

V. TOROPOV

# Crimean Roma

Language and folklore



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# **Crimean Roma**

*Language and Folklore*

**2009**

**Toropov V.G.**

Crimean Roma: Language and Folklore. — Ivanovo: “Unona” Publishing House, 2009. — 340 pages. (8 pages of illustrations)

The book is a collection of all scholarly-known records of Crimean Roma language belonging to the period of the second half of the XIX — the beginning of the XXI century. The book contains lists of words and texts of various contents. Each record is published in the original language, accompanied by a translation/retelling and commentaries.

The texts, together with reviews, will help readers to better understand different aspects of philology, culture and ethnography belonging to Crimean Roma.

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## ON THE REASONS FOR WRITING THIS BOOK

The author of this book devoted almost thirty years to the studies of such fragile and volatile phenomenon of the human culture as the language and the folklore of a small ethnic group – Crimean Roma – that emerged in the Crimea out of the people who had come here from what are now Moldova and Romania. The time when Romani people appeared in the Crimean Khanate has not yet been established precisely, but some sources suggest that Roma might have lived in the Crimea as far ago as the first half of 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The Roma shared both the troublesome history of other Crimean inhabitants and their complicated fate. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Crimean Peninsula and the North coast of the Black Sea became part of the Russian Empire. Since the time when the Crimean Khanate was annexed in 1784, the Russia's policy was aimed at expelling the Muslim population from its native soil and at settling the Balkan Greeks, Jews, Bulgarians, Roma, and other mostly Christian people in the territory. The policy of deportation was continued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the result being the emigration of some Roma into the Ottoman Empire.

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Russia was the time of deep social upheavals. The 1917 revolution turned over the century-old way of life of all the Crimea inhabitants. But the cultural policies of the Soviets in the 1920s and 1930s left the local Roma almost untouched. Neither their written language was created, nor national schools were opened. The famine years of the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century made this ethnic community move to the areas where life was less hungry: to the Kuban' River area, to the Republic of Georgia, or to other parts of the Soviet Union. In 1938 Roma schools in the USSR were closed and studies in Romani were banned. This is how the process of russification of this community started.

The policy of Roma genocide that the Nazi occupants conducted in the Crimea between mid-1942 and early 1944 led to new waves of Roma emigration from the peninsula, and to almost complete extermination of those Roma who stayed there. Only few people escaped their death. But the return of the Soviet power to the Crimea in the spring of 1944 brought yet another repression. The Tartars and those Roma who were lucky to survive but who had been officially registered as Tartars were declared to have aided the Nazi and were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Since that time either the studies into the history and languages of those “punished people,” or even the very mentioning of them in the press were banned.

1944 was the year of a complete break-up of the centuries-long Tartar-Roma contacts in the Crimea, including linguistic ones. Crimean

Tartar language that for many decades had been serving Crimean Romani a donor language, lost its position to the Russian one. Since that time the Roma have had to adapt to Russian language and culture. The Oriental stratum of their heritage has been falling into oblivion, and the Muslim folklore topics have been substituted by Christianized Eastern Slavic ones.

In other words, in just a few decades' time and in front of the eyes of a single living generation, the Crimean Roma lost a large stratum of their culture, namely their language, the folklore, and music. That is why in 1979 the author (thus displaying significant civic courage) began collecting and publishing Crimean Romani memorabilia that otherwise might have been lost completely in the course of time.

For this book the author gathered some pieces of Crimean Romani from various past-time publication, as well as from his own collection. His numerous informants were native bearers of this variety of Roma speech. The texts reflect both the old-time and current everyday life of that ethnic group, its religious beliefs, its ethics and aesthetics. Some fairy-tales, stories on different topics, and songs, as well as the collection of separate phrases and words that made up this book still preserve the specific aroma of the old Roma way of life. These materials seem to be indispensable for all sorts of further research.

City of Ivanovo, Russia. 2007

## ON THE CONTENT OF THE BOOK

This book presents the most complete collection of Crimean Romani pieces that are quite different in form and content. This includes records of texts, words and phrases published previously as well as texts recorded by the author but so far unpublished.

The earliest entry that the author managed to find is some Romani material published in Russia in 1875. Unfortunately it doesn't contain any texts but goes no further than words and phrases. The next entry is a fairytale that illustrates Crimean Romani of 1959 – the time after Roma-Tartar linguistic connections ended.

The most recent period in the history of the language (1979-2003) is represented in the collection by a great number of different texts that deal both with real facts of Crimean Roma life and also with fictional or fabulous events. The author recorded the first group of texts between 1979 and 1986, when he lived in the Krasnodar District. To meet more Crimean Roma the author travelled at that time across both the Krasnodar District of Russia and Western Georgia, where he specially visited the cities of Suchumi, Kutaisi, Očamčira, Poti and Kobuleti. He also travelled to some Ukrainian cities like Mykolayiv, Kerch, and Simferopol'. The second group of texts was recorded in 1993 during the author's short visit to the area around the Russian city of Novorossijsk. Finally, the third group of texts consists of records made by the author during his three trips to the Krasnodar District area in 2002 and 2003.

Besides texts in Crimean Romani there are also some texts of a folklore origin in Russian that Roma told the author in Russian. Another group of the folklore pieces was compiled out of texts in Tartar yet representing some Crimean Roma heritage. These are the lyrics of a song written by all probability before 1944.

A modest gallery of images of some folklore characters is also presented in the book. A young artist, Vladislav Borisovich Volchenkov helped the author to draw them on the basis of informants' stories, historic realia and their own imagination.

Each text is published in its original language – Romani, Russian, or Tartar – and is followed by an English version. Some Romani texts were translated as close to the original as possible, while others were re-told without any significant loss of details of their plot. Arkadii Vladimirovich Stepanov from Ivanovo State University did translations and retelling. The author and the translator provided texts with some commentaries to help the reader understand them easier.

Every text in this book is supplied with a brief commentary that usually includes “a passport of the text,” a comparison of a Roma’s text with Russian folklore texts, notes on the most typical peculiarities of each informant’s speech, as well as some other commentaries of ethnological nature.

A brief essay on Romani musical folklore is also placed in the book. Song lyrics are supplied with notes.

The collection of texts is preceded by a historical essay outlining the stages of evolution of Crimean Roma and their language. Varieties of this language are discussed, and some individual peculiarities of Roma speech witnessed by the author are described.

The influence upon Crimean Romani of Crimean Tartar language, as well as that of Georgians and Russians is depicted most extensively and in detail. Attention is given to vocabulary peculiarities; short characteristics are given of the grammar categories existing in the language that were discovered by the author during his research.

## READING TEXTS IN CRIMEAN ROMANI

All phrases constituting folklore texts in Crimean Romani are phonematic recordings of oral narrations done by native speakers of the language. The only exception is borrowings from Russian that are given in phonetic transcription, i.e. in the way they were once pronounced.

A modified Latin alphabet was used to write Romani words:

a b c č ħ d e f g ğ h i j k kh l m n o p ph r s š t th u v x y z ž

Crimean Romani vowel phonemes are represented by the following signs:

<a> <e> <i> <o> <u> <y>.

In the unstressed position vowel phonemes are represented by their variants:

<'e> > <'e<sup>i</sup>>                      <e> > <e<sup>y</sup>>                      <o> > <o<sup>u</sup>>  
<i> > <'e<sup>i</sup>>                      <y> > <e<sup>y</sup>>                      <u> > <o<sup>u</sup>>.

Crimean Romani consonant phonemes are represented by the following signs or their combinations, each of them to be regarded as one sign:

<b> <c> <č> <čh> <d> <f> <g> <ğ> <h> <j> <k> <kh> <l>  
<m> <n> <p> <ph> <r> <s> <š> <t> <th> <v> <x> <z> <ž>

Diacritical h points to that sound being an aspirate (kh, ph, th, čh'). Aspirate consonants are distinguished by additional articulation – a strong exhalation that resembles an English sound [h], which is most clearly heard at the beginning of a word and in an intervocalic position. In other positions it is less articulated, while at the end of a word it's almost inaudible.

A diacritical sign (') points to an additional yod-type articulation that follows a consonant (m'), i.e. to this sound being palatalized. A letter (i) placed after a consonant also performs this function (mi).

In the end-of-the-word-position voiced consonant phonemes are represented by their voiceless versions: *dad* "father" is pronounced [dat].

A stress is indicated in all polysyllabic Romani words by a diacritical sign above the vowels : (i) (*maxtadijel* "he praises"). A stress in monosyllabic words is noted only for the particle (*má*) that is always stressed (*má phukáv* "don't tell").

Besides the phonemes that were already listed, a voiceless uvular spirant sound may be heard in informants' speech that is marked by a letter (<x>) and that is a variant of Crimean Romani phoneme <x>.



To record informants' speech in languages of some other Roma's ethnolinguistic groups a combination of letters (*rr*) is used. It marks a specific phoneme: a guttural or burr sound [r] typical to the speech of the Vlax Roma (*láxoja* in Crimean Romani) who for many years have lived side-by-side with the Crimean Roma in many areas of the Krasnodar district.

# **PART ONE**

## **(The reviews)**



## HISTORICAL REVIEW OF CRIMEAN ROMANI

The future of Crimean Romani can hardly be reliably predicted by linguist scholars even for the coming fifty years. One can only suppose that in the Russian-dominated areas where this ethnic community lives, the influence of Russian language wouldn't become less strong than now, and that both Russian vocabulary and grammar penetrating Romani would in time lead it towards the emergence of a new cross-over Crimean Romani-Russian grammar.

From that moment a real threat would appear of Crimean Romani gradually adopting Russian grammar and using only that part of its indigenous vocabulary that won't be forgotten or substituted by Russian words. We have given here just one of the possible scenarios of Crimean Romani evolution, but a highly possible one.

This may still be a future forecast; but how did Crimean Romani developed in the past? Even today some Crimean Roma keep in their minds the memories of their ancestors being deported (together with Crimean Tartars) to Turkey, as the Roma themselves tell. These deportations of the Crimea inhabitants, and (a few years later) those of Caucasians who had lived at the Black Sea Eastern coast, reached their climax in the 1860s.

After the Black Sea Caucasian coast was taken by the Russian Empire in 1864, the new authorities banned Muslims from living in the coastal area. As a result the Ubykh community, that had been rather strong (74,500 people by contemporary data) and that had been living in the area around what is now the city of Soči, was forced to re-settle into the Ottoman Empire. Less than 130 years had passed since then; no more than five or six generations of the Ubykhs had succeeded each other, and Ubykh language disappeared completely. This sad event happened in October 1992, when the last bearer of this tongue died in Turkey. As for the current level of preservation of Romani language by the people whose ancestors moved from the Crimea to the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian Roma scholars have no reliable information.

The story of the Ubykhs' tongue decline is noteworthy as proof of the fact that even a language of a rather large ethnic group may not last long if its bearers do nothing to support it. Still let's make some comparison between the history of Crimean Roma speech and that of the Ubykhs.

The Ubykhs, who were all Muslims, were scattered across the Ottoman Empire; the Roma, who were equally disperse in the Crimean Khanate, had to accept Islam in order not to be treated with contempt as "infidels," as well as to enter the Muslim society with a minimum of obstacles.

Both ethnic communities were for a long time strongly influenced by two Turk languages – Tartar and Turkish – which weren't cognate to them and also differed in vocabulary and grammar. Neither the Roma language nor that of the Ubykhs have ever been supported by any state.

The number of Crimean Roma isn't large; it is estimated today as 12 to 15 thousand people. This ethnic group has never formed large settlements; the Roma always live in small wondering communities – the tabors, which in cities stop at special Romani quarters – the mahallahs.

With no wish to make gloomy predictions, one may suppose that the fate of Ubykh tongue is in store for many other languages of minor ethnic groups in the Russian Federation. Crimean Romani may not be excluded from this list of languages.

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From the early 1920s a new stage of large-scale Roma migration began. This time many of them moved from the Crimean peninsula to the Kuban' district of the Russian Federation and later to what was then the Soviet Republic of Georgia. From these places Roma gradually resettled across the whole territory of the Soviet Union. In 1944 the Soviet authorities accused those Roma who had remained in the Crimea through wartime of collaboration with the German army (the same way as the Crimean Tartars were treated at that time); the accusation led to their deportation to Siberia and Soviet Central Asia.

The year 1944 may be considered the time when cultural and linguistic contacts between the Roma and the Tartars in the Crimea came to an end. Since then the massive onslaught by Russian language and culture on the previously Tartarized language and culture of Crimean Roma has been going on. Those Roma who escaped deportation lost contacts with their former Tartar neighbours; they began forgetting their language and turning to Russian. Now they tell fortunes only to Russians and do that only in Russian.

In many Russian cities where Roma's families or groups of families live, they begin turning to other dialects of Romani, most often to the language of the Russian Roma. During the past decades scholars have noticed that in large Russian cities many Crimean Roma don't transmit their tongue from parents to children. Some people of this ethnic origin have already lost their native language partially or completely.

This fact was corroborated by two prominent Russian Roma scholars, Nikolai Bessonov and Lev Cherenkov. According to them, there are Crimean Roma families in Moscow who speak only Russian even at

home. To say that in time this trend can go farther wouldn't be an overstatement.

Unfortunately, neither sociolinguists nor Roma scholars in the Russian Federation have ever studied the degree to which the Crimean Roma who had been deported to Siberia or Central Asia have preserved their language.

Despite these warning trends, the vitality of Crimean Romani in areas of traditional residence is still considered by Russian scholars as rather high. Bearers of this language like it. Most of Crimean Roma people prefer speaking their mother tongue in various life situations, though today it is mostly the language of non-official everyday communication or traditional trades and occupations.

During the author's contacts with Crimean Roma he witnessed a number of cases when Roma laughed at mistakes in a speech of their relatives. According to some informants, Roma laughed at other Roma's speech when participants in a conversation were speaking different varieties of Crimean Romani. In such case each of them believed that it was the other person who spoke the wrong way and by doing so *phagerdé pi čhib* "broke their language."

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The genesis of Crimean Romani and its history are obscure, as this language has never had a written form and there are no old-time texts available for the study.

The first publication of a word list and of some verbal forms appeared in 1875 in the works of a Russian researcher V.C. Kondaraki. The second publication consisting of a word list and of several phrases appeared in 1930 in the works of an ethnologist and Crimean scholar V.I. Filonenko. Unfortunately they never studied the genesis or evolution of this language.

According to a prominent Russian Roma scholar Lev N. Cherenkov, Crimean Roma emerged as an ethnic group with specific language at a relatively late time. He believes that Roma started migrating to the Crimea en masse no earlier than the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It most probably started after the Russia's takeover of Bessarabia (now the Republic of Moldova) in 1812. It was there that the Ursari Roma had lived; and (according to Lev Cherenkov's suggestion) it was Ursari Roma who laid foundation to both the ethnic group and its language, though it was later strongly influenced by the language and Islamic culture of Crimean Tartars.

These scholars also maintain that some Roma lived in the Crimea even before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the time when they had come to the territory is unknown. These Roma are believed to have lost their language

completely (like the Ubykhs did later) and in time turned to Tartar; some scholars are inclined to identify these Roma as a Gypsy-like ethnic group known under the name of Daifalar. Members of this group weren't Tartars, though their spoken language was Tartar.

The author of this book has another opinion on that matter. During his field research in the Krasnodar district of the Russian Federation in 2002-2004, he was given the following explanations about who Daifalar used to be. The Daifalar were said to be an ethnic group that emerged in the Crimea as a result of cross-marriages between Roma and Tartars. During these talks the complete loss of Roma language was attributed to Tartar linguistic and cultural environment, in which the young Daifalar were brought up.

Relying on these data, the Roma of the Crimea, who were described by a Turkish traveller Evlija Chelebi in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (Cf. *Evlija Çelebi sejahatnamesi*. Istanbul, 1928, C. VII, S. 564, 679), could be regarded as the ancestors of all the modern Roma of the peninsula rather than those of Daifalar who might still have spoken Romanes at that time.

The fact that the earliest of all the known mentions of this people in the Crimea were made in paragraph 30 of the "Travelling to Tana" (the contemporary town of Azov) by a Venetian merchant Iosafato Barbaro who travelled there in 1436, speaks in favour of more earlier dating of forming of the language of the Crimean Roma than the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 80s of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and even the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.

From his conversation with some Crimean Roma in 2002-2004 the author learnt that a Gypsy-like ethnic group named Kurbets (Crimean Romani: *kurbéti* for singular; *kurbét'a* for plural) lived in Western Georgia even in times of the Ottoman Empire. According to V.I. Filonenko, a Gypsy-like group Gurbets (Gurbet for singular), whose language was Tartar, used to live in the Crimea. Modern Bulgarian Roma scholars Vesselin Popov and Yelena Marushiakova maintain that some Gurbets still live in the Crimea even now: some of them speak Romanes, while the language of the rest of Gurbets is Tartar. Bulgarian scholars believe some Gurbets might have adopted Romani after the time of V.I. Filonenko's paper's publication that is after 1930. What language the Gurbets who used to live in Georgia spoke and when they moved there, is still unclear.

That Gurbets of the Crimea and Georgia should be recognized as Roma is confirmed by the presence in Bosnia, i.e. in the westernmost part of the former Ottoman Empire, of Gurbet Roma who now speak Romanes. Some contemporary scholars believe that the Gurbets are the ethnic subdivision of the Kurdish people. In 2002 the author had a meeting in the city of Anapa with some local Kurds; the meeting was arranged by Roma,

who always spoke of these people as Kurds, not Kurbets. The author also has some evidence suggesting that in Romani the word *kurbéti* means “a beggar”

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The question of how many languages Crimean Roma used in the past – one or more – and what these languages were remains open.

The author’s field research led him to the conclusion that in the past the Crimean Roma had only one language, and most probably it was a heavily Tartarized variant of language of the ancestors of today’s Ursari – the Roma group most closely related to them. Lev N. Cherenkov argues that Crimean Romani, together with Ursari and two other Romani groups, Erlides and Arlie, form the Balkan group of Romani languages, or (according to other scholars) of dialects of Romani.

Lev N. Cherenkov studied some elements of this language as early as in the 1950s and later made his results available to the scholarly community. His studies into Crimean Romani grammar were partially published in co-authorship with Tatiana V. Ventzel’ (Cf. “*Tsyganskii yazyk*” in “*Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki*” Part One. Moscow. 1976).

The author of this book continued Lev N. Cherenkov’s field studies in Crimean Romani in 1979, doing his research mostly in the areas of Anapa and Novorossijsk where there live many Crimean Romani-speaking people descending from the former residents of Crimean cities of Kerch, Staryy Krym and Dzhankoy. The research let the author distinguish some variations in Crimean Romani that other Roma from the Crimea can easily understand and that most probably form a group of dialects of one and the same language. Those who have command of Crimean Romani consider these as mere varieties of one language.

The difference between the dialects is determined first of all by some specific features that mark the general evolution of Roma language. The two varieties of Crimean Romani are usually referred to as s-variety and h-variety. Those who speak h-variety are called by Roma themselves as *hohoïdes*, and their speech is called *hohoïtiko čhib*. The h-variety is most entirely represented by the speech of Roma who live in the city of Slav’ansk-na-Kubani (the Russian Federation), and in Kutaisi (the Republic of Georgia).

The h-variety differs from s-variety in the presence of the sound [h] in some phonetic variants of roots, affixes and inflexions. See the following examples:



S-variety		H-variety	
<i>So</i>	“what”	<i>Ho</i>	“what”
<i>Esí</i>	“he is”	<i>Ehí</i>	“he is”
<i>Savoró</i>	“everything”	<i>Havoró</i>	“everything”
<i>Sar</i>	“how”	<i>Har</i>	“how”
<i>Sastó</i>	“whole”	<i>Hastó</i>	“whole”
<i>Kotorísa</i>	“a little bit”	<i>Kotoríha</i>	“a little bit”
<i>Kerd'amúsas</i>	“we have done”	<i>Kerd'amúhas</i>	“we have done”
<i>Kerd'anúsas</i>	“you have done”	<i>Kerd'anúhas</i>	“you have done”

See also

F-variety		H-variety	
<i>Kófa</i>	“a small pail”	<i>Kóha</i>	“a small pail”
<i>Fájma</i>	“probably”	<i>Hájma</i>	“probably”
<i>Fúl'el</i>	“to climb down”	<i>Húl'el</i>	“to climb down”

The difference between the s- and h-varieties may be explained by a long process of transition of the sound [s] into [h], the process that hasn't been completed yet. The f / h-varieties are determined by some more recent phonetic processes.

Beside the “*hohoítiko čhib*” dialect, Crimean Roma often distinguish another one – the “*č'ornomorlútiko čhib*”, or the Black Sea dialect. It is notable for its way of pronouncing velar occlusive Romani sounds like [g], [k] and [kh] before the vowel [e] similar to Crimean Tartar dorsal consonants [g'] and [k'], which partly resemble the Russian palatalized [r'] and [k']. In general this variety sounds more melodious, as its sounds are usually palatalized; this may be explained by the influence exercised upon the Roma's speech by the phonetics of Tartar dialects that used to be spoken in the South Crimean coastal area and that were rather different from its northern dialects.

The author also acquired some information (though it's still rather insufficient) of a Roma group that Crimean Roma call *tumarlydes* (“local people”). According to preliminary observations, there are some peculiarities of vocabulary nature in their speech. For example, only the bearers of *tumarlytiko čhib* say *mandili* for “towel”, instead of the usual Crimean Romani *testemáli*. Unfortunately, no other information about specific features of this group's vocabulary has been found so far.

A Crimean ethnologist and himself a Roma, Mr. Rashid Memishev who was born in exile in Central Asia and had learnt every “pleasure” of life as a deportee, reports that beside the general self-name of Roma, some

Roma of the Crimea also called themselves with a Turkisized ethnic name Urmachel and were divided into groups according to their traditional occupations (Cf. Memishev R. *Zabytoye pliemia* in *Kъaceвem (Qasevet)* magazine. No. 1 (25), p. 22-27, printed in Simferopol' in 1996). These groups had the following names:

*Chalgydzhylar* – manufactures and traders in various agricultural utensils like scythes, sickles or knives for cutting grapes;

*Altyndzhylar* (or *quiumdzhylar*) – manufacturers and traders in jewellery and copper kitchenware;

*Sepetchiler* (or, according to V.I. Filonenko, *elekchiler*) – manufacturers and traders in (osier) withy baskets and also sweets;

*Aiuvdzhylar* – wandering Roma, who went in for trading, telling fortunes and animal training.

According to V.I. Filonenko, the *Sepetchiler*, or *Elekchiler* group was the most close to Tartars and spoke only Tartar. Members of the *Aiuvdzhylar* group spoke Romanes and wandered not only in the Crimea, but also outside the peninsula. In all probability, they were the Crimean branch of Ursari Roma, as Crimean Tartar *Aiuvdzhylar* equals to Romanian “ursari (bear-trainers)”, while the Crimean Roma self-name *krimur'a* (Crimeans) contains a Romanian plural suffix -uri. Some Ursari Roma live in the Republic of Moldova even today.

Rashid Memishev also writes that the *Aiuvdzhylar* Roma “had a poor command of Tartar and spoke it with heavy accent”; they also were not perfect Muslims. He also notes that the *Aiuvdzhylar* Roma “spoke not Romanes, but rather a jargon – a mixture of Romani and Turk [languages]”. Unfortunately, he gives just one phrase as an example of such jargon speech: “*O č'av but taró pijdy, matolašt'*” (“A boy drank hot [=much], [he] got drunk”).

If this phrase is written in a variety of language that linguistic scholars now call Crimean Romani, it will look like this: “*O čh'avó but tharó pil'ás, matiló*”. If we compare the two variants, we may make the following notes:

- a) in the first phrase the aspirate nature of the consonants [č'] and [t] in *čh'avó* and *tharó* wasn't obviously taken into account; it might be not the result of their absence in the speech, but rather of inability to present them in a written form;
- b) in the first phrase the -ó ending in the word *čh'avó* is absent, and the author can't explain this;
- c) the first word “*O*” may be interpreted either as a Romani article, or as a Tartar pronoun equivalent to “that”;

- d) the verb (of Indian origin) *matolašty* “[he] got drunk” is given in its Tartar form, rather than in the traditional Romani variant *matiló*; the author never noticed it in a speech of contemporary Roma, but it might be typical of Roma’s speech in the past.

Summarizing the first results of the study in this example of Urmachel Roma jargon, the author may conclude that it is most probably a variant of Crimean Romani speech that doesn’t differ much from what it is now, although it is Tartarized to a greater degree than the one this book is devoted to.

Following Rashid Memishev one may regard this speech variation as not a separate language but, from a certain time of its existence (after 1970s), as the professional slang of some Crimean musicians (both Roma and Tartars); this sort of slang seems now to be dying and be sinking into oblivion.

In one his articles in 2008, Ismet Zaatov, an ethnic Crimean Tartar, published (“Наукові записки», Т.15, Київ, С. 208-210) a list of the most common jargon words remained in his memory and used by him while speaking.

Бияв – “wedding”  
 гуманаджи – “bad violinist”  
 гъав – “backward, half-witted [person]”  
 къокъав – “bad”  
 къокъав джон – “bad man”  
 къокъав бияв – “bad, poor wedding”  
 манъмакъ – “to sing”  
 джон – “man”  
 про – “old man, father”  
 очав – “guy”  
 очавчикъ – “little boy”  
 чайе – “little girl”  
 чайечик – “girl”  
 бори – “virgin” (*literally*, “bride”)  
 баро – “big, rich”  
 нанай – “no”  
 парно – “rouble” (*literally*, “white”)

петакъ – “money, coins”  
 астар – “play, perform music”  
 пуллар – “gilded round-shaped pieces of metal, coins”  
 астармакъ – “to take (away), to hide; to play”  
 дик – “look”  
 дикмек – “to look”  
 шунавла – “listen”  
 шунавламакъ – “to listen”  
 шунав – “attention”  
 сехель – “fool”  
 сия – “fool, odd”  
 шыкар – “good, beautiful, nice”  
 бут – “much, many”  
 тикно – “small change”  
 руб – “rouble”  
 джанель – “to understand”  
 джон джанель – “a man understands [us]”  
 дип-дапе – “tambourine”

дип астармакъ – “to play  
 drum”  
 домбал – “big drum”  
 трампетер – “small drum with  
 mug”  
 трампетерджи – “drummer”  
 домбалджи – “drummer”  
 чубукълу давул – “Turkish  
 drum (with chibouk)”  
 кнарлик – “clarinet”  
 пиане – “keyboard”  
 корук – “accordion”  
 бычкы – “violin”  
 бышкъыджы – “violinist”  
 къайбе – “meal, food”  
 къаймакъ – “to eat”  
 къайбестар – “hungry”  
 къынбе – “excrement”  
 къынмакъ – “to defecate”  
 къурушмакъ – “to copulate”  
 окъар – “penis”  
 бул – “arse”  
 къурбе – “prostitute”  
 минджа – “vulva”  
 тары – “vodka”  
 пиимбе – “drink”  
 пиймек – “to drink”  
 мермек – “to die”  
 мерды – “[he] died”  
 зыбармакъ – “to die (of cold or  
 hunger)”  
 башав – “performance  
 (musical)”  
 башавбе – “performance”  
 башавламакъ – “to play”  
 башавбеджи – “musician”  
 дума – “conversation, speech”  
 думалашмакъ – “to talk”  
 пенмек – “to speak”  
 пенды – “he said”  
 керды – “he said, he spoke”

ло – “money”  
 ловелер – “money, gain”  
 нанай – “no”  
 ояз – “stop (it)” (*sing.*)  
 оязынъ – “stop (it)” (*plur.*)  
 джайиз – “[we are] leaving”  
 джайизлев – “exit”  
 джайизлемек – “to leave”  
 беш – “sit”  
 бешмек – “to sit”  
 керы – “house”  
 керыге – “to home”  
 эла – “come [to me]”  
 гаджо – “Crimean Tatar (man)”  
 гаджа – “Crimean Tatar  
 (woman)”  
 гаджал – “Turk”  
 урмачель – “Rom”  
 дас – “Russian, Slav”  
 хас – “[he] knows”  
 тсавлатмакъ – “to tell, to  
 inform”  
 джай – “go away, run away”  
 джайды – “[he] run away, [he]  
 disappeared”  
 зыбыр – “dream, drowsiness”  
 зифос! – “Well, well!”  
 чорай – “fieth”  
 баламут – “unreliable [person],  
 trouble-maker”  
 чингар – “quarrel, fight”  
 чингарлашмакъ – “to fall out,  
 to quarell”  
 мато – “drunken”  
 матолашмакъ – “to get drunk”  
 къона – “table”  
 маро – “bread”  
 какай – “tasty”  
 тутун – “smoke, tobacco”  
 пасма – “printed cotton”  
 су – “embroidery”

дукян – “shop”  
терек – “tree”  
маз – “meat”  
казан – “saucepan, cauldron”

сыгар – “cigarette”  
пси – “cat”  
мусафир – “guest”

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Crimean Romani has no writing; it still lacks a normative written form, though both in old times and today many Roma feel the need to put their speech down. According to Lev N. Cherenkov, as far back as the 1950s he met a Crimean Roma in Moscow who knew written Tartar and who tried to put down his native words with Arabic letters.

Beside this, the author witnessed some Crimean Roma sending a telegram to their relatives who tried to write it in their native language.

The author also saw a Crimean Roma girl named Bakhti Vladimirovna Osmanova (b. c. 1968) who in 1983 lived in the town of Kobuleti (the Adžar district of Georgia) and who was making attempts to put down some words of her native Romani with Georgian letters. At that time she was one year short of the full course of a Georgian school and had a good command of both spoken and written Georgian. Her attempts led her to a conclusion that Georgian letters aren't enough to have all sounds of her native tongue written. She complained to the author with regret of the absence of letters that are necessary to write Romani sounds [f], [y] and [j] in the Georgian alphabet. According to her, it is also difficult to put down soft consonants which are frequent in Romani, but completely missing in Georgian.

Bakhti Osmanova also told the author that the speech of Crimean Roma who had spent many years in Georgia borrowed some Georgian words:

Crimean Romani (Georgian variety) *sampéxi* (hereafter *x* is a uvular spirant) “a tripod” (compare with a Georgian *sampexi*), that starts to substitute Crimean Romani *pirostíja* to designate an item of Crimean Roma blacksmiths' trade;

Crimean Romani (Georgian variety) *tóxa* “mattock” (compare with a Georgian *toxa*) begins to substitute Crimean Romani *č'ápa* to designate yet another hand-made item;

Crimean Romani (Georgian variety) *macóni* “sour milk” (compare with Georgian *maconi*) that begins to substitute Crimean Romani *thud* to designate a drink wide-spread in Georgia;

The Georgian root *tox-* was used to form a new Crimean Romani verb *toxáiskerél* “to cultivate (land).”

Many Roma with whom the author spoke in order to learn their language said that Russian alphabet wasn't sufficient for the precise and one-to-one recording of Romani sounds, so that they had to use a combination of letters; otherwise Romani sounds would be recorded "roughly".

A young Roma made the following statement about studying this language, "The Crimean Roma is a small people, that is why their language is a secret, and this secret must be kept." This is obviously the opinion of many other Roma. It hampers both the emergence of Roma's own linguistic tradition and studies in this area by the outside scholars.

At the same time, in spite of the absence of their own linguistic tradition Crimean Roma do have their notion of a linguistic norm. They clearly understand the unique character of their language, and, as the author has already noted, they consider their speech in all its forms to be a model, while the language of other Roma's groups are believed to be wrong or distorted.

In the Krasnodar district some Crimean Roma made mixed families with Vlax Roma (the bearers of dialects of Vlax Roma), and their children learnt and had a free command of both parents' languages.

No monolinguals were found among Crimean Roma. Every Roma whom the author had contacts with today knows well both his native language and (to some extent) Russian or some other language, for example Georgian or Megrel in Georgia. Only younger Romani children may now be recognized as monolinguals, for they first begin to learn their native language from their parents and study a language of surrounding population some time later. In the Krasnodar district only one Crimean Rom was found who had a free command of Crimean Tartar. This was a rather old woman who lived in the city of Slav'ansk-na-Kubani.

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During the period when Roma lived in the linguistic environment of the Crimean peninsula (from about 15<sup>th</sup> century to 1944), the language that influenced their tongue most was that of Crimean Tartars. Roma who moved to the Crimea again became bilingual, and a strong flow of Tartar words flooded their language.

The language that Crimean Tartars spoke was not homogeneous in its vocabulary. The southern part of the peninsula was populated by Tartars who spoke Mountain and Southern-coastal Oğuz-influenced dialects; inhabitants of the northern Crimea spoke Steppe-area dialects influenced by Qypchaq. At the frontier line dividing the two areas a mixed mid-Crimean

dialect emerged; it was spoken in the capital of the Crimean Khanate (city of Bakhchysaray) and served as the base for Tartar literary language.

The author's studies show that Crimean Romani spoken today was influenced mostly by the steppe-area dialect of Tartar with its Qypchaq roots; it also absorbed some features from the mixed dialect:

Crimean Romani for "birth-mark" is *méni*; North Crimean Tartar for "birth-mark" is мeнь, while South Crimean Tartar is бин;

Crimean Romani for "colour" is *t'úsi*; North Crimean Tartar for "colour" is тюс, while South Crimean Tartar is пенк;

Crimean Romani for "hog" is *č'oč'kás*; North Crimean Tartar for "boar, pig" is чoчкъа, while South Crimean Tartar is домуз;

Crimean Romani for "Yilbashy (a winter holiday)" is *jilbášy*; South Crimean Tartar for "year" is йыл, while North Crimean Tartar is джыл.

It is quite probable that the Roma who had lived in the areas where the Southern dialect of Crimean Tartar was spoken, were deported (together with Tartars) after 1854 to the Ottoman Empire, and their variety of language is no longer present in Russia.

After the Roma had adopted Islam, some words necessary to name new realia entered their vocabulary:

Crimean Romani *Alláhi* "Allah" ~ Crimean Tartar Алла(h) "Allah";

Crimean Romani *ğ'amija* "mosque" ~ Crimean Tartar джами "mosque";

Crimean Romani *harámi* "impure for a ritual" ~ Crimean Tartar (h)арам "dirty, impure, defiled";

Crimean Romani *kadyri* "law" ~ Crimean Tartar къадыр "value, dignity, might, power, rank";

Crimean Romani *kitápi* "Koran" ~ Crimean Tartar китап "Koran";

Crimean Romani *monlás* "mullah" ~ Crimean Tartar молла "mullah";

Crimean Romani *rahméti* "kingdom of Heaven" ~ Crimean Tartar pa(h)мер "compassion, merci, forgiveness [of sins of the dead by God]";

Crimean Romani *dovás* "prayer" ~ Crimean Tartar ду(в)а "prayer";

Crimean Romani *kurbáni* "sacrificial ram" ~ Crimean Tartar къурбан "sacrificial animal, sacrifice";

Crimean Romani *xási* "true" ~ Crimean Tartar хас "exceptional, pure, chosen";

Crimean Romani *xáči* "cross (religious symbol)" ~ Crimean Tartar хач "cross".

Crimean Romani also borrowed a number of words to denote various articles of clothing, as well as wool items and fabric:

Crimean Romani *baláki* “trouser-leg” ~ Crimean Tartar балакъ “trouser-leg”

Crimean Romani *basmás* “fabric” ~ Crimean Tartar басма “fabric, textiles”;

Crimean Romani *buklidijel* “to cut, to fold” ~ Crimean Tartar букле= “to cut, to fold”;

Crimean Romani *keč'ús* “felt” ~ Crimean Tartar кече “felt”;

Crimean Romani *ojmáki* “thimble” ~ Crimean Tartar оймакъ “thimble”;

Crimean Romani *jakás* “collar” ~ Crimean Tartar якъа “collar”;

Crimean Romani *šalíji* “wool” ~ Crimean Tartar шали “a sort of wool fabric from Turkey”.

Various names of domestic utensils and tableware, as well as of foodstuffs, dishes, and drinks also entered Crimean Romani:

Crimean Romani *báli* “honey” ~ Crimean Tartar бал “honey”;

Crimean Romani *boréki* “patty, small pie” ~ North Crimean Tartar бопек “patty, small pie”;

Crimean Romani *hálva* “halva” ~ Crimean Tartar (h)эльва “halva”;

Crimean Romani *kavés* “coffee” ~ Crimean Tartar къаве “coffee”;

Crimean Romani *kimaladíjel* “to chop meat (with two knives)” ~ Crimean Tartar кыймала= “to cut (meat) into small pieces, to chop”;

Crimean Romani *petmézi* “treacle, vine grape juice boiled away” ~ Crimean Tartar петмез “vinegrape juice boiled away, treacle”;

Crimean Romani *selapčís* “basin” ~ Crimean Tartar сылавча “wide basin”.

Some other notions were also borrowed:

Crimean Romani *bíni* “thousand” ~ Crimean Tartar бинь “thousand”;

Crimean Romani *čívi* “raw” ~ Crimean Tartar чий “raw”;

Crimean Romani *dovrús* “straight (on)” ~ Crimean Tartar догъру “straight (on)”;

Crimean Romani *ertés* “early” ~ Crimean Tartar эрте “early”;

Crimean Romani *eslýs* “middle-aged” ~ Crimean Tartar эслы “middle-aged”;

Crimean Romani *sáji* “shallow” ~ Crimean Tartar сай “shallow”;

Crimean Romani *uğ'úzi* “cheap” ~ Crimean Tartar уджуз “cheap”.



Apart from some single Tartar words that the Roma borrowed and learnt to use, a number of Tartar expressions also infiltrated Roma language:

Crimean Romani *Allábil'áversyn* “trouble, damnation” ~ Crimean Tartar Алла беля версин “Allah will send the trouble down”;

Crimean Romani *sabaxáiruson* “good morning” ~ Crimean Tartar саба хайыр олсун “good morning”;

Crimean Romani *akšamxáiruson* “good evening” ~ Crimean Tartar акышам хайыр олсун “good evening” and a number of other expressions.

The author’s informants didn’t divide any of these expressions into three distinct Tartar words, but took each of them as a single vocabulary unit of their language: for example, Roma consider the expression *Allábil'áversyn* to be a noun (masculine gender), what is proved by a modifier *tinró* “your” that may go with it.

Complete Crimean Tartar expressions, sometimes slightly distorted phonetically, can be found in a speech of Romani storytellers when the character of an old-time fairy tale is Tartar:

Crimean Romani *taš bol* ~ Crimean Tartar таш бол for “be a stone”;

Crimean Romani *bu ananí bašý, bu kardašý bašý, bu ileğ'én, bu soro liğ'én* ~ Crimean Tartar бу ананы башы, бу кярдашы башы, бу иледжем, бу сора иледжем for “This is the mother’s head, this [is] the brother’s head, I’ll taste this [head], later [I’ll] taste this [another head]”; both examples may be found in “*E phen baré šeréski*” (“The Sister with Big Head”) fairy-tale.

Crimean Romani *d'ar d'un'adé* ~ Crimean Tartar даре дюнъяда “in the world”; this expression may be found in “*The [les] anáv Č'oréja*” (“Name [him] Chioreya!”) story.

Both Crimean Tartar word-formative formants (like suffixes) and form-productive ones infiltrated Crimean Romani together with borrowed words. But in Roma language the Tartar word-formative formants didn’t become productive; in practice they remained only a part of Tartar vocabulary.

Of words that had been borrowed from Russian but got a Tartar formant, the following examples may be given:

Crimean Romani *soldatlyki* for “serving as the army conscript”: the word is produced by a *-lyk-* formant;

Crimean Romani *bajančiki* for “small accordion”: the word is produced by a *-čik-* formant.

Sometimes when Roma borrowed Tartar words, their meaning was altered:

Crimean Romani *kúšy* “eagle” ~ Crimean Tartar кѳуш “bird”;  
Crimean Romani *jamáči* “mountain” ~ Crimean Tartar ямач “foot,  
or slope of a mountain”;

Crimean Romani *artyki* “better” ~ Crimean Tartar артыкъ  
“superfluous”.

To name a baptized person or a Christian, Crimean Roma use the  
word *xáč'lyš* that was produced by a Tartar formant -лы from a Tartar noun  
хач “cross”, though there is no word \*хачлы in the etymon language.

Some Crimean Romani words are calques from Tartar:

Crimean Romani *sokabór* “how many / much” is an element-by-  
element translation of Crimean Tartar некъадап “how many / much”;

Crimean Romani *ov sastó* “be healthy” is a word-for-word  
translation of Crimean Tartar сагъ ол “healthy [you] be”.

The Roma borrowed Tartar verbs in the “Past Obvious” Tense,  
which is indicated by a -ды formant (Crimean Tartar язды “he wrote”,  
анды “he remembered” and so on).

This is this verbal paradigm:

1<sup>st</sup> person singular: Cr. Tartar яздым ~ Cr. Romani *jazdým* “I wrote”

1<sup>st</sup> person plural: Cr. Tartar яздыкъ ~ Cr. Romani *jazdýmús* “We wrote”

2<sup>nd</sup> person singular: Cr. Tartar яздынь ~ Cr. Romani *jazdýn* “You wrote”

2<sup>nd</sup> person plural: Cr. Tartar яздыньыз ~ Cr. Romani *jazdynús* “You wrote”

3<sup>rd</sup> person singular: Cr. Tartar язды ~ Cr. Romani *jazdý* “He wrote”

3<sup>rd</sup> person plural: Cr. Tartar яздылар ~ Cr. Romani *jazdylár* “They wrote”

The only difference in formants between the two paradigms is in  
the 1<sup>st</sup> Person Plural. Crimean Tartar version is -къ, while Crimean Romani  
uses 1<sup>st</sup> Person Present Tense Plural formant -мыз. Compare Romani form  
*jazdýmús* “we wrote” with Tartar язымыз “we write”. It should also be  
noted that the borrowed -lár formant experienced a metathesis (at least in  
some Roma’s speech), so that in all verbs it has got the -rál form:

Crimean Romani *jazdyrál* “they wrote”; *šaštyrál* “they marvelled,”  
and so on.

Indigenous verbs weren’t practically affected by the Tartar  
paradigm. There is only one verb of Indian origin that conjugates according  
to either the original Indian, or Tartar paradigm:

Cr. Romani *č'umidin'óm* ~ *č'umidým* “I kissed”

*č'umidin'ám* ~ *č'umidýmús* “We kissed”, etc.

Verbs of Tartar origin very seldom conjugate according to the initial Indian paradigm. The author witnessed the use of only one Tartar verb with initial Indian formants:

Crimean Romani *kuvdylár* ~ *kvdiné* “[they] drove away”.

## PHONETIC REVIEW OF CRIMEAN ROMANI

When in 1979 the author first began studying the Crimean Romani phonetic system, it wasn't homogeneous. Old Roma's speech still kept some phonetic nuances of (borrowed) Tartar words, while in the speaking of young Roma those Tartar sounds had already been more adapted phonetically. Words borrowed from Russian were even at that time pronounced by young Roma with a noticeable Russian accent.

The Crimean Romani system of consonant phonemes is presented in Table 1 (See page № 28).

The phonemes of the indigenous part of Crimean Romani have the following typical features:

The absence of the guttural sound [rʀ] that had coincided with the regular sonorous [r];

The presence of voiceless aspirate consonants: [ph], [ph'], [th], [th'], [kh], [kh'], as well as the sound [čh'] that is pronounced in a number of words like Crimean Romani *č'uči* for "[baby's] dummy" ~ *čh'uči* for "empty," but that isn't recognized by speakers as distinct from the sound [č'].

The system of Romani consonant phonemes was most affected by the Tartar one in its dorsal and velar parts. The Tartar dorsal [κ] and [r], as well as velar [r̥] and uvular sounds [κ̥], [H̥], [x] were alien to the system of Romani velar sounds in their articulation. For this reason in the borrowed words they began gradually adapting, the process getting more intense in the young Roma's speech, as the influence of Tartar language had long ended. Here are some examples.

In Crimean Tartar the velar [r̥] is a voiced fricative sound, like the one in айгъыр for "stallion," ёргъан for "blanket", бегъен= for "to [fall in] love", гъаип for "a lost", дагъы= for "to give out, to dispense". When it was adapted to Roma's speech, it turned into the following sounds:

In Crimean Romani words *ajhýri* "stallion", or *jorháni* "blanket" in most cases it is [h] – a velar voiced spirant, though other reflexes are also possible;

In Crimean Romani word *begyndý* "to [fall in] love" it is [g] – a velar voiced occlusive sound;

In Crimean Romani expression *ovél kajípi* "to disappear" it is [k] – a velar voiceless occlusive;

In Crimean Romani word *daxyty* "to give out, to dispense" it is [x] – a uvular voiceless spirant (in some Roma's speech) or a velar voiceless spirant.

**Table of Crimean Romani Consonant Phonemes**

			Labial		Lingual			
			Bilabial	Labiodental	Front lingual		Dorsal	Velar
					Labial	Palatal		
Noise	Occlusive	Voiced	[b] [b']		[d] [d']			[g] [g']
		Voiceless	[p] [p']		[t] [t']			[k] [k']
		Aspirate	[ph] [ph']		[th] [th']			[kh][kh']
Noise	Affricative	Voiced				[ǧ']		
		Voiceless			[c]	[č']		
		Aspirate				[čh']		
Noise	Fricative	Voiced		[v] [v']	[z] [z']	[ž]	[j]	[h] [h']
		Voiceless		[f] [f']	[s] [s']	[š] [š']		[x] [x']
Sonorous	Occlusive-fricative	Nasal	[m] [m']		[n] [n']			
		Lateral			[l] [l']			
Sonorous	Flapped					[r] [r']		

In Crimean Tartar the sound [нъ] is a voiced occlusive: бинъ “a thousand”, or мeнь “a birth-mark”. In Romani it coincided with the sound [n]:

In Crimean Romani words *bíni* “a thousand”, or *méni* “a birth-mark”, the sound [n] is nasal sonorous.

In Crimean Tartar [къ] is a voiceless occlusive sound: якъа “collar”, or къона “table”, or къайтан “suspender”, or джакъ “coast”, or акътар= “to turn over”, or бoкъча “a bundle”. When adapted to Romani, this sound gives the following reflexes:

In Crimean Romani words *jakás* “collar”, or *konás* “table” it is at most the sound [k] – a velar voiceless occlusive, though other reflexes are possible;

In Crimean Romani words *hajtáni* “lace”, or *ǵ’ahás* “coast” the sound [h] is a velar voiced spirant;

In Crimean Romani words *axtardý* “to turn over”, or *boxč’ás* “a bundle” the sound [x̣] is a uvular voiceless spirant (in some Roma’s speech) or [x] – a velar voiceless spirant.

In Crimean Tartar the sound [x̣] is a voiceless fricative: махта= “to praise, to approve”, or хызмер “service, work”, or къахпе “a voluptuary”, or хайвар “caviar”. When adapted to Romani, [x̣] turned into the following sounds:

In Crimean Romani words *maxtadý* “to praise”, or *хызмéti* “a work”, it is [x] – a velar voiceless spirant, or [x̣] – a uvular voiceless spirant, though there are two exceptions to this rule:

In Crimean Romani words *kahpés* “a profligate” and *hajvári* “caviar”, [h] is a velar voiced spirant.

Crimean Tartar dorsal sounds [к] and [г] partially remained palatal in Crimean Romani:

Crimean Tartar леген “a small [wash] basin” > Crimean Romani *lig’éni* “a small [wash] basin”;

Crimean Tartar чек “part of a [human] head adjacent to ear” > Crimean Romani *č’ek’és* “temple”, but mostly lost this quality:

Crimean Tartar гёвде “body” > Crimean Romani *govd’és* “trunk, torso”;

Crimean Tartar кече “felt” > Crimean Romani *keč’ús* “felt”.

In short, one may say that Tartar consonants influenced the Romani phonetic to such an extent, that a uvular voiceless spirant [x̣] appeared in it as a variant of velar voiceless spirant [x].

Tartar vowels also affected the phonetics of Roma’s speech. It is necessary to notice here that the Tartar system of vowels is quite different from the Romani one. Here are both systems for better comparison:

### Crimean Romani System of Vowel Phonemes

Raising	Pre-dental	Dorsal	Velar
High	[i]	[y]	[u]
Medium	[e]		[o]
Low		[a]	

### Crimean Tartar System of Vowel Phonemes

	Front-row		Rear-row	
	Non-labialised	Labialised	Non-labialised	Labialised
Narrow	[ɨ]	[jʊ]	[ɣ]	[y]
Wide	[e] ([ɣ])	[ɛ̃]	[a]	[o]

The sounds of the Tartar phonetic system penetrated the Romani one and brought in some new articulations that hadn't existed in the latter. Tartar combinations of sounds, such as "a consonant + a front-row vowel" like [ɨ], [e], [ɣ], [jʊ], gradually transformed in Romani to another combination: "a palatalized consonant + a vowel" like [i], [e], [a], [u]:

Crimean Tartar миндер "a mattress for sitting", or Сеит (a man's name) > Crimean Romani (old people's speech) *mindëri* "a mattress, bedding", or *Sëit* (a man's name > Crimean Romani (younger speakers) *mind'ëri*, *Sëit*;

Crimean Tartar тюс "colour, shade", or сюрюль= "to crawl, drag" > Crimean Romani (old people's speech) *tüsi* "colour", or *sürüdü* "to drag" > Crimean Romani (younger speakers) *t'üsi*, *s'ur'udý*;

Crimean Tartar кяр "a profit, benefit, gain", or илядж "a remedy, medicine" > Crimean Romani *k'ári* "a profit, benefit", or *l'áǵi* "(liquid) medicine".

Summarizing what has been said, we can conclude that what Romani borrowed from Tartar was the combination of sounds of the [t'u]-type, or a palatalized consonant with the vowel [u], that hadn't existed in the former earlier.

In present time of Russian-Romani bilingualism, the realia of Russian language penetrate Romani in increasing quantity. Part of borrowed Russian words are adapted phonetically, like Russian туберкулёзный "tubercular", or адвокат "a defence lawyer" > Crimean Romani *burkul'özni* "tubercular", or *ablakáti* "a defence lawyer". Other Russian words may be adapted grammatically; for instance, the gender of some nouns may be

changed: Russian центр “centre”, сапог “top-boot” (masculine), or радио “radio” (neutral) ~ Crimean Romani *céntri* (masculine) and *céntra* (feminine) for “centre”, *sapóška* (feminine) for “top-boot”, *rádiva* (feminine) for “radio”.

Some formants of Russian grammar categories have already penetrated Romani as well: in Crimean Romani *ačh'ólas'a* for “[she] stayed”, *-s'a* is a Russian suffix of Reciprocal Voice, *-a-* is a Russian Feminine gender suffix, and *-l-* is a Russian Past Tense formant that became the result of re-considering the indigenous Romani *-ó-l-* formants.

Some Ukrainian influence was also noticed in Roma’s speaking:

Crimean Romani *stél'a* “ceiling” ~ Ukrainian стеля “ceiling”;

Crimean Romani *drabína* “(step) ladder” ~ Ukrainian драбина “ladder”;

Crimean Romani *olija* “sunflower oil” ~ Ukrainian олія “sunflower oil”;

Crimean Romani *hil'cés* “a branch of a tree decorated with paper flowers and used during wedding celebrations” ~ Ukrainian гільце “a small branch [of a tree]”.

Words like these might have been borrowed either from some native Ukrainian speakers, or from the Cossacks of the Kuban’ district.



## LEXICOLOGICAL REVIEW OF CRIMEAN ROMANI

Like any language that doesn't have a written form and exists only in a verbal tradition, Crimean Romani is always represented by phrases. Each phrase carries some sort of message that, according to a speaker's wish, may or may not be logically finished.

The kind of phenomenon that in written languages is usually called "a word" has had (until recently) no scholarly ground in Romani and was understood by its bearers only intuitively. The vocabulary of every language is a result of research done by lexicographers. The author's efforts to compile a Crimean Romani dictionary led to its publishing in a form of a book (*Toropov V.G. Slovar' yazyka krymskikh tsygan*; 72 p., published in Moscow in 2003).

To identify a word as a separate linguistic unit is in many cases a compromise between the vocabulary and the grammar of a language. Crimean Romani is unique in a sense that both its verbs and nomina may exist in an unlimited number of word-forms.

Practically any nomen may produce a Possessive Case form, which at the same time is used as an adjective. Furthermore, the first Possessive may produce the second Possessive form, the second Possessive makes up the third one, and so on, without any formal limit of their number:

*Jakh* "eye" ~ *jakhéngoro* "ocular, spectacle" (first possessive) ~ *jakhengeréngoro* "[belonging to spectacles]" (second possessive).

To limit the number of nomen forms, the author had to resort to a compromise: he treated a nomen's possessive form as a separate form of a possessive, or a denominative adjective, which is declined as an adjective. The procedure brought the possessive form out of the limits of a noun declination paradigm, while the number of such forms was restricted to the ones that the author really witnessed in Romani bearers' speech.

A Crimean Romani verb has a grammar category of causativeness. Practically every verb may have this form. In other words, a non-causative verb may produce a causative one, then a double causative, and so on, without a formal limit to their number:

*čh'el* "he throws" (a non-causative verb) ~ *čhit'arél* "he makes [smb.] throw" (a causative verb) ~ *čhit'ard'arél* "he makes [smb.] make throw", etc.

To make the number of verbal forms limited, the author of the dictionary again resorted to a compromise: he didn't take causativeness as a grammar category and treated every causative verb as a separate lexical unit rather than a word-form.

Present in Crimean Romani is a group of words that may formally be dealt with as both a participial form of a verb and a distinct part of speech, namely an adjective. To define precisely what part of speech they belong to is not possible, because they don't differ in their syntactic functions and may not form a participial construction in a sentence:

*xol'ázel* "he's angry" ~ *xol'amé* "angry" (an adjective) or "[the one who's] got angry" (a perfect without-voice participle).

*Xol'amé manúš aménca na zborízel* "An angry man [a man who's got angry] doesn't talk with us".

*Tu san xol'amé avd'és?* "Are you angry today?" or "Do you get angry today?"

The given examples prove the difficulty of defining what part of speech these words belong to. The author identifies this group of words as participles, or verbal derivatives each having a base verb that is opposed to other verbs in a grammar category of Voice.

Finally, in Crimean Romani there are words that are not used on their own; on this ground they may be considered auxiliary words, or lexical modifiers that give a new meaning (in this case) to verbs:

*Íkos* – formally a noun of masculine gender singular, that is used only as part of a composite verb *del ikos* "he calls";

*Sáma* – formally a noun of feminine gender, singular, that is used only in a composite verb *čh'él sáma* "he pays attention, examines".

Unlike all other Crimean Romani nouns, the words *ikos* and *sáma* don't change in numbers or cases; on this ground they may be lexically classified as auxiliary syntactic words. Some 40 other similar compound verbs have been registered in Romani. They may be composed of both nouns and adverbs that may also be used independently:

*xal sovél* "[he / she] swears", while the noun *sovél* for "swear" may also be used independently.

It should be noted that in a colloquial speech these lexical specifiers might be omitted from such verbs, if a context doesn't hamper their understanding.

## LINGUISTIC OBJECT: LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES

Every Romani phrase first of all presents the principal object that it nominates. It is characterised by its various properties, each containing both lexical and grammar components.

Lexicographers usually divide the objects and all sorts of their properties into those with complete or incomplete meaning. The first group may consist of either specific objects, like *manúš* “a man”, or *kher* “a house”, or of generalized ones, like *me* “I”, *tu* “you”, *so* “what”. Objects with incomplete meaning are usually auxiliary objects like *andé* “in”. Besides this division, there are also words like *ikos* that was discussed above. In Roma’s speech, the bearers of generalized properties often substitute those with specific meanings, the latter being used to make their meaning more specific. The properties of objects are also divided into predicative and non-predicative. Sometimes even the properties of an object’s properties may also be presented in a Romani phrase.

*Barvaló manúš bešél andé baré nevé kheréste šukár.* “A rich man lives in a large new house beautifully.”

Here *manúš* is a lexical indicator of the principal subject; in terms of grammar, it is uncorrelated, animate, masculine gender, singular in number, the Direct case.

*Barvaló* “rich” is a lexical indicator of a non-predicative mark of the principal object that is grammatically uncorrelated, animate, masculine gender, singular, Direct case;

*bešél andé kheréste* “lives in a house” is a compound lexical indicator of a predicative mark of the object (without a modifier *andé kheréste*, the lexical meaning of *bešél* becomes unclear, meaning both “lives” and “sits”); it consists of two words: one bears the predicative property of the object and grammatically has indicative mood, imperfective aspect, without-voice, Present tense, third person; another word means the background object – uncorrelated, inanimate, masculine gender, singular, local case, with a modifier *andé*;

*baré* “[in] large”, *nevé* “[in] new” are the lexical indicators of a non-predicative mark of the background object that is grammatically uncorrelated, inanimate, masculine gender, singular, in a general-oblique case;

*šukár* “beautifully” is a lexical indicator of a neutral degree of a qualitative mark of a predicative mark of the principal object.

A lexical indicator may be either simple, consisting of just one word, or complex, consisting of word combinations. In most cases a

complex lexical indicator includes an analytical indicator of grammar properties:

*Me ġ'av potykása, kaj ġ'al karíng ke xar.* “I’m going along the path that runs towards the river”.

In this phrase the object *potykása* “[along the] path” is a background object that has a complex indicator of its property *kaj ġ'al karíng ke xar* “that runs towards the river”; it includes *kaj* “that” – an indicator of a neutral degree of a non-predicative property of the whole analytic construction.

## GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN CRIMEAN ROMANI

The author singles out in Crimean Romani the grammar categories of linguistic objects, their properties, and properties of their properties. In this book, the grammar categories are gathered into eight groups that sometimes unite several closely related categories.

### I

In terms of grammar, linguistic objects are divided into animate and inanimate. This division reflects the difference between real objects of the surrounding world, between the objects of a living and non-living nature.

In Crimean Romani grammatically animate objects have in their paradigm two extra case forms: that of the Vocative and the Oblique cases. Not every object of a living nature is grammatically animate. In general these are the objects that signify people, most animals, gods, and fairy-tale characters, as well as names of people (first, patronymic and family names) and names of animals: *manúš* “a man (=human being)”, *gurív* “a bull”, *Del* “God”, *Kakaráng’os* “Kakarandzhos (a fairy-tale hero)”, *Phábaj* “Pkhabei (a woman’s name with a meaning of “apple”)”, *Šek’érovna* “Shekerovna (a woman’s patronymic)”, *Karač’úk-ohlý* “Karachuk-ohly (a family name)”, *Čingíz* “Chingiz (a name of a Tom-cat)”.

Linguistic objects signifying some living creatures are grammatically inanimate: *ǵ’uv* “louse”, *pišúm* “flea”, *sumúri* “tick”, as well as *l’éšy* “corpse”, though *muló* “dead man” is animate. Names of fish in the Romani grammar may be animate or not: *mačh’ó* “fish”, *sulás* “pike-perch”, *kamsides* “sprats”:

*Č’avoró astarél mačh’én: suladén, kamsidén.* “A boy catches fish: pike-perches [and] sprats” – here all linguistic objects are animate;

*Č’avoró astarél mačh’é: suládes, kamsides.* “A boy holds fish: pike-perches [and] sprats [in his hands]” – here all linguistic objects are inanimate, and the lexical meaning of the object’s predicative property is changed from “he catches” to “he holds”.

A linguistic object becomes inanimate when it signifies a part of a living creature:

*Me xal’óm kahn’á.* “I ate [a whole] hen”. Here “hen” is an animate object.

*Me xal’óm kotór kahní.* “I ate a piece of hen”. Here “hen” is inanimate.

When a common noun becomes a proper name, it becomes animate and gets the forms of the Vocative and the Oblique cases:

*Phabáj* “apple” ~ *Phábaj* “Pkhabai” (a woman’s proper name);

*Gonó* “sack” ~ *Gonó* “Gono” (a man’s proper name).

Not only the objects, but also their non-predicative properties may become animate:

*Kaló* “black” ~ *Kaló* “Kalo” (a man’s proper name);

*Phukí* “puffed up [woman]” ~ *Phukí* “Pkhuki” (a woman’s proper name).

Animate objects are substituted by a generalized object *kon* “who” and by its derivatives; inanimate ones are substituted by a generalized object *so* “what” and by its derivatives. The paradigm of the first generalized object has the Oblique case form, but not that of the Vocative; the paradigm of the second one lacks both cases:

Animate *gras* “horse”, *manús* “man”, *pisika* “cat” ~ *kon* “who”;

Inanimate *kher* “house”, *bar* “stone”, *gonó* “sack” ~ *so* “what”.

The rest of the generalized objects may substitute both animate and inanimate linguistic objects.

