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SPRING EQUINOX FESTIVAL IN THE MOUNTAINOUS  
BADAKHSHAN AUTONOMOUS REGION OF TAJIKISTAN:  
ETHNOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND INTERLINEAR GLOSSING  
OF A SHUGHNANI TEXT

**Abstract:** The article presents a narrative written by R.Kh. Dodykhudoev for a children's reading primer in the Shughnani language intended to teach reading skills to the young generation of school children, monolingual speakers of their native languages.

The text contains the description of the New Year holiday – Nowruz, as it was celebrated in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century in the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan, and details the particular festive customs associated with the younger generation.

This Shughnani narrative (presented with interlinear glossing) forms a contribution to the corpus of texts in the Shughnani language, which, like other Pamir languages, lacked a written tradition until recently.

**Key words:** Iranian languages, Pamir languages, Shughnani language, Nowruz, Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region, Tajikistan, ethnolinguistics

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ПРАЗДНИК ВЕСЕННЕГО РАВНОДЕНСТВИЯ  
В ГОРНО-БАДАХШАНСКОЙ АВТОНОМНОЙ ОБЛАСТИ ТАДЖИКИСТАНА:  
ЭТНОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ  
И ПОМОРФЕМНАЯ НОТАЦИЯ ШУГНАНСКОГО ТЕКСТА

**Аннотация:** В статье представлен повествовательный текст, подготовленный Р. Х. Додыхудоевым для «Букваря шугнанского языка», разработанного для обучения чтению в начальной школе детей, владеющих только родным шугнанским языком.

В тексте дается описание празднования в середине XX века Нового Года – Навруза – в Горно-Бадахшанской автономной области Таджикистана, обычаев, связанных с интересами подрастающего поколения.

Этот шугнанский текст, приведенный с поморфемной нотацией, является вкладом в корпус письменных текстов на шугнанском языке, который, как и прочие памирские языки, до недавнего времени не имел письменной традиции.

**Ключевые слова:** иранские языки, памирские языки, шугнанский язык, Навруз, Горно-Бадахшанская автономная область, Таджикистан, этнолингвистика

## 1. Introduction

The majority of the adult population of Shughnan (Shughnan and Roshtkala districts) are currently bilingual and speak both Shughnani and Tajik. People living in the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region (MBAR) learn the Tajik language starting from school. Today this is the state language of Tajikistan, the official written language of the government and the language of the media and culture. However, preschool children, as a rule, speak only their native language – Shughnani – and do not know other languages (Tajik, Russian, etc.).

In the twentieth century, at a time when teaching in the native language was not part of the curriculum, and sometimes the very existence of these languages/dialects was contested, both children and teachers found themselves in a difficult situation when entering school, since pupils speaking their native Pamir languages would have to be taught in an unfamiliar language, and learn from textbooks written in that language. Under these conditions, teachers and educators made efforts to create and promote teaching materials in native Pamir languages as well as in Tajik, so as to prepare pupils by easing the transition to a situation where they would be taught exclusively in Tajik (or Russian).

After the publication of the “Law on Language” in Tajikistan (1989), a number of textbooks on native languages were created and published [Projects 1989; Karamshoev 1991; 1992; Karamshoev, Alamshoev 1996].

We present below one text of a “Primer of the Shughnani language for children” (*Xuŷnūni alifbō*), devised in 1989 on the basis of his childhood memories by R.Kh. Dodykhudoev. It was intended for children in primary school (aged 5 and over) who spoke only their native Shughnani language but who, from the age of seven, would have to master the Tajik or Russian language in their school curriculum.

This text provides a sample of narrative discourse from the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century; it was written for a situation where the whole community, and all generations in the family, spoke their native language.

The Shughnani text is accompanied by English and Russian translations and presented with an interlinear glossing. This text is a contribution to the corpus of written texts in the Shughnani language, which, like other Pamir languages, officially still lacks a written tradition, although Shughnani has begun being used in authorial literature.

