готи, а мис дэвра пыл цэ туэtk.
 уан гыриуа=эв got-i а mis дэвра рыл сэ tuətk
 then rupee=3PL find.PST-i EMP before era money REL be.PF

Then they found rupees, which was the currency of the earlier time.

ТВ:29

Ян китобэв готи, аци китоби хыщруй ки, хан ки,
 уан kitob-в=эв got-i ази kitob-i хэщруй ki хан ki
 then book-PL.OBL=3PL find.PST-i such book-EZ beautiful that say that

A. Text Corpus

йәт шәҗд цә чопән нйәшк.
yət şəjd sə çop-ən nyəşk
DEM2 new from print-ABL come out.PF

Then they found the books, such a beautiful book that one would say that it has just newly come out of print.

ТВ:30

Аҗи хыщруй мофизат ра дәст витк ки, явв
aži xəşruy mofizat r-a dəst vitk ki yaw=əv
such nice preservation to-DEM3 inside become.PF that it=3PL

вчитк.
včitk
protect.PF

There was such a good preservation inside that it has protected it.

ТВ:31

Явв аҗи мофизат кәрк ки, аво ра дәст нәчрәнгәт
yaw=əv aži mofizat kərk ki awo r-a dəst nə-črangət
it=3PL such protection do.PF that air to-DEM3 inside NEG-enter.PF=and

яв га хыщруй мофизат витк.
yaw ға xəşruy mofizat vitk
it very nice protection become.PF

It has protected it in such a way that the air hasn't entered inside, it has become a very good protection.

ТВ:32

Ян колаи а мис дәвра, кнәйәв ра готи.
yan kola-i a mis dəvra knəyəv r-a got-i
then fabric-EZ EMP before era hemp fibre=3PL to-DEM3 find.PST-i

Then they found a fabric [textile] from earlier era, they found the hemp fibre there.

ТВ:33

Кнәйәв ра готи, сак ввоз ца кнәйән
knəyəv r-a got-i sak woz c-a knəy-ən
hemp fibre=3PL to-DEM3 find.PST-i we again from-DEM3 hemp fibre-ABL

гоҳти чәкмәнәт швәләкән гоҳти.
goxt-i čəkmənət şwələkən goxt-i
make.PST-i coat=and trousers=1PL make.PST-i

They found the hemp fibre there, we made a coat and trousers from that hemp fibre

again.

ТВ:34

Ачон, яв нив споцэн доим ар чай ки рэчэн, юндэн
 aʃon yaw niv spoc-ən doim ar ʃay ki rəʃ-ən yund-ən
 dear.adr it now ours-ABL always every place that go-1PL take-1PL

яви.

yaw-i
 it-ACC

My dear, now it (is) ours, we always take it with us wherever we go.

ТВ:35

Я мэлтиқиш цэй, қриби тру митр.
 ya məltiq-iʃ səy qribi tru mitr
 DEM3 rifle-PL REL around three meter

Those rifles (were) almost 3 meters (long).

ТВ:36

Ачон, чиз эло, пыли қдима, нэкэн йэм суми қдима
 aʃon ʃiz elo pyli qdima nəkən yəm sum-i qdima
 dear.adr what brother.adr money-EZ ancient that is DEM1 money-EZ ancient

туэtk, а явиш бэ мисынг пыли дэвраи яв Никлайэрка,
 tuətʃk a yawiʃ bə miʃyng pyl-i dəvra-i yaw Niklay-ərʃk-a
 be.PF EMP they too former money-EZ era-EZ it Nicolas-to.DAT-Q

яв кум дэврарэк рост вшит, а я сумвэв
 yaw kum dəvra-rək roʃt wiʃi-t a ya sum-v=əv
 he what era-DAT right come-3SG EMP DEM3 money-PL.OBL=3PL

готи.

got-i
 find-i

My dear, ancient money, that is, this was ancient money, they were former money, maybe from Nicolas time, or (who knows) what other era this money come from, so they found this money.

ТВ:37

Янэв готи ичинвэв цэ хэtk, а ичини
 yan=əv got-i iʃin-v=əv sə xətk a iʃin-i
 then=3PL find.PST-i carpet-PL.OBL=3PL REL do.PF EMP carpet-EZ

A. Text Corpus

қдимынгвэв хәтк, яҗищ ян мымкин ки хы
qdımyng-v=əv xət̪k yawiʃ yan mymkin ki x̣y
antique-PL.OBL=3PL do.PF they then maybe that own

боигаривэв ютк мыщәтк.
boigarı-v=əv yutk mysət̪k
treasure-PL.OBL=3PL take.PF hide.PF

Then they found the carpets that were made in ancient time, maybe they had taken and hidden their treasure there.

ТВ:38

Мымкин явән тарих ымыт, а тарих кумәр дищ.
mymkin yav-ən tarix ымы-t a tarix kumər diʃ
maybe their-ABL history be.SBJV-3SG EMP history where know

They might have a history, where would one know the history.

ТВ:39

Мымкин йәт ранг боигарй цумо а тәм
mymkin yət rang boigarı cum-o a t-əm
maybe DEM2 manner treasure many-PL EMP to-DEM1

куви мыщәткинг ымыт.
ku-vi mysət̪king ымы-t
mountain-PL.OBL hidden be.SBJV-3SG

Maybe there are many such treasures hidden in these mountains.

ТВ:40

Нәк и рвор заищ сур рәхк, ян а дра дидҗәтк ки,
nək i rwor za-iʃ sur rəxk yan a dra didʒət̪k ki
but one day child-PL pasture duty go.PF then EMP there3 see.PF that

аҗи чиз ки цәй сдоәш царт.
aʒi čiz ki cəy sdo=əʃ car-t
such something sound=IPFV do-3SG

But one day the children went on their pasture duty, then they noticed that something was making such noise there.

ТВ:41

Яҗищ кшәнг ки, хзина дә җи чай вост ки, а дра
yawıʃ kʃəng ki xzina də ʒi jau wos-t ki a dra
they hear.PF that treasury in such place become-3SG that EMP there3

цринг-цринг ёост.
 зring-зring wos-t
 dzring-dzring become-3SG

They had heard that the treasure is in such a place where 'dzring-dzring' [sound] is heard.

ТВ:42

Хзинаэн ци чиз, яби ца готэн, дра ёост
 xzina-эн zi čiz yaw-i cə got-эн dra wos-t
 treasury-ABL such thing it-ACC REL find-3PL there3 become-3SG

цринг-цринг, и хил сдо дра ёост.
 зring-зring i xil sdo dra wos-t
 dzring-dzring one type noise there3 become-3SG

The characteristic of the treasure is that if they find it, it produces a 'dzring-dzring', a type of sound is produced there.

ТВ:43

Ян ё хы даст дра ёхэн цар, ё нэй дра ныбыз тэр бар,
 yan yo xy dast dra wхэн car yo nəy dra nybyz tər bar
 then or own hand there3 blood do or no there3 come out to door

гажд я чайи цар, нэйа?
 ʒaʒd ja čaj-i car nəy-a
 dirty DEM3 place-ACC do no-Q

Then either cut your hand so that the blood stains that place, or else go out and make this place dirty [with the excrement or urine], isn't it?

ТВ:44

Агар эт ранг яв нэгох цэйэн, рэч хан ки, дэ флон
 agar et rang yaw nə-goх cəy=эн рэч хан ki də flon
 if DEM2 manner it NEG-make REL=3PL go say that in such

чай ци ту, ёэзи цэй, бэт цум ца шкурги,
 čaj zi tu wəzi cəy bət cum cə škurg-i
 place this way be.PST come REL more how many would look for-2SG

бэт яви нэгото.
 bət yaw-i nə-got-o
 more it-ACC NEG-find-CONF

If you don't do it this way, you may go and say that in such place there was a treasure, you may come back but how much you would search, you wouldn't find it anymore.

A. Text Corpus

ТВ:45

Ян а я заищ а йэгэв кшэнг ки, хнэткэв ки,
yan a ya za-iš a yət=əv kšəng ki x̄nətk=əv ki
then EMP DEM3 child-PL EMP DEM2=3PL hear.PF that say.PF=3PL that

а да чай ё хы даст вхэн цар, ё мизг дра цар, тэр
a də-a jay yo x̄y dast w̄xən car, yo mizg dra car tər
EMP in-DEM3 place or own hand blood do or urine there3 do to

бар ньвыз.
bar nyvyz
door come out

Then those children had heard about it that it was said that in the place [where the treasure is] either cut your hand and make it bleed or make urine there.

ТВ:46

Я заищ ян дра нйэшкэв тэр бар, хы дастэв
ya za-iš yan dra nyəšk=əv tər bar x̄y dast=əv
DEM3 child-PL then there3 come out.PF=3PL to door own hand=3PL

дра кэрк вхэн, тра фарэв сыхэтк.
dra kərk w̄xən tr-a ƣar=əv syxət̄k
there3 do.PF blood to-DEM3 stone=3PL smear.PF

Those children then went out [to make excrements], they cut their hands and smeared the stone [with the blood and excrements].

ТВ:47

Ян рэхкэв хнэткэв: "сакэн йэм ранг вьинд".
yan rəxk=əv x̄nətk=əv sak-ən yəm rang v̄ind".
then go.PF=3PL sayPF=3PL we=1PL DEM1 manner see.PST

Then they went and said: "we saw such thing".

ТВ:48

Ян хнэткэв: "э хэй нив яв нэготэн.
yan x̄nətk=əv e xay niv yaw nə-got-ən
then say.PF=3PL adr well now it NEG-find-1PL

Then (the people) said: "Well, now we will not find it.

ТВ:49

Йэт ранг цумо халг винэткэт рэйдэн, нэн яв
yət rang cum-o xalg vinətk=ət rəjd=ən n=ən yaw
DEM2 way how many-PL man see.PF=and go.PST=1PL no=1PL it

готи."
got-i
find.PST-i

Many people had seen it like that and when we went there, we didn't find it."

ТВ:50

Явищ ян җанэн ки, "сакэн ам дра тэр бар нйэшти,
yawiš yan җан-эн ki sak=эн am dra tэр bar nyəšt-i
they then say-3PL that we=1PL also there3 in door come out.PST-i

амэн җхэнэн дра гоҳти".
am=эн wҗэн=эн dra goҳt-i
also=1PL blood=1PL there3 make.PST-i

They [the children] then say: "We also went to out [to make excrements] there and also made our blood there".

ТВ:51

Ян йэт лупищ рэчэн та, иҗэк нив ниҳвэн ки, йэм
yan yət lup-iš rəç-эн ta iwək niv niҳv-эн ki yэм
then DEM2 big-PL go-3PL there3 suddenly now take out-3PL that DEM1

ранг тып-тып колаэт мэлтиқ қриби цбыр панҗ донаэт ян
rang тыр-тыр kola=эт mэлtiq qribi cbyр panз dona=эт yan
manner roll-roll fabric=and rifle around four five piece=and then

китоб и галаэт.
kitob i gala=эт
book one a lot of=and

Then the adults [lit. 'big'] go there, suddenly they take out such rolls of fabric, four or five rifles and then a lot of books.

ТВ:52

Ян я мисынг кола кнэйищ туэткэт ян йэм чомаи
yan ya misyng kola knəy-iš tuətk=эт yan yэм җома-i
then DEM3 former fabric hemp fibre-PL be.PF=and then DEM1 garment-EZ

а дэвраынг, нив тоҷикищ цэ пумцэн, нэкэн шариищ.
a dəwraыng niv toҷik-iš cə pumc-эн нəkən җarī-iš
EMP from that time now Tajik-PL REL put on-3PL that is from town-PL

Then that fabric of that era was hemp fibre, then (they found) a garment from that era, now the Tajiks wear it, it means the town people.

A. Text Corpus

ТВ:53

Аҷон чпанищ туэткэт ян шышк, мызай ёудгынгэт я
aʃon ʃpan-iš tuətk=ət yan ʃyšk myza-i wudgyng=ət ya
dear.adr coat-PL be.PF=and then boots boot-EZ modern=and DEM3

Вахтынг шышкэв пумахк мәрдым, бандицэт ян сатиницэт
waxtyng ʃyšk=əv pumaħk mərɔym band-iš=ət yan satin-iš=ət
ancient boots=3PL put on.PF people lace-PL=and then satin-PL=and

читищ ки цэм Хитой.
čit-iš ki c-əm Xitoy
calico-PL that from-DEM1 China

My dear, there were coats, then ancient boots, today they are called boots, at that time people were wearing this kind of ancient boots, then there was lace, then satin and calico [types of textiles] that are from China.

ТВ:54

Ян шолк цə җанэн, абрецим, вэршэм, вэршэм ки цə
yan ʃolk (ru) cə ʃan-ən abrešim (taj) vəršəm vəršəm ki cə
then silk REL say-3PL silk silk silk that from

Хитойәнэв а дэбра цə Ёызмэтк, цанэн туэткэт.
Xitoy-ən=əv a dəvra cə wызmətk can-ən tuətk=ət
China-ABL=3PL EMP era REL bring.PF from there3-ABL be.PF=and

Then the silk which they call ‘abreshim’ in Tajik and ‘sholk’ in Russian, silk that they had brought from China in that era, it was from there.

ТВ:55

А явəв чиз кəртəт ниҳтəвəт
a yav=əv ʃiz kərt=ət nixt=əv=ət
EMP they.OBL=3PL what do.PST=and take out.PST=3PL=and

Ёозомдəвəт.
wozomd=əv=ət
bring.PST=3PL=and

So they did what, they took them out and brought them.

ТВ:56

Сакəн и сар чизовəн цан стəти осорхонаи
sak=ən i sar ʃiz-o-v-ən can stət-i osorxona-i
we=1PL some thing-PL-PL.OBL=3PL from there send.PST-i museum-EZ

Дышымбирәкәт и сар чизицтәв а дәт Зунг чизиц.
 Dyshymbi-rək=ət i sar čiz-išt=əv a də-ət Zung čiz-iš
 Dushanbe-DAT=and some thing-PL=3PL EMP in-DEM2 Zong thing-PL

From these we sent some things to the museum in Dushanbe, some things (are) in Zong.

TB:57

Ян бәштәр яҗищ туәтк Пир пупән, яви
 yan bəštər yawiš tuətk Pir pup-ən yav-i
 then most-of them they be.PF Pir grandfather-ABL they.OBL-ACC

гызаштагонән туәтк.
 gyzaştagon-ən tuətk
 ancestors-ABL be.PF

Most (of these books) belonged to the grandfather of the Pir [religious leader], to the ancestors of the Pir.

TB:58

Я бази китобвәв явәр җатәрәв рәтк.
 ya bazi kitob-v=əv yav-ər ʃat-ər=əv rətk
 DEM3 some book-PL.OB=3PL they.OBL-DAT self-DAT=3PL give.PF

Some of those books, they [those who found the books] gave them to the Pirs themselves.

TB:59

А йәт Ш пупән туәтк.
 a yət Š pup-ən tuətk
 EMP DEM2 Sh... grandfather-ABL be.PF

And this belonged to the grandfather of Sh...

TB:60

Ш нив дә Қ, а дра зиндагй царт.
 Š niv də Q a dra zindagī car-t
 Sh... now in Q.. EMP there3 life do-3SG

A.16 Text 16: TS

Tirbarshakh

TS:1

Ҷанг вост.
jang wos-t
war become-3SG

War comes.

TS:2

Ян йэм ранг пышэн ца руйэн тэм руй сэк дрё
yan yem rang ryš-ən с-а ruy-ən t-əm ruy sək dryo
then DEM1 manner dig-3PL from-DEM3 side-ABL to-DEM1 side in river

дэст.
dəst
inside

So, they dig from that side [Aghanistan] to this side [Tajikistan] in the middle of the river.

TS:3

Я ранг пышэн, пышэн, пышэн рəчэн Тирбаршах.
ya rang ryš-ən ryš-ən ryš-ən rəč-ən Tirbaršax
DEM3 way dig-3PL dig-3PL dig-3PL go-3PL Tirbarshah

Like that, they dig, dig, dig, they go to Tirbarshah.

TS:4

Тирбар нив йэтэр цə ҳанэн.
Tirbar niv yət-ər сə хан-ən
Tirbar now DEM2-DAT REL say-3PL

That (place) which now is called Tirbar.

TS:5

Алол, рəчэнэт ян а та, алол, дə ҳы
alol rəč-ən=ət yan a ta alol də ҳы
brother.adr go-3PL=and then EMP there3 brother.adr with own

мсинаэн, дə ҳы чизэн.
msina-ən də ҳы čiz-ən
jewellery-ABL with own thing-ABL

My brother, then they go there, my brother, with their jewellery, with their possessions.

TS:6

Хэй, яв ян йэм арысищ цэ рэхк тао, янэв
 xay yaw yan yэм агыс-iš сэ рэхк та-о уан=эв
 well DEM3 then DEM1 Russian-PL REL go.PF there3-CONF then=3PL

панц-щад рсанэв пэ ёман банд кэркэт А нунг,
 pan3-šad rсан=эв рэ уоман band kэрk=эт А nung
 five - six rope=3PL to one another string do.PF=and A.. name

алоликэм, яв ра катэн.
 alolikэм yaw r-a каҕ-эн
 my dear brother.adr he to-DEM3 put-3PL

Well, then when the Russians went there, right, then they tied five or six ropes together and they let the one named A.. go down.

TS:7

Яв дә застаф туэтко.
 yaw də zastaf tuэтk-o
 he in military post be.PF- CONF

He [A..] was in the military post [he worked there].

TS:8

Ян яв ра катэн.
 yan yaw ra каҕ-эн
 then he there3 put-3PL

Then they put him there [to Tirbar].

TS:9

Щам пицвэн.
 šam piсv-эн
 candle light-3PL

They light the candle.

TS:10

Алолик, йэм фанарик арысвэн скав мад
 alolik yэм fanarik (ru) агыс-v-эн sk-av mad
 dear brother.adr DEM1 torch Russian-PL.OBL-ABL on-they.OBL waist

ки, ян йэм ранг зит та туэтк.
 ki yan yэм rang dit ta tuэтk
 that then DEM1 manner smoke there3 be.PF

My brother, the Russians (had) torches on their waists because there was such a

A. Text Corpus

smoke there.

TS:11

Йэм жит нийэнг.
yəm dʲit nyəŋg
DEM1 smoke sit.PF

This smoke had settled down.

TS:12

Я за дә гәвра яв чон нийэшк.
ya za də gəwra yaw ʃon nyəʃk
DEM3 child in cradle his soul come out.PF

(There was a) child in the cradle, his soul had left.

TS:13

Алоликәм, кыәв ра пуṭ-пуṭәв дәм да
alolikəm kɣ=əv r-a puṭ-puṭ=əv də-əm də-a
my dear brother.adr all=3PL in-DEM3 round-round=3PL in-DEM1 in-DEM3

чай мәртк а да Тирбар.
jaɣ mærtk a də-a Tirbar
place die.PF EMP in-DEM3 Tirbar

My dear, everybody there all around, in this and that place, all were dead, in that Tirbar.

TS:14

Ало, йэм пәргвәв ки тәм мих кṭәтк,
alo yəm pərg-v=əv ki t-əm mix kṭətʰk
brother.adr DEM1 string of beads-PL.OBL=3PL that to-DEM1 nail put.PF

явйищ а та мих, йэм ранг ки гонән, даст ки ṭат,
yawɨʃ a t-a mix yəm rang ki gon-ən dast ki ṭat
they EMP in-DEM3 nail DEM1 manner that make-3PL hand that touch

явйищ тәш.
yawɨʃ təʃ
they apart

My dear, these strings of beads that they had put on the nail, they are still on that nail (but/and) when they do like this, when they touch them, they (fall) apart.

TS:15

Мсина явэн тқи туэtk.
 msina yav-ən tqi tuətk
 jewellery they.OBL-ABL many be.PF

They had a lot of jewellery.

TS:16

Мәрдинаиц, алол, кы дэм да чай пуṯ-пуṯэв
 mərdina-iš alol ky də-əm də-a jay puṯ-puṯ=əv
 man-PL brother.adr all in-DEM1 in-DEM3 place round-round=3PL

мэртк.
 mərtk
 die.PF

All the men, my brother, all round the place were dead.

TS:17

Ян йэм кбуниц, йэм шунг кбуниц йэм
 yan yəm kbun-iš yəm ŝung kbun-iš yəm
 then DEM1 wooden bowl-PL DEM1 wood wooden bowl-PL DEM1

додй, алоликэм.
 dod-ī alolikəm
 size-n>adv my dear brother.adr

Then, there (were) these wooden bowls, this size [the narrator is showing by a gesture] wooden bowls, my dear.

TS:18

Янэв хати А цанэн ий дэжг, арысиц бэт
 yan=əv xat-i A can-ən iw dəžg arys-iš bət
 then=3PL say.PST-i A.. from there3-ABL one take.PF Russian-PL more

нэлэкэрк.
 nə-ləkərk
 NEG-let.PF

Then they said that A...had taken one of them (but) the Russians didn't let (them take other things).

A. Text Corpus

TS:19

Хай кшэнгынг, винэткэм нэй, ё рост ё друғ.
хай kšəngɯŋg vinətɕ=əm nəy yo rost yo druɣ
well heard.PTCP see.PF=1SG no or right or lie

Well, (I know it only from) hearing, I haven't seen it, (I don't know) if it's true or not.

A.17 Text 17: TO

Two old men

TO:1

Щодмонбиг ныбызд ки, и мусфидэк да бар.
Šodmonbig нымыз-d ki i musfid-ək də-a bar
Shodmonbig come out-3SG that one old man-DIM in-DEM3 door

Shodmonbeg comes out (and sees) that an old man (is) at the door.

TO:2

Ян ханд: "э бобои Щодмон, ёузэм мэрз".
ян хан-d e bobo-i Šodmon wuz=əm mərz
then say-3SG adr grandfather-EZ Shodmon I=1SG hungry

Then (the old man) says: "Grandpa Shodmon, I am hungry".

TO:3

Ачон яв ян пцит вшит хунэр, дидиҗд ки,
ајон yaw ян рši-t wizi-t хун-эр дидиҗ-d ki
dear.adr he then return-3SG come-3SG house-DAT see-3SG that

Сэлтонбахтэш хэч хмир царт.
Səltonbaxt=əš хэч хmir car-t
Sultonbakht=IPFV bread dough make-3SG

My dear, he then returns to the house, sees that Sultonbakht is making dough for bread.

TO:4

Ханд: "э Сэлтонбахт, и зайэк дэт чрирэк шхэн,
хан-d e Səltonbaxt i дай-эк дэ-эт чrigr-ək шхэн
say-3SG adr Sultonbakht one man-DIM in-DEM2 wild rose-DIM near

мусфидэк, хандэш ки, вүзэм мэрз".
 musfid-ək хан-d=əṣ ki wuz=əm mərz
 old man-DIM say-3SG=IPFV that I=1SG hungry

He says: "Sultonbakht, there is a man near the wild rose, an old man, he is saying that he is hungry".

ТО:5

Хнәтк: "хай тэй, и чүтэк хэч дрэм тэй".
 хнәтк хай тэй, и чүт-эк хэч дрэм тэй
 say.PF well be.3SG one half-DIM bread here1 be.3SG

(Sultobakht) has said: "Well, there is half (a loaf) of bread here".

ТО:6

И чүтэк хэчэт и пилэк мрик ранд а хы
 i čuṭ-ək хэч=ət i pilək mrik rand a хы
 one half-DIM bread=and one bowl cream give EMP own

бакштәр, яв я бакшт туәтк.
 bakṣt-ər yaw ya bakṣt tuәtk
 brother in law-DAT he her brother in law be.PF

She gives half a loaf of bread and one bowl of cream to her brother-in-law, he was her brother-in-law.

ТО:7

Нывызд ки, яв ив ту витк буй.
 пывыз-d ki yaw iw tu vitk buy
 come out-3SG that he one be.PST become.PF two

He goes out (and sees) that he [the old man] who was one has become two (men).

ТО:8

Йәм дә хы дур ғирывд ки, э лай лай йәмищ буй витк.
 уәм дә хы dur ғиғыв-d ki э lay lay уәм-iṣ buy vitk
 DEM1 in own belly turn-3SG that eh lay lay DEM1-PL two become.PF

He says in his mind: "Eh lay lay, they have become two [the food that I have brought it not enough for two people]".

ТО:9

Хәнд: "Ызым ызым, ич гап наст, йәт цә спо сары
 хан-d ызым ызым әч гап наст уәт сә spo sar-ы
 say-3SG bring bring none talk is not DEM2 from our head-and

A. Text Corpus

пыдэн арзон".
рыд-эн arzon
foot-ABL more than enough

(The old man) says: "bring it, bring it, it doesn't matter, it's more than enough for us".

ТО:10

Ян ызымд, ачон яви явэнэт Шодмонбиг визит тэ
yan yzym-d ajon yaw-i yaw-en=et Šodmonbig wizi-t tэ
then bring-3SG dear.adr it-ACC eat-3PL=and Shodmonbig come-3SG to

хун.
хун
house

Then he brings (it), my dear, they eat it and Shodmonbig comes into the house.

ТО:11

Ян рэшт ки, явищ я кэндорэк ызмэткэт и луқэкэв
yan rəš-t ki yawiš ya kənɔr-ək yzymətək=et i luq-ək=əv
then go-3SG that they DEM3 half-DIM bring.PF=and one rag-DIM=3PL

бынэтк а ра дэстэт ктэткэв да чапдарэк
bynətək a ra dəst=et ktətək=əv də-a čapdar-ək
throw.PF EMP to-DEM3 inside=and put.PF=3PL in-DEM3 back door-DIM

да пыхт бар.
də-a pyxt bar
in-DEM3 cattle-shed door

Then he goes (and sees) that they have brought that half and they have put the rag inside and have put the half near the back door; near the door of cattle-shed.

ТО:12

Шодмон рэшт ба сари яв ки, явищ наст.
Šodmon rəš-t ba sar-i yav ki yawiš nast
Shodmon go-3SG to head-EZ they.OBL that they is not

Shodmon goes after them but they are gone.

ТО:13

Ян Сэлтонбахт ханд ки, "явищ шахс туэтк".
yan Səltonbakht xan-d ki yawiš šaxs tuətək
then Sul-tonbakht say-3SG that they person be.PF

Then Sul-tonbakht says "they were (two manifestations of) a 'šaxs' [a stranger with

supernatural power]".

ТО:14

Ян даъодай слав цбас ки, явиш сә щгарди
 уан dawodaw sk-av cbas ki yawiṣ sə ṣgard-i
 then running from-they.OBL back that they on fork (crossroads)-IND

ҳатәр бдараж а ранг щгард кәркәв.
 ḥat-ər bdaraž a rang ṣgard kərḱ=əv
 self-DAT quickly EMP manner fork (crossroads) do.PF=3PL

Then he runs after them (but) they had already gone quickly (and disappeared) on the fork (crossroads).

ТО:15

Ме а зан трәм а М хун а ска
 me а zan tr-əm а M hun а sk-a
 behold EMP from there3 to-DEM1 EMP M.. house EMP through-DEM3

бабракат.
 babrakat
 blessed

From that time on the house of Mirzokhon has been blessed through that (event).

A.18 Text 18: VG

Vaghd**VG:1**

Вағд вйзит дә пыҳт ёжәтк.
 vağd wizi-t də ryḥt yožətk
 vaghd come-3SG in cattle-shed give birth.PF

A vaghd [type of demon, almasti] comes to the cattle-shed, has given birth.

VG:2

Ян кумёр чирмит бәсмилло царт, чирмит та пыҳт
 уан kumyor čirmi-t bəsmilo car-t čirmi-t t-a ryḥt
 then someone enter-3SG Bismilloh do-3SG enter-3SG to-DEM3 cattle-shed

A. Text Corpus

ки, яў ёжәтк та.
ki yaw yožәtk ta
that she give birth.PF there3

Someone [a woman] enters and says the 'bismilloh' [religious formula], she enters (and sees) that the vaghd has given birth.

VG:3

Ўанд ки, "быс-быс мәцар, рәч аўқот мар гоҳ".
ǎan-d ki bys-bys мә-car рәч awqot mar goǎ
say-3SG that bis-bis (bismillah) PROH-do go food to me make

(The vaghd) says: "Don't say bis-bis, go and prepare some food for me."

VG:4

Яў ян ьизит, гоҳт дә и дыштак кочи ярәк,
yaw yan wizi-t goǎ-t дә i дыštak koči yar-әk
she then come-3SG make-3SG in one wooden dish kotchi to her-DAT

а я вағдәр.
a ya vaǎd-әр
EMP DEM3 vaghd-DAT

She then goes, prepares the 'kotchi' [type of meal made from milk and flour, prepared especially for women after giving birth] for her in the wooden dish, (she made it) for that vaghd.

VG:5

Гоҳт дә дыштак яр кочи, ьызымд карт яў да
goǎ-t дә дыštak yar koči ьызым-d kar-t yaw дә-a
make-3SG in wooden dish to her kotchi bring-3SG put.-3SG it in-DEM3

прытәт ǎат ньыызд, рәшт.
prytәt ǎat nywyz-d рәšt-t
front=and self come out-3SG go-3SG

She prepares the 'kotchi' in the wooden dish, brings it and puts it in front of the vaghd and then goes out.

VG:6

Елоәт хай бади и соат бу соат ьизит ки, ичи наст.
elo=әt хай badi i soat bu soat wizi-t ki iči nast
brother.adr=and well after one hour two hour come-3SG that nothing is not

My dear, well, after one or two hours she comes (back and sees) that there is nothing there.

VG:7

Я хы змани бэ дэжг тахкэт ме йэм дод
 ya xy zman-i bэ dэжg taħk=ət me yэм dod
 DEM3 own child-ACC too take.PF go.PF=and behold DEM1 size

ца хы луқән бынәтк а ра кбун.
 c-a xy luq-ən bynətk a r-a kbun
 from-DEM3 own rag-ABL throw.PF EMP to-DEM3 wooden bowl

(The vaghd) has taken her child and has left, look, she has left the piece of her cloth in the wooden bowl.

VG:8

Хай ян ме а я луқи һызмәткәт яһи мыштәт
 xay yan me a ya luq-i wyzmətk=ət yah-i myš-t=ət
 well then behold EMP DEM3 rag-ACC bring.PF=and it-ACC hide-3SG=and

цум домы дэвләтдор витк, бой витк.
 cum domy dəwlat-dor vitk boy vitk
 how much fortune-having become.PF rich become.PF

Well, she then has taken the piece of the left cloth, she hides it and she has become so very rich.

VG:9

Һинг аңи фрөвон яһән һост.
 ðing aŋi frowon yah-ən wos-t
 dairy products such abundant her-ABL become-3SG

She has such abundance of dairy products.

VG:10

Йәт һоз ме йәт ранг, дищәма яһ кумёр туәтк.
 yət woz me yət rang, diš-əm-a yah kumyor tuətk
 DEM2 again behold DEM2 manner know-1SG-Q she who be.PF

It was this way, I don't know who this woman was.

A. Text Corpus

A.19 Text 19: WA

Water

WA:1

Йэм мэмлэкат туэтк бынэткин.
yem məmləkət tuətʃk bɨnətʃkin
DEM1 region be.PF deserted

This region has been deserted [because there was no water].

WA:2

И цахс ѱизит а дрэт, ян ачон, йэм бынэткин...
i šaxs wizi-t a drət jan aʃon yem bɨnətʃkin
one person come-3SG EMP there2 then dear.adr DEM1 deserted

One person [‘šaxs’ - a stranger with supernatural power] comes there, then, my dear, this (was) deserted... [inaudible]

WA:3

"Э" ханд: "ту кишт нэцаро?"
e xan-d tu kiʃt nə-ɕar-o
adr say-3SG you.SG sowing NEG-do-Q

He says: "Don't you sow (the field)?"

WA:4

Ханд: "хай, юпк наст, црэнг гоҳэм".
xan-d xay yupk nast ɕrəŋg gox-əm
say-3SG well water is not how make-1SG

(The man) says: "Well, there is no water, how do I do (it)?"

WA:5

Ханд: "юпк вост".
xan-d yupk wos-t
say-3SG water become-3SG

(The stranger) says: "there will be water".

WA:6

Ян ачон, хы билчаи явэр ранд.
jan aʃon xy bilča-i yaw-ər rand
then dear.adr own small shovel-ACC he-DAT give.3SG

Then, my dear, he gives him his little shovel.

WA:7

Йэм билчай юнд а дра.
 yəm bilča-i yund a dra
 DEM1 small shovel-ACC take.3SG EMP there3

(The man) takes this little shovel there.

WA:8

Ме а йэм, ме нивэш ханд ки, спо пуп...
 me a yəm me niv=əṣ̣ xan-d ki spo pup
 behold EMP DEM1 behold now=IPFV say-3SG that our grandfather

This one, now he is saying that our grandfather... [inaudible].

WA:9

Йэт ян дэйт, рост яв нэхашт.
 yət yan dəy-t rost yaw nə-xaṣ̣-t
 DEM2 then hit-3SG right it NEG-pull-3SG

That (one) then hits (the ground), he doesn't pull it out (right away) [as he was supposed to do].

WA:10

Ян тапывд.
 yan tapyv-d
 then swing-3SG

Then [instead] he swings (it).

WA:11

Ян ки тапывд, йэм билча а ра вэрэштэт
 yan ki tapyv-d yəm bilča a r-a wərəṣ̣-t=ət
 then that swing-3SG DEM1 small shovel EMP in-DEM3 remain-3SG=and

йэм юпк ска вьзит, а ска дэста
 yəm yupk sk-a wizi-t a sk-a dəsta
 DEM1 water through-DEM3 come-3SG EMP through-DEM3 handle

вьзит.
 wizi-t
 come-3SG

Then as he swings it, the little shovel stays inside and the water comes out, it comes out through the handle.

A. Text Corpus

WA:12

Нив а ска билча җатәш цә вәзди мымкин
niv a sk-a bilča ǰat=əʃ cə wəzd-i mɪmkin
now EMP through-DEM3 small shovel self=IPFV REL come.PST-i maybe

буй а йәт чәшма дод юпк.
buy a yət čəʃma dod yupk
two EMP DEM2 spring amount water

Now, if (the water) had been coming through the little shovel itself [not only through the handle], maybe there would have been twice as much water in this spring.

WA:13

Ян нывзән а дәт Хәдой.
yan nywz-ən a də-t xədoī
then come out-3PL EMP in-DEM2 Khudoyi

Then they [the people] organize the Khudoi [type of religious event when people prepare food, especially grain and meat, to express gratitude for something good that has happened] in that place.

WA:14

Царән кишт.
car-ən kiʃt
do-3PL sowing

They sow the fields.

WA:15

Вост обод.
wos-t obod
become-3SG inhabited

(The land) becomes inhabited.

WA:16

Ме йәт а йәт ранг.
me yət a yət rang
behold DEM2 EMP DEM2 manner

So, it was that way.

WA:17

Хай, ян вәз Хәдой ранд, гушти дәйт тә җы шин
xay yan woz xədoī rand guʃt-i dəy-t tə ǰy ʃin
well then again Khudoyi give.3SG meat-ACC hit-3SG to own bottom

пипр мьшт.
 pɪpr mɨʃ-t
 under hide-3SG

Well, then he makes Khudoi again, he hides the meat under his bottom.

WA:18

Ачонэт ханд: "хай, ба шикам сир мэвоц, ба тан
 aʃon=ət ʃan-d хау ба ʃikam sir mə-woc ba tan
 dear.adr=and say-3SG well to belly satiated PROH-become to body

пушида".
 puʃida
 clothed

My dear and he [the stranger] says [a curse to him]: "may your belly never be satiated and your body never be clothed."

A.20 Text 20: WC

Wolf and Calf**WC:1**

Сак тытварт тобистон дэ и мощинэн тэ ўч наг рэҗдэн.
 sak tyt'vart tobiston də i moʃin-ən tə wuʃ nag rəʒd=ən
 we year before last summer with one car-ABL to up side go.PST=1PL

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

WC:2

Дэ Змыдг чынгалсар спо мощинэн чиз ки цэй слот вити.
 də Zmydg ʃəngal-sar spo moʃin-ən ʃiz ki cəy slot vit-i
 in Zmudg forest-beginning our car-ABL something broken become.PST-i

Near the forest in Zmudg something broke in our car.

WC:3

Сакэн нйэштэн а псав пэрсими қдам
 sak=ən nyəʃt=ən а ps-a-v pərsim-i qdam
 we=1PL come out.PST=1PL EMP by-that3-PL.OBL beginning-EZ walk

A. Text Corpus

дингак витэн.
dingak vit=ən
hit.INF become.PST=1PL

We got off (the car and) started to walk around the place.

WC:4

А тумэрк виндэн ки, а ца чэнгал наг
a tum-ərk vind=ən ki a c-a jəŋgal naɡ
EMP extent-DAT see.PST=1PL that EMP from-DEM3 forest side

чиз ки цэй сәкри кәртиэт нйәшти.
čiz ki cəy səkr-i kərt-i=ət nyəšt-i
something red-ACC do.PST-i=and come out.PST-i

By that time we saw that from the forest side something was showing red and coming out.

WC:5

Нив баф дидиҗдэн ки, яв шаптэт и вәщқи дам грдан
niv baf didiʃd=ən ki yaw šapt=ət i wəšk-i də-am gərdan
now good see.PST=1PL that it wolf=and one calf-ACC in-DEM3 neck

вйдрәткәт юндәш.
wydrətk=ət yund=əš
catch.PF=and take.3SG=IPFV

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

WC:6

Сак труй цбыр нфар вәғәт быф кәртәнәт пәрсими
sak truy cbyr nfar way=ət byf kərt=ən=ət pərsim-i
we three four person shout=and roar do.PST=1PL=and beginning-EZ

я шапти җар дингак витэн.
ya šapt-i ʃar dingak vit=ən
DEM3 wolf-ACC stone hit.INF become.PST=1PL

We, three–four people shouted and screamed and started to throw stones at the wolf.

WC:7

Хили чай яви пиш рәтән.
xili ʃay yaw-i piš rət=ən
very place it-ACC in front give.PST=1PL

We chased him [the wolf] very far.

WC:8

Я шапт вѣштиѣт я вѣщки бондиѣт рѣни.
 ya ŝapt wəŝt-i=ət ya wəŝk-i bond-i=ət rən-i
 DEM3 wolf fear.PST-i=and DEM3 calf-ACC throw.PST-i=and run away.PST-i

That wolf got scared, dropped the calf and ran away.

WC:9

Сак рѣдѣн я вѣщки вѣч кѣртѣн ки, яв гѣрдан
 sak rəŭd-ən ya wəŝk-i wuč kərt=ən ki yaw gərdan
 we go.PST=1PL DEM3 calf-ACC up do.PST=1PL that his neck

камѣк вѣхѣн виткѣт явѣш цѣ вѣшыкѣн драгас
 kamək wəxən vitk=ət yaw=əŝ cə wŝyk-ən drangas
 a bit blood become.PF=and he=IPFV from fear-ABL strongly

ларзд.
 larz-d
 shiver.PST-3SG

We went, we lifted the calf (and saw) that there was a little bit of blood on its neck and it shivers strongly from fear.

WC:10

Яв соиб ѣати ки, яв вѣщк истар нѣвитк, га хыщ
 yaw soib ŭat-i ki yaw wəŝk istar nə-vitk ya xyš
 his owner arrive.PST-i that his calf nothing NEG-become.PF very happy

витиѣт сакѣр қлѣгбод кѣрти.
 vit-i=ət sak-ər qləybod kərt-i
 become.PST-i=and we-DAT thank do.PST-i

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

WC:11

Тумѣрк спо мошин бѣ соз вितिѣт сак таѣдѣн.
 tum-ərک spo mošin bə soz vit-i=ət sak taŭd=ən
 extent-DAT our car too repaired become.PST-i=and we go.PST=1PL

By that time our car also got repaired and we went [continued our journey].

A. Text Corpus

A.21 Text 21: WV

Wolves

WV:1

ИрцрахИ ǃузэт жы рцопц дэ бу хурэн тэр чэнгал
ircraxi wuz=ət žy rcorc dэ bu хur-эн тэр jəngal
at sunrise I=and my cousin with two donkey-ABL to forest

ǃузэрк рэǃдэн.
ǃuz-ərk rəǃd=эн
firewood-DAT go.PST=1PL

At sunrise, I and my cousin with two donkeys went to the forest for firewood.

WV:2

Аво бафэт би мур ту, амо цэ ǃуч наг кам-камэк
awo baf=ət bi mur tu amo сэ wuč nag kam-kamək
weather good=and without cloud be.PST but from up side a little

ныǃыкэш ди.
nyǃyк=эш di
wind=IPFV hit.PST

The weather was good and clear but wind was blowing from the upper end a little bit.

WV:3

Дэ чэнгал ǃатэнэт ǃы хурвэн вастэн.
dэ jəngal ǃat=эн=ət ǃы хur-v=эн vast=эн
in forest arrive.PST=1PL=and own donkey-PL.OBL=1PL tie.PST=1PL

We arrived at the forest and tied our donkeys.

WV:4

Ғал иви банд ǃуз нэǃдэтуэн ки, хурвэн
ǃal iw-i band ǃuz nэ-dyətu=эн ki хur-v-эн
yet one-ACC binding firewood NEG-hit.PPF=1PL that donkey-PL.OBL-ABL

арэт быф сар вити.
ar=ət byf sar vit-i
roar=and roar beginning become.PST=i

We hadn't yet made one bundle of firewood when the donkeys' bellowing and roaring started.

WV:5

Нив гэсөгэс рэйдэн ки, хурви шаптиц қбалэв
 niv gəsoɡəs rəjd=ən ki хur-vi řapt-iř qbal=əv
 now running go.PST=1PL that donkey-PL.OBL wolf-PL surrounded=3PL

кэрк.
 kərək
 do.PF

Now, we ran [lit. running we went] (and saw) that wolves had surrounded the donkeys.

WV:6

Сак бэ вагдэнэт дэ řарэнэт шунгэн, дэ хы
 sak bə wayd=ən=ət də řar-ən=ət řung-ən də хы
 we too shout.PST=1PL=and with stone-ABL=and wood-ABL with own

тпарвэн шаптви ай кэртэн.
 tpar-v-ən řapt-vi ay kərt=ən
 axe-PL.OBL-ABL wolf-PL.OBL chasing do.PST=1PL

We, too, shouted and with stones and sticks, with our axes, we chased the wolves away.

WV:7

Шаптиц рэнэв.
 řapt-iř rən=əv
 wolf-PL run away.PST=3PL

The wolves ran away.

WV:8

Сак бэбафиř řуз дэйтэнэт пцэтэн
 sak bəbafiř řuz dəyt=ən=ət přət=ən
 we without difficulties firewood hit.PST=1PL=and return.PST=1PL

хунэр.
 хун-əг
 house-DAT

We chopped the firewood without difficulties and returned home.

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