

FOUR VERSIONS OF A NEO-ARAMAIC CHILDREN'S STORY

Dr. ELEANOR COGHILL
(University of Cambridge)

1 INTRODUCTION

The texts presented here are four different versions of a children's story passed down the generations orally. The versions vary not only in the actual story, but also in the dialect in which they are recounted, all of which are members of the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic family (henceforth NENA). It is hoped that the comparison of different versions of one story will give some idea of the variation that oral folktales undergo, and will also facilitate a comparison of the narrative devices used in different dialects.

All versions come from Christian communities¹ in the NENA area. The first two versions are told respectively in the dialects of the villages of Alqosh (*'alquš*) and Telkepe (*təlkepə*)² situated in the Mosul Plain in northern Iraq. The third version is told in the dialect of Hamziye (*hamziye*, also known as *hamzik*), a village in the *Şapna* region further north. These versions were recorded by the author during face-to-face interviews with the narrators. The fourth version was recorded in a telephone interview with a lady who was born in the small village of Tazakand (*tazākand*) south of Urmia in Iran. Her dialect is related to, but distinct from, standard Christian Urmia.

The story is a children's story. According to the Hamziye speaker, the story is told to children at bedtime to help them sleep. The origins of the story are not known to the author, nor how it travelled from village to village. The four stories are clearly versions of the same story, but show significant variation.

It should be kept in mind that the stories are as recounted on a particular occasion. Unlike written literature, these oral stories have not been fixed in a particular form. Within the same village they might be told differently. They would probably be told somewhat differently by the same person on another occasion or if given more time for preparation.³ The stories were not told spontaneously or in the normal context, but in response to a request from the author and with the author as audience. This artificial context seems however

¹ Christians belonging to the Assyrian Church of the East or the Chaldean Catholic Church.

² Words in brackets are the names by which these villages are known in their own dialects.

³ In fact the Hamziye speaker told her story to the author a second time, several years later, with different wording and details, though with the same basic storyline.

to have had limited impact on the style of storytelling, which is lively and vivid. The two female speakers (Hamziye and Tazakand) seem to be practised storytellers,⁴ though I am not aware if this is the case for the others.

2 NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

2.1 *Vowels*

The approximate IPA⁵ values of the vowels are as follows:

SHORT VOWELS	LONG VOWELS
/a/ [æ ~ ɜ]	/ā/ [æɪ]
/ɒ/ [ɒ] (only Tel., unstressed final vowel)	/o/ [oɪ]
/u/ [u]	/ū/ [uɪ]
/ü/ [y] (only Taz.)	/ū̄/ [yɪ] (only Taz.)
/ə/ [ə ~ ɪ]	/e/ [eɪ]
	/i/ [iɪ ~ i]

2.2 *Consonants*

The consonantal symbols have their IPA values, except for the special Semitic symbols (laryngeal ʾ, pharyngeals ʕ and ḥ, emphatics ʔ, ʕ, ʔ, affricates ʕ [tʃ] and j [dʒ]). There are some differences in the Tazakand transcription (see §3.4).

2.3 *Synharmonism*

In Tazakand, as in other dialects of Iranian Azerbaijan, emphasis is a feature covering whole words in many cases. Whole-word emphasis is known as synharmonism. As in dialects such as Christian Sardarid⁶ and Darband⁷, there are two levels of emphasis: middle-timbre and emphatic (pharyngealized/velarized). In middle-timbre words, vowels are backed but there is no pharyngalization. The two levels of emphasis are marked here as follows:

- ^m... middle timbre
- ⁺... emphatic

⁴ In the case of the Tazakand storyteller, I was made aware of her version by her niece, who had heard it from her.

⁵ International Phonetic Alphabet.

⁶ Younansardaroud (2001).

⁷ Author's own data.

2.4 Other Symbols

«...»	Small amount of speech deleted due to speaker error.
^A ... ^A	Arabic.
^E ... ^E	English.
^P ... ^P	Persian.
'	Intonation group boundary.
˘	Nuclear stress of an intonation group.
˙	Minor stress.

3 THE STORY OF THE SPARROW WITH A THORN IN HIS FOOT:⁸ THE FOUR VERSIONS

3.1 Alqosh Version⁹

Told by a man in his 30s, born and raised in Alqosh, now living in London. He heard it from his grandmother in Alqosh.

- (1) 'áθwa-w laθwa xà-bedika.¹ jáklə¹⁰ kətwə b-àqləh.¹
Once upon a time, there was a sparrow. A thorn got stuck in his foot.
- (2) zállə bəfyāra,¹ xzélə ġðā-sota.¹ 'āmərwa: wó sotò!¹ màplətlə kətwi!¹
He went flying, he saw an old woman. He said, 'Hey, Granny! Take out my thorn!'
- (3) 'amrāwa: həyyu.¹ kəmməpəlǝlǝlə kətwəh,¹ kəmhəlqǝlə p-tanūra.¹
She said, 'Come!' She took out his thorn, she threw it into the oven.
- (4) pǝšlǝ bəbxāya.¹ 'āmərwa: 'ú, kəbən kətwi!¹
He started crying. He said, 'Oh, I want my thorn!'
- (5) 'amrāwa: lə-bāxət,¹ byāwānnux ġðā-paθəxta.¹
She said, 'Don't cry! I'll give you a piece of bread.'¹¹
- (6) 'āmərwa: həlli.¹ šqállə paθəxta-w¹ pǝšlǝ fyāra.¹²
He said, 'Give it to me.' He took the piece of bread and started flying.
- (7) fəɾə-u¹³ fəɾə-u¹ xzélə xá-šivāna bixála məsta,¹ 'u láθwālə ləxma.¹
He flew on and on and saw a shepherd eating yoghurt without having any bread.

⁸ A name given by the author of his paper.

⁹ For the grammar of his dialect, the reader can refer to the author's unpublished PhD thesis (Coghill: 2003).

¹⁰ *jyk* ~ *čyk* 'to pierce, get stuck', probably borrowed from Arabic *škk* 'to pierce'.

¹¹ A *paθəxta* is a large flat bread.

¹² *fyāra* here is a variant of the progressive form *bəfyāra* 'flying', where the *b* prefix has been directly assimilated to the initial labiodental of the infinitive (*fyāra* < **f* *fyāra* < **b* *fyāra*).

¹³ No *e* has /ə/ is regularly elided in actual speech before enclitic *u* 'and': thus it is pronounced *fəɾu*.

- (8) *'āmərwa ʔāləḥ: wó šivàna!*¹ *qáy-iwət bixāla másta dlà-ləxma?*¹
He said to him, 'O shepherd, why are you eating yoghurt without bread?'
- (9) *'āmərwa: m-òðən?*¹ *latti.*¹ *mà 'oðən?*¹
He said, 'What should I do? I haven't got any. What should I do?'
- (10) *'āmərwa: 'ána byāwánnux paθəxta!*¹ *d-áxləx b-əğðāðə.*¹ *'āmərwa: hàyyu.*¹
He said, 'I'll give you a piece of bread so that we may eat together.' He said, 'Come.'
- (11) *pášle bixàla!*¹ *b-əğðāðə.*¹ *xləšla paθəxta,*¹ *xləšle 'ixàla.*¹
They started eating together. The piece of bread was finished, they finished eating.
- (12) *'āmərwa: 'ána kəbən paθəxti.*¹ *pəšlə bəbxàya:*¹ *'ána 'əllà yāwətti paθəxti.*¹
He said, 'I want my piece of bread!' He started crying, 'You must give me my piece of bread.'
- (13) *'āmərwa šivána: là-bāxət!*¹ *byāwánnux xà-barāna.*¹
The shepherd said, 'Don't cry. I'll give you a ram.'
- (14) *šqəllə barāna-w!*¹ *'u pəšlə bəfyāra fyāra,*¹ *xzélə gðā-da'wa.*¹⁴
He took the ram and started flying and flying. He saw a wedding party.
- (15) *xzələ nāšə wole tíwə bəštāya-w!*¹⁵ *látte mazzə.*¹
He saw people who are sitting drinking yet they don't have any appetisers.¹⁶
- (16) *'āmərwa ʔaləy:*¹ *yà nāšə,*¹ *qáy-iwotu bəštāya dlà-mazzə?*¹
He said to them, 'O people! Why are you drinking without appetisers?'
- (17) *'amriwa: m-òðəx?*¹ *lattan čú-məndi d-áxləx 'əmməd-štəθa.*¹
They said, 'What should we do? We don't have anything to eat with the drink.'
- (18) *'āmərwa: 'ána byāwánnoxu barāna.*¹
He said, 'I'll give you a ram!'
- (19) *kəmyāwəlle barāna-w kəmnaxrilə-u!*¹ *pəšle bixāla 'əmməd-štəθa.*
He gave them the ram and they slaughtered it, and they started eating with the drink.
- (20) *xləšle «...» štāya,*¹ *'āmərwa: 'ū, 'ána kəbənni barāni!*¹⁷
They finished drinking. He said, 'Oh I want my ram back!'
- (21) *pəšlə bxàya.*¹⁸ *'əllá-yāwotūli barāni!*¹
He started crying: 'You must give me my ram!'

¹ This word, from Arabic *da'wa*, is borrowed in o NENA as *da'wa* or (with the pharyngeal weakened) as *da'wa*, some times both variants in one dialect.

¹⁵ Or *tíwə u bəštāya w* (unclear).

¹⁶ When the sense shifts of the present in the narrative, it will be translated here as such, even when it sounds slightly awkward in English. This is to draw attention to his narrative device, which will be discussed in §7.3 and §7.5.

¹⁷ Li. 'I want (for) me my ram back!'

¹⁸ = *bəbxāya*. As with *fyāra*, the *b* may assimilate completely to the initial labial.

- (22) 'amriwa táləh: là-bāxət,¹ byāwəxlux xəθna-w kəlu!¹
They said to him, 'Don't cry. We'll give you the bride and groom!'
- (23) šqəllə xəθna-w kəlu,¹ pəšlə bəfyā'a-w bəzmāra:¹
He took the bride and groom, he started flying and singing:
- (24) {chanted rhythmically, with some stressed short vowels becoming long}
təmbəl təmbəl təmbəltā!¹¹⁹ Drum drum drum!
kətwa wəlli p-pəθəxtā-w¹ I exchanged a thorn for a piece of bread
pəθəxtā bgo bārānā-w¹ And a piece of bread for a ram
bārānā p-xəθnā-w kəlo¹ And a ram for a bride and groom
tí tí təmbəltā!¹ Drrr drrr drum!

3.2 Telkepe Version²⁰

Told by a man in his 30s, born and raised in Telkepe, now living in America. He heard it from his father in Telkepe.

- (1) xa-butík²¹ wāwə²² bərxāšv mgandəṛə.²³ xa-butík wāwə bgandəṛə p-šārə¹
A sparrow was walking, hopping. A sparrow was hopping in the street.
- (2) werə kətwə b-aqle.¹ zəllə gebəs-sətu,¹ kəmpaltālə kətwə b-aqle.¹
A thorn got into his foot. He went to a little old woman, she got out the thorn in his foot.
- (3) kəmsəqlələ kətwə,¹ kəmtalqələ p-tanūrə.¹
She took his thorn and threw it into the oven.
- (4) qəmlə butík «...»¹ pəšlə bəbxāšv:¹ kəbən kətwi,¹ kəbən kətwi!¹
The sparrow «...» started crying. 'I want my thorn, I want my thorn!'
- (5) kəmamrələ:¹ kəmtalqənnə p-tanūrə.¹ kəməmerv: kəbən kətwi!¹ kəmmewələ taxūrtv.¹
She said to him, 'I threw it into the oven!' He said to her, 'I want my thorn!' So she gave him a piece of bread.²
- (6) kəmsāqəllə taxūrtv zəllə,¹ bərxāšv,¹ xzələ marə 'yānv.¹
He took the piece of bread and went off, walking, and he saw a shepherd.

¹⁹ *Təmbəl/təmbəltā* is derived from Arabic/Persian *tabl* and refers to a large double sided drum played with drumsicks. It is played in outdoor festivities, accompanying the *zurna* or reed pipe.

²⁰ For the grammar of his dialect, the reader will be able to refer to the author's grammar currently in preparation (Coghill: forthcoming).

²¹ Both Alq. *bedika* and Tel. *butika* are borrowed from a Kurdish word for 'sparrow'. Cf. Henry *beytik* 'sparrow' in Chye (2003).

²² Note that the usual form of the 3ms pas copula in his dialect is *wəwə*.

²³ = *b* + *mgandəṛə*. This verb means 'to roll' or 'to hop'.

² A *taxurta* is small hickory bread.

- (7) *qámilə 'aθ-marə 'yànv, kəmsāqállə taxúrtə-w, pásšla bixālv «...» xàlvv.*
This shepherd got up, he took the piece of bread and they started eating yoghurt.
- (8) *xlššla xàlvv 'əmmət-taxúrtə-w kùl-məndi.*
They finished the yoghurt, with the piece of bread and everything.
- (9) *qámilə butíkv həbxàyv merə: kélv taxúrti? kəbən taxúrti!*
The sparrow started crying. He said, 'Where is my piece of bread? I want my piece of bread!'
- (10) *kəmmāmerə: kəmmaxlúxlv taxurtux. kāmərə: kəbən taxúrti! kəmyāwállə barānv.*
He said to him, 'We ate your piece of bread! [But the sparrow says to him, 'I want my piece of bread!'] So he gave him a ram.
- (11) *kəmsāqállə ta barānv, zállə bərxāšv, xzelə ... dā'wv!*
He took the ram and walked off; he saw a wedding party.
- (12) *kəmsaqállə ta barānv, kəmnaxrilə. kəmmaxlílə-u xlššlə-u zméra mwunəsla.*
They took the ram, they slaughtered it, they ate it and it was finished. They sang and enjoyed themselves.
- (13) «...» *qəmlə bxélə ta barāne.*
«...» He started crying for his ram.
- (14) *kəmamrilə: kəmaxlúxlə barānv. «...» kāmər: kəbənni barāni, kəbən barāni!*
They said to him, 'We ate your ram.' He says, 'I want my ram! I want my ram!'
- (15) *kəmmewilə – kálu-u²⁵ xəθnv! qámilə šqállə kálu-u xəθnv, kəmtāləqla b-bèrv!*
So they gave him the bride and groom! He went and took the bride and groom and threw them into a well!

3.3 Hamziye Version²⁶

Told by a middle-aged woman who left Hamziye at the age of 4 or 5, lived in Telkepe for a few years, then moved to Baghdad and later Zakhō. She is now living in America. She heard the story from her elder brother, who was told it by their mother.

- (1) *'əθwāli xə-čučukθa.²⁷ zállə swāna swāna swāna, čškle xá-kətwə p-əqla diya.*
I had a female sparrow. She went from roof top²⁸ to roof top, and a thorn got stuck in her foot.

²⁵ No e ha only one /u/ is audible, though i is presumed ha he par icle u 'and' is presen .

²⁶ For grammar, G. Kro koff's grammar of Aradhīn (1982) is recommended, as i represen s the mos closely rela ed published dialec o da e.

²⁷ In his dialec xa is he indefini e ar icle for bo h genders. The word čučukθa refers o he female of he species, derived from čučukka m. 'sparrow'. Cf. no e 99 below for he deriva ion.

²⁸ Swāna is ac ually he ge of he roof.

- (2) *θéla mər̄ra: tóti tóni²⁹ čákle kátwa p-’àqli.*
She came and said, ‘Granny, granny, a thorn has got stuck in my foot.’
- (3) *mər̄ra: də-sè«š-»!¹ hay-mèle toto?¹ háy-tə-mpaltáñne řàlax,¹ daryánne gu tanùra-w,¹ dá pyapyánnax xà-laxma.¹
She said, ‘Get away! Come, what is it, my child?’³⁰ Come and I’ll get it out³¹ for you and put it in the oven. Now I’ll bake you a piece of bread.’³²*
- (4) *θéla tōto,¹ qəmpaltále kátwa m-’áqlət-čučúkθa,¹ ’u qəmdaryále gu tanùra,¹
The old woman came and got out the thorn from the sparrow’s foot and put it in the oven.*
- (5) *qəmyapyála xa-laxma,¹³³ ’u qəmyawála ’àw-laxma,¹ řa d-ày-čučúkθa.¹
Then she baked her a piece of bread and gave the bread to that sparrow.*
- (6) *zól̄la čučúkθa řərra řərra,¹ xzéla xà-šivāna.¹
The sparrow left, flew on and on, and saw a shepherd.*
- (7) *mər̄ra: háā! šivāno!¹ lé ’āθət ’axlaxla ’áy-taxərta p-láxma-w xəlya.¹
mər̄re: yè.¹
She said, ‘O shepherd, won’t you come and eat that piece of bread, with bread and milk?’ He said, ‘Yes.’*
- (8) *tùle,¹ xəlle,¹ ’áy-taxərta qəmparzila gu xəlya,¹ qəm’axlila,¹ xləšle.¹
They sat down and ate. That piece of bread they crumbled into the milk. They ate it up.³*
- (9) *hxéla čučúkθa¹ mər̄ra: ’éee! ’āna yáppan láxma diyi,¹ yəppan taxərta!¹
The sparrow burst into tears and said, ‘Ahhh, I want my bread! I want my piece of bread!’*
- (10) *mər̄re: lā¹ là-baxyat!¹ hahā!¹ šqúl ’áw-barāna řàlax.¹
He said, ‘Don’t! Don’t cry! Hey, take that ram for yourself!’*
- (11) *qámle šivāna,¹ qəmyawálle xà-barāna,¹ řa čučúkθa.¹
The shepherd rose, gave him a ram, that is to the sparrow.*
- (12) *’u čučúkθa zól̄la-w zól̄la ’áya-w barāna,¹ xzéla xá ... řàfla,¹ max dà’wa ’amraxla.¹
So the sparrow went on and on, she and the ram, and saw a party, like a wedding party, let’s say.³⁵*

²⁹ Li. ‘my grandmo her’, from *tota* ‘grandmo her, old lady’ or i s diminutive form *toto* ‘granny’.

³⁰ Li. ‘granny’. This is an example of *bí polari y* in kinship terms, where for ins ance a son calls his fa her ‘daddy’ and he fa her also calls his son ‘daddy’. This is also common in Arabic: see for ins ance Yassin (1977) on Kuwaiti Arabic.

³¹ Li. ‘ha I may get it out.’

³² Li. ‘a bread’.

³³ In a second telling (several years later) the speaker used *taxərta* ‘small hick pie a bread’ instead of the more general *laxma*.

³ Li. ‘hey a e i and finished.’

³⁵ Li. ‘let’s call it’.

- (13) *dà'wa-w¹ mər̄ra: hòo!¹ da'watìyee!³⁶ 'amra: hà,¹ mər̄ra: lè-ʔāθūtun¹*
'awðax hàfla,¹ 'awðax dà'wa,¹
 A wedding party. And she said, 'Hey! Wedding party!' They³⁷ say, 'Yes?' She said, 'Won't you all come, so we can hold a party, hold a wedding party?'
- (14) *'ána 'atti 'aw-barxa,¹ p̄parmàxle,¹ ptawðáxle rəzza-w,¹ šūrba-w,¹ dōlma-w,¹*
pāč̄a-w,¹ ptàxlax,¹ ptáwðax kək.¹
 'I have that lamb. We'll slaughter it and make it into rice and soup and dolma and *pācha*³⁸ and we'll eat, and we'll make cake.'
- (15) *mər̄re: yè.¹ hàyyu!¹ tūle,¹ qəmparmile 'aw-barxa,¹ qəm'awðile rəzza-w,¹*
šūrba-w,¹ prāxe-w,¹ pāč̄a-w,¹ xəllə-w xləşle,¹
 They said, 'Yes. Come!' They sat down, slaughtered the lamb, made it into rice and soup and dolma and *pācha* and ate it up.
- (16) *ba'dén čučukθa bxəla,¹ mər̄ra: 'èe!¹ 'ána bāyan barāna diy!¹*
 Then the sparrow burst into tears and said, 'Ahhh! I would like my ram!'
- (17) *mər̄re: 'ū!¹ xləşle barāna.¹ 'axni méka meθáxle barāna?¹ háyyu hay šqúlle*
«...» kálo-w xətna t̄lax.¹
 They said, 'Oh! The ram is finished! From where should we bring a ram? Come and take the bride and groom for yourself.'
- (18) *qəmla čučukθa¹ šqállāla³⁹ kálo-w xətna-w,¹ zállā xzəla xà'a,¹ ^A 'abu*
l-zūrna.¹ ^A 40
 The sparrow rose and took the bride and groom. She went on and saw someone, a pipe player.
- (19) *mər̄ra: hòo!¹ zurnačiyoo!⁴¹ 'ámər: hà?¹ 'amra: lé-ʔātət 'awðax xa- ...*
dà'wa?¹
 She said, 'Hey! Pipe player!' He says, 'Yes?' She says, 'Won't you come so we can make a wedding party?'
- (20) *'atti 'ána kálo-w xətna,¹ 'u 'áti 'əttux zūrna-w¹ dahòle,¹ t-awðax hàfla,¹*
t-awðax dà'wa,¹ pràqðax¹ mzàmrax.¹
 'I have a bride and groom, and you have a pipe and drum, so we can make a party, make a wedding party. We'll dance and sing!'

³⁶ I is no clear o he au hor whe her *da'watiye* f. (cf. Kurdish *de'wai* wedding) is a synonym of *dà'wa* 'wedding celebra ion', or refers more specifically o he people who are responsible for he fes ivi ies of he wedding. The doubling of he vowel le er here indica es ha i is ex ended: some híng which of en occurs in voca ives in NENA.

³⁷ The agreemen is ac ually feminine singular, wi h *da'watiye*.

³⁸ *Pācha* is an Iraqí dish: a s ew made from he head of a sheep or from s uffed ripe.

³⁹ *šqállā la*: she. ook her 'she ook her', wi h objec agreemen . This form, wi h an ex ra L suffix marking he pronominal objec on a *Q̄talle* form, is from he Derābūn dialect , he dialect of he informan 's husband and children. The Hamziye form would be he supple ive *Q̄tāl* form *qəmsəqlāla*

⁴⁰ The *zurna* is ac ually a reed wind ins rumen common in he Middle Eas and radi ionally played a weddings oge her wi h he *tambultā/dahole*, a large drum.

⁴¹ The person who plays he *zurna* (cf. no e 36).

- (21) *mərre: yé hàyyu! wádle hāfla, dā'wa, rqádle zmərre xləşle!*
He said, 'Yes, come!' They held a party, a wedding party and danced and sang, then they finished.
- (22) *mərre: 'ù! 'ána bāyan – kálo-w xətma dīyi. méka meθanne kálo-w xətma dīyax?' xləşle!*
He said, 'Ohhh! I would like my bride and groom!' 'From where should I bring your bride and groom? They've finished!'
- (23) *hā, šqúlle 'áwwa – zúrna-w dahóle⁴² dīyi tálax-u sè!*
'Hey, take this pipe and drum of mine for yourself and go!'
- (24) *zəlla. fərre fərre fərre-w, pəşla bimāra tīn-u' bəzmāra ta gyāna-w.*
She left. She flew on and on and on, and started saying 'ting' and singing to herself:
- (25) {Song left out in the original version and inserted from the second telling}
- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>kətwoní p-xa taxərtá.</i> ¹ | My little thorn for a piece of bread. |
| <i>taxərtá p-xa-barāna.</i> ¹ | My piece of bread for a ram. |
| <i>barānā p-kālo-w xətna.</i> ¹ | A ram for a bride and groom. |
| <i>kālo-w xətna p-ṭambultí.</i> ¹ | A bride and groom for my drum. |
| <i>ṭambultí qawra mārā.</i> ¹ | My drum is calling 'grave'. ⁴³ |
| <i>ṭambultí qawra mārā.</i> ¹ | My drum is calling 'grave'. |
- (26) *mdurqəlla čučukθa-w' npəlla-w pəqéla-w mətla. xləşla.*
Then the sparrow stumbled, and fell, exploded and died. The end.

3.4 Tazakand Version⁴⁵

The speaker, around 60 years old, is originally from a small village called Tazakand, SSW of Urmia, on the Baranduz river, close to the mountains dividing Iran from Iraq.⁴⁶ She moved to Tehran in her late teens. Note that the transcription contains some uncertainties, due to the poor quality of the telephone recording and lack of other information on this dialect.

Notes on transcription

There are some differences in the symbols used in this text. Because of the quality of the recording, it is not possible always to be certain of the exact phonetic realization of these sounds. *W'* here appears to be IPA [v⁷ or possibly [β (a bilabial

² *Dahole*, from Kurdish *dehol*, is the same instrument as *ṭambalta/ṭambulta* (cf. note 19).

³ As prose, the syntax of this would be odd, as there is no copula and the verb comes at the end. Maclean's dictionary (1901, 2003) gives an additional meaning for this verb of 'to die suddenly'.

⁵ For understanding the grammar of this dialect, works on the related dialect of Christian Urmia would be of help, e.g. Hezron (1969) and Polotsky (1961), or the dialect of Sardarid (Särdä:rid), cf. Younansardaroud (2001).

⁶ People of this region are known by the gentilic term *šəpəṭnāyā*.

⁷ As in Sardarid (Younansardaroud 2001: 4).

fricative).⁴⁸ The symbol ‘p’ represents an unaspirated [p]. As in Urmia⁴⁹ and Sardarid,⁵⁰ there exist two types of affricates: unvoiced č [tʃ] and č [ts], and voiced j [dʒ] and j [dz]. The first of each pair (č, j) are reflexes of original *k or *g respectively. The second (č, j) are reflexes of original *č/*j, mostly from loanwords such as *čāra* < *čāra* ‘solution’, or of *k/*g before a high vowel or /y/, e.g. *čitwa* < *kitwa* ‘thorn’, *jāna* < *gyāna* ‘self’.

- (1) *ítta*⁵¹ *lítta*⁵² – *xà-sipərta itta*.¹ *yá sipərta*,¹ *xíšta xdirta*,¹ *wírewa čítwa jo*⁵³
àqlo.¹

There was and there wasn’t a certain female sparrow. This sparrow went along, wandered around, and a thorn got into her foot.

- (2) *xá-yūma tuxməntewa*:¹ *álaha wà-čítwi*,¹ *mày ppālətlə*?¹⁵⁴ *l-yá-pāta l-yò-pāta*...¹

One day she thought, ‘O God, this thorn of mine. Who will get it out?’ To this side and that (she looked)...

- (3) *xzítewa wélə tónna* +*plàta*,¹ *m-čáwət-xa-bèta*.¹

She saw there is smoke coming out, from the window⁵⁵ of a house.

- (4) *xíšta xzíta ina xá-dāy sòta*,¹ *pyáya làxma*.¹

She went and she saw, lo and behold there was an old mother, baking bread.

- (5) *ā*⁵⁶ *mirta*: *mò-payyat*?¹⁵⁷ *mirta*: *b-ála dāy sota*,¹ *ja-pālətlə wà-čítwi*.¹

This one said, ‘What do you want?’ She said, ‘Please,⁵⁸ old mother, do take out this thorn of mine.’

«Speaker breaks from story briefly.»

- (6) *mirtewa*⁵⁹ *o* «...»^EOK.^E *paltənnə čítwa*.¹

She said, ‘Oh, «...» OK. I’ll take out the thorn.’

⁸ As in Darband (au hor’s own da a).

⁹ Cf. He zron (1969: 113) and Odisho (1988: 25).

⁵⁰ Cf. Younansardaroud (2001: 4-6). I use her transcription of č for [ʃ] and č for [s].

⁵¹ In his dialect, as in Sardarid (Younansardaroud 2001: 4), /ʃ/ is not a phoneme, and words may begin with a vowel.

⁵² <itwa litwa, passage of the existential predicator *it* (neg. *lit*). The /w/ has assimilated here to the /t/.

⁵³ Later in the example *jo* is sometimes pronounced as *ju*, but the spelling *jo* is retained for consistency.

⁵⁴ The /l/ of the suffix, unusually for NENA, appears to have assimilated to the preceding /t/, here and in lines 5 and 11, but without a clearer recording it is not possible to be certain.

⁵⁵ *Čāwə* (<*kāwə*) is in fact the traditional type of window, a simple hole in the wall, rather than a modern window.

⁵⁶ *ā* (<*āha*) ‘his’ is probably a borrowing from another dialect, Urmia or Sardarid (Younansardaroud 2001: 180). Elsewhere *ya* is the feminine near deixis demonstrative (cf. line 27).

⁵⁷ Some times this verb has /b/, like Sardarid (Younansardaroud 2001: 123); in other cases it appears to have an unaspirated /p/, like Darband (au hor’s own da a).

⁵⁸ *Li* ‘by God’.

⁵⁹ There seems to be some variation in the exact form of the passive participle *qīla* (f. *qīlta*) + passive enclitic copula (probably *iwa*). Sometimes the final /al/ of the participle and initial /il/ of the copula merge to /el/ (*qīlewa*, *qīltewa*) and other times the /il/ simply elides (*qīlawā*, *qīltawā*). This is something that varies between dialects; it may be that there is some influence from another dialect, perhaps the prescriptive Urmia dialect (*qīl eva*), cf. He zron (1969: 116), or Sardarid (Younansardaroud 2001: 76).

- (7) *ćítwa pūlðttawa¹ rūpíta jo tanūra.¹*
She took out the thorn and threw it into the oven.
- (8) *rūpítawa jo tanūra,¹ u sipárta xíšta.¹*
She threw it into the oven. And the sparrow went on.
- (9) *xíšta xíšta xdírta jríšta xá-yarxa tuxmànta:¹ āzan šaqlànnə ćítwi.¹*
She went on and on, wandered around, took one month then thought, ‘Let me go and get my thorn.’
- (10) *títa mírta qa sòta:¹ hállə ćítwi!¹*
She came and said to the old woman, ‘Give (me) my thorn!’
- (11) *ita bābi mut ćítwa?¹ «...» tīlax pūlðtli rūpíli jo tanūra.¹*
‘Now, my child,⁶⁰ what thorn? «...» You came and I took it out and threw it into the oven.’
- (12) *là...!¹ +šlla +bəlla⁶¹ b-ná-dinə-u mòmātə,¹ bayyànnə ćítwi.¹*
‘No, ^Aby God, ^Aby these religions and oaths, I want my thorn.’
- (13) *ćítwa, qimtawa¹ mírta: b-āla, āna ćítwa litti.¹ méka ćítwa yawannax?¹*
The thorn. She got up and said, ‘By God, I don’t have a thorn. From where should I get⁶² you a thorn?’
- (14) *də-šqúl xá-laxma xùš¹ dardūsar⁶³ qāli là-hal.¹*
‘Take a piece of bread and go! Don’t give me a headache!’
- (15) *šqiltewa xà-laxma-w¹ prixta xíšta.¹*
She took a piece of bread and flew on.⁶
- (16) *prixta xíšta xíšta xdírta xdírta!¹ +rítewa jo tūrānəd-dühuk.¹*
She flew on and on, and wandered around and around then she glanced (?) in the mountains of Dohuk.
- (17) *tamòdò!¹ wéelə xa-bəta,¹ xa-šrba +brāya l-pátxət-tūra!¹*
Way over there! There is a house, and a sheep grazing at the foot⁶⁵ of the mountain.
- (18) *mirtewa b-wó-āla qeman āzan čəs-d-ewá.¹*
She said, ‘By that God, let me go⁶⁶ there.’

⁶⁰ Another example of bi polari y in kinship terms. Cf. note 30. Here we have an extension of the basic function, as the old woman is not even metaphorically the father of the sparrow. A parallel for this is in the Jilu dialect of NENA, where *bābi* is a ‘general term of endearment, even to a child’: cf. the entry *bāba* in Fox (1997: 126).

⁶¹ *əlla bəlla*. The emphatic (velarized/pharyngealized) *l* seems to indicate here these are derived from Arabic *allāh* ‘God’ and *b allāh* ‘by God’, in contrast to the *b āla* found elsewhere, which has an Aramaic origin.

⁶² Li. ‘give’.

⁶³ *Dardūsar* ‘headache’ is of Persian or Kurdish origin.

⁶⁴ Li. ‘flew, went’.

⁶⁵ Li. ‘fleshy’.

⁶⁶ Li. ‘let me get up and go here’. The verb *qym* I ‘to rise, get up’ of en precedes a verb of action: it does not necessarily have to be translated separately.

- (19) *qímta xíšta xzìta,¹ ína xa-⁺ràyya¹ +mārūyā⁶⁷ ərbə.¹*
She went and saw, lo and behold there was a shepherd grazing sheep.
- (20) *ina hādēlə ĉpina, māsčina,¹ +bəxlāwolə ərba,¹*
Behold, he is so hungry, poor thing, that he is milking the sheep,
- (21) *u parzūyelə pərtət-ərbə jo +xəlwa¹ – +bxāla.¹*
and he is crumbling the dung of the sheep into the milk and eating!
- (22) *mirtewa qāle⁶⁸:¹ jánūni, qa-mú-t hatxa wāda?¹ 69*
She said to him, ‘My dear,⁷⁰ why are you doing this?’
- (23) *mirə: xāti mō odina?⁷¹ 1áxxa lāxma lit,¹ lāxxa bēta lit,¹ xína məjbūr-ən,⁷²*
járaj d-xāyən.¹
He said, ‘Sister, what should I do? There is no bread here, there is no egg here. After this⁷³ I am forced to. I have to live.’
- (24) *āti pūlāṭtewa¹ albál laxma yūwólta qāle.¹ mirta: hāna āna du-šti⁷⁴ lāxma.¹*
šqūl +xul!¹
This one took it out and straight away gave the bread to him. She said, ‘Here you are,⁷⁵ I have bread. Take it and eat!’
- (25) *b-āla wāhānə¹ har mītāma čslo trídawa jo +xəlwa.¹*
By God, that one right there in front of her crumbled (bread) into milk.
- (26) *hāda muščəra mənno.¹ lāxma trídawa¹ u «...» +xilewa.¹*
He thanked her so much. He crumbled the bread into milk and ate it.
- (27) *ya mádrə prixtewa,¹ u xíšta.¹*
This one again flew off and went away.
- (28) *xíšta mədrə,¹ xđirta xđirta xđirta:¹ lá-āzan šaqlānnə lāxmi!¹*
She went away again and she wandered around and around and around. ‘Let me go⁷⁶ and get my bread!’

⁶⁷ < b +mārūyā. The /b/ of the preposition has assimilated completely to the initial /m/.

⁶⁸ The 3ms. pronominal suffix on nouns and prepositions varies between *u* and *e* in his ex. This seems to reflect a mixing of dialects. The form *u* is usual in the Urmia area, while *e* is found in many of her NENA dialects.

⁶⁹ The *b* found on the infinitive + copula construction elsewhere (e.g. *bxāla* ‘eating’) is absent here, perhaps through assimilation of the labial /w/. Cf. also note 67.

⁷⁰ *Li*. ‘li le soul’, a diminutive of *jāna* ‘soul’.

⁷¹ This appears to be one of the longer 1sg. *qāṭal* (present) inflections: *ina* (for 1ms. *ən*) and *āna* (for 1fs. *an*). These are found in several of her dialects, such as Mangesh (author’s own data).

⁷² From Arabic *majbūr* ‘forced, compelled’.

⁷³ The basic meaning of *xína* is ‘to her’, but it has other meanings, including ‘again, after this, well!’ (Maclean 1901, 2003: 8).

⁷⁴ *Du* here may be a deictic particle related to the deictic copula *dun* (< *du n*) ‘I am ... right now’.

⁷⁵ In the sense of French *voici*.

⁷⁶ The use of the negative *la* + subjunctive present *qāṭal* is similar to English ‘shouldn’t I ...’ with an emphatically positive meaning, i.e. ‘I should’. The falling intonation is characteristic of a statement rather than a question.

- (29) *títewa l-jánət-wa +ràyyan,¹ mirewa: xàti w-ita¹ āna čs̄slax qa(?) laxma +xəlli¹ +blili¹.*
She came to that same shepherd of ours. He said, ‘Sister, well, I ate and swallowed the bread in front of you!’
- (30) *méča laxma jo ná tūrànə?¹ jo na dárə, tápə, mèka?¹ 77*
‘From where (should I get) bread in these mountains, in these valleys⁷⁸ and summits?⁷⁹ From where?’
- (31) *mirtewa: lá, āna bayyānnə laxmi.¹*
She said, ‘No, I want my bread!’
- (32) *mírewa b-ála lāxma máxma⁸⁰ āna litti.¹ éári àtilə.¹ xuš šqúllax xa-ərbə.¹*
He said, ‘By God, bread and the like I don’t have it!’ ‘My solution is this: go and get yourself a sheep!’
- (33) *qímta⁸¹ xíšta šqilto xa-ərbə.¹*
She went and got herself a sheep.
- (34) *ərbə, xáti, lūbəltə,¹ muxdərta muxdərta muxdərta,¹*
The sheep, sister,⁸² she took away, and she took it around and around and around.
- (35) *mirta: ázan pərxan¹ xázan xina eča pxázyan.¹*
She said, ‘Let me go and fly and see where else I will find.’
- (36) *xíšta xzíta ina wééela xa-+màta,¹ yánə jo bi-páljət-tūrànə,¹ l-šštəd-dàra.¹*
She went and saw, behold there is a village way over there. I mean, in the middle of the mountains, at the bottom of a valley.
- (37) *mira: ázan xa-ríša mǎxyan.¹ xíšta xzíta ina:¹*
She said, ‘Let me go and check it out.’⁸³ She went and saw, behold!
- (38) *lítən +bəşrət-qənyānə,¹ ərbə,¹ yonətə,¹ qad ná-məndiyānə +əxli.¹*
There is no meat of cows, or of sheep or pigeons, those things which are eaten.⁸

⁷⁷ The speaker uses two dialectal variants here: *meča* (with [ʃ]) and *meka*.

⁷⁸ Cf. *dârâ* in Maclean (1901, 2003: 69) ‘a valley, glen’, from Turkish.

⁷⁹ Cf. *ta pah* in Oraham (1943: 552) ‘summit, the top of a c. Also Maclean (1901, 2003: 113) *tâpâyâ* ‘the shoulder of a mountain’.

⁸⁰ *laxma maxma: maxma* is an ‘echo word’ of *laxma* ‘bread’. Echo words beginning in *m*, of the type giving a consonant of generalization ‘... and the like’, are found in other NENA dialects, such as Jewish Azerbaijan (I. Garbell 1965: 82) and Jewish Arbel (G. Khan, 1999: 242). B. Wälchli (2005: 168) mentions the presence in Turkic and Iranian languages, among others, of ‘echo words in which the second part of the compound begins with *m* (often called *m* double s)’. He gives a Turkish example: *Ben doktor maktör değilim* ‘I am not a doctor or the like.’ According to Wälchli (2005: 177), negation is ‘a favourable context for echo words’, which is also the context in the example here.

⁸¹ Cf. note 66.

⁸² Addressing the listener, i.e. the author of his paper.

⁸³ Lit. ‘hit a head’, a calque of Persian *sar zadan*.

⁸ Lit. ‘which these things are eaten’.

- (39) «...» *ina prámēna xáqsa mǎndiyǎnǎ,*¹ *qad krǎstyǎnǎíta lǎ-axlǎlu.*¹ *t-ùp nǎšǎ.*¹ *xmǎrǎ,*¹ *čǎlbǎ,*¹ *sūsawǎtǎ.*¹
Behold, they are slaughtering some things which Christians don't eat.⁸⁵ Even humans. Donkeys, dogs, horses.
- (40) *mírta:* *jǎnūni,*¹ *qa-mútun hatxa wǎda?*¹ *mǎ lǎna t-xǎla!*¹
She said, 'My dear, why are you doing this? Why,⁸⁶ they are not for eating!'
- (41) *mírewa:* *b-ǎla,*¹ *čǎra littan,*¹ *qad xǎyǎx xǎti.*¹
They said, 'By God, we don't have any choice, in order to live, sister.'
- (42) *mírta:*⁸⁷ *ǎna itti.*¹ *btǎzan mayyǎna*⁸⁹ *qǎlǎdxun,*¹ *ax yamréni, qad +axlǎtun rǎhat.*¹
She said, 'I have something.⁸⁸ I'll go and fetch it for you, as they say, in order for you to eat comfortably.'
- (43) *xíštewa títa mǎyíta ǎrba*¹ *yǎwǎlta qa-ná.*¹
She went and came and brought the sheep, and gave it to those people.⁹⁰
- (44) *prímewa ax yamri,*¹ *+pǎliyewa,*¹ *bǎšlewa,*¹ *+xilewa,*¹ *šǎtyewa.*¹
They slaughtered it, as they say, divided it up, cooked it, ate it and drank.
- (45) *ǎti-da wita(?) jo jašniyu.*¹⁹¹
This one was also at their feast.
- (46) *qímta xíšta prǎxta.*¹ *mǎrǎba mǎnnu ax yamri mǎnta tǎnewa.*¹
She got up and went⁹² and flew off. Many of them, as they say, thanked her.
- (47) *prǎxtewa xíšta*¹ – *mǎdrǎ ǎti jǎzanta*⁹³ *xíšta tuxmǎnta:*¹ *ǎ ǎzan šaqlǎnnǎ ǎrbi.*¹
She flew on again that dopey thing went and thought, 'Ah, let me go and take my sheep.'
- (48) *mǎdrǎ tita l-jǎnǎt-na nǎšǎ.*¹ *mírewa:* *b-ǎla xǎti*¹ *ǎt lǎxxa-twa*¹ *axni xilǎx wo ǎrba.*¹
Once again she came to those same people. They said, 'By God, sister, you were here. We ate that sheep.'
- (49) *ǎrba litǎn.*¹ *mút taxmūnǎ?*¹
'There is no sheep. What are you thinking?'
- (50) *w-ǎla,*¹ *+šlla +bǎlla ǎrba payyannǎ!*¹ *ǎrba payyannǎ!*¹
'By God, I want the sheep. I want the sheep!'

⁸⁵ Li . 'which Christians does not eat'.

⁸⁶ Li . 'what!'

⁸⁷ Or possibly *mírte* 'she said to them'.

⁸⁸ Li . 'I have.'

⁸⁹ Cf. no e 71.

⁹⁰ Li . 'on these'.

⁹¹ Or possibly *jašniyu*, with a /j/. From Persian *jašn* 'festival, feast'.

⁹² Or just 'She went'. Cf. no e 66.

⁹³ Or possibly *gǎzanta*. Cf. *gǎzhǎnǎ* 'dizzy' in Maclean (1901, 2003: 58).

- (51) *āt (?) – ná-da*⁹⁴ *mirewa:*¹ *b-ála axni árba mórba*⁹⁵ *littan.*¹ *dút bəxžàya.*¹
*ina porya*⁹⁶ *bnàtə ittan.*¹ *éni t-páyyat lābālla.*¹
 You (?) these also said, 'By God, sheep and the like we don't have it. You can see!⁹⁷ But we have plenty of girls. Whichever you want, take her!'
- (52) *mirta: mō btāwəd.*¹
 She said, 'It doesn't matter.'⁹⁸
- (53) *qímta šqílta xá-dāna brāta,*¹ *u bətāya.*¹
 She took one⁹⁹ girl, and was coming along.
- (54) *xá b-xa xzítewa ina xa-nāša*¹ *wéeeelə mən úrxəṭ-tūra,*¹ *xá-šāz cumbólla*
*b-jāne.*¹ *u bxāša.*¹
 All of a sudden, she saw, behold there is a person (coming) from the mountain pass, a saz¹⁰⁰ slung over himself, going along.
- (55) *bxāšelə,*¹ *al-bál xišta jo sàrre (?)*¹⁰¹ *mirtewa jánūni ečət bxāša?*¹
 He is going along. Straightaway, she went to meet him (?). She said, 'My dear, where are you going?'
- (56) *mírə: b-ála xāti,*¹ *ána b-nōši,*¹ *ána-n-u yə-šāz.*¹ *dun bxāša npíla b-úrxātə.*¹
*ečət +mātya,*¹ *+qáṭṭa,*¹ *mītāma pčālən.*¹
 He said, 'By God, sister, I am by myself. It is me and this saz. I am walking, starting a journey.¹⁰² Wherever it leads to, finishes, there I will stop.'
- (57) *mirtewa qāle,*¹ *xūni yá-šāz hálla qāli,*¹ *yá brāta yawánna qālux.*¹
 She said to him, 'Brother, give this saz to me and let me give this girl to you.'
- (58) *mírə: b-ála dāx ləttax xātər.*¹
 He said, 'By God, as you wish.'
- (59) «...» *áwən yūwilowa šāz qad-āyən.*¹ *áyən dā yuwəltowa,*¹ *brāta qad-āwən.*¹
 He gave her the saz. She now gave the girl to him.
- (60) *šqíltewa šāzo,*¹ *síqta tūta jo qarqúptət-xa-tūra.*¹
 She took her saz, she climbed up and sat on the top of a mountain.
- (61) *it jāyə,*¹ *zmirtewa.*¹ *mirtewa.*¹¹⁰³
 From time to time¹⁰ she sang:
 {The following was sung by the storyteller:}

⁹ *da* 'also' is a Turkish loan.

⁹⁵ Cf. no e 80.

⁹⁶ *Pərya* is a s a i ve par iciple from roo *pry*. Cf. under *pári* in Maclean (1901, 2003: 256) and *pirr ya* 'plen y' in Oraham (1943: 413).

⁹⁷ Li. 'you are seeing'.

⁹⁸ Li. 'Wha will i do?'

⁹⁹ *xá dāna brāta: dāna* is used for enumerating individual items.

¹⁰⁰ A s ringed ins rumen similar o he lu e, wi h a smaller body and longer neck.

¹⁰¹ *Jo sarre*, if correc, li erally means 'in his head', from Kurdish/Persian *sar* 'head'.

¹⁰² Li. 'fallen on pa hs'. Cf. Maclean (1901, 2003: 216) for *nāpil l 'urxālb 'urxā* 'o s ar on a journey'.

¹⁰³ Li. 'she sang, she said'.

¹⁰ Li. 'here are times'.

- (62) *ċitwa yūwəlli bəd laxma, təngalə şāz təng.*
A thorn I gave for bread, *təngalə şāz təng.*
- (63) *laxma yūwəlli bəd ərba, təngalə şāz təng.*
Bread I gave for a sheep, *təngalə şāz təng.*
- (64) *ərba yūwəlli bəd brāta, təngalə şāz təng.*
A sheep I gave for a girl, *təngalə şāz təng.*
hátxala áx zmirèli qālah,¹ mā-da hátxa zmirtuwa qālu.¹
It's like that. As I sang it to you, thus also she sang it to him.

4 STRUCTURE OF THE STORY

The common structure to the different versions is as follows:

1. A sparrow gets a thorn stuck in its foot.

EP SODE

2. It goes and finds an old woman and asks her to get it out. She gets it out and throws it into her oven.
3. The sparrow starts crying (not in Taz.) and asking for its thorn back.
4. The old woman gives the sparrow a piece of bread instead.

EP SODE

5. The sparrow goes off and meets a shepherd to whom it offers the bread. They eat the bread with yoghurt (Ham./Taz. milk).
6. The sparrow then starts crying (not in Taz.) and wants its bread back.
7. The shepherd gives it a ram (Taz. a sheep).

EP SODE

8. The sparrow goes off and comes upon a wedding party (Taz. a starving village). It shares the ram with the people there.
9. The sparrow then starts crying (not in Taz.) and wants its ram back.
10. The people give the sparrow a bride and groom (Taz. a girl).

EP SODE V

11. (Ham./Taz.) The sparrow goes off and meets a musician (Ham. pipe player, Taz. saz player), and hands over the bride and groom/girl.
12. (Ham.) The sparrow asks for the bride and groom back.
13. (Ham./Taz.) The musician gives the sparrow his pipe and drum/saz in return for the bride and groom/girl.

END NG

14. The ending varies in the different versions, but in three out of the four versions the sparrow sings a song (see §5 for more).

As can be seen, the story has a repetitive structure with several episodes, each involving a new character. In Alqosh and Telkepe these characters are: the old woman, the shepherd and the people at the wedding party. In Hamziye the pipe-player is added. In Tazakand the wedding party is replaced by a

starving village and a different musician (a saz-player) is added. Each time the sparrow meets one of these characters it gives or shares something with him or her, then later starts to cry (except in Taz.) and asks for it back. To placate the sparrow, each character gives something in exchange, which the sparrow then goes on to exchange for something else.

5 VARIATIONS IN THE STORY

The two versions from the Mosul Plain, Alqosh and Telkepe, are similar with only minor differences. In Telkepe the sparrow hops or walks rather than flies. At the end Alqosh has the sparrow flying off with the bride and groom, chanting a rhyme. Telkepe has the sparrow throwing the bride and groom into a well, and concludes without a rhyme.

The Hamziye version is similar, except for the additional episode. There is merely a little more detail about the wedding party. In the additional episode the sparrow meets a pipe-player and together they hold a wedding party with the bride and groom. When the sparrow demands the bride and groom back, the pipe-player gives her his pipe and drum instead. The sparrow flies off and, as in Alqosh, sings to herself (though the song was not included in the initial telling). In this version alone the sparrow dies at the end.

The Tazakand version is considerably longer and more elaborate than the other three. There are some minor differences: it has an unspecific sheep (*arba*), rather than the ram (*barāna*) of the other three versions. There is no mention of the sparrow crying at each stage. It also has the sparrow wandering off for quite some time before coming back to reclaim what she has lost. There is generally more description: the smoke from the window of the old woman's house; the shepherd so hungry that he is crumbling dried dung into his milk instead of bread. Later there are some more fundamental differences. The wedding party is replaced by a starving village where the people are eating forbidden meats, and only a girl is given instead of a bride and groom. Like Hamziye it has an additional episode, where the sparrow meets a saz-player and exchanges the girl for the instrument.

As in all versions except Telkepe,¹⁰⁵ Tazakand ends with a rhyme, sung by the narrator, where the sparrow recounts all the exchanges that have been made.¹⁰⁶ The inclusion in the Alqosh rhyme of the word *ṭambāṭa* 'drum', just as in Hamziye, suggests that an earlier version of the Alqosh story may also have involved an exchange of the bride and groom for a pipe and drum, as occurs in the Hamziye story.

¹⁰⁵ We cannot be sure his version did not originally have a rhyme.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ferguson and Rice (1960) for a discussion of some children's rhymes in Iraqi Arabic, including some ha form par of a story.

6 VARIATIONS IN THE LANGUAGE

The dialects of these four versions are quite diverse. Alqosh and Telkepe are relatively closely related dialects, yet there are still quite obvious differences between the two. Hamziye is a little further removed, both geographically and linguistically, while the dialect of the Tazakand version is quite distinct from all the others. There is not space here to go into the many grammatical differences between the four dialects. Of more relevance is the variation in some of the lexical items playing an important role in the story, as in shown in the table below. The dialects are ordered geographically, from south to north. Note that words in {} brackets are not actually found in the text but are sourced from other fieldwork and added for completeness.

Main differences in key lexicon

	Telkepe	Alqosh	Hamziye	Tazakand
sparrow	<i>butikv</i> (K.) ¹⁰⁷	<i>bedika</i> (K.) ¹⁰⁸	<i>čučukθa</i> (fem.) (K.) ¹⁰⁹	<i>sipərta</i> (fem.) (A.)
to fly	{ <i>fyr</i> I} (Arab.) ¹¹⁰	<i>fyr</i> I (Arab.)	<i>fyr</i> I (Arab.)	<i>prx</i> I (A.)
to throw away	<i>tlq</i> I (A.) ¹¹¹	<i>hlq</i> II	{ <i>šyt</i> I}	<i>ryy</i> II (A.)
shepherd	<i>marə ʔānw</i> (A.)	<i>šivāna</i> (K.)	<i>šivāna</i> (K.)	+ <i>rayya</i> (A.)
yoghurt	<i>xahwv</i> (A.)	<i>masta</i> (K.)	{ <i>masta</i> } (K.)	?
milk	{ <i>xəlyv</i> } (A.) ¹¹²	{ <i>xəlya</i> } (A.)	<i>xəlya</i> (A.)	+ <i>xahwa</i> (A.)

A.=Aramaic, K.=Kurdish, Arab.=Arabic, Pers.=Persian

7 NARRATIVE DEVICES

The texts afford a useful opportunity to compare various features of narrative style in NENA folktales.

7.1 *Opening Formula: ʔəθwa-w laθwa*

A feature common to many NENA dialects is the formula which begins two of the versions: *ʔəθwa-w laθwa* in Alqosh and *ʔitta litta* in the Tazakand version. This means ‘there was and there wasn’t’ and is the standard fairy tale opening, equivalent to ‘once upon a time’ in English fairytales. This formula

¹⁰⁷ Kurd. *beytik*.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Kurdish *çûçik* (~ *ç ûk*) ‘sparrow, small bird’ in Chye (2003).

¹¹⁰ Probably from Arabic *fyr* ‘o flee’.

¹¹¹ Cf. Syriac *tlq* Pael.

¹¹² The original meaning is ‘sweet’.

is also found in other Middle Eastern languages: for instance Arabic *kān yā mā kān* 'there was or there wasn't', Kurdish *hebu nebu* and Turkish (*bir*) *varmış* (*bir*) *joxmuş*.¹¹³

7.2 Narrative Tenses: General

One of the main differences between the versions is to be found in the tenses through which the tale is recounted. In Alqosh, Telkepe and Hamziye, the main narrative tense is the *q̄əllə* form¹¹⁴ and its equivalent with pronominal object: Alq./Tel. *kəmq̄ətəlləl* Ham. *qəmq̄ətəlle*:¹¹⁵

- (1) *jāklə kətwa b əqləh.* ' *zəllə bəfyā'a,* ' *xzələ ḡdā-sota.* ' A thorn got stuck in his foot. **He went** flying, **he saw** an old woman. (Alq. 1 2)
- (2) *wərə kətwp b aqlə,* ' *zəllə gebəs sōtu,* ' *kəmpəllələ kətwp b aqlə,* ' A thorn got into his foot. **He went** to a little old woman, **she got out** the thorn in his foot. (Tel. 2)
- (3) *čākle xā kətwa p 'āqla dīya.* ' *θéla mər̄ra:* A thorn got stuck in her foot. **She came** and **said** (Ham. 1 2)

In the Tazakand version we find the *q̄ila* participle (feminine *q̄ilta*) being used as the main narrative tense. In many Assyrian¹¹⁶ dialects this stative participle is used with the present copula as a narrative tense.¹¹⁷ In a string of successive verbs the copula is sometimes not repeated. But in this text its usage is somewhat different. It is used without any copula from the beginning of a discourse section, as in the following example:

- (4) *q̄imta xišta prixta.* ' **She got up** and **went** and **flew off**. (Taz. 46)

This structure – *q̄ila* – alternates with another structure: the stative participle plus past copula (*q̄ilewa* < *q̄ila* + *-iwa*). This can be seen in the example below, where it is immediately followed by several *q̄ila* forms:

- (5) *prixtewa xišta* ' *mādrə āti jizanta xišta tuxmānta:* ... **She flew on** again that dopey thing **went** and **thought** ... (Taz. 47)

There is no obvious difference in the function or distribution of the two forms, *q̄ila* and *q̄ilewa*, but further investigation is needed.

¹¹³ I. Garbell (1965: 175).

¹¹⁴ This name is based on the form with the standard paradigm verb *q̄il* 'to kill'.

¹¹⁵ In many NENA dialects *q̄əllə* cannot take a full range of pronominal object affixes. A form based on the present base *q̄ətəl*, with the prefix *kəm lqəm*, is used when a pronominal object is required.

¹¹⁶ I.e. dialects spoken by members of the Assyrian Church of the East, who usually originate in the northerly part of the NENA area, especially southern Turkey and northern Iran.

¹¹⁷ G. Khan (personal communication). The dialect of Barwar is one.

7.3 Narrative Tenses: The Verb to Say

An intriguing feature of these texts is their different treatments of the verb 'to say' in narrative. In Alqosh and Telkepe 'mr I 'to say' can be treated like any other verb, i.e. with the *qtəllə* form or its aspectual equivalent *kəmqātəllə: merə* 'he said', *kəm'āmerə* 'he said to him'. This verb, however, does show a tendency to use alternative forms not otherwise common in narrative.

In Telkepe one of these is *kāmər*. This is the *k-qātəl* form, which is normally used for the (habitual) present, as in *kpālax* 'he works', *kxāzə* 'he sees'. With the verb 'mr I, however, it can be used as a narrative tense. The use of a present tense in narrative ('historical present') is a common device across many languages and usually serves to make a narrative more vivid to the listener.¹¹⁸ It is common, for example, in colloquial English, when telling a story, to say 'and then he says.. then she says..' and so on. The examples of this form in the text are in lines 10 and 14:

- (6) *kəmmāmerə: kəmməxləxlə taxurtux.¹ kāmərə: kəbən taxūrti!¹ kəmyāwāllə barānv.¹* He said to him, 'We ate your piece of bread! [But the sparrow **says to him**, 'I want my piece of bread!'] So he gave him a ram. (Tel. 10)
- (7) *kəmməvilə: kəmaxlūxlə barānux.¹ «...» kāmər: kəbənni barāni,¹ kəbən barāni!¹* They said to him, 'We ate your ram.' **He says**, 'I want my ram! I want my ram!' (Tel. 14)

A narrative tense¹¹⁹ has perfective (punctual) aspect. But *kāmər* would normally express a habitual activity, which is a type of imperfective aspect. So the function in narrative differs in aspect as well as tense from its usual function. There is, however, no present perfective tense available in the language as an alternative.

In another Telkepe recording a different form, 'āmər, is used with the same function. This is the unprefixed *qātəl* form, normally used with irrealis functions, e.g. wishes, purposes etc. The following is an excerpt from this text:

- (8) *bə'dén kəmmiatwīli kəmmatwīli,¹ 'amri lə kyalpat,¹ mxubəri^E Drive^E kəmxabrānnə θələ,¹* Then they made me sit, they made me sit. **They say**, 'You won't learn.' I called 'Drive' [a driving school, I called him, he came ...