## 2. General information about the text

This narrative describes the festive customs of the New Year – Nowruz – as they were celebrated in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century in the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan. Before the Nowruz holiday, rituals of “renewal” were held: tidying the surrounding environment, spring cleaning the home and planting plants; this was also a time when insults and slights should be forgiven. An integral part of the holiday was a festive meal, as well as an exchange of visits and presents.

In simple, clear language, the text explains that the very name of the holiday – Nowruz, based on the renewal of nature, the day of the vernal equinox – has changed over time. The holiday nowadays known as Nowruz was previously locally called “*Bat ayom*” (Shughnani *bāt ayūm* “Days of bat (i.e. a festive dish made from flour)”, where *ayūm* ‘days’ is borrowed from the Arabic via Tajik-Persian) and was also known as “*Khidir ayom*” (Shughnani *xidīr ayūm*, Tajik *jašni buzūrg* “Great holiday”).

## 2.1. Names of the holiday in Tajik Badakhshan

According to the records of the Russian linguist Ivan I. Zarubin, in the MBAR regions of Rushan and Bartang, the New Year or *Bāt-ayōm* celebrations began on February 22; the holiday lasted three days, each day having its special name. The first day was called *xōna-safēd*, lit. ‘whitewashing the house’, the second day was dedicated to the stirring of the bat dish (*bāt-ōēd*, from *ōāδ*: *ōūd* ‘to beat’) and the third day was named to reflect the tradition of mutual visits *salōm-salōm* ‘greetings to each other’ (Zarubin № 274: 56–57). On the first day of the holiday, the home-owners went to find lime to white-wash the house; this rite was called “stealing lime” (*sit-cift*, *sit* ‘lime’, *cift(ow)* ‘to steal’). After whitewashing the house, the festive rite of *kilo γūz-γūz* (*kilō* ‘pumpkin’, *γūz* ‘walnut’) was performed, when a young person would climb onto a skylight (*rūz*) and then lower an emptied pumpkin shell down to the house on a rope through a hole in the ceiling while singing ritual verses; the shell was then filled with offerings (usually nuts) by the housewife. On the second day of the holiday ritual New Year’s meals were solemnly prepared: *bāt* ‘pottage from flour’ and *bōj* ‘pottage made from crushed wheat grains’: both dishes took long hours to cook. In the period between preparation of New Year dishes and the moment the meal was eaten and certain related rites fulfilled, it was prohibited for family members to leave the house and for anyone other than family members to enter it (*pečerumj*). Finally, on the third day of the holiday, everybody visited each other (Zarubin № 274: 54–55, 56–58).

As recorded by M.S. Andreev when speaking with language consultants in 1929 in Khuf valley, the old name, “Bat”, was used, mainly by women, to designate the month beginning the spring season. In his expeditions in the 1940s, in Khuf valley and also in Rushan, he again came across the name *Bāt ayōm* for the New Year. Andreev observed that in one form of the calendar, beginning with the autumn equinox, the 6<sup>th</sup> month, falling in spring, is called *Nawruzinc* or *Bāt-mist*. He also noted that in Rushan and its neighbouring areas, Nowruz was most commonly called *Bāt ayōm* and that this name was based on the central ritual dish – *bāt* [Andreev 1958, 168–169, 332, 383]. According to Andreev’s calculation, the New Year festival was held twice in spring – usually at the beginning of Hut, February 20<sup>th</sup>, and later on the day of the spring equinox, when the spring planting festival, *Sar-i sol*, took place. For further details on the calendar dates attributed to New Year, see [Andreev 1958, 151–175, 310–339].

The time and date of the celebration of Nowruz changed over different periods of the region's history. According to the memoirs of Sadriddin Ayni, the population of the suburbs of Bukhara began their celebrations in the month of Hut, from February 20 [Ayni 1974, 178], i.e. as long as a month before the modern date of the spring equinox (Nowruz), since the date of Nowruz "wandered". It is known that in some areas the celebration was held in several stages: in the mountainous Sokh area of the Ferghana Valley, people celebrated two holidays – *Sari Sol* 'beginning of the year' and *Navruz*, which fell on March 21. This last date coincided in Khujand with the first blossoming of flowers and early greenery [Dzhahonov 1989, 104].