The Possessive forms have a property of animation both in the system of a possessor and a possessed:

*dadésko vas* “father’s hand” (animate in the possessor’s system, inanimate in the possessed system);

*kherésko kermusó* “domestic mouse” (inanimate in the possessor’s system, animate in the possessed system).

In a linguistic object the grammar property of animation / inanimation may be considered a classifying category that spreads to all bearers of the object’s properties, being an agreement category for them.

Animate linguistic objects may form pairs consisting of the bearers of Masculine gender (which are substituted by a proper generalized object *ov* “he”) and that of Feminine gender (which are substituted by a proper generalized object *oj* “she”). In these objects counteropposing the difference between male and female sexes of leaving creatures supports the category of gender:

*dad* “father”, *bakró* “ram”, *bašný* “cock” ~ *ov* “he”;

*daj* “mother”, *bakrí* “sheep”, *kahní* “hen” ~ *oj* “she”.

Inanimate linguistic objects are traditionally divided into those of Masculine or Feminine gender, but this division finds no support in the objects of the inanimate world, though personal generalized objects also substitute them *ov* “he”, *oj* “she”:

*kher* “house” ~ *ov* “he”; *pěnc’era* “window” ~ *oj* “she”.

Crimean Roma borrowed from Crimean Tartar a linguistic object “джады” that in the etymon language has the lexical meaning “witch” and that signifies only persons of female sex. In Crimean Romani the following transformation occurred with this object: it took the grammar shape of Masculine gender as *ǵ’adýs*, as well as the new lexical meaning of “evil magician”; in the same time it preserved its old meaning as “witch”. In this way a unique linguistic object appeared in Crimean Romani that grammatically belongs to Masculine gender, but that is used to designate the living creatures of both male and female sex. Beside it Crimean Romani has the linguistic object that is grammatically shaped following Feminine gender: *ǵ’adýisa* “witch”.

When *pluralia tantum* linguistic objects are borrowed into Romani, they are shaped in dual way:

(*jekh*) *sánka* “sledge (one object; singular)” ~ (*but*) *sánkes* (many objects; plural) – like a usual linguistic object of Feminine gender; or

(*jekh / but*) *sánkes* “sledge (one / many objects; singular / plural)” – like a *pluralia tantum* object of Crimean Romani, that belongs to Feminine gender following the pattern of *róta* “wheel” ~ *rótes* “wheels” (object of Feminine gender).

\*

In Crimean Romani every linguistic object may be changed following the grammar category of deminutivity – non-deminutivity.

*dad* “father”, *čh’aj* “daughter”, *kher* “house”, *róka* “skirt”, *testemáli* “towel”, *jorháni* “blanket” – all objects are presented in their non-deminutive forms;

*dadoró* “daddy”, *čh’ajorí* “[my dear little] daughter”, *kheroró* “[nice small] house”, *rókuč’ka* “[small / pretty] skirt”, *testemalisi* “[small] towel”, *jorhančiki* “[small] blanket” – all objects are presented in their deminutive forms (to show how small or nice they are).

Deminutivity is indicated by *or-* formant, as well as by more seldom used formants *-is-*, *-uč’k-*, *-čik-*.

Besides grammar objects, the deminutivity category pattern of change may be observed in the bearers of objects’ non-predicative properties, in properties of objects’ predicative properties, and in indicators the number of objects: *baró* “big” ~ *baroró* “[it is not] big [enough]”; *lačh’ó* “good” ~ *lačh’oró* “[pretty, nice] good”, *lačh’és* “well” ~ *lačh’orés* “very well”, *uč’és* “high” ~ *uč’orés* “[not quite] high”; *duj* “two” ~ *dujoré* “[a nice] couple [of things]”.

The category of deminutivity or non-deminutivity in Crimean Romani isn’t always spread from an object to its properties, or in the reverse

direction; in other words, agreement in this grammar category is possible, but not obligatory:

*Phinrávdilo tiknoró č'okráki.* “A small [water] spring opened.” Here the non-predicative property of the object has the deminutivity category, but no agreement with the object that carries this property is observed;

*Tikn'orí rikon'orí esí kheré.* “A small dog is at home.” Here both the object and its non-predicative property have the deminutivity category; agreement takes place;

*Roménde dikhl'óm jekhé šukaré č'h'ajor'á.* “I saw a beautiful [small] girl at the Roma” Here the object has the deminutivity category (agreement of a non-predicative property with it is absent).

*Sokabór ur'avd'án fôtes? – Dujoré fôtes.* “How many aprons did you put on? – Two [little] ones.” Here the indicator of a number of objects has the category of diminutiveness (agreement is formally absent).

## II

Linguistic objects and their substitutes may be either participants or non-participants in a verbal communication. Linguistic objects are participants in a verbal communication if relations of an agent (something that is spoken about) and a recipient (the one whom it is said to) exist between them. Objects outside these relations aren't participants in verbal communication; they are only spoken about or pointed at:

*Me kan-phukaváv tuméngé jekh paramisí.* “I shall tell you one fairy-tale.” Here *me* “I” and *tuméngé* “[to] you” are participants in the act of verbal communication. Their functions are that of the act's agent (a person who speaks) and the act's recipient (his interlocutor). The object *paramisí* “a fairy-tale” is a non-participant in verbal communication; the fairy-tale is only said to be told.

Participants in the acts of verbal communication mark an agent – a speaker (a personal generalized object of 1<sup>st</sup> person *me* “I”), or a recipient – an interlocutor (a personal generalized object of 2<sup>nd</sup> person *tu* “thou”), both single or together with another person or a group of persons (a personal generalized object of 1<sup>st</sup> person *amé* we = “I + another person / persons,” a personal generalized object of 2<sup>nd</sup> person *tumé* “you” = “thou + another person / persons).

Personal generalized objects of 3<sup>rd</sup> person (*ov* “he”, *oj* “she”, *on* “they”) signify non-participants in communication that may be specified by objects in any case form, except the Vocative.



*Tumé phenén léske, me uǵ'arél ov kotorísa.* “You tell him, may he wait a bit.” *Tumé* “you” are the interlocutors to whom the speaker addresses his demand; *léske* “[to] him” and *ov* “he” are single object to whom the order of the speaker (to wait a bit) will be given.

The grammar category of person is the classifying one for personal generalized objects (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are distinguished) and inflexional one for non-generalized (concrete) linguistic objects (here 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are distinguished).

1 <sup>st</sup> person	<i>me</i> “I”	<i>amé</i> “we”	-	-
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>tu</i> “thou”	<i>tumé</i> “you”	<i>manúša</i> “oh man”	-
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>ov, oj</i> “he (she)”	<i>on</i> “they”	<i>manúš</i> “man”	<i>kher</i> “house”.

Agreement in category of person between linguistic objects and the bearers of their predicative properties is necessary:

1 <sup>st</sup> person	<i>me šunáv</i> “I listen”	<i>amé šunás</i> “we listen”
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>tu šunés</i> “you listen”	<i>tumé šunén</i> “you listen”
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>ov, oj šunél</i> “he (she) listens”	<i>on šunén</i> “they listen”

In Crimean Romani the bearers of the linguistic objects’ predicative properties may be used even without personal generalized objects: in an expression *me phukaváv paramísí* “I tell a fairy-tale” an optional using of a personal generalized object *me* “I” is possible.

Beside this there are predicative properties such as an action or a state that go on their own, without participation of an acting object. Most often these predicative properties signify some natural phenomena, or an action of natural forces; they are presented by forms of 3<sup>rd</sup> person Indicative Mood, or of 2<sup>nd</sup> person Imperative Mood:

*dis’ól* “[dawn comes]”; *rat’ól* “(night) is coming” – 3<sup>rd</sup> person indicative;

*dís’o* “[do come, oh dawn]”; *rát’o* “come (oh night)” – 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative.

A generalized personal object of 2<sup>nd</sup> person, that is the one at whom the speaker’s utterance is directed, may be named specifically by forms of the Vocative case of an animate object; these forms then become addresses:

*Tu phenés, kaj kamél te ġ’al gavéste?* “[Do] you say that [he] needs to go to a village?”

In this phrase a form of the Vocative case of an animate object may specify a personal generalized object in 2<sup>nd</sup> person:

*Phén’o, phenés, kaj kamél te ġ’al gavéste?* “Sister, [you] say [he] needs to go to a village?” Here *phén’o* is the Vocative form of the object *phen* “sister” that specifies the personal generalized object *tu* “you” from phrase one.

An address may also be specified by a personal generalized object of 2<sup>nd</sup> person that is a part of a personal generalized object of 1<sup>st</sup> person plural *amé* “we = I + you”:

*Phralále, sar amé te ġ'as andé ko veš kašténge.* “Oh brothers, how about our going to the forest [to get some] firewood.” Here a personal generalized object *amé* “we” includes both the agent (a person who speaks) and the recipients – those whom his speech is addressed to.

### III

In Crimean Romani practically every object may have both a single and a plural form; in other objects, it may be grammatically treated as a countable one.

Group One consists of objects that are correlated with things of the surrounding world and that may be counted without considering any of their properties:

*jekh manuš, teréki, saháti* “one man, tree, hour” (singular);

*duj manuša, terék'a, sahá't'a* “two men, trees, hours”; *šélu peinda manuša, terék'a, sahá't'a* “one hundred and fifty men, trees, hours” (plural).

Group Two includes objects that are correlated with parts, or measures (volumes) of substances of the surrounding world, that are indeed counted:

*jekh kotór manró* “one slice of bread”, *jekh jalí páni* “one bottle of water”, *jekh úrdon phus* “one cart full of straw”, *jekh hrámučka phol* “one [small] gram of gold” (singular);

*duj kotorá manró* “two slices of bread,” *pañǵ' jal'á páni* “five bottles of water,” *deš úrda phus* “ten carts full of straw,” *duj bín'a hrámes phol* “two thousand grammes of gold” (plural).

Group Three consists of names of substances themselves; they may be counted only by their brands or varieties:

*Kána me sómas nasvaló, o rahlé mánde anénas versavé sút'a: svízy, zguš'óni.* “When I was ill, the guys brought me different milks [=different brands of milk]: the fresh and the condensed one.” Here *sút'a* (the plural form of *súti* “milk”) indicates its several (or rather two) varieties that are indeed counted.

The names of time spaces, such as *saháti* “hour”, *d'es* “day”, *čh'on* “month”, *breš* “year”, are used together with specifiers of their quantity in singular forms: *deš breš nakhló* “ten years passed”, *duj d'es na resló* “two days wasn't enough”; though without specifiers these objects are used in plural forms: *diné les duj breš* “he was given two years” (exact prison term is indicated – the form of the object is singular), but *diné les baré brešá*

“they gave him long years” (inexact sentence is indicated – the form of the object is plural).

There are linguistic objects in Crimean Romani that are presented either by grammatically singular object, like *xabé* “soup” (no plural forms), or by their quantity: *lové* “money”, *čh'orá* “beard (consisting of many hairs)”, *gošé* “manure (as many pieces of excrement)”; there are no singular forms.

When Russian linguistic objects *pluralia tantum* are borrowed into Crimean Romani, they are grammatically treated in either of two ways:

*Sánka* “sledge (one object; singular)” ~ *sánkes* (many objects; plural) – with setting off the singular forms against the plural ones;

*Sánkes* “sledge (one / many objects; singular / plural)”, without opposing singular forms to plural.

Speakers of Crimean Romani always experience some sort of difficulty when they need to name several people with the same name. This fact leads us to a conclusion that in Crimean Romani the objects naming people don't have plural forms:

*Ĝ'éli* “Dzheli”, *Hág'asan* “Hadzhasan”, *Karáč'ura* “Karachura”, *Néjša* “Neisha”, *Rámazan* “Ramazan”, *Šék'er* “Sheker” – male personal names;

*Báxtur* “Bakhtur”, *Dadóle* “Dadole”, *Kanija* “Kania”, *Púrum* “Purum”, *Phábaj* “Pkhabei”, *Sultána* “Sultana” – female personal names.

*Alé o duj čh'avé, kaj buč'h'on li o duj Dérbiš.* “Two young men came who were both named Derbish.” The name *Dérbiš* has the singular form even when it is necessary to name several people; in this way one of the author's informants managed to deal with the impossibility to make a plural form of a personal name.

The grammar category of number is a classifying one for a linguistic object; it is spread to all bearers of its properties and is inflective for them.

*Mi phurí daj pekél šukará gudlé borék'a.* “My old mother bakes good sweet pies”. Here *daj* “mother” names a single object that needs a singular form in every bearer of its properties: *mi* “my”, *phurí* “old”, *pekél* “bakes”;

*borék'a* “pies” names a number of objects that need a plural form in every bearer of its properties: *šukará* “good”, *gudlé* “sweet”.

Not only the notions “one” ~ “many” are opposed in the number of objects indicators, but the very notion “many” is specified by the semantics of the indicator. The indicator of number *jekh* “one” combines with objects in a singular form, while the rest [combine] in plural forms: *šov* “six”, *biš*

“twenty”, *peindu eřta* “fifty seven”, *trin bin'a duj řelá oxtó deřá paňg'* “three thousand two hundred (and) eighty-five.”

In Crimean Romani grammar the categories of an object’s ordinal number indicators (when the objects are counted) don’t differ from those of other bearers of an object’s non-predicative properties:

*Me phiráv me amalinkása e pervon'ása.* “I walk with my girlfriend, with my first [one].” Here the object *amalinkása* and every bearer of its non-predicative properties have the form of the Instrumental (or rather of the Sociative) case, singular, feminine gender, animate, and correlated;

*Děřu páňg'ta thaná.* “The fifteenth seats.” – The object *thaná* and the bearer of its non-predicative properties both have the form of the Direct case, plural, masculine, inanimate, and uncorrelated.

*Do bin'ě eřtatone breřestar me beřáv andě nevé kherěste.* “Since the year two thousand seven I live in a new house” – the subject *breřestar* and the bearer of its non-predicative properties both have the form of Ablative case singular, masculine gender, inanimate and uncorrelated.

When Crimean Roma politely address to a single person they, now more and more often, use a personal generalized object *tumé* “you” that usually names a group of objects.

Generalized objects *kon* “who”, *so* “what”, *pes* “himself” have only singular forms, but may name both one and several objects: *adá kon eří?* “Who is this?” ~ *jekh manuř* “one man” ~ *deř manuřá* “ten men”

The Possessive forms have a category of number both in the system of the possessor and in that of the possessed:

*daděskere* “father’s (many objects of a single possessor)”;

*daděngoro* “fathers’ (one object of many possessors – fathers).”

\*

The grammar category of number has a special sub-category that may be called “Group-belonging”; it unites objects of various natures into groups. It is expressed in the meaning of personal generalized objects (*amé* “we”, *tumé* “you”) uniting some objects of different nature into groups: I + another one / ones, you + another one / ones. In all other instances linguistic objects of different nature, as well as their properties and properties of their properties, and also phrases are united into groups with the help of this category’s different indicators:

*dad, daj taj me* “father, mother, and I”;

*kak ja bibí* “uncle or aunt”;

*na phabajín, amí mamuxín* “not an apple-tree, but a blackthorn (a bush)” – objects of different nature are united into groups by various formants *taj* “and”, *ja* “or”, *amí* “but”;

*baró taj uč'ó* “large and tall” The object’s non-predicative properties of different nature are united into a group by a formant *taj* “and”;  
*sovél amí na drabkerél* “[He] sleeps but doesn’t read.” The objects’ non-predicative properties of different nature are united in a group by a formant *amí* “but”;

*dur ja nádur* “far or not far [away]” – the property’s properties of different nature are united in a group by a formant *ja* “or.”

*To kak aló, amí tu na des les angál.* “Your uncle came in, but you don’t welcome him.” Here two compound linguistic objects (each presenting an independent finished idea) are united into a phrase by a formant *amí* “but”;

*O tiknó čh'avó runó, kána daj pašl'ard'ás les ko than.* “The small boy whimpered when [his] mother made him lie on the place (to sleep).” Its compound bearer presents the property of the principal object’s predicative property: *kána daj pašl'ard'ás les ko than* that includes the formant *kána* “when” indicating the property of the object’s property.

\*

In Crimean Romani one may find some phenomena that may be considered a display of the grammar category of Number’s special sub-category: Inclusiveness – Exclusiveness. These phenomena have no support in personal generalized linguistic objects and are presented only by analytic constructions:

*amé túsa* “we [together] with thou”, *amé tuménca* “we [together] with you.” Here the Inclusiveness is indicated by the Instrumental case; it means the inclusion of an object or group of objects into a united group, as well as the objects’ joint existence;

*amé bitúko* (the Possessive form of a personal generalized object *tu* “thou”) “we without thee”; *amé bituméngo* (the Possessive form of a personal generalized object *tumé* “you”) “we without you.” Here Exclusiveness is indicated by Possessive forms with *bi* formant “without;” it means the exclusion of an object or a group of objects from a group, as well as the objects’ separate existence.

#### IV

Linguistic objects in Crimean Romani have the grammar category of Correlation – Uncorrelation that is marked by the presence or absence in them of the correlation formant *o*, *e*:

*bar* “a stone” (uncorrelated to anything that has been spoken about before) ~ *o bar* “the stone” (related to the stone that was spoken about in the previous example) has a correlation formant *o* at itself.

But if there are some bearers of non-predicative properties in the linguistic object that stand in a preposition, the correlation formant is placed just one time before the first member of a combination. It is repeated before every member of the sequence if the bearers of non-predicative properties stand in a post-position:

*o baró kaló bar* “the big black stone” – the stone is correlated with another one that has already been known; only one correlation formant *o* stands *before* the combination “object plus the bearers of its non-predicative properties”, but

*o bar o baró o kaló* “the big black stone” – the stone is also correlated to the stone that has already been known; the correlation formant *o* stands three times before every member of the combination; the bearers of the object’s non-predicative properties are in the post-position against the object.

Although three correlation formants are formally present, the presence of only one formant should be recognized here, because the object’s property may not be correlated without the object that possesses it. It means that the bearers of non-predicative properties *baró* “big” and *kaló* “black” agree in this category with the object *bar* “the stone”.

Crimean Roma almost always consider proper names to be connected with real people, animals or geographic objects which bear these names; Roma use them with definitive formant: *o Séit* “Seit [a man’s name]”, *e Gúzelxan* “Guzelkhan [a woman’s name]”, *o Tuhápsi* “Tuapse [name of the city]”, *o Herišy* “Kerch [name of the city]”, *e Múrka* “Murka [name of a cat]”.

In the state of correlation, Possessive forms always have the Oblique case form of the correlation formant *e*:

*dadésko kher* “a father’s home” (the object is uncorrelated in the systems of the possessor and the possessed);

*e dadésko kher* “a home of the father” (the object is correlated in the possessor’s system, but uncorrelated in the possessed one);

*o kher e dadéskoro* “the home of the father” (the object is correlated in both the system of the possessor and of the possessed).

Correlated to each other may be not only linguistic objects, but also distinct thoughts that take the shape of a phrase:

*O púja lilé te khelén baré topása.* “The children began playing with a big ball;”

*Áke li tiknoró čh'avoró lil'ás te khelél e pujénca tópa.* “And the small boy also began playing a ball with children.”

Here indicator *li* “and” indicates that this thought in the shape of a phrase is related to the previous one; correlated thoughts may be divided by other thoughts-phrases.

## V

Linguistic objects may have predicative properties: they may be in a certain state, or may act; these properties may be either existing in reality, or in the speaker’s imagination:

*Aká phuró manúš esí kašukó.* “This old man is deaf.” Here the object *manúš* has the true-to-life predicative property *esí kašukó* “is deaf”;

*Aká phuró manúš, fájma, esí kašukó.* “This old man is obviously deaf.” Here the object’s predicative property is the result of the speaker’s judgment that is marked by one of the indicators of subjunctive modality – *fájma* “it seems to be, obviously, perhaps.”

\*

In terms of grammar, linguistic objects may be in a certain state, or may act; the persons speaking may consider them to be either real or imaginary. It means that their predicative properties may change according to the Mood category:

*Romní esí sahbúisa e kheréskiri, tavél, šulavél, kidel – kerél.* “The wife is the house’s mistress, [she] cooks, sweeps, cleans, [she] does [everything].” In this phrase every predicative property of the principal object is real and is presented by the forms of Indicative Mood. It is necessary to notice that *ov / oj kerél* “he / she does” is the bearer of the object’s generalized predicative property.

*De man lové te ġ'av te kináv phabajá.* “Give me money for me to go and buy [some] apples.” *Dávas (bi) tut lové na phabajéngé, amí kartop'éngé.* “I would give you money not for the apples, but for potatoes.” In these phrases every predicative property of the principal objects is not real.

*De* “Give [me]” is the form of Imperative that indicates a wish, or order, or inducement to act on behalf of the speaker who is designated by the Oblique case of the generalized object *me* “I”

*Te ġ'av te kináv* “for me to go to buy” is a sequence consisting of two predicative forms of Conditional agreeing between each other in person and number; they signify that the speaker’s action depends upon the action of his interlocutor.

But there are also examples in the language when no such agreement is noticed:

*O rahlé phuč'én*: “*Kaj te ġ'as? So te kerés?*” “The guys ask: Where should [we] go to? What should [we] do?” There's no agreement between the object's predicative properties: *phuč'én* “they ask” (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural); *te ġ'as* “that you would (we should) go” (2<sup>nd</sup> person singular or 1st person plural); *te kerés* “that you would do” (2<sup>nd</sup> person singular).

This example shows that Conditional forms in Crimean Romani may be equal to the Infinitives in other languages.

*Dávas (bi)* “[I] would give” is the Subjunctive variety of Indicative tense; the formant *bi* (of Russian origin) is an optional specifier of the idea of the speaker's not being sure enough that the interlocutor's action is possible or desirable; the *bi* formant shifts the Indicative to Subjunctive.

\*

The object's state or action, i.e. its predicative property, may have both positive and negative forms:

*Akavá ĉh'avoró na prástal, ov khinó si*. “This boy doesn't run, he is tired.” Here *na prástal* “[he] doesn't run” is a negative action presented as the object's predicative property; *khinó si* “he is tired” is the statement of the fact of the object's positive condition as of its predicative property.

Linguistic object's negative predicative property indicator is the formant *na (nana)* “not”. It is used with all tenses but for Imperative, the latter going with prohibition formant *má* “do not”:

*kušél* “he curses” ~ *na kušél* “he doesn't curse”;

*esí* “he is” ~ *nanáj* “he is not”;

*ovél* “it occurs” ~ *nan' ovél* “it doesn't occur”;

*anésas bi* “you should have brought” ~ *na anésas bi* “you shouldn't have brought”;

*te phenén* “let them say” ~ *te na phenén* “don't let them say”;

*róde* “look for” ~ *má rode* “don't look for”;

*ása* “[do] laugh” ~ *má asa* “don't laugh”.

## VI

In Crimean Romani there are two different sets of Case forms: one for animate objects' paradigm, another for inanimate objects' one. These differences affect the phrase structure that leads to the existence in the language of two independent varieties of the grammar category of Voice.



\*

Typical of Variety One of the grammar category of Voice is that the background object is inanimate. In this instance a difference between predicative properties, such as being in a state or acting, is formally absent:

*Adá amé sam.* “These are we”. Here *sam* “we are” indicates the object’s existence as a variety of its predicative property of being in a state.

*O romá vulé suté andé pe katunénde.* “The Roma fell asleep in their tents”. Here *vulé suté* “fell asleep” indicates the object’s predicative property: its being in a changeable, emerging, inconstant state.

*Ov din’ás tópa laxtí.* “He gave a kick to a ball”. Here the action of the principal object *ov* “he” passes to the inanimate background objects *tópa* “ball” (the Direct Case form) and *laxtí* “kick” (the Direct Case form).

*Adavá xyzméti akajakhá na kerd’ól.* “This job isn’t done right this way.” Here the action of the principal inanimate object *xyzméti* “job” may not pass to the background objects that aren’t presented in the phrase; it is a particular case of the phrase structure that usually needs the presence of background objects in it.

*O čh’avé andé pherdó baró gonó kaštá.* “The boys brought a large bag full of firewood.” Here the action of the principal object *andé* “brought” passes to *kaštá* “firewood” – an inanimate background object in the Direct Case form.

An important feature of Crimean Romani is the possibility for any of the principal object’s predicative properties to pass to an inanimate background object (objects ending in *-pé*) that is derived from the bearer of this predicative property in the Direct Case form:

*Ov ġ’ál po dúlgo ġ’apé.* “He goes his long going.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *ġ’apé* “going” – an inanimate background object in the Direct Case that was derived from the bearer of this property;

*Ov xol’azel o baró xolipé péskoro.* “He is angry with his strong anger.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *xolipé* “anger” – an inanimate background object in the Direct Case that was derived from the bearer of this property;

*On and’ón andipé.* “They bring [the] bringing.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *andipé* “[the] bringing” – an inanimate background object in the Direct Case that was derived from the bearer of this property.

In the Voice variety One when every predicative property of the object may pass to background objects in the Direct Case form, all participial forms that may be derived from the predicative properties’ bearers are undoubtedly characterised as belonging to the Passive Voice:

*dinó* “given”; *andó* “brought”; *kerdó* “made”; *xol'amé* “irritated”; *jazdimé* “written,” and many others.

\*

Typical of Variety Two of the grammar category of Voice in Crimean Romani is that the background object is animate. Clearly distinguished in this case are both the predicative properties of being in a state (background object in the Direct Case form) and directly transitive action (background object in the Oblique Case):

*So č'ál'ti ov vuló phuró nasvaló rom.* “How soon has he become an old ill Rom.” Here the state of the principal object contains a compound predicative property that includes the animate background object *rom* “Rom” in the Direct Case;

*Me bučh'av Alim.* “I am called Alim.” The state of the principal object contains a compound predicative property that includes animate background object *Alim* (a man’s personal name) in the Direct Case form;

*Me dikhl'óm Alimós andé ko gav.* “I saw Alim in the village.” Here the action of the principal object passes directly to *Alimós* “Alim” – animate background object in the Oblique Case form;

*Fájma o Del ajadý tumaré tikné čh'avorés.* “Obviously God felt pity for your small boy.” Here the action of the principal object directly passes to *čh'avorés* “boy” – animate background object in the Oblique Case form.

The participial forms of predicative properties that pass to an animate object in the Oblique Case belong to the Passive Voice, the rest belong to the without-Voice:

*dinó* “given”; *andó* “brought”; *kerdó* “made”; *jazdimé* “written” – the Passive Voice;

*xol'amé* “irritated” – the without-Voice.

It is necessary to note that some Crimean Romani dictionaries mark as intransitive those verbs whose action may indeed pass to animate nouns in the Oblique Case form.

\*

The objects’ predicative properties may pass to background objects in the forms of the Dative, Instrumental, Local, and Ablative cases without taking their animate / inanimate nature into account:

*Romní pokinél lové manréske.* “A Romani woman pays money for bread.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *manréske* “bread” – inanimate background object in the Dative Case form;

*Má kuš tut te tuxum'énca.* “Don’t quarrel with your relatives.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *tuxum'énca* “with relatives” – an animate background object in the Instrumental Case form;

*On bešénas vešéste.* “They lived in a forest.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *vešéste* “in a forest” – inanimate background object in the Local Case form;

*Amé al'ám dizátar.* “We arrived from a city.” Here the action of the principal object passes to *dizátar* “from a city” – inanimate background object in the Ablative Case form.

\*

In Crimean Romani there are specifiers of place and time of action, as well as the direction of its movement; they usually stand between the predicative property bearer and the background object:

*On bešénas andé vešéste.* “They lived in a forest.” Here *andé* “inside, in” is the place of action specifier;

*Amé al'ám andár diz.* “We arrived from a city.” – Here *andár* “from, out of” specifies the direction of action – from the background object; in this instance the Ablative Case form is changed to the Direct Case one.

There is also an analytic form in the language the meaning of which looks quite similar to the Local Case form. It is produced from the Direct Case form by adding the *ko / ke* formant in which *o / e* is the correlation formant that gives an object the property of being defined: *thanéste* “[being] at a (indefinite) place” ~ *ko than* “[movement] to / into a (definite) place”; *rakl'áte* “[being] at a (indefinite) girl” ~ *ke raklí* “[movement] to a (definite) girl.”

The analytic form of the “Local Case” may substitute synthetic forms of the Local and Ablative Cases:

*On bešénas andé ko veš.* “They lived in a forest.” – Here it substitutes the Local Case form;

*Amé al'ám andár ke diz.* “We arrived from a city.” – Here the form of the Ablative Case is substituted.

Some more examples with the meaning of time:

*O xorandás kan-bóldel pes palé e dujé čh'onéndar.* “The family will be back in two months.”

*Me kan-dikháv tut andár ko duj čh'oná.* “I’ll see you in two months.”

\*

An action of the principal object may be directed to background objects (inanimate – in the Direct Case form, animate – the Oblique Case), thus producing the Active Voice:

*Ráno mi daj kan-morél alají me gadá.* “Tomorrow my mother will wash all my shirts.” – Here the principal object *daj* “mother” is the inducer of the action directed at the background object *gadá* “shirts” (the Direct Case form).

The reverse direction of action is also possible – from a background object (animate and inanimate objects in the Instrumental Case form) toward the principal one; it produces the Passive Voice:

*Ránoške adá gad kan-mord'ól me dejása.* “Tomorrow this shirt will be washed by my mother.” Here the principal object *gad* “shirt” receives the action of the background object *dejása* “[by] mother” (the Instrumental Case form).

There are also reflexive actions in the language that are directed from the principal object to the background one, the last being the principal object itself (the Medium Voice):

*Dáde, me kan-phiraváv man kotorísa.* “Dad, I’ll walk [myself] a little.” Here the principal object *me* “I” (the Direct Case form) has the predicative meaning that passes to the background object *man* “myself” (the Oblique Case form), which is in fact the same principal object.

It is necessary to say that scholars traditionally identify the three varieties of Voice only in the bearers of the object’s predicative properties that are able to pass their action directly to an animate object in the Oblique Case form. It’s also traditional to believe that all other bearers of predicative properties don’t have the category of the Voice.

In Crimean Romani it is typical of background objects in the Instrumental Case that their two meanings go undivided: that of the really acting principal object (in the Passive Voice of predicative quality) and that of the object that a certain action is performed together with (a sociative object):

*E phurí romní and'ól pe romésa kheré.* “The old Romani woman is taken home with/by her husband.” Here if *pe romésa* is translated as “by her husband,” then the action is directed from the background object to the principal one *romní* “Romani woman”, and the Voice is Passive; but if *pe romésa* is translated as “with her husband,” the indirect-transitive without-Voice action is considered to be done by the two objects together.

The non-personal derivatives from an object’s predicative properties that differ in the Voice have a category of the Passive Voice:

*kerdó* “made”; *andimé* “remembered”; *xaló* “eaten”; *ur'aindós* “having put on”; *kerindós* “having done.”

All other non-personal forms are the without-Voice:

*rišimé* “having quarrelled with [smb]”; *xol'amé* “having got anger”; *asandós* “laughing.”

\*

In Crimean Romani objects also have the property of Causativeness, i.e. of passing a predicative property from one object to another; in this case the first object makes the second one to perform the action:

*bar'ól* “grows [up] (by himself)” (non-causative property) ~ *bar'arél* “brings up (a plant)” (causative property);

*pijél* “drinks” (non-causative property) ~ *pijavn'arél* “gives (someone) to drink” (causative property);

*anél* “brings” (non-causative property) ~ *and'arél* “makes (someone) bring” (causative property);

*čh'el* “throws” (non-causative property) ~ *čhit'arél* “makes throw” (causative property) ~ *čhit'ard'arél* “makes make throw” (double causative property).

Causativeness gives the property of direct transitivity to any action:

*Drakh bar'ól andé ke bar.* “Grapes grow in a yard.” Here the object has no Causativeness, and its predicative property is an intransitive action;

*Manušá bar'arén e drakh andé pumaré bar'énde.* “People make grapes grow in their yards.” Here the object has a quality of Causativeness, and its predicative property is a transitive action.

In Crimean Romani the Causativeness is a classifying grammar category; since it's basically the animate objects (most often people) that may make others do something, the Causativeness may be considered nominating.

It is possible to produce participial forms from any bearer of the causative predicative properties:

*kerd'ardó* “[a person or thing that somebody] made to do [something]”; *mukl'ardó* “[a person whom somebody] made to release”; *xol'askerdó* “[a person whom somebody] drove angry”; *asavdó* “[a person] forced to laugh [by someone]”; *jazderdimé* “[a person whom somebody] made to write.”

\*

Every predicative property of an object is correlated to a moment of speaking, i.e. objects may be in a certain state, or may act either at the moment of speech, or be related in their properties with this moment (Present Tense), before it (Past Tense), or after (Future Tense).

The forms of the Present Tense signify an action that really goes on now; it is most true, and really corresponds to the fact:

*Phurí romní del avgutní gilí.* “The old Romani woman sings (*literally*, gives) an old song”;

*Aká rom esí, kaj biknél ġ'anġirá.* “This Rom is selling chains”;

*O kham kážni d'es esí opré del.* “The Sun is in the sky every day.”

The forms of the Past Tense signify an action that has already ended as the real fact of the past:

*Odová raktó dúvar kerélas man pávli.* “That guy twice gave protection for me”;

*Me trin ċh'on sómas nasvaló.* “I was ill for three months”;

*Jiringík'a manušá na sas maškaré aménde.* “The lazy people weren't among us.”

The forms of the Future Tense signify an action that hasn't come yet, but the one that in time is about to come and will become the real fact; at the moment of speech it is thought to be quite expectable, or assumed:

*Ake dikhésa ráno.* “[You] will see [it] tomorrow”;

*So ovéla túsa?* “What will happen to you?”

In Crimean Romani the Participial forms of predicative properties don't have the grammar category of Tense:

*Ovéla kerdó* “[he] will be done” – the Future Tense;

*Esí kerdó* “[he] is done” – the Present Tense;

*Esás kerdó* “[he] was done” – the Past Tense; *kerdó* “done” as such doesn't have the grammar Tense.

An object's properties of properties don't have the grammar category of Tense either:

*Ĝ'ála roindós* “[he] will leave weeping” – the Future Tense;

*Ĝ'al roindós* “[he] leaves weeping” – the Present Tense;

*Ĝ'álas roindós* “[he] left weeping” – the Past Tense; *roindós* “weeping” as such doesn't have the grammar category of Tense.

\*

Every example given above contains the objects whose predicative properties (either a state or an action) are of the Imperfect Aspect; they mark the absence of limits of either their beginning or ending. In Crimean

Romani beside the Imperfect Aspect there are also the forms of the Perfect and Prospective Aspects.

*Amarí borí kerd'ás alají: tavd'ás, xal'ard'ás, šužard'ás.* “Our daughter-in-law has done everything: [she] has cooked, washed, cleaned.”

*Me túke phenl'ómas: “Má uši mándar ertés!”* “I had told you (long ago), Don’t get up earlier than me.” Here all actions of the principal objects are of the Perfect Aspect, as they are limited in their ending; i.e. they have already ended and have their result that in the first example is related to the Present Tense, and in the second one – to the Past.

*Kan-ovél jilbášy, o romá kan-kíden pes, kan-xán, kan-pijén, kan-khelén.* “There will be the Yilbashy holiday; the Roma will come together, [they will] eat, drink, [and] dance”;

*Oká manúš kan-síkl'ólas taj kan-ovélas feláni.* “That man would have become educated and [widely] known.” Here all actions of the principal objects are of the Prospective Aspect: they are limited in their beginning, i.e. they will surely start to perform after a certain will is fulfilled; in the first example it is related to the Present Tense, and in the second one – to the Past.

Unlike an object’s non-predicative properties, the Participial forms of an object’s predicative properties in Crimean Romani have the category of the Perfect Aspect: *kerdó* “made / done”; *andimé* “remembered”; *rišimé* “abused”; *xol'amé* “irritated.”

## VII

In Crimean Romani an object may have the non-predicative properties of two types: relative (whose measure of quality remains unchangeable), and qualitative (whose measure of quality may change). The grammar category of Degree expresses the measure of quality of an object’s non-predicative property as compared with the same one in it but at another time, or in another object, or in a group of objects

*Me dikhl'óm akavá baró, nevó, barunó kher.* “I saw this large new stone house.” Here *barunó* “[made of] stone” is a relative non-predicative property of the object *kher* “house”, while *baró* “large” and *nevó* “new” are qualitative ones in the form of neutral degree with a measure of quality feature initial for the comparison.

*Avré thanéste me dikhl'óm avér barunó kher maj baró, maj nevó akaléstar.* “In another place I saw another stone house larger [and] newer than this [one].”

The measures of quality of non-predicative properties are compared in two objects – houses; the quality measure of the second

house's non-predicative property is found to be of a greater degree (compared to the first one); it is presented by the forms of the Comparative degree *maj baró* "more big (bigger)" and *maj nevó* "more new (newer)."

*Me sámi (éne) baró kher akalé gavéskoro dikhl'óm.* "I saw the largest house in this village." *Ov esí maj baró alajéendar.* "It is larger than all [others]." These are two forms of the Superlative degree of the quality measure of the object's non-predicative property: *sámi baró*, *éne baró* "[the] largest" (*sámi*, *éne* are variants of the Superlative degree formant), and the analytic comparative construction *maj baró alajéendar* "larger from [=than] all [others]."

In Crimean Romani the grammar categories of an object pass to the degrees of comparison forms:

*Maj / sámi baró kher* "more large (larger) / most large (largest) house" ~ *maj / sáme baré kherá* "more large (larger) / most large (largest) houses": here only the object's non-predicative property *baró* "large" and formant *sámi* agree with the object in gender (Masculine) and the case (Direct Case), while the formant *maj* remains unchanged.

*Andé maj (sáme) baré kheréste* "in the larger (in [the] largest) house" ~ *andár maj (sáme) baré kherénde* "from larger (from [the] largest) houses." In both examples agreement with the object *kher* "house" takes place in the number (singular ~ plural), gender (Masculine) and the Case (Local Case).

\*

The grammar category of Degree is also extended to an object's properties of predicative properties:

*O bakró geló dur.* "A ram went far [away]." – A Neutral degree;

*O bakró geló maj dur.* "A ram went farther [away]." – A Comparative degree;

*O bakró geló maj dur alajé bakréendar.* "The ram went farthest [than] all [other] rams." – A Superlative degree.

## VIII

To distinguish between an object's grammar functions and properties, its various forms are used; they are commonly known as the Case forms. The total of all Case forms makes a paradigm. Three types of paradigms are present in Crimean Romani; they differ in their case content.



1) Seven case forms:

Direct Case	<i>gras</i>	“horse”
Vocative Case	<i>grastéja</i>	“Oh [you] horse”
Oblique Case	<i>grastés</i>	“[a] horse”
Dative Case	<i>grastéske</i>	“[to a] horse”
Instrumental Case	<i>grastésa</i>	“[by / with a] horse”
Local Case	<i>grastéste</i>	“[in a] horse”
Ablative Case	<i>grastéstar</i>	“from a horse”

This is the paradigm of the forms of animate objects and of bearers of their non-predicative properties standing in a post-position to the former:  
*grastéstar phuréstar* “from [the] old horse”;

2) Five case forms:

Direct Case	<i>phus</i>	“straw”
Dative Case	<i>phuséske</i>	“[to] straw”
Instrumental Case	<i>phusésa</i>	“[with] straw”
Local Case	<i>phuséste</i>	“[in] straw”
Ablative Case	<i>phuséstar</i>	“[from] straw”.

This is the paradigm of the forms of inanimate objects and of bearers of their non-predicative properties standing in a post-position to the former:

*phuséste kovléste* “in soft straw”;

3) Three case forms:

Direct Case	<i>baró</i>	“large, big”
Oblique Case	<i>baré</i>	(any meaning of Oblique Case)
Vocative Case	<i>baréja</i>	“Oh large” (seldom used)

This is the paradigm of the forms of the non-predicative properties of objects standing in a pre-position to them:

*baró teréki* “[a] large tree”;

*baré terek'éste* “in [a] large tree”;

*Baréja Dévla* “Oh God the Great”.

The Possessive form both of an object and of all types of its non-predicative properties, as well as of quantity specifiers, is in itself a bearer of the non-predicative properties:

*Oj hál'olas te zborizel ġ'adyisáki čhib.* “She could speak the witch’s language (*literally*, to talk witch’s tongue).” Here *ġ'adyisáki* is the form of the Possessive Case of the object *ġ'adyisa* “witch”; it carries in itself a non-predicative property of the object *čhib* “language” and agrees with it, i.e. it combines grammar categories both in the system of the possessor (irrelativeness, inanimation, Feminine gender, singular number) and in the possessed one (uncorrelativeness, inanimation, Feminine gender, singular number, Direct Case).

The Possessive Case form in a state of correlativeness always has the “e” indicator that is identical to the correlativeness indicator of the object’s Oblique case.

Case forms don’t make the grammatically classifying category; they are the indicators of all other grammar categories:

The Vocative case form is the bearer of the person category (the second), unlike all other case forms that bear the person category (the third) (see pp. 39-41);

The forms of the Oblique and the Vocative cases are the bearers of the Animation category (see pp. 36-37);

All case forms except for the Vocative are the bearers of the Voice category (see pp.47-49);

The Instrumental Case form expresses the Inclusive sub-category of the Group-belonging category (see p. 44);

The Direct Case form of masculine gender possessive with *bi*-formant expresses the Exclusive sub-category of the Group-belonging category (see p. 44);

The Direct Case form with *ko / ke* formant produces the analytic form that is very similar in semantics to the Local Case form (see p. 50).

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To end the grammar essay, the author presents here the conjugation paradigms of three Crimean Romani verbs: *šunél* “to hear” (in the Active Voice), *andíjel* “to remember” (in the Active Voice), and *esí* “to be.”

#### Present Imperfect Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *šunáv* “[I] hear,” *andíjav* “[I] remember,” *esóm* “[I] am”  
 1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *šunás* “[we] hear,” *andíjas* “[we] remember,” *esám(ús)*  
 “[we] are  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šunés* “[you] hear,” *andíjes* “[you] remember,” *esán*  
 “[you] are”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunén* “[you] hear,” *andijen* “[you] remember,” *esanús* “[you] are”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *šunél* “[he] hears,” *andijel* “[he] remembers,” *esí* “[he] is”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *šunén* “[they] hear,” *andijen* “[they] remember,” *esí* “[they] are.”

### Past Imperfect Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *šunávas* “[I] heard,” *andíjavas* “[I] remembered,” *esómas* “[I] was [I were]”  
 1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *šunásas* “[we] heard,” *andíjasas* “[we] remembered,” *esám(ús)as* “[we] were”  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šunésas* “[you] heard,” *andíjesas* “[you] remembered,” *esánas* “[you] were”  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunénas* “[you] heard,” *andíjenas* “[you] remembered,” *esanúsas* “[you] were”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *šunélas* “[he] heard,” *andíjelas* “[he] remembered,” *esás* “[he] was [he were]”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *šunénas* “[they] heard,” *andíjenas* “[they] remembered,” *esás* “[they] were”

### Future Imperfect Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *šunáva* “[I] shall hear,” *andíjava* “[I] shall remember”  
 1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *šunása* “[we] shall hear,” *andíjasa* “[we] shall remember”  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šunésa* “[you] will hear,” *andíjesa* “[you] will remember”  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunéna* “[you] will hear,” *andíjena* “[you] will remember”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *šunéla* “[he] will hear,” *andíjela* “[he] will remember”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *šunéna* “[they] will hear,” *andíjena* “[they] will remember”

### Present Perfect Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *šunl'óm* “[I] have heard,” *andým* “[I] have remembered”  
 1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *šunl'am(ús)* “[we] have heard,” *andýmús* “[we] have remembered”  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šunl'an* “[you] have heard,” *andýn* “[you] have remembered”  
 2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunl'anús* “[you] have heard,” *andýnús* “[you] have remembered”  
 3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *šunl'ás* “[he] has heard,” *andý* “[he] has remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *šunlé* “[they] have heard,” *andylár* “[they] have remembered”

#### Past Perfect Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *šunl'ómas* “[I] had heard,” *andýmas* “[I] had remembered”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *šunl'ám(ús)as* “[we] had heard,” *andýmúsas* “[we] had remembered”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šunl'áнас* “[you] had heard,” *andýнас* “[you] had remembered”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunl'anúsas* “[you] had heard,” *andynúsas* “[you] had remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *šunl'ásas* “[He] had heard,” *andýsas* “[he] had remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *šunlésas* “[they] had heard,” *andyláras* “[they] had remembered”

#### Present Prospective Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunáv* “[I] shall have heard,” *kan-andíjav* “[I] shall have remembered”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunás* “[we] shall have heard,” *kan-andíjas* “[we] shall have remembered”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunés* “[you] will have heard,” *kan-andíjes* “[you] will have remembered”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunén* “[you] will have heard,” *kan-andíjen* “[you] will have remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunél* “[he] will have heard,” *kan-andíjel* “[he] will have remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunén* “[they] will have heard,” *kan-andíjen* “[they] will have remembered”

#### Past Prospective Tense of Indicative Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunávas* “[I] should hear,” *kan-andíjivas* “[I] should remember”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunásas* “[we] should hear,” *kan-andíjasas* “[we] should remember”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunésas* “[you] would hear,” *kan-andíjesas* “[you] would remember”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunėnas* “[you] would hear,” *kan-andijenas* “[you] would remember”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunėlas* “[he] would hear,” *kan-andijelas* “[he] would remember”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunėnas* “[they] would hear,” *kan-andijenas* “[they] would remember”

### Imperative Mood

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šun* “hear,” *andije* “remember”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunėn* “hear,” *andijen* “remember”

### Imperfect Tense of Subjunctive Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *šunavas bi* “[I] should hear,” *andijavas bi* “[I] should remember,” *esomas bi* “[I] should be”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *šunąsas bi* “[we] should hear,” *andijasas bi* “[we] should remember,” *esám(ús)as bi* “[we] should be”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *šunėsas bi* “[you] would hear,” *andijesas bi* “[you] would have remember,” *esąnas bi* “[you] would be”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *šunėnas bi* “[you] would hear,” *andijenas bi* “[you] would remember,” *esanųsas bi* “[you] would be”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *šunėlas bi* “[he] would have hear,” *andijelas bi* “[he] would remember,” *esás bi* “[he] would be”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *šunėnas bi* “[they] would hear,” *andijenas bi* “[they] would remember,” *esás bi* “[they] would be”

### Prospective Tense of Subjunctive Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunavas bi* “[I] should have heard,” *kan-andijavas bi* “[I] should have remembered”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunąsas bi* “[we] should have heard,” *kan-andijasas bi* “[we] should have remembered”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunėsas bi* “[you] would have heard,” *kan-andijesas bi* “[you] would have remembered”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunėnas bi* “[you] would have heard,” *kan-andijenas bi* “[you] would have remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *kan-šunėlas bi* “[he] would have heard,” *kan-andijelas bi* “[he] would have remembered”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *kan-šunėnas bi* “[they] would have heard,” *kan-andijenas bi* “[they] would have remembered.”

## Present Tense of Conditional Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *te šunáv* “if [I] hear,” *te andijav* “if [I] remember,” *te (e)sóm* “if [I] am”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *te šunás* “if [we] hear,” *te andijas* “if [we] remember,” *te (e)sám(ús)* “if [we] are”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *te šunés* “if [you] hear,” *te andijes* “if [you] remember,” *te (e)sán* “if [you] are”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *te šunén* “if [you] hear,” *te andijen* “if [you] remember,” *te (e)sanús* “if [you] are”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *te šunél* “if [he] hears,” *te andijel* “if [he] remembers,” *te (e)sí* “if [he] is”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *te šunén* “if [they] hear,” *te andijen* “if [they] remember,” *te (e)sí* “if [they] are.”

## Past Tense of Conditional Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *te šunávas* “if [I] heard,” *te andijavas* “if [I] remembered,” *te (e)sómas* “if [I] was”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *te šunásas* “if [we] heard,” *te andijasas* “if [we] remembered,” *te (e)sám(ús)as* “if [we] were”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *te šunésas* “if [you] heard,” *te andijesas* “if [you] remembered,” *te (e)sánas* “if [you] were”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *te šunénas* “if [you] heard,” *te andijenas* “if [you] remembered,” *te (e)sanúsas* “if [you] were”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *te šunélas* “if [he] heard,” *te andijelas* “if [he] remembered,” *te (e)sás* “if [he] was”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *te šunénas* “if [they] heard,” *te andijenas* “if [they] remembered,” *te (e)sás* “if [they] were.”

## Future Tense of Conditional Mood

1<sup>st</sup> person Sing. *te šunáva* “if [I] shall hear,” *te andijava* “if [I] shall remember”

1<sup>st</sup> person Plur. *te šunása* “if [we] shall hear,” *te andijasa* “if [we] shall remember”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Sing. *te šunésa* “if [you] will hear,” *te andijesa* “if [you] will remember”

2<sup>nd</sup> person Plur. *te šunéna* “if [you] will hear,” *te andijena* “if [you] will remember”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Sing. *te šunéla* “if [he] will hear,” *te andijela* “if [he] will remember”

3<sup>rd</sup> person Plur. *te šunéna* “if [they] will hear,” *te andijena* “if [they] will remember.”

# **PART TWO**

## **(The texts)**





## I. V.C. KONDARAKI'S COLLECTION OF CRIMEAN ROMANI WORDS

The earliest piece of Crimean Romani to be printed was a short list of words that Vassily C. Kondaraki published in his essay "Tsygane" (Cf. "Universalnoye opisanie Kryma". SPb., 1875. P. 79-80). He recorded the following words from Romani musicians whom Tartars called bashavbedzhiler. We present these words in original Kondaraki's transcription.

Дель – "God"	Керь (a correct phonetical variant: <i>kher</i> ) – "house"
Пани – "water"	Ягъ – "fige"
Манро – "bread"	Терекъ (a correct phonetical variant: <i>teréki</i> ) – "tree"
Прахось – "dust, ashes"	Састыръ – "iron"
Дисе – "day" (a correct translation: <i>at day-time</i> )	Пирдо – "copper"
Рати – "night" (a correct translation: <i>at night</i> )	Рубъ (a correct phonetical variant: <i>rup</i> ) – "silver"
Камъ (a correct phonetical variant: <i>kham</i> ) – "Sun"	Холь (a correct phonetical variant: <i>phol</i> ) – "gold"
Чонъ (a correct phonetical variant: <i>čh'on</i> ) – "Moon"	Гивъ – "wheat"
Чергень – "star"	Джукель – "dog"
Бэнь (a correct phonetical variant: <i>beng</i> ) – "evel spirit"	Грас – "horse"
Мидай (a correct variant <i>mi daj</i> ) – "mother" (a correct translation: <i>my mother</i> )	Грасни – "mare"
Модерь (a correct phonetical variant: <i>mo dad</i> ) – "father" (a correct translation: <i>my father</i> )	Гурувь – "ox, bullock"
Чау (a correct phonetical variant: <i>čh'avó</i> ) – "son"	Гурумни – "cow"
Чай – "daughter"	Хайни? (a correct phonetical variant: <i>kahni</i> ) – "hen"
Сути – "milk"	Дисъ – "city, town"
Тутъ – "sour milk"	Гавъ – "village"
Калло – "black"	Манушъ – "man"
Парну – "white"	Ромни – "woman"
Лолло – "red"	Балваль – "wind"
Жилто – "yellow"	Бришинъ – "rain"
	Ивъ – "snow"
	Тумба – "mountain"
	Тузиси (a correct variant: <i>túzi si</i> ) – "plain" (a correct translation: <i>"a plain is"</i> )
	Вешъ – "wood, forest"

Бахчась – “garden”  
 Рез – “vineyard”  
 Дракъ (a correct phonetical variant: *drakh*) – “grape”  
 Хабай (a correct phonetical variant: *phabáj*) – “apple”  
 Армути – “pear”  
 Акоръ (a correct phonetical variant: *akhór*) – “walnut”  
 Пендекъ – “hazel-nut”  
 Вударъ – “door, gate”  
 Хабе – “food, dish”  
 Чаро – “cup (soup-plate, small saucer)”  
 Рой – “spoon”  
 Шеро – “head”  
 Яка (a correct phonetical variant: *jakhá*) – “eye” (a correct translation: *eyes*)  
 Накъ (a correct phonetical variant: *nakh*) – “nose”  
 Муль(я)? (a correct phonetical variant: *mujá*) – “mouth”  
 Балъ – “hair” (a correct translation: “[single] hair”)  
 Данъ – “teeth”  
 Васъ – “hand”  
 Перъ – “belly”  
 Пинро – “foot”  
 Най – “finger”  
 Зматось – “dress”  
 Нинай – “road” (a correct translation: “*he is not, they are not*”)  
 Дерьявь – “sea”  
 Тусанъ (a correct variant: *tu san*) – “you (Sing.)” (a correct translation: “*you (Sing.) are*”)  
 Одолайси (a correct variant: *odolá esí*) – “he” (a correct translation: “*those are*”)

Амесамъ (a correct variant: *amé sam*) – “we” (a correct translation: “*we are*”)  
 Тумесаныхъ (a correct variant: *tumé sanýx*) – “you (Plur.)” (a correct translation: “*you (Plur.) are*”)  
 Одоласынъ (a correct variant: *odolá syn*) – “those” (a correct translation: “*those are*”)  
 Пхиравъ – “to go, to walk”  
 Солов (a correct phonetical variant: *sováv*) – “to sleep”  
 Гилидавъ (a correct variant: *gili dav*) – “to sing”  
 Келавъ (a correct phonetical variant: *kheláv*) – “to dance”  
 Деманде (a correct variant: *de mánde*) – “to ask for” (literally: “*give me*”)  
 Алетукъ (a correct variant: *ále túke*) – “to give” (a literally translation: “*here for you*”)  
 Девлески – “to elicit” (literally: *God’s*)  
 Буги керавъ – “to work”  
 Девлески – “to pray [God]” (literally: *God’s*)  
 Ровавъ – “to cry”  
 Асавъ – “to laugh”  
 Джавманге (A correct variant: *ǵ’av mánge*) – “to go” (literally: “*I go by myself*”)  
 Пиявъ – “to drink”  
 Чикъ – “mud”  
 Татипесь (a correct variant: *tatipé si*) – “it is hot” (literally: “*heat is*”)  
 Шиль – “it is cold” (litarally: “*chill*”)

Лаго (a correct phonetical variant: *lačh'ó*) – “well” (literally: “good”)  
 Джунгало – “bad” (literally: “nasty”)  
 Лачи (a correct phonetical variant: *lačhi*), шукаръ, лачоги (a correct phonetical variant: *lačh'ó hi*) – “good, kind”  
 Нана – “no, not”  
 Годявель (another phonetical variant: *god'avér*) – “clever, smart”  
 Делино (another phonetical variant: *deniló*) – “глупый”  
 Ненайлачо (a phrase: *nanáj lačh'ó*) – “wicked” (literally: “bad”)  
 Джунгало – “wicked”  
 Баруси (a correct variant: *baró si*) – big (a correct translation: “[he] is big”)  
 Тикноси (a correct variant: *tiknó si*) – “little” (a correct translation: “[he] is little”)  
 Дулгоси (a correct variant: *dúlgó si*) – “long, tall” (a correct translation: “[he] is long”)  
 Тумси (a correct phonetical variant: *thuló si*) – “thick” (literally: “[he] is thick”)  
 Бухли – “cloud” (literally: “wide, broad”)  
 Гробосъ – “grave”  
 Гило (a correct phonetical variant: *jiló*) – “heart”  
 Гаръ (a correct phonetical variant: *č'ar*) – “grass”  
 Бачо (a correct phonetical variant: *mačh'ó*) – “fish”  
 Лулуди – “flower”

Минро – “my” (masc.)  
 Тинро – “your” (sing. masc.)  
 Лескоро – “his” (Possessive Case of pronoun “he”)  
 Месинь (a correct phonetical variant: *me som*) – “I” (literally: “I am”)  
 Прандесалилюмъ – “to marry” (literally: “I have married”)  
 Насвало – “sickness, illness” (literally: “sick, ill” (masc.))  
 Тесастель (a correct phonetical variant: *te sast'ól*) – “to get better” (a correct translation: “let him get better”)  
 Лагосом (a correct phonetical variant: *lačh'ó som*) – “to get better” (a correct translation: “[I] am well”)  
 Граста (a correct phonetical variant: *prásta*) – “to run” (a correct translation: “run”)  
 Пело – “to fell [down]” (a correct translation: “[he] fall [down]”)  
 Ужтопре (a correct phonetical variant: *úšt' opré*) – “to stand up” (a correct translation: “stand up”)  
 Халхавъ (a correct phonetical variant: *kan-xáv*) – “to eat” (a correct translation: “I shall have eaten”)  
 Декавъ (a correct phonetical variant: *dexáv*) – “to love”  
 Мангавъ – “to walk” (a correct translation: “to beg walking from door to door”)  
 Меравъ – “to die”  
 Ме хавъ – “I eat”  
 Ме халюмъ – “I have eaten”

Ха – “eat”  
Ме ханкавъ (a correct  
phonetical variant: *kan-xáv*) – “I

shall eat” (a correct translation:  
“*I shall have eaten*”)  
Ме хавасъ – “I would have  
eaten”

In our opinion, these 19<sup>th</sup>-century recordings may reflect some early stage of evolution of the language to which the book is devoted.

## II. V.I. FILONENKO'S COLLECTION OF CRIMEAN ROMANI WORDS

The second piece in Crimean Romani to be printed was a list of words, phrases, Romani proper names and a part of a paradigm of the verb Crimean Romani *esi* “to be” that V.I. Filonenko had collected and published in his essay “*Krymskie tsygane*” (Cf. “*Zapiski Komiteta vostokovedov*”, Vol. 5, issued in Leningrad in 1930, pp. 331-342). An informant interviewed by Mr. Filonenko was a Crimean Romani woman named Ertu Mandzhiyeva whose date of birth wasn’t given in the publication and who had been born in the city of Armyansk; she was a bearer of North Crimean Roma’s speech. This first and rather modest example of Romani will be presented by the author in this book in its original form that V.I. Filonenko used. Unfortunately the publisher didn’t subject the linguistic material that he had received from his informant to a proper analysis, which would have enabled him to identify all lexemes included in it. As a result, V.I. Filonenko’s publication has some errors in dividing phrases into lexemes and in their translation. That is why correct versions of Romani words and their translations will be given in brackets.