The same form is found in the Hamziye text, alternating with the *qtəllə* form (*mərre*):

- (9) *də'wa w¹ mərri: hòo!¹ də'watiyee!¹ 'amra: hə,¹ mərri: lə 'āθūtun¹ 'āwðax həfla.¹* A wedding party. And **she said**, 'Hey Wedding party!' **They say (lit. it says)**, 'Yes?' She said, 'Hey! Won't you all come, so we can hold a party?' (Ham. 13)

¹¹⁸ Comrie (1976: 73-78). Cf. also Givon (2001: 298-300).

¹¹⁹ I.e. one used for narrative sequential events.

- (10) *mārra: hòo! zurnaçiyoo! 'āmār: hā? 'amra: lé 'ātət 'awðax xa- ... dà'wa?*
She said, 'Hey! Pipe player! He says, 'Yes?' She says, 'Won't you come so we can make a wedding party?' (Ham. 19)

This form seems to be similar in function to *kāmār:* it is probably used to make the narrative more vivid. It may be that some speakers prefer the use of the irrealis form because it is neutral as to aspect and avoids the awkwardness of using a normally imperfective form in a perfective function.¹²⁰

This appears not to be a problem in Alqosh, where we find the same unprefix form but with the past suffix *-wa: 'āmārwa*. This is the *qāṭəlwa* form and is normally used in Alqosh for one of two functions: past habitual (i.e. imperfective) and past subjunctive (irrealis).¹²¹ The following are examples of its normal usage:

- (11) *pāləxwa go 'alquš*. He used to work in Alqosh.
 (12) *b'elə t pāləxwa*. He wanted to work.

Again, with the verb 'to say', this form functions as a narrative tense:

- (13) *pəšlə bəbxāya. 'āmārwa: 'ū, kəbən kətwi!* He started crying. **He said, 'Oh, I want my thorn!'** (Alq. 4)
 (14) *'amrāwa: lə bəxət, byāwānnux gəðə-pəðəxta.* **She said, 'Don't cry! I'll give you a piece of bread.'** (Alq. 5)
 (15) *'āmārwa: həlli! šqəllə pəðəxta w' pəšlə fyāra.* **He said, 'Give it to me.'** He took the piece of bread and started flying. (Alq. 6)

If we take it that it is the past habitual function which has been extended to a narrative function, then again we have a normally imperfective form being used for perfective aspect. There is a parallel to this in the modern French *Imparfait pittoresque*. The French *Imparfait* normally functions as a past imperfective. It can be used, however, in narrating events, especially in journalistic style, and has the function of making the narrative more vivid.¹²² Comrie (1976: 77-8) views this as an alternative to changing the tense: 'to retain the tense, but shift aspect, for instance to lose aspect distinctions in the past tense, just as if the whole had been shifted into the present, with the typical present aspectual distinctions, or lack of distinctions.' Whatever the reason, the Alqosh *'āmārwa* may have developed in the same way as the French *Imparfait pittoresque*, even though it is restricted to the verb 'to say'.¹²³ Although *'āmārwa*

¹²⁰ Cf. Comrie (1976: 73-37) for a discussion of how in some languages aspect is neutralized in the narrative present, while in others the distinction is retained.

¹²¹ In other dialects, such as Telkepe, these are commonly distinguished by the use of the indicative prefix (*k*) on the indicative form: *kāmārwa* 'he used to say', *'āmārwa* 'he might say' (au hor's own da a).

¹²² Cf. Rickard (1989: 142) for a description of the emergence of its usage.

¹²³ I should be noted however that, unlike *'āmārwa*, the *Imparfait pittoresque* is not used in the spoken language (Rickard 1989: 142).

is basically a past tense form, its usage in narrative does appear to be related to the narrative present: (i) it is used in the same contexts as true narrative presents *kāmər* and *ʾāmər*, and (ii) it is the past tense that is formally similar to the present tense (both being formed from the base *qāṭəl*). There is however the alternative possibility that it is the irrealis *ʾāmərwa* '(that) he might say' that has been extended to the narrative function. The parallel with French, however, favours the former interpretation.

In the Tazakand text the situation is different again. Mostly the verb to say in narrative is treated the same as any other verb. That is, it is usually formed with the stative participle, with or without the past enclitic copula. There are however some examples of the *qtəllə* form with this verb, as for instance in line 56:

- (16) *mīrə: b āla xāti, ʾāna b nōši, ʾ He said, 'By God, sister, I am by myself.'*
(Taz. 56)

Other examples are found in line 23, 37 and 58.

There are also some examples of *qtəllə* with other verbs in line 11, where the old woman recounts what happened to the thorn. But these verbs are not part of the main narrative and so may express a slightly different tense:

- (17) *tīlax pūləṭli rūṭli jo tanūra. ʾ You came and I took it out and threw it into the oven.'* (Taz. 11)

It may be that *qtəllə* expresses the recent past,¹²⁴ in opposition to *qīlal/qīlewa* which expresses a more remote past. If so, its use with *ʾmr* I could again be a device to bring the narrative closer to the present.

The question arises of why the verb 'to say' in particular occurs with the historical present or related forms. The historical present has been much investigated for other languages, including colloquial English. In English it is not restricted to the verb 'to say', so no precise parallel can be provided. Nevertheless it does seem to behave differently with this verb.¹²⁵ Schiffrrin (1981: 58) links this to the association of 'to say' with direct quotes. According to her, direct quotes 'increase the immediacy of an utterance which occurred in the past by allowing the speaker to perform that talk in its original form, as if it were occurring at the present moment.' Direct quotes are usually preceded by a verb of saying, so she argues, 'Using the present tense with that verb is another way in which the narrative framework replaces the situation of speaking in order to make the reported material more immediate.' The statistics from her corpus show that the historical present is in fact more frequent with direct than indirect quotes.

¹²⁴ As it does in other dialects such as Barwar (G. Khan, personal communication).

¹²⁵ According to Wolfson (1979: 178-9), unlike other verbs, 'many, indeed most of the switches between *say* and *said* seem unmotivated.'

The things exchanged are also sometimes introduced by the article: in Alqosh the piece of bread and the ram; in Hamziye the thorn, the bread and the ram; in Tazakand the piece of bread, the sheep and the saz.

Naturally the importance of someone or something to the following discourse is relative and subjective. In the Telkepe version only the sparrow is marked by the indefinite article. This is probably a stylistic choice of the individual speaker, rather than a dialectal difference, as in other Telkepe texts the article is more common.

7.5 Narrative Devices Used to Depict a Scene Vivdly

There are three narrative devices which are often, but not always, used together. These are (i) a presentative particle, (ii) the deictic copula, and (iii) the present progressive structure COPULA + (*bə-*)*qā́ála*. These may all be used at points in the narrative where the speaker wishes to depict a scene vividly.

The presentative particle *ina* is very common in the Tazakand version, but not found in the other two versions. *Ina*, in this function, is not easily translatable into normal English, but is similar in function to Hebrew *hinneh*, conventionally translated as ‘behold!’ or ‘lo!’. *Ina* is used to present a new scene to the listeners: to draw their attention to something new and often surprising. A more natural translation in English might be ‘and right there was a ...’ or ‘and there before her very eyes was a ...’ As one might expect from its function in drawing an image, *ina* often follows a verb of seeing. We see a typical use of *ina* in the following lines:

- (21) *ina hádelə čpina, məščina,¹ +baxlāwolə ərba,¹ Behold, he is so hungry, poor thing, that he is milking the sheep (Taz. 20)*
 (22) *xíšta xzíta ina:¹ lítən +bəşrət qənyānə,¹ ərbə,¹ yonāta,¹ qad ná məndiyānə +əxli.¹ She went and saw, behold! There is no meat of cows, or of sheep or pigeons, those things which are eaten. (Taz. 37 8)*

We sometimes find *ina* followed simply by a noun-phrase, presenting a new scene:

- (23) *xíšta xzíta ina xá dāy sòta,¹ pyáya laxma.¹ She went and she saw, lo and behold there was an old mother, baking bread. (Taz. 4)*
 (24) *qímta xíšta xzíta,¹ ina xa +ràyya¹ +mārūyə ərbə.¹ She went and saw: right there was a shepherd grazing sheep. (Taz. 19)*

The deictic copula is used in NENA dialects both for physical deixis – ‘here he is!’ or ‘there he is!’ – and to express an immediate, contingent present tense: ‘he is ... right now’. In line 17 of the Tazakand version we see these functions used to give vividness and immediacy to the scene being depicted:

- (25) *tamòdòd!¹ wéeelə xa bəta,¹ xa ərba +brāya l pátxəj tūra!¹ Way over there! There is a house, and a sheep grazing at the foot of the mountain. (Taz. 17)*

In the following lines *ina* is combined with the deictic copula:

- (26) *xíšta xzíta ina wéeela xa *màta, yánà jo bi páljət tūrànə, l šštəd dāra.*
She went and saw, **behold there is** a village way over there. I mean, in the middle of the mountains, at the bottom of a valley. (Taz. 36)
- (27) *xá b xa xzítewa ina xa nāšə wéeela mən úrxət tūra, xá səz čumbəlla b jàne.*
u bxāša. bxāšelə, ... All of a sudden, she saw, **behold there is** a person (coming) from the mountain pass, a saz slung over himself, going along. He is going along ... (Taz. 54 55)

The present progressive is also used to give immediacy to a scene, as for instance in the end of example 28 above (*bxāša. bxāšelə, ...* going along. He is going along ...). It may also be combined with *ina* or the deictic copula:

- (28) *ina prāmēna xāqsa mēndiyānə, qad krəstyānūta lə axlālu. t iŋ nāšə.*
xmārə, čəlbə, sūsawātə. **Behold they are slaughtering** some things which Christians don't eat. Even humans. Donkeys, dogs, horses. (Taz. 39)
- (29) *xzítewa wélə tónna *plāta, m čāwət xa bəta.* She saw **there is smoke coming out**, from the window of a house. (Taz. 3)

The Alqosh and Telkepe versions lack these devices with one exception, in the Alqosh version, of the present progressive with the deictic copula:

- (30) *xzélə nāšə wólə tíwə bəštāya w' látte māzza.* He saw people who **are sitting drinking** yet they don't have any appetisers. (Alq. 15)

In fact the texts presented here present an incomplete picture of the usage of these devices. In Alqosh, at least, a presentative particle *əlla*, equivalent in function to Tazakand *ina*, is commonly used in narrative together with the deictic copula *wólə* and the present progressive:

- (31) *wéra b 'ə kāwə, xzélə 'əlla wólə hilánəd 'armónə, xákma záŋrə 'armónə,*
wólə mparšónə ta gyanəy. He entered through that hole and **lo and behold** he saw **there are** some pomegranate trees! some enormous pomegranates which **are splitting open** of their own accord.
- (32) *xərə, 'əlla wola kāwə kòmta w' šəkləd ó nāša kòmta x šəxra.* He looked: **lo and behold** the window is black and the appearance of that man as black as charcoal!
- (33) *déwa zóllə l 'arjúnə 'əlla 'arjúnə wola xəllta-w' dərta*¹²⁶ *l bəθa!* The wolf went to the cripple **but lo and behold!** The cripple **has eaten and returned** home!

7.6 Intonation

In oral story-telling, intonational devices – rises and falls in pitch and loudness, as well as lengthening of syllables – are used to make the story more exciting and vivid, in order to keep the listeners' attention. The texts presented

¹²⁶ Here the deictic copula is combined with a progressive participle to produce a present perfect.

above are no exception. It would however be cumbersome to mark all of these devices in the transcription here. What is marked is the nuclear (main) stress () and lesser stresses ('), which are important for understanding pragmatic features such as focus. Another device marked is elongated vowel length, where a long vowel is lengthened even further. This is often used in NENA dialects to express distance, most notably in demonstratives such as 'awāha 'that over there', 'awāāha (with elongated vowel) 'that, way over there'.¹²⁷ Vowel lengthening is also used with other deictic words: in Peshabur we find the deictic adverbs *tamāha* 'over there', *tamāāha* 'way over there', and the deictic copula *hole* 'here/there he is', *hoole* 'there he is way over there'.¹²⁸ The same elongated vowel length is found in the Tazakand version, with the same function. Here it is found with the deictic adverb *tamó* 'there' and the deictic copula *welə* 'here/there he is'. This device adds further to the vivid depiction of the scene, as the illusion is created that the speaker herself is actually pointing to the scene.¹²⁹

- (34) *tamòdò!* 'wéelə xa bèta,' **Way over there! There is** a house (Taz. 17)
 (35) *xíšta xzíta ina wéela xa *māta,* She went and saw, behold **there is** a village **way over there.** (Taz. 36)
 (36) *xá b xa xzítewa ina xa nāša' wéelə mən úrxət lūra,* All of a sudden, she saw, behold **there is** a person (coming) from the mountain pass (Taz. 54)

It is also common in NENA dialects to lengthen the final syllable of an intonation group, usually in conjunction with either rising or level pitch. This is used for various functions, for instance in joining together items in a list, in yes/no questions, and in calling someone. In two of the texts presented here (Ham. and Taz.), it is also used to express distance or length of time. Specifically, it is used with verbs of motion to emphasize the distance travelled and time that has passed. In this function it is also used in conjunction with repetition (see §7.7 below).

- (37) *zálla čučúkθa fǎrra fǎrr[ax],* *xzéla xà šivāna.* The sparrow left, **flew on and on,** and saw a shepherd. (Ham. 6)
 (38) *príxta xíšta xíšta xdírta xdirt[ax:]!* 'rítewa jo tūránəd dūhuk. She flew (and went) on and on, and **wandered around and around** then she glanced (?) in the mountains of Dohuk. (Taz. 16)

¹²⁷ Such forms are attested in many dialects, such as Christian 'Aqra, Mangesh, Tin, etc. (auhor's own data).

¹²⁸ See E.J. Coghill (2008) for a discussion of deictic words in the Christian dialect of Peshabur.

¹²⁹ In many dialects, including the closely related dialect of Darband (auhor's own data), certain deictic words such as *awó* 'ha' and *tamó* 'over here' (and their lengthened equivalents) are used only when the speaker can point to them (even if they are not actually visible). Other forms (Darband *ʔo*, *māma*) are used when pointing is difficult or impossible, for example when the thing referred to is in another country or the speaker is talking about the past. This is most likely the case also in Tazakand.

7.7 Repetition

There are three types of repetition found in the texts. One is the repetition of actions and actual words in each successive episode, as is common with folktales. Another quite different type is the repetition of an individual verb several times in succession. This quasi-onomatopoeic device is used to indicate that the activity went on for some time. Used with verbs of motion to depict journeying, it also helps to mark the transitions between episodes. This device is found with both the main narrative tense and with infinitives:

- (39) Alqosh
- (a) *fēra-u fēra-u*¹ *xzelə xá šivāna bixāla māsta*¹ *ʿu ləθwālə ləxma*¹ **He flew on and on** and saw a shepherd eating yoghurt without having any bread. (Alq. 7)
- (b) *šqállə barāna w*¹ *ʿu pāšlə bafyāra fyāra*¹ *xzélə ġðā-daʿwa*. He took the ram and started **flying and flying**. He saw a wedding party. (Alq. 14)
- (40) Hamziye
- (a) *zālla čučúkθa fārra fārra*¹ *xzēla xà šivāna*¹ The sparrow left, **flew on and on**, and saw a shepherd. (Ham. 6)
- (b) *ʿu čučúkθa zālla-w zālla ʿāya w barāna*¹ *xzēla xá ... həfla*¹ *max dəʿwa ʿamraxla*¹ So the sparrow **went on and on**, she and the ram, and saw a party, like a wedding party, let's say. (Ham. 12)
- (c) *zālla*¹ *fārra fārra fārra w*¹ *pāšla bimāra tìn u ʿ bəzmāra ta gyāna w*¹ She left. **She flew on and on and on**, and started saying 'ting' and singing to herself: (Ham. 24)
- (41) Tazakand
- (a) *xīšta xīšta xdírta jrišta xá yarxa tuxmənta*¹ *āzan šaqłənnə čitwi*¹ **She went on and on**, wandered around, took one month then thought, 'Let me go and get my thorn.' (Taz. 9)
- (b) *prixta xīšta xīšta xdírta xdírta*¹ *rítewa jo tīvānəd dühuk*¹ She **flew on and on**, and **wandered around and around** then she glanced (?) in the mountains of Dohuk. (Taz. 16)
- (c) *xīšta mədrə*¹ *xdírta xdírta xdírta*¹ *lá āzan šaqłənnə ləxmi*¹ She went away again and **she wandered around and around and around**. 'Let me go and get my bread!' (Taz. 28)
- (d) *šrba, xāti, lübəlta*¹ *muxdárta muxdárta muxdárta*¹ The sheep, sister, she took away, and **she took it around and around and around**. (Taz. 34)

A third type of repetition is a kind of connective repetition, where the last phrase of a short sequence of events is repeated at the beginning of the next sequence of events. Typically the start of the next sequence is also marked by a higher pitch. Connective repetition can be seen in the following three consecutive lines:

- (42) Tazakand
- (a) *čítwa pūləttawa*¹ *rūpíta jo tanūra*¹ She took out the thorn and threw it into the oven. (Taz. 7)
- (b) *rūpítawa jo tanūra*¹ *u sipárta xīšta*¹ She threw it into the oven. And the sparrow went on. (Taz. 8)

- (c) *xíšta xíšta xdírta jríšta xá yarxa tuxmènta:*¹ *āzan šaqlānnə cītwi.*¹ She went on and on, wandered around, took one month then thought, 'Let me go and get my thorn.' (Taz. 9)

There is also an example in Hamziye:

- (43) Hamziye
*'u čučūkθa zšlla w zšlla 'āya w barāna,*¹ *xzēla xā ... hāfla,*¹ *max dā'wa 'amraxla.*¹ So the sparrow went on and on, she and the ram, and saw a party, like a wedding party, let's say. (Ham. 12)
 (b) *dā'wa w' mər̄ra: hōo!*¹ *da'wātīyee!*¹ A wedding party. And she said, 'Hey Wedding party!' (Ham. 13)

This device is not restricted to pure narrative, but can also be found in another type of sequential discourse, that is sequences of events that happened regularly. An example is the following extract from a Telkepe recording, where a woman is talking about the goods that the people of Telkepe used to trade:

- (44) *báθrə řāhən,*¹ *knablíwv zənziṛə,*¹ *qošīnə,*¹ *'u marzīgə knabliwāla,*¹ *'u kəmzabnīwāla bgāwəd bāgdad.*¹ *kəmzabnīwāla bgāwəd bāgdad u ba'dən,*¹ «...» *pāšlan kóðux mōnv ta bāgdad.*¹ *kud wšðlan mōnv ta bāgdad,*¹ ... After tahini, they took starlings, larks, and they took *marzigə*.¹³¹ And they would sell them in Baghdad. They would sell them in Baghdad and then we started to make preserves for Baghdad. When we made preserves for Baghdad ...

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are many similarities between the dialects in the devices they use in narration. Although the main narrative tense varies, especially between Tazakand and the others, there appears to be unity between the dialects in treating the verb 'to say' differently. As regards the devices used to depict scenes more vividly, the dialects exhibit very similar behaviour, even if the precise forms vary.

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¹³¹ Ano her ype of bird.

10. ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A.	Aramaic
Alq.	Alqosh
Arab.	Arabic
fem.	female
Ham.	Hamziye
K.	Kurdish
Pers.	Persian
Taz.	Tazakand
Tel.	Telkepe

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