Various names for this holiday in the Tajik-speaking part of Badakhshan, such as *ayd-i b(a)or*, *id-i ba(h)or* 'holiday of spring', or *šogun-i bor* – 'spring shogun', are mentioned by A. Z. Rozenfeld [Rozenfel'd 1970, 115].

According to information provided in 1925 by local settlers in Roharv village (Wanj valley), documented by M. S. Andreev, the New Year was celebrated twice a year, the occasions being known as *Sar-i sōl-i bōr* 'Beginning of the year in spring' and *Naw-rūz-i tiramō*. 'New Day, i.e. New Year, in autumn'. In this regard, it was also mentioned that women called the Spring New Year Nowruz, while men tended to call it *Sar-i sōl* [Andreev 1958, 167]. Cf. Yaghnobi *Sol-i sar*, Tajik *Sar-i sol* 'New Year', lit. 'beginning of the year'.

The exact day of the New Year was identified all over Badakhshan by respected local figures, who calculated calendar dates based on the position of sunlight on the local landscape and/or inside the house; in this way they determined the sun's entry into the constellation of Aries.

## 2.2. The Main holiday dish: *Bat*

The preparation of New Year's food was so important that in Shughnan, as well as in the neighbouring regions of Rushan and Bartang, the New Year's holiday was named "The Days of Bat" after the ritual dish that was prepared in its honour. *Bāt* is 'a kind of sweet germinated wheat pottage made from toasted flour with butter' (also known as *bātak* 'germinated wheat pottage with milk'); the same term was recorded by I. I. Zarubin in the Roshorvi language (1930). A dish called *bat* was also documented in Ishkashimi [Pakhalina 1959], and in Wakhi [Stebelin-Kamensky 1971; 1999]. In addition, Morgenshtierne (IIFL II, 1938) recorded the term in Sanglichi with the meaning of 'sweets given at a feast' and in Ormuri as 'a kind of porridge, ritual food'. In Munji, we find the similar variety of dish designated as *bātāk* 'a kind of sweet wheat flour pottage' [Grunberg 1972].

D. K. Karamshoev provides more information about the preparation of this dish in Shughnan: "In our localities, *bāt* is prepared like this: they put one bowl of butter in a cauldron, then they mix one bowl of flour with it, and all this is fried; little by little water is poured there, (and they put) also salt; when the oil begins to separate, (it means) it is

ready” (*bāt-ta māš jōy-and ik-dis pīzēn: yi čīni rūyan kinēn ar dēk, wi-ti yi čīni yōŷŷ tēwēn, daḍ yu sitafct-at, dūs-dūs šac kinēn, namak mis, ik-u rūyan tō vaj ḍōd-at, pēxt bāsōb*) [Karamshoev 1988, 211]. In this connection, we also find the compound Shughnani verbs *bāt gāxtōw* or *bāt sittōw* ‘to ripen well, to mature; to bake’.

Bat was considered a pleasant, satisfying treat on New Year’s Day and on other ritual occasions. Children used the name of this dish in a rhyme, as part of a local game. See, for instance, in Khufi:

*Bātō pist*

*Mu bāt na pist...* [Andreev 1953, 107].

Bat is on the boil,

[But] my bat is not [yet] cooked...

The same name for the ritual New Year’s treat was recorded in the Tajik-speaking regions of Badakhshan by A. Z. Rozenfeld: Badakhshani Tajik *bat* ‘a kind of flour pottage with butter’, and also *širbat*, ‘a kind of sweet flour pottage made from toasted flour with milk and butter’ [Rozenfel’d 1982].

There are other varieties of approximately the same basic recipe, dishes made with flour with the addition of various ingredients, Shughnani *alwō-i šir*, *alwōšir*, Khufi *alwō-i šir*; Wakhi, Badakhshani Tajik *alwošir* ‘flour dish with milk’, Wakhi *tarbat* ‘a kind of wheat pottage-type dish with meat’, Badakhshani Tajik, Wakhi *qalyabat* ‘a kind of wheat pottage-type dish with crackling’, and *zičbat* ‘bat from butter collected from all over the village for the preparation of a collective ritual meal’ [Steblyn-Kamensky 1999].

### 2.3. Festivities and games

Our Shughnani text describes the activities of adults on the days of the spring holiday, when the surrounding nature is awakening and turning green, and when people rejoice in the spring that has replaced the harsh winter. The text tells how people prepare for the holiday, tidy and clean their homes, and adorn them with ritual decorations made from bean flour, designed to bring prosperity to the home and well-being to household members. Moreover, on New Year’s Day, everyone dresses up and the folk festivities begin. Women play tambourines (*daf*), men compete in games, goat-pulling (Shughnani *guŷ-tižd*, Tajik *buzkašt*) and wrestling (Shughnani *qastīn*).

In the words of Omar Khayyam: “He who celebrates and rejoices on the day of Nowruz will live until the next Nowruz in joy and pleasure” [Omar Khayyam 1961]. On these days, in line with this tradition, people organize folk festivals, sports competitions and collective festive meals, as well as visiting each other’s homes and enjoying their leisure. The last day is spent outdoors with music and dancing, and all kinds of games, welcoming and rejoicing in the arrival of spring. This tradition of an outdoor picnic is usually called *bōy-naštīdow* ‘going out (for a walk) to the garden’.

As elsewhere, children in Badakhshan region are especially fond of holidays and enjoy games outdoors. A. A. Semenov, who observed holiday customs in mountainous areas of Tajikistan (Zarafshan, Karategin and Darwaz) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, wrote that the Tajik population made their children happy by dressing them up and giving them eggs dyed in different colours. During the holiday, adults also exchange coloured eggs. And children spend the whole day “rolling eggs”, and adults enjoy themselves watching the children have fun [Semenov 1903, 90–92].

The “rolling eggs” game is also mentioned by A. A. Bobrinskoy with regard to the mountain people of Wakhan and Ishkashim. He writes that in the course of celebrations people dye eggs in various colours and get together to crack and “roll” eggs [1908, 98].

In Shughnan, during the Nowruz holiday, the most prevalent games for children are their “egg contests”<sup>2</sup>. Two players knock the pointed ends (Shughnani *tarmurx sarak*) of their eggs together or roll their eggs along a chute to see which egg cracks first. A year of good fortune awaits the competitor whose egg remains intact, since it is believed that cracking eggs together represents the struggle between good and evil. These contests continue until the eggs of all participants are cracked.

In Shughnani the contest of egg-cracking is known as *tarmurx-δêd* ‘egg-fighting’, lit. ‘egg-fight’. Compound verbs with this component include *tarmurx-δêd wêdōdōw* ‘to arrange an egg-fight’, cf. *δêd wêdōdōw* ‘to incite (to fight) (dogs, cocks)’; for Bajuwī, D. Karamshoev registers *tarmurx xīčēfiz* ‘cracking of the eggs’ [1999, 275].

In Rushan, this game was documented by I. I. Zarubin in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century under the name of *tarmury-tarδēnt* ‘egg-incite’ (*tarδēntōw* ‘to incite (to fight) (dogs, cocks)’ (Zarubin № 274: 56–58, № 337: 7). Cf. Tajik *tuxmbozī* or *tuxmzanak* ‘game of eggs, where eggs are cracked against each other, whosoever’s egg is broken, he loses’.

In addition to knocking eggs, the boys play all kinds of folk games, a kind of polo or hockey on grass (Shughnani *gūy-bêxt*, *pūt-bêxt*), and various types of bat-and-ball games (*lāš-bêxt*); they also shoot at targets (*nišūna-δêdak*) and compete in stone-throwing (*qīmb-δêdak*), while girls play with pebbles (*kōl-bêxt*) or swing on swings.

People enjoy springtime delicacies and the experience of being outdoors together, and wish each other a happy Holiday.

<sup>2</sup> This game is popular in Iranian-speaking countries, including Tajikistan, and also in Turkey and Azerbaijan, as well as in Assam (India) (under the name of *koni-juj*, *koni* ‘egg’, *juj* ‘fight’). The game is also known in Slavonic, and in other Christian countries, such as Greece and Armenia. In the English-speaking world egg fighting is known as a traditional Easter game, under different names depending on the region.

### 3. Text

#### 3.1. Sh ughnani

##### *Bāt Ayūm*

1. *ar sōl ta buōr-jēv bāt ayūm īd anjēn.*
2. *yid as fuk-aθ yulla-di ayūm māš-and.*
3. *šič ta bēx mardum dam ayūm nawrūz lūvēn*
4. *atā dōyimik-ēn bēx di yō bāt ayūm lūd yō xidīr ayūm.*
5. *ažda-um-i mārť yō bīst-u-aft-um-i amal atā mardum ta xu kōčōr fuk-aθ*  
*as čīd-and ziwēdēn*
6. *xu xu čadēn tōzā kinēn, sipē-gil yō gāč wēv dēn.*
7. *dōyim-ēn yīnikēn xu čīd būrjēn gul-buri mis čūd yōjy qati.*
8. *wi ayūm mēθ ta mardum fuk-aθ naw pūxōk pinīzd.*
9. *ar čī-nd naw na-vēd, zinōdjin ta pinīzd,*
10. *xu bād nahtiyēn tar mārakayēn.*
11. *yīnikēn dišadēn ti dāf diyēn, čōrikēn guj tāžēn-at qastīn anjēn.*
12. *atā as fuk-aθ bēx-di ta tarmurx-dēd wēdēn.*
13. *ōdam yast idē ayūm mēθ sad tarmurx yēst.*

#### 3.2. English translation: Bat Ayom: The Spring Equinox Festival

1. In the spring of every year people celebrate the Bat Ayom festival.
2. This is our greatest holiday.
3. Nowadays most people call it Nowruz,
4. but they used to call it Bat Ayom or Xidir Ayom.
5. On March 18, or Amal 27 people take all their belongings outside,
6. and clean their houses, whitening them with white clay or lime.
7. Women usually decorate the [inside] walls of their houses  
with ornaments made of flour.
8. On the day of the holiday people dress up in new clothes.
9. Those who have no new clothes put on properly washed clean clothes,
10. and afterwards go to social gatherings.
11. Women play tambourines on the roofs of their houses, while men compete  
in buzkashi (goat-dragging) and wrestling.
12. And the best of all is the egg cracking competition.
13. There are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day  
of the festival.

#### 3.3. Русский перевод: Бат айом. Праздник весеннего равноденствия

1. Каждый год весной люди отмечают праздник Бат айом.
2. Это наш величайший праздник.
3. В настоящее время большинство людей называют его Навруз,



4. но раньше он назывался Бат айом или Хидир айом.
5. 18 марта или 27 амала люди выносят все свои вещи из дома,
6. и убирают свои дома, белят их белой глиной или известью.
7. Женщины обычно украшают стены своих домов [изнутри]  
цветочными орнаментами из муки.
8. В день праздника люди надевают новую одежду.
9. Те, у кого нет новой одежды, надевают выстиранную одежду,  
а потом отправляются на народные гулянья.
11. Женщины играют на местных бубнах на крышах своих домов,  
а мужчины соревнуются в козлодрании и борьбе.
12. А самое лучшее – это соревнование «бой на яйцах»  
[когда их бьют друг о друга или катают].
13. Есть люди, которые в праздничный день выигрывают до ста яиц.

### 3.4. Interlinear glossing

1. *ar sōl ta buōr-jēv bāt ayūm īd anjēn.*

Every year in spring people celebrate the Bat Ayom festival

|             |            |              |                  |            |
|-------------|------------|--------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>ar</i>   | <i>sōl</i> | <i>ta</i>    | <i>buōr-jēv</i>  | <i>bāt</i> |
| each        | year       | DP           | spring-PSTP.TIME | bat        |
| <i>ayūm</i> | <i>īd</i>  | <i>anjēn</i> |                  |            |
| time        | fest       | hold.PRS.3PL |                  |            |

2 *yid as fuk-aθ yulla-di ayūm māš-and.*

This is our greatest holiday.

|            |           |               |                 |             |                |
|------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>yid</i> | <i>as</i> | <i>fuk-aθ</i> | <i>yulla-di</i> | <i>ayūm</i> | <i>māš-and</i> |
| this.2D.SG | from.PREP | all-DP        | big-COMP        | fest        | us-PSTP.POSS   |

3. *šič ta bēx mardum dam ayūm nawrūz lūvēn*

Nowadays most people call it Nowruz,

|             |               |              |               |                    |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>šič</i>  | <i>ta</i>     | <i>bēx</i>   | <i>mardum</i> | <i>dam</i>         |
| now         | DP            | majority     | people        | this.2D.SG.OBL.FEM |
| <i>ayūm</i> | <i>nawrūz</i> | <i>lūvēn</i> |               |                    |
| fest        | Nowruz        | say.PRS.3PL  |               |                    |

4. *atā dōyimik-ēn bēx di yō bāt ayūm lūd yō xidīr ayūm.*

but they used to call it Bat Ayom or Xidir Ayom.

|            |                    |            |                  |           |
|------------|--------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| <i>atā</i> | <i>dōyimik-ēn</i>  | <i>bēx</i> | <i>di</i>        | <i>yō</i> |
| and.CNJ    | continuous.DIM-3PL | more       | this.2D.SG.OBL.M | or.CNJ    |



|            |             |            |           |              |             |
|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>bāt</i> | <i>ayŭm</i> | <i>lūd</i> | <i>yō</i> | <i>xidīr</i> | <i>ayŭm</i> |
| bat        | fest        | say.PST    | or.CNJ    | elder        | fest        |

5. *ažda-um-i mārtyō bīst-u-aft-um-i amal atā mardum ta xu kōčōr fuk-aθ as*  
*čīd-and ziwêδ-ēn*

(When comes) March 18, or Amal 27, and people take all their belongings outside,

|                  |               |                |                        |              |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------|
| <i>ažda-um-i</i> | <i>mārt</i>   | <i>yō</i>      | <i>bīst-u-aft-um-i</i> | <i>amal</i>  |
| 18-ORD-IZ        | March         | or.CNJ         | 20-and.CNJ-8-ORD-IZ    | Amal         |
| <i>atā</i>       | <i>mardum</i> | <i>ta</i>      | <i>xu</i>              | <i>kōčōr</i> |
| and.CNJ          | people        | DP             | own                    | thing        |
| <i>fuk-aθ</i>    | <i>as</i>     | <i>čīd-and</i> | <i>ziwêδēn</i>         |              |
| all-DP           | from.PREP     | house-PSTP.LOC | bring.out.PRS.3PL      |              |

6. *xu xu čad-ēn tōzā kin-ēn, sipē-gil yō gāč wēv δ-ēn.*

and clean their houses, whitening them with white clay or lime.

|                 |           |              |                 |              |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>xu</i>       | <i>xu</i> | <i>čadēn</i> | <i>tōzā</i>     | <i>kinēn</i> |
| and.CNJ         | own       | house.PL     | fresh           | make.PRS.3PL |
| <i>sipē-gil</i> | <i>yō</i> | <i>gāč</i>   | <i>wēv</i>      | <i>δēn</i>   |
| white-clay      | or.CNJ    | lime         | those.3D.PL.OBL | hit.PRS.3PL  |

7. *dōyim-ēn ŷinikēn xu čīd būrjēn gul-buri mis čūd yōŷj qati.*

Women usually decorate the walls of their houses with flower ornaments made with flour.

|                 |                |            |             |               |
|-----------------|----------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>dōyim-ēn</i> | <i>ŷinikēn</i> | <i>xu</i>  | <i>čīd</i>  | <i>būrjēn</i> |
| continuous-3PL  | woman.PL       | own        | house       | column.PL     |
| <i>gul-buri</i> | <i>mis</i>     | <i>čūd</i> | <i>yōŷj</i> | <i>qati</i>   |
| decoration      | also           | make.PST   | flour       | with.PSTP     |

8. *wi ayŭm mēθ ta mardum fuk-aθ naw pūxōk pinīz-d.*

On the day of the holiday people put on new clothes.

|                  |              |                |           |               |               |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>wi</i>        | <i>ayŭm</i>  | <i>mēθ</i>     | <i>ta</i> | <i>mardum</i> | <i>fuk-aθ</i> |
| that.3D.SG.OBL.M | fest         | day            | DP        | people        | all-DP        |
| <i>naw</i>       | <i>pūxōk</i> | <i>pinīzd</i>  |           |               |               |
| new              | dress        | put.on.PRS.3SG |           |               |               |

9. *ar čī-nd naw na vē-d, zinōδjīn ta pinīzd,*

Those who have no new clothes put on properly washed clean clothes,

|           |              |            |                   |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>ar</i> | <i>čī-nd</i> | <i>naw</i> | <i>na-vēd</i>     |
| each      | who-POSS     | new        | NEG- be.PRS.3SG.Ø |

|                 |           |                |
|-----------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>zinōdžin</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>pinīzd</i>  |
| washed          | DP        | put.on.PRS.3SG |

10. *xu bād naṣṭiyēn tar mārakayēn.*  
and afterwards go to social gatherings.

|           |            |                 |            |                  |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>xu</i> | <i>bād</i> | <i>naṣṭiyēn</i> | <i>tar</i> | <i>mārakayēn</i> |
| and.CNJ   | after      | leave.PRS.3PL   | to.PREP    | gathering.PL     |

11. *ṣinikēn dišadēn ti dāf diyēn, čōrik-ēn guṣ tāžēn-at qastīn anjēn.*  
Women play local drums on the roofs of their houses, while men compete in buzhashi (goat-dragging) and wrestling.

|                |                |                      |               |                 |
|----------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>ṣinikēn</i> | <i>dišadēn</i> | <i>ti</i>            | <i>dāf</i>    | <i>diyēn</i>    |
| woman.PL       | roof.PL        | on.PSTP              | drum          | hit.PRS.3PL     |
| <i>čōrikēn</i> | <i>guṣ</i>     | <i>tāžēn-at</i>      | <i>qastīn</i> | <i>anjēn</i>    |
| man.PL         | kid            | drag.PRS.3PL-and.CNJ | wrestling     | take.up.PRS.3PL |

12. *atā as fuk-aθ bēṣ-di ta tarmurx-δēd wēd-ēn.*  
And the best of all is the egg cracking competition.

|                    |              |               |               |           |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>atā</i>         | <i>as</i>    | <i>fuk-aθ</i> | <i>bēṣ-di</i> | <i>ta</i> |
| and.CNJ            | from         | all-DP        | more          | DP        |
| <i>tarmurx-δēd</i> | <i>wēdēn</i> |               |               |           |
| egg-fight          | put.PRS.3PL  |               |               |           |

13. *ōdam yast idē ayūm mēθ sad tarmurx yēs-t.*  
There are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day of the festival.

|             |                |                   |             |            |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>ōdam</i> | <i>yast</i>    | <i>idē</i>        | <i>ayūm</i> | <i>mēθ</i> |
| person      | exist.PRS.3SG  | that              | fest        | day        |
| <i>sad</i>  | <i>tarmurx</i> | <i>yēs</i>        |             |            |
| 100         | egg            | take.away.PRS.3SG |             |            |

## Abbreviations

CNJ – conjunction  
COP – copula  
D – direct case  
DEM – demonstrative  
DIM –diminutive  
DP – discourse focus particle  
FEM – feminine  
IMP – imperative  
IZ – izafa

INJ – interjection expressing admiration  
NUM – numerative  
LOC – locative  
M – masculine  
MDP – motivation particle  
NEG – negation, negative  
OBL – oblique  
PL – plural  
POSS – possessive  
PREP – preposition  
PRF – perfect  
PRS – present  
PRT – particle  
PST – past  
PSTP – postposition  
Q – question particle  
SG – singular  
SUF – suffix  
2D, 3D – 2, 3 Deixis.

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