Йек базари “one week”	шел “hundred”
базари “Sunday”	тикно “child, baby”
понедельник “Monday”	дат “father”
салыс “Tuesday”	дай “mother”
шершынбис “Wednesday”	пхрал “brother”
першынбис “Thursday”	пхен “sister”
парасти “Friday”	чаво “son”
шаббатти “Saturday”	чай “daughter”
йек “one”	байе (a Vocative form of the
ди (a correct version: <i>duj</i> )	Direct Case <i>báji</i> ) “uncle”
“two”	биби “aunt”
трин “three”	татай “aunt”
штар “four”	рум (a correct phonetic variant:
панджь “five”	<i>rom</i> ) “husband”
шов “six”	ромни “wife”
эфта “seven”	мануш “man”
окто “eight”	муруш (a correct phonetic
эня “nine”	variant: <i>murš</i> ) “male”
деш “ten”	ром “man, male”
биш “twenty”	джувли “woman”
саранда “forty”	папус “grand father”

бабу (a Vocative form of the Direct Case *bába*) “grand mother”  
 чхаворо “boy”  
 чайори “girl”  
 шоро (another variant: *šeró*) “head”  
 бала “hair”  
 нак(х) “nose”  
 кан “ear”  
 денда (another variant: *dandá*) “teeth”  
 чикат “forehead”  
 муй “face”  
 чам “cheek”  
 муй “mouth”  
 чип “tongue”  
 мустатя (another variant: *musták'a*) “moustache”  
 бхова (a correct variant: *phová*) “eyebrow”  
 чхор (a singular form; now a plural *čh'orá* is rather used) “beard”  
 пико (a correct variant: *phikó*) “showlder”  
 ципа “skin”  
 пиеро (a correct variant: *pinró*) “leg”  
 най “finger”  
 кокала “bone (correct translation: *bones*)”  
 пер “belly”  
 рат “blood”  
 рик “side”  
 пике (a correct variant: *phiké*) “breast” (correct translation: *shoulders*”, but it also might have a meaning of “*a chest*”)  
 вас “hand”  
 йило “heart”

яг “fire”  
 пху(в) “earth”  
 пани “water”  
 Дэвэл (another variant available: *Del*) “God”  
 чергенья “stars”  
 йив “snow”  
 бришин “rain”  
 кхам “sun”  
 чхон “month”  
 булутя “a cloud (correct translation: *clouds*)”  
 дес “day”  
 рат “night”  
 берш “year”  
 грас “horse”  
 гурумни “cow”  
 джукел “dog”  
 писика “cat”  
 башно “cock”  
 папина “goose (correct translation: *she-goose*)”  
 кахни “hen”  
 кхер “house”  
 пенчера “window”  
 дис “market (it also means: *town*)”  
 азбариси (there must be: *azbári si*) “yard (it must be: [there] is [a] yard)”  
 марно (another variant available: *manró*) “bread”  
 лил “paper”  
 конас “table”  
 сракина (existence of this word in today’s Romani wasn’t witnessed by the author) “bowl”  
 какай (another variant available is: *kakáji*) “cauldron”  
 тютюни “tobacco”  
 цигаркес “cigarettes”

шеран “cushion”  
 теретя (another variant  
 available: *terék'a*) “tree (correct  
 translation: trees)”  
 бияв “marriage”  
 дуяна (another variant  
 available: *d'uk'ána*) “shop”  
 басмас “piece of goods (correct  
 translation: *a fabric with a  
 printed pattern that might be an  
 object of trade*)”  
 бори “daughter-in-law”  
 гили “song”  
 мисафир (another variant  
 available: *mis'afiri*) “guest”  
 прахос “cinders”  
 кишай “sand”  
 лове “money”  
 ровли “stick”  
 чхури “knife”  
 рой “spoon”  
 бустя “fork (correct translation:  
*forks*)”  
 пхабай “apple”  
 пхоля “gold (correct  
 translation: *golden coins,  
 things*)”  
 руп “silver”  
 кат “scissors”  
 састер “iron”  
 пирдо “copper”  
 су(в) “needle”  
 тав (correct variant: *thav*)  
 “thread”  
 сути “milk”  
 сабахтан “morning”  
 бельвель “evening”  
 планин “midday”  
 аудиси (it must be: *avd'és si*)  
 “today (correct translation: *is  
 today*)”

рано “tomorrow”  
 иич (correct form: *jiǵ'*)  
 “yesterday”  
 рат “night”  
 бахерлык “spring”  
 нилай (another variant  
 available: *miláj*) “summer”  
 йивен (another variant  
 available: *ven*) “winter”  
 саат (another variant available:  
*saháti*) “hour”  
 парамица (another variant  
 available: *paramísí*) “fairy-tale”  
 селям – алейким “hello”  
 ачо – Девлеса “good-bye  
 (literally: *Stay with God*)”  
 авеса т' анде (it might be a  
 phrase: *avésa tu andé?*) “come in  
 (are you to come in [some  
 place]?)”  
 тхольскан (it might be a  
 phrase: *thol les kan*) “to obey (he  
 obeys him)”  
 те кхелас “to play”  
 те керас “to make”  
 те яздяс “to write”  
 те пияв “to drink”  
 ов пияс (another variant  
 available: *ov pil'ás*) “he drank”  
 те хас “to eat”  
 ха “eat”  
 те келас (a correct form:  
*khelás*) “to dance”  
 те мерас “to die”  
 те сивас “to sew”  
 те марас “to beat”  
 те дикавлес (it might be a  
 phrase: *te dikháv les*) “to see  
 (correct translation: *for me to see  
 him*)”  
 те асас “to laugh”



ов асал “she laughs (correct translation: *he laughs*)”  
 те киняс (correct form: *te kinás*) “to buy”  
 те бикнас “to sell”  
 те гили кан дес (correct form: *te des gili*) “to sing (literally: *for you to give a song*)”  
 гиля те дас “to sing (literally: *for us to give songs*)”  
 келес (correct form: *khelés*) “to dance”  
 хизмети кер “[do your] work”  
 джав те керав хизмети “I am going to work”  
 ушти (another variant available: *úš’i*) “get up”  
 беш “keep sitting”  
 те совас “to sleep (literally: *for us to sleep*)”  
 де манде ровли “give me a stick”  
 эля те дорикерав тут “come in, I’ll tell your fortune (literally: *let me tell you fortune*)”  
 эля те керас бияв “let’s make a marriage (literally: *come do so that we should make a marriage*)”

эля те прандозас “let’s get married (literally: *come do so that we should get married*)”  
 иси (another variant available: *esí*) “is (literally: *he is, they are*)”  
 нанай “no (literally: *he is not, they are not*)”  
 лове си тут “have you money?”  
 ва иси “yes, [it] is”  
 хаде анди дис “let’s go to a market (literally: *come go to town*)”  
 шукари сан (correct form: *šukár esán*) “you [are] beautiful”  
 акаори (it might be a phrase: *aká Óri*) “town (literally: *this Ori [Ori is Cr. Romani for the town of Perekop]*)”  
 рома “Roma”  
 аме рома “we [are] Roma”  
 холинако си “he [is] malicious”  
 данило сан (correct form: *deniló san*) “you [are] stupid”  
 бут еси “[there] is much”  
 залок (correct form: *zálag*) еси “few (literally: *is few*)”  
 нахвал (another variant available: *nasvaló*) “ill”  
 састо “healthy”.

Women’s names: Эрту, Мерзие, Алтынка, Дуду, Арзы, Зехат, Ава, Итегиль, Кокмен, Джумазие.

Men’s names: Монти, Салаван, Пехлеван, Курт-бору.

Ме съм “I am”, ту сан “you are”, ов иси “he is”, аме сам “we are”, ов (it might be: он) иси “they are”.

Though the recording wasn’t systematic, the sound content of the vocabulary and its grammar forms, including the indicators of grammar categories, are quite close to the vocabulary that was witnessed by materials collected by the author from informants – Crimean Roma – since 1979. One may say with a high degree of probability that the 1930 publication presented a more archaic state of the language than the one under study in his book.

### III. THE FAIRY-TALE FROM L. N. CHERENKOV'S COLLECTION

The next stage in Crimean Romani studies is connected with the name of Russia's most outstanding Roma scholar L.N. Cherenkov. The field of his research included dialects of Romani in the USSR and Russia and their comparison; the purpose of his studies was to classify them by the signs of kinship and genesis on the territory of the Russian Empire, USSR, and the Russian Federation.

L.N. Cherenkov began his studies in Crimean Romani in 1954, in a tabor that stopped close to Severianin Railway station near Moscow. Here, still being a university undergraduate, he got acquainted with a circus artist Emirveli Mamutov (whose Russian name was Misha). Beside his native Romani, Mr. Mamutov also knew Tartar and could write in it. Mr. Mamutov knew how to write Arabic letters of the reformed style that Crimean Tartars used before 1928, when they were forced to shift to Cyrillic alphabet. He tried to put down some words of his native language. According to L.N. Cherenkov, one of these words was Crimean Romani *مکتبہ* (*mektebés*) "school" that was borrowed from Crimean Tartar *مکتب* *mekten* "school" (Arabic *مکتب* [*maktabun*] "school").

In 1956 Mr. Cherenkov continued his studies through contacts with Crimean Roma who lived in barracks near the New Virgins' Monastery (Crimean Romani *ke D'evič'ka*) in Moscow. There the young scholar made friends with "The Theater Romen" actor named Abdisha Ametzhanovich Kazibeyev (whose Romani name was Yanosh), who targeted his natural gifts not only at performing various roles on the theater stage, but also at such occupations as writing poetry and drama.

#### 1. Koró šejtáni ("The Blind Sheitan")

Being involved in collecting the folklore of different Roma ethnolinguistic groups, L.N. Cherenkov put down just a single fairy-tale in Crimean Romani with the title *Koró šejtáni* "The Blind Sheitan". It became the first Crimean Romani folk tale to be scholarly recorded.

The story was put on paper in Moscow in 1959 from a Romani woman named Namaztatai Umerovna Suinova who was born in the Crimean city of Dzhankoy in 1888. During his field research in 2003 the author managed to establish Mrs. Suinova's relationship with members of the Humer-ohly family (the family name Humer-ohly or Humeroglyi was derived from the name (H)umer, that Mrs. Suinova's father bore), who were the author's informants.

The fairy-tale was re-told in Russian and published by two folklore scholars, Efim Druts and Aleksei Gessler, in a book *Skazki tsygan SSSR* printed in Moscow, in 1991 (pp. 235-236). It was first published in original language by the author of this book in a collection of papers *Potayonnaya literatura* (Vol. 2, pp. 267-273) issued in Ivanovo in 2000 by Ivanovo University publishing division.

At the time when the fairy-tale was recorded, the informant Mrs. Suinova was in her seventies, but her speech was distinguished by natural simplicity and was interspersed with numerous rather frivolous expressions in her native tongue.

The action of the fairy-tale as the informant interpreted it is distinguished by an unusual vividness, while the means of conveying its message to a listener are uncommonly expressive. Indeed, a Rom blacksmith is depicted to readers as an inveterate foul-language speaker, while a Tartar man's wife looks like an uncommonly lustful woman who stops at nothing to have her old husband young again, to have him able to do his husband's duties in full.

Though the plot is obviously Oriental (the characters being Sheitan, a Rom blacksmith, and Crimean Tartars; some words and expressions like greetings and forms of addressing a man and a woman also being archaic to modern Romani), the author managed to find among Russian fairy-tales the one with a similar plot. In a Russian variant of the plot (*Sravnitel'nyi ukazatel' siuzhetov: vostochnoslav'anskaya skazka*. Leningrad, Nauka, 1979. Plot 753. Henceforward referred to as SUS), the protagonist (who is a devil, or an angel, or Christ himself) practices rejuvenation, or some sort of re-forging of an old man (or a woman) that leads to their rejuvenation (SUS 839 A\*). A naïve blacksmith tries to imitate him, but fails and goes to prison, because his attempt at rejuvenating a man by boiling him in a cauldron ends in the murder of that man.

Compared with some of the author's later recordings (that started in 1981), the language of this fairy-tale was considered by L.V. Cherkov as generally more archaic. Indeed, some lexemes in this fairy-tale have more old forms that are now either lost, or are still known but seldom used in the speech of the younger generation of Roma. Present in the fairy-tale are also some lexemes that the author hasn't witnessed; they may be considered as those that disappeared from the language.

Now Crimean Roma almost never say  
*čingenés* "Rom", but rather say rom "Rom";  
*rom - demerǵis* "a Rom blacksmith", but say *rom – but'ári* "a Rom blacksmith";

*jekími* "doctor", but *vráči* "doctor", or *dóxtori* "doctor";

*týmna* “darkness”, but *témina* “darkness”;  
*bitý* “he died”, but *bitý* “he died” (simplification of double consonants occurred);

*thol pes* “he becomes”, but *thel pes* “he becomes”;  
*khanilés* “bad”, but *nalačh'és* “bad”.

The verb *dexél* “he wishes” in the speech of the author’s informants has never been witnessed as being used in this meaning. Now a verb *mangél* “he wishes, he asks” is used in this meaning. In the Kuban’ district the following forms of address of the Tartar origin have practically come out of use: *ústa* “oh, master” and *ǵ'an-xaným* “oh, mistress”.

### Recording Texts in Romani

Texts published in this book were recorded by the author from Crimean Roma for whom this variety of speech is their mother tongue and who use it since their childhood. The recording was conducted either by writing informants’ words, or by first tape-recording them and then putting them on paper.

Unfortunately, for some reason or other (such as poor recording, or noise that muffled an informant’s speech) the author sometimes failed to understand and translate certain excerpts of his informants’ speech. Such passages are marked with omission points [...] In some texts and translations insertions were added to help understand the meaning of informants’ words better. These insertions are placed into brackets [ ]. Explanations made by informants or the author were placed into braces ( ).

### Koró šejtáni

1. Esás nan’ esás jekh rom – demerǵis. 2. Odovkhá rom kána kerélas butí, taj ǵ’álas léske khanilés, o zamán sa phenélas péske: «Anany siktým, kor šejtán!»

3. Ej, o šejtáni, lil’ás les barí xolí, taj dexl’ás ov te kerél odolé roméske e béla. 4. Ov kerdiló čh’avoró dešupanǵ’é brešengo taj li aló e roméste taj lil’ás te mangél léstar te lel les péske e xyzmet’éste.

5. O čingenés phenl’ás: «Amí káring, be! Man nanáj o lové te pokináv túke... Me li korkoró bešáv č’orés, khanilés!» 6. Ta o čh’avoró (ková sas o šejtáni) zborizel: «Man na kamén axč’ádes – me ǵ’av li manréste kaj te sikl’áv o demerǵlýki».

7. Ej, kerél ov e roméste xyzméti deš breš. 8. Aló o bajr’ámi, taj phuč’él léstar o rom: «Ej, nanáj tut o xorandás, ta nan’ avél níkon te dikhél, sar bešés tu paš mánde?» 9. «Esí man, – phenél, – jekh phuró dadoró, l’ odová kan-avél, te dexés».

10. Aló o dad e čh'avorésko. 11. O rom dikhl'ás les taj phenl'ás e čh'avoréske: «Amí so phuró si to dad!» 12. Níšto! Kan-keráv les ternó rakló! 13. Ta sar kan-kerés, Be?! 14. Ajakhá: kan-láv e čh'urí, čhingeráva les kotoréngé, kan-čh'áv and' o kazáni, kan-taváv zálag taj sa! 15. Ej nana pak'áv! 16. Te dikhés!

17. Lil'ás o čh'avoró pe dadés, čhingerd'ás les kotorá tiknoré, čič'ás andé ko kazáni. 18. Taj áke – niklist'ás avrí andár ko kazáni ternó rakló bišé brešéngoro. 19. Ej, bešló ko konás, xal'ás masoró, pil'ás e rakíja léncá othé taj li geló péske.

20. Taj nádur kátar ko kher e romésko bešélas e gaǵí, kaj láko gaǵ'ó sas baró phuró taj naši kerélas pi muršykaní d'éla lása. 21. Taj oj sa kamélas – asavkí zuralí sas e ģ'uvlí.

22. Ej, alí oj e roméste te del pi č'alhýja e r'emont'éške tamám o zamandá, dikhl'ás o vudár phandavdó taj andár ke pénč'era sa dikhélas, so kerd'ás o čh'avoró phuré dadésa pinrésa. 23. L' o mangélas, kaj te kerél o čingenés, gaǵ'ó lákoro t' ovél ternó murš.

24. Alí oj ertés sabastán e roméste: «Sel'am al'éjkim, ústa!» 25. Al'éjkim sel'am, ģ'an-xaným! 26. Ker me gaǵ'és ternó, kaj te thol pes pre mánde sar jekh gurúv zuraló! Kan-dáv tut šel bína dortlík'a... 27. Me naši, xaným, nana hál'av asavkó xyzméti. Ģ'a ko jekími. 28. Te na kerésa – kan-phukaváv e zabit'éngé. Me sa dikhl'óm, so kerd'anýz e phurésa. 29. Ej, ajadý, te gelés les mánde, gaǵ'és tinrés.

30. Geld'ás léste pe gaǵ'és. 31. O pomošníci e roméskoro o čh'avoró e šejtan'ésko, čhind'ás les kotoréngé, čič'ás and' o kazáni: «Me ačh'ól athé jekh saháti bískaj me phiraváv man». 32. Taj li geló péske te phiravél pes.

33. O rom uǵ'arél jekh saháti, duj saháta, trin, štar – užé géči si, týmnina. 34. O čh'avoró sa nanáj. 35. O rom dikhl'ás andé and' o kazáni. 36. Taj othé o phuró tavdiló, léške kókala vazdínile kátar ko govd'és. 37. Trašánilo o čingenés, lil'ás taj čh'ord'ás sa avrí, kaj te na t'ušundíjen o zabit'a, kaj ov mudard'ás e phuré xoraxajés.

38. Alí e gaǵí, phuč'l'ás: «Káte s' mo gaǵ'ó?» – «Naná, bittý, muló to gaǵ'ó». 39. Taj oj našlí taj phukavd'ás e zabit'éngé. 40. Alé okoríng duj zabit'a, astardé e romés, thovdé and' o zindáni.

41. Bešto o rom, rovél. 42. Aló léste andé kám'era o šejtáni. 43. O čh'avoró zborízel les: «Ájdy, be, roméja, kan-phenés mánge géne ajakhá? Adavá me túke kerd'óm!»

44. Muklé e romés phinró dešé brešéndar. 45. Taj o zamandán ni jékhvar nana phenl'ás níšto khaniló e šejtan'éstar.

46. Kátar so si – phenl'óm.

## The Translator's Commentary

All texts published in this book were once recorded from some native Crimean Romani speakers. As a result, they have many features that are typical of spontaneous speech by a barely literate person. To translate such texts into grammatically correct foreign language looks a challenging task. In this case the job was even more difficult, as I had to rely on a Russian word-for-word translation, rather than on Crimean Romani original. The following principles were observed throughout the English version.

The loose *order of words* in original sentences was almost always re-arranged according to the English syntax rules. This attitude was adopted to make texts comprehensible for an English-speaking reader with no command of Crimean Romani. The vividness of the original text was thus often lost in favour of intelligibility, and the English version sometimes acquired the appearance of a speech by an educated person. But it is hardly the translator's fault, as he had almost no other choice.

The original *syntax* often was yet another problem. Quite many Crimean Romani sentences lack such key element as the subject. To fill the gap, I had to insert substitutes, usually pronouns. Each of these substitutes goes in brackets [...]. The same pattern was followed when I had to add other members of a sentence to make it smooth enough for an English reader. In numerous cases the whole sentence may go in brackets; then it was completely re-told rather than translated. Unfortunately, even this trick sometimes couldn't help to transform a live speech into a meaningful text. In this case no translation or retelling was given at all, and an empty entry appeared in the text witnessing my failure.

The equally free *sequence of tenses* in original sentences was kept in the English version as precisely as possible. In this case the loss of meaning was minimal, while a temptation to preserve the ethnic colour of each phrase seemed unavoidable. So every time both the Past and the Present Tenses go in the same sentence, it is the result of my respect for the native speaker, rather than of my disregard for the English grammar.

Fortunately, *idiomatic expressions* were not frequent throughout the text. In dealing with them I had a choice between two options: to find an English equivalent (if possible), or to explain the meaning of the expression (if necessary). Sometimes I added the word-for-word translation [in brackets, with *literally* mark]. In few cases, even the collection's author failed to explain an original Romani saying; then it was translated literally and marked as *unclear idiom*.

As for the rest of the *vocabulary*, I had to use some English words whose meaning might be slightly different from the Romani. For example,

*katúna* was translated as *tent*, which shouldn't be mixed with a tourist shelter of multicoloured nylon. *Phuró* or *phurí* became *old man* or *old woman* respectively, although these politically correct versions don't mean as much for a Russian mind as the original. *Rakló* or *rakloró* that in Romani serve to signify a young man were rendered as *boy*, or *guy*. Words meaning degrees of kinship presented some difficulty that the reader will surely notice. Some names of peculiar realities of life under the Soviet system (*torgsin*) were explained in the text. The few dirty words were translated with their full brutality, for which I beg the readers' pardon.

In my transliteration of Russian words I used the US Library of Congress system, in which *zh* stands for *ж*, *y* for *ы*, and an apostrophe marks the soft consonant, as Russian *ь* does. The same system was applied to words of Turkish origin (including the names of geographic objects), as I had no reliable Russian-English dictionary containing such entries; Turkish scholars would hardly excuse this simplification.

When Crimean Romani words and phrases were included into English text (as in The Author's preface), the Romani words were typed in *Italics* to help a reader to distinguish between two different languages using the same Latin alphabet. When Tartar words were typed in Cyrillic, they were not italicised.

### **The Blind Sheitan**

1. There lived, or didn't live a Rom-blacksmith. 2. When that Rom did [his] blacksmith's work and it didn't go well, [he] always said to himself, "[I] fucked your mother, [oh] blind sheitan!"

3. Well, a great malice seized Sheitan, and he decided to bring a trouble to the Rom. 4. He turned into a fifteen-year-old boy, [then] came to the Rom's [forge] and began asking for a job there.

5. The Rom replied, "How could you [ask me]! I have no money to pay you... I myself live poorly, badly!" 6. And the boy (who was Sheitan) said, "I don't need money – I am going to learn the blacksmith craftsmanship [only] for the bread".

7. Well, he works at the Rom's [forge] for ten years. 8. A holiday came, and the Rom asks him, "Hey, you have no family, and nobody comes to look at how you live near me". 9. "I have", he says, "the old father, and he will come [here] if you wish".

10. The boy's father came. 11. The Rom saw him and said to the boy, "How old your father is!" 12. "Never mind! [I] will make him a young boy!" 13. "But how [can] you do [it]?" 14. "In this way: [I'll] take a knife [and] cut him into pieces, [then] drop [them] into a cauldron [and] boil a bit, and that's all!" 15. "I don't believe [you]!" 16. "[Here's] for you to see!"

17. The boy took his father, cut him into small pieces [and] threw [them] in a cauldron. 18. And here we are: a young boy of twenty emerged from the cauldron. 19. [He] sat down at a table, ate [some] meat, drank vodka with them there, and went away.

20. Not far away from the Rom's home, there lived an old woman whose husband was too old to do his husband's duty with her. 21. And she was still in need [for sex] – such a strong woman she was.

22. So she came to the Rom to get her scythe fixed right at that time; [she] saw a closed door and watched through the window everything that the boy had done to his old father. 23. And she asked the Rom to make her husband a mighty young man.

24. She came to the Rom early in the morning [and said], “Hello, master!” 25. “Hello, mistress”. 26. “Make my man young so that [he] would be like a strong bull on top of me! [I'll] give you a hundred thousand rubles...” 27. “I can't do such job, mistress. [You'd better] go to a doctor”. 28. “If [you] don't do [what I ask you to do], then [I] shall tell [=inform] the guardsmen. I saw everything that you did to the old man”. 29. “Well, OK, take your old man to me”.

30. [She] led her husband to him. 31. The Rom's aid, Sheitan's son, cut him into pieces [and] dropped into the cauldron [saying], “Let it stay here for an hour, as long as I am having a walk”. 32. And [he] left for a walk.

33. The Rom waits for an hour, [then] for two hours, three, four – it's [getting] late, twilight [comes]. 34. The boy isn't back still. 35. The Rom took a look at the cauldron. 36. And there the old man has got boiled, his bones went up from [his] body. 37. The Rom got frightened; [he] took the cauldron and emptied it in the street, for the guardsmen not to think that he had killed the old Tartar man.

38. The woman came [and] asked, “Where is my man?” – “[He's] gone, your man has died”. 39. Then she ran away and informed the guardsmen. 40. Two guardsmen came there; [they] seized the Rom [and] placed him into a dungeon [literally, *in zindan*, a pit in the ground used to keep prisoners].

41. The Rom sat down [there] and [began] weeping. 42. Sheitan came to his [prison] cell. 43. The boy says to him [to the blacksmith], “Are you OK, you Rom? Will you say the same [abusive words] to me any more? It's me who did [this] to you!”

44. The Rom was released after ten years. 45. And since then [he] has never said any bad [word] about Sheitan.

46. [I] told [you] about [the place] where I learned all this from [literally, *where what is*].



#### IV. TEXTS FROM V.G. TOROPOV'S COLLECTION

The author's studies of Crimean Romani that started back in July 1979 may be divided into three stages.

Due to an active and thorough assistance from a Crimean Rom named Pavel Borisovich Humerohlyi (1960-1999), whose Romani name was Muradi and who for many years was the author's principal informant, it had become possible to solve the problem of a system of recording Roma's speech sounds and to develop a sort of alphabet to this end. In a joint effort with Mr. Humerohlyi who strongly wished to have his native language dictionary compiled, the author first targeted his effort at collecting words, at their grammar attribution, translation, and commentaries, if a word denoted a specific notion of Romani culture.

For almost five years Pavel B. Humerohlyi had been offering the author his thorough assistance in finding new informants and establishing relations with them – not only scholar ones, but also those of friendly nature. At the same time the author tried to learn to understand the informants' speech and made attempts at beginning the communication in Romani.

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The biggest (in terms of its volume) recording of words that later became the basis of the future dictionary was done in autumn of 1979 in the community of Natuchajevskaja of Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk (the Krasnodar District) from an informant named Anatolii Vasilyevich Humer-ohly (Romani name is Alim) who was born in 1961. During the first recording session the list was compiled that included some 400 entries; after some time it was extended by about 300 more words.

After putting these words in an alphabetic order together with the translation of every entry (a prototype dictionary) and the author's learning to use them, Mr. Anatolii V. Humer-ohly supplied an additional alphabetic list of the verbs mostly used in Crimean Romani. Due to these recordings the author managed to collect more than 750 Romani words supplied with Russian translation. The system of Romani speech recording that Mr. Anatolii V. Humer-ohly used proved to be very convenient and was used by the author. A modified Russian alphabet was laid into the foundation of this system, and the Russian phonematic principle of recording the Romani speech was preserved.

Regrettably, all initial records were lost, because when Romani children (from whom the author failed to hide his notes) saw the papers, they tried *te len len andé ko vastá taj te pharavén tynýki kotorá - kotorá* "to take them in their hands and slowly tear into small pieces."

The studying of some elements of Romani grammar, including its system of noun declension and verbal conjugation, was the aim of the work that started in September 1979 with Mr. Vale Petrovich Osmanov (Romani name Muradi) – an informant who was born around 1965 in the city of Očamčira in the Abchaz area of the Republic of Georgia.

The young man had a good command of his native Romani and of Mengrel language, but his knowledge of Georgian was less good, to say nothing of Russian. He had never studied at school, as there were no Mengrel schools in Abchazia. Vale Petrovich also said that not a single Crimean Rom who lived in Abchazia had a degree of command of Abchaz language sufficient for free communication with Abchaz people.

The author learned from the informant about some peculiarities in a speech of Crimean Roma who had been living in Georgia for many years. For instance, in every word borrowed from Russian the sound [ы] in Mr. Osmanov's speech was changed to [и], like it's done by Georgians in whose language there's no [ы] sound: Rus. выварка "a tin vessel for boiling the laundry" > Cr. Rom. (Georgian variant) *vívarka* ~ Cr. Rom. (Russian variant) *vývarka*. Under the influence of Georgian the sound [ж] in Vale's speech was pronounced a lot softer than it was by the informants from Russian-speaking territories: Cr. Rom. (Georgian variant) *šuz'ól* "he is cleaning" ~ Cr. Rom. (Russian variant) *šuz'ól* "he is cleaning".

During the period of the author's work in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region of the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) with informants from a Romani family of Neisha Seitovich Ohly (born c. 1939), that is from September 1981, the first variant of a Crimean Romani dictionary was compiled that already included over 930 entries.

The first edition of "Crimean Romani Dialect Dictionary" (cr. 2250 entries) was issued as a manuscript in Ivanovo under the auspices of Ivanovo State University in 1987 (*Toropov V.G. Krymskii dialect tsyganskogo yazyka: Materialy i issledovania. Part 2. Slovar' krymskogo dialekta tsyganskogo yazyka*). The manuscript was deposited in the library of the Moscow-based Institute for Scholar Information on Social Studies of the Academy of Science of the USSR (entry № 30262).

## 1. Phrases

When the number of Romani words that the author had learnt approached a thousand, and the phoneme content of the language was established almost completely, the author started to record some distinct phrases from his informants.

The recording was conducted in a relaxed home environment. In this way a collection was gathered, of which 310 phrases were later included in “The Manuscript” made public in 1986, in Ivanovo under the auspices of Ivanovo State University (*Toropov V.G. Krymskii dialect tsyganskogo yazyka: Materialy i issledovania*. Part 1, pp. 53-72). The Manuscript was deposited in the library of the Institute for Scholar Information on Social Studies of the Academy of Science of the USSR (entry № 27709) (henceforward it will be referred to as *The Manuscript*).

For instance, phrases № 1-142 were put on record in 1979-1986, in The community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region of the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Boris Romanovich Humerohlyi (Romani name Borali) (1926-1995), as well as from his wife Nadezhda Samuilovna Humerohlaya (Romani name Poltavka) who was born c. 1933, plus their children and other family members.

A distinctive feature of many of these phrases is the presence in them of topics linked to the relations between Boris Romanovich Humerohlyi’s family members. Reading these phrases today brings pleasant memories to the author, for they were once pronounced by Roma informants who became part of his life.

For instance, phrase № 138 was said by Mr. Pavel B. Humerohlyi who at that time wanted to get married and make a family and who was persuading all the people around that he was a virginal. Phrase № 135 was said by Pavel Borisovich’s mother Nadezhda Samuilovna in a response to her junior grand daughter Rada’s walking across the garden beds and to the walking across the same beds of her senior grand daughter Saikha who tried to lead the small Rada out of the garden.

Phrases № 143-285 were recorded in 1984-1986 in the community of Severskaja in Severskij region and in the community of Natuchajevskaja in Primorskij region (city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar District) from members of the family of Neisha Seitovich Ohly (born c. 1939).

These phrases also reflect various everyday situations that took place in the life of this Romani family with many children. A mother of six sons, of whom no-one was still married at the time, Mrs. Melaniya Mikhailovna Ohly (born c. 1936) often complaint of having no daughters-in-law to help her (by phrase № 190) and cited as an example for her sons how quick were daughters-in-law in other Romani families in their domestic occupations. Her son Andrei Neishayevich Ohly (born in 1963) said phrase № 194 when he was telling about his friends visiting him in a Moscow clinic. It is the very phrase in which a possibility of counting different brands of milk is verbalized.

Phrases № 286-310 were recorded in 1979-1986, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region of the city of Novorossiisk, Krasnodar district) from a woman informant Mrs. Nadezhda Shekerovna Ohly (Romani name Dadole) who was born c. 1922.

Mrs. Nadezhda Ohly's family was large: from time to time her many children and grand children made her leave her own house and live separately. In spite of misfortunes and difficulties, Mrs. Nadezhda Ohly kept life optimism well into her advanced age.

### Frázes

1. Jekh č'h'avoró dexélas te astarél mačhén. 2. Aló o č'h'avoró ko páni taj dikhél kaj andé ko páni phirél phol'áko mač'h'oró. 3. O Murádi kheré si? 4. Bešélas jekh manúš. 5. Odá breš mučiskerdé les versavé nasvalimátes. 6. Kána vulé khamá, šuki phu lil'ás te phar'ól. 7. Akalá savú'a na mord'ón andé tharó páni. 8. Akajá romní esí mi daj. 9. O dejá dexén pe pujén. 10. De manušeske kotór manró. 11. Akalé bakrés me e Devléske adadým. 12. Manušéngere púja bijánd'on baxtáke. 13. Xa sastimáske. 14. Odolá xalavdé esás bič'h'alde jardym'éske. 15. Akajá romní sahbúisa si, péske bešél andé baré kheréste. 16. Akalé romn'áte but púja si. 17. Túte but púja si, č'h'áje? 18. Odolé gavéste má pašon. 19. Dáde, o terék'a, kaj thed'ám oká breš, barilé taj vulé maj uč'é akaléNDAR. 20. Éla nakh, e ģ'ukléstar má traša, ov na xal pes. 21. So te phukaváv máNDAR, phrála! 22. Xal'ár to muj šukár pan'ésa taj sapun'ésa. 23. Kásko san, phukáv máNGE jilésa. 24. Má pašo ko gurúv, ko gurúv baré šyngá si. 25. Le, mí č'h'aj, akalá phabajá éne gudlé si. 26. E dejása avd'és amé and'ám trin goné khas te xavd'arás amaré guruvorés. 27. Iĝ' mard'óm les e xolinátar, alají šuvló si. 28. Me phenáv túke sar phral. 29. Me dav gil'á maj šukár tútar, maj šukár alajéNDAR, va! 30. Amé naš'ám maj dur savoréNDAR. 31. Iĝ' amé ušin'ám sabastán, te ģ'as andé diz. 32. Néne, máNGE sabastan'áke kamél šuzó gad. 33. Alají te č'al't'a me god'átar na ģ'an. 34. Le okojá taj čhi la opré léste. 35. Va! Lí tuja ģ'a! 36. Aká rom korkoró pes dexél. 37. Mo č'h'avó na lel péske romn'or'á. 38. Áke, phén'o! Lí máNGE aká breš na ģ'al pes. 39. Léske avd'és na asál pes. 40. On kerén pumarí díla. 41. On kerén léngoro xyzméti. 42. Aká rom andé pe kheréste bešél. 43. Aj tu, bax minrí! 44. Andé adalé xorandáste minró na dikhínd'ol. 45. Lí roméNGE, lí gaĝ'éNGE – savoré manušéNGE kamél bax. 46. Néne, me adá xyzméti korkorí keráva. 47. E Patrína, vaj gerí, andé kher korkorí ač'h'ilí. 48. Aká č'h'avoró prástalas, prástalas taj peló an sámi čik. 49. Andé akalé but'áte sámi pharó si kaj bang'arés sáster dovrús. 50. Kážni manúš kamél péske bax. 51. Akaná kažn'éste si kher. 52. Angál ko rom avr'énca naši zborízés. 53. Me lí na

hálil'om, sóske alé akalá romá aménde. 54. Savé savút'a kindé péske o  
 čh'éjá? 55. Me dikhl'óm savé savút'a kindé péske o čh'éjá. 56. Sokabór kerél  
 akavá šéji? 57. Phen mánge, sokabór kerél akavá šéji? 58. Kátar tu san? 59.  
 So? Akavá šéji? Ov ništóske na aradžel. 60. Odá d'es sar deniló vul'óm, káj-  
 to phirávas, na ģ'anáv kaj. 61. Odojá romní ģ'ungalés dorikerél, tharé  
 dešéngere anél. 62. Mi daj sivél mánge nevó gad. 63. Akalá bašné sál't'a  
 marén pes. 64. Ģ'ása andé gav taj kinása othé lačh'é bakrés. 65. Vulésas  
 šudré havádes, dinésas brešyndá. 66. Dáde, o gurúv užé pil'ás alají o páni.  
 67. Me kan-mukávas tut avrí, aj o vudár esás phanló. 68. Akavá šéji kamél  
 čhitó ko č'oplík'a. 69. Akalá šéja kamélas te ovén čhité ko čoplík'a. 70. Má  
 de béber'a, to pápus sutó si. 71. Akalá savút'a ráno kamén mordé. 72.  
 Avd'és me xal'óm peklé kartóp'a. 73. O tavdó amé na dexás te xas. 74. Má  
 xa terdindós. 75. Me dikháv káring léste, amí ov phukavél asandós. 76.  
 Nanáj me čh'avéske bax! Iġ' andár léste run'óm. 77. Va, phrála, fájma odová  
 hesápi, taj odojá traš čhité e romés ko meripé. 78. Aká manúš, bérim,  
 ušadžjel te phraléske. 79. Makárim avd'és ģ'a, makárim ráno, mánge tu na  
 kamés. 80. Vaj, sikavd'óm túke, phrála. 81. Avd'és sabastaríla dahá na  
 xal'óm ništo. 82. So šukár esí! 83. Akalá d'esá mánge sikávdilosas, vaj, kaj  
 tu dexés man. 84. Muk les, me ģ'al. 85. Me, xaj na šunáv, so zborízen. 86.  
 Ej amí, me č'oktán šunl'ómas odojá zbóra. 87. Bíli jékhvar na sómas andé  
 odolé gavéste. 88. Ov phenl'ás lénge, ģi kaj, háden kheré. 89. Mul'óm! so  
 šunén me kaná! 90. Sar san, mí čh'aj? Lačhí som, néne! 91. So kerés, čh'e  
 (be)? Ništo! 92. Te ovél mo čh'avó sastó, zuraló. 93. Má asa! Áke dikhésa!  
 94. Kaj ģ'as? 95. Te ovén tumé, romálen, sasté, zoralé taj baxtalé. 96. So  
 róden tumé? 97. So manúš aló túte? 98. Néne, č'al'ti-ba, éla! 99. So te kerás,  
 kaj te ródas les? 100. O kham bešló, akankhá kan-rat'ól avrí. 101. Áke túke  
 alají bax! 102. Alají me phralá, phen'á, kaká, bibijá alé ko bijáv. 103. Oj  
 č'oktán mangél te našél kátar ko rom. 104. O rom xol'asáilo taj din'ás alají  
 kakájes mujál. 105. Mo dad and'ás kheré o kaštá. 106. Mo dad sutó andé ko  
 kher. 107. Moraváv kartóp'a, purumá taj duj – trin dandá sir. 108. Odová  
 phuró rom lil'ás te kerél pávli, amí o čh'avé č'alavdé li les. 109. Mi čh'aj  
 kerél xyzméti ke drakh, pharó xyzméti kerél. 110. O rom mangl'ás te  
 terd'arél len, taj pašyló lénde zinz'ardé vasténca. 111. Avd'és amé na kan-  
 ģ'ás ko kinás? 112. O zamán odá rom naši úš'elas pe baré nasvalimástar.  
 113. Phrála, má pi tutúni: andár ko thuv užé ništo na dikhínd'ol. 114. Oká  
 breš vendé me sómas ko Tuhápsi. 115. Na ģ'áva te dorikeráv, me xot'  
 mudarél man mo rom. 116. O púja odoléstar na runé, kaj dikhlé pe dejá.  
 117. Láko vas tuzálas, oničín runí. 118. Dukhál mo vas, sar kaj phagerén les  
 o bišuzé. 119. Te avéna avd'és mánde mis'afir'a, me kan-ačh'áv kheré. 120.  
 Níkhon nan' aló mánde, odoléske hastréti som. 121. Me nanáj te dav akajá  
 róka túke. 122. Me na dáva túke akajá róka. 123. Me na kan-dáv túke akajá

róka. 124. Me makhl'óm mánge jekh kotór manró khil. 125. Te lel les o Del avd'esutnó d'es. 126. Bot'eni nikal'dé námi, kaj č'h'ajorí nanáj ternahár. 127. So kan-taváv akšam'eske te xas? 128. Mó č'h'o, sar me sahendým túke, beš paš mánde te dihháv káring túte. 129. Tu kána al'án? 130. Mánde me dandá dukhán. 131. Me našavd'óm e suv, akaná kamél te ródav la. 132. Akaná kide tut taj ġ'a andár kher. 133. Má traša, kídava man taj ġ'áva. 134. Akankhá kan-kídav man taj kan-ġ'av andár ke bar kaj dihhén me jakhá. 135. Adá me dextré turúnises si, sar me len dexáv, milióni na kamáv lénge. 136. Amé gel'am, bíbi. 137. Belvel'é amé dikhl'am kaj niklistó opré del o nevó č'h'onút, taj sikavd'am les lové amaré barvalimáske. 138. Kon phen'ás tuméngé, kaj prandosáil'óm, ġ' akaná som ternahár č'h'avoró. 139. Č'h'e, ovél te rovés bot'eni, ġ'a the to muj. 140. Mo phral kan-ovélas lač'h'ó manuš. 141. Bax me del tumén o Del, romále! 142. Pismíl'a jarábim!

143. Alé o duj č'h'avé, kaj buč'h'on l'' o duj Murádi. 144. Me din'óm raktlés páni. 145. Phrála, tu ġ'as te astarés mač'h'én? 146. Bič'h'al'dó som manréske. 147. So vuló amaré grasténgé? 148. Sóske al'án mánde? 149. Éla mánde, mó č'h'o! 150. Dikh: me dandá si parné sar túte. 151. O manušá našénas e ričhin'endar. 152. Jekh karári mándar lové les. 153. Č'h'avoró thard'ás pes taj runó e dukhátar. 154. Na som túke bórgi, má mang mándar níšto. 155. O romá nakhlésas grasténca e livad'endar. 156. Me jazdíjav me vastésa, me drabkeráv me mósa. 157. Me keráv butí me dadésa. 158. Amé odolá d'esá trádasas guruvén taj bakrén vešénca. 159. Jekhé thanéste amaré romá naši bešén. 160. Me phralá jekhé thané mánca bešén. 161. Mo gras, pák'a mánge, róma, maj zoraló si te grastéstar. 162. Dikh: akalá phol'á kotorí parnoré akaléndar esí. 163. On améngé p'érv'a dušmán'a si. 164. Avd'és andé škóla prástasas, me sámi p'érv'i al'óm. 165. Me ratkerén mánde, trinéngé – štaréngé me arakháva than. 166. Maškaré lénde but «Dešá» bešén. 167. Ov odolé grastéske bini dortík'a pokind'ás nevénca. 168. Phrála, li mejá te ġ'av túsa? 169. Bitinró ġ'anáv savoró. 170. Bitúko naši. 171. Me savorénde sómas. 172. Akavá č'h'avoró trašavd'ás tut? Na, avér č'h'avoró. 173. Tu kása sánas iġ' kheré? 174. Má xoxáv, tu na dikhl'án, kása me sómas iġ' kheré! 175. Ej, č'h'avéja, kaj ratkerd'án adajá rat? 176. Me ġ'anáv, kaj tu ratkerd'án adajá rat! 177. Mángé č'oktán phukavdé, kátar tu san! 178. Aká gaġ'ó pasyló mánde taj lil'ás te phenél savé-to zbóres. 179. So šunl'ól e romn'átar? Versó šunl'ól. 180. Ko bijáv léski phen e pang'engi phol čhit'ás. 181. Má térd'o, ġ'a, le raháti. 182. Tu lil'án? Na! Xa sovl'á! Me te meráv! 183. Va, kážni daj pe pujén xavd'arél. 184. Va, púja tól'ko pe dejénca xavd'ard'on. 185. Amaré púja zorál'on. 186. O č'h'avó trival savdý grasn'á taj romní pijavd'ard'ás pe č'h'ajor'á grasn'áko suti. 187. Muk les, o ġ'ukél mangél pes avrí. 188. Č'h'e, de man páni, an! 189. Pujóske má de níšto. 190. Láki borí na uġ'arél nikhás: and'ás páni, alavd'ás p'éč'ka taj

tavd'ás xabé. 191. Tu pijés mo rat, kamél te ġ'av tútar me dejáte. 192. O púja mangén te ġ'an te nan'ón. 193. Tu kamélas te kinés túke odolá menídes, mó čh'o. 194. Kána sómas nasvaló o raktlé mánge odolá sút'a anénas. 195. Ko trító d'es barilé léste šyngá. 196. Aká gras na batijel andé néxta. 197. Zjadé si te dihhés pal túte. 198. Akajá čingár andár aménde vulí. 199. Tu kan-xás, ja na? 200. Jekh phen lil'ás phabáj, aj avér phenél: «De la mánde!» 201. De man xot' jekh londí grastavíca. 202. L' akavá mangél te lel péske romn'á. 203. Éla mánde, mó čh'o. 204. Tútar sar kaj denilí vul'óm. 205. Émiš tu phenl'an, kaj tumaré mangén te láden. 206. Va! Me šunl'óm, kaj niklistó odá námi. 207. Tu ġ'as mánca, va? 208. Dévla! So šunén me kaná! 209. Amé romanés ušarás amén: das búrnekh manušés č'angátar taj čh'as les ke phu. 210. Dikh: te č'ézmes sasté čiká si, khos len. 211. Me nakhaváv jekh kotór kermó opré kr'uč'óki. 212. Me astaráv mač'hén. 213. Me astaráv mač'hé. 214. O drab mudard'ás alají o pišumá ko ġ'ukél. 215. Aká ġ'ukél géneja mangél pes avrí. 216. Ğ'a, dikh, kon avél? 217. Avd'és amé raklorénca sámas andé ko veš. 218. Má the jirišy mánca, phenl'óm túke. 219. O púja khelén avrí. 220. O púja na khelén avrí. 221. Kon ġ'al mánca? 222. Tu ġ'as mánca? Va ja na? 223. Kon peló ke phu? 224. So peló ke phu? 225. Kas róden tumé? 226. Kása tu zborizes? 227. Kaj sas akavá čh'avoró? 228. Šunén, čh'aválen, so phenáva tuménge. 229. Me úš'el č'al'ti aká taj me ġ'al andár kher. 230. Tynýki, phrála, ġ'a, pášl'o ajindíje. 231. Amé te ġ'as kheré, néne. 232. O púja khelén andé bar. 233. O ġ'ungalé ruvá bašén andé veš. 234. Oprál vúrdon peló o gonó givésa. 235. Andé e phuré dadéskere purané kheréste ġ' akaná bešás amé. 236. Mi bibí phukavd'ás aménge lačhí paramisí. 237. Amaré čh'avé bar'ón taj phér'd'on zor. 238. Šun, rovésa, kan-dáv tut les te gelél andé ko veš. 239. Akalá romá káring aménde dihhén bangés. 240. O kúša vur'an sígo. 241. Mo kak šukár khelél romanés. 242. Odá belvél' ov aló aménde géči. 243. Me ġ'av manréske andé d'uk'ána. 244. O rom but dexélas pe romn'á, rovélas pal láte kána mulí, dečí lil'ás avr'á. 245. Mo dad kerél butí ke kúzn'a, mi daj kheré tavél xabé opré jag, me kheláv me phralénca andé bar. 246. Fulistinó o phral oprál gras, taj pasylí léste jekh šukár čh'ajorí. 247. Me rováv pal me dadéste, romále, aj tumé den gil'á! 248. Ov bešél barvalés, sar ávgos bešénas o patišajá. 249. Sel'am al'éjkim, romále! 250. Al'éjkim sel'am, čh'avéja! 251. Ranóske amén kan-resél manró, ja na? 252. O zamán, serés, kána sámas andé Moskvás, taj me kind'ómas šukár šalijéske khosnó. 253. Odová rom mándar phuč'él: «Kásko san? - amí me phenáv. Tu na ġ'anés, me som e Popásko čh'avó». 254. So sójsa san, bábo? 255. Baró pijávas kavés, akaná naši, mo jiló na aradíjel. 256. Akalá romá te na pijéna sabastán kavés, o baró d'es sar mulé phirén. 257. Aj amé, mí čh'aj, čáji pijás e laxojéndar ġ'ungalés. 258. Čhi, čh'e, me xal o manuš. 259. Baró marávas e raktlén. 260. Odolé romn'áki

rikoní iǵ' bijand'ás do rikonorén. 261. Me pangǵ' breš phiráv an škóla. 262. An škóla mánde si me amalá, lénca me kheláv futbóli. 263. O dorbasoró, kaj sas o šekéri, pherdiló kir'á. 264. Akavá gonó pharó si, aj oková lokó si, me vázdav les. 265. Ğ'a, de ikos te dadés! Mo dad sutó si. 266. Čh'aválen, ğ'an, phagerén kaštá. 267. Dáde, mi tópa pharí. 268. Amé, alají o muršá, kerás butí taj pokinás pat'énti. 269. Amarí pisíka avd'és astard'ás e kermusés taj xal'ás les. 270. E phurí korkorí šužard'ás taj thed'ás e bar. 271. Avd'és o del sín'o si, opré léste bíli jekh bulúti nanáj. 272. Adá so khelipé si? Ovelenús, čh'avále! 273. Bískaj tadv'ól o mas me moraváva kartóp'a. 274. Amé taradíjas amaré balá e kan'lénca e minrénca. 275. Me užé čhindil'óm tuméandar. 276. E phabajéngere lulud'á pharé. 277. E romní kan-kerél o eftá taj o saránda e roméskere péste kheré. 278. Aká čh'avoró roveló so si d'es taj na del amén trájos. 279. De la ikos, m' avél mánde. 280. Amé andymús léngé alají. 281. Andé me bar'áte te na ovés. 282. Má ela! 283. Savoré fúndoja e kakajéngere sastí kádima vulé. 284. Odolá romá naši čh'en man sáma? 285. Tu jazdýn alají romané zbóres?

286. Deš breš nakhló, ov pe phraléste nan' aló. 287. Léske duj d'es na resló te kerél alají o xyzméti. 288. Akaná me som jekh ğ'anó, sar čirikló. 289. Amaré roménde lačh'é grastá si, amí tumarénde? 290. Pak'ás, ja na, odolé d'es'éndar me balá lilé te parn'ón. 291. Sóske al'án mánde, múrša? 292. Va! Č'oró manúš li akaborkhéske lošázel. 293. Andé me dadéske kheréste mo tiknó phral pe xorandása bešél. 294. Balvál phúdel, brešýn del, man ger'á níkhon na dexél. 295. Ov čhit'ás e tópa ko čh'avoró. 296. Kána balvál na phúdel, terék'a na bang'ón. 297. Korkoró trašáv, kása-nébut' kamél te ğ'av othé lénde. 298. Tu akalé romés, fájma, ğ'anés? 299. Mérim oj hálili alají. 300. Dévla! Ajadíje man! 301. Bax me del tut o Del, kaj xal'óm taj č'alil'óm túte, phén'o. 302. Móžno li te tyjdíjav tuménde? 303. Bijándilo mo dad kána sas e bokh barí. 304. Oj esás but lačí hem šukár. 305. Akajá romní kyrymlýisa si taj pijél odá kavés ğ'ungalés. 306. Nanáj vaxýti man, me trašáv te na merél e romní. 307. Na kan-merél, minrí ačhilí ğivindí sastí, zoralí. 308. Ko barvaló phral baró nevó kher esí, aj ko č'oró – tikn'orí katúnoč'ka baré xevjénca. 309. O gaǵ'é astardé taj mudardé les e dabéandar. 310. Aló o rom pe romn'áte grobóste, bešló taj runó.

## Phrases

1. One boy liked to catch fish. 2. [The] boy came to the water and sees that a golden fish swims [literally, *walks*] in the water. 3. Is Muradí at home? 4. One man lived. 5. That year all sorts of illnesses tormented him. 6. When the Sun got hot, dry soil began to crack. 7. These are the items that don't wash [well] in cold water. 8. This Romani woman is my mother. 9.



Mothers like their children. 10. Give [this] man a piece of bread. 11. Here is a ram that I promised to God [as a sacrifice]. 12. Human children are born for happiness. 13. Eat as you please. 14. Those soldiers were sent to help. 15. This Romani woman [is] the owner [who] lives in a big house. 16. This Romani woman has many children. 17. Do you have many children, daughter? 18. Don't drive to that village. 19. Dad, the trees that we had planted last year grew up and became higher than these [ones]. 20. [Come in], this way, don't be afraid of the dog, it doesn't bite [literally, *it eats nobody*]. 21. What [I should] tell about myself, brother! 22. Wash your face carefully with water and soap. 23. Whose are you? Tell me with feeling. 24. Don't approach the bull, the bull has big horns. 25. Take these apples, my daughter: [they] are sweeter. 26. Today my mother and I brought three bags of hay to feed our steer. 27. [I] have beaten him yesterday [because I was] angry, [now he is all] swelled up. 28. I tell you as [a] brother. 29. I sing more beautifully than you, more beautifully than anyone else, yes! 30. We ran off farther than anyone else. 31. Yesterday we got up in the morning to go to [a] town. 32. Mother, I need a clean shirt next morning, 33. All your "soons" don't leave my mind. 34. Take that and throw it on him. 35. Yes! And you go too! 36. This Rom loves himself. 37. My son doesn't take a wife [meaning, *doesn't get married*] 38. But, sister! I am also not lucky this year. 39. He doesn't laugh today. 40. They do their own job. 41. They do the job of theirs. 42. This Rom lives in his [own] house. 43. Oh, you, my fate! 44. My [work] is not seen in this family. 45. Both Roma and non-Roma – all the peoples need happiness. 46. Mother, I'll do this job myself. 47. Patrina [*woman's name*], oh unlucky [one], is left at home on her own. 48. The boy had run [and] run [around] and [finally] fell into the very dirt. 49. The most difficult [thing] in this job is to fold iron [*a piece of metal*] evenly. 50. Every person wants happiness to himself. 51. Now every-one has a home. 52. In the presence of a Rom we may not talk with other [women]. 53. I didn't understand why these Roma came to us [*a traditional reply of an unmarried Romani girl to an attempt at wooing*]. 54. What kind of things did [your] daughters buy for themselves? 55. I took a look at what kind of things the daughters bought for themselves. 56. How much is this thing [literally, *how much this thing does*]? 57. Tell me how much is this thing [literally, *how much this thing does*]? 58. Where are you from? 59. What? This thing? It is no good [for anything]. 60. [I] became like a madman that day, [I] walked somewhere, [I] don't know where. 61. That Romani woman tells fortunes like a plunderer, [she] brings [home] red [literally, *hot*] ten-ruble notes. 62. My mother is sewing a new shirt for me. 63. These are the cocks that always fight [with each other]. 64. Let us go to a village and buy a good ram there. 65. Cold weather occurred, [and] it

rained. 66. Dad, the bull has already drunk all water. 67. I would let you go out, but the door was closed. 68. This thing must be thrown into rubbish. 69. These things were to be thrown into rubbish. 70. Don't shout, your grandfather is sleeping. 71. These are the clothes to be washed tomorrow. 72. I have eaten [some] baked potatoes today. 73. We don't like to eat [any] boiled [meal]. 74. Don't eat [while you are] standing. 75. I am looking at his side, and he is telling [something] with laughter. 76. There's no luck for my son. Yesterday [I] cried because of him. 77. Yes, brother, it must be that affair and that fear that brought [literally, *threw*] the Rom to [his] death. 78. This man really looks like your brother. 79. Leave [this place] either today or tomorrow, I need you no longer. 80. I actually showed [this] to you, brother. 81. From this morning [I] haven't eaten anything yet. 82. How beautiful [is here]! 83. These days you seemed to love me. 84. Release him, let him go. 85. [I feel] as if I don't hear what [they] are speaking about. 86. I had certainly heard that word long ago. 87. [I] wasn't in this village even one time. 88. He told them, "Let you go home". 89. O God [literally, *I have died*]! What do my ears hear! 90. How are you, my daughter? – [I am] well, mother. 91. What [are you] doing? – Nothing. 92. Let my son be healthy [literally, *intact*] [and] strong. 93. Don't laugh! [You] will see! 94. Where [are you] going for? 95. Let you, Roma, be healthy, strong, and happy. 96. What are you looking for? 97. What kind of man came to you? 98. Mother, come [here] quicker! 99. What [should we] do, where to look for him? 100. The sun set down, now it is to be dark in the street. 101. That's all the luck for you! 102. All my brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts arrived for the marriage [ceremony]. 103. For a long time she wants [= has been going] to run away from [her] husband. 104. The husband got angry and turned all saucepans over. 105. My father has brought home [some] firewood. 106. My father has fallen asleep in the house. 107. [I] peel potatoes, onion, and two [or] three pieces of garlic. 108. That old Rom tried to defend [someone], but the boys touched him [meaning, *beat him*] as well. 109. My daughter works at a vineyard, [she] does heavy job. 110. A Rom wanted to stop them and approached them with [his] hands apart. 111. Aren't we going to a cinema today? 112. At that time the Rom couldn't get up because of his serious [literally, *big*] illness. 113. Brother, don't smoke [literally, *don't drink tobacco*]: nothing is already seen through [the] smoke. 114. In winter of that year I was in [the city of] Tuapse. 115. I won't go for a fortune-telling, should even my husband kill me. 116. The reason for the children not to cry was that they saw their mother. 117. Her hand was burnt [literally, *It scorched her hand*], and so she burst into crying. 118. My hand aches as if devils are breaking it. 119. If guests would come to me today, I'll stay at home. 120. No one came to me, [and] I'm happy over that. 121. I am not

going to give you this skirt. 122. I shall not give you this skirt. 123. I [definitely] will not give you this skirt. 124. I spread [some] butter on a slice of bread for myself. 125. Let God take him on this day. 126. They idly spread a rumor that the daughter is not a virgin. 127. What shall I boil to eat in the evening? 128. [Oh,] my son, I missed you so much, sit down by aside of me to look at you. 129. When did you come? 130. My teeth ache. 131. I've lost a needle, now [I] need to look for it. 132. Now get ready and leave [this] house. 133. Don't worry, [I'll] get ready and leave [you]. 134. Now, I'll get ready and leave [this] yard following my nose [literally, *to where my eyes look*]. 135. These are my beloved granddaughters. How I love them! [I] don't want a million [rubles] for them. 136. We are leaving, aunt. 137. In the evening we saw that a new moon appeared on the sky, and [we] showed our money to it [*a custom of showing one's money to a new moon, for the moon to bring money to a person in the next month*]. 138. Who told you that I got married? [I am] a boy still. 139. [It's] enough to cry in vain you woman; go and wash your face. 140. My brother would have been a good man. 141. Let God give happiness to you [equivalent to *thank you*], Roma. 142. In the name of God! [*from an Arabic prayer*].

143. Two young boys came, each of them being called Muradi. 144. I gave [some] water to a fellow. 145. Brother, are you going to catch fishes? 146. I am sent for bread [= to buy some bread in a shop]. 147. What happened to our horses? 148. What for did [you] come to me? 149. Come to me, my son! 150. Look, my teeth are white like yours. 151. The people were running away from she-bears. 152. [You] keep borrowing money from me. 153. The boy burnt himself and burst into crying from pain. 154. [I] don't owe you, ask nothing from me. 155. The Roma with horses had passed from the fields. 156. I write by my hand, I read by my mouth. 157. I go in for blacksmith trade with my father. 158. At those days we drove bulls and rams through forests. 159. Our Roma can not live in one [and the same] place. 160. My brothers live with me. 161. Believe me, Rom, my horse is stronger than yours. 162. Look, these golden pieces are little more whitish than these ones. 163. They [are] our main [literally, *our first*] enemies. 164. We ran today at school, [and] I have come first [to the finish line]. 165. Let them spend a night at my [home], I shall find [enough] place for three or four [people]. 166. Many Desha [*a name of a Romani kin*] live among them. 167. He gave a thousand new rubles for the horse [that you can see] over there. 168. Brother, do you like [exactly] me to go with you? 169. [I] know everything without you. 170. [It's] impossible [to do] without you. 171. I visited them all [literally, *I was at everybody's*]. 172. Is this the boy who frightened you? – No, [it was] another boy. 173. Who were you with at home yesterday? 174. Don't [try to] cheat, you didn't see whom I was with

at home yesterday. 175. Hi, boy [= son], where did [you] spend that night? 176. I know where you spent that night. 177. I was long ago told where [were] you from. 178. A [non-Rom] over there approached me and began saying some [kind of] words. 179. What is heard of that Romani [woman]? Different [things] are heard. 180. During the marriage ceremony his sister threw a five-ruble golden coin. 181. Don't stand [here], go rest! 182. Did you take [this thing]? – No, [I didn't]. – Do swear! – May I die [if I told you a lie]. 183. Yes, every mother feeds her children. 184. Yes, children are fed only by their mothers. 185. Our children are getting stronger. 186. A son milked [his] mare three times, and [a] Romani woman gave her daughter [some] mare's milk [*a folk way to heal children*]. 187. Let it out, the dog wants to go [out]. 188. [You woman] give me [some] water, bring [it]! 189. Don't give anything to the child. 190. Her daughter-in-law waits for nobody: [she] brought [some] water, lit a stove and cooked soup. 191. You drink my blood [I] must leave you for my mother. 192. The children want to go bathing. 193. You should have bought those shoes, my son. 194. When [I] was ill, [my] fellows brought me those [kinds of] milk. 195. On the third day horns grew on him [= on his head]. 196. This horse doesn't get stuck in quagmire. 197. [It's] better you take care for yourself. 198. This slaughter occurred because of us. 199. Are you going to have a meal, or not?! 200. One [of the] sister[s] took an apple, and another says, "Give it to me". 201. Give me just one salted cucumber. 202. And [just] this [man] wants to take a Romani woman [as his wife]. 203. Come to me, my son. 204. [I] became almost mad [because] of you. 205. You seem to say that your people are going to move [from here]. 206. Yes! I heard that this rumor is spread [literally, *that this rumor crawled out*]. 207. You are going with me, aren't you? 208. O God! What do my ears hear! 209. We fight in a Romani style: [we] catch a man by the leg and drop him to the ground. 210. Look at your boots: [they are] all dirt, wipe them. 211. I put a piece of worm on the hook [of a fishing-rod]. 212. I catch fishes. 213. I held fishes. 214. [The] medicine [insecticide] killed all fleas on the dog. 215. Just this [he-] dog wants to go [literally, *wants to a street*] once again. 216. Come [and] see who is coming. 217. Today [my] fellows and I were in the forest. 218. Don't argue with me, [I] told you. 219. Children are playing in the street. 220. Children are not playing in the street. 221. Who is leaving [together] with me? 222. Are you leaving [together] with me? Yes or no? 223. Who has fallen down on the ground? 224. What has fallen down on the ground? 225. Who are you looking for? 226. Whom are you talking with? 227. Where was this son [=young boy]? 228. Listen, boys, to what [I] shall tell you. 229. Let this [man] stand up quickly and let [him] go out of [my] home. 230. [Be] silent, brother, lie down and sober up. 231. Let us go home,

mother. 232. Children are playing in the yard. 233. Rapacious wolves bark in the forest. 234. A bag of wheat has fallen down from a cart. 235. We are still living in the old father's old home. 236. My aunt told us a good fairy-tale. 237. Our sons are growing and filling with might. 238. I say, [if you] will cry more, [I'll] give you for him to take you to the forest. 239. Just these Roma look at us with disguise. 240. Eagles fly fast. 241. My uncle dances Romani style beautifully. 242. That evening he came late to us. 243. I am leaving for a shop for [some] bread. 244. [The] Rom loved his wife very much, [he] cried over her when she died, [and] then took another [wife]. 245. My father works in a forge, my mother cooks soup on fire at home, [and] I play with [my] brothers in the yard. 246. The brother dismounted from the horse, and a beautiful girl approached him. 247. I weep over my father, you Roma, and [= while] you are singing songs! 248. He lives wealthy, like the tsars used to live. 249. Salam aleikim, Roma! 250. Aleikim salam [*a reply to a greeting*], [my] son! 251. Have we enough bread for the next day, or not? 252. At that time, you remember, when we were in Moscow and I had bought a beautiful woolen shawl. 253. That Rom asks me, "Whose are you?", and I reply, "You don't know. I am Popa's son" [Popa – a Romani male name]. 254. What kin are you [from], grandma? 255. [I] used to drink much coffee, now [I] can't [do that], my heart doesn't do [for coffee]. 256. If these Roma don't drink [some] coffee in the morning, [they] go all day long as if they were dead. 257. And we, [oh] my daughter, drink tea more graspingly than the Vlaxs [*a Romani ethnic group in Russia*] [do]. 258. [You woman] put [some food] let the man have his meal. 259. [He] beat [some] guys severely. 260. That Romani woman's small dog gave birth to two pups yesterday. 261. I have been going to school for five years. 262. I have my friends at school, I play football with them. 263. The small bag where was sugar became filled with ants. 264. That bag [over there] is heavy, and that [one] is light, I lift it. 265. Go [and] call your father! – My father is sleeping. 266. Boys, go [and] chop [some] firewood. 267. Daddy, my ball has burst. 268. We men are all occupied with blacksmith trade and pay [for] a license. 269. Our cat caught a mouse today and ate it. 270. The old woman cleaned [her] yard and planted [kitchen-garden] by her own. 271. The sky is blue today, there's not a single cloud on it. 272. What kind of jerking is this? Enough for you, boys! 273. While the meat is boiling I'll peel potatoes. 274. We comb our hair with our combs. 275. I have already parted with you [literally, *I have cut myself from you*]. 276. The apple-tree flowers blossomed out [literally, *burst*]. 277. [The Romani] wife will observe at her home the seventh and the fortieth days since her husband died. 278. Just this boy cries all day long and gives us no rest. 279. Call her, let [her] come to me. 280. We reminded

them [of] everything. 281. You should not be in my yard any more. 282. Don't come [to me]. 283. All the sauce-pans bottoms got covered with soot [literally, *became the very soot*]. 284. Can't those Roma come and see me? 285. Did you write all Romani words?

286. Ten years passed, [and] he didn't come to his brother. 287. Two days weren't enough for him to do the all job. 288. Now I am a man alone, like a bird. 289. Our Roma have good horses, and what about yours? 290. Believe me or not, but since those days my hair began turning white. 291. What did you come to me for, [oh] strong man [*bogatyr*]?' 292. [Oh] yes! A poor man [he is], and [he] is happy at so few things. 293. My younger brother lives with his family at my father's home. 294. The wind blows, the rain falls, [and] nobody loves me, poor [woman]. 295. He threw the ball to a [little] boy. 296. When wind doesn't blow, the trees don't bow. 297. [I] am afraid [to go to them] [I] need someone to go there with. 298. You surely know this Rom, [don't you]? 299. It seems she understood everything. 300. [Oh] God! Spare me! 301. Let God give you luck [=Thank you] for my eating and being sated at yours, sister. 302. May I come in your [home]? 303. My father was born when there was a tremendous hunger [in this country]. 304. She was very good and beautiful. 305. This Romani woman is Kyrymlyisa and [she] drinks coffee greedily. 306. I don't have [enough] time, [I am] afraid lest [my] wife should die. 307. [She] won't die, my [wife] remained alive, healthy, [and] strong. 308. The rich brother has a large new house, and the poor [one has] a small tent with big holes [in it]. 309. The men [Russians] seized him and beat [him] up [with their fists]. 310. The Rom came to the grave of his wife, sat down and burst into tears.

## 2. “*E phen baré šeréski*” (The Sister with Big Head)

The author first recorded a text of a fairy-tale in the community of Severskaja in Severskij region of Krasnodar District. This is how the author's gathering of Crimean Roma's folklore started.

The first fairy-tale to be put down was “*E phen baré šeréski*” (The Sister with Big Head). It was recorded in July 1981 from Mr. Oleg Neishakovich Ohly (Romani name Maskali) who had been born in 1967, in the community of Severskaja of Severskij region (Krasnodar District).

The record was first published in 1986 (*The Manuscript*, pp. 19-20, 36-37). It was published for the second time in 2004, in the book by *Tcherenkov Lev, Laederich Stephane. The Roma. Otherwise known as Gypsies, Gitanos, Gyftoi, Tsiganes, Tigani... etc.* – Basel: Schwabe Verl., - Vol 2: Traditions and Texts, pp. 902-905 (henceforward referred to as *The Roma*).

The author recorded a short version of a story that was usually told by the informant's father, Mr. Neisha Seitovich Ohly. In spite of the informant's young age, the language of the story is free from Russian borrowings. The fairy-tale produced a kind of strong magical influence upon the author. With a clear understanding of the fact that he was holding in his hands his first recorded literary piece, he was for a number of days seized with fever and was enchanted by an original Oriental plot as well as by new means of telling the story that he had never met before and that his young informant used.

The informant used, as a specific additional technique of Crimean Roma's story-tellers, some phrases in Crimean Tartar that had already become barely understandable, especially for the young generation; he put these phrases into the story characters' mouths. By this trick of using the macaronic language, a tense intrigue and a certain enigmatic character of the whole story are created that keep the listener thrilled.

This is the only story in which a phenomenon of the witch's language (*ǧ'adyisáki čhib*) is mentioned; two of the story's characters, namely a sister with a big head and her daughter-in-law, speak this language, and pronounce their magical incantations in it. Some obscure phrases in Crimean Tartar are used as this language of witches.

According to Russian Roma folklore scholars Lev Cherenkov, Efim Druts and Aleksei Gessler, the similar plot is quite wide-spread in the folklore of other Romani groups.

### **E phen baré šeréski**

1. Bešélas jekh manúš. 2. Esás léste trin čh'avé, amí phen'á ko čh'avé na sas. 3. Aló asavkó d'es, kaj bijándili lénde e phen. 4. Bar'ól láte jekh šeró buhlimása. 5. Jekh breš nakhló.

6. Aló te dikhél la o phral tiknó. 7. Aló, taj, kána dikh'l'ás o šeró lákoro, trašánilo. 8. Din'ás oj butúri jekhverés taj vur'ánilo ov, phinravd'ás o vudará. 9. Aló pe dadéste, taj phen'l'ás: «Dáde, me na dexáv me phen'á! Oj bar'ól šerésa! Oj nanáj šukár! Oj fájma si ǧ'adyisa!» 10. Amí o dad phenél: «Me šuk'ól ti čhib odolé zboréndar, kan-kuvdíjav tut!» 11. Kuvdý o dad pe tikné čh'avés andár kher.

12. Lel o phral tiknó e grastés taj po kamás. 13. Bešél opré gras taj geló kaj dikhén léske jakhá. 14. Ǧ'al opré gras taj dikhél: katúna si terdí. 15. Fúl'el taj geló an láte. 16. Andé esás e šukár raklí, taj dex'l'ás la o rakló, l' oj dex'l'ás les. 17. Mérim odojá raklí hál'olas te zborízél ǧ'adyisáki čhib. 18. Phenélas les e romní: «Kátar san? Kásko san?» 19. Phenél o rakló: «Kuvdý

o dad minró man andár kher me č'ač'é phen'atar, oj nanáj lačí, bar'ól láte o šeró, oj kan-xál mo šeró, alajéngé šeré!»

20. O raktó lil'ás odolé rakt'á péske, taj bešén, pújos si, xorandás.

21. Aló raktéske jekh sunó léske phraléandar, kaj si alají mudardé, bišeréngé, taj phenél ov pe romn'áte: «Kan-ǵ'áv te dikháv me phralén, taj me dadés!»

22. E romní na mukélas les, phenélas: «Má ǵ'a, kan-xál to šeró ti phen, oj xal'ás te dadésko šeró, hem alajéngé šeré!»

23. O raktó na pak'áni, kaj phenélas léski romní, taj geló. 24. Aló kheré: an bar esí kókala číté manušéngé, amí andé kher e phen esí bešli, taj ginél o šeré: e phraléngé, e dadésko – alají. 25. Ginél taj phenél asavké zbóres: «Buananí bašý, bukarđašý bašý, builǵ'én, busoroliǵ'én!»

26. Aj o phral šunl'ás odolá zbóres, bešló opré gras taj našél. 27. Aj e phen šunl'ás, kaj si ov opré gras, lil'ás te resél les. 28. Poravél po muj taj mangél te xal les e grastésa. 29. Áke-áke kan-resél.

30. Nikl'ól andár katúna léski romní, kaj dikhl'ás odá, taj del búrnekhe e raktés vastéstar. 31. Akaná e romní: «Muk les!» 32. Hem okojá phenél: «Muk les te xav!» 33. E romní phenl'ás: «Muk les mánde xaník, taj phinráv to muj. Me kan-mukáv les andé te móste!» 34. E phen mukl'ás e phralés taj phinravd'ás po muj, aj e romní din'ás béberi: «Táš bol!», – taj vulí e phen bar.

35. Akaná o phral e romn'ása bešén, púja lénde si bukadár, taj nan' ovél lénde e bída.

### **The Sister with Big Head**

1. There lived [once] a man. 2. He had three sons, but the boys didn't have a sister. 3. Such a day came that a sister was born to them. 4. Her head keeps growing ever thicker. 5. A year passed.

6. A younger brother came to see her. 7. As he came and saw her head, he got frightened. 8. She pushed [him] once, and he was thrown away, [and] opened the doors. 9. [The boy] approached his father and said, "Daddy, I don't like my sister! She grows by her head! She is not beautiful! She must be a witch!" 10. And the father says, "Let your tongue get dry for [saying] such words, [I'll] drive you out!" 11. [So] the father drove his younger son out of his home.

12. The younger brother takes a horse and his sword. 13. [He] mounts the horse and followed his nose [literally, *he went to where his eyes look*]. 14. [He] rides a horse [for some time] and sees a tent standing. 15. [He] dismounted and went into it. 16. There was a beautiful girl inside, and the boy fell in love with her, and she fell in love with him. 17. The girl seemed to be able to speak the witch's language. 18. The girl said to him,



“Where are you from? Whose are you?” 19. The boy says, “My father drove me away from home because of my own sister. She is not good: her head keeps growing; she will eat my head [and] the other's heads!”

20. The boy took that girl [as his wife], and they live together, having a child, a family. 21. [Once] A night-dream appeared to the boy about his brothers: they were all murdered, beheaded; [after that] he says to his wife, “[I’ll] go and see my brothers and my father!” 22. The wife didn’t let him go, [she] said, “Don’t go: your sister will eat your head, she ate the head of your father and the heads of all [others]!”

23. The boy didn’t believe what his wife had said and went away. 24. [He] came [to his father’s] home: human bones are scattered across the yard, [while] the sister sits at home counting heads: that of his brothers and father, of everyone. 25. [She] counts and says words like these, “Buanani bashi, bukardashi bashi, builedzhen, busoroledzhen!” [a distorted phrase in Northern dialect of Crimean Tartar language for “*Bu anany bashy, bu k’ardashy bashy, bu ileg’em, bu sora ileg’em*”, meaning “This is the mother’s head, this [is] the brother’s, I’ll taste this, this [one] later”].

26. As the brother heard these words, [he] mounted [his] horse and ran away. 27. And the sister heard that he was on horseback, [and] tried to seize him. 28. [She] opens her mouth and wants to eat him with the horse. 29. [She is] just catching him!

30. His wife steps out of the tent and saw all that and takes the guy by his hand. 31. Now the wife said, “Release him!” 32. And she [the sister] says, “Let him for me to eat him!” 33. The wife said, “First let him to me and open your mouth. I’ll drop him into your mouth!” 34. The sister let her brother free and opened her mouth, and the wife shouted, “Tash bol!” [Mountain-and-plain dialect of Crimean Tartar for “*Be a stone!*”] – and the sister became a stone.

35. Now the brother lives with [his] wife, with many children, and they’ve got no troubles.

### 3. “*Bivasténgiri*” (The Handless Woman)

The fairy-tale titled “*Bivasténgiri*” (The Handless Woman) was recorded in October 1981, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskiy region in the city of Novorossiysk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Marina Khalilovna Ohly (1941-1995). It was first published in *The Manuscript* (pp. 20-23, 37-40). Its second publication with translation was included in 2004, in *The Roma*, Vol. 2: Traditions and Texts, pp. 895-902.

The language of the storyteller almost lacks any neologisms; it is rich and figurative. The scene of the meeting between a Handless woman

with God in a shape of an old man let the author to speak not as much of Crimean Roma Muslims' preservation of Christian images of God, but rather of the informant's retelling of a Russian folk fairy-tale that she liked.

A theme of a handless woman is also typical of the Russian folklore (SUS 706). In one variant, a brother acting on a slander from his witch-wife drives his sister from his house and cuts her hands (SUS 883A). The sister marries a tsar, then is slandered again and is driven away together with her child. After she has been healed by some magic, her husband accepts her again. When the truth is finally established, the witch-wife receives her due punishment.

In Mrs. Marina Ohly's story the scene in which a tsar's son meets a handless girl is especially warm and touching. In just four phrases (№ 29-32) the informant depicts bashfulness of behavior and talking with an unfamiliar young man traditional for Romani girls.

Though the story-teller says that the girl's clothes had become torn and she had to hide herself under some leaves when an unknown man approached her, this fact must most certainly be considered as some traditional device used in Romani folklore for stressing the girl's modesty, shyness and bashfulness. Words with which the tsar's son addresses an unfamiliar girl are traditional, while her answer is unusually modest, but demands a young man to court her by putting a jacket on her shoulders.

Phrase № 50 is of special difficulty for both a reader and a translator, as it contains Romani expression ...*kerén pe čh'avéske z'bóra, duj na kerdé* "[they are] acting on the word of their son, [they didn't] do the other way". Here the Crimean Romani word *duj* "two" has the meaning "second, another, other".

### Bivasténgiri

1. Bešélas jekh barvaló cári. 2. Odolé car'éste esás duj púja: jekh rakló taj jekh raklí. 3. Aló vaxýti léngoro: merél o phuró o cári taj phenél pe čh'avéske: «Adavá mangín me túke mukáv, tól'ko dikh te phen'or'á, ma obizáisker la, ništo látar má garav». 4. Nakhló géne vaxýti, merél e phurí, tóže phenél léske: «Te phen'or'á dikh, na otkažýskér látar ništo, sar te jakhá dikh la!»

5. Nakhló odoléske but vaxýti. 6. O rakló na prandózel. 7. Ke oxóta ģ'al pe phen'á č'umidel, kátar ke oxóta avél pe phen'á č'umidel. 8. Pe jakhá na mangél pe phen'áke. 9. Oj kheré tavél, šulavél, kídel, no óč'en' skúšno láke sas, taj lel oj te mangél pe phralés: «Mo phraloró! Sokabór kan-ováv korkorí? Prandóze, mo phral! Mánge korkor'áke skúšno!» 10. But na

mangélas ov te prandózel. 11. Dečí dumaiskerd'ás: «Me phen'áke kamél e amalínka», – taj prandosáilo.

12. Bešló, sokabór na bešló, na dextl'ás e kumnatinká e borí. 13. Bijándilo lénde pújos. 14. Sar oj te kerél kajípi e kumnatinká? 15. Ke oxóta ĝ'al o phral, č'umídel pe phen'á, kátar ke oxóta avél č'umídel pe phen'á, aj la ne obraš'ájet vnmánija, taj podúmala oj: «Sar te keráv kajípi e kumnatinká?» 16. Lel oj taj mudard'ás léske grastés andé kon'úšna, sámí l'ubími gras lésko.

17. Aló ov kátar oxóta. 18. Vaj dikh, tí phen, kaj mudard'ás te grastés, ĝ'a, dikh andé kon'úšna! 19. O phral phenl'ás: «Liš by mí phen te ovél sastí!» 20. Oj maj xol'asáili: «So te keráv me géneja? Esí o pújos láko andé kúna!» – lel mudarél pe pujós, phagerd'ás o mus'or'á léskere. 21. Avél ov andár oxóta, č'umídel pe phen'á. 22. Oj phenél léske: «Óke dikh, sar tu la č'umídes, aj oj te pujós mudard'ás. Ker te phen'á kajípi!» 23. Aj ov ajadý pe phen'á: «Vs'ó ravnó aménde púja géne kan-ovén». 24. Oj nastaivaiskerél: «Ker kajípi te phen'á!»

25. Lel ov del andé e grastés, thel pe phen'á andé, avél ko maškár ko veš, phagerél o dúbí, thel andé láke duj vastá, taj mukél la otkhá. 26. Nakhló n'éskol'ko vaxýti. 27. Phird'ás oj phird'ás andé veš, pharávdile opré láte o savút'a.

28. T'em vrém'en'em avél na oxótu e car'ésko č'h'avó, avré car'éstar. 29. Dikhél: esí kaj garavél pes manuš. 30. Akaná ov phenél: «Jésli tu san phurí, ov mánge daj, jésli tu san phuró, ov mánge dad, jésli san tu terní, ov mí romní!» – taj níkl'ol e raklí andár ko patr'á. 31. Laĝ'avó si te níkl'av mánge, tal ko patr'á nangí som! 32. Ov č'h'el oprál péste po žakéti, del láte. 33. Akaná oj phenél: «Sar tu man kan-lés: nanáj mánde duj vastá?» 34. Oj esás asavkí šukár, kaj naši ov te rastavaiskerél lása. 35. Ov láke phenél: «Mánde si daj lí dad, služánkes, on kan-dikhén tut», – taj and'ás la kheré.

36. O phuró dextl'ás la taj e phurí; taj prinimaiskerdé la sar pe rakl'á. 37. Aló vaxýti te ĝ'al ov andé xalavdé, oj ačhíli nasvalí. 38. Phenél o rakló pe dejáke, taj pe dadéske: «Te ovéla me rakl'áte e [it must be: o] pújos me dikhén sar pe jakhá!» 39. Ov geló taj bijándile duj rakloré. 40. Jekhésté si ko čikát č'erhén, aj jekhésté č'h'onút. 41. Bar'ón na č'h'onénca, aj bar'ón dis'éncia, duj bohatýr'a.

42. Jazdíjel o dad léske pismás: «Túte arákhilile duj rakloré, taj bar'ón na č'h'onénca, amí sahat'éncia». 43. P'er'exváčivajet e borí lákiri, láke phraléski romní, kaj šunl'ás, oj denílili. 44. Lel odová pismás, pharavél, jazdíjel avér léske. 45. Túte bijándile duj ĝ'ukelá, ní to manušá, na hál'as kon esí! 46. So te kerás amé lénge? 47. Lel odová rakló pismás, denílilo, no

dexélas ov pe romn'á. 48. Lel jazdíjel pismás: «So si, so nanáj, me pujén níkhon te na č'h'en poká aváv me!»

49. Lel géne odová pismás e borí láki, pharavél les, jazdíjel pismás e phuréske taj e phur'áke: «Poká aváv me, štob láko dúxos te na ovél! Adavá si e car'éski zbóra!» 50. Lel o phuró adá pismás, lel te rovél l' e phurí, len kerén pe č'h'avéske zbóra, duj na kerdé. 51. Len phánden e pujén láke men'áte: jekhés angál, jekhés palál, then láke jekh gonó pesmét'a, taj muklé la odolé thanéste kátar ov la lil'ás.

52. Odá vaxýti tharél kham óč'en' baró. 53. Mangél oj páni te pijél. 54. Phinrávdilo paš láte tiknoró č'okráki. 55. Sar dikhl'ás oj o páni, mangél te pijél, akaná oj naši te bang'ól te pijél páni, oj trašál te na perén o púja andé. 56. Paš láte kátar nan' aló phuró manúš. 57. Úš'el láke: «Pí, mí č'h'aj, páni». 58. Aj oj phenél: «Pápu, me trašáv te na perén o púja!» 59. Má traša, má traša, pí! 60. Oj bang'ól koč'énca. 61. Tól'ko lil'ás te pijél o páni, taj perél o pújos andé. 62. Phirél oj, rovél, a phuró láke phenél: «Le, mí č'h'aj!» 63. Oj: «Mánde vastá nanáj!» 64. The te vastá andé páni, má traša! 65. Sar lil'ás te thel po vas andé páni te lel e pujós, perél l' oková jekh. 66. Oj lil'ás te rovél. 67. The, the te vastá, má traša! 68. Thed'ás oj pe vastá andé ko páni, taj barilé láke o duj vastá. 69. Č'h'el pi rig sáma, káte sas terdó o phuró, aj ov nanáj. 70. Odová esás o sumnál, o šukár Del.

71. Pil'ás oj páni, pilé o púja páni. 72. Bešli, xal'ás. 73. Nakhló odoléske kaj bijándile o púja duj č'h'on, aj lénge kan-phenés, kaj si po eftá breš. 74. On bahatýr'a si.

75. Aló vaxýti, taj avél láko rom kátar ko xalavdé. 76. Aj láke phraléske angál esás, níkháj naši te bang'arés, tól'ko kamél te ratkerés láke phraléste. 77. Aj ov na ġ'anél, so ov esí láko phral. 78. Kaj dikhl'ás odová cári les, thed'ás konás. 79. Xan, pijén. 80. Avél oj te kerél pes níši. 81. Pak'arél e pujéngé šeré e kirpénca. 82. Alí tal ke bar taj mangél kotór manró.

83. Níkl'ol avri e borí lákiri taj peng'ard'ás la. 84. Lel e rikonén kuvdíjel opré láte. 85. Lel níkl'ol láko phral avri: «Bez'á si, vaj, bez'á si! Pujénca níšica si, den kotór manró, xavd'arén la, mánde l' ajakhá e phen mulí».

86. Úš'el láke láko phral: «Te púja so hál'on te kerén?» 87. Paramis'á hál'on te phenén, prískaskes. 88. Úš'el o phral: «Then la andé kúxna, me ratkerél, aj sabastán ġ'ála!» 89. Vaj, ov la na peng'ard'ás. 90. Bešén on péske, taj zborízen o púja, aj léngo dad dikhél káring lénde: «Tumé, pujálen, so hál'on tumé te kerén?» 91. Amé hál'as prískaskes te phenás. 92. «Ej phenén, so prískaskes hál'on te phenén», – [phuč'él o dad], taj lilé on te phenén pe dejáke so vuló, phenén sar č'hindé o vastá, sar e borí mudard'ás pe pujós. 93. E borí xol'asáili, aj o dad: «Phenén, ter te šunás so

prískaska si!» – phenél. 94. Sar esás oj nangí andé veš taj sar aló léngo dad taj lil'ás la, sar o pismádes bičh'alénas. 95. Úš'el o dad e pujéng: «Kátar tumé ġ'anén odolé manušen?» 96. Taj len pe dejá vastéstar taj len pumaré šeréndar o kírpes: «Áke, tu san amaró dad, aj akalá si: mo kak taj mi bibí, so kaj and'ás me dejáke šeréste». 97. Taj lel te č'umídel pe pujén o dad taj lilé te bešén, taj te xan, te pijén.

98. Lí meja othé sómas: xal'óm, pil'óm, oprál me mustak'énde prastánilo, andé me móste na peló.

### **The Handless Woman**

1. There lived [once] a rich tsar. 2. That tsar had two children – a boy and a girl. 3. The time came for them: the old tsar is dying and says to his son, “I leave that fortune for you, but look for your sister: don't hurt her, hide nothing from her!” 4. Some [more] time passed, [and] the old woman dies, and she also tells him, “Look for your sister, refuse no her wish, keep her as you keep your eyes!”

5. Much time passed since then. 6. The boy doesn't get married. 7. [He] leaves for hunting and kisses his sister; [he] returns from hunting and kisses his sister. 8. [He] cannot stop admiring her sister. 9. She does cooking at home, sweeps, cleans, but [she] was very bored, and she begins asking her brother, “My brother! How long shall I be alone? Get married, my brother! I'm alone [and] bored!” 10. He didn't want to marry for a long time. 11. Then he thought, “My sister needs a girl-friend”, and got married.

12. No matter how long he lived with his wife, but she developed hatred to her husband's sister. 13. They got a child. 14. “How could I have the sister-in-law driven away”, the wife thinks. 15. As the brother leaves for hunting, he kisses his sister, as [he] returns from hunting, he kisses his sister, and pays no attention to his wife, and she thought, “How to drive my sister-in-law away?” 16. [So] she kills his horse in a stable, his most loved horse.

17. He returned from hunting. 18. [His wife tells him], “Just take a look: your sister killed your horse, go to the stable and see [it]”. 19. The brother said, “If only my sister should be intact!” 20. She [his wife] got even angrier, “What else must be done?” Her child is in a cradle, [so] she takes and kills her child: broke its arms. 21. He returns from hunting, kisses his sister. 22. She [the wife] says to him, “Look here! How can you kiss her? She's killed your baby. Drive your sister away!” 23. But he felt pity for his sister, “We will have some more children”. 24. She insists, “Drive your sister away!”

25. [At last] He harnesses a horse, sits his sister, goes to the middle of a forest, cuts an oak-tree, inserts both her arms [into a split] and leaves her there. 26. Some time passed. 27. She walked and walked through the forest, [and] her dress became torn.

28. Meanwhile a son of another tsar goes hunting, 29. [He] sees, “A human is hiding”. 30. Then he says, “If you are an old [woman], be my mother; if you are an old [man], be my father; if you are a young [girl], be my wife” – and a girl emerges from the leaves. 31. “I’m ashamed to emerge, [as] I’m naked under the leaves” [, she says to him]. 32. He takes his jacket off [and] gives [it] to her. 33. Then she says, “How can you take me: I’ve got neither of my hands”. 34. She was so beautiful that he couldn’t part with her. 35. He says to her, “I have a mother and father [and] woman servants. They will look for you”, and brought her to his home.

36. The old man liked her, and the old woman, and [they] accepted her as their own daughter. 37. The time had come for him to become a conscript, [and] she was left pregnant [literally, *not well*]. 38. The boy tells his mother and father, “If my wife has a child, keep it as you keep your eyes!” 39. He left away, and two sons were born. 40. One has a star on his forehead, and another has a crescent. 41. [They] keep growing daily, not monthly, [becoming] the two *bogatyr*s [strong guys].

42. His father writes a letter to him, “You’ve got two sons, and they grow hourly, not monthly”. 43. Her daughter-in-law, her brother’s wife, intercepts [the letter]. After having read it [literally, “*after having heard*”] she went furious. 44. [She] takes that letter, tears it, [and] writes another [one] to him. 45. Either two dogs or two human beings were born to you, we don’t understand what are they! 46. What should we do to them? 47. The boy takes the letter, lost his mind, but he loved his wife. 48. He writes a letter, “Whatever happens, don’t leave my children until I am back!”

49. Her sister-in-law takes this letter again, tears it, writes [another] letter to the old man and woman, “Before I return [home], [there] mustn’t be her very smell [there]! This is the tsar’s word!” 50. The old man takes that letter, [bursts into tears], the old woman also started crying, [but] they act according to the son’s word; they didn’t act another way [literally, *they didn’t act a second way*]. 51. They take the children and tie [them] to her neck: one at her front, another at her back, [then] place a bag of rusks for her and left her at the very place from where he had taken her.

52. At that time the Sun was scorching heavily. 53. She wants to drink some water. 54. A small spring opened near her. 55. As she saw water, she wants to have a drink, but she cannot bend down to drink water, as she is afraid lest her children fell into [the spring]. 56. An old man

[appeared] near her from nowhere. 57. [He] tells [literally, *addresses*] her, "Drink some water, my daughter". 58. And she says, "Grandpa, I'm afraid lest the children should fell" 59. [The old man says], "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid, do drink!" 60. She bends [her] knees. 61. As she began drinking water, a child falls into [it]. 62. She walks crying, and the old man says to her, "Take [it], my daughter". 63. She [says], "I have no hands!" 64. [The old man says,] "Dip your hands in water, don't be frightened!" 65. As she began dipping her hand into water to take her child, the other one falls down. 66. She began weeping. 67. [The old man says], "Dip, dip your hands, don't be frightened!" 68. She dipped her hands into water, and both hands grew in her. 69. [She] glances to where the old man stood [literally, *she checks her side*], but he isn't there. 70. This was saint gracious God.

71. She drank water, [and] the children drank water. 72. [She] sat down and had some meal. 73. Two months passed since her children were born, but they looked as if they were seven-years-old. 74. They [are] bogatyr.

75. The time came, and her husband returns from his service as a soldier. 76. And [the road] to her brother was such that his place couldn't be rounded, one has to spend a night at her brother's. 77. And he doesn't know that he is her brother. 78. As soon as the tsar saw him, he laid a table. 79. [They are] eating and drinking. 80. She enters as a beggar. 81. [She] binds her children's heads with rags. 82. [She] approaches the fence and begs for a piece of bread.

83. Her sister-in-law goes out and recognized her. 84. [She] takes dogs and sets them on her. 85. Her brother goes out [and says], "It's a sin, oh, it's a sin! [There's] a beggar woman with children, give [her] a piece of bread, feed her, I've just lost my sister".

86. Her brother addresses her, "What can your children do?" 87. [She says], "We can tell fairy-tales". 88. The brother [says], "Place her in a kitchen, let her spend a night and go tomorrow!" 89. He didn't recognize her. 90. They are sitting and talking to each other, and their father looks at their side [and asks them], "You, children, what can you do?" 91. "We can tell fairy-tales" [they say]. 92. "Then show [me] what kind of fairy-tales can [you] tell", [their father says]. And they started telling what had happened to their mother, how her hands were cut [and] how the sister-in-law killed her child. 93. The sister-in-law got angry, and the father says, "Come on, let's hear the story [through]". 94. [The children tell] how she was naked in the forest, and how their father came and took her, how they sent letters. 95. The father asks children, "Where do you know these people from?" 96. And [the children] take their mother by hand and remove rags from their heads, [and say], "You are our father, and these [people] are my uncle and my aunt

that brought [trouble] upon my mother's head". 97. And [the father] starts kissing his children, and [they] began taking seats [at the table], and eating and drinking.

98. And I was there, too; [I] ate and drank, [my meal] ran over my moustache, [but] didn't get into my mouth.

#### 4. “*Jekh-opré-d'un'ás*” (“Alone-in-the-world”)

The fairy-tale titled “*Jekh-opré-d'un'ás*” (“Alone-in-the-world”) was recorded in October 1981, in the community of Anapskaja (Anapskij region, Krasnodar district) from a resident of the village of Ol'khovka. His name was Mr. Dmitrii Vasilyevich Balayev (Romani name Dzhampi) (1943-2007). The story was first published in *The Manuscript*, in 1986. A translation of this fairy-tale into Italian together with Crimean Romani original was published in Rome in *Lacio Drom (Buon Cammino)* magazine (Anno 31, № 4-5, p. 22-27) in 1995.

Variations of this story's plot may be found in some fairy-tales of other Roma's groups. The now published fairy-tale matches mostly to the plot of a story that had been recorded by a Novosibirsk-based Roma scholar V.I. Sanarov whose informant was a Lovar woman named Liuba la Bangaki.

The fairy-tale was told in a rich and accurate language that was full of images. The informant usually used Russian for the speech of non-Roma characters, while Roma ones spoke to each other only in Romani.

A scene of giving a name to a newly born son of Rom Madzhari in a tabor is depicted in this fairy-tale. On the occasion of this happy event the father gathers all Roma at a festive table and first offers the old people to give a name for the newly born baby, then asks all young Roma; but when the baby's mother doesn't like any of the names suggested, he himself gives *sámi lačh'ó anáv* “the best name” (phrase № 105). But the mother names her son “*Jekh-opré-d'un'ás*.”

The text of this fairy-tale contains a vivid example that explains the meaning of a grammar category of Past Perfect Tense. If phrase № 84, in which Madzhari's wife tells him *...taj má uši mándar ertés* (“and don't get up earlier than me”), is compared with a later phrase № 117 in which she says *Mağ'ári, me túke phen'ómas*: “*Má uši mándar ertés!*” (“I had told you Madzhari, don't get up earlier than me!”) then the verbal form *phen'ómas* “I had told (some time ago, long ago)” the meaning of the Past Perfect tense becomes clear: it marks an action that had taken place long before the moment when it is spoken about.



## Jékh-opré-d'un'ás

1. Esí opré d'un'ás jekh rom, sas odá rom č'or lach'ó. 2. Úš'el ov pe romn'áke: «Bezdým e č'or'átar, kan-xáv sovl'á te na č'oráv!» 3. Lel thed'ás o xorandás andé vúrdon. 4. Ğ'al d'es, duj, trin taj dikhél katúnes. 5. O romá bešén, bešén taj pijén. 6. Dikhlé akaná: «Kon esí? O č'or, o Mağ'ári!» 7. Úš'el léske o rom taj phenél: «Me ğ'anáv jekh khangerí, othé si but mangín, phol'á, lové. Háde, las les!» 8. Den andé o vúrdon, bešén andé o duj phralá, taj o Mağ'ári.

9. Alé ke khangerí, lilé alají o phol'á, o lové taj lilé te ğ'an. 10. Kána dikhél o jekh phral: o storózy esí bešló taj sové, phen'ás: «Áke l' akavá storózyskerél», – taj pášol taj del les dab. 11. O storózy lil'ás te del béber'a, taj níkl'on andár ke khangerí o gağ'é, taj vázden e gağ'én opré lénde taj astardé te marén len. 12. Den íkos e phanl'á. 13. Lel len e phanlí, č'h'el len andé phandipé.

14. Esí bešlé o Mağ'ári taj o duj phralá. 15. O duj phralá srázu suté, aj o rom esí bešló. 16. Del pes godí o rom: «So kerd'óm me me šerésa, kaj thed'óm akalén kan taj al'óm lénca». 17. Nakhló saháti, móžet duj. 18. Šunél sési ğ'uvlikanó del lésko anáv: «Mağ'ári, Mağ'ári!» 19. Akaná o rom del pes godí: «Fájma mánge šunliló». 20. Esí tynýki. 21. Akaná odá sési géne del íkos: «Mağ'ári!» 22. O rom géne na del angál. 23. Oj ko trító var: «Mağ'ári!» 24. Del pes godí o rom: «So ovéla ovél». 25. Úš'el láke: «So mangés mándar?» 26. Šunél akasavké zbóres: «Te lésa man, to me tut vyručiskeráva andár phandipé». 27. Úš'el léske oj: «Ráno sabastán kangelén tut na doprós, taj kan-phuč'én tútar: «Arákh aménge naxtári e pirduné jamač'éstar. Te arakhésa amé tut mukása»». 28. Aj tu phen: «Me arakháva». 29. Kána kan-mukén tut andár vorotádes, angál túte kan-ovél dromoró, kaj ğ'al káring veš, taj ğ'a odolé dromésa. 30. Phen'ás adajá zbóra e ğ'uvlí taj ból'se na šunliló níšto.

32. Akaná sabastán ğ'angávdilo, del pes godí: «Adá sunó sas mánde, ja č'ačipé?» 33. Šunél, phinrávd'ol o vudár, den andé o baré: «Sl'édujt'e na doprós!» 34. Den trad, ğ'an ko nač'al'níki t'urmý. 35. Úš'el léngé o nač'al'níki: «Kto iz vas najd'ót kl'uč' ot m'édnoj gorý, ja vas vs'ex troíx otpuš'ú!» 36. Úš'el o rom o Mağ'ári, taj phenél: «Ja najdú kl'uč' ot m'édnoj gorý! Otpustít'e poká m'en'á na č'as, a moí továriši pust' ostánutca zd'es'. Vy v'ed' znájete, što cygán'e svoíx druž'ěj v b'ed'é n'e ostáv'at». 37. «Xorošó! – phen'ás o nač'al'níki. – Ğ'a, me tut pak'áv». 38. Len phinravén o vorotádes, mukén les avrí.

39. Kána dikhél o rom: opré drom baró dúbí si terdó. 40. Lil'ás te pášol ko dúbí. 41. Kána dikhél andár odolé dub'éste níklístó o vas, taj si o vas ğ'uvlikanó. 42. Úš'el léske: «Ále, Mağ'ári, o naxtári! Ğ'a, gel, aj mándar

má brista!» 43. Lel o rom anél o naxtári ko baré: «Vot vam kl'uč' ot m'édnoj gory». 44. Úš'el o nač'al'níki: «My s'ejč'ás prov'érím, jésli éto kl'uč' ot m'édnoj gory, to vy vs'e tróje svobódný». 45. Kána alé ko jamáci, dikhén o vudár. 46. Lel o baró, thel andé vudár o naxtári, phinrávd'ol o vudár. 47. Kána phinravdé o vudár, andé si: phol'á, rupá, lové... 48. Úš'el léngé o nač'al'níki: «T'ep'ér' vy svobódný, idít'e na vs'e č'týr'e stóroný». 49. Len ġ'an.

50. Kána dikhél o Maġ'ári: vúrdon esí terdó, andé esí trin parné grastá dindé, taj si alají zbrúja opré lénde phol'ákiri, aj andé vúrdon esí ġ'uvlí bešli taj lel pes sar kham. 51. Úš'el léske odojá ġ'uvlí: «Beš, Maġ'ári, láde». 52. Trádel o rom e grastén l' o drom na dikhél. 53. Vázdel po šeró, kána dikhél der'áv esí angál léste. 54. Úš'el oj léske: «Savé d'un'áste mangés te bešés: ko parno ja ko kaló?» 55. Úš'el ov: «Mánge jekh esí». 56. «Ras ajakhá si, – oj phenél, – phánde te jakhá». 57. Lel ov phándel pe jakhá. 58. Kána phinravd'ás, vázdel po šeró opré, dikhél opré o volnádes phirén. 59. Na phen'ás níšto. 60. Dikhél drom esí, ládel odolé dromésa. 61. Kána dikhél: ke pol'ávina katúna si terdí. 62. Kána aló pašé, dikhél: andé katúna esí bešlé šov phralá, o dad taj e daj. 63. Úš'el oj léske: «Adá si, áke, me phralá taj mo dad me dejása». 64. Bešlé te pijén te xan. 65. Naxhló bazári, duj, trin. 66. Dikhél oj kaj nanáj ov v'es'óli. 67. Úš'el léske: «Me dikháv túke adalé d'un'áste skúč'no si, háde ko parno d'un'ás». 68. Bešén andé vúrdon. 69. Úš'el oj léske: «Phánde te jakhá!» 70. Lel ov phándel pe jakhá. 71. Úš'el oj léske: «Akaná phinráv!» 72. Kána dikhél: ov géne odolé thanéste si kátar geló ov.

73. Ej akaná láden. 74. Oj léske phenél: «Kána kan-pášos tumarénde alajénca de vas, tól'ko to xorandás má de angál». 75. Phen'ás odovkhá oj. 76. Kána dikhén: o katúnes esí e roméngere. 77. Pášon káring katúnes. 78. Prástan o romá angál léste: «O Maġ'ári aló!» 79. O dad, e daj, o phralá, e romní pujénca. 80. Úš'el ov: «Má xol'ázen opré mánde! Mánde si avér xorandás, me kan-ġ'áv kaj dikhén me jakhá!» 81. Din'ás e grastén kamčijása dab taj geló. 82. Ġ'an d'es, ġ'an duj. 83. Del pes ov godí: esás mánde mangín, xorandás, akaná me som jakh ġ'anó. 84. Úš'el oj léske: «Ġ'anés so? Maġ'ári! Kan-phenáv túke duj zbores: nikogdá má phen kaj nanáj aménde mangín, taj má úši mándar ertés». 85. Kána dikhél ov: katúnes si taj si deš katúnes romá. 86. Dikhél o Maġ'ári: ko romá grastá, bakré si, mangín, barvalipé, o č'h'avé khelén taj o č'h'ejá den gil'á. 87. Úš'el oj léske: «Káring dikhés, Maġ'ári, dikh pal túte!» 88. Kána dikhél o rom pal péste: nan' avél mangín: grastá, guruvá, bakré taj tráden len o č'abanídes.

89. Ej pašýló ko romá. 90. Prástan o romá angál léste. 91. Kerdé jardými, thedé katúna léske. 92. Čhinél ov don guruvén, dešé bakrén; and'ard'ás rakíja. 93. Len te xan, te pijén.

94. Thel nakhél breš. 95. Arákhililo léste ke romní čh'avoró. 96. Úš'el oj léske: «Kíde e romén te thas e čh'avorés anáv». 97. Lel ov kídel alajén e romén. 98. Čhind'ás bakrén, guruvén. 99. Élan, čh'avále, te thas me čh'avés anáv. 100. Ov phenél: «Me then o phuré anáv». 101. Ej phenén o phuré anavá. 102. Oj na dexl'ás bili jekh anáv. 103. Phenén l' o terné, l' odolá na dexl'ás oj. 104. Úš'en alají o romá: «Ras amaré anavá oj na dexl'ás, me thel o dad». 105. Phenél o dad sámi lačh'ó anáv. 106. Oj tóže na dexl'ás. 107. Úšel o Mağ'ári: «Ras na dexés amaré anavá, the tu e čh'avorés anáv». 108. Úš'el oj: «Me les kan-tháv «Jékh-opré-d'un'ás»». 109. Mardé alají pálmes taj lilé te xan te pijén.

110. Lel oj kídel o č'erhen'á, o bulút'a, sivél léske gad. 111. Úš'el e Mağ'ar'éske: «Mağ'ári, kána kan-ovél e čh'avoréske vos'emnácat' l'et, désa adavá gad léske».

112. Nakhél breš, duj, o čh'avoró bar'ól. 113. Akaná jékhvar o Mağ'ári ġ'angávdilo. 114. Kána dikhél: čh'avoró si angál láte taj phuč'ardó, taj li láke šeréstár peló o khosnó, taj dikhínd'on o balá. 115. Uč'ard'ás e čh'avorés taj lil'ás te uč'arél o šeró láko e khosnésa. 116. Sar kerd'ás vastésa ko šeró, kána dikhél šyngor'á si taj ġ'angávdili e romní. 117. «Mağ'ári, me túke phenl'ómas: má uši mándar ertés!», – tól'ko phenl'ás adajá zbóra taj vulí bulúti. 118. Šunél láko sési durál: «Dikh pal ko čh'avoró!»

### **Alone-in-the-World**

1. There is one Rom in the world, this man was a good thief. 2. He tells his wife, "I've got tired of stealing; [I] swear not to steal!" 3. [He] gathered his family into a *kibitka* [*a nomads' horse-drawn carriage covered with canvas*]. 4. [He] travels for a day, [for] two [days], [for] three [days], and [finally] sees some tents. 5. [There] are Roma living [there], sitting and drinking. 6. [They] looked then [at the newcomers and said], "Who [are you]? Madzhari the Thief?" 7. A Rom addresses him and says, "I know a church, [where] there is a lot of wealth: gold, and money. [Let us] Go to take it". 8. [He] harnesses a *kibitka*, [and] two brothers and Madzhari take seats [in it].

9. [They] arrived at the church, took all the gold [and] money and started to get away. 10. Then one brother sees a guard [who] is sitting and sleeping; [he] says, "This is the one to guard"; [he] approaches him and beats [him]. 11. The guard started shouting, and [some] people come of the church, and [they] raise [other] people on them, and seize them to beat. 12. [They] call for a policeman. 13. The policeman takes them [and] throw [them] into a custody.

14. Madzhari and two brothers are [now] sitting [in a jail]. 15. Both brothers fall asleep immediately, and the Rom sits. 16. The Rom is thinking, “What did I do with my head when I listened to these [brothers] and went with them”. 17. An hour passed, maybe two. 18. [He] hears a woman’s voice speaking his name, “Madzhari, Madzhari!” 19. Now the Rom thinks, “It might only be my imagination”. 20. [He] sits calmly. 21. Now the same voice calls [him] again, “Madzhari!” 22. The Rom again doesn’t respond. 23. She [calls him] for the third time, “Madzhari!” 24. The Rom thinks, “Let it be”. 25. [He] addresses her, “What do [you] want from me?” 26. [He] hears such words, “If [you] take me, then I save you from the custody”. 27. She says him, “Tomorrow morning they will take you for interrogation, and they will tell you, “Find the keys from a copper mountain for us. If you find them, we will release you”. 28. And you [should] reply, “I’ll find”. 29. When they will let you out of the [prison’s] gates, there will be a road in front of you that leads towards the forest, and [you should] go along that road”. 30. The woman said this word, and nothing more was heard. 31. One hour more passed, and he fell asleep.

32. Next morning [he] woke up [and] thinks, “Was it a dream that I had, or a truth?” 33. [He] hears the door opening [and] the superiors came in, [saying] “Go for an interrogation”. 34. [The prisoners] stand up [and] go to *nachalnik* [the director] of the prison. 35. The director of the prison says to them, “If any of you finds the key from a copper mountain, I will release all three of you”. 36. Madzhari the Rom responds and [he] says, “I will find the key from the copper mountain! Let me free for an hour, and let my comrades stay here. You do know that the Roma don’t leave their comrades in trouble!” 37. “Good!”, the director said, “Go, I trust you”. 38. [He] opens the gates, [and] let [Madzhari] in the street.

39. Then the Rom sees a big oak-tree standing near the road. 40. [He] began approaching the oak-tree. 41. Then he sees: a hand emerged [literally, *crawled out*] from that oak-tree, and the hand is that of a woman. 42. [The woman] says to him, “Here is the key, Madzhari! Come and take [it], and don’t forget about me!” 43. The Romani guy takes the key, brings it to the director and [says], “Here is the key from the copper mountain for you”. 44. The director says, “We’ll now check [it]: if this is the key from the copper mountain, then all three of you will be released”. 45. When [they] approached the mountain, [they] see a door. 46. The director inserts the key into the door, [and] the door opens. 47. When [they] opened the door, there were gold, silver, and money inside. 48. The director says to them, “Now you are free; go wherever you like”. 49. [They] begin leaving.

50. Then Madzhari sees a *kibitka* standing, harnessed by three white horses, their entire harness being made of gold; and sitting in the

*kibitka* is a woman, glittering like a sun. 51. This woman calls him, “Take a seat, Madzhari, and let’s go”. 52. The Romani guy drives horses and doesn’t see the road. 53. [He] raises [his] head when [he] sees a sea in front of him. 54. She asks him, “What kind of world do you like to live in? In the white one, or in the black?” 55. He replies, “It’s all the same for me”. 56. “If it is so”, she says, “[then] close your eyes”. 57. He does close his eyes. 58. When [he] opens [them] [and] raises his head up [he] sees [sea] waves walking in above. 59. [He] said nothing. 60. [He] sees a road [and] rides along that road. 61. Then [he] sees a tent standing in a glade. 62. When [he] came closer, [he] sees six brothers, a father and a mother [who live in the tent]. 63. She says to him, “Here are my brothers and my father and mother”. 64. [They] sat down to eat and drink. 65. A week passed, and two [weeks], and three. 66. She noticed him to be unhappy. 67. [She] says to him, “I see you are bored in this world; let’s go to the white world”. 68. They board the *kibitka*. 69. She says to him, “Close your eyes!” 70. He closes his eyes. 71. She says to him, “Now open [them]!” 72. Then he sees: he is right at the same place where he has come from.

73. Now [they] are driving. 74. She says, “When [you] approach your [people], give your hand to everyone, but don’t greet your [own] family”. 75. That was what she said. 76. Then [they] see some Roma’s tents. 77. [They] came to the tents. 78. The Rom started running in front of them [and say], “Madzhari arrived!” 79. The father, mother, brothers and the wife with children. 80. He addresses [them], “Don’t be offended at me! I have another family, I am going to where my eyes look!” 81. [He] lashed horses with the whip and drove away. 82. [They] ride for a day, ride for two [days]. 83. He thinks, “I used to have a household [and] a family, [and] now I am on my own”. 84. She addresses him, “You know, Madzhari, I tell you some words. Never say that we haven’t got the household, and don’t wake up earlier than me”. 85. Then he sees tents, ten Roma’s tents. 86. Madzhari sees those Roma have horses, rams, households, and wealth. Their sons dance, their daughters sing songs. 87. She addresses him, “What side are you looking at, Madzhari? Look behind yourself!” 88. Then the Romani guy sees: there is a household behind him – horses, bulls, rams, and shepherds drive them.

89. Well, he approached the Roma. 90. The Roma run in front of him. 91. [They] rendered help to him, set up his tent. 92. He slaughter two bulls and ten rams, and ordered to bring in [some] vodka. 93. [They] begin eating and drinking.

94. A year passes. 95. A boy was born to his wife. 96. She addresses him, “Gather the Roma to give a name to the boy”. 97. He gathers all the Roma. 98. [He] slaughtered rams [and] bulls. 99. Come here, fellows,

to give a name to my son. 100. He says, “Let the old men give the name”. 101. The old people say [some] names. 102. She didn’t like any of the names. 103. The young also say [names], but she didn’t like them [either]. 104. Address all Roma, “If she doesn’t like our names, let the father give the name”. 105. The father says the best name. 106. She also didn’t like [it]. 107. Madzhari says, “If you didn’t like our names, give the name to [your] son yourself”. 108. She says, “I’ll baptize him “Alone-in-the-world”. 109. Everybody clapped their palms and started eating and drinking.

110. She collects stars [and] clouds [and] sews a shirt for him. 111. [She] says Madzhari, “Madzhari, when the boy is eighteen, give this shirt to him”.

112. A year passes, [and] two [years pass], the boy is growing. 113. Now, once Madzhari woke up. 114. Then he saw: a boy is in front of her and unwrapped, and a shawl fall from her head, and her hair became visible. 115. [He] covered the boy and began covering her head with the shawl. 116. As [he] stretched [his] hand to [her] head, [he] sees small horns, and the Romani woman woke up. 117. Madzhari, I had told you long before: “Never get up earlier than me!” As [she] pronounced this word, she turned into mist. 118. [He] hears her voice from far away, “Keep an eye on the son!”

## 5. “Rúžyca” (“Ruzhitsa”)

“Rúžyca” (“Ruzhitsa”) fairy-tale was recorded in June 1982, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Galina Mikhailovna Ohly who was born in 1960. It was first published in 1986 (Cf. *The Manuscript*, pp. 26-27, 43-44). The fairy-tale was published in Romani original with Italian translation in Rome in *Lacio Drom (Buon Cammino)* magazine (Anno 31, № 4-5, p. 22-28) in 1995. This informant’s story was told at the author’s request; it continues and brings to an end the line of the plot of the previous fairy-tale.

The language of the storyteller compared with that of Roma who told the previous story is distinguished by the absence of dialogs that slightly reduces its expressiveness; the final episodes are told not quite consistently. When describing the scene of One-in-the-world’s suicide, the informant used the verb *koliskerél* that in phrase № 29 is likely to mean “[he] places against [something]”. It sounds much like the verb *koliskerél* “he stabs” that was borrowed from Russian. The informant felt this coincidence and the resulting ambiguity, but she had no possibility to

correct it quickly and went wrong. Unfortunately she failed to find a better word meaning “to place against something.”

### Rúžyca

1. Aj ov (o rom, o Mağ'ári) lil'ás e pujós taj geló te ródel la (pe romn'á). 2. Phird'ás ov verkáte, kaj tól'ko na phird'ás, kaj tól'ko na phuč'él d'un'ástar, nikhón ni na dikhl'ás, nikhón ni na šunl'ás odolé ġ'uvl'á. 3. Boldin'ás ov andé pe xorandáste, taj bariló o čh'avoró lésko. 4. L' ov phirélas te ródel pe dejá, phird'ás breš, duj, n' arakhél la. 5. Jékhvar dikhél ov angál péste baró páni si – der'av. 6. Ov dumaiskerd'ás: «Fájma mi daj othé si», – taj nakhló odojá der'av. 7. Dikhél bukadár katúnes esí: romá e katunénca. 8. Ov garavd'ás pes taj dumaiskerél: «Fájma mi daj lénde si?» 9. Dikhél esí č'okráki. 10. Lel ov taj bešló pal kustás. 11. Avén bukadár čh'ájá ko páni. 12. Ov lil'ás te vardijel pe dejá. 13. Dikhl'ás: e daj nanáj athé, aj te phuč'él naší. 14. Kerél pes ov rakló, avél ko katúnes, mangél te dorikerén les. 15. Pašylí jekh čh'aj (e Rúžyca) te dorikerél les. 16. Ov dumaiskerél: «Ras mánde dejá nanáj, znáčit xot' me te prandózav, mo dad esí korkoró, li me som korkoró, xot' kan-tavél taj kan-morél». 17. Lel ov taj phenél láke, kaj si ov romanó čh'avó taj dexl'ás la. 18. L' ov les dexl'ás. 19. Zborisáile taj našlé, bešlé opré gras o duj ġ'ané taj našlé. 20. Aj láte sas šov phralá. 21. Jekh baró phral esás sar ġ'adýs, ov kána délas arman'á ajakhá li ovélas. 22. Lilé te perén pal lénde l' o šov phralá, li na reslé len, potomúšto esás opré léste o gad kaj ačhiló, kána sas dahá léski daj. 23. Ov phenl'ás jekh zbóra: «Te si mi daj ġivindí, oj man kátar bída výručit». 24. Alé ġi puménde, lilé te kerén o bijáv, aj dečí dikhén: avér d'es avén o šov phralá. 25. On la na lilé léstar, amí o baró phral din'ás la arman'á: «Ko baštutnó pújos tu kan-merés, aj les kan-mudarén manušá». 26. L' ajakhá vuló: o baštutnó pújos muló, aj la o grastá mudardé. 27. Kána dikhl'ás ov kaj merél oj, ov aló ko grastá te diné les dab o grastá. 28. Les din' ó dab o grastá, aj ov ačhiló ġivindó. 29. Lel ov e čh'urí taj koliskerél péste e mósa aj destésa láte taj din'ás dujé vasténca búrnekh taj čhind'ás pes. 30. Lil'ás o dad, o kaká taj phralá te rovén. 31. Garavdé len don andé jekh gróbos. 32. Ladlé odolé gavéstar alají. 33. Diné andé vúrdon taj ladlé.

### Ruzhitsa

1. And he [a Rom named Madzhari] took the child and went to look for her [his wife]. 2. He went everywhere, [and] wherever he came, wherever he asked the people, no-one had seen [her], no-one had heard of that woman. 3. He returned to his family, and his son grew up. 4. And he went to look for his mother; he spent a year wandering, or two [years], but

didn't find her. 5. Once he sees vast water in front of him – a sea. 6. He thought, “Perhaps my mother is over there”, and crossed that sea. 7. [He] sees [that] there are many tents: the Roma with tents. 8. He hid himself and thinks, “Probably my mother is with them”. 9. [He] sees a spring. 10. Then he sat down behind a bush. 11. Many girls come to the water. 12. He began looking for his mother. 13. [He] saw [that] her mother wasn't there, but he can not ask. 14. He pretended to be a [non-Romani] boy, approached the tents, [and] asks to be told [his] fortunes. 15. One girl [Ruzhitsa] approached to tell his fortunes. 16. He thinks, “As I have no mother, I should get married. My father is single, and I am lonely, so there will be someone to cook and wash [clothes]”. 17. So he says to her that he is a Rom and [that he] loves her. 18. And she loves him too. 19. [They] came to terms [with each other] and ran away: they both mounted one horse and ran away. 20. And she had six brothers. 21. [Her] elder brother was a sorcerer, [and] when he issued damnation, it worked. 22. Six brothers rushed for them, and didn't catch them, because he had a shirt upon him – a shirt left from [the time] when he had a mother. 23. He said a word, “If my mother is alive, she will save me from a trouble”. 24. [They] arrived to their [relatives], began the marriage ceremony, and then see: next day six brothers come to her. 25. They didn't take her away from him, but the elder brother issued damnation on her: “You will die at a time your first child is born, and he will be killed by the people”. 26. And so it happened: her first child died, and the horses killed her. 27. When he saw how she was dying, he approached the horses, so that the horses beat him. 28. The horses beat him, but he was left alive. 29. [Then] he takes a knife and points it with an edge to himself and with the handle to her, and caught hold [the knife] with both hands and stabbed himself (See Commentary). 30. [His] father, uncles and brothers began crying. 31. [They] buried them two in one grave. 32. Everyone left that village. 33. [They all] sat down in a cart and drove away.

## 6. “Bišužy” (“The Evil One”)

The “*Bišužy*” (“The Evil One”) fairy-tale was recorded in 1993 in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mr. Pavel Borisovich Humerohlyi (Romani name Muradi) (1960-1999). The story was first published in: *Toropov V.G. Krymskii dialekt tsyganskogo yazyka* (pp. 23-25) issued in Ivanovo in 1994.

Mr. Pavel Humerohlyi often told this fairy-tale to his daughters whom he tenderly loved. The plot of this Romani fairy-tale is simple: it is a story about young Romani women who were telling fortunes in a village.



It's possible that when the informant was speaking of two young Romani women he meant his daughters who were still young at that time. In a form that a child can understand he gave his daughters one of the first lessons of father's everyday wisdom: you should be careful during a travel, and be especially careful with unfamiliar people; don't be greedy and don't rush for big money; don't part with your children for they are your protection and help, as even God defends first of all mothers with small children.

Mr. Pavel Gumeroglyi whose grand father belonged to a Romani group known in Crimean Romani as *kyrymlydes*, or "Crimeans" (possibly the residents of the city of Staryy Krym) differed in his speech from other Roma, like his father Boris Romanovich used to. In particular he always spoke *sužó*, rather than *šuzó* "clean" as the rest Roma who lived around him spoke, and considered such phonation of this word to be the only correct one.

### Bišužý

1. Ej akaná.
2. Ávgos manušá phirénas te mangén o lové, o xapé andé ko gav.
3. Kidiné pes duj terné ģ'uvl'á. 4. Jekháte sas andé angáli pújos. 5. Bešénas č'orés. 6. Gelé andé ko gav, phirdé, kidiné xapé, kotorisa dorikerdé lové taj lilé te ģ'an kheré. 7. O vaxyti sas opré belvel'áte. 8. Alé ko gavésko č'éti, dikhén: terdó si baró šukár kher. 9. Niklistí andár terní šukár raklí taj del íkos e č'h'ajén te dorikerén la taj kan-dén len but lové. 10. Alé andé odolé kheréste, diné andé ko kher. 11. Andé kher esás but barvalipé, mangín. 12. Odojá gaġi sas but barvalí. 13. Akaná len o kárt'a, lilé te dorikerén. 14. Dorikerdé on la. 15. Nikalél andár pe post'áte, del but lové taj mangín len: «Uġ'arén kotorí vaxyti, ankhá kan-avél mi amalínka, kan-dorikerén la taj kan-dél oj tumén but lové». 16. Akaná on ačhilé. 17. Odojá gaġi niklistí taj gelí avré kheréste pe diláke. 18. On ačhilé korkoré andé ko kher.

19. Uġ'arén akaná, uġ'arén: nanáj ne gaġ'á, ne amalínka, aj avrí pelí užé barí témina, taj lilé o č'h'ejá te trašán korkoré andé ko kher, lilé te phirén te róden la taj naší arakhén e sahbuisá e kheréske. 20. Ej akaná, jekh ģ'uvlí phinravél o vudár – dikhél: esí kaló kher, ko maškár odolé kheréske esí pašló kaló gróbos, aj andé odolé grobóste esí pašlí e sahbúisa e kheréskiri. 21. Ej akaná odojá č'h'aj trašánili taj pelí ke phu. 22. Láte kan-phar'ólas o jiló. 23. Fájma ja e Devléstar, kaj sas o pújos opré láke vasténde, o Del la ajadý, taj láke na vuló ništo, taj on vulé avrí. 24. Lilé te roven kátar ke barí tráš, taj lilé č'al'ti te prástan te našen péske kheré, aj o kher léngoro sas avré xotráste. 25. Opré droméste angál lénde on raskeldý (it must be: raskeldýlár) phuré manušés, savó trádelas kheré e guruvén kátar ke livadí.

26. Akaná phuró manúš lil'ás te phuč'él léndar: «Sóske, čh'ejálen, tumé rovén, so vuló tuménde?» 27. Lilé te phukavén léske kaj dorikerdé gağ'á – láte sas baró lačh'ó kher taj din'ás len but lové. 28. Kána nikaldé on odolá lové te sikavén e phuréske andé lénde post'énde o lové na sas, amí sas pherdé póst'a kišáj. 29. Odá phuró manúš lil'ás te phenél lénge: andé odolé kheréste, kon avénas – manušá ġivindé andár na níkl'onas. 30. «Fájma tumén o Del ajadý, ja tumaré pujós, – phenl'ás odá phuró. – Ğ'an tuménge č'al'ti kheré taj ból'se má elan odolé kheréste, makárim me den tumén gonó lové». 31. Odolá čh'ajá prastandós gelé kheré.

32. Nakhló jekh bazári pal odolé diláte. 33. E jekh čh'aj, sav'áte na sas pújos, oj mulí, fájma e trašátar. 34. Aj odojá, sav'áte sas o pújos, oj ačhilí ġivindí, li ġ' akaná si nasvalí.

### The Evil One

1. Well, now.

2. In old times people used to go to a village to beg for money [and] food. 3. Two young women came together [to do so]. 4. One [woman] had a baby in [her] arms. 5. Poorly [they] lived. 6. [They] left for a village, walked [from home to home], gathered [some] food, got a bit of money by telling fortunes and began going home. 7. The time was into the evening. 8. [They] came to the outskirts of the village [and] see a large beautiful house standing [there]. 9. A beautiful girl came from inside [the house] and calls the women to tell her fortunes and [promised to] give them much money. 10. [They] came into that house [and] entered the room. 11. There was much wealth [and] property in the room. 12. That woman was very rich. 13. Now [they] take [their] cards [and] started telling fortunes. 14. They told fortunes to her. 15. [She] takes a lot of money out of her pocket [and] gives [it to them] and asks them, "Wait for a short time: my girl-friend is about to come; [you'll] tell fortunes to her and she'll give you a lot of money". 16. Now they stayed [there]. 17. That woman went away and left for another room [to do] her business. 18. They stayed alone in the house.

19. Now [they] wait [and] wait; there is neither the woman nor [her] friend; heavy [night] darkness had already fallen onto the street, and the women started getting frightened [being] alone in the house; [they] began walking [and] looking for her, and [they] cannot find the mistress of the house. 20. Well, now one [of the] women opens a door [and] sees a dark room [with] a coffin standing in the middle of that room, and lying in that coffin is the mistress of the house. 21. And now that woman has got frightened and falls to the ground. 22. Her heart would have failed. 23. Maybe God felt sorry for her as she had a baby in [her] arms; nothing

happened [to them], and they found themselves in a street. 24. [They] burst into tears from terrible fear and run fast to get to their home, and their home was in another village. 25. On [their] way they met a man who had been driving bulls home from a field.

26. Now [that] old man began asking them, “Why are you crying, oh [my] daughters, what has happened to you?” 27. [They] started telling him that they told fortunes to a woman [who] had a large good house and [she] gave them a lot of money. 28. When [they] produced that money to show [it] to the old man, there was no money in their pockets, but [their] pockets were full of sand. 29. That old man began telling them [that] of those people who entered that house nobody came out alive. 30. “Perhaps God felt sorry for you or for your child”, that old man said; “Now go home and never come to that house, even if they offer you a bag [full] of money”. 31. Those women went running for [their] home.

32. A week passed since that affair. 33. The woman who had no child died, maybe from fear. 34. And the one who had the child was left alive, but has been ill ever since.

### 7. “Duj phen'or'á” (“The Two Sisters”)

“*Duj phen'or'á*” (“The Two Sisters”) fairy-tale was recorded in December 1981 from Mrs. Mariya Dmitriyevna Karachuk (1941-2005) at Pobeda farmstead (Primorskij region of the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). It was first published in 1986 (Cf. *The Manuscript*, pp. 27-28, 44-45).

This fairy-tale is a free retelling of a Russian folk fairy-tale *Morozko* (SUS 480). The characters of the story are the old man, his own daughter, her stepmother, and her own daughter. After the stepmother’s evil wish the old man’s own daughter is driven deep into the forest. There a fabulous creature named *Morozko* (from a Russian *moroz* for frost) tests her and gives her a reward. The old woman’s own daughter also wants to be given a present, but she fails to pass the test and perishes. The informant’s story varies from this Russian version of the plot in some minor details.

The author remembers that weather was cold at a day when the fairy-tale was recorded. Though a stove was burning, it was still far from warm in Roma’s home. One of the housewife’s younger daughters whose name was Tarara was getting warm sitting near the stove. She attentively listened to her mother’s story, feeling for the old man and his daughter. The woman smiled when she pronounced phrase №27 about a he-dog rewarding the old man’s daughter with golden chain for combing the dog’s hair; the

girl might imagine herself “in the shoes” of the old man’s daughter and smiled back to her mother with a timid child’s smile.

### Duj phen’or’á

1. Bešél phuró taj phurí. 2. Ko phuró esí raklí avré gağ’átar, amí ke phurí avré gağ’estar. 3. E phuréski raklí esí šukár, aj phur’áki nanáj šukár. 4. E phurí rišijel e phurésa: «Me na dexáv te rakl’á, gel te rakl’á andé ko baró veš, kaj na phirén o manušá taj muk la othé!» 5. Lil’ás o phuró vúrdon, thed’ás andé e rakl’á taj gel’d’ás, taj mukl’ás la andé veš. 6. Aj ov aló kheré péske. 7. Akaná raklí bešél bazári, duj, sahyndý pe dadéske, nanáj so te xal, merél e bokhátar. 8. Akaná lil’ás oj taj arakhl’ás tikn’orí pótyka. 9. G’álas odolé potykása taj arakhl’ás o baró sádi. 10. Avél andár odolé sad’este baró rikonó mamúj láte taj phenél láke o rikonó: «Raklíje, le xránde man li šužár man, me túke v prigód’e kan-ováv». 11. Oj xranl’ás, šužard’ás les. 12. Géne g’al e raklí, anglé o terék’a, o phabajá phenén: «Xránde amén, šužár amén, amé túke v prigód’e kan-ováv».

13. Kána lil’ás e raklí taj bóldel pes palé káte esás andé veš. 14. Amí andé veš taj arakhél baró dúbi, taj si andé bešli. 15. Akaná tasavél morózi taj si šyl, taj phuč’él o Morózi e rakl’á: «Tu na mahrosáil’an?» 16. E raklí phenél: «Aj, phuró dáde, me na mahrosáil’om». 17. Phenl’ás taj vulé opré láte o bahalýdes savút’a. 18. Dújto var phuč’l’ás ov látar: «Tu na mahrosáil’an, č’h’éjo?» – taj vuló angál láte tiknoró phol’áko sandúki. 19. Akaná kheré o phuró e phur’ása rišijen. 20. Me kan-g’áv te anáv me rakl’á. 21. Geló phuró taj anél la e vurdása. 22. Ke phurí kheré esí tikn’orí rikon’orí taj buč’hól Syrínka. 23. Akaná e phurí phenél: «Syrínko, ále, xa o var’eník’a taj phen, kaj anél e rakl’á sámi kókala». 24. E rikoní xal’ás alají o var’eník’a taj phenél: «O phuró e Nazlá anél car’ěvnica, sasté phol’á». 25. Del o phuró andé ke bar e vurdása, anél e Nazlá andé ko kher car’ěvnica. 26. Akaná e phurí phenél: «Phuréja, č’ál’ti le me rakl’á taj gel, káte sas ti raklí». 27. O rikonó, kaj šužard’ás les e raklí andé sádi, Nazlá odblahodaríl: din’ás e phol’áki g’angír ke men.

28. Tasavél o Morózi li rakl’á. 29. «Na mahrosáil’an?» – phuč’el o Morózi. 30. Aj oj otv’eč’ájet: «So phuč’és mándar? Mahrosáil’om!» 31. Andár odolé zborénde o Del kerd’ás la sámi kókala. 32. Akaná e phurí phenél e phuréske: «Č’ál’ti an me rakl’á!» 33. Geló o phuró e vurdása te anél e rakl’á. 34. Akaná phurí phenél e rikon’áke: «Syrínko, Syrínko, ále, xa o blinídes taj phen, kaj anél e Lidá sámi phol’á». 35. E rikoní xal’ás o blinídes taj phenl’ás: «E Lidá sámi kókala anél». 36. Taj del o phuró andé bar e rakl’ása sámi kókala. 37. Sar dikhl’ás e phurí taj lel opré phuró o klávos, aj

ov o koč'erhás taj lilé te marén pes za to, kaj vulí e phuréski raklí car'évnica, amí e phur'áki raklí – sámi kókala.

### The Two Sisters

1. [There] live an old man and an old woman. 2. The old man has a daughter from his former wife, and the old woman [has a daughter] from her former husband. 3. The old man's daughter is beautiful, and that of the old woman is not. 4. The old woman argues with the old man, "I don't like your daughter; lead your daughter into a large forest, where no-one walks, and leave her there!" 5. The old man took a cart, seated his daughter in it and drove away; [he] left her in the forest. 6. And he drove back home. 7. Now the girl lives for a week, for another week, [she] misses her father, [she's got] nothing to eat, [and she is] dying of hunger. 8. Once she found a narrow path. 9. [She] went along this path and found a large garden. 10. A big dog comes from the garden to the girl, and the dog says, "You girl, comb me and clean me, I'll be of use to you". 11. She combed [and] cleaned it. 12. The girl keeps going; [there are] trees in front of her, [and] the apples say, "Dig us round, clean us, we will be of use to you".

13. Then the girl started back to where she had been in the forest. 14. And in the forest [she] finds a big oak-tree and sits in it. 15. Now, the frost is pressing [her] hard, and the coldness stands, and the frost asks the girl, "Aren't you chilled?" 16. The girl says, "Oh, grandpa, I am not chilled". 17. [As she] said [so], expensive dress appeared on her. 18. [The frost] asked her for the second time, "Aren't you chilled, daughter?", and a small golden chest appeared before her. 19. [Meanwhile] the old man and the old woman quarrel at [their] home. 20. [The old man says], "I'll go and bring my daughter back". 21. The old man went away and brought her back in a cart. 22. The old woman has a small dog at home called Shirinka. 23. Now the old woman says, "Shirinko [*vocative form of Shirinka*], do eat these vareniks and say that the daughter will be taken back exhausted [*literally, the very bones*]" 24. The small dog ate vareniks and says, "The old man is bringing Nazly [as] a tsaritsa [*dressed in*] gold". 25. The old man drives his cart in the yard, [and] leads Nazly inside [his] home as a tsaritsa. 26. Now the old woman says, "You old man, take my daughter and drive her now to where your daughter had been". 27. The dog that the daughter cleaned in the garden thanked Nazly: it gave her a golden chain to her neck.

28. The frost is pressing the old woman's daughter hard either. 29. "Aren't you chilled?", the frost asks. 30. And she replies, "What are you asking me for? I am chilled!" 31. Because of this word God turned her into the very bones. 32. Now the old woman says to the old man, "Bring my

daughter back quickly!” 33. The old man went by cart to bring the daughter back. 34. Now the old woman says to [her] small dog, “Shirinko, Shirinko, eat these pan-cakes and tell [me] that [he] is bringing back Lida the very gold”. 35. The small dog ate pan-cakes and said, “[He is] bringing Lida the very bones”. 36. And the old man drives in the yard with the daughter the very bones. 37. As the old woman saw [her], she rose a rolling-pin on the old man, and he [rose] a pocker, and [they] started beating each other over the old man’s daughter becoming tsaritsa, and the old woman’s daughter [becoming] the very bones.

## 8. “E sapéstar” (“About the Snake Dragon”)

“*E sapéstar*” (“About the Snake Dragon”) fairy-tale was recorded in October 1981 from Mr. Vladimir Nikolayevich Balai (b. c. 1931) in the community of Rajevskaja (Primorskij region of the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The story was first published in 1986 (Cf. *The Manuscript*, pp. 28-32, 45-49).

The informant introduced quite many Russian words into his language, possibly for the story to be understood better.

The fairy-tale characters are both Roma and non-Roma. The figure of a Romani woman with a newly born baby is very true-to-life. According to an evil night dream that came to a tsar, her child must die, for him not to occupy the tsar’s throne. The fairy-tale is described the adventures of the boy.

Some rare forms of verbs may be found in Roma woman’s speech:

In phrase № 5 ...*Me tumén mukávas, amí aménde but púja si...* (“I would let you in for [the night] but I have many children”) the verb in Past Indefinite Tense Indicative Mood has the meaning of an action that is only possible and that is conditioned by the situation. In other words, it has a Conditional Mood meaning.

Phrases № 6 and 12 contain some rare forms of Future Indefinite Tense Indicative Mood ...*Me sovena...* (“...Let [them] sleep...”); ...*Me zborízava me romésa...* (“...I’ll talk to my husband...”). These verbs also denote some sort of action conditional upon something, of action not being connected with the moment of the speech; anyway the author considers them to be Indicative Mood forms.

### E sapéstar

1. Bešél patišáj, lel o patišáj dikhél sunó, kaj o čh’avoró kan-ovél patišáj léske thanéste. 2. Ušinó sabastán del andé e grastén trójka taj ladló

gavénde, phird'ás e grasténca ģi ke rat, avél gavéste kána dikhél: durál sv'éti thaból, terd'arél othé ko kher o vúrdon, del andé kher, esí: rom pe romn'ása bešél. 3. Esí léste bukadár púja, č'elov'ék d'és'at': sámi tiknó čh'avó. 4. Lel akaná o patišáj tuvardý: «Muk athé te ratkerás». 5. Odá o rom phenél: «Me tumén mukávas, amí aménde but púja si!» 6. Uhovoril len, e romní phenél: «Me sovéna». 7. Lilé on andár ko vúrdon, xalé mas, manró, rakíjes. 8. Bešlé te xan, te pijén, ratkerdé on jekh rat. 9. Mangén pes géneja te ratkerén, o grastá khinilé. 10. Géne jekh rat ratkerdé lénde. 11. Akaná phenél o patišáj roméske: «De man akalé čh'avorés mánde, tuménde but púja si, me kan-dáv tut jekh vúrdon phol'á, tól'ko man de čh'avorés». 12. Odojá romní phenél: «Me zborízava me romésa». 13. Avél o rom kátar butí. 14. Len zborízen te den, ja te na den. 15. Phenél o rom: «De, taj kan-ovás barvalé, kan-dén jekh vúrdon phol'á». 16. Lilé čh'avorés taj ladlé kátar gav, kilom'étrov patnácat' – dvátcat' ladlé kátar gav. 17. Lel o patišáj e čh'avorés taj čh'el andé ko jiv taj ladló, aj léskere vúrda ládenas, phol'á gelénas, angalunó odá rom šunél o béber'a e pujóske, lel terd'arél o vúrdon, ģ'al, dikhél: o čh'avoró phuč'ardó si, agorál léste lulud'á bar'ón. 18. Lel o rom taj thel les an vúrdon, taj ladlé. 19. O jekh, kaj sas palál e vurdása, kaj lil'ás e pujós. 20. Del léske béber'a: «Róma, térd'o!» 21. Terdiló odá rom. 22. So arakhl'án, róma? 23. «Áke čh'avorés arakhl'óm!» – phenél léske odá rom. 24. De mánde odolé čh'avorés, mánde púja nanáj, aj túte si, me te dav aká o phol'á jekh vúrdon. 25. Lel del. 26. Lel e čh'avorés péste. 27. Esí lénde jekh čh'ón. 28. Len o kon'úx'a, zborízen: «Amé ládasas taj arakhl'ás asavkó rom e čh'avorés taj lel te del okoléste, kaj nanáj púja léste». 29. O patišáj pal ko uhlás esí taj šunél. 30. Lel taj avél o patišáj odolé roménde, phuč'él: «Kaj si o čh'avoró, káste?» 31. Len taj phukavén asavké roméste si. 32. Č'al othé ko kher o patišáj. 33. Lel phenél o patišáj: «Álen tuménde duj vúrda phol'á, tól'ko e pujós den mánde». 34. Krutiskerdé pes o romá, na mangén te den, ras o patišáj mangél len taj den. 35. Lel ov, o patišáj, zakazyvaiskerél barí bōč'ka, thel sar si sutó o čh'avoró. 36. Thedé les andé bōč'ka. 37. Duj breš geló taj ovél búr'a opré der'áv, taj čh'el e bōč'ka ko b'er'ehás. 38. Avré patisajéskere pastúx'a č'ar'avénas e bakrén, o jekh pastúxi phenél: «Te si jílésa minró si, – aj o jekh phenél, – te si savút'a minró si! – trító phenél. – Te si phol'éncia minró si». 39. Phenén odolá o trin romá: «Háde, te phagerás e bōč'ka». 40. Len phagerén, dikhén o čh'avoró si. 41. O čh'avoró bar'ól na d'es'énca, amí sahat'énca. 42. Lel o patišáj péste, thel les barés andé monastýri. 44. Bešél ov othé n'éskol'ko breš. 45. O patišáj léske phenél: «Áke, mo čh'avó, trin čh'ajá, sav'á dexés, odolá le». 46. Č'ér'ez n'éskol'ko vr'ém'a avél odá patišáj lilá te lel adaléste. 47. Len duj, trin d'es pijén o patišajá, aj o čh'avoró si andé monastýri. 48. Akaná phenél o patišáj adalé patišajéske: «Háden te dikhás, so si andé monastýri?» 49. Gelé, phinravd'ás les, dikhlé alají taj

dikhél e č'avorés. 50. Kon esí adá túte? 51. Adá mo č'ávó si! 52. O patišáj phenél: «Me ġ'anáv, kaj túte si trin č'h'ájá, aj č'h'avó nanáj túte, tu xoxavés man». 53. Lel taj phukavél o patišáj, kaj ġ'álas bóč'ka taj arakhél la lésko pastúxi. 54. O patišáj hánilo, kaj ov esí adá č'avoró. 55. Lel ov: «Tu man izviniskér, mánge kamél č'ál'ti te gelél o lil me patišainkáte». 56. Sar tu mangés, gel les. 57. Del les grastés, ládel, trin d'és ládel, užé belvél'. 58. Dikhél: kher esí terdó andé veš. 59. Níkl'ol phurí: «Terd'ár, mo č'h'avó, kaj ládes? Užé belvél' esí, ratkér mánde, aj sabastán désa trad taj ġ'ása». 60. Má! bábo, mánge kamél č'ál'ti te geláv o lil! 61. Aj e phurí esás temsemlýisa taj phenél léske: «Má sig'ar, ratkér taj ġ'ása». 62. Ras tu, bábo, mangés ajakhá me thav tut kan! 63. Thel e grastés andé saráji, sam geló ko kher. 64. Xal'ás, taj pil'ás, taj sutó. 65. Lel e phurí andé ke kisí, nikalél o lil, drapkerél. 66. Adá o patišáj jazdíjel: «Do mojejóv prijězda štob les n'é bylo». 67. Lel e phurí dikhél: so šukár manúš esí, aj les mangén te mudarén. 68. Lel phurí, pharavél odá pismás, lel jazdíjel: do mojejóv prijězda te prandoskerél les opré me rakl'áte. 69. Úš'el o rakló, ur'avd'ás pes, xal'ás, pil'ás. 70. Akaná, mo č'h'avó, láde. 71. Lel o rakló bešél opré gras: «Bax me del tut o Del, ladl'óm, bábo». 72. Avél ke patišaínka, del o pismás. 73. Drapkerél: te prandoskerél adalé č'h'avés opré me č'h'ájate taj te khelés bijáv. 74. Ras prikázi ajakhá: khelén bijáv, trin, štar d'és khelén, alají užé, kaj perén o gaġ'é léste. 75. O xyzméti léstar phuč'én: «Kaj te ġ'as, so te kerés». 76. Avél o patišáj dujé č'h'onéndar. 77. Kána dikhél odá č'h'avoró prikázyvavet alajénge. 78. Aj ov ġ'anél, kaj les mudardé, aj ov esí léske thanéste, patišáj esí. 79. Lel avél ke romní: «Tu lil'án o pismás?» 80. E romní phenl'ás: «Lil'óm». 81. Aj so sas andé jazdimé? 82. Do mojejóv prijězda te khelés bijáv... 83. Psixuiskerd'ás o patišáj, del íkos: «Éla mánde, ġ'amutrėja! Ġ'a asavké thanéste, othé mánge si bórgi jekh paroxódi phol'á, le odolá phol'á, aj te na lésa, to dečí kan-mudárd'os». 84. Lel ġ'al, dikhél mač'ó, pasyló ke der'av. 85. Múrša, kaj ġ'as? 86. Ġ'av asavké thanéste. 87. Phuč' mándar kaj som ko ġ'ahás pašló. 88. «Lač'h'és, phuč'áva», – ġ'al anglé o č'h'avoró. 89. Dikhél xotrás esí, gaġ'é, kaj phenén: «Kaj ġ'as?» 90. Ġ'av asavké, asavké thanéste. 91. Aménde but breš páni nanáj, mangás: «Phuč' l' améndar». 92. O č'h'avoró phenél: «Phuč'áva». 93. Gelé. 94. Anglé esí páni baró. 95. Kamél okor'áinga te nakhél, esí terdí lódká. 96. Beš te gelás tut okor'áinga. 97. Lel bešél o rakló andé, gelél les, phuč'él odá múrš, kaj ġ'al akasavkéste. 98. Phuč' li mándar, but breš phiraváv e lódká, aj naší te ġ'av kheré, mo kher esí terdó, amí naší.

99. Avél, kána dikhél o binás č'uhun'ésko, phirél agorál nanáj o pénč'eres, esí jekh tikn'orí, othár e ġ'uvlí béber'a del. 100. Lel oj mukél šeló: «Níkl'o athé mánde». 101. Lel o rakló, níkl'ol, kána zborisáile, bérím esí oj e č'ačí léski phen, taj č'ord'ásas la o sap triné šeréngo. 102. D'és bešél, duj,



áke túke, kan-ovél o sap. 103. Lel oj taj garavél pe phralés andé sandúki kátar ko aždahás. 104. Aló taj phenél: «Athé túte muršykanó búros khándeł». 105. Aj oj phenél léske: «Tu ġ'as, marés tut aždahádénca, taj si túte adavá búros muršykanó». 106. Aj ov phenél: «Tu man xoxavés, zjadé phen mánge». 107. Oj phenél: «Aj tu odolé manušeste na kan-lišjjes?» 108. Jéšli aló lačhimása, na. 109. Lel oj phenél: «Othé mo č'ač'ó phral aló», — lel phinravél odá sandúki, níkl'ol o č'h'avoró andár. 110. Lel č'h'el o sap o kápi e sapésoro taj vuló zoraló č'h'avó. 111. Akaná phuč'él o ġ'amutró: «Kaj ġ'as, kaj pel'án athé, kon bič'h'al'd'ás tut?» 112. Xalé, pilé, aj dečí phuč'l'ás: «So kamés? Mózet phol'á ja grastá, ja vúrda, so kamés?» 113. Mánge na kamél níšto, man bič'h'al'd'ás o patišáj, kaj san tu bórġi léske jekh paroxódi phol'á. 114. Aj ov, adá, asánilo: «Ov xoxavd'ás tut, ov mangél te mudarél tut». 115. Me ġ'áva kheré dečí, tól'ko phen mánge trin z'bóres, áke lódká, kaj phiravél o phuró e maml'ek'et'én, so si lésa, kaj kheré na ġ'al? 116. Odá phuró esí armán dindó, te thel manušés andé lódká, ne dojež'ája do b'er'eha phuró sprjhn'et, taj odová manuš ač'h'ól andé lódká, aj ov kan-ġ'al kheré, l' odová mač'h'ó tóže armán esí dindó, te č'h'ádelá o paroxódi e phol'éncia, e maml'ek'et'éncia, aj dečí kan-ġ'al andé xor páni. 117. Géne jekh voprósi: xotrás, užé breš páni nanáj. 118. O sap phenél: «Tóže armán dindó, othé si maškaré ko xotrás dúbí kernó, te déna butúr'a o gaġ'é, kan-ovél o páni». 119. «Bax me del tut o Del, me ġ'av», — avél ko páni te nakhavél okor'áinga. 120. «Phuč'l'án mándar?» — «Nakháv man okor'áinga, dečí phukaváva». 121. Nakhavd'ás okor'áinga, lel phenél: «P'érví manuš sar bešél andé lódká, ne doxod'á ko ġ'ahás, taj čhi tut andár, ov kan-ač'h'ól andé lódká». 122. Avél ko mač'h'ó, lel phenél léske: «Te č'h'ádesa o paroxódi e muršénca, e phol'éncia, to tu kan-ġ'ás ko xor páni». 123. Lel č'h'ádel o paroxódi e phol'éncia taj manušén. 124. Lel o rakló bešél andé odolé paroxod'éste taj gel'd'ás o phol'á péste, aj o mač'h'ó geló an der'av. 125. Ládel pašál ġ'ahás, ko ġ'ahás esí xotrás, taj phuč'én o gaġ'é: «So phenlé améndar?» 126. Peravén aká dúbí taj kan-ovél o páni. 127. Peravdé o dúbí taj geló o páni. 128. Aló kheré, o patišáj esí terdó. 129. Áke, kaj phenl'án: jekh paroxódi phol'á. 130. Lel o patišáj: tak ov na xal'ás, na mudard'ás les odá o sap, dahá phol'á din'ás les, áke, amá dikh so kan-keráv léske! 131. Sar geló dovrús ko páni. 132. Nakháv man okor'áinga! 133. Bešél andé lódká o patišáj. 134. Tól'ko bešló, kátar ko b'er'ehás geló, taj č'h'el pes o phuró, geló kheré aj o patišáj ačhiló te phiravél e gaġ'én, aj e č'h'avés ačhiló odá patišajlýki alají.

## About the Snake Dragon

1. [There] lives a tsar, [and] once he has a night-dream of a boy becoming the tsar instead of him. 2. [He] got up in the morning, harnesses a *troika* of horses and went from one village to another; he travelled by horses until the night, [when he] approaches a village and sees a light burning far away [from him]; [he] stops a cart near a house, goes inside the house, [and] in it a Rom and a Romani woman live. 3. [They] have many children, maybe ten [of them], the youngest [being] a boy. 4. Now the tsar unharnesses [his horses and says], "Let me spend a night here". 5. That Rom says, "I may let you [spend a night], but we have many children". 6. [The tsar] persuaded them, [and] the Romani woman says, "Let them sleep". 7. They took their carts and had meat, bread, vodka. 8. [They] sat to eat, drink [and] spent one night. 9. [They] ask for one more night, [as their] horses were tired. 10. [They] spent one more night at their [home]. 11. Now the tsar says to the Rom, "Give me this boy; you have many children; I'll give you a cart of gold, only give me that boy". 12. The Romani woman says, "I'll talk to my husband". 13. The Rom returns from work. 14. [They] begin talking whether to give the boy or not. 15. The Rom says, "[Let us] Give [the boy to the tsar], and [we] will be rich: [he will] give [us] a cart of gold". 16. [They] took the boy and went away from the village for fifteen or twenty kilometers. 17. The tsar takes the boy, throws him into snow and drove away; and his carts were carrying gold; the Rom at the front cart hears the child's crying, stops [his] cart, goes [out] and sees an unwrapped boy [and] flowers growing round him. 18. The Rom takes him and seats into his cart, and they drove away. 19. One [man] that was behind with [another] cart saw him taking the child. 20. [He] cries to him, "Stop, Rom!" 21. That Rom stopped. 22. "What did [you] find, Rom?" 23. "Here, [I've] found a boy". 24. "Give me that boy, I have no children, and you have [them], I can give you a cart with gold for him". 25. [He] gives [the boy]. 26. [That man] takes the boy. 27. [The boy] stays at his [home] for a month. 28. The stable-men begin talking, "We went riding, and such a Rom found a boy, and gave [the boy] to this guy, as he had no children". 29. The tsar is behind and hears [this conversation]. 30. The tsar goes to those Roma [and] asks, "Where's the boy, at whose [home is he]?" 31. They say, "[He's] in the house of that Rom". 32. The tsar goes to [that] house. 33. The tsar says, "Here are two carts with gold for you, but give me the child". 34. The Roma dodge, [they] don't want to give [the boy], but as the tsar asks, [they] take him and give [him]. 35. The tsar orders a large barrel [and] puts a sleeping boy [in it]. 36. [So] he was placed in a barrel. 37. Two years passed; a storm happened at sea, and [the waves] throw the barrel on the shore. 38. Some

other tsar's shepherds were grazing rams [there], [and] one shepherd says, "If [the barrel is] with a living creature [literally, *with a soul*] inside, it's mine;" the other [guy] says, "If [the barrel is] with things, [it's] mine;" [and] the third [shepherd] says, "If with gold, [it's] mine." 39. [Now] The three Roma [shepherds] say, "Let's go and split the barrel". 40. [They] do split [it], [and] see the boy. 41. The boy grows very quickly. 42. That old man takes him and brings to the tsar, "Here, I brought a boy". 43. The tsar takes him, [and] places him, a grown-up [boy], into a monastery. 44. [He] lives there for some years. 45. [Than] The tsar tells him, "Here, my son, [are] three daughters, take the one you love". 46. After some time that tsar comes to take some documents for him. 47. The tsars drink for two days, for three, and the boy [is] in the monastery. 48. Now one tsar says to another, "Let's go and see what's [going on] in the monastery". 49. [They] left, [he] opened it, [they] looked upon everything and saw the boy. 50. "Who is that here?", [asks one tsar]. 51. "It's my son", [replies another tsar]. 52. The [first] tsar says, "I know that you have three daughters, but you haven't got a son; you are cheating me." 53. Then [another] tsar tells [him] how the barrel was floating and a shepherd found it. 54. The [first] tsar understood that he [was] that boy. 55. So he says, "Excuse me, I need to carry a letter to my tsaritsa quickly". 56. [Do] As you need to; carry it. 57. [He] gives him a horse, [and that tsar] rides for three days, [until] evening [comes]. 58. [He] looks [around and see]: a house stands in the forest. 59. An old woman walks out [of it] [and says], "Stop, my son, where are you going? It is evening already; come and spend a night here; next morning [you'll] stand up and go". 60. "No! Grandma, I need to carry a letter quickly", says the young man. 61. And the old woman was a good enchantress; [she] says to him, "Don't hurry, spend a night and [then you'll] go". 62. "If you ask me, grandma, then I obey you", the young man says. 63. [He] places the horse in a shed and enters the house. 64. [He] ate and drank and fell asleep. 65. The old woman takes a letter from [his] pocket [and] reads [it]. 66. That tsar writes, "Before I return he must be dead". 67. The old woman looks: what a beautiful young man, and [they] want to kill him. 68. So the old woman tears that letter and writes [another one]: Before I return, marry him to my daughter. 69. The guy gets up, puts his dress on, takes a meal [and] a drink. 70. [The old woman says], "Now go, my son". 71. Then the boy mounts his horse [and says], "Let God give happiness to you, [I am] going, grandma". 72. He arrives to tsaritsa [and] gives the letter [to her]. 73. [She] reads: to marry this young boy to my daughter and to celebrate the wedding. 74. As it is ordered, [they] celebrate the wedding for three days [and] four, [they] celebrate until people are falling there. 75. [They] ask him what to do, where to go. 76. The tsar arrives after two months. 77. Then [he] sees that

this guy issues orders to everyone. 78. And he knows that he was killed, but he [is indeed] a tsar at his place. 79. He goes to [his] wife [and asks], “Did you receive [my] letter?” 80. The wife said, “[I] received [it]”. 81. “And what was written there?” [the tsar asks]. 82. “To celebrate a marriage before my return...” [the tsaritsa says]. 83. The tsar went almost mad, [and he] calls, “Come here, [my] son-in-law! Go to a certain place where there is a debt [owed] to me, a steam-boat full of gold, take that gold, and if [you] don’t take it, then [you] will be killed”. 84. [He] goes to the sea and sees a fish. 85. “Where do you go, boy?” [the fish asks]. 86. “[I’m] going to a certain place”, [the guy replies]. 87. [The fish asks]: “Ask [there] about me. Why do [I] lie on the shore?” 88. “OK, [I’ll] ask”, [he says and] goes on. 89. [He] sees a settlement [where] people ask [him], “Where [are you] going?” 90. “[I’m] going to a certain place”, [he says]. 91. “We haven’t got water for many years; please, ask about us as well”, the people say. 92. The guy says, “I’ll ask”. 93. [They] left away. 94. A large water [= a sea] [is] in front of him. 95. It’s necessary to cross over to the opposite side; a boat is standing. 96. “Take a seat for you to be taken over there”, a man says. 97. So the boy takes a seat in [the boat], [and] the man brings him and asks [*unclear phrase*]. 98. “Ask about me, too: I row for many years and cannot go home; my house stands [nearby], but [I] can’t [get there]”, [a man says].

99. [When he] arrives, he sees a pig-iron palace, [he] walks around it. There are no windows, [only] a small [one], where a woman is crying from. 100. She takes a rope, lowers [it] [and says], “Climb up here to me”. 101. The guy climbs, [and] after talking with her [he learns that] she is his own sister and she was stolen by a three-headed snake. 102. [He] lives for a day [and] two; [but what if] the snake comes? 103. She hides her brother from the azhdahas (see page № 325) in a chest. 104. [Finally the snake] came and asks, “Here at yours it smells with a man’s smell”. 105. And she says to him, “You went away and fought with [other] azhdahades; and you have that man’s smell”. 106. And he says, “You cheat me, [you’d] better tell me”. 107. She says, “Won’t you pester to that man”. 108. “If [he] came with good, [I will] not”, [he says]. 109. Then she says, “There my own brother came”; [she] opens the chest, [and] the boy comes from it. 110. [Then] the snake sheds his skin and turned out to be a strong guy. 111. Now [he] asks, “Where have you been going to before [you] found yourself in this place? Who sent you?” 112. [They] ate, drank, and then [the dragon] asks, “What do [you] want? Maybe gold, or horses, or a cart, what [do you] want?” 113. “I need nothing; the tsar sent me, for you owe him a steam-boat full of gold”, [the boy says]. 114. And that [dragon] laughed, “He deceived you, he wants to kill you”. 115. [The boy says], “I’ll then go home; but tell me few words: there’s an old boatman who ferries people; what’s wrong

with him that he [can't] go home?" 116. [The dragon replies], "That old man is damned: if [he] seats a man in the boat and jumps away before the boat reaches the coast, leaving that man in the boat, [then] he gets to his home; and that fish is also damned: if [it] spits out a steam-boat with gold and people, then [it] goes to deep water". 117. [The boy says], "One more question. There has been no water in the settlement for a year". 118. The snake says, "[It is] also damned: in the center of the settlement there is a rotten oak-tree; if people pull it down, they will have water". 119. "Let God give you happiness, I'm leaving", [said the boy and] goes to water, [where he calls] the old man to ferry him to the other shore. 120. "Did you ask about me?", [says the old man, and the boy says], "Ferry me to the other side, then [I'll] tell you". 121. [The old man] ferried [him] to the other side, [and the boy] says, "As soon as the first man takes seat in your boat, jump away before you reach the coast, and he will stay in the boat". 122. [He] comes to the fish [and] says, "If [you] spit out the steam-boat with people and gold, then you will go to deep water". 123. [The fish] spits out the steam-boat with gold and people. 124. The boy gets on this steam-boat and carries gold to [his home], while the fish went into sea. 125. [The boy] goes along the shore; on the shore [there is] a settlement and people ask, "What did [they] say of us?" 126. "Pull that oak-tree down, and there will be water", [the boy says]. 127. [They] threw the oak-tree, and the water emerged. 128. [The boy] came home, [where] the tsar is standing. 129. [The boy says], "Here's what you said [me to bring]: a steam-boat [full] of gold". 130. [So the tsar thinks], "The snake didn't eat him, [he] even gave him the gold; now look what I'll do to him!" 131. So [the tsar] went right to the water. 132. [The tsar calls], "Ferry me to that side!" 133. The tsar takes a seat in the boat. 134. Just as the boat cast off, the old [boat-]man jumps away [and] went home, while the tsar was left to ferry people, and the whole kingdom was left to the boy.

### 9. "Čh'avó taj patišáj" ("The Boy and the Tsar")

"Čh'avó taj patišáj" ("The Boy and the Tsar") fairy-tale was recorded in October 1985, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskiĭ region in the city of Novorossiĭsk, Krasnodar district) from Ivan Neishayevich Ohly (Romani name Shoshoi) who was born in 1973. It was first published in 1986, in *The Manuscript* (pp. 32-33, 49-51).

The plot of the fairy-tale was borrowed from Russian folk stories. The young Ivan didn't have enough experience in telling stories, but he tried his best to do the job in a nice manner. The informant was surely impressed with the vision of a *bogatyr'* boy who successfully overcame all

complicated circumstances which he faced due to his strength and the tsar's evil will.

### Čh'avó taj patišáj

1. Bešénas jekh phuró taj jekh phurí, na sas lénde čh'avó. 2. On mangénas te ovél lénde čh'avó. 3. Akaná phurí phenél: «Ĝ'a, phuréja, andé veš taj čhin kaš». 4. Aj o phuró geló, čhind'ás kaš, aj odá kaš esí volšébni. 5. Anél les kheré taj thed'ás opré krováti. 6. Akaná phuró geló te čhinél kaštá. 7. Šunél e phurí: pújós rovél. 8. Den andé kher: esí pújós pašló taj bar'ól d'es'énca. 9. Bariló o čh'avó taj din'ás les o phuró andé škóla. 10. Phirél d'es, duj, trin taj jékhvar mardé les rakloré. 11. Avél kheré taj rovél. 12. Phenél o čh'avó: «Marén man». 13. Akaná o phuró taj e phurí gelé ko carís, phenén: «Me čh'avés marén». 14. O patišáj phenél: «Me marél l' ov». 15. Aló o dad kheré taj phenél čh'avéske: «Mar li tu len». 16. Geló rakló andé škóla, pelé opré léste rakloré. 17. Del búrnekh vastéstar, sar čh'el taj ačh'ól andé vas e musí, del búrnekh č'angátar, sar čh'el taj ačh'ól andé vas e č'ang. 18. Alé o dadá odolé rakloréngé ko patišáj taj phenén, kaj e phurésko čh'avó mudarél e pujén. 19. Aló patišáj ko phuró: «Le te pujós taj phen léske me čh'el pes andé xaníng, me resél sebéрка». 20. Adajá xaníng esí b'eskon'ěč'ni. 21. Avél o rakló andár škóla, phenél léske o phuró: «Ĝ'a, mo čh'avó, taj níkl'o andé xaníng, e sebéрка pelí». 22. Ej čh'el pes o rakló akaná taj vur'ál, vur'ál, vur'ál, aló ko koncás. 23. Esí terdó. 24. Aj o patišáj lel te čh'el bará te mudarél les. 25. Čh'el, čh'el taj vulí barí kúč'ka, aj o rakló uš'avél opré bará taj níkl'ól. 26. Kána niklistó phenél e patišajéske: «Bax me del tumén o Del, kaj čhit'anús o bará taj niklist'óm avrí». 27. O patišáj maj denílilo, kaj niklistó. 28. Geló o rakló an škóla, aj o patišáj aló ko phuró, léske dadéste taj phenél: «Phen te čh'avéske me ĝ'al andé veš taj me čhinél kaštá». 29. Esás othé duj vešéske guruvá, kaj mudarén e manušen. 30. Aló rakló, phenél léske dad: «Ĝ'a, mo čh'avó, andé veš čhin kaštá, nanáj užé kheré». 31. Lil'ás o čh'avó guruvén din'ás andé vúrdon taj geló an veš. 32. Ĝ'al, khinilé o guruvá taj pelé. 33. Lil'ás e guruvén taj čhit'ás andé vúrdon. 34. Phagerd'ás o kaštá, thed'ás andé vúrdon taj gelél. 35. Dikhél o duj guruvá avén: andár xern'á jag ĝ'al, andár kaná thuv ĝ'al. 36. Odá mo dad mánge e guruvén bičh'al'd'ás, del len búrnekh šerendar taj del len andé vúrdon taj ĝ'al kheré. 37. Dikhél andé bulút'a aždahás vur'ál taj perél opré rakló. 38. «Adá mo dad mánge dorí bičh'al'd'ás te phándav o kaštá», – del búrnekh les šeréstar taj phándel lésa o kaštá. 39. Avél kheré, sar dikhlé o manušá taj o patišáj, taj lilé te našén. 40. Aló kheré, mukl'ás e guruvén taj phenél e dadéske: «Áke and'óm o kaštá». 41. Avér d'es geló rakló andé škóla. 42. Avél o patišáj ko phuró taj phenél: «Sar kan-avél to čh'avó, kan-thás o

púškes taj mudarás les». 43. Aj e rakt'ori e patišajéski dext'ás les taj prastánili angál ko raktó li phenl'ás: «Má ĝ'a, othé kan-mudarén tut». 44. Akaná e raktí phenl'ás e raktléske: «Ĝ'a andé saráji, othé si te phurésko phurésko gras, beš opré léste taj ĝ'a túke». 45. Ĝ'al o raktó odolé sarajéste, dikhél, kaj odá gras esí zaróšši taj phenél e raktléske: «Me tut č'oktán uĝ'aráv, asavké zoralés».

46. Aj o raktó phagerd'ás o saráji, niktal'd'ás e grastés, bešló opré gras taj prástalas te del búrnekh e rakt'á taj vur'ánilo...

### **The Boy and the Tsar**

1. [There] lived [once] an old man and an old woman, [and] they didn't have a son. 2. They wanted to have a son. 3. Now the old woman says, "Go you old man to the forest and cut a stick". 4. The old man left and cut the stick; and the stick was a magic one. 5. [He] brought it back home and laid on a bed. 6. Now the old man left to chop firewood. 7. The old woman hears: a child is crying. 8. [They] enter the house, [where they see] a boy is lying and grows rapidly. 9. The son grew up, and the old man sends him to school. 10. [He] goes [to school] for a day, for two, for three; and one day [some] boys beat him up. 11. [He] comes back home and cries. 12. The son says, "[They] beat me". 13. Now the old man and the old woman went to the tsar, [and] say [to him], "[They] beat my son up". 14. The tsar says, "Let him beat as well". 15. The father came home and says to his son, "Beat them up too". 16. The little boy went to school, [where] other boys fall on him. 17. [He] catches [someone's] hand, [and] the hand remains in [his] hand; [he] catches [someone's] leg, [and] the leg remains in [his] hand. 18. That boys' parents came to the tsar and say that the old man's son is killing [their] children. 19. The tsar went to the old man [and says him], "Take your child and tell him to jump into the well; let him fetch a pail". 20. That well [is] bottomless. 21. The boy comes from school, [and] the old man says to him, "Go, my son, and get into the well; a pail has fallen [there]". 22. Well, the boy jumps and flies, flies, flies, [and] arrived to the end. 23. [He] is standing. 24. And the tsar started throwing stones to kill him. 25. [He] throws [and] throws, and a large heap emerged, and the boy steps on the stones and climbs out [of the well]. 26. When [he] climbed out, [he] says to the tsar, "Thank you for throwing stones so that I climbed out". 27. The tsar got more insane over [his] climbing out. 28. Now the boy went to school, and the tsar came to the old man, his father, and says, "Tell your son to go to the forest and cut firewood". 29. There were two forest bulls that killed people. 30. The boy comes [home], [and] his father says, "Go, my son, to the forest [and] cut some firewood, there's no [firewood] at

home”. 31. The boy took draught oxen, harnessed them in a cart and left for the forest. 32. [On he] rides, [and] the oxen got tired and fall down. 33. [He] took the oxen and threw [them] in the cart. 34. [He] broke [some] firewood, piled into the cart and is bringing [it]. 35. [He] sees two bulls approaching [him]: fire goes from [their] nostrils, smoke comes from [their] ears. 36. “These are the bulls that my father has sent to me”, [the boy thinks]; [he] catches them by [their] heads and harnesses them in [his] cart and drives home. 37. [He] sees an azhdahas and [he] flies in the air and falls on the boy. 38. “It is a rope that my father sent me to bind firewood”, [the boy says]; [he] catches it by the head and binds firewood with it. 39. [He] arrives home, [and] as the people and the tsar saw [him], they burst into running. 40. [He] came home, released the oxen and says to [his] father, “Well, [I’ve] brought the firewood”. 41. Next day the boy left for school. 42. The tsar comes to the old man and says, “As soon as your son comes back, [we] shall install cannons and kill him”. 43. And the tsar’s daughter fell in love with him; [she] ran forward to the boy and said, “Don’t go [there], [they] will kill you”. 44. Now the daughter said to the boy, “Go to the shed: there’s your grandfather’s grandfather’s horse, mount it and ride away”. 45. The boy goes to the shed, [and] sees that the horse [is] covered with moss; [the horse] says to the boy, “I have been waiting for you for a long time, such a strong man”.

46. And the boy destroyed the shed, took the horse away, mounted it and rushed to catch the girl, and [the horse] took off...

### **10. “Sar čhind’ám bakrés angál ko Del” (“How we stabbed a ram before God”)**

The story named “*Sar čhind’ám bakrés angál ko Del*” (“How we stabbed a ram before God”) was recorded in May 1986, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) as it was told by Mr. Pavel Borisovich Humerohlyi (1960-1999, Romani name Muradi). It was first published in 1986, in *The Manuscript* (pp. 33-34, 51).

The story tells how a ram was sacrificed to God as a Romani woman had promised to do if her son returned from his service in the army healthy and untouched. This ancient Romani ritual, to which the author was not only a witness, but also a participant, is in many ways similar to Crimean Tartars’ custom of sacrificing a ram.



## Sar čhind'ám bakrés angál ko Del

1. Kána me sómas andé xalavdé, mi daj gerí adadý te činél e bakrés angál ko Del. 2. Al'óm me andár xalavdé sastó, zoraló, na vuló mánca níšto. 3. Gelí mi daj me baré phralésa te ródel lač'hé thulé bakrés te kinél les. 4. Jekhé gavéste on arakhlé baré parné bakrés, pokindé lové taj lilé les, alé palé mašynása.

5. Avér d'es sabastán mi daj din'ás íkos pe pl'em'anicáke romés, e Bermanós te činél e bakrés angál ko Del. 6. Alé mánde duj amalá, raklé te kerén jardými. 7. O rom, o Bérman lil'ás te činél e bakrés. 8. Amé arakhl'ám šuzó than, mi daj xal'ard'ás e bakrésko muj taj o pinré šuzé pan'ésa te avél angál ko Del šuzó, te na ovél harámi. 9. O raklé astarénas bakrés e č'angédar, aj Bérman čhind'ás č'h'ur'ása lésko kerló taj mukul'ás o rat angál ko Del. 10. Phen'ás: «Pismil'a rábim! Me mukul'ól e bakrésko rat angál ko Del». 11. O bakró mard'ás pes, izránilo taj terdiló. 12. «Mo vas lokó si, kána bakró marél pes taj izrál lésko mas damlýs ovél», – phenl'ás o Bérman.

13. Dečí o rom čhingerd'ás o mas, aj o č'h'éjá lilé te tavén xabé, sóusi taj te pekén borék'a bakrané masésa. 14. Avénas o romá, o gağ'é taj xánas mánge sastimáske. 15. Alají mas mi daj daxytý manušenge. 16. E morthí e bakréski amé lond'ard'ám me phralésa.

## How We Stabbed a Ram Before God

1. When I was a conscript, my poor mother gave a vow to stick a ram before God. 2. I returned from my army service intact [= healthy] and mighty; nothing [wrong] had happened to me. 3. My mother [together] with my elder brother went to look for a good fat ram to buy. 4. In some village they found a big white ram, paid the money and took it, [then] returned by car.

5. Next morning my mother called her niece's husband [named] Berman for him to stick the ram before God. 6. My two friends [Russian] fellows came to help. 7. Rom Berman started sticking the ram. 8. We found a clean place; my mother washed the ram's mouth and hoofs with pure water for him to appear clean before God, not to turn impure [literally, *defiled*]. 9. The boys held the ram by the legs, while Berman cut its throat with a knife and released [the ram's] blood before God. 10. [He] said, "In the name of God, let the ram's blood be released before God". 11. The ram writhed, shivered and got still. 12. "My hand is easy [= I do this job perfectly]; when a ram writhes and shivers, its meat is getting more tasty", Berman said.

13. Then the Rom chopped the meat, and the women started cooking soup [and making] sauce and baking mutton pies. 14. Roma and Russian [people] were coming and eating to my health. 15. [My] mother dispensed all the meat to people. 16. My brother and I corned the ram's skin [for it not to go bad].

### 11. “Dorikeripé” (“A Fortune Telling”)

The story named “*Dorikeripé*” (“A Fortune Telling”) was recorded in August 1985, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) as it was told by Mrs. Nadezhda Samuilovna Humerohlava (born c. 1933, Romani name Poltavka). The story was first published in 1986, in *The Manuscript* (pp. 34-35, 51-52).

This story, though short in size, is rather interesting in its content. It is a real story on a topic that is quite popular with all Romani women, that is on their adventures during a fortune telling. The case described by the informant really took place near the market in the city of Anapa. An appraisal that the old Romani woman gave to the event is of special interest in the story.

Two verbs in causative form are used in the text: *phinravd'ard'ás* (“[she] made [somebody] open”) and *pokind'ard'ás* (“[she] made [somebody] pay”); the meaning of the verbs' causativeness is displayed in phrases № 9 and № 17 most obviously.

#### Dorikeripé

1. Iǵ' e čh'ajor'ása sámas andé diz. 2. Sam terdé, kaj dorikerás. 3. Astar'dóm jekh vas, dorikeráv e gaǵ'á. 4. Čhind'óm bal. 5. Ke gaǵí sas baré lové, fájma duj bin'a sas opré láte. 6. The'd'ard'óm la te pak'arél o bal e lovénca. 7. Dikh'l'ás adá odojá romní, e phuré roméski čh'aj, kaj dorikeráv, pášol mánde taj phenél: «Bíbi, muk e gaǵ'á mánde». 8. Me phenáv: «Ále, mí čh'aj, butéske má ġ'a, akaté l'” ajakhá si pak'ardé duj bišupanǵ'engere – peínda dortík'a». 9. Amí odojá romní do tóho phinravd'ard'ás o kaltás e gaǵ'ágoro kaj lil'ás látar alají o lové. 10. Našavkerd'ás len.

11. E gaǵí denílili, runí taj lil'ás te del béber'a, taj vazdínilo o d'un'ás. 12. O gaǵ'é tynýki diné ikos e barén. 13. Jekh rom pašyló aménde taj phenél: «Dúr'on, čh'ajálen!» 14. Amí e romní phenél: «Má traša, háde te dorikerás géneja». 15. Astar'dóm avré gaǵ'á, lav te dorikeráv la, tól'ko nikal'd'ard'óm e dešéngoro, kaj dikháv: avél e baréngi mašýna. 16. Alají o čh'ajá prastánile, aj amén lilé o baré. 17. Odojá gaǵí pokind'ard'ás amén don

li man, l' e čhajá. 18. Odojá č'h'aj, so jaramázi si: na mangl'ás korkorí te pokinél o lové. 19. Akaná so te keráv? 20. Lav bórġi lové taj thav ko gaġ'áko vas. 21. Barí denilí som, kaj na thed'óm kan e romés, kána phenl'ás: «Dúr'on, č'h'ájalen!» 22. O Del me na del asavkó dorikeripé. 23. Akaná, Dévla, ačhil'óm bilové.

### A Fortune-telling

1. Yesterday I and the girl [my daughter] were in a town. 2. [We] stand and tell fortunes. 3. [I] stopped one hand and was telling fortunes to a [Russian] woman. 4. [I] pulled a hair. 5. The woman had much money, perhaps there were some two thousand [rubles] at her. 6. [I] made her to wrap [her] hair in a banknote [literally, *into the money*]. 7. That Romani woman, the daughter of an old Rom, saw me telling fortunes; [she] approaches me and says, “Aunt [*colloquial way of addressing, not necessarily to a relative*], let the woman to me”. 8. I say, “Well, my daughter, don't go for much [money]; here already are two twenty-five ruble notes rolled, [that makes] fifty rubles.” 9. And that Romani [fortune-teller] had already made that woman open her purse [and] took all her money. 10. [She] made them disappear.

11. The woman got excited [literally, *lost her mind*], burst into tears and started crying, and the people rose up. 12. The [Russian] people quietly called for the police. 13. A Rom approached us and said, “Move off, girls!” 14. And the Romani woman says, “Don't be frightened, let's go and tell more fortunes”. 15. I stopped another woman, [and] started telling fortunes to her, [but] just as I made her to produce a ten-ruble note, I see a police car drives up [to us]. 16. All other girls dispersed, [while] we were arrested by the police. 17. That [Russian] woman made us two pay [her money back], both that Romani woman and me. 18. So cunning that Romani woman is, [that she] didn't want to pay the money [back] on her own. 19. Now what [am I] to do? 20. [I] borrow the money and put it in the [Russian] woman's hand. 21. Very stupid I [was] not to listen to the Rom when he said, “Move off, girls!” 22. God forbid from such a fortune-telling. 23. Now, oh God, [I am] left without money.

### 12. “Avgutné bešymástar” (“About life in the past”)

The story “*Avgutné bešymástar*” (“About life in the past”) was recorded in May 1986, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) as it was told by Mrs. Nadezhda Samoilovna Osmanova (1914-2005), whose Romani name was

Halushka. The text was first published in 1986, in *The Manuscript* (pp. 35, 52).

It is a short story about a former Romani nomadic life. Of special interest for an ethnologist is the informant's mentioning of Roma's traditional vocation of lime trade. During his 2002-2004 expedition the author had a chance not only to witness Roma trading with lime like in old times, but also to see one of the furnaces used for kilning limestone – a piece of equipment to make lime. It's interesting to note the old Romani woman's attitude toward her way of life in the past when she was young and her health was good.

### **Avgutné bešymástar**

1. Ávgos amé phirásas ladí. 2. Každ'é xorandáste sas vúrdon, grastá, katúna. 3. O čh'ájá dorikerénas, o muršá kerénas butí. 4. Kerásas č'ápes, pirostíjes, averá šéja. 5. Esás romá, kaj phirénas ke č'orí. 6. Esás manuša l' o barvalé, l' o č'oré.

7. Thásas amaré katúnes paš ko gav. 8. O čh'ájá ģ'ánas pujénca andé gav te dorikerén, te biknén xurdimátes. 9. Esás xorandádes romá, kaj phiravénas vurdónca zv'óska. 10. Amé, kon kerélas butí, lásas ko kolxóz'a zakáz'a taj kerásas but'á. 11. O baró d'es paš ko pišót esám, o muršá čhinén, bang'arén taj den o sasterá vrási, o ģ'uvl'á den vár'a, o púja phúden. 12. Khin'ásas lačh'és.

13. Belvel'é alají kidas amén jekhé thané, das gil'á, bašavás, khelás. 14. Lačh'ó vaxýti, lačh'ó bešypé sas, sámas savoré sasté, zoralé.

### **About Life in the Past**

1. In olden times we used to be nomads. 2. Every family had a cart, horses, [and] a tent. 3. The women told fortunes, [and] the men went into black-smith trade. 4. [They] made mattocks, trivets [*to cook meal on a camp-fire*], and other things. 5. There were Roma who went for stealing. 6. There were rich and poor people.

7. [We] set up [our] tents near a village. 8. The women with children went to the village to tell fortunes, [or] to sell [some] small items. 9. There were Romani families that carted slaked lime [for sale]. 10. We, who did the black-smith job, took orders in kolkhozes [*collective farms*] and did the forgery work. 11. All day long [we are] at the bellows: the men cutting, folding and welding iron; the women beating [it with] sledge-hammers; the children pumping the air [by bellows]. 12. [We] got well-tired.

13. In the evening we all come together, sing, play [the musical instruments], dance. 14. [It] was good time, good life, [we] all were healthy [and] strong.

### 13. “Duj phralá” (“The Two Brothers”)

“*Duj phralá*” (“The Two Brothers”) story was recorded by the author in October 1981, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from an old Crimean Romani woman Mrs. Nadezhda Shekerovna Ohly (Romani name Dadole), born about 1922. The fairy-tale was first published in 2000, in a collection of articles *Potayonnaya literatura* (part 2) that was issued by Ivanovo State University Publishers (pp. 268, 273-276). It was published for the second time in 2004, in *The Roma*, Vol. 2: pp. 905-908).

Mrs. Nadezhda Ohly was always known among Roma for her love to joke. She had a sharp tongue and a habit of gossiping on private life of the people living around her.

The plot of the story is quite simple. A rich man makes fun of his naïve poor brother who, in order to save his family from hunger, asks to tell him how to become rich and get rid of poverty. The poor fellow takes his brother’s mockery advice for a true way to be rich; without doubts he resorts to an extreme move: he cuts his wife’s *ming’ e kanénca* (“a cunt with ears”) and goes to a *Torgsin* shop to sell it there. As a result the wife of the poor brother dies, and it is only due to God’s mercy that he and his children finally obtain wealth.

The story is essentially based upon some real events of Romani life. It mentions the 1933 famine that, combined with a very cold winter, resulted in a number of deaths among Crimean Roma who still had been nomadic; the famine became the main reason for some of them to move from the Kuban’ river area to the South Caucasian republic of Georgia.

A *Torgsin* shop, which during the time of famine traded quite actively, is also mentioned. [In the USSR of 1930s these state-run shops offered their customers some goods (that otherwise were in short supply) in exchange for gold and silver items. – Translator]. One interesting fact must be mentioned here. In Crimean Romani the word *torgsin* had transformed into a woman’s name *Tarksína* that has been preserved until now.

Mrs. Nadezhda Ohly’s story is rich in candid expressions. The old informant also uses an ancient and very interesting technique of Crimean Roma’s fairy tellers that the author has witnessed in no other informant. The storyteller uses poetic lines, or a sort of a couplet that she sings or

pronounces drawlingly to make the story more pleasant. Example of such a couplet with a rather frivolous content may be found in phrase № 13:

*Li angál ko Tálík, li palál  
O fasúli – maškarál.*

We have never met such poetic lines being sung by a storyteller afterwards. Old Roma said on many occasions that in old times the fairy-tales with various poetic insertions for singing were quite widespread. This telling technique was referred to as “*o manúš phukavél e paramisi gil’énca*” (a man tells a story with songs). Roma highly appreciated the skill of telling with songs, but it is hardly possible to hear such style of telling now. It almost disappeared.

### Duj phralá

1. Geló jekh phuró phuréste, on esás phralá. 2. O jekh phral barvaló, o jekh č’oró. 3. O barvaló buč’ólas Tálík, o č’oró – Sán’a. 4. Phirél o Sán’a ko Tálík: de te xal. 5. O Tálík din’ás te xal. 6. Čhi, čh’e, me xal. 7. E romní léski buč’ólas Tán’a, e jekhéski. 8. Phird’ás dúvar, tríval ko phral, o phral bezdý.

9. Úš’el o phral o Sán’a e Talikóske: «Kaj les o xapé, o barvalipé, o lové, o phol’á?» 10. Úš’el o Tálík taj phenél: «Ĝ’a kheré, ti romní e Fád’ma me pášl’ol opré krováti, te na kaméla, de la búrnekh taj the la opré krováti». 11. Oj kan-rovél, oj na kan-kamél, aj tu č’umíde andé zor, andé lačhipé, č’umíde li andé ming’ , li andé bul. 12. La kan-lél o lačhipé, aj tu phen láke: «Adá kamél, barvalé kan-ovás, sar mo phral o Tálík». 13. Li angál ko Tálík, li palál – o fasúli maškarál.

14. «Le čh’urí», – adá phenél léске o phral o Tálík. 15. Avél géne jekh phral lénde, o trító phral. 16. Ov bijándilo andé bokh, o Ĝ’ámpi. 17. Odá phenl’ás: «Le čh’urí, Sán’a, má traša, čhin agurál láki ming’ , e Fad’máki, taj gel ko Krasnodári, ko tarksíni, tól’ko čhin šukár: kanénca, sar kúšma, taj nakháv te šeréste sar kúšma». 18. Adá léске phenl’ás o Ĝ’ámpi: «Me ajakhá kerd’ómas kána sas mánde e Lúludi e bangí». 19. Tut kan-kuvdijen o gağ’é andár d’uk’ána. 20. Tut kan-kušén, aj tu má traša, túte kan-thávdel o rat oprál uštoré te šeréstar aj tu má traša, phen e gağ’éngé: «Adá mangín esí». 21. O gağ’é kan-phenén: «Kudá? V óč’er’ed’ stoját’!» 22. Aj o Sán’a phenl’ás: «Mánge n’ékogda, nanáj vaxýti man, me trašáv te na merél e romní e Fád’ma!» 23. Aj o Ĝ’ámpi phenl’ás: «Na kan-merél! E Lúludi ačhilí ğivindí, sastí, zuralí odojá minúta bískaj zdaiskeráv e ming’ e balénca, te lav mangín, lové. E Lúludi ačhilí ajakhá, per móste!» 24. Éto vstr’étíl jevó

Ĝ'ámpi i skazál: «Má traša, na meréla. Minrí na mulí, e Lúludi, li tinrí na kan-merél».

25. Kána terdiló o Sán'ka andé óč'er'et' te zdaiskerél o továri, o gaĝ'é astárde, taj mudardé e dabéndar.

26. Aló kheré, ne prín'ali léstar: «Sl'édušij ras!» – phenlé, aj e romní, e Fád'ma mulí. 27. Devlalé, Devlalé, so kerd'ás mo phral taj o Ĝ'ámpi! 28. O púja roven, eftá púja. 29. Geló, paroskerd'ás e Fad'má tap ko Armavíri. 30. Oj esás kyrymlýisa, kaj pijél o kavelýki. 31. Oj esás but lačí hem šukár. 32. Lel ov, rovel taj geló ko púja.

33. Breš nakhló. 34. O Del din'ás léske barvalipé. 35. Aj breš nakhló ov ko Tálík na geló. 36. Thed'ás xolí barí. 37. «Dav len bul'él!» – phenl'ás taj geló pe romn'áke grobóste.

38. Ko gróbos vulí xev. 39. Č'h'e, sóske tu mul'án te aváv te dikháv andé te xevjáte? 40. Lúč'še kamélas te meráv me, te avés tu te dikhés andé me xevjáte. 41. Ačhil'ómas jekh ĝ'anó, sar čirikló. 42. O púja barilé, gelé roménde. 43. Aj me kan-ĝ'av dur te lav e Dašá, taj kan-bešav dur-dur, na kan-sikaváv man nikáske.

44. Ko Sán'a esí jekh phen, buč'h'ól Guvá. 45. Oj man ne priznajót. 46. Šitáj, korkoró som. 47. Áčh'on Devlésa, me phralá, Tálík taj o Ĝ'ámpi. 48. Me bešen šel breš.

### The Two Brothers

1. An old man left for another one, they were brothers. 2. One brother was rich, another [one was] poor. 3. The name of the rich [brother] was Talik, the poor's [name was] Sania. 4. Sania goes to Talik [and asks him], "Give [me something] to eat". 5. Talik gave him [some food] to eat. 6. "[Oh my] wife, put [it on a plate], let him eat". 7. His wife was called Tania. 8. [Sania] went to [his] brother two [and] three times, [and] the brother got tired.

9. Brother Sania asks Talik, "Where do [you] get food, wealth, money, golden pieces?" 10. Talik answers by saying, "Go [back to your] home, let your wife Fad'ma lay on a bed, [and] if she doesn't want, [then] seize her with [your] hand and place her on [her] bed". 11. "She will cry, she is not about to wish; then kiss [her] into [her] "force", into "[her] pleasant", kiss both [her] cunt and arse". 12. The "pleasant" will capture her, and you [should] tell her, "It's necessary, [we'll] be rich like my brother Talik". 13. [She is] with her front to Talik, [She is] with her back to Talik – [her] clitoris [being] in the middle.

14. "Take a knife", says brother Talik to him. 15. The third brother comes to them. 16. He was born during the famine, [and his name was]

Dzhampi. 17. He said, “Take a knife, Sania, don’t get frightened; cut her cunt out, the one of Fad’ma, and get [it] to [the city of] Krasnodar, to the Torgsin [shop]; but cut it out beautifully, with ears [=pussy-lips] on each side, like [that of] a [fur] cap, and put [it] on your head like a cap”. 18. [And here is ] what Dzhampi [also] told him, “I had done the same [thing] when I had Luludi, a lame [wife]”. 19. “People will push you out of the shop”. 20. “They will curse you, but don’t be afraid; blood will flow from the ears on your head, but don’t be afraid; do say to the people [in the shopping line], “This is wealth”. 21. The people will say, “Where [are you pushing to]? Take your place in the line!” 22. And Sania said, “I’m pressed for time, there’s no time for me; I’m afraid lest [my] wife Fad’ma should die!” 23. And Dzhampi said, “[She] will not die! Luludi stayed alive, healthy, [and] strong at the very moment when I handed [her] cunt with hair over to take the wealth [and] money. Luludi stayed like this, with [her] belly toward [her] face [= pregnant]”. 24. So Dzhampi met him and said, “Don’t be afraid, [she] won’t die. My Luludi didn’t die, and your [wife] will not die”.

25. When Sania stood in line [in the Torgsin shop] for handing his good over, people seized him and beat [him] up.

26. [He] came home, [as] they didn’t take [his good] from him. “[Come here] Next time”, [the Torgsin assistants] said. And [in the meantime his] wife Fad’ma died. 27. “Oh Gods, oh Gods, what did my brother and Dzhampi do!” 28. Children are crying, seven children. 29. [Sania] moved away; [he] buried Fad’ma in [the city of] Armavir. 30. She was Kyrymlyisa (a Crimean Romani woman), who drinks coffee. 31. She was very good and beautiful. 32. He wept and left for his children.

33. A year passed. 34. God gave him wealth. 35. A year passed, and he didn’t go to Talik. 36. [He] developed deep hatred. 37. “I fuck them [all]”, he said and approached the grave of his wife.

38. A hole appeared in the grave. 39. “Did you die for me to come [to your grave] and look into your hole?” 40. “It would better be me who died, for you to come and look into my hole”. 41. “[I] am left alone like a bird”. 42. “[My] children grew up, [and] left to other Roma [= got married (of women)]”. 43. “And I shall go to a distant [place] to take Dasha [as a wife], and [I’ll] live very far-away, [and] shan’t show myself to anyone”.

44. Sania has one sister, she’s called Guva. 45. She doesn’t recognize me. 46. [You may well] consider me to be lonely. 47. Stay with God, my brothers, Talik and Dzhampi. 48. Let them live for a hundred years.



#### 14. “Romá andé ke Títarovka” (“Roma in the community of Titarovskaja”)

A text under a conditional title “*Romá andé ke Títarovka*” (“Roma in the community of Titarovskaja”) was recorded in 2003, in the community of Rajevsckaja (Primorskij region of the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). Two brothers were the informants – Mr. Dmitrii Nikolayevich Balai (Romani name Boba) (1944-2005), and Mr. Ivan Nikolayevich Balai (Romani name Dzhaltyr), born about 1933. The text was first published in: *Toropov V.G. Istoría i folklór krymskikh tsygan* in Moscow, in 2004 (Henceforward *Istoría i folklór*), pp. 31-32, 60-61.

Both informants are telling of the life they used to live in time of wandering, before October 5<sup>th</sup> 1956, when the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (the country’s legislature) adopted the decree “On introduction to labour of Gypsies practicing vagrancy,” at that time both brothers used to be young and to have extraordinary strength. Ivan Nikolayevich tells of a Romani competition in lifting anvils that was traditional between tabor youth. He won it. He also tells about many other things of his past life in a tabor. The storyteller mentions a number of cases when he obeyed the will and words of his elder brothers and uncles as of a peculiar feature of a young man’s behavior in a Roma society.

#### Romá andé ke Títarovka

Dmitriy. 1. Ej, so te phenáv, phrála? 2. Amé trítcat’ l’et bešásas andé ke Títarovka. 3. Nakhl’óm me othé ko Majakópi, mánge sas trítcat’ l’et. 4. Ej, odínyždy ras, ková. 5. Mató sómas, áma sámas katunénca. 6. Paš mánde esás dúbi čhitó, m’étrov s’em’. 7. Ej, thulimáste. 8. Sar te phenáv túke? 9. Ej, aborkhá áke. 10. Aj me sómas mató, vaj, taj lav, taj pášl’av, taj thav mo phikó akajakhá, taj lav, taj bóldav odá dúbi. 11. O romá šaštylár. 12. Taj lav, taj bóldav les. 13. Akaná odolá [phenén]: «Da! Vot éto da, vot éto pár’en’!» 14. Vaj tu othé sánas. 15. Me ģi jekh bazári, akavá (phikó) šuvliló mánde.

Ivan. 16. O phikó?

D. 17. Da, o phikó. 18. Ej amí, adá ty što, trístá kilohrámov, te bóldes les. 19. Sar ty dúmajes? 20. Ģi jekh bazári, právdá, nasvaló sómas, a potóm vs’o otojšló. 21. Da, o rom phenél: «Terné sámas, esás takát’a».

I. 22. Ej, me so? 23. Me vós’em’ pudóv, vós’em’ pudóv. 24. Po dva púda hír’a. 25. Dva púda si hír’a. 26. Va. 27. Me lávas. 28. Mánde l’et s’emnácat’, hálil’an. 29. Lávas štar hír’es. 30. Sar? 31. Nakhavávas: da akathé – jekh, li jekh akathé, aj o duj – áke, andé vas. 32. Taj bešáv, taj

vázdav, taj phiráv. 33. Na akajakhá, amí, vaj, vós'em' pudóv, vaj, aj mánde o v'ési sas minimum p'at'd'es'át kilohráv, ej, dáže l' odová na sas, l' o p'at'd'es'át, vaj! 34. Taj phiráv. 35. Manušá, katúnes esí, móžet bit' d'es'at' – p'atnátcat' katúnes, taj dikhén. 36. Mul'óm, néne, so kerél aká, aj mánge phenénas alají: «Sakávi». 37. Sakávi, jésli te xol'ázela, znáčit, me okolén kan-tharáv, dáže o katúnes kan-tharáv... 38. Vot, o Č'antári. 39. Č'antári, manuš buč'ólas, e Bermanósko dad. 40. Ov bahatíri sas. 41. Te déla pálna manušes – ov [manuš] nánaj te úš'el... 42. E Dandorósko amóni, Dandorósko amóni. 43. Esás e... ková, ej, sar te phenáv túke, aká o jekhpás, tól'ki, o rom šelésa vázdelas, šelésa. 44. Aj me aváv okotár, kátar ko grastá. 45. O Bardún'a, o Bajr'ámali, o Smáil, o Č'antári, géne któ-to. 46. Odolá vázden amón'a. 47. Ej, amón'a, ej, so, ej, esí púdi, esí maj č'ut'-č'ut', nu do dvux pudóv. 48. Vaj, o maml'ek'ét'a terné si... 49. Len vázden, no Dandorósko amóni naši vázden ajakhá, amí te tól'ko o Č'antári vázdel, šelésa phándel, šelésa, tól'ko ras – hópa. 50. Ej, minimum púda dva, a to tri si, ili dva s polovínoy – bišyng'ésko si. 51. Aj, me aváv okotár, aj okolá alají nangé si: o Bardún'a, o Bajr'ámali, oková, o Tatári, o Č'antári – vázden. 52. «Be! Éla athé!» – [den íkos]. 53. Aj me ke katúna ġ'av amarénde, aj me na sováv. 54. On, sovén, aj me dadéste grastá si, hálil'an, taj phiráv. 55. Mánde multúki. 56. Dahá manušeste [asavkó] multúki na sas – e dvuxstvólka. 57. Dav andé e grastén, ġ'av. 58. Áma o Dandorósko č'avó L'ól'a buč'ólas. 59. «Be, vs'o! Háde, be», – [mangél mándar]. 60. Dáva, aj, o vúrdon esí amaró, angál akathé, vs'o, te xavd'arés e grastén. 61. Dav andé, bešáv, lav o multúki. 62. «Be, le č'alhýja, le o senéki», – [phenáv]. 63. Ģ'as kilom'étrov... 64. Be, o grastá amaré lač'h'é si, i voopš'é, ġ'as kilom'étrov č'etyr'e ġ'as, aj móžet li, ej móžet... [maj but], tap okoté. 65. Othé si licérna. 66. Ej, odá, prim'érno, č'asá v dva. 67. Noč'! 68. Ģ'av, l' o multúki si, l' o patrantášy si mánde. 69. Vot. 70. Ov kosiskerél, o č'h'avoró. 71. Ej, e roméske tóže hodóv s'emnátcat', akajakhá, odolé koléske, e L'ól'áske, aj me kídav, kídav, thav andé vúrdon. 72. «Thed'óm!» – [phenáv]. 73. «Pherd'án?» – [phuč'él ov]. 74. Vs'o! 75. Aj obješik'a phirénas ratí, obješik'a. 76. Vaj, ávgos na sas ajakhá, sar akankhá. 77. Aj ávgos o obješik'a opré grasténde. 78. «Le, be, pojéxali! Vs'o!» – [phenáv]. 79. Dav búrnekh o vóžžy – pojéxali. 80. Ej alajéngé. 81. O č'h'avé suté si. 82. Alají. 83. Grastá si, káste – jekh, káste – duj. 84. Vaj, e licérna, jekh vúrdon. 85. Senéki okoléske, okoléske, okoléske. 86. Amaré grasténgé phándas opré vúrdon. 87. Xan léstar. 88. Ej, sabáhi, vaj, dikháv, aváv okotár, kátar ko grastá. 89. «Ej, éla athé», – o phralá [phenén], o dvojúrodn'a, vaj. 90. Vaj, me dadéske pl'em'aník'a o č'ač'é si, aj mánge o phralá dvojúrodn'a. 91. «Ej, éla athé, be», – phenén. 92. Ej, lav, ġ'av, vaj. 93. Othé mándar baró o rom, odá Bajr'ámali. 94. «So? – Phenáv. – Be, kerén?» 95. Aj o Č'antári e šelésa

odá amóni Dandorósko vázdel. 96. «Čhit'án?» – [phuč'áv]. 97. «Kána? – [ov phenél]. – Va!» 98. «So? – phenáv. – Be, Antónovič'?» 99. Ej, me léske – Antónovič'. 100. O rom baró hi l'et na d'és'at' mándar baró, hállil'an maj but. 101. «So? – phenáv. – Be!» 102. Vaj, podčín'ájus'a, vaj phral esí. 103. Aj amé al'ám kátar ke Pšáda, kátar ko Z'el'enč'úk'a. 104. Vaj, naši, va? 105. «Be, le, kaj, popróbuj odá amóni», – [phenén]. 106. «Dúr'o, – phenáv, – be!» 107. «Be, me khinó som, be, me na sut'óm e rat, pal ko grastá». – [phenáv lénge]. 108. A tóki kan-ǵ'án: kukurúz'a užé si, gaǵ'énge o bar'á. 109. Taj kan-avén o baré sabastán, taj kan-pokind'arén. 110. Vs'o, vaj, na kamés só-to, ej, vaj níšto. 111. «Be, le vázde!» – [phenél]. 112. «So te vázdav? – phenáv. – Be?» 113. Óke, be, amóni, be, akajakhá áke. 114. Amóni – tóki jekh šyng. 115. Ej, oká, e kuz'n'ěč'ni amóni, kaj si andé kúz'n'es, rusítika kúz'n'es. 116. Mózet dikhl'án? 117. «Nu ládno, be, le aká», – [phenén]. 118. Ej alají. 119. «Be, tu so?» – [phenél]. 120. Vaj, on háll'on, bísim, či vázdelá, či na. 121. «Be, dúr'on, – phenáv. – Me mus'á dukhán, vaj, tumé – lačh'ó, – phenáv. – Antónovič', kaj sovén tumaré ǵ'uvl'énca, aj me - na sováv, me e grastén taj li tumaré grastén dav te xan, hállil'an?» 122. «Ej bax me del tut o Del, phrála, sastó ov!» – [phenél]. 123. «Ej lačh'ó, – phenáv. – Sastó!» 124. «Kaj, le!» – [phenél o phral]. 125. «Ej, vaj!» – mangén č'elov'ék p'at' – šest'. 126. Ej, lav odá šeló. 127. O Č'antári si, dva m'étra bóji e romésko. 128. Lav odá šeló, phutráv, lav akajakhá, vaj, be, amóni. 129. Be, xvátka, asavkó tóki, va! 130. Lav akajakhá taj akajakhá, čh'av les akathé, dikh, pálma – ras. 131. On dikhén. 132. Be, so kerél?... 133. Lav oková amóni akajakhá šelása. 134. Me na lav akajakhá – ras – vázdav: akajakhá, akajakhá, akajakhá, tóki na akajakhá. 135. Sar dikhlé – hop – taj čh'av les. 136. Kána odová: odá Bajr'ámali, odá Bardún'a [phenén]: «Vot éto da! Č'antári, vaj tu murš kerés tut, tu te des akalés pálma, áke mózet čh'onéstar kan-úš'el, aj tu šelása Dandorósko amóni les». 137. «So te keráv?» — [phenél o Č'antári]. 138. «Va!» – [phenén o romá]. 139. So te kerés? Lav, me odová vazdin'óm, čhit'óm taj gel'óm kheré, be. 140. Katúna akajakhá, phuró mo dad, mi daj. 141. Vot takije býli lándušy, dorohój moj. 142. Nu l'et vos'emnácat' býlo mn'e.

### Roma in the community of Titarovskaja

Dmitrii: 1. Well, what [I can] say, brother? 2. We lived in Titarov[s]ka[ya] for thirty years. 3. I moved to [the city of] Maikop from there, [and] I was thirty. 4. Well, once it [happened]. 5. I was drunk, [and] we lived in a tabor. 6. There was a sawn-down oak-tree near me, of some seven meters. 7. Well, that thick [it was]. 8. How [should I] tell you? 9. Well, [it was] like this [*the story-teller shows the thickness of the oak-tree*].

10. And I was drunk, well, and [I] lay down and put my shoulder [under that tree] in this way and turn that oak-tree over. 11. The Roma were astonished. 12. And I take it and turn it over. 13. Now those [say], “There’s it, there’s a chap”. 14. You were there, too. 15. Well, I had my [shoulder] swelled for a week.

Ivan: 16. A shoulder?

D: 17. Yes, the shoulder. 18. Well, yes, why [do] you [doubt] that, three hundred kilograms to turn it over. 19. What do you think? 20. For a week I wasn’t well, to be frank, but then everything got fixed. 21. Yes, says the Rom, “[We] were young, [we] were healthy”.

I: 22. Well, what [can] I [say]? 23. I [could lift] eight poods, eight poods. 24. [Each] weight [being] two poods. 25. Two poods for a weight. 26. Yes. 27. I took [it]. 28. I [was] seventeen years [old], [you] understand. 29. [I] took four weights. 30. How [I did it]? 31. [I] run [my hands] into [the handles of the weights]: one [hand being run] into this [weight], and one [another being run] into this, and two [more weights are] in [my] hand[s]. 32. And I squat and lift [the weights] and walk [with them]. 33. Not like this [empty-handed], but [with] eight poods, and my [own] weight was no less than fifty kilograms, or I didn’t weight even fifty kilograms. 34. And I walk [with such a load]. 35. [There were] people [in] tents, maybe ten or fifteen tents [full of people], and they look [at me]. 36. Oh God [literally, *I’ve died*], mother, what is that [man] doing? And [before that] every-one called me a stammerer. 37. If a stammerer gets angry, well, I’ll set them on fire, even their tents... 38. There’s Chantari. 39. Chantari was the name of that man, [of] Berman’s father. 40. A strong man he was. 41. If he beats a man with [his] palm, he [the man] won’t rise. 42. The anvil of Dandoro, the anvil of Dandoro... 43. Well, it was... How [should I] tell you? Half [of an anvil], but a Rom raised [it] with a rope, a rope. 44. And I came back from horses. 45. Bardunia, Bairiamali, Smail, Chantari, someone else [were there]. 46. They lift anvils. 47. Well, anvils, so what? They weight no more than a pood, or a bit more, up to two poods. 48. But [they are] young men... 49. [They] take [anvils and] lift [them], but [they] cannot lift the anvil of Dandoro, only Chantari lifts [it]; [he] ties a rope around it and [pulls] the rope – and hup! 50. [The anvil weights] at minimum two poods, or [even] three, or two [poods] and a half – without a horn. 51. Well, I return from there, and they all are semi-naked: Bardunia, Bairiamali, that Tatari, Chantari – they lift [it]. 52. “Brother, come here”, [they call me]. 53. And I am going to my tent, to my people, I haven’t slept [at night]. 54. They sleep, but my father has horses, and [I] go. 55. I have a gun [as well]. 56. No other man had [such] a gun – a double-barrel one. 57. [I] harness horses [and] leave. 58. And Dandoro’s son name was Liolia. 59. “That’s all, brother.

Let's go, brother", [he says me]. 60. I harness [the horses], the cart is our one, everything [is ready] to feed horses. 61. [I] harness [horses], seat down [in the cart], [and] take the gun [with me]. 62. "Brother, take a scythe, take a pitchfork", [I] say [to Liolia]. 63. [We] ride for [many] kilometers... 64. Brother, our horses are good, and so we ride for four kilometers, or even [farther], up to that [place]. 65. There is lucerne [growing] there. 66. Well, it's about two [o' clock past midnight]. 67. A night [it is]! 68. [I] ride with both the gun and the ammunition belt with me. 69. Well. 70. He mows, the boy. 71. Well, that Romani [boy] Liolia is seventeen, and I gather [the mowed lucerne] and put [it] in the cart. 72. "[I] put [the cart full]!", [I say]. 73. "Do you fill [the cart]?", [he asks]. 74. That's all. 75. And there were mounted wards on a patrol at night time, mounted wards. 76. In old time things were not like [they are] now. 77. In old times [there were] mounted wards. 78. "Let's go [back], brother. That's all", [I say]. 79. [I] grasp the reins [and we] drove [home]. 80. Well, [it's enough forage] for everybody. 81. The boys are sleeping. 82. Every-one [of them]. 83. They all have horses, some have one [horse], others [have] two. 84. But there's a cart full of lucerne. 85. [I give a] pitchfork [of lucerne] to one [of my kinsmen], to another one, to yet another one. 86. [We also] put [some lucerne] in the cart for our horses. 87. [They] eat from it. 88. Well, [I] see, it's morning [already], [I] come back [home] from horses. 89. "Come here", [my] cousins [say]. 90. [They are] my father's own nephews, and my cousins. 91. "Come here, brother", [they] say. 92. Well, [I] go. 93. There's a Roma there who was older than me, that [man] Bairiamali. 94. "What are you doing, brother?", [I] ask. 95. And Chantari is lifting that Dandoro's anvil with a rope. 96. "Did you lift [it] up?", [I] ask. 97. "When?", [he says], "Yes [I did]". 98. "Well", [I] say, "brother Antonovich?" 99. Well, [I address] him Antonovich. 100. That Rom was older [than I was], some ten years older than me, you see? 101. "So what, brother?", [I] ask. 102. Look here, [I] agree [to go to him], [he's my] brother, you know. 103. And we have come from the community of Pshada, from near Gelendzhik. 104. Is it possible? 105. "Brother, take that anvil [and] try [to lift] it", [they say]. 106. "Go away", [I] say, "brother". 107. "Brother, I am tired, I didn't sleep [this] night, [I was] with horses", [I tell them]. 108. Soon the maize is to shoot in the fields. 109. And in the morning the police will come and make [us] pay. 110. [Unclear expression] 111. "Brother, take [the anvil and] lift [it]", [he says]. 112. "What [should be] lifted, brother?" 113. There's the anvil, brother, so it is. 114. The anvil [has] only one horn. 115. Well, the anvil that is [used] in the forgeries. 116. [You] may have seen [it]. 117. "Well, brother, take this [one]", [they say]. 118. Well, [it's] enough. 119. "Brother, what's wrong?", [he says]. 120. They [want to] learn if I [can] lift [the

anvil], or not. 121. “Brother, go away”, [I] say, “my hands ache, you Antonovich is known to sleep [this] night with your wives, and I don’t sleep, I give food to horses, do you understand [me]? 122. “Let God give happiness to you, brother, be healthy”, [he says]. 123. “Well, good”, [I] say, “healthy”. 124. “Come on, lift [it]”, [the brother says]. 125. Well, some five or six people ask me. 126. Well, [I] take that rope. 127. Chantari is the Rom [of] two meters height. 128. [So I] take that rope, let [it] come lose, [and], brother, [I] take the anvil this way. 129. Brother, [my] grip [was] just like this. 130. [I] seize [the anvil] at this [place] and at this [one], [and] throw it, look [at my] palm. 131. They look [at me]. 132. Brother, what [is he] doing? [they wonder] 133. [I] take that anvil with a rope in this way. 134. I don’t take [the anvil] this way, [I] lift it only the other way. 135. As [they] saw [me lifting the anvil], hup! [I] lift it up. 136. Then those [Roma], that Bairiamali, that Bardunia [said], “Well, what next! Chantari, you are becoming a strong man, if you bang that [fellow] with [your] palm, [he] may recover no sooner than in a month, [but] you lift the Dandoro’s anvil [only] with a rope”. 137. “What is to be done [= Can’t be helped]”, [Chantari says]. 138. “Yes”, [the Roma say]. 139. What is to be done [= What else could they say?]? I took that [anvil], lifted [it with my empty hands and] threw [it] and went home, brother, in the tent. 140. So it was, oh my old father [and] mother. 141. Such were lilies of the valley, [my] dear [= Such were things]. 142. I was about eighteen years [old at that time].

### **15. “Sar hort’arénas pes o romá ávgos” (“How Roma used to heal themselves in old times”)**

The text that was conditionally named “*Sar hort’arénas pes o romá ávgos*” (“How Roma used to heal themselves in old times”) was recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Margarita Semionovna Humerohlaya who was born in 1967. The story was first published in 2004 in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 32-33, 61-62.

This story is an interview taken from the informant who, by answering the author’s questions, tells about the healing technique applied to people and animals in tabor conditions in old times, and also about such popular medicines as salt and tea. With a praiseworthy shyness of a Muslim woman a female informant tells in detail to the author (who is a Russian Christian) how newly born babies were treated in a tabor and what were the post-delivery rites to be performed over a baby. It is also a story about Roma’s beliefs in magic and in evil eye that may affect both people and domestic animals, and how the effect of the evil eye might be removed.

Mrs. Margarita Humerohlaya is heard by her young daughter Kristina who adds to her mother's story by remembering the ritual of turning a baby thrice over its head (phrase № 25).

### Sar hort'arénas pes o romá ávgos

Vadím. 1. Áke, Ríte, sar hort'arénas pes o romá ávgos? 2. Dukhánilo o dan, so kerénas?

Ríta. 3. Lénas lon, čh'énas an páni taj odolés [it must be: odová] astarénas opré pumaré dandénde taj nakhélas e dukh. 4. O páni o londó astarénas opré ko dand taj nakhél e dukh.

V. 5. Va! 6. Amí kána dukhálás o šeró, so kerénas?

R. 7. O šeró? 8. Dukhálás o šeró, pijénas č'áji, zoraló č'áji. 9. Kerénas, taj pijénas, taj térd'olas o šeró.

V. 10. Amí esás savé-nébut' č'ar'á, ja averá šéja? 11. Drabá savé-nébut', áke šužé romané?

R. 12. Ankhá me túke kan-phenáv.

V. 13. Phen, Ríte.

R. 14. Pujóste, kaj si barí jakh, to jest' zhlas rusítiko, zhlas, aj romanés jakh, lénas lon, drabkerénas lonésa odolé pujós, čh'énas [lon] opré jag, taj nakhélas oprál lesté jakh, taj ovélas spokójni.

V. 15. Ríte, odá sas magíja?

R. 16. Andé nanáj magíja. 17. Ej prósto sastimáske, o pújos te na rovél, te na dukhál les níšto.

V. 18. Saví-nébut' molítva? 19. Odová?

R. 20. E Devlés mangénas. 21. Dévla, le oprál léste odojá jakh, odojá jakh, odá nasvalipé te na ovél, e Devlés mangénas. 22. Bukó perélas, áke pujóste, rusítiko sar phenéna: «P'éč'en'». 23. To jest' on ni to što opuskáls'a p'éč'en', o bukó phenén romanés. 24. Lénas kahn'áko bukó kátar kahní, svižé kahn'á činénas, thénas ko pujósko per akathé taj vázdenas o bukó palé ko than trivalés, tóže odolé.

Kristína. 25. Aj on e pujós dahá bóldenas tríval oprál šeró.

R. 26. Thed'ás o bukó, phanl'ás taj bóldenas tríval oprál šeró e pujós, taj nakhélas. 27. Sabastán délas trad, sar kaj níšto na dukhálás.

V. 28. Ríte, géne kamáv te phuč'áv tútar. 29. Ğ'anés so? 30. Áke o ĝ'uvl'á bijanénas pujén, va? 31. Kána phirénas ladí ávgos, kon lélas odolé pujén?

R. 32. Phuré manušá. 33. Čhinénas o por, sar kamél, andé katúna bijanénas, andé katúnés.

V. 34. An katúnés bijanénas? 35. Kon lélas odolé pujós? 36. E daj č'ačí, e phen ja kon?

- R. 37. Phurí manušní. 38. Kon ĝ'anél. 39. E phurí romní.  
 V. 40. E phurí romní?  
 R. 41. Phurí romní.  
 V. 42. Aj gaĝí, tatarínka na sas?  
 R. 43. Nana sas.  
 V. 44. Na dénas len íkos?  
 R. 45. Na, na, ni, odá phuré manušá lénas.  
 V. 46. Phuré romn'á?  
 R. 47. Phuré. 48. Áke romn'á, naprim'ér. 49. Áke, sar phurí amar'áte, áke bába léngi lélas pujén. 50. Asavké phuré manušá.  
 V. 51. Savé sas ĝ'anlé, užé znakómyje, te kerén odojá díla, va?  
 R. 52. Va! 53. Hál'onas phuré manušá. 54. Va!  
 V. 55. Ríta, što-nébut' býlo takóje, so, naprim'ér, nádo býlo zd'élat' e pujóske, kána ov bijándilo?  
 R. 56. Ej sar zd'élat'? 57. Xal'arénas les, dikhénas les, vs'o.  
 V. 58. Ot zhlázu nič'ehó n'e d'élali, éto, kak jegó, saví-nébut' [molítva]?  
 R. 59. Te drabkerén kátar jag les. 60. Thénas topúzi, miriklé thénas kátar jakh.  
 V. 61. Odolá [miriklé] jakhénca?  
 R. 62. Šop te na lel jakh opré péste, thénas mirikló topuz'ésa.  
 V. 63. Aj na sas ajakhá, kaj o dad č'h'élas jakh, kána lélas e pujós te khelél, va?  
 R. 64. Va!  
 V. 65. Moh o dad te č'h'el jakh, Ríte?  
 R. 66. Moh te del [jakh] o dad e pujós, li daj del pe pujós jakh, li daj.  
 V. 67. Kon lélas odojá jakh?  
 R. 68. Phurí manušní, phurí bába: lonésa lélas, drabkerélas, taj č'h'élas les. 69. Averé pujós n'e mohli spastí. 70. Avér pújos n'e poddaváls'a, kána si óč'en' barí jakh, n'e poddajóts'a odoléske. 71. Hál'os tu? 72. Kamél tóko babkáte geldó.  
 V. 73. Va?  
 R. 74. Kána si síl'no barí jakh. 75. Áke, asavkó manuš din'ás les jakh, kaj vs'o. 76. Les, xot' le lonésa, xot' so kerésa ker, léste ništo ne pomohájet, les kamél tóko te gelés babkáte. 77. Hál'os?  
 V. 78. Va.  
 R. 79. Pujéngoro č'h'el pes opré pujén [it must be: púja].  
 V. 80. Va, ej so si odá pujéngoro?  
 R. 81. Éto phenén rusítiko mlad'énč'estvo.  
 V. 82. Adá so, nasvalipé si asavkó?



R. 83. Adá nasvalipé si pujéngoro. 84. Va. 85. Jéslí vo vr'ém'a tu na čh'ésa tut, pújós áke arákh'l'ol, čh'el pes opré léste, kašuké amaré kaná, dur pašál aménde, pujéngoro phenén, nasvalipé. 86. Aj rusínkes, bábkes – rusínkes hál'on, so si adá. 87. Kána gelés les lénde, odolé pujós, odolé babkénde, on hál'on so si, adá – mlad'énč'estvo. 88. On sam phenén: «Na n'om mlad'énč'estvo». 89. Taj len te drabkerén tóže, no kamél te arakhés odolé babká, šop oj te l'ečiskerélas pujós. 90. Hál'os?

V. 91. Ríta, vot, vs'o ravnó sar te drabkerén, kon te drabkerél: e rusínka, e romní, tatartínka, opré savé čhibáte, opré tumaré čhibáte, opré gačikáne čhibáte, sar te phenáv?

R. 92. Vs'o ravnó, jekh.

V. 93. Kon: xristiánka ili musul'mánka?

R. 94. Jekh esí. 95. Oj drabkerél, oj kerél.

V. 96. Jekh o drabkeripé si: te kerél jardými odová, te sast'ól o pújós.

R. 97. Adá tól'ko ģ'anés kána gelén tatarinkáte?

V. 98. Sóstar?

R. 99. Kána, áke, uš'avés opré nalačh''ó thanéste.

V. 100. Va?

R. 101. Tójest', kašuké amaré kaná, dur pašál aménde, bišužéskiri díla. 102. Áke, o zamán tóko gel'd'ól...

V. 103. Kaj sas odolá thaná? 104. Andé vešénde ja maškaré ko kherá?

R. 105. Dévla, verkáj.

V. 106. Verkáte?

R. 107. Va! 108. Móžet l'' andé dizáte, l'' andé gavéste. 109. T' ovél asavkó mom'énti, kaj tu uš'avés asavké thanéste, kaj n'e polóženo. 110. Taj l'' odá gel'd'ól, na prósto babkáte, ko monlás.

V. 111. Ko monlás?

R. 112. Amí ko monlás, musul'mánski monlás, phenén léske. 113. Ov móžet tóko o zamán, tóko šó-to te kerél, kána bang'ól muj, ģ'uvl'á. 114. Aká, uš'avd'ás oj áke, adá si dur pašál aménde. 115. Bišužéskiri díla. 116. Hál'os, tu? 117. O zamán.

V. 118. Sar balvál phúdel?

R. 119. Va, va. 120. Taj óke, te ģ'as monláste. 121. Hál'os?

V. 122. Aj o č'ar'á esás, pijénas ávgos? 123. Kídenas len?

R. 124. Pijénas. 125. O phuré manušá. 126. Va! 127. O phuré manušá áke, savé si, ej sar túke te phenáv, naprim'ér, me dadéskoro dad, me dadéskiri daj, va!

V. 128. Aj užé tu na ģ'anés odolá č'ar'á, Ríta? 129. Korkorí na ģ'anés? 130. Bristérd'on?

- R. 131. Na ģ'anáv.  
 V. 132. Odolá drabá. 133. Va?  
 R. 134. Ej amí. 135. Me na ģ'anáv užé.  
 V. 136. Aj e hajvan'én hort'arénas.  
 R. 137. Hajvan'én? 138. Sar savén. 139. Va!  
 V. 140. Nu, naprim'ér, grastén ja ģ'orén, kon esás ko romá?  
 R. 141. Hort'arénas. 142. Sar. 143. Den jakh, sar bol'synstvá.  
 V. 144. Sar móžno te des jakh hajvan'és, č'ač'ó?  
 R. 145. Va! 146. Savó manuš kyzhandíjel. 147. Va! 148.  
 Naprim'ér, mánde nanáj, aj léste si.  
 V. 149. Va, odolá kyzhanġides manušá!  
 R. 150. Taj ov mózet te del jakh, aj o hajváni te nasvál'ol.  
 V. 151. Dévla, te čh'ungarél opré léste. 152. Opré odolé hajvan'éste  
 te čh'ungarél?  
 R. 153. Ej, ková, odá manuš del les jakh, aj o phuré manuša  
 hort'arénas, va, drabkerénas, kerénas taj hort'arénas l' o hajvan'én.  
 V. 154. Dévlale, so sas, alají so.  
 R. 155. Dévla!  
 V. 156. Dévla, Dévla, ej so jakh esí adá.

### How Roma used to heal themselves in old times

Vadim. 1. Well, Rita, how did the Roma heal themselves in old times? 2. What used [they] to do if a tooth ached?

Rita. 3. [They] took [some] salt, dropped [it] into water and kept it on their teeth, and the ache was over. 4. [They] kept salted water on the teeth, and the pain went away.

V. 5. Good. 6. And what [did they] do when [their] head ached?

R. 7. A head? 8. [If] a head ached, [they] drank tea, strong tea. 9. [They] made [strong tea] and drank it, and a head stopped [aching].

V. 10. And were [there] any [medical] herbs, or other means [of treatment]? 11. [Some] medicines [of] purely Roma's [usage]?

R. 12. I'll tell you now.

V. 13. Tell, Rita.

R. 14. [If] a child had a big sglaz [= If someone put an evil eye on that child], that is sglaz in Russian, and in Romani [it's] iakh, [they] took [some] salt, read that child away [= read a prayer for the child] with [that] salt, dropped [the salt] into fire, and the sglaz went away, and [the child] became calm.

V. 15. Rita, was it a witchcraft?

R. 16. There's no witchcraft in this [treatment]. 17. Just simply to [his] health, for a child not to cry, for him to have no ache.

V. 18. A certain prayer? 19. Well?

R. 20. [They] asked God. 21. [Do so] that there should be no sglaz on him, no disease. 22. As if the liver was falling down in a child, in Russian they said pechen'. 23. In other words, it went down, the liver, *o buko* they said Romanes. 24. [Then they] took a hen's liver from a hen, [they] slaughtered a fresh hen, [then] put [the liver] on the child's belly at this place and lifted the liver back on [its proper] place thrice, those [women] too.

Kristina 25. They also turned a child over [its] head thrice.

R. 26. [They] applied the [hen's] liver, folded [the child], and turned the child over [its] head three times, and [the disease] went away. 27. [The child] got up in the morning as if nothing ached [in him a day before].

V. 28. Rita, [I] also want to ask you. 29. [Do you] know what? 30. Women gave birth to [their] children, yes. 31. When [Roma] used to be nomads in old times, who delivered those babies?

R. 32. Old people did [this]. 33. [They] cut the navel-string as necessary, [the Romani women] gave birth in a tent, in tents.

V. 34. [So they] gave birth in tents? 35. Who delivered that baby? 36. A mother of the woman in labour, [or her] sister, or who [else]?

R. 37. An old woman. 38. Who knows? 39. An old Romani woman.

V. 40. An old Romani woman?

R. 41. An old Romani woman.

V. 42. And a Russian or a Tartar woman, were they [called to help]?

R. 43. No, [they] were not.

V. 44. Didn't they call for other Roma women?

R. 45. No, no, no, these were old people.

V. 46. Old Romani women?

R. 47. Old. 48. Say, Romani [women] for example. 49. Just like that old woman... Their grandmother delivered children. 50. Such old people.

V. 51. [Those] who were familiar, [who] already had been familiar with doing it, yes?

R. 52. Yes. 53. Old people could do. 54. Yes.

V. 55. Rita, was there anything [=some magic ritual] that was necessary to do with a child when it was born?

R. 56. Well, to do what? 57. [They] washed it, [and] looked it over, [and that was] all.

V. 58. Didn't they do anything against the evil eye, some sort of a prayer?

R. 59. [A prayer] to be read against sglaz? 60. [They] placed a pin [or] beads against sglaz.

V. 61. Those [beads] with eyes? (*The interviewer means blue beads with an eye drawn on each bead that were usually put on a pin attached to dress*).

R. 62. For an evil eye not to affect [someone], [they] placed a bead with pin on themselves.

V. 63. Did it happen sometimes that a father put an evil eye [on a child] when he took a child to play, yes?

R. 64. Yes!

V. 65. [So] could a father put an evil eye, Rita?

R. 66. A baby's father could put an evil eye, and a mother [could] put it.

V. 67. Who removed that sglaz?

R. 68. An old woman, an old grandma: [she] read [the prayer] with [some] salt and laid it [the baby] down. 69. Some babies couldn't be rescued. 70. A certain child ['s sglaz] might not give in to a prayer, [it happened] when the sglaz was too large. 71. [Do] you understand? 72. It [was] necessary [to be healed] only at the old woman's.

V. 73. Really?

R. 74. When the sglaz [is] too large. 75. Such a man put an evil eye on it that nothing could help. 76. Do it [a prayer] with salt, or do what you like, nothing helps [the baby], [and] he must only be taken to an old woman. 77. [Do you] understand?

V. 78. Yes.

R. 79. Puyengoro [= disease of infancy] attacks children.

V. 80. Well, and what this puyengoro is?

R. 81. In Russian they say, "mlad'enchestvo" (correct translation: родимчик "children's convulsions").

V. 82. Is it an illness?

R. 83. It's the children's illness. 84. Yes. 85. If you don't notice it in time, when a child has just been born, it attacks him; let our ears be deaf, be it [the evil] farther from us, they say [it's] an infant illness. 86. And old Russian women, they understood what it was. 87. When [one] brings a baby to those old women, they understand what that "infancy" is. 88. They themselves say, "[There's an] infancy on it". 89. And [that old women] take [a child] to read [it] over too [= to heal the child by reading a magical

prayer], but one must find the [=such an] old woman that heals [= who is able to heal] the baby. 90. [Do you] understand?

V. 91. Rita, is it all the same how the prayer is read over the baby, and who reads it: a Russian woman, a Romani, a Tartar, [and] in what language [it is read], in your language, or in non-Romani language?

R. 92. [It's] all the same.

V. 93. Who [this woman is], a Christian, or a Muslim?

R. 94. [It's] all the same. 95. She reads, she does [the ritual].

V. 96. So. Only the reading [of the prayer] helps to restore a child's health.

R. 97. [Do you] know when the child is taken only to a Tartar woman?

V. 98. Because of what?

R. 99. When you have stepped on a bad place.

V. 100. Really?

R. 101. Oh, be our ears deaf, be the Evil affair farther from us. 102. But [in this case the child must] be taken just in time (not to be late).

V. 103. [And] where were those places? 104. In the forest, or between [some] houses?

R. 105. Oh God, [they were] everywhere.

V. 106. Everywhere?

R. 107. Yes. 108. [They] may be in a city, or in the countryside. 109. If you happened to step on such a place where you mustn't step. 110. And that [person] is taken not to a simple old woman, but to a Mullah.

V. 111. To a Mullah?

R. 112. Of course to a Mullah, a Muslim Mullah, I say to you. 113. Only he is able to do in time when a woman's mouth becomes bent [after she stepped on a wrong place]. 114. Just as she stepped, be that farther from us. 115. The Devil's affair. 116. [Do] you understand? 117. In time.

V. 118. As soon, as [the woman feels] the wind blowing [over that magic place]?

R. 119. Yes, yes. 120. And to go to a Mullah. 121. [Do you] understand?

V. 122. And were there any healing herbs in old times? 123. Did they gather [such herbs] and drink their broth?

R. 124. [They] drank. 125. Old people. 126. Yes! 127. Old people, like, how to tell you, well, for instance, [like] my father's father, my father's mother, yes!

V. 128. And you already don't know these herbs, Rita? 129. [You] don't know them yourself? 130. Are they being forgotten?

R. 131. [I] don't know.

- V. 132. Those medicines. 133. Yes?  
 R. 134. Yes, of course. 135. I already don't know [them].  
 V. 136. And [did they] heal animals?  
 R. 137. Animals? 138. How [and] which [= It depended upon the kind of an animal]. 139. Yes!  
 V. 140. Well, for example, horses, or donkeys, what [kind of animal] the Roma had.  
 R. 141. [They] healed [them]. 142. How? 143. In most cases [the animals] became ill because of *sglaz* [because someone put a evil eye on them].  
 V. 144. How indeed one can put a bad eye on an animal?  
 R. 145. Yes! 146. [Say] a certain man is envious. 147. Yes. 148. For instance, I have [an animal], and he has not.  
 V. 149. Yes, those envious persons!  
 R. 150. And he can put a bad eye, and the animal [may] get ill.  
 V. 151. Oh God, if he spits on it (on that animal). 152. If [he] spat on the animal?  
 R. 153. Well, that man puts a bad eye on the animal, and the old people healed [it], yes, read [a prayer over] it, [they] did [so] and healed animals, too.  
 V. 154. Oh Gods, what used to be!  
 R. 155. Oh God!  
 V. 156. God, God, what a [bad] eye it is!

## 16. “Butí” (“The Blacksmith’s Trade”)

The text under a conditional title “*Butí*” (“The Blacksmith’s Trade”) was recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Margarita Semionovna Humerohlaya, born in 1967. It was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 33-34, 62-63.

It is also a kind of an interview in which the informant describes Crimean Roma’s work as blacksmiths both in the collective farms and at home-based forgeries in the 1970-s and 1980-s. With a noticeable modesty and affection Mrs. Margarita Humerohlaya tells about her father who, as she puts it, always lived *šukár*, *barvalés* (“beautifully”, “wealthily”). She tells how she when still a child helped her father to do things in a forgery and worked with a sledgehammer. All things connected with her parents seem to be sacral for this woman, and even her father’s blacksmith bellows seem to look especially beautiful. The informant remembers how her parents lived in a tabor, how Roma raised their tents, how food was cooked

and taken together in the evening – in other words, about the simple life in the past.

### Butí

- Vadím. 1. [Ríte], tu korkorí dadésa keréšas č'ápes?  
Ríta. 2. Va. 3. Dávas vár'a, phúdavas me dadésa, vaj.  
V. 4. Li túte sas asavkí zor, te des vár'a?  
R. 5. Va!  
V. 6. Č'ač'ó?  
R. 7. Kerélas mo dad č'ápes, kerélas mo dad karyštyrmádes  
kerélas, kerélas géne so?  
V. 8. Akaná manuša na ģ'anén, so si adá karyštyrmádes.  
R. 9. Senék'a kerélas, va! 10. Géne so kerélas?  
V. 11. Kaj biknénas odolá but'á, Ríta? 12. Andé diz, andé gav?  
R. 13. Andé gav, andé kolxóz'a. 14. Č'oplíjes kerélas.  
V. 15. Č'ač'ó. 16. O pirostíjes na sas?  
R. 17. Alají kerélas mo dad.  
Č'h'ejá. 18. Č'ač'és?  
R. 19. Dáže grasténge potkóves kerélas.  
V. 20. Pétala?  
R. 21. Va.  
V. 22. Aj e zbrúja kon kerélas? 23. Romá ja kinénas o romá?  
R. 24. Zbrújes kerélas, kerénas kátar kajíša. 25. Kajišéskere.  
V. 26. Me hál'av, aj te ukrašaiskerélas odojá zbrúja rupésa, možno?  
R. 27. Aj sóske n'el'z'á?  
V. 28. Hál'onas tumaré romá te kerén odolá rupá?  
R. 29. Va, mo dad hál'olas te kerél.  
V. 30. Rupá?  
R. 31. Ej sar te phenáv? 32. «Kuz'n'éc», – phenénas léske. 33. Ov  
dáže andé brihádes kerélas, rázn'a ko tráktor'a, ko kolá, odolá rázn'a šėja, so  
phenénas.  
V. 34. O hájkes? 35. Na kerélas?  
R. 36. Va, alají kerélas.  
V. 37. Aj so, ov esás odová but'ári kolxoz'éskoró?  
R. 38. Va, va...  
V. 39. Amí akaná užé na kerén butí, ja esí asavké but'ár'a – romá?  
40. Ačhilé?  
R. 41. Esí, kerén.  
V. 42. But, na?  
R. 43. Zálag, man gorí, ej.

V. 44. Ko Novorosijski biknélas o but'á o Rúpa, phenénas léske anáv, o Rúpa o phuró o zamán.

R. 45. Nanáj užé.

V. 46. Nanáj užé? 47. Na. 48. Odová phuró, so lačh'ó sas rom.

R. 49. Nanáj.

V. 50. «Odolá ě'anĝirá, – phenél, – xal'aráv len taj biknáv».

R. 51. Nanáj les, na, ov č'oktán muló.

V. 52. Dévla, so sas, so na sas. 53. Amí kídenas sar: jekh tumaró xorandás, te dadésko, te papúsko, te dadésko xorandás, kerélas butí jekhé thané taj biknénas len?

R. 54. Va, va.

V. 55. O duj xorandádes jekhé thané na kídenas? 56. Duj móžet xorandádes? 57. Te nanáj, jekh pišót esí. 58. Ej móžet, kerén jekhé thané duj manušá.

R. 59. Kerénas, ej šun, sar bešénas ávgos o manušá.

V. 60. Ej phen!

R. 61. O manušá phirénas ladí. 62. Mo pápus, mi bába phirénas.

V. 63. Vurdónca?

R. 64. Vurdénca, va, hajván'a, odolá hajván'a. 65. Mo pápus esás l' o zamán barvaló, bešélas lačh'és. 66. E bríč'ka sas lačhí, o hajván'a sas lačh'é me papúste tóže. 67. Alají raspísan'a, alají kolá.

V. 68. Bahalýs.

R. 69. Phirénas n'éskol'ko xorandádes: panĝ', šov xorandádes.

V. 70. Alají sas č'ač'é manušá, ja na?

R. 71. Alají esás.

V. 72. Alají?

R. 73. Na, te phenés sovs'ém č'ač'é.

V. 74. Va!

R. 75. Móžet pl'em'aník'a.

V. 76. Phralá?

R. 77. Móžet phralá, o pl'em'aník'a dvojúrodn'a, trojúrodn'a. 78. Ej akajakhá, hál'os tu?

V. 79. Va.

R. 80. Avénas ladí, avénas, dikhénas xotrás, kaj si taj térd'onas ko xotrásko č'éti. 81. Ke pol'ána, taj thénas katúnes. 82. Thénas katúnes akajakhá, áke – krúhi.

V. 83. Krúhi. 84. Aj ko maškár so sas?

R. 85. Aj ko maškár pol'ánka, va.

V. 86. E jag?



R. 87. Pol'ánes, o púja khelén, prástan, sar... 88. Aj rat'áke, helbéty, thénas jag ko maškár taj khelénas, dénas gil'á, xánas, pijénas. 89. Taj adá sas romaní žýzn'a. 90. Hál'os tu?

V. 91. Taj odolá but'á, znáčit?

R. 92. Butí kerénas.

V. 93. Ríte! 94. Te phuč'áv! 95. Odolá pišotá esás bahalýdes, but bahalýdes šéja?

R. 96. On na sas bahalýdes.

V. 97. Nana sas?

R. 98. Na.

V. 99. Ej fájma, kažn'é xorandáste, kažn'é roméste, phuré roméste esás odolá pišotá?

R. 100. Ej amí, va!

V. 101. Hot' jekh taj sas.

R. 102. Va, me dadéste sóbstv'eni, pinró sas.

V. 103. Baró? 104. Esás, vet', tiknoré taj baré?

R. 105. Vaj, me dadéste tiknonoró sas, taj sas šukár.

V. 106. Kaj romá lénas o angará?

R. 107. Angará?

V. 108. Va!

R. 109. Andé ko kolxózi.

V. 110. Mangénas, č'orénas ja kinénas len?

R. 111. Ha!?

V. 112. O angará, č'orénas...?

R. 113. Č'orénas, vaj adá xezméti kerénas, on esás vídn'a, lénde anénas angará. 114. Andé adalé kuzn'áte. 115. «Kúz'n'a», – phenénas. 116. Vaj, ávgos odová, kaj kerénas o romá o phuré – kúz'n'a. 117. Specyál'no vyd'el'áli lénge angará.

V. 118. Éto kolxózni kúz'n'a saví sas.

R. 119. Da, da, kolxózni.

V. 120. Taj odová angár po jekhpáš ģ'álas avré manušénde, va, savé ovénas sar č'asník'a, va?

R. 121. Ej sar túke te phenáv? 122. N'e to što, sar č'asník'a, amí sar lélas péske, naprim'ér, kheré, gelélas móžet pe dadéske.

V. 123. Va.

R. 124. Savó kerélas othé andé kúz'n'a lélas li kheré péske, aj savó kerél, ja avélas o ģ'anló, mangélas léstar, naprim'ér, dvojúrodni, trojúrodni phral: «De man kotorí angará!» 125. Adá lélas, délas les. 126. Hál'os tu?

V. 127. Aj odolá angará na sas e terek'éndar? 128. Na?

R. 129. Na!

V. 130. Terek'éndar na sas?

- R. 131. Na! 132. Áke, úhol'! 133. Sar kaj si akankhá, áke.  
 V. 134. Barunó?  
 R. 135. Va.  
 V. 136. Va.  
 R. 137. Barunó angár, adá lačh'ó si.  
 V. 138. Devlalé, so int'er'ésno si. 139. Ríta, aj odolá but'á sar biknénas? 140. Jekhé thané? 141. Áke kerdé, naprim'ér, trin romá akalá odolá but'á, adá. 142. Sar biknénas taj lové lénas?  
 R. 143. Ğ'an.  
 V. 144. Ov kerd'ás, ej móžet jekhé thané kerdé?  
 R. 145. Jekhé thané?  
 V. 146. Sar pašarénas odolá lové maškaré puménde?  
 R. 147. Sar? 148. Ej sar túke te phenáv? 149. Alají jésli bikindé, on razd'elíli puménde pórovnu.  
 V. 150. Pórovnu?  
 R. 151. Pórovnu! 152. Amí sar? 153 Ğ'ánas kheré. 154. Tak vet'. 155. Ávgos manušá ĝ'anés sar tavénas? 156. Áke, tavadé, naprim'ér, aká katúna péske tavél ĝ'uvlí, okojá ĝ'uvlí péske, okojá péske šó-to tavél, andé kažn'é katunáte, vaj, alají tavén puménge te xan, sar; púja, xorandádes, vaj, adá, nanáj, kaj si jekh pújos andé katúna, kažn'áte...  
 V. 157. Va, va, bukadár?  
 R. 158. ...po d'és'at' č'elov'ék, po dv'enátcat', va. 159. Taj nikalénas alají jekh konás, thénas óke odolá deš katúnes, m' ovén deš, alají thénas jekh konás taj kidenas pes alají opré jekh konás te xan, te pijén. 160. Hál'os tu, ja na? 161. Óke odolá deš katúnes, pr'edstáť, okojá okotár anél, okojá okotár, okojá okotár, okojá okotár, so si?  
 V. 162. Taj so sas.

### The Blacksmith's Trade

- Vadim. 1. Did you make mattocks alone with [your] father?  
 Rita. 2. Yes. 3. [I] struck with a sledge-hammer, blew [the air by bellows] with my father, oh.  
 V. 4. And you had such strength as to strike with a sledge-hammer, [hadn't you]?  
 R. 5. Yes.  
 V. 6. Really?  
 R. 7. My father made mattocks, my father made pokers, what else [did he] make?  
 V. 8. Now people don't know what a poker is [, do they]?  
 R. 9. [He] made pitchforks, yes! 10. What else [did he] make?

V. 11. Where were those items sold, Rita? 12. In a town, in a village?

R. 13. In a village, in kolkhozes. 14. [He] made holders for frying-pans.

V. 15. Really? 16. Weren't [there any] tripods [to cook food on fire]?

R. 17. My father made everything.

Daughters. 18. Really?

R. 19. [He] even made the horse shoes.

V. 20. Horse shoes?

R. 21. Yes.

V. 22. And who made harness? 23. Roma [made it], or Roma bought it?

R. 24. Harness was made of [leather] belts. 25. Of belts.

V. 26. I understand [it], and was it possible to decorate that harness with silver?

R. 27. And why [it was] not possible?

V. 28. Could your Roma make those silver decorations?

R. 29. Yes, my father could make [them].

V. 30. Those silver decorations?

R. 31. Well, how to say [this]? 32. "A blacksmith", they told him. 33. He even worked in some teams, [made] various [spare parts] for tractors, those different things, [he made] what they told [him].

V. 34. [You mean] nuts? 35. [He] made no [nuts, did he]?

R. 36. Yes, he made everything.

V. 37. So he was the kolkhoz blacksmith?

R. 38. Yes, yes.

V. 39. And now [Roma] don't go in for blacksmith trade, or there are such Roma blacksmiths? 40. [Do they] remain?

R. 41. [They] are, [they] go in for [this trade].

V. 42. [Are there] many [of them], or not?

R. 43. Few, in my opinion, well.

V. 44. In [the city of] Novorossiisk [a Rom named] Rupa sold items of blacksmith trade; [they] said his name was Rupa, [and he was] an old man.

R. 45. He [lives] no more.

V. 46. No more? 47. No. 48. That old man... What a good Rom [he] was!

R. 49. No.

V. 50. "Those chains, he says, [I] make them clear [with fire] and sell [them]".

- R. 51. He [lives] no more, no [more], he died long ago.
- V. 52. Oh God, what has been, [and] what hasn't! 53. And did everyone of them gather: your father, your uncles, did they make blacksmith job together and sell the produce?
- R. 54. Yes, yes.
- V. 55. Didn't two families come together? 56. Maybe two families.
57. If not, there's only one set of bellows. 58. Two people work together.
- R. 59. [They] worked, but hear how people used to live in old times.
- V. 60. Do tell [me]!
- R. 61. People used to be nomads. 62. My grandfather [and] my grandmother [were] nomads.
- V. 63. [Did they wander] with carts?
- R. 64. With carts, yes, [and with] domestic animals, those domestic animals. 65. My grandfather was rich at that time, he was well-off. 66. [He had] a good brichka, he also had good domestic animals. 67. [The brichkas] were all [painted] with drawings.
- V. 68. [Rita], Do you understand?
- R. 69. Several families wandered, five or six families.
- V. 70. Were they all relatives, or not?
- R. 71. They [all] were.
- V. 72. Everyone?
- R. 73. No, not to say quite kindred.
- V. 74. Yes!
- R. 75. Perhaps, [they were] nephews.
- V. 76. [Were they] brothers?
- R. 77. Perhaps [they were] brothers, [or] nephews twice removed, [or] thrice removed. 78. So, this is [how it was], [do you] understand?
- V. 79. Yes.
- R. 80. [Roma's families] arrived at a certain village, looked around and stopped at the outskirts of the village. 81. [They] put [their] tents on a glade. 82. [They] placed tents this way, here's a circle.
- V. 83. A circle. 84. And what was there in the middle [of the circle]?
- R. 85. And in the middle [there was] a glade, yes.
- V. 86. A fire.
- R. 87. Glades [where] children [were] playing, running around, like... 88. And at night [they] sure lit a fire in the middle and made merry (played, danced), ate, drank. 89. And this was the Romani life. 90. [Do you] understand?
- V. 91. And [did they make] those blacksmith items?

- R. 92. [They] made items.
- V. 93. Rita! 94. [I want to] ask [you]. 95. Were those smith's bellows an expensive item?
- R. 96. They were not expensive.
- V. 97. [They] were not?
- R. 98. No.
- V. 99. Then surely those smith's bellows were [kept] in every family [= household], at every Rom, [every] old Rom [, were they not]?
- R. 100. Oh, yes, of course.
- V. 101. [There was] at least one [set of bellows].
- R. 102. Yes, my father had his own [set].
- V. 103. A big [one]? 104. They might be big and small?
- R. 105. My father rather had a small and beautiful one.
- V. 106. Where did Roma take the coal from?
- R. 107. Coal?
- V. 108. Yes!
- R. 109. In a kolkhoz.
- V. 110. [Did Roma] beg for it, or steal, or buy?
- R. 111. No!
- V. 112. [Did they] steal coal...?
- R. 113. Steal [?] They rather did this job, they were known [as blacksmiths], they [customers] brought coal to them. 114. In this forge. 115. "Kuznia", [they] said. 116. [You know] in old times the place where Roma worked [was called] kuznia [colloquial Russian for *forge*]. 117. Coal was specially assigned to them.
- V. 118. Was it some sort of a kolkhoz forge?
- R. 119. Yes, yes, [that] of a kolkhoz.
- V. 120. And part of this coal went aside to other people who became chastniks [=self-employed]?
- R. 121. Well, how [should I] tell you. 122. Not like chastniks, but say: he took [some coal] for himself [and] brought [it] home, maybe for his father.
- V. 123. Yes.
- R. 124. The one who did [=worked] there in a forge took also [some coal] to his home, and the one who was acquainted [with him] asked from him; for instance, a cousin or a brother thrice removed [came and ask], "Give me [some] coal". 125. This [man] took [and] gave [it] to him. 126. [You] see?
- V. 127. And wasn't that coal made of wood? 128. No?
- R. 129. No!
- V. 130. There was no charcoal?

- R. 131. No! 132. Here's the coal! 133. The same as [it is] now.  
 V. 134. Mineral coal?  
 R. 135. Yes!  
 V. 136. Yes!  
 R. 137. Mineral coal, it's good.  
 V. 138. O God, how interesting [it is]. 139. Rita, and how were those blacksmith items sold? 140. [Did they do it] together? 141. Say, for instance, three Roma made these items, well. 142. How [did they] sell and take money?  
 R. 143. [They are] coming.  
 V. 144. He made, or maybe [they] made [it] together?  
 R. 145. Together?  
 V. 146. How did [they] share money between them?  
 R. 147. How? 148. Well, how [should I] tell you? 149. If [they] sold everything, [they] shared [money] in equal parts.  
 V. 150. In equal parts?  
 R. 151. In equal parts. 152. And how else? 153. [They] went home. 154. So it [is]. 155. Do you know how people cooked in old times? 156. Say, this tent cooked [some meal for its inhabitants], this woman is cooking for herself, that woman for herself, in every tent [they] cook meal, as there's more than one child in every tent, every [family had]...  
 V. 157. Yes, yes, numerous [children]?  
 R. 158. ... ten, [or] twelve [children], yes. 159. And [they] carried one table to the outside; let it be ten [tents], [they] all placed one table and gathered all around one table to eat [and] drink. 160. [Do] you understand, or not? 161. So these ten tents, imagine, one [woman] carries [some meal] from there, another from there, [yet] another from there, what [there] is.  
 V. 162. And what [there] was.

### 17. "Ačıl sófral!" ("Open up you small table!")

"*Ačıl sófral!*" ("Open up you small table!") is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Nadezhda Samuilovna Humerohlaja (Romani name Poltavka), born around 1933. It was first published in 2004, in *Istoria i folklor*, pp. 35-38, 64-66.

The plot of this story seems to go back to some Tartar ones. A magic tray (Cr. Romani *sinija*) fulfils any wish of a person who knows a magic word, just like a Russian *skatert'-samobranka* does; in this tale such magic saying is a phrase in Crimean Tartar: "Ачыл софрам." In an informant's speech the phrase was transformed into "*Ačıl sófral,*" but

preserved its meaning: “Open up you small table.” The *sinija* tray is not only an Oriental *skatert'-samobranka*, but also a known pouch, out of which “two [guys] from a pouch” appear when those words are pronounced (SUS № 564). In the Romani variant of this fairy-tale plot, the will of a tray-owner is fulfilled by three guys, not by “two from a pouch.”

Another magical object mentioned in this fairy-tale as belonging to a man whom the tray owner once came across is named by Roma word *dudúm* that Crimean Roma use both for a pumpkin and a (vegetable) marrow. The woman storyteller noticed that its meaning was really a pumpkin.

An episode when the owners of a tray and a pumpkin make change is to our mind of significant interest. One may notice here a motive resembling stories about “tricks of a cunning Gypsy”, who made a profitable change, or rather robbed the owner of a pumpkin, though here the winner is not a Romani guy but a Russian one.

After a boy and his mother have been killed, the three guys take the initiative in their hands and revive both people with the magic pumpkin.

In the final part of the story things settle the best way possible. With the help of the three guys the tray owner gets an enormous fortune and comes right by marrying a princess; in the meantime he displays magnanimity by letting her father – the tsar – to live in peace till the end of his days.

Mrs. Nadezhda Humerohlaya told this fairy-tale to a small Romani boy named Akhmed who was very fidgety; so from time to time Akhmed's playing about interrupted her speech. Wishing to be understood better, she often repeated certain phrases to calm down a young fidget.

The informant often reminds of how unreal the events of a fairy-tale are indeed; the word “*sáńkim*” (“as if”) that is very frequent in the text proves to this fact.

### Ačíl sófral!

1. Ej, esí jekh phuró taj jekh phurí. 2. Ej, akaná o phuró muló, taj ačhíl e phurí pe raklésa, rakló si láte, jekh rakló. 3. Ej, bešlé, bešlé sokabór tam, naprim'ér, breš, duj, trin. 4. Taj lel akaná, o rakló taj phenél: «Néne, me kan-ǵ'áv kotorí prohul'átsa, áke, ande ke vúlíca». 5. Ej, lil'ás geró andé ke vúlíca. 6. Dikhél opré ko drom. 7. Bukadár kompánija si, raklé kidínile krúhi, kidínile o raklé krúhi taj si kaj zborízen. 8. Krúhi, krúhi, áma maškaré lénde tiknonoró saporó si. 9. Tiknoró saporó si, va. 10. Akaná aló akavá rakló [terdiló taj šunél kaj zborízen o raklé] maškaré péste, te mudarén e saporés, tiknonoró, aj ov aló, vaj, taj dikhél.

11. Úš'el: «Vaj, čh'aválen, má mudaren adalé saporés, me les kan-láv mánge». 12. Dikhén on káring léste: «Ej, me lel, ras mangél, me lel». 13. Lil'ás odolé saporés, thed'ás les andé pe brekhéste, and'ás les kheré. 14. Úš'el: «Néne, kaj si te pinré, te vastá, šop tu odolé saporés te les, ov man phral kan-kundíjel, mánde phral nanáj, ov mánge kan-ovél sar phral». 15. Ej ládno, akaná kerél, sánkim, e daj gerí. 16. Vaj, ov ġ'al ko xyzméti, aj e daj kheré tavél, xavd'arél les, kerél les. 17. Hálib'an? 18. Vot. 19. Ov péske otkhá tal ko krováti bešél. 20. Koróbuč'ka kerd'ás léske, asavkó, sánkim, taj si andé ke koróbuč'ka. 21. Aj odnáždy, oká sap užé bariló, baró vuló, baró thuló, vaj, xavd'arél les e daj, kerél les. 22. Ahá, ov avél kátar xyzméti atkhá čh'el sáma i vs'o, aj e daj dikhél les. 23. Taj kak ras tavélas e daj opré ke plíta, sánkim, tavél, aj ov aló paš ke daj taj si otkhá paš ke plíta pašló, o sap. 24. Aj, oj šó-to, vaj, kerélas taj peló opré léste kotorisa khon'óri. 25. Povid'e, vaj, sar thard'ás les, vaj, dukhánilo léske.

26. Áke, aló oká phral, sánkim, aj ov kána avél kátar xyzméti, ov les andé ke kómnata, kómnata si, taj ġ'al ov lésa othé taj si lésa. 27. No, ov vídi, na délas ov, kaj si manúš, aj po zakónu esí, mérim, ov rakló, no si ov zablužd'ónni pumaréendar. 28. Hálib'an? 29. Pe dadéstar, pe dejátar, vot! 30. O dad tóže ková že sap, tól'ko si asavkó, kaj marél pes aždahadénca. 31. Hál'os tu? 32. N'éskol'ko halóv si léste, taj marél pes aždahadénca. 33. Ám' o rakló, kána našló, n'e to, kaj našló, aj prósto zabludíls'a pe dadéstar, pe dejátar, no on esás armán diné, on na sas sapá, on esás manušá. 34. No len din'ás e ġ'adýisa armán, taj vulé on sap, l' o dad, l' e daj, l' o rakloró. 35. Hálib'an?

36. Ej akaná so? 37. Úš'el: «Me úže baril'óm, tu man bar'ard'án, áke, phurí romní man bar'ard'ás, e daj tu mánge, sar ková, sánkim, vaj, sar phral! Vot!» 38. Adá ov léske tynýki phenél, e daj te na ġ'anél, ov léske lil'ás te zborízel lésa, no ov sap esí, ov léske na sikavél pes. 39. Tól'ko ov lésa zborízel tynýki: «Tu mánge phral esán, tu man výručil, me túte bešl'óm, bar'ard'án man, kerd'án man, l' e daj, sánkim, akaná gel man, me mangáv te ġ'av kheré, te ródav me dadés, me dejá». 40. Aj ov phenél: «Ras takóje d'élo, háde, tól'ko me kan-ġ'av angál, aj tu kan-ġ'ás palál, vot». 41. O rakló, sánkim, ġ'al angál, aj ov ġ'al palál [taj phenél]: «So kan-ovén, so o zv'ér'a kan-ovén ko drom, tu má traša, me zborízav, me tut prov'edú, sánkim, amarénde».

42. Lel taj ġ'al, sop poblahodarít'. 43. Te sikavél e dadéske, e dejáke, kaj ov les výručil, vaj. 44. Adá skól'ko-to vr'ém'a nakhló, vaj. 45. Ej ládno, akaná ov sohlasíls'a, vaj ajadíjel, taj geló lésa. 46. Taj geló lésa: d'es mul, duj mul, kon ġ'anél sokabór, geló, no fakt tó, kaj and'ás les kheré. 47. And'ás les kheré, sánkim. 48. So te kerél, akaná, vaj, e dáj-to, ková, si tóže



sap. 49. So te kerél, o dad nanáj, o dad marél pes, kon ġ'anél kaj marél pes e aždahadénca, kolénca, kim bisim kaj marél pes o dad, aj e daj esí kheré.

50. So te kerél akaná, vaj, lel kerél, č'alavél e raklés, kerél les mévla. 51. Kerd'ás mévla, thel les ko uhlás, háli'l'an, thed'ás les akajakhá andé kolidóri ko uhlás. 52. Vs'o. 53. Áke, din'ás andé ko kher, vaj, e daj, sar dikhl'ás, ej peng'ard'ás, vaj, peng'ard'ás. 54. [E daj phenél]: «Aj, dáde, mo rakló, adá sokabór breš tu na sánas, taj sar tu kerd'an, al'an, taj sar tu baril'an, taj sar tu kerd'an?»

55. Úš'el pe dejáke ov, vaj, o rakló: «Vaj, néne, tu man má blahodarisker, amí mánde si manúš, kaj kan-blahodariskeren tumé léske, taj mánde ov kundú phral, ov man výručil, akajakhá-akajakhá, ko drom esás manušá, kaj man kan-mudarénas, raklé, no ov man ne dopustil, léste esí phurí daj, ov man bar'ard'ás, ov man kerd'ás, i vs'o». 56. «Vaj, mo rakló, taj kaj odá manúš?» – [phuč'él e daj]. 57. Del e raklés pálma, sánkim, e mévla, vaj, vuló géne manúš, manúš vuló, užé dejáke sikavél, vaj. 58. Dikhl'ás e daj, dikhl'ás e daj. 59. «Áke, adavá manúš, – phenél, – adá manúš man výručil, výručil man adá manúš taj bar'ard'ás man, léste si phurí daj, bar'ard'ás man, kerd'ás man taj, áke, al'óm me les te sikaváv tuménge». 60. Nu ládno. 61. Nu vot-vot, č'ál'ti, vaj, to dad kan-ovél, mo rakló, užé šúmi, šúmi si, kaj avél ov, šúmi si baró. 62. Vaj aždahás esí, taj užé hál'ol e daj, kaj kan-avél ov, sánkim, [taj oj phenél]: «Vaj, mo rakló, užé oková, aj-aj-aj, o Del me na del, vot-vot: o túč'es, o túč'es, ková, sánkim, o Del me na jazdíjel, ej, aló».

63. Avél o dad. 64. Del ov e raklés géne pálma. 65. Kerd'ás les pálma [it must be: mévla], thel les ko uhlás, va! 66. Aj níkl'ol, vaj e daj angál [taj phenél]: «Vaj, aménde ková si, mis'affiri, vaj, aménde aló amaró rakló, sokaboré brešendar, sokaboré kolendar». 67. Úš'el ov: «Vaj, dáde, sar kaj, sar... sar adá, nu ajakhá, adá b'espokoiskerenas, sokabór vaxýti, sokabór breš, kaj geló, so takóje, rovénas, na arakhénas les, ahá!» 68. «Tak, – úš'el ov. – Tak, kaj si, sánkim, ková?» 69. Áke, amaró rakló, ková, s'udá aló, sánkim, del angál, sánkim, vaj, ty što, ved' rádos' esí, thedé konás: xapé, piipé, ková si, vs'o kak núžno. 70. «Nu! – phenél ov, sánkim, o rakló. – Dáde, man má priv'ectvuisker, man má keren, vot, mánde si asavko manúš, kaj man bar'ard'ás, man lil'ás andár asavké, asavké kompanijáte, bar'ard'ás man, kerd'ás man, znáčit, odolé manušés kamél, dáde, te privič'aiskerés, taj kerén les, mánge ov o phral kundú».

71. «Nu, tak, kaj si, mó č'h'o? – [phenél o dad]. – Me šó-to šunáv, kaj si manuškykanó vózdux, hál'os tu?» 72. Odá manuškykanó vózdux šunél. 73. Kaj si, no na ġ'anáv, na hál'av, mó č'h'o. 74. Del o rakló geró les mévla pálma, vuló, vaj, rakló. 75. Ej, mo rakló, so bot'eni, ras takóje d'élo, bar'ard'ás tut léski daj, ov kundú túke phral, znáčit me bešél aménde, ahá.

76. Ej, me bešél, me bešél, va, me bešél. 77. Ej, taj aló vaxyti. 78. Akaná o rakló bešló, bešló lénde, sokabór. 79. So mangés tu, ková, sánkim? 80. So mangés te les? 81. Le, áke, phol'á, le rupá, le kolá, no rakló phen'ás: «Kandél tut mo dad, mi daj, kan-dén tut mangín, kan-dén tut phol'á, kan-dén tut hesápi, ništo má le, le jekh siníja, siníja si tikn'orí, tabáki, áke, tabáki ġ'anés?» 82. Romanés phenén siníja, ávgos phenénas siníja. 83. Tiknonoró si, siníja, odovkhá le, ból'se ništo má le.

84. Ej akaná, kána lil'ás o rakló te ġ'al, o dad, e daj phenél: «Vaj, mo rakló, le, óke, alají mangín, so kamés le, the andé vúrdon, (ávgos mašýnes nanáj, na sas, amí sas baré vúrda), te thas túke andé harbás so dexés». 85. Te kerás taj ġ'a. 86. Úš'el ov: «Va, báje, ja káko, vaj, de man e tikn'orí siníja». 87. Úš'el ov: «Ej ládno, mó ċh'o». 88. Povídi, li na mangl'ás te del, aj lil'ás, din'ás odojá tikn'orí siníja, no, oj esí asavki, kamél te kerés, te hál'os la te phenés... 89. Hál'os tu: «Ačíl sófral!» – odová, taj phutér'ol: mangés te xas – r'estoráni ovél andé o xapé, o piipé. 90. Baréja Dévla, pekél, kerél, o Del me na jazdíjel, hálil'an!

91. Ej akaná, o rakló, vaj, ġ'al dromésa, diné les odojá siníja, thed'ás, vaj, tal ko ková okothé. 92. Bokhálilo dromésa o rakló, vaj, ġ'al: breš [it must be: ċh'on], duj ċh'on, trin ċh'on, kon ġ'anél sokabór, bokhálilo. 93. Terdiló akaná akavá: «Ačíl sófral!» – phinrávdilo léske odová ková, baréja Dévla, ty što, odová ková, odová buf'ėti mul, odová r'estoráni mul, ja stolóva mul. 94. L' o xapé, l' o piipé – alají. 95. Ahá, am' angál odoléste, kaj kan-phinravél odová r'estoráni, les gaġ'ó raskeldý léske gaġ'ó. 96. Úš'el, áma léste si dudúm, dudúm, dudúm esí léste, taj si ková, ċh'uč'h'ó si odá dudúm, taj kaj ċh'és andé páni, áke manúš, áke merél manúš, nasvál'ol, nasvaló, les páni andár odolé duduméste, ċh'orés opré ko manúš taj o manúš hort'ól. 97. Tu hál'os, ja na?

98. Aj aká kána kerd'ás odová tabáki. 99. Bokhálilo, povídi, ja akalésa si, vaj, odová gaġ'ó [phuč'él]: «Kaj ġ'as tu?» 100. Úš'el ov: «Me ġ'av kheré, ġ'av ko drom». 101. Úš'el ov: «Ej ládno, li me kan-ġ'av!» 102. Povídi, duj ġ'ané ġ'an, taj bokhálilo o rakló, úš'el: «Ačíl sófral!» – e zbóra. 103. Phutérdilo odová ková léske, sánkim, odojá stolóva, akaná vul' odolá xapé, o šéja bukadár – xan. 104. Xan, pijén – xalé, pilé. 105. Aj so si túte asavkó, kaj tu ajakhá kerés? 106. Aj ov na nikalél andár brekh, andé brekh esí, aká – léske na sikavél. 107. Tynýki adá phenél akajakhá, akajakhá tynýki phenél, taj odojá siníja kerél odová hesápi.

108. Ej ládno, úš'el ov: «Áke, so kerd'an tu adá, kaj adá, so si túte?» 109. Úš'el ov: «Mánde asavkó šéji si, kaj ková, sánkim, ajakhá, ajakhá», – áma na sikavél léske. 110. Úš'el ov: «Aj mánde si asavkó, akavkhá dudúm, kána, va, áke, manúš nasvál'ol, merél, aj me lav páni andé odolé duduméste, ċh'oráv opré manúš, o manúš ġivínd'ol, hort'ól, šunés?»

111. Úš'el akaná ov, vaj gelé. 112. Ahá. 113. Ğ'an akaná droméša, vaj ğ'an. 114. Úš'el akavá: «Ej, sar te paruvás?» 115. Akavá mangél, sánkim, akaléstar, te dav me tut akavá, aj tu de, sánkim, akavá. 116. Úš'el: «Ej ládno, le». 117. Aj aká, vaj, xýtri si, aká o rakló xytróji si. 118. Bísim me kan-dáv, aj dečí me ğ'al ov droméša, mánde o dudúm kan-ovél akavá, aj me kan-phenáv: «Ačil sófral! – andár níkl'on trin raklé, raklé níkl'on andár [taj kan-phuč'én]. – So kamél túke: te xas, te pijás, te kerás?» 119. Ahá! 120. Aj kamél te phenél odojá zbóra, vaj.

121. Aká na phenl'ás léske odojá zbóra, odá na ğ'anél. 122. Kána ov ğ'al, vaj, kon ğ'anél te phenél, vaj, na hál'ol, vaj, kamél te phenél e zbóra. 123. «Taj što takóje? – phenél. – Ğ'al droméša čh'on, duj – sokabór». 124. Bokhálilo. 125. Vaj kamél te phenél jekh zbóra, aj aká xytróji si, vaj, akaléske na phenl'ás: «Ačil sófral!» – sánkim duj zbóres. 126. Andár níkl'on odolá trin raklé taj kerén, so kamél, vot! 127. Akavá péske – tynýki: «Ačil sófral!» – géne akaté si odová tabáki, odá ková, sánkim, odá podnósi léste si. 128. Akaná adá: «Ačil sófral!» – níkl'on odolá trin raklé, kerén léske xapé, rakléske, ková.

129. Odoléste l' o dudúm esí. 130. O dudúm ğivind'akerél manušes. 131. Lel, áke, páni prostóji taj o manuš, áke, nasvaló si tam, ja akavá, ja nasvaló, ja manuš merél, čh'orél opré léste páni – úš'el, ğivind'ol. 132. Užé léste si, vaj, duj oková [it must be: okolá] šéja. 133. Aló kheré. 134. Aló kheré akaná, vaj, č'orés bešén geré: e daj si phurí, phurí gerí taj bešén č'orés.

135. Úš'el: «Dévla! so te kerás? – ov del pes godí, o rakló. – Vaj, kamél te prandózav, vaj, mi daj phurí si, kamél te prandózav, xoč' kakój-to ğ'uvl'á, vaj!» 136. Áma ov del pes godí o rakló: «So te keráv, te bičh'aláv me dejá ko ková, sánkim, ko patišáji, patišáji si, taj si barvaló, baréja Dévla!, vaj léste n'edopróstupi tól'ko si jekh raklí léste, krasávica e raklí». 137. Akaná adavá [phenél]: «Kan-bičh'aláv me dejá». 138. Lel, bičh'alél pe dejá ko patišáji.

139. Ğ'a, néne, phen: «Me mangáv te prandoskeráv me čh'avés, taj mangáv te lav te rakl'á». 140. Úš'el o patišáji: «Be, denilil'an, so xalázi to šeró taj te kókala!» 141. Č'oré si, vaj, opré lénde kher perél. 142. «Len č'al'ti! – [phenél] koléngé sluhadéngé. – Len, kuvdijén la!» 143. So odojá alí máncia te zborízél? 144. Len o sluhádes nikaldé la, geldé la.

145. Géne jekhvar bičh'alél o rakló. 146. [E daj phenél]: «Oj, mó čh'o, vaj, man kuvdulár, vaj, man kerdé, mó čh'o». 147. [O čh'avó phenél]: «Na, na, má traša, níšto! Má traša! Ğ'a géne!» 148. Avél géneja. 149. Géne kuvdulár la, kuvdulár la. 150. Ko trító var, akaná, ková, úš'el ov. 151. Alí, vaj, ko patišáji géneja.

152. Úš'el, phenél: «Tak, što takój? – e gaği léskiri, e patišajéskiri, taj [phenél]. – Má ov asavkó žestóki, phen láke duj – trin zbóres, sánkim, zboríze lása, phen duj – trin zbóres, on č'oré si, on nanáj te vypoln'aískeren odojá díla, ej, ajakhá li da kan-ačh'ól, muk othé, phuró manúš esí». 153. Alí. 154. Úš'el o patišáji: «Ej, so tu, áke, trító var avés, so kan-ovél tumaré vastéstar, tumé te kerén me kheréstar ġi tumaré kheréste, me kerél to rakló phol'áki phurt, agurál m' ovél kolá, o terék'a, o phabájá phol'ákere, agurál ke phurt, sánkim, me kheréstar ġi tumaré kheréste, vot!» 155. Óke, o zamán, taj m' ovél tuménde o kher maj artýki minréstar, óke. 156. Áke, trin kolá, áke, din'ás la voprós'a. 157. Aj dečí me dáva me rakl'á tuménde.

158. Akaná, alí e daj, vaj, ko rakló. 159. Úš'el: «Vaj, mó raklól, vaj! – rovél e daj. – Vaj akajakhá, akajakhá phen'ás, so te keráv me, vaj ková, sánkim, phurt phol'ákiri amaré kheréstar ġi tumaré kheréste, taj li maj zjadé tumaró binás te ovél taj l'» o phabájá t' ovén phol'ákere agurál ke phurt, sánkim, vaj!» 160. «Ahá, – úš'el e rakl'orí [it must be: rakloró]. – Pásl'o, néne, sov má traša, šunés». 161. Ej, e phurí manúš esí, pašlilí gerí, sutí, so bot'eni. 162. Ej, rat'atar. 163. So tu dumaiskerés, úš'el, [taj phenél] duj zbóres: «Ačíl sófral», – níkl'on o trin raklé andár odolé tabak'éste, ke siníja. 164. So mangés, múrša? 165. Aj, dáde, so mangáv: kátar patišajésko kher t' ovél maj artýki o kher amaró, taj li t' ovél e phurt, ġi léste phol'ákiri, o phabájá agurál phol'ákere, kaj cv'etiskeren, kaj kerén. 166. Ej, dáde, pásl'o, sov, má traša, kaj so tu dumaiskerés? 167. Andár kalí dóba, dahá útra šest' časóv, alají thaból raklésko kher, baréja Dévla, odojá phurt, odolá phabájá, odolá kolá maj artýki.

168. Del trad o patišáji andár kalí dóba. 169. Ej, vaj patišáji si ušinó, povídi, phirél andé sádi, ... okoríng tudá-s'udá. 170. Ahá! 171. [Taj phenél]: «Ám' adá, na hál'av, adá so thaból – požári?» 172. [Phenél] pe gağ'áke: «Vaj, felánise, vaj, požári si, avrí čál'ti, úš'en!» 173. Denílile, šaštylár. 174. Vaj! 175. Dikhén, vaj mul'óm, vaj phurt esí, ková si. 176. Alají o kolá, stráža, vaj, stráža si ko manúš. 177. Ahá. 178. «Má», – phen'ás odolé phur'áte, phen'ás, kaj alí. 179. «Vaj, – jekh phen'ás. – O binás, o hesápi, o Del me na jazdíjel, e phurt phol'áki, so kaj phen'ás akaná: «... Kašuké me kaná, so si léste, kon ġ'anél so si, šunés, kon ġ'anél, so si»». 180. Ahá. 181. Ej, akaná lil'ás, vaj sabastán pe dejá... thed'ás po muj o rakló, kerd'ás ur'avdó, baréja Dévla, o Del me na jazdíjel. 182. E siníja, sánkim, oprál esí versó: o xapé, o piipé.

183. Ğ'al, vaj, te mangl'arél. 184. Vaj ov zbóra din'ás e phuré gağ'áke, vaj, phen'ás: «Znáčit, ovéla tuménde asavkó ková, barvalipé, avésa, sánkim, me kátar rakl'á». 185. Ahá. 186. Aló o rakló, othé léste, vaj pe dejása. 187. Úš'el ov: «Vaj, dáde, ovél, me kan-dáv me rakl'á túte, vaj so keráv me túsa?» 188. [E patišáinka phenél]: «Sar adá ajakhá, tu zbóra

din'án, vaj tu zbóra din'án?» 189. Ahá? 190. [O patišáji phenl'ás]: «Na, me me rakl'á xaník nana dav túte, ĝ'a xaník kheré, aj dečí amé zborízasa». 191. [Phenél]: «Me thel e stráža: odolé kolén, e gaĝ'én».

192. Sánkim, pe manušen. 193. Vaj, bukadár ask'éra si léste, vaj, patišáji si. 194. [Phenél]: «Ĝ'an, mudarén, čhingerén, sánkim ková, len». 195. Ahá, avén opré ko rakló ratí. 196. Čhingerdé, kerdé, mudardé e raklés, mudardé phuré gaĝ'á, mudardé. 197. Lel [dumaiskerél] akaná ov: «So te kerél?»

198. Aj o rakló, kána marénas, sánkim, odová šéji phenl'ás: «Ačíl sófral!» – duj zbóres, taj nana vuló: ne o kher, ne odová ková, sánkim, níšto, m' ač'ól, ne odojá phurt, ne odová ková, níšto. 199. Mudardé, vaj e raklés. 200. So te kerél akaná? 201. Odá dudúm ajakhá val'ázel, odá tabáki ajakhá si čhitó. 202. «Kána del pes godí o rakló: o tabáki, odojá siníja tiknonoró akasavkoró taj si akajakhá andé ková čhi'tó andé ke bar». 203. Del pes akaná godí, sánkim, odolá trin manuša, o raklé zborizen maškaré péste: «V č'om d'éla, što takój, kaj amaró manuš aménge na del zbóra, – Adá on zborízen maškaré péste, o trin raklé. – Što takój, kaj ov nana kerél, vaj na kamél te phenél lénca šó-to orúdovat', a to – níšto». 204. «Ej, ahá, adá šo-to ni to», – phenén trin raklé maškaré péste, zborízen.

205. Arakhén odová dudúm, šunés. 206. O rakló, si, vaj, mudardó čhitó, e phurí gaĝí – tóže. 207. Len odová dudúm odolá raklé, vaj, maškaré péste, nabiraiskerén páni kátar ko r'íč'ka, čh'orén opré ko rakló – ĝivind'ardé raklés, čh'orén opré ke phurí páni – ĝivind'ardé phur'á. 208. Tu šunés? 209. So? 210. Ahá! 211. Lel o rakló phenél, sánkim, odolá duj zbóres: «Ačíl sófral!» 212. Úš'el; níkl'on odolá trin raklé: «So mangés, múrša?» 213. Úš'el; léske ask'éri phenl'ás, léske ask'éri: «Alajén mudarén, alajén čhingerén». 214. Léske – ask'éri, hálil'an? 215. Vot. 216. Len akaná, vaj. 217. Odová ková phenl'ás adajá zbóra. 218. Mudardé odolá raklé léskere kolén alajén. 219. Hál'os tu?

220. E stráža, odolá kolá alají kerén ajakhá, te ovél ov č'oró-č'oró, xúže mándar, č'em kaj som me, kerén ajakhá? 221. Len on odolá kolá, kerdé les ajakhá č'oró, mulanó, sánkim, sar akavá, ej amí, va. 222. Lel akaná, vaj ková, aj les nana astarél, e rakl'á, les na astarél, e gaĝ'én nana astarél, aj ask'er'én ov léskeren alajén kerd'ás: «Unič'tóžyt'!» 223. Lel akaná phenél, sánkim, oková: «Ĝ'a othé léste». 224. Ej so, múrša, so phenl'ás, be, šaštý odová oková, vaj odová, oda patišáji. 225. Vaj, phrála, vaj, me n'eprávil'no postupíl, n'e právil'no me kerd'óm, ková sánkim, ajakhá, ajakhá, le me rakl'á, tóko ker man ajakhá, xoč', xoč' málo-málo, na sar túte, sánkim ková, xoč', málo-málo, te bešáv me gaĝ'ása, aj le rakl'á, beš, m' ovél túke baxtalí. 226. Lel odolé raklén géneja ov, phenél odolé raklénge, kerd'ard'ás léske mangín, kerd'ard'ás léske, sánkim, kher, vs'o kak nádo.

227. Aj péske kerd'ard'ás asavkó mangín, o raklé odolé, vaj léske [diné] siníja, va, mangín kerd'ard'ás, ková kerd'ard'ás stráža alají. 228. O patišáji kerd'ás pes o rakló, vuló rakló, va, pe dejá, ková, vs'o kak núžno, taj bešló odolé raki'ása ov, taj podčín'áls'a odá patišáji léske, podčín'áls'a užé, hálil'an. 229. Áke, so vuló! 230. Aj ov mudard'ard'ásas odolé, ková, e phur'á e..., ková, taj spas odová dudúm, tu hál'os, ja na?

231. Vaj, o dudúm lil'ás, aj e zbóra-to na phen'ás okoléste e gağ'éske, vaj. 232. Ov din'ás léske siníja, aj o rakló sas xýtri, hálil'an? 233. Ov del pes godí: te phenáva me jekh zbóra, o tabáki užé léske kan-ačh'ól, odojá siníja. 234. Aj ov léske na phen'ás, taj ov din'ás ikos e raklén, ov péske phen'ás jekh zbóra péske, na avré rakléste: «Ačil sófral!» – taj lel odová siníja taj ovél ko rakló géne andé ko brekh. 235. Vot t'eb'é i vs'o!

### Open up you small table!

1. Well, there are an old man and an old woman. 2. Well, now the old man died, and the old woman is left with a boy [= a son], she [had] a boy. 3. Well, they lived and lived for some time, for instance, for a year, [or] two [or] three [years]. 4. And now the guy says, “Mother, I am going for a short walk in the street”. 5. Well, [he] took [= went] to the street, an unlucky fellow. 6. [He] watches the road. 7. [There is] numerous company, young guys gathered in a circle and are talking. 8. In a circle, in a circle; and between them [= in the center of the circle] [is] a small young snake. 9. A small young snake, yes. 10. Now that guy came closer and stopped to listen to what the boys are talking between themselves: to kill the small young snake, and he came [closer] and is looking.

11. [He] addresses, “Oh, boys, don't kill that young snake, I shall take it with me”. 12. They look in his direction, “Let him take it if he likes, let him take”. 13. [He] took that young snake, put it in his bosom, [and] brought home. 14. [He] addresses, “Mother, where are your legs [and] your hands to take this young snake; he'll be my brother; I've got no brother, he will be like a brother for me”. 15. Well, now the unlucky mother is busy [with the young snake]. 16. [You see], he goes to [his] work, and the mother [is left] at home, [she] boils, feeds him, [and] takes care of him. 17. [Have you] understood? 18. Good. 19. He lives over there, under the bed. 20. [The boy] made a box, just like this, and [the young snake] is in the box. 21. And once that snake grew already up, became large [and] very thick, as the mother feeds him and takes care for him. 22. Oh yes, he came back from [his] work, looks around the place, and [that's] all, and the mother cares for him [for the snake]. 23. Just at that time the mother was cooking at the stove, you see, [she's] cooking, and the snake came to the mother and is

lying near the stove. 24. And you see, she was doing something and spilled some fat down on him. 25. Obviously, he was slightly burnt, and it hurt him.

26. Well, that brother came back; and as he returns back from his work, he takes him [the snake] to his room and remains with him there. 27. But, obviously, he [the snake] didn't confess that [he] is a man, but according to the law he's obviously a chap, but he is misled from his own [parents]. 28. Have you understood? 29. From his father, from his mother, yes. 30. [His] father [was] also the snake, but such a one that fights with azhdahades. 31. Do you understand? 32. He's got several heads, and [he] fights with azhdahades. 33. And the boy, when he ran away, or rather not ran away, but simply lost his way from his father [and] from his mother, but they were damned, they had not been snakes, they had been people. 34. But a witch damned them, and they became snakes: both the father, and the mother, and the boy. 35. Have you understood?

36. And now what? 37. [The snake] addresses, "I've already grown up, you brought me up, that old Romani woman brought me up, you are a mother to me, [you are] like a brother [for me]". 38. He says this quietly, for the mother not to know, he started talking with him, but being a snake, he doesn't disclose himself. 39. He only speaks quietly with him, "You are a brother for me: you rescued me, I lived at yours; you and your mother brought me up, [you both] cared for me; now let me go, I want to go home to look for my father [and] mother". 40. And he [the boy] says, "If it is so, let us go, but I'll come first, and you will go behind me; let's go". 41. The boy goes first, and he goes behind [and says], "What is going to be, whatever animals will be [there] on your way, don't be frightened; I say, I shall lead you to my [family]".

42. [The snake] goes to thank [him]. 43. [He] shows to [his] father [and] mother that he rescued him. 44. Some time has passed, you see. 45. Well, good; now he agreed as he feels pity and left with him. 46. And [he] left with him: let it be a day or [let it] be two days, who knows how many, he left because he brought him to [his] home. 47. [He] took him to [his] home. 48. What is to be done now, you see, the mother is also a snake. 49. What is to be done, there's no father, the father is fighting, who knows where he is fighting with these azhdahades, who knows where the father fights, but the mother [is] at home.

50. What is to be done now, you see, [he] turns the boy, [he] bangs the boy [and] makes him a broom. 51. [He] made [him] a broom, [and] puts [him] in the corner; [have you] understood: put him in the corner of the corridor. 52. [That's] all. 53. So [he] entered the house, [and] as soon as the mother saw [her son], she recognized [him]. 54. [The mother says], "Oh

God! My fellow, how many years haven't you been [here], and how you managed to come, and how much did you grow up, and how did you change?"

55. The boy addresses his mother, "Oh Mother, don't thank me, but I have a man whom you should thank, and he happened to be my brother, he rescued me, in this way: there were people in the road who might have killed me, the guys, but he didn't let this happen to me, he has an old mother, he grew me up, he made everything for me". 56. "Oh, my little boy, and where this man [is]?" 57. [He] bangs the boy with [his] palm, or rather [he bangs] the broom, and it became a man again, became a man, [and the snake-boy is] already showing [him] to his mother. 58. The mother saw [him], the mother saw. 59. "Here is this man", [he] says, "This man rescued me, this man rescued me and brought me up, he has an old mother, [she] brought me up, [she] cared for me, and [now] I've come to show him to you". 60. Well, good. 61. Hurry up, your father is about to be here [soon], my boy, the noise is [already coming], the noise that he's coming, the great noise. 62. You see he's an azhdahas, and the mother already feels that he'll be near, [and she says], "Oh my boy, that one [is] already [here], let God never give this, clouds, clouds, let God never write [this], he's come".

63. The father enters. 64. He bangs the boy once again. 65. [He] made him a broom [and] put in the corner, yes! 66. And the mother steps forward [and says], "Oh we have a guest, our boy came to us after so many years". 67. He addresses, "Oh dad, how did it happen [that you] didn't worry for such [a long] time, for so many years, that he left [home], what's the matter, you wept, [you] didn't find him!" 68. "Good", he addresses, "good, what is this?" 69. Here's our boy, [he] came here, [he] brings [her] attention, oh what a joy [it is]! [They] laid a table: [some] food [and] drink[s], as [it is] necessary. 70. "Well!" he says, "Don't greet me, father, do nothing for me, but I have such a man who brought me up, [who] took me from such a company, brought me up, made [me] a man, you father need to greet this man and do [things] for him, he has become my brother".

71. "Well, where is he, my son?", [the father says]. "I feel [there is] a human spirit [here], do you understand?" 72. [He] feels that human spirit. 73. Where is [he], I don't know, [I] don't understand, my son. 74. The unlucky fellow bangs the broom, [and it turns into] the boy. 75. Well my boy, if it comes to be like this, then his mother didn't bring you up for nothing, he became your brother, so let this [man] live at ours. 76. Well, let him live, let him live, yes, let him live. 77. And the time has come. 78. Now the boy lives at theirs, lives at theirs for some [time]. 79. What do you like? 80. What do you like to take? 81. Take these golden things [or those of] silver; but the boy said, "My father [and] my mother will give you wealth,



will give you gold, will give you marvels, [but] don't take anything, take only a tray, a small tray, do you understand?" 82. (Romanes they call this [thing] *sinija*, they used to say *sinija*). 83. The tray is very small, take only it, and take nothing more.

84. Well, now, when the boy began departing, the father and mother say, "Hi my fellow, take all the wealth, take what you like, put [it] in a cart (there were no cars in old time, but there were big carts), for us to put into [your] cart [things] that you like". 85. For us to do [so], and go [away]. 86. He addresses, "Yes, [my] elder brother or uncle, do give me a small tray". 87. He addresses, "Well, good, my son". 88. [He] obviously didn't want to give, but [he] took that small tray and gave [it], but it is such a thing [that one] must know how to give orders to. 89. Do you understand, "Achil sofral!" – and that thing opens: [if you] want to eat, [there will] be a restaurant, food [and] drink[s] will be there. 90. Oh God the great, [they] bake, cook [something], don't write [this] oh God, do you understand.

91. And now the boy goes along the road, [they] gave him that tray, [and] put it under that, right there. 92. The boy got hungry on his way, as he goes for one year, two months, tree months, who knows how long, [he] got hungry. 93. Now that one stopped, "Achil sofral!", oh God the great, [and] a cafe opened to him, [or] let that be a restaurant, or a let it be a canteen. 94. [There are] both food and drinks – everything. 95. Well, and before that restaurant opens, a man met him. 96. The man addresses him, and he has a pumpkin, a pumpkin, he has a pumpkin, and it's empty, that pumpkin, and if you spill [some] water from it [on] a man who is dying, who got ill, he's not well, you take [some] water from that pumpkin [and] spill [it] on the man, and the man recovers. 97. Do you understand [it], or not?

98. And when that tray made [its trick]. 99. [He] obviously got hungry, and that man [asks], "Where are you going?" 100. He addresses, "I am going home, [I] go towards a road". 101. He addresses, "Good, and I'll go too". 102. Obviously, two men are walking, and the boy got hungry, [he] addresses [the tray], "Achil sofral!", the word. 103. That canteen opened for him, now the food of all sorts appeared in abundance, [and they] are eating. 104. They eat and drink, had a meal and drink. 105. And what do you have that you do [such a trick]? 106. And he didn't take [it] from his bosom, he [keeps the tray] in his bosom, that [man] doesn't show him [the tray]. 107. Quietly that [man] speaks in this way, so quietly [he] speaks, and the tray does that miracle.

108. Well, he addresses, "Now what have you done, what is this, what do you have?" 109. He addresses, "I've got such a thing that it [can do it]", but [he] doesn't show [the tray] to him. 110. He addresses, "And I've

got such, such a pumpkin, when a man gets ill then I take water from that pumpkin, spill [it] on the man, [and] the man revives, [he] recovers, [do you] hear?" 111. Now [he] gets up [and] they left. 112. Yes. 113. Now they walk and walk along the road. 114. This one addresses, "Well, how about making a change?" 115. This one asks from that one to be given that [thing] and he will give that [thing in exchange]. 116. [He] addresses, "OK, take [it]". 117. And that one, that boy is cunning. 118. I know that if I give and then let him go [his] way, I'll have that pumpkin, and I'll say, "Achil sofral!" – and three boys appear [and ask], "What do you need: to eat, to drink, to have done?" 119. Good. 120. And it's necessary for him to say this word.

121. This [boy] didn't say him that word, [so the former owner of the pumpkin] doesn't know that [the magical word]. 122. When he's leaving who knows to tell, [he] doesn't understand, you know, it's necessary to tell the word. 123. "So what's that?" – [he] says, - "[I'm] going along the road for a month, [or] two, how many". 124. [He] got hungry. 125. You see, [he] needs to say just one word, but this [boy] is cunning, [he] didn't tell him, "Achil sofral!" – just two words. 126. Those three boys appear and do what is necessary [for that boy]. 127. This [boy] quietly [says] to himself, "Achil sofral!" – again that tray [is] here, that tray [is] with him. 128. Now this one [says], "Achil sofral!" – those three boys appear [and] make food for the boy.

129. He's got the pumpkin as well. 130. The pumpkin revives a man. 131. Take [some] plain water [when] a man has got ill, this one is ill or that one, or a man is dying, he spills water on him – [and the man] revives. 132. He has already got those two things. 133. [He] has come [back] home. 134. [He] came home; now those unfortunate people live poorly: the mother [is] old, old [is] the unhappy [woman], and [they] live poorly.

135. [He] addresses, "Oh God, what should we do?" – he thinks, the boy. – "[I] must get married as my mother [is] old; [I] must get married: at least a certain woman [will be helping us]". 136. But the boy thinks, "What is to be done, [I should] send my mother to that tsar, [there] is the tsar, and [he's] rich, great God! [But one cannot] approach him, he's got one daughter, a beauty". 137. This [boy says], "[I'll] send my mother". 138. [He] sends his mother to the tsar.

139. Go, mother, tell [him], "I'm going to have my son married and [I'm going to] take your daughter". 140. The tsar addresses, "Brother, you've lost your mind, let your head and your bones disappear!" 141. Poor [they are], [their] house falls on them. 142. "Take [her] now", [the tsar says

to] those servants, “Drive her away!” 143. Why did [she] come to talk with me? 144. The servants took her away.

145. The boy sends [his mother] once more. 146. [The mother] says, “Oh, my son, you know they’ve driven me out”. 147. [The son says], “No, no, don’t be afraid of anything! Go once again!” 148. [The mother] arrives [to the tsar] once more. 149. They drove her out once again. 150. That one [= the boy] addresses [his mother] for the third time. 151. [She] came to the tsar once again.

152. The tsar’s wife addresses [and] says, “What’s that? Don’t be so cruel, tell her two or three words, speak with her, they [are] poor. They won’t fulfil that task, let it stay, this [is] an old person”. 153. [The mother] came in. 154. The tsar addresses, “So, you are coming for the third time, [I want] your boy to make a golden bridge from my house to your house, [and] around the bridge there should be trees [with] golden apples!” 155. Let your house be better than mine. 156. So he gave her three such tasks. 157. And then I’ll give you my daughter.

158. Now, the mother came [back] to [her] boy. 159. [She] addresses, “Oh my boy!” – the mother cries, - “So it was, [the tsar] said so, what should I do, [he wants] a golden bridge from our house to his house, and our palace [should be] better, and golden apples [should] be around the bridge!” 160. “Well”, the girl [incorrect; it was necessary to say “*the boy*”] addresses, “Go to bed, mother, sleep [and] don’t get frightened, [do you] hear [my words]!” 161. Well, the old woman was a human being, the unlucky [one] went to bed and fell asleep for nothing. 162. Well, [the boy] gets up at night. 163. What do you think, [he] gets up [and says] two words, “Achil sofral!” – [and] three guys appear from that tray, from that tray. 164. What do [you] want, you man? 165. Oh Lord, what [I] want: our house should be better than the tsar’s house, and there should be a golden bridge up to him, [and] golden apple- [trees] should blossom in around. 166. Oh God, go to bed [and] have a sleep, don’t worry, what do you think? 167. Before a daybreak, at six [o’clock] in the morning, all the boy’s house is lightning, oh great God, that bridge [is there], [and] these apples, even better.

168. The tsar gets up before the daybreak. 169. Well, the tsar obviously got up [and] is walking in the garden here and there. 170. Good! 171. [And the tsar says], “Well, [I] don’t understand what is burning, [is it] a fire?” 172. [He says] to his wife, “Oh the known, oh it’s a fire, [go] in the street, get up!” 173. [They’ve] gone mad, got worried. 174. Oh! 175. Look [here]: there’s the bridge. 176. The man [=the tsar] has all these guardsmen. 177. Yes. 178. “No”, said [the tsar’s wife] to that old woman who had come. 179. “Oh, [she] only said. – The palace [is] a marvel, let God not

describe it, [and] the bridge is of gold, as he said now, “Deaf are my ears, who knows what he has, [do you] hear, who knows what?”. 180. Yes. 181. In the morning [he] now took his mother . . . , the boy washed his face, put on his dress, oh Great God, let God not describe [it]. 182. The tray: everything is on [its] top – food, drinks.

183. [The boy] goes to propose [himself] as husband. 184. You see, he [the tsar] gave a promise to the old woman, you see, he said, “Should you have such wealth, you’ll come, I’m [talking] about [my] daughter”. 185. Yes. 186. The boy arrived there to him with his mother. 187. [He] addresses, “Oh God, [that’s] enough, I’ll give you [my] daughter, what [else] can I do with you?” 188. [The tsaritsa says], “How it may be, you know, you’ve given the promise”. 189. Yes? 190. [The tsar said], “No, I won’t give you my daughter right now; go home first, and we’ll have a talk later”. 191. [He says], “Let him place the guardsmen, those these people”.

192. You see, his own people. 193. You see, he has many soldiers, you know [he’s] the tsar. 194. [He says], “Go to kill those [people], chop [them]”. 195. Yes, they approach the boy at night. 196. [They] chopped [and] killed the boy, killed the old woman, [they] killed. 197. Now he’s beginning to think, “What’s to be done?”

198. And the boy, when they were fighting, said that word, “Achil sofral!” – two words, and [there were] no more house, no more bridge, no anything. 199. You see, [they’ve] killed the boy. 200. What has he to do next? 201. That pumpkin lies about free, that tray is thrown away. 202. “It’s necessary”, the boy thinks, “the tray, that small tray, so little, and [it’s] thrown in the yard in this way”. 203. [He] thinks now, you see, those three men, the boys, are talking to each other, “What’s the matter? What’s going on? Our man doesn’t give orders to us!”, that’s how they talk to each other, the three boys, “What’s wrong that he does nothing, you see, he doesn’t need to talk with them, to do something, it’s nothing”. 204. “Well, yes, that’s something wrong”, those three fellows say, talking to each other.

205. [They] found that pumpkin, do you hear? 206. You see, the boy is thrown dead, the old woman too. 207. Those boys take that pumpkin, you see, between themselves, take water from a river, spill [it] on the boy – [and they] revived the boy, spill water on the old woman – [and] revived the old woman. 208. Do you hear? 209. What? 210. Yes! 211. The boy says those two words, “Achil sofral!” 212. He addresses; those three boys appear, “What [do you] want, you man?” 213. He addresses; a soldier told him, “Kill [them] all, chop [them] all”. 214. The soldier [told] him, have you understood? 215. So. 216. Now [they] take, you see. 217. It’s he, who

said the word. 218. Those three boys killed them all. 219. Do you understand?

220. The guardsmen, those ones do everything so as for him to become very poor, worse than I [am], [they] are doing this thing. 221. Those ones take and made him [=the tsar] so poor, [and] ill, you see. 222. [The tsar] now takes and doesn't keep anybody, neither him, nor the daughter, neither his people, and [*unclear*] he ordered to destroy all his guardsmen. 223. Now he says, "Go there to him." 224. Well, man, what [did he] say, brother, that one wondered, you see, that tsar. 225. You see brother, I did the wrong thing, I did it wrong, you see, take my daughter, but first do me at least a bit not like at yours, [but still do so] that I should live with my wife for at least a bit longer, take my daughter, go on living, let her be happy with you. 226. He takes those boys again [and] says to those boys, ordered to make wealth for him [the tsar], ordered to make a home for him, everything as necessary.

227. And [he] ordered to make such wealth to himself, you see, those boys [gave] him the tray, yes, [he] ordered to make that wealth, ordered to make all the guardsmen. 228. The boy became the tsar, [he] did everything necessary to his mother, and [he] started living with that girl, and that tsar obeyed him, already obeyed, [do you] understand. 229. That's what happened. 230. So he [had] ordered to kill that old woman, well, the old woman, and that pumpkin saved [her], did you understand, or not?

231. And he took the pumpkin, but [he] didn't say the word to this man, you see. 232. He gave him the tray, and the boy was cunning, [do you] understand? 233. He thought, if I tell the word, the tray will stay with him, that tray. 234. But he didn't tell him, and he called the guys, he told the word to himself, not to the other boy, "Achil sofral!" – and [he] takes the tray, and [the tray] stays in the boy's bosom again. 235. And that's all for you!

## 18. "Trin ġ'adýdes" ("The Three Witches")

"*Trin ġ'adýdes*" ("The Three Witches") is the text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mr. Viktor Borisovich Humeroħlyi (Romani name Bairam), born in 1964. The story was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 38-51, 66-79.

The *Three Witches* is just the story that may be defined a long Crimean Roma's fairy-tale in its classic shape. The informant tells it in just the manner Crimean Roma once used to do. Like Shaharazad of Oriental legend, he begins his story in the evening and comes to its end when the

next day brakes. An old Rom said on such occasion, “Before the war [of 1941-1945] I knew many fairy-tales and could tell them all the night through; [I] would often tell three or four stories, and the morning would already begin.” The length of this fairy-tale as Victor Borisovich interpreted it exceeds an hour and a half. He told the fairy-tale in the evening and would have liked to continue his long story ever more, but the author persuaded him to come to an end by saying that the tape-recorder almost run out of power and that its high time for everybody to sleep.

This lengthy story combines a number of plots. In the beginning of it, a junior brother (who’s believed to be a fool) gets a magic horse from his father (a plot of a Russian fairy-tale *Sivko-Burko*; cf. SUS № 530); then a divine old man gives him some magic items, and with their help the junior brother marries a Tsar’s daughter (a plot of a Russian fairy-tale *Plachushchii glaz / The Weeping Eye*; cf. SUS № 551 A\*).

During his adventures the guy emancipates a young man turned into a snake by witchcraft. Using magic items like a comb, a ring and a spoon – all put in a purse – he succeeds to find a Tsarina by forcing a witch to tell him the way to do that. Then, at the junior witch’s request, the guy has to fight an azhdahas and defeats him by dropping magical items (a azhdahades’s teeth in this case); it resembles a plot of a [Russian] folk story “*A Flight from a Witch by throwing Magical Items*” (cf. SUS № 313 I).

It’s necessary to note that the informant endowed the junior brother with a Romani quick wit and a skill to convince everyone, even a witch. Using this skill and even calling one witch his grandmother he wins her over so that she treats him kindly.

The climax of the story is the fight of the junior brother with his would-be father-in-law who is a magician. Here we face the informant’s personal imagination: he makes the guy defeat his future father-in-law (and get his beautiful daughter as wife) by beating him with rotten water-melons that deprives the wizard of his magic force.

Then comes the happy end: the marriage; but before that the junior brother suddenly finds his elder brothers who had been taken prisoners and kept in his fiancée’s house.

The storyteller breaks the fairy-tale into a number of short parts. To keep the listeners’ attention during his long speech, he often uses appeals *be* “brother” and also various interjections that indicate how impossible the story is: *be kaj* “oh where brother, oh where there”, *mul’óm* “Oh God (*literally*, I’ve died,)” *aj dáde, aj dádele* “Oh, father; Oh fathers”. One may believe that the storyteller admires the events that happen in his tale. He’s surely on the side of the younger brother and tries to help him with his word.

It's interesting to notice what tricks the informant used to make his tale more dramatic. For instance, he first described one witch by a well-known word of Russian origin *horbáti* "humpbacked"; but then he added a rare synonym borrowed from Tartar *kambúri*. This dated word, barely clear for young Roma, creates that tension, suspense, and feeling of mystery that the informant wants to achieve.

The author discovered in Mr. Viktor Humerohlyi's speech the dropping of a nominal part of compound verbs. It happened most often when they were repeated and when it didn't hamper to understand the story. In phrase № 588 the verb *kerésa* "[you] will do" has the meaning of a compound verb *kerésa jardými* "[you] will help"; in phrase № 445 the incomplete verb *čhi* "throw" has the meaning of the compound one *čhi sáma* "pay attention". See also phrase № 378 where the protagonist says to a witch *me lil'óm te phen'áte, deí, me na som khinó* "I took from your sister, say I'm not tired". The incompleteness of the compound verb doesn't let this phrase be understood correctly. It must look like this: *me lil'óm raháti te phen'áte, deí, me na som khinó* "I took a rest at your sister's [house], say I'm not tired."

### Trin ġ'adýdes

1. Adá esás mútlak č'oktán. 2. Opré parnó d'un'ás, opré ke phu bešélas, bešélas, koróč'e hovor'á, jekh patišás, vot. 3. Taj sas barvalénge barvaló. 4. O patišás – manúš, esás léste romní, xorandás, púja, esás jekh čh'aj taj trin čh'avé. 5. Ej, o baró čh'avó esás ajakhá, ból'e-m'én'eja normál'ni manúš, e vot. 6. Oková jekh o maškarunó esás tóže, aj o tiknó esás lénde, sar phenénas léske – kotorí ivášy. 7. Koróč'e hovor'á, bešénas on, ej so, e čh'aj sas tóže krasávica. 8. Asavkí šukár esás, o Del me na del. 9. Nu koróč'e, na sas opré ke phu, te phenés, dahá manúš, te dikhél, taj li na sas, vot. 10. Ej, so te kerés? 11. Esás, áma o tiknó čh'avó tiknó léskoro bar'ólas, be, bohatýri sas. 12. Bar'ólas, sar phenél e zbóra: n'e po dn'am, a po č'asám. 13. Nu, hrúbo hovor'á, bar'ólas, vot! 14. Ej, pherdiló, koróč'e hovor'á, tiknéske užé dešušóv breš, pherdiló, vot. 15. Aj okolá, sar baré si, vs'o.

16. Len prandózen, ġ'an te prandózen, róden péske romn'én. 17. O dad mangl'ás te prandoskerél, aj on – na. 18. Amé kan-ġ'ás sam te ródas, te dikhás, te kerás. 19. Sam výbir'em aménge ġ'uvl'én, e romn'én. 20. Arakhása taj lása, amé sam aménge prandózasa. 21. Te kaméla lové, ja šéji, ja jardými, amé avása, phenása túke. 22. O patišádes bešén opré ko grastá atlýdes, vot. 23. O duj ġ'ané, o duj phralá, taj gelé angál. 24. Aj otkhá sas xaník kheré, o tiknó, povíd'e, li na sig'arélas te prandózel, li ništo. 25. Ov

bešló, so kerd'ás na kerd'ás, l' odová: «Kan-ǵ'áv, ládno, te dikháv». 26. Ov na geló te prandózel. 27. «Aj, kan-ǵ'áv te dikháv, – phenél, – so kerén me phralá, o baré, so kaj si, šó-to on nanáj, sahyndým me lénge, kan-ǵ'áv te dikháv, te ródav me phralén». 28. Ej, del trad léske o dad: «Mó č'h'o, le, áke, akalé grastés túke, áke, mánde si andé akavá terdó, o gras, káte si alají grastá terdé, be, ej de». 29. Kaj si odojá, sar te phenáv, me na ǵ'anáv, odojá, me na ǵ'anáv rusítiko: kon'úšn'a. 30. Ej, rusítiko phen'ól pes odová, hál'osa dečí. 31. Ğ'a, le okovkhá grastés. 32. Othé si gras, mó č'h'o, tiknoró, na vid nanáj šukár, no tu le les, odolé grastés, le odolé grastés, beš taj ǵ'a, vot.

33. Koróč'e hovor'á, lel, kidin'ás pes otkhá péske, kerd'ás saví-to ková, manroró, kómbos savó-to andé xaporó opré ko drom. 34. Bešló, šop nábut, e grastéske – napharó. 35. Dikh, mo dad din'ás savé-to grastés: murdaló, našukár, kišló savó-to, ková, va, tiknoró savó-to, taj geló otkhár ov, ej phenél: «Ládno gel'óm, gel'óm». 36. Ğ'al, ǵ'al d'es, ǵ'al duj, ǵ'al trin. 37. Khiniló, be, khiniló. 38. O rakló: «So te kerél?». 39. Lel te dr'emizel, aj esí sar vešoró, pol'ánka. 40. Phenél: «Avrí te sováv, ajakhá, kon ǵ'anél, kaj níkl'av man». 41. Kan-ǵ'áv kotorí an vešoró, káte si ková, hot' kotorisa te pášl'av, taj te na dikhél man níkhon-nikh, hem te sováv mánge šukár. 42. Te na č'alavél e grastés. 43. Lel e grastés, otkhá phanl'ás paš péste grastorés te č'ar'ól, kaj si č'ar'orí, ková. 44. O gras – normál'no péske. 45. Ej hájde, koróč'e hovor'á, be, ková, pašliló te sovél. 46. Sutó si o rakló, áma avél léske andé ko sunó, dikhél o sunó, sunó léske aló birdén. 47. Dikhél andé ko sunó ov: savó-to manúš esí. 48. N'eizv'ésno, mul, kon esí, be, sar esí, baró manúš esí. 49. Angál léste phuró manúš, o č'h'orá dúlga léste, parné č'h'orá alají taj phenél léske, andé ko phol'áke savút'a alají si. 50. O manúš odová, be, alají, be tu kaj, blistájat. 51. Ej, o Del, tu hál'os, aló léske andé ko sunó taj phenél les: «Mo rakló, tu, – phenél, – ǵ'as te ródés te phralén, no tu, – phenél, – len má rode, on sam túke kan-arákhlon opré ko drom, aj tu, – phenél, – róde ti bax!» 52. «Áke si, – phenél, – opré phu, opré parnó d'un'ás, asavki šukár ǵ'uvlí, áke, oj kan-ovél ti romní, no tu kamél la te les». 53. «Othé si asavkó, – phenél, – n'énavist' asavki barí, asavké manušá si agurál láte, asavké baré kolá, asavkó, – phenél, – baró nalačhipé si othé, o bišuzé, rázn'a kolá, o aždahás esí othé jekh taj si oj». 54. «Aj oj esí, – phenél, – sar odojá, voopš'é, si sar zakoldóvani si oj, – phenél, – kas dikhél, kas dikhél, odá manúš la naší lel zr'a». 55. Oj del trin zahádkes léske, šop ov othadál [seven sounds: o-t-h-a-d-a-l] taj li kerél kamél ov šó-to. 56. Oj, voopš'é les kan-dikhél, oj les mózet te pominaiskerél, te zborizel lésa normál'no, ajakhá – na. 57. Phenl'ás léske andé ko sunó adavkhá ov taj phenl'ás léske: «Ğ'ása, dikhésa: trin kherá kan-ovén, dikh, sákí ov, othé bešén ǵ'adýdes: trin phur'á si ǵ'adýdes, o Del me na del, savé». 58. On móhut: li manušen xan, li kerén, so mangés túke, koróč'e, on mudarén, li



tharén, li kerén odolá, ov sáki. 59. Tól'ko tu smóžeš te les ajakhá. 60. «On túke, – kan-phenél, e phurí tóže, – ker mánge, áke, akavá taj phen, sar esí akavá?» – p'érví phurí. 61. Tu dikh, láke, taj phenésa, taj kerésa, désa láke asavkí zbóra, áke túke. 62. Tu sabastán kan-úš'es túke, áke kaltás, andé kaltás túke kan-ovél jekh kanlí, kanlí jekh, jekh angrustí taj jekh roj, andé kan-ovél túke, andé kaltás. 63. Áke, e angrustí tu désa ke baštutní phurí. 64. On esí trin phen'á – ĝ'adýdes esí mútlak zoralé. 65. Désa láte. 66. Désa e kanlí aver'áte, ke maškaruní phen [désa angrustí], vot, aj e roj désa ke tikní phen. 67. Tu te na kerésa ajakhá, vs'ó. 68. Tu na kan-ovés ĝivindó, tu kan-ovés mudardó muló, vs'ó, be. 69. Phen'ás akavkhá taj iš'és o phuró, be, na vuló e phurés, odolé manušés, na vuló odolés, vs'ó. 70. Sutó rakló. 71. Úš'el, úš'el, be, č'úti sv'et, dahá avrí témína, ĝ'angávdilo, na hál'ol so si. 72. Phenél, be: «So mánge aló savó-to sunó, aj so, kon esás, o phuró, kaj odá phuró, na hál'av níšto». 73. Či sunó, či č'ačipé sí? 74. Na hálilo o rakló. 75. Din'ás trad, phenél: «Ahá! Taj li aló mánge aká, taj li šos' phen'ás, savé-to phur'á, savi-to ternahár, me phralá: on sam kan-arákh'l'on». 76. Kon esás adá, so sas adá, na hál'av níšto. 77. Čh'el pi rig sáma, dikhél – kaltás esí. 78. Be, šukár kaltás esí. 79. Kána adá, be, dikh aká, be, kon esás, kásko si, kón-to našavd'ás fájma, ja so. 80. Phinravél, dikhél. 81. Andé esí e roj, andé roj esí rupuní, hálil'an, kanlí si andé taj e angrustí. 82. Sar kaj phen'ás e ková, sar kaj phen'ás léske o phuró andé ko sunó. 83. Kána adá [dumaiskerél]: «Adá, fájma, č'ačipé si, adá o Del aló mánge andé ko sunó taj phen'ás, te na thav me kan les, znáčit vs'ó, me nanaši, o Del esí». 84. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, lel, be, taj ková. 85. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, ov odá kaltás taj phenél: «Te ĝ'av te dikháv te ródav č'ač'és so za raklí si, so za ĝ'uvlí si, kaj ovéla mánge ajakhá, kaj si krasávica asavkí, be, šukár, kaj nanáj opré ke phu, opré parnó d'un'ás asavk'á nikháj te arakhés». 86. Kan-ĝ'av te dikháv li me. 87. Aj, móžet, l' ajakhá, ras mánge phen'ás o Del – esí. 88. Znáčit, me les kamél te thav kan, te na ródav me phralén. 89. Te ĝ'av. 90. Bešél opré ko gras i pošól. 91. Áma, be, oková gras e rat'atar, kaj č'ar'ólas, phanló sas otkhá, xálas péske, č'ar'ólas péske, xálas. 92. Áma, be, oká gras kátar ko murdaló, taj na vuló – gras. 93. Ov srázu na čhit'ás pes léste, o rakló, na dikhl'ás, na hálilo. 94. Kána dikhl'ás, be, adá so si? 95. Be kaj? 96. Krasávco si terdó, be kaj, alají, be kaj, asavkó xulanó gras, da ja t'eb'é dam, oková si o krasávco terdó. 97. Alají phol'áko taj léste phaká barilé. 98. Phakénca si o gras, be, phakénca, ur'ál, tu hál'os tu ja na, vs'ó, odolé grastéstar, kátar murdaló, kátar kišló, kaj vot-vot kan-perél, kan-perél taj kan-merél otkhá o gras. 99. Taj vuló, be kaj, vs'ó! 100. Bešél oprál ov, vot, aj o gras zborízel lésa manuškykanés. 101. Manuškykanés, manuškykané ses'ésa, be, del angál taj zborízel lésa. 102. «Adá, – phenél, – me som, sánkim, ková, éla mánde, beš oprál, ková, vs'ó». 103. To dad din'ás adá ajakhá, tu na ĝ'anésas, tu dúmal

adá túke ajakhá si, tu dumaiskeréas, kaj to dad tut din'ás ková, nalach'é grastés? 104. Adá si ajakhá, mol, de, me hál'av ajakhá te keráv, te kaméla, me kan-ováv géne asavkó že, aj kána kamél me kan-ováv asavkó kaj, vs'o. 105. Má traša, éla mánde, man de, dei, vs'o, beš taj háde, vs'o. 106. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, tu man, dei, ajadíjesas, keréas man, na ĝ'ásas opré mánde, man na maréas, pohál'a ĝ'ásas, beš, má traša, akaná andár akaléste me hálil'om: «Tu san, dei, vs'o, típa tohó, što, so sar, sar o murš, be, sar o xoz'aíni, akaná, minró, beš, háde, vs'o». 107. Sar amalá vulé, amál vuló léskoro, hem amál, hem sar. 108. Bešél oká opré gras, ur'ániło, ur'ál. 109. Phenél: «Taj káring te ĝ'av, aj me, – phenél, – na ĝ'anáv, – phenél. – Má traša, be, me ĝ'anáv odolé phur'én, me ĝ'anáv, adá túke aló andé ko sunó o Del, tu má traša, – phenél, – ništóstar». 110. Koróč'e hovor'á: «Adá si alají, ajakhá da kan-ovél, no dikh, – phenél, – ov sáki, odolá phur'á strašn'a, – phenél, – ĝ'adydes». 111. «Mánde, Dévla, – phenél, – vs'o». 112. «Taj li on, – phenél, – hál'on te kerén, kon ĝ'anél so, asavké díles, kaj, koróč'e hovor'á». 113. Va!

114. «Háde, – phenél, – ke barí, on si trin phen'á, me ĝ'anáv len, má traša, me arakháva». 115. Háde ke barí phen, taj ker ajakhá, sar phenl'ás túke ov, sánkim, o Del, o phuró, no dikh. 116. Koróč'e, on ur'án, be, ur'án, dikhén: veš esí, baró – baró veš, asavkó, kaj, be kaj, n'eproxodímjy vnutr', dáže burlí na ur'ál otkhá, tu hál'os, tu. 117. Níšto na phirél, níkhon nanáj, níkhás, níšto. 118. Koróč'e hovor'á, dikhél asavkó, be, kher esí, baró kher, baró kher asavkó taj si veš agurál dr'emúčij, be kaj. 119. Taj si, koróč'e hovor'á, vs'o. 120. M'órtvaja tišyná – zbóra si, hál'os tu? 121. Níkhon, nu voopš'é, pólnostju alají nanáj ĝivindó, níkhon níšto, alají si, vs'o. 122. Koróč'e, lil'ás: ras, taj ko č'éti, ko vešoréskoro. 123. Bešló o gras taj phenél léške: «Dikh!» 124. «E phur'á, – phenél, – má traša látar, oj si mútlak, – phenél, – našukár, e phurí mútlak esí asavkí strašnóji». 125. «O balá, – phenél, – dúlga láte, o č'orá, – phenél, – č'orénca si, alají zaromé, ková, taj si oj kalí, e phurí alají». 126. «Dáže o balá, – phenél, – balastí alají, strašnóji si, – phenél, – taj si o vúng'a, – phenél, – baré vúng'a, kolá». 127. «Tu látar má traša, – phenél, – aj ker tut naoborót vídi, kaj tu na trašás, taj tu al'án, taj ková, taj de la kotór manró: «Ále, – phen, – xa», áke, kaj si túte phral, de kotór manró la, ej vot». 128. «Oj te keréla pes káring túte, šó-to phenél, šó-to ajakhá, ná tam, te trašavéla tut ja šó-to, tu má traša, taj le, taj ker, taj níkal odojá šéjisa, taj de láte, – phenél, – e kanlí». 129. «E kanlí, – phenél, – níkal, kaj si láte, taj čhi káring láte e kanlí». 130. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, o rakló del pes godí: «So phenl'óm me, kaj pel'óm, níšto na hál'av, vot». 131. Tóko lil'ás te ĝ'al ov ko drom, mamúj léste okotár, be, baró sap, oprál ko teréki fúl'el, asavkó sap, akavá thulipé, áke akasavkó si, be, taj si – vs'o. 132. Káring léste ĝ'al, be, o sap. 133. Tu hál'os, tu? 134. Vs'o. 135.

Andár o rakló [dumaiskerél]: «So te keráv?» – vaj trašánilo o rakló, aj si, be, bohatýri si o rakló, bar'ól. 136. Áma léste si, o dad les din'ás čh'urí, be, lačí, lačí čh'urí adá, be, kinžáli, ja t'eb'e dam savó, odá. 137. Ov, koróč'e hovor'á, o rakló othár čh'urí phinravd'ás káring léste, tu hál'os tut, áma be, odá sap čhit'ás pes birdén opré léste taj pak'ard'ás e raklés, lil'ás te pak'arél les, vs'ó. 138. O rakló naši kerél ništo, tu hál'os, tu? 139. Kána adá: «Tu so?» – o sap léске phenél. 140. «Tu, – phenél, – mándar má traša, tu mangl'án man te čhingerés, te mudarés, oničin me tut tasavd'óm, deí». 141. Vot. 142. Tu mándar má traša, me som oková, zakoldóvani, deí, me som, vot. 143. Man akajakhá – akajakhá e phurí zakoldovála, me tóže al'óm othé, láte popál, taj ková, taj me, man zakoldovála e phurí adajá. 144. Akaná me som athé taj naši keráv ništo, naši raskoldóvyvaju, nanaší taj ačhil'óm ajakhá. 145. Áke, so te keráv, me na ġ'anáv. 146. Tu mánge te kerés jardými, me túke triždy kan-keráv maj lačhipé. 147. Šop mánge ajakhá, v'et' tu, kaj ġ'as odolé phur'áte, vaj. 148. Da! 149. Me šunl'óm, kána tumé zborízenas e grastésa, me šunl'óm, kaj túte si odová gras. 150. Ov lačh'ó gras esí? 151. Va! 152. Me šunl'óm, kaj tu ġ'as othé, taj móžet kerés láke, sánkim, kaj tu san Devléskoro manúš, Devléstar esán, e Devléstar san bičh'aldó tu, taj móžet tu kan-kerés mánge jardými, tu mánge te kerés jardými, te kutardijesa man, te ováva me géneja manúš. 153. Ker mánge jardými, deí. 154. Jéslí polúčits'a šop... 155. Móžet túke udásts'a, to znáčit me ková, tu la móžet uhovoriš, ja šó-to, ja šó-to avéla. 156. «Oj esí, – phenél, – man de, Dévla, kašuké o kaná, ġ'adýisa si, – phenél, – n'evozmóžni taj othé nikhón na bešél ne zv'éri, ne burlí na vur'ál, ne čiriklí na vur'ál, níkhon níkh, alají si othé, o Del me na del». 157. O rakló dikhl'ás geró, vaj li čikindý birdén, li ková. 158. Esí zoraló, be, o rakló birdén ková, sap užé n'e soprotivl'áls'a, mukul'ás les, taj phenél: «Ker jardými, deí, me tut mangáv, me túke prihožús'». 159. Hd'é-to šó-to li me túke dečí kan-keráv jardými. 160. Káte tu ġ'as, so tu kan-kerés me kan-ġ'av pal túte túsa taj kan-keráv li túke jardými. 161. Ej, lel o rakló (it must be: sap) taj phenél: «Ĝ'a akajakhá, áke, akajakhá dovúrús ġ'a». 162. «Okothé, – phenél, – esi ková, kan-dikhés, – phenél, – okothé si asavkí pol'ána barí taj si, – phenél, – lulud'á baré, man de Dévla, savké lulud'á šukará si, – phenél, – vot». 163. «Taj si, – phenél, – teréki phabájénca bar'ól ko maškár, – phenél. – Jekh teréki, naši oprál phabájá... te na astarés e phabáj tu te xas, – phenél, – oprál e phabáj, oprál ko teréki, tu kan-ovés, sar mánde: kon ġ'anél, so túsa kan-ovél». 164. «Íli v štó-to sam pr'evratíšs'a, íli sap kan-ovés, íli savó-to aždahás, íli savó-to, – phenél, – kon ġ'anél, – phenél, – ričhin'á, kašuk' ó kaná». 165. Koróč'e, vs'ó!

166. «Dikhés, – phenl'ásas léске, be, o sap, – vaj lačh'ó?» 167. Lačh'ó! 168. Lel ov, okotár ġ'al. 169. O rakló dikhél, be, odojá pol'ána, taj

si nanáj lulud'á, nanáj šéja, Dévlale, nanáj oprál teréki, taj bar'ón oprál o phabáj sar phol'ákere, až mánges te xas, nanáj šukará. 170. Taj dikhés merés, až te xas mangés. 171. Odojá phabáj, la, be. 172. Man'ášijs'a, taj vs'o! 173. Kaj dikhés, nanaši pašál te nakhés, šop te na des la búrnekh, te na čhingerés, taj te xas len. 174. O rakló birdén terdiló, vs'o! 175. Tu hál'os, tu! 176. Mangél te lel okojá phabáj te xal. 177. Terdiló, až sar zavorózeni, o rakló. 178. Dikhél agurál péste nikhás nanáj, phenél: «Či te čináv jekh phabáj te xav, be, móžet bot'eni phenl'ás odová sap, móžet so phenél, kon ġ'anél». 179. Ahá! 180. Ej, so vuló na vuló, o rakló okotár: ras, srázu, sam péske phenél: «Te čináv?» 181. Akatár, be, o gras léskoro vur'ál oprál, opré ko bulút'a, oprál vur'ál, aj léske: «Ĝ'a te dromésa, má čhin e phabáj, o sap esi manúš, ov túke phenl'ás ajakhá, sar esi, ov č'ačipé phenl'ás túke». 182. So phenl'ás túke othé, va! 183. Lel o rakló birdén ras, vs'o, taj geló. 184. Lil'ás te ġ'al, dikhél odá, be, odá kher esi terdó sar savó-to binás. 185. Kher esi terdó, kaj, asavkó, be, ej, baró kher, áma si puranó. 186. Hál'os tu, o kher. 187. Nanáj léste ne pénč'eres, ne udará. 188. Nana arakhél níšto rakló. 189. Pašyló, dikhél: nanáj níšto, phirél agurál. 190. Lil'ás te phirél agurál ko kher, nana arakhél níšto. 191. Kaj si udár, kaj so si – níšto nana arakhél, be. 192. Terdiló, phenél, sar te del andé, níšto na hál'ol, kaj odojá phurí, so si. 193. Tynýki si alají, vs'o! 194. Lel okotár ov, terdiló, be, 195. «So, – phenél, – me te keráv?» 196. Lel pašol, del dab e st'énka. 197. Sar din'ás dumúkh, phagerd'ás, taj ras, taj phinrávd'ol o vudár. 198. Phinrávd'ol, del andé, dikhél: nikhás nanáj, níšto nanáj, tynýki si andé, vot. 199. Áma si konás, krováti si andé, sar ková terdó, kaj te sovés, ja so si oprál, konás esi terdó, vot. 200. Taj si barí – barí odová ková, kaj thaból – e p'ěč'ka. 201. Taj si terdó odá alají, hálil'an? 202. Andé dikhél: nikhás nanáj, níšto nanáj andé, áma si andé phirél písika, be, kalí písika si taj phirél, andé si pašló [it must be: pašlí], sar dikhl'ás e raklés, mangl'ás te čh'el pes káring ko rakló birdén, užé kolá. 203. Lel o rakló, andé kaš esás terdó, otkhá, be, baró kaš. 204. Sar čh'el, sar del les birdén káring léste, vs'o. 205. Oká kajípi des' garavd'ás pes telál, vuló [it must be: vulí] kajípi. 206. Tóko vuló odová birdén, akatár, be, taj kaliló alají, taj lil'ás te guruvdadíjel alají. 207. Kaliló agurál savoró, kaj, be, až jagá, strap'á marél oprál, asavkó zvúki, be, kaj avél akathé. 208. Šunél: ras, pošól, šó-to ur'ál. 209. Pašyló ko kher birdén. 210. «Fuf, – phenel, – šos' akaté manušykanésa, – phenel, – khándel, manušykanó búros khándel, so si? – phenél. – Athé adavá ajakhá?» 211. Kaj adá, akatár sar, be, ġ'uvlikanó sési phenél odoléske. 212. Kon phenl'ás, be, túke faízel fájma, adá šó-to, kon athé kan-avél, athé nikhón na kan-avél, naši ur'ál, naši níšto, athé nanáj, kaj kon kan-avél athé, aj ov: «Na, – phenél, – athé kón-to si, šó-to khándel, – ej, [amí ġ'adýisa phenél]. – Be, tu sánas, adá, manušen okothé xal'án manušés, – phenél, – tu xal'án manušés, oničin túke khándel». 213.

«Na, – phenél, – šos' khándeł». 214. Be, bot'eni si odá. 215. Ej ládno, dikhésa. 216. Ankhá dikháva, vs'o. 217. Mérim, esí aždahás, be, triné šeréngo aždahás. 218. Ej, odoléste, odojá phurí alí, odojá ġ'adyisa, be, oprál, oprál léste, mérim, ov lákoro si, va! 219. Del andé ko kher e phurí, dikhél, vród'e, nanáj nikhás – níšto. 220. O raktó garavd'ás pes, be, pal ko p'ěci, andé kolá garavd'ás pes, hál'os tu. 221. Ur'ál akaná okotár ková, birdén. 222. Ov šunl'ás – o raktó, na hálilo birdén, trašánilo, na šunél vaj. 223. Sar dikhl'ás: ur'ál o aždahás, o raktó li trašánilo, bísim, odá so si, kon ġ'al, vaj, dádele. 224. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, odojá phurí ródel: nanáj níšto, nakhésa sungál, šos' láke tóže, phenél: «Faízel kón-to si, deí, athé». 225. «Kaj si, kon garavd'ás pes, ej, – phenél, – níšto». 226. «Te arakhása amé les, – phenáv, – me les ankhá kan-xáv». 227. Ankhá kan-ródav les. 228. Aj aždaháske phenéla: «Tu úr'a, má traša, vaj tu xal'án užé manušés, tu, – phenél. – Ğ'a akaná pášl'o, le rahátí túke, ġ'a te thanéste taj sov túke». 229. Taj si, mérim, othé géne kerdó sar kher, sar ková, taj ġ'al, sar peš'era si, hem horás, taj si andé asavkó ková, vot. 230. Sar vxódi asavkó xor, taj si udár, o aždahás andé ġ'al. 231. Geló oká aždahás: «Phuv!, Phuv!» – jagénca, thuvénca, kolénca, geló, be. 232. Áke, adajá phurí, ras: «Ahá! Tu athé san». 233. Sam bešlí péske pal ko konás, tu athé san, me užé ġ'anáv, kaj tu san athé, me dikháv tut užé, níkl'o, be, poxoróšemu, a to me tut akankhá kan-keráv, tu te ovés..., níkl'o angál mánde, te dikháv, kon esán tu, tu manúš esán, níkl'o. 234. Lel o raktó geró phenél [péske]: «Te na níkl'ava, č'ač'és, kan-kerél, kan-phenél, kaj me trašánil'om sovs'ém, v'et', mánge phenlé, – me te na trašáv látar». 235. Avél ov níkl'ol, va! 236. Adá tu san, deí, phurije, me al'óm túte. 237. O raktó láke akatár, andé: «E he!» 238. Aj, sóske tu al'án mánde? 239. Kon esán tu mánge? 240. So san tu? 241. Kon esán tu? 242. Lel ov okotár: «Me al'óm túte, me tútar na trašáv, tu mánge te na pak'ás, áke, me tut dav». 243. Ále, áke mánde si te xav, me li túke kan-dáv, áke, túke kotór manró, taj xa, me al'óm túte, mánge kamél jardými tu te kerés. 244. Kána adajá, akatár. 245. Ha! 246. Aj sóske me túke kamél jardými, tu ġ'anés, kaj athé nikhón nikohdá na avél, taj akalé thanéste me som e xoz'ájka. 247. Mánge akankhá, me jekh kojá, taj tu kan-ovés mánde akathé práxos, kon ġ'anél, so me kan-keráv, kermó kan-ovés, akankhá tu, tu mangés so te ovés, ja kan-keráv tut – č'oč'kás kan-ovés, taj kan-láv, taj kan-tháv tut kan-žariskeráv andé ke p'ěci, taj kan-xáv tut, he! 248. Ej tu sóske al'án mánde? 249. So kamél túke? 250. Del trad o raktó: «Tu, má traša, phurije, me tútar na trašáv, me dikháv, kaj tu, phurí si asavkí, o Del me na del, ġ'adyisa, mánge kamél jardými». 251. Me túke géne jékhvar phenáv, kamél te kerés. 252. Me ġ'av te ródav ġ'uvl'á, áke, akasavkí-akasavkí si opré parnó d'un'ás e raklí, taj me ġ'av te mangáv te prandózav, me mangáv la te lav, vot. 253. Me la ródav, me mangáv te arakháv la, odolé šukaré ġ'uvl'á,

no na ġ'anáv, sar, kaj me te ġ'av. 254. Áke me, so gel'óm akaté túte na ġ'anáv. 255. Kon ġ'anél, me ġ'av la te ródav, no mánde si túke te dav koještó. 256. Tu mánge te kerés jardými, me tut kan-dáv štó-to géne, pomimu étovo, so keráv me te xav, me savoró, áke, me, kerd'ás akajakhá e phurí, kerd'ás akajakhá vasténca skátirka, odová xapé, alají xapé, o piipé, alají, deí, éla, be, beš, pi, áke xa, ládno. 257. E phurí léske: «Me vs'o ravnó tut akankhá kan-keráv taj kan-xáv, me tut kan-keráv – č'oč'kás, kan-ovél šukár, rózovi, ternó, taj kan-čh'áv tut andé p'ěč'ka, baró, taj kan-žariskeráv tut, taj kan-xáv, – aj, ov láke phenél. – Na, phuríje, áke túke», – taj nikalél odojá kanlí. 258. Áke túke, odojá kanlí, taj si kanlí kerdí, be, šukár, akajá kanlí rupuní, alají ková taj si, be kaj. 259. Áke túke, odojá kanlí, no pr'ěžd'e, č'em tu la kan-lés, me túke kan-dáv la, ker mánge jardými, šop me te arakháv la, e rakl'á. 260. Sar dikhl'ás e phurí odojá kanlí, [phuč'1'ás]: «Kátar tu la lil'án, adajá kanlí, de mánde!» 261. Rakló phenél: «Na, me la akankhá kan-čh'áv andé ke p'ěč'ka taj vs'o dečí». 262. Del trad oj: «Na, me kan-keráv túke jardými, akajá kanlí si me phen'áki, káte tu dikhl'án me phen'á?» 263. Amé užé na dikhl'ám amén, kim bísim sokabór: o trin, štar šelá breš, na dikhl'ám amén amaré phen'ása, kátar tu la lil'án akajá kanlí, taj li tu la mudard'án, taj li šó-to, tu la dikhl'án. 264. Del trad o rakló láke: «Na, oj si sastí, ġivindí, oj túke sel'ámi kerd'ás taj bičh'ald'ás odojá kanlí, šop tu te peng'arés te kerés mánge jardými, tu!» 265. Me láke kerd'óm jardými, me dikhl'óm li tikné phen'á, deí, me sómas te phen'énde, vaj. 266. Túte li tikní phen esí. 267. Del trad oj: «Va! Amí sar si odojá, kátar tu la dikhl'án, kátar tu, sar tu, na xalé on tut?» 268. «Na, – phenél, – me túke phenáv, li tu man na kan-xás, ej, sar kan-xás, me al'óm túte, jardými te kerés, taj li sómas te phen'énde, me lénge tóže kerd'óm lačhipé, li okoláte, li okoláte, vot». 269. «Te o phen'á sas v étom, – phenél, – esás andé, kon ġ'anél sóste, asavkéste, kaj marenás pes». 270. Aló o baró aždahás taj marénas pes, aj me kerd'óm lénge jardými taj mudard'óm e aždahás, vot mudard'óm, te phenés, užé, kaj kan-xálas ov, ov la lil'ás, vazdin'ás taj ur'ánas on, taj gelélas la péske, savo, o Del me na del, asavkó. 271. Me lénge kerd'óm jardými, me mukl'ard'óm len taj mudard'ám e aždahás lénca. 272. Aj, dádelejav, avén, vs'o. 273. Ej, áke, lačh'ó, ej, dečí vs'o, ej dečí bax me... ej, dáde, beš, xa. 274. Ále, vs'o! 275. Me túke keráv jardými, vs'o! 276. Ej, daváj, ov xoxavd'ás, be. 277. La xoxavd'ás, hánilo so te phenél láke, aj kan-xálas les užé. 278. So bot'ěni! 279. Ej, muk odolá, lil'ás, del láte e kanlí. 280. Kána, adá, oj léske akatár: «Ále akaná, li mándar jekh podárka». 281. Tu te ġ'ása, me phen'á te dikhésa, kamél te ġ'as odá drom, káte bešél mi phen. 282. Tu ġ'anés, othé, deí, aj tu na ġ'anés, kaj túte othé kamél te ġ'as te ródes, odojá ġ'uvlí bešél odorin[g]já, káte bešén me phen'á. 283. Óke, asavké vešéste. 284. Baró veš, odá veš si maj baró adaléstar. 285. «Vaj, tu sánas, – phenél, – te ġ'anés». 286. Ej, lačh'ó mánde.

287. O rakló del andé, vstr'étil, dikháv, kaj khelél o aždahás, lénde. 288. Peló opré lénde o aždahás taj gelélas, me na sómas, deí, kheré, amí sómas thanéste, on esás hd'e-to thanéste, gelénas šó-to, lénge kamélas te kerén šó-to, pi díla, aj so, me na phuč'l'óm, me na ġ'anáv, me kerd'óm prósto lénge jardými, dikháv: vázdel phurí manušen, o aždahás te xal, te gelél, te kerél taj i vs'ó. 289. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, lel, bešél, ková, del les phurí podárka, vot, ále túke, áke gonó, aj andé si tiknoró gonoró, aj andé, be, si šó-to sar dandá savé-to, del trad oj léske: «Áke, le adalá dandá, túke on kaména pes, tu te č'h'es jekh dan: veš kan-bar'ól, te č'h'es avér dan: der'av páni kan-ovél, kan-bar'ól, te č'h'es avér dan: thuvá, jagá kan-ovén, hálil'an ja na?» 290. Áke túke, adavá kan-kamél pes dahá, tu kána kan-ġ'ás te rakl'áte, te les túke rakl'á, túke odová kan-kamél pes, vot. 291. Hálib'an ja na? 292. Kan-sikavés akavá me phen'áke, káte kan-ġ'ás e maškarun'áte, oj te dikhéla, oj tut dečí prim'et, hem kan-penġ'arél tut, hem kan-kerél tut, hem kan-kerél túke jardými dečí oj phenél: «Dikh, phenél, dikh, dečí odová, te na našavés, áke dikh, beš, xa, pi, sov, ratkér». 293. Del trad o rakló: «Te ač'h'av, – phenél, – taj li kan-xál man, ja so kan-kerél, kon ġ'anél, – trašál o rakló, pharó duj, phenél, – na, me, vaj sig'aráv, me kamél te ġ'av taj li me phralén ródav, na ġ'anáv, vot». 294. Deí, ajakhá, ajakhá. 295. Ej, koróč'e, ajakhá. 296. Oj: «Ej ládno, dikh, ġ'a!» 297. Din'ás, kerd'ás, vs'ó! 298. Níkl'ol o rakló taj ġ'al, ġ'al, ov ništo, vs'ó, geló o rakló. 299. Tóko geló pal ko veš, pal ko kolá, del e šol o rakló, o gras lésoro mukél pes telé. 300. Aj ov si gras lésko, č'h'el pes oprál o rakló ajakhá i geló. 301. Hálib'an? 302. Ur'ánilo opré taj geló andé ko bulút'a. 303. Vs'ó. 304. Geló. 305. «Háde, deí, – gras phenél, – me ġ'anáv, káte so si, ej, tu, – phenél, – lačhimása kerd'an odová, kaj vuló adá ajakhá, vot». 306. Del trad akatár o rakló taj phenél: «Be, dikh akaté, vaj, me bristerd'óm kátar ko sap, e sapés me bristerd'óm». 307. O sap – o rakló, kaj si zakoldóvani othé, kaj si, kaj phurí kerd'ás les sapésa, bristerd'óm léske te keráv jardými te hál'av, so taj sar. 308. Del trad o gras léske: «Má traša, má traša, amé akankhá ġ'ása, – phenél. – Okoté, oj léske n'e pomóžet, amí akajá, – phenél, – kan-kerél jardými, – phenél, – hálib'an ja na?» 309. Tu mangés akalé phen'á akaná, kaj si o rakló ajakhá-ajakhá taj ková, kaj kamél, oj te kerél jardými, oj tóko móžet te kerél ajakhá: ov te ovél géneja manúš, akajá e maškaruní phen kan-kerd'arél, odojá naši kan-kerél túke ništo. 310. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, ġ'al. 311. Ur'an, be, ur'an, dikhén, Dévlale, o veš maj baró, maj kaló, maj ková, kon ġ'anél, ej, dáde, ke xalazína. 312. Dikhén: o kher andé si, pismíl'a rábim, savó kher esí, andé, be kaj. 313. Andé o kher esí, kon ġ'anél savó, ej muk odová, koróč'e hovor'á, odová kher esí, aj-aj-aj, kašuké o kaná, alají andé ko terék'a, andé ko xl'ad'á, alají andé ko kolá, bar'ól, be kaj. 314. Ahá, terdiló ov ajakhá že, dikhél. 315. Ko č'éti terdiló, dikhél odá veš, kátar te ġ'al, o rakló, ková, be, n'eproxodími

sovs'ém si odá veš, kašuké o kaná. 316. Nihás nanáj, ne čiriklí, ne nikhón ġivindó nanáj othé. 317. Hálil'an. 318. Vot. 319. Ne ruvá, ne nikhás nanáj. 320. Ej, so kerdiló na kerdiló, lel o rakló, ġ'al pohál'a, ġ'al, dikhél: udár esí, o udár phinravdó, pašyló, dikhél phinravdó, pašyló, trašál srázu, dikhél nanáj nikhás, din'ás andé, nanáj nikhás, opré si, be, te ġ'as, sar ková, si opré, tól'ko lil'ás te ġ'al odoríng, birdén oprál: «U-u-u... ras». 321. Odojá phurí, be, ur'ál taj si e phurí, odojá maj strašnóji, až horbáti saví-to, kambúri saví-to, phurí si kambúri, be, taj si o vastá dúlga, okolá, aj, dáde, okolá palál, kašuké o kaná, taj lel, koróč'e hovor'á, odojá phurí, léske: «A-a-a, tu manúš esán! Kátar tu al'án, kátar tu pel'án athé, sar tu pel'án athé?» 322. «Me tut kan-xáv, áke, kon esán tu», – káring léste. 323. Del trad o rakló, geró, birsahát nikalél ková, odá gonoró, tiknonoró gonoró, sar ková, sar kisi, kis'orí nikalél andé (it must be: andár) taj sikavél. 324. «Áke, – phenél, – térd'ar, má xa man, me te phen'atar aváv, tí phen túke sel'ami bičh'ald'ás, áke, din'ás akavá te sikaváv túke, te peng'arés tu». 325. «Tu ġ'anés odová, odojá kis'orí?» – [phuč'él]. 326. Áke, me láte sómas, ková. 327. Lačhimása me, ej, xal'óm, li pil'óm láte, li bešl'óm, li kerd'óm láte. 328. Ej, vs'o, vot. 329. Ake túke alají díla. 330. Del trad oj: «Ahá! Va, kaj-kaj-kaj, va, adá me phen'áko si, adá sas amaré dejáko, ková, šéji dahá». 331. Amará daj užé, ková, nanáj ġivindí taj din'ás les ke barí phen adavá. 332. Va, tu, fájma, la mudard'án ja čhind'án la... taj kerd'án la šó-to, taj lil'án látar. 333. Oj n'e mohlá, deí. 334. «Na, – phenél, – me ajakhá-ajakhá sómas láte, akajakhá bešél, akajakhá kerd'óm, akajakhá ková». 335. A, na, me tut kan-xáv – vs'o! 336. Be, pharó duj o rakló, ras, taj i vspómnil o rakló. 337. Vaj léske o Del andé [sunó] kaltás din'ás taj andé ačhilí e angrustí taj e roj. 338. Kána ov akatár: «Térd'ar, ej mánde géne jekh šéji si». 339. Ras, [nikalél] andár e roj o rakló, phenél: «Áke túke e roj, áke, túke e roj rupuní, taj si roj šukár kerdí, be kaj». 340. Amí adajá tu kátar lil'án? 341. Áke, adá zakónno, oj esí láki, adá. 342. Va! 343. «A-a-a, znáčit, adá si č'ačipé, ras tu e roj and'án, adá si č'ačipé, te and'án tu jekh e kisi, znáčit mi phen mudardí si», – lénde, mérim, esás adá, be, sar, tu hál'os, tu? (uhovórka). 344. Da. 345. Lénde sas adá ajakhá. 346. Šó-to te avéla, deí, mánca, znáčit jekh e kisi kamél te ovél, aj te ovéla dečí lačhipé, taj si alají, znáčit li roj kan-ovél, l' e kisi kan-ovél: hálil'an? 347. O Del léske din'ás, užé odová esí, sar andé ko sunó, taj din'ás odová. 348. Aj dečí mi phen sastí, zuralí si, lačhipé si. 349. Aj, dáde, éla mánde, me la na dikhl'óm užé, vaj sokabór na dikhl'am amén, Dévla, bísim sokabór, élaba. 350. Ras, sar kerd'ás e phurí vasténca, čh'el akajá skát'erka, ková, vuló phérdo xapé, o konás phar'ól. 351. Devlalé, o piipé, o xapenátes – alají, so mangés esí oprál, čirikl'áko sítí jekh nanáj. 352. Len, bešlé, Dévla, be kaj, be, xa. 353. Xal o rakló, bokháliło, bešló te xal, bešló te xal, okojá phurí léske: «Amí tu, sar so, so mangés tu, múrša, so ródes tu,



manúša?» 354. Me ródav asavké-asavké, áke, e ġ'uvl'á; ajakhá-ajakhá, mútlak šukár esí oj, jekh opré d'un'ás esí, akajakhá-akajakhá si odojá ġ'uvlí, odojá raklí, patišáinka si, aj dádelejáv, taj naší arakháv o drom, me na ġ'anáv, óke, so me te keráv, me na ġ'anáv. 355. No me, ġ'anáv, kaj si géne, mánge phenl'ás ti barí phen, kaj si géne e jekh tikní tuméendar, kaj on ġ'anén kón-to tumé, tuméendar, kaj me te arakháv odá drom, káte me te peráv, káte te ġ'av, vot. 356. Taj li me ródavas me phralén, naší arakháv len. 357. Aj oj, ej, adá, me na ġ'anáv, me na dikhl'óm, ej, áke, o drom, me phen'á, me ková, me túke kan-phenáv, tóko dikh, ov sáki, sáki ov. 358. Oj, kána kan-avés tu láte, oj esí, o Del me na del, oj améendar esí sámi zlóji phen, oj esí sámi asavkí, oj esí užé korí taj li oj na dikhél, jakhénca na dikhél, oj móžet te na hál'ol srázu, móžet li te nakhavél tut, li te xal tut, ja, kon ġ'anél, so te kerél túke, koróč'e hovor'á, vs'ó. 359. «Oj esí, kašuké o kaná, – phenél, – káring láte naší dikhés, oj sar kaj zv'éri, alají balastí si, – phenél. – Ne o manúš, amí si sar zv'éri, kan-phenés savó-to ruv, be, ričhiní saví-to, kon ġ'anél, bišužó savó-to kan-phenés, kaj si, ej vot!» 360. «Vaj, dádele, ej lačh'ó, – del trad o rakló láke, – tu ġ'anés so, áke, me túke kerd'óm, and'óm te phen'atar ková, no me túke bristerd'óm te phenáv, te mangáv tut, ker mánge, deí, lí tuja lačhipé, móžet me kan-keráv lačhipé taj kan-ġ'av te phen'áte, hem keráva sel'ámi, hem ková». 361. Mánde ajakhá – ajakhá mo amál taj sas ov, mo amál okoté, mánca peló, aj e barí phen tinrí na hálili birdén, taj kerd'ás les, taj vuló sap ov. 362. Taj si akaná geró phirél opré terék'a, ková. 363. Aj léste, deí, ková, tóže mangél: ternó si ov, ker lačhipé, mukl'ard'ár les, so odá sap, ov vs'ó ravnó. 364. Aj ov: «Othé nikhás nanáj, níšto nanáj, ov láke níšto na kerél li oj léske, oj léstar li bristerd'ás tóže». 365. A-a-a, ej, taj so akaná, ej, ov mo amál esí, deí, mánca si, ková. 366. Ker jardými, te ovél géne manúš, othé bešél péske. 367. Ej, óke, amé, dikhés, sar manušá, li tu manúš. 368. Vaj, manušéske, me tútar na trašáv, aj tu, sar mi bába san, sar mi bába, me tútar na trašáv, sar manúš, ková. 369. Ker jardými, deí, me tut mangáv. 370. Lel phurí akatár: «Ej, ládno, ras tu, áke, phen'án ajakhá, ras tu kerd'án ajakhá, me kan-keráv túke jardými, ládno ras me som ti bába, ládno, áke, me kan-phenáv». 371. Ále, te deí, túke, le akavá gonoró, andé, áke, si šéja, hálil'an ja na. 372. «Andé si jekh pendéx, andé ko gonoró, jekh pendéx esí, adajá pendéx: dikh, te na xas, ej nikháste, te na des, amí, te des odolé manušéste la, šunl'án ja na, aj e kis'orí garáv, sikavésa e tikné phen'áke, šunl'án? – phenél. – Ja na?, li akajá kis'orí sikavésa ke tikní phen, te na sikavésa saré duj kis'á, – phenél. – Tu dikh, oj srázu, – phenél, – tut kan-tharél, žyvjom kan-xál, tu ja kermó, ja so, kon ġ'anél so, kan-ovél túsa, ja kan-xál tut srázu, – phenél, – ja kan-thabós, ja só-to kan-ovél túsa srázu, tóko tu kan-avés andé ko veš lákereste, dáže othé, – phenél, – láte bešél, aj dáde, ruvá, ričhin'á, l' on alají lákere, alají si, othé srázu: tu dahá na kan-

avés, aj oj kan-ǵ'anél, kaj tu al'an». 373. «Hálib'an? – phenél, – ja na, – ej, koróč'e hovor'á, o rakló. – Ládno, phenáv: bax me del tut o Del, aj, dáde, te ovés sastí, te bešés géneja kon ǵ'anél». 374. «Li te na ovés maj zjadé», – sam péske dumaiskerél. 375. Taj boldin'ás pes ov, o rakló. 376. «Ej, bax me del tut o Del», – pokloníls'a láke, e phur'áke, aj, dáde, lačhimása. 377. Bešél, vuló ov kajípi, aj, oj: «Ratkér, – léske, – aj dáde, mó č'h'o, mánde na sas níkhon-nikh užé trista týs'ač' l'et, p'at'sót [possibly: týs'ač'] l'et nana sas níkhon-nikh: níšto, níkhás na dikhl'óm me othé, te ovél mánde manúš mis'afiri, te avél mánde, ej, dáde, ratkér, – aj ov, del pes godí. – Te na kerél mánge, kon ǵ'anél so, rat'atar». 378. «Na, me sig'aráv, mánge kamél te ǵ'al, li mo amál si othé taj li ková, me phralá, li romn'á, me na ǵ'anáv, so te keráv, me kan-ǵ'av, me lil'óm raháti te phen'áte, deí, me na som khinó», – géne xoxavél la. 379. Ej lač'h'ó, lel akatár, ej ládno ǵ'a, ǵ'a ke Devlés te dromésa, dih. 380. Bešél, koróč'e. 381. Ov geló, be, ahá, geló rakló, níkl'ol akatár, del šol, o gras lésko vur'ál oprál ko bulút'a, telé mukél pes léste. 382. Vs'o! 383. Bešél. 384. «Ej, so kerd'an?», – [phuč'él]. 385. «Lačhimása lav», – [otv'eč'ájet]. 386. «Ej lačhipé, áke, dikhés! – phenél. – Sámi hlávni, te na trašás, dih, – phenél, – kátar tikní phen, kátar ke phurí te na trašás, ój-to nanáj, – phenél, – sar manúš». 387. «Odolá géne – géne, aj odojá si, – phenél, – oj, dáde, sar bišužý saví-to ričhiní, kon ǵ'anél, sar nanáj kon ǵ'anél só si, kašuké o kaná, ratí kan-trašás avrí te níkl'os, te na trašás, – phenél, – látar, dih, – phenél. – Daváj». 388. Bešlé, o gras ur'ánilo, vazdin'ás pes opré o gras, be kaj. 389. Akaná ov [phenél]: «Kamél výručit' amaré manušés, ǵ'ása ke trító phurí, aj othár, – phenél, – amé ǵása taj dečí výručím e raklés». 390. Háde! Háde! 391. Áke, be, ur'án, ur'án d'es, ur'án, mul duj, ur'án, mul trin, mul sokabór d'es ur'án kon ǵ'anél, vot. 392. O d'esá vur'án. 393. Del trad o rakló, aj me užé khinil'óm, hem phenél [o gras]: «Tu má traša, tu de tut búrnekh mándar taj sov, – phenél, – be, de man angáli, – phenél, – akaléstar men'atar taj sov opré mánde, aj tu má traša, aj ur'av, má traša», – ǵ'anél o rakló odolés. 394. O rakló sutó, sutó. 395. Ur'ánile. 396. Ras, ǵangávdilo, o gras les ǵ'angavél: «Úši, múrša, úši! – phenáv, – al'am». 397. «Dih, be, – phenél, – ov sáki odoléstar, áke». 398. Áke, amar'á...

399. «Me tap ko č'éti fúl'av, šop man te dikhén, te na ǵ'anén, me ková, li tu ajakhá ǵ'ása, potomú, – phenél, – athé si, alají ǵ'anén, alají o ruvá, o ričhin'á, o čirikl'á, – phenél, – alají si lákere, alají ǵ'anén, o veš láko, o Del me na del, so si». 400. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, lel, be, avél o rakló, avél pohál'a káring ko veš. 401. Dikhél: nanáj níšto, kátar te nakhél, sar te nakhél, níšto nana hál'ol. 402. Be kaj, tóko lil'ás te pášol káring ko terék'a, andár, be, birdén sap níkl'ol.

403. Rakló, ras, čhit'ás pes palé, birdén rigáte, del búrnekh, baró bar. 404. Vázdel o bar, del lésa e sapés, hálib'an? 405. Aj o sap léske phenél:

«Čhi, deí, o bar, má čhi káring mánde, má mudar, deí, man, me túke kan-sikaváv o drom». 406. Athé nikhón o drom na ġ'anél, jekh me ġ'anáv, ináč'e tu naši kan-avés andé ke veš, naši ródes, kan-arakhés e phur'á. 407. Man bičh'ald'ás e phurí, amé užé kan-ġ'anás, kaj tu, deí, al'án athé, tu man te mudarés, tu andé na kan-perés, taj li ankhá agurál túte alají kan-thaból. 408. E phurí phenél mánge: «Dévla, alají, vs'o». 409. «Tu, – phenél, – muló kan-ovés ankhá, taj li na kan-arakhés o drom dečí». 410. «So tu mangés?» – [phuč'él o sap]. 411. Del trad o rakló léske: «Mánde si, deí, áke, šéja, me al'óm kátar ko phen'á, me al'óm kátar ko phen'á, vot». 412. Savé phen'endar? 413. Láke, láte si duj phen'á, me al'óm kátar ko phen'á: kerd'óm sel'ámi, and'óm sel'ámi. 414. Me al'óm, deí, kátar ko phen'á,... me sómas li ke barí, li ke maškaruní phen. 415. «Al'óm, me mangáv lása te zborízav, me látar na trašáv, na trašáv, me látar na trašáv, aj to, me ankhá kan-láv ti men, – phenél, – me kan-mudaráv tut», – e sapéske o rakló. 416. Lel oková, o sap phenél: «Ej, ras esi ajakhá, háde máncá». 417. Ras, o sap, sar geló andé taj aló odá birdén, sar del alají [o veš], Dévla, be kaj, oká drom esi kerdó, ej, ja t'eb'é dam, phol'áko si oprál, thaból odá drom alají, phinrávd'ol odá drom, o veš phinrávdilo taj kerávdilo odá drom, taj o rakló ġ'al, dikhél: andé nanáj kher, be kaj, baró asavkó, ková, taj si kerdó, be, sar terek'éncia si, alají agurál terék'a léstar, alají si andé ko ková, kaj si oprál, sar lulud'á šukará, kaj cv'etiskeren la, ková, kaj bar'ón oprál rázn'a, be kaj, alají kerdó si. 418. «Odá, – kan-phenés, – kaj nanáj kher, kaj si o terék'a, kaj bar'ón, opré alají si kerdó». 419. Taj si andé léste alají, dádele, na vur'án agurál léste rázn'a sapá, aždahádes, na vur'án rázn'a čirikl'á savé-to, na phirén rázn'a kolá, ruvá, na phirén rázn'a díles, aj dáde. 420. Agurál, andé ko veš alají, alají dikhén. 421. O rakló ġ'al, aj, les nikhón na astarél, raklésa sap angál ġ'al. 422. Ahá! 423. Avén, pášon ġi ko kher, kána adá, akatár o sap léske: «Ej tu, phenén, ej tu phenés, kaj murš esán, na trašánil'an, kaj tu san o murš, kaj de tut dab akankhá, te dikhás». 424. Kan-phinravén o vudár, smóžeš te phinravés, ja na? 425. Kaj, phinráv o vudár. 426. Lel o rakló vastésa nanaši phinravél les, na phinrávd'ol o vudár. 427. «Ej, – phenél [e sapéske], – dikhés, ej, de dab, te dikhás to muršypé». 428. Sar lel o sap, sar del o dab: «Du-u-u!», – taj phinrávd'ol oká vudár. 429. Tóko phinrávd'ol o vudár, andé, be, témina asavkí birdén esí, agurál alají esí andé témina, andár birdén e jag, pólým'a, thuv asavkó: «Žu-u-u!», – taj e phurí, be, odojá na vur'ánili andár savó-to asavkó, be, be kaj, balastí, kašuké o kaná, be, ruvári, ruv – ričhiní, angál láte, angál odolé phur'áte, kon ġ'anél, kašuké o kaná, be, bišužý saví-to, n'e to manúš, n'e to zv'éri si, kan-phenés savó-to, kon ġ'anél, so si adá, bišužý. 430. Nanáj manúš, ej, nanáj ruv, kon ġ'anél, so si, nanáj, e phurí pal láte por'ása, o úng'a okolá, be kaj, asavkí, be. 431. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, oková del trad akatár akajá e phurí, e ġ'adyisa. 432. Kána adajá:

«Tu sóske? – phenél, – al’án mánde?» 433. «Aj me, – phenél, – ankhá kan-tharáv tut žyvjóm, voopš’ě tu...» 434. Del trad ov láke: «Me tútar na trašáv, áke, dikh, so me túke and’óm, me al’óm túte sp’ecyál’no, man bičh’ald’ás ti phen, li barí, li maškaruní, bičh’álde túte». 435. Mánge na kamél ne phen’á, ne níkhon-nikh, me níkhás, ková, me jekh ġ’aní bešáv, me na dikhl’óm, me bristerd’óm andár užé, kána me len dikhl’óm, taj sokabór vaxyti nakhló me n’ě pómn’u, kaj on mánde si, vot. 436. Tu xoxavés, áke, me tut tóko. 437. Aj, ov [phenél]: «Na! Áke, dikh, so and’óm, sel’ami bičh’aldé túke», – taj nikalél odová o gonoró jekh, taj li o dújto gonoró nikalél, l’ o duj nikalél o gonoré. 438. «Adá on esí?» – [phuč’él]. 439. «Va! – oj. – Na, deí, ková». 440. Ov: «So na?» 441. «Va!-Va! Šó-to odolá šėja me ġ’anáv, odolá šėja me dejáke sas, va!» – phenél. 442. «Ej áke, dikhés, me tut nana xoxaváv», – [phenél o rakló]. 443. «Me vs’o ravno, me tut kan-xoxaváv, da me tut ankhá kan-xáv, a-a-a, kan-xáv tut ankhá, kan-tharáv tut, vs’o!» – [phenél e phurí]. 444. Aj, ov láke, srázu vspómnil, kána ov [dumaiskerél]: «Térd’ar, o Del, vaj, din’ás mánge o phuró andé ko sunó, vaj, din’ás mánge o phuró odová šěji, be, o kaltás, taj si andé, andé ke kisí, ačhili angrustí odojá – a-a-a!», – kána ov ras, nikalél andár. 445. «Ahá! – taj kan-sikavél e phur’áke. – Áke! – phenél, – dikh akaté, – phenél, – čhi la, me túke phenáv, me na xoxaváv». 446. Sar dikhl’ás e phurí, kána odojá: «Ahá! Adavá, kaj lil’án tu?» 447. O rakló phenél: «Lil’óm, aj, me túke phenáv, kaj me tut na xoxaváv». 448. Aj dečí tu právil’no phenés; sar esí othé me phen’á, znáčit sasté si, zuralé, deí, me phen’á? 449. «Va!» – [phenél o rakló]. 450. «Ej, taj so?» – [phuč’él e phurí]. 451. Áke, bičh’aldé man túte, me al’óm túte sp’ecyál’no, man bičh’aldé te phen’á túte. 452. Taj sóske on bičh’aldé tut mán, sar tu lénge amál mox te ovés? 453. Aj, dáde, aj, me les (ít must be: len) spasaiskerd’óm, man lil’ás aždahás baró, kan-gelélas len, užé gelélas te xal len, užé vazdin’ás len, aj me kerd’óm lénge jardými, áke taj, ková.

454. Mukl’ard’óm me taj mudard’ám lénca e aždahása, taj akaná, áke, on kerén mánge jardými, mánge. 455. Me na ġ’anáv, so te keráv? 456. Ródav, kaj te arakháv me odolé ġ’uvl’á, me na ġ’anáv, mánge aló andé ko sunó, alí mánde raklí, šukár, do tóho šukár e ġ’uvlí, alí, vs’o. 457. Me mangáv la te lav, te arakháv la, patišainka si e raklí, šukár. 458. Kaj me la te arakháv? 459. Mánge phenlé, kaj tóko tu ġ’anés, tu mánge kan-kerés jardými, tóko jekh tu, ej vs’o, me tútar na trašáv, aj, me túte al’óm lačhimása, vaj tu san mi bába. 460. Láke vuló akatár. 461. Ej, oj [phuč’él]: «Sar me som ti bába?» 462. Áke, tu dikhés, kaj me and’óm túke akavá šěji, tu dumaiskerés, kaj adá si ajakhá túke, na. 463. V’et’, me túke and’óm adavá, ada si ajakhá. 464. Aj oj: «Va!» 465. «Ej, ládno, ej, dikh! – phenél. – Tu, vot, háde andé ko kher mánde: beš, xa, sov, ratkér, dečí tóko tu kan-ġ’ás mándar». 466. Del trad o rakló: «Áke!» 467. Me, áke, na ġ’anáv so te

keráv? 468. Amí tu te xása man? 469. Del trad oj léske: «Má, má traša, me na kan-xáv tut, me na dikhl'óm, athé mánde manušá užé na sas, kon ġ'anél, sokabór brešá». 470. Kim bísim so. 471. «Adá, me phuril'óm taj na dikhl'óm užé mánde athé te avél kón-to manúš, má traša, be, – phenél. – Ej, ládno, aj la, te dikháv, te dav man godí, te dikháv dahá kas tu ródes, kaj so si oj, aj dečí me túke phenáva, sar taj so, vot». 472. No mánde si, áke, tóže jekh aždahás, athé bešél mánde. 473. Ov na thel man kan, odová aždahás, me na ġ'anáv, so te keráv léske, vot, odolé aždaháske: I' ajadíjav, li keráv, no ov na thel kan, me mangáv les, tu te marés les tut lésa, tu te marésa tut lésa, taj lésa odová aždahás, tu, taj désa, tu, les dabá, znáčit me, me kan-keráv túke, so tu mangés, aj te na, dikh, ov tut kan-xál, me na kan-keráv níšto, jardými túke naši. 474. Del trad o rakló, phenél: «So me te keráv?» 475. «Ej! – phenél. – Ládnno, ras výxot nanáj, znáčit vs'o». 476. Lel akatár o rakló, xal'ás, kerd'ás odojá phurí, konás thed'ás, ková, birdén, kerd'ás adá phérdo xapenátes, odolá piimátes, bešló, xal'ás. 477. Páš'lo, sov, le raháti, dečí, vs'o. 478. Ej, rakló thed'ás kan, pašliló, del pes godí: «Te sováv, amí, te kerél e phurí, kon ġ'anél so, te na sováv, tóže», – e lindra tasavél les. 479. Lel ov akatár: «Ahá! – phenél. – Te sováv, te dremízav taj te dav man godí, – phenél, – so za aždahás esí, jésli léste phurí naši lel, naši e phurí léske te kerél níšto, amí me so kan-keráv léske, andár te mangáv e Devlés, te hál'av: so si othé taj sar?» 480. Ej, móžet kan-lél e lindra, andé ko sunó móžet mánge o Del phenéla: so si, sar si, so te keráv taj sar? 481. Lel ov akatár, páš'ol taj dremisáilo o rakló. 482. Xal'ás, pil'ás kotorí taj dremisáilo. 483. Avél léske o phuró andé ko sunó. 484. O phuró aló andé ko sunó. 485. Aj, léske akatár, kána adá, ov o rakló léske: «So me phenáv te keráv, me na ġ'anáv, te maráv man e aždahása, sar man, kon esí odová aždahás, sar esí, so kan-keráv me léske adá me nana ġ'anáv, sar mánge les te mudaráv, sar te lav me les o rat?» 486. Del trad léske akatár o phuró, o Del: «Tu, má traša, – phenél, – tu, te trašása, tu proihráješ léske, ov tut kan-xál, hál'os tu, jekh esí tóko ti spas'énija, te na trašás léstar, tu léstar te na trašása, znáčit', vs'o, tu les kan-mudarés dečí!» 487. Del trad léske ov, o phuró: «Tut din'ás e phurí, e barí phen kis'orí, andé si odolá dandá, odolá dandá si drakon'éskere, odová drakóni sas zakoldóvani, dahá amaré dadésko drakóni sas, hálil'an, léste sas, kaj phiravélas les, taj sas ov, áke, adavá, ov, adalá dandá léskere si, aj adavá si lésko čh'avó, taj bešél ov athé ke phurí – ruv, phiravélas odolé phur'á taj dečí na mangl'ás te phiravél, mútlak esí kýrsi, mútlak ġ'ungaló si, vot». 488. Le adalá dandá taj čh'ésa po jekh dan, kána kan-marés tut lésa, aj dečí dikhésa, so ovéla, no, te na trašás ništóstar. 489. Ej, o rakló sutó. 490. Del trad. 491. Kána adá, ov: «Óke, mánge o Del phenl'ás, vaj, kisí si mánde». 492. «Andé si, – phenl'ás, – andé amaré kis'áte si pendéx jekh», – te del (ov) okolé sapéste, ko rakló. 493. Aj, akaté si o dandá. 494. «Ej,

ládno», – phenél. 495. Ušinó, kerd'ás, geló, xal'ard'ás po muj o rakló šudré pan'ésa. 496. Láte othé xaníng esí, ke phurí, č'oxráki, be, ĝ'al taj si, sar xaníng, andé xaníng odá č'oxráki kerdó, be kaj, taj si o páni šuzó, andé šudró, šukár páni. 497. Pil'ás o rakló, xal'ard'ás pes. 498. Akajá e phurí: «Ej, tu, so akaná, tu kan-xás so-nébut', deí, te xas taj so, áke kan-marés tu lésa?» 499. «Kamél te marés tut ankhá sabastán lésa, ov ankhá bokhaló taj si asavkó, o Del me na del, taj me sam trašáv léstar, – e phurí phenél, – me sam léstar trašáv, vot». 500. Áke, tu lésa te marésa, te kerésa ková, ková léske, znáčit ov te hál'ol pes. 501. Aj to, oprál mánde nanáj athé murš, me som sam i murš, alajénder, me alajén xav, alajén keráv, mudaráv, alajén maráv. 502. Odová, o aždahás, vot. 503. Be kaj, so te kerés? 504. Lel o rakló, phenél: «Na, me kan-ĝ'av te maráv man lésa, me na trašáv, vaj kan-maráv man les, te xála, ov man xála, te na, me kan-tháv les telé mósa». 505. Ĝ'al o rakló, lel odojá č'h'urí opré péste, kaj din'ás o dad léske, vot, taj geló. 506. E phurí anél les, taj si, be, p'ěš'ěra, asavkí, barí p'ěš'ěra, taj si: aj, dáde, andé témina taj kalí, ková si, kaj andé ke phu ĝ'al pr'ámo, kim bísim káte, odolá, andé, kaj bešél andé odá aždahás. 507. Pašylí othé. 508. Lel e phurí, č'h'el andé, be, bar, mul, čhit'ás, so čhit'ás andé, be, pendéx, be, mul, só-to čhit'ás andé ke xev, othé ke aždaháskiri. 509. Íkos del les, avrí te níkl'ol ov. 510. Ras, akatár, be, alají lil'ás te trusízel, trusiskerél pes alají e phu, odová, p'ěš'ěra, andár o jagá, o thuvá vur'án, andár ke p'ěš'ěra. 511. Níkl'ol, koróč'e, andár odá aždahás, be. 512. Adá ov láke: «Tu sóske al'án, tu sóske man ĝ'angavd'án taj din'án man íkos tu?» 513. Me užé, me tútar na trašáv, me tut ankhá tóže kan-xáv, kan-nakhaváv. 514. Del trad léske e phurí: «Me ĝ'anáv, kaj tu san murš, deí, asavkó, kaj tu kan-xás, kan-kerés, no tu térd'ar xanísa». 515. Áke, athé aló manúš mánde, tu č'oktán na dikhl'án mánde athé manušés. 516. Aj tóže si, kon ĝ'anél, léske si, be, sokabór: stol'étni si, t'ys'ač'u sto l'et esí odolé drakon'éske, be, taj si, kon ĝ'anél savó si, o Del me na del, stol'étni. 517. Akaná adá ov: «Ej, taj so?» 518. Áke, akavá murš aló te marél pes túsa, vaj. 519. «Tu phenl'án, kaj túke murš kamél, áke, muršéske murš, – phenél, – arákh'ol». 520. Tu san murš, áke, túke muršés arakhl'óm, ov te marél pes túsa. 521. Tu les, te marésa, dečí ker li mánca so mangés. 522. Lel akatár, o rakló, phinravél e č'h'urí, – phenél: «Me na trašáv tútar, éla, – phenél, – níkl'o te marás amén, níkl'o, – phenél, – daváj te marás amén amé túsa». 523. O rakló léske: «Níkl'o! – phenél, – me angál tut kan-thav telé mósa!» 524. Lel oká drakóni, be, odá aždahás, be kaj, sar lil'ás te kerél odolá pólým'a, so jagá te mukél, o thuvá: so asál, asál katar ko rakló. 525. Phenél: «Me tut ankhá jekhé, jekhé najésa kan-mudaráv, va!» 526. Aj ov: «Daváj, – phenél, – dečí dikhésa kon kas kan-mudarél». 527. «Tu, – phenél, – san baró, dumaiskerés, taj oničín túke, kan-mudarés». 528. «Na, – phenél, – nanaší!» 529. Nu, koróč'e hovor'á, poluč'ájets'a ajakhá, kaj

len pes te marén pes on, be. 530. E phurí odojá, kajípi vulí, e bišužý. 531. Len te marén pes on, vs'ó, be kaj, e phu izrál, pal ko pinré na vur'án odolá ískres, thuvá, jagá, ej dádele, len te marén pes, amí o rakló garavél pes, geró, otskákivajet léstar, ras tam pal ko teréki, pal skalás, pal ko ková, našél. 532. Phenél: «Be, but kan-našáv léstar, kaj naši lav les?» 533. Lel, ov, nikalél odojá kis'orí, nikalél jekh dan, furtíjel káring léste. 534. Vaj, birdén akatár: «Vu-u-uššš», – taj bariló asavkó veš. 535. Uč'ó odolé drakon'éstar, tríval, hálib'an? 536. Kána adá, odová drakóni, vaj, taj lil'ás te mukél jagá, thuvá, te vur'ál, be, te čhingerél odová veš. 537. Taj thaból odová veš alají. 538. Ur'ál géne oprál ko rakló, o rakló našél, avrethé našél, kaj te garavél pes, aj, ov ur'ál. 539. So kerd'ás na kerd'ás odá aždahás, be, áma niklistó andár ko veš. 540. Lel o rakló géne jekh dan, čh'el géneja jekh dan káring léste: páni vuló, be, der'áv vulí, hálib'an? 541. Vaj, o aždahás esí, lel odá aždahás sp'ervá peló andé ko páni, ov n'e ožydál, peló andé ko páni. 542. Lil'ás, povídi, sar te topízel, aj dečí niklistó taj ur'ánilo, taj lil'ás te ur'ál. 543. Ur'ánilo oprál ko páni, vs'ó! 544. Lel o rakló. 545. So te kerél? 546. Čh'el odá trító dan andé, káring léste taj vulí jag, be, andár ko páni, andár ko ková, odolá jagá, be. 547. Ğ'al asavki jag, o Del me na del, odová drakóni tóko ke jag, naši nakhél, e jag xal les, be. 548. Vot t'eb'é i vs'ó! 549. E jag xal les. 550. Tóko te ur'ál, te avél taj perél andé ko páni, hálib'an? 551. Lel o rakló, čh'el pes andé ke jag e čh'ur'ása, perél opré léste, del les andé šeréste e čh'ur'ása, vot, andé ko jakhá, andé ko šeró, vs'ó. 552. Okojá kerd'ás les, čh'el pes andé ke jag o rakló, kak ni v č'om ni byválo, vs'ó. 553. Les – s'ekúndnoje d'élo. 554. Mudard'ás les, kerd'ás les, muló, oprál, ras – taj tynyklandý. 555. E jag, odová páni alají taj iš'ézla, hálib'an? 556. Taj ačh'ól o jekh: samóji dandá kátar ko drakóni, taj ačhiló: jekh samóji o dandá léskere, tóko. 557. E phurí, ras, odojá phurí, taj níkl'ol e ĝ'adýisa. 558. «A! – phenél. – Dikhl'an, so san tu, múrša, – phenél, – te muršymása, améndar tu zuraló san! – taj li phenél, – tu ĝ'anés só-to asavkó, san, kon esán, deí, tu, kaj tu smoh?» 559. Me naši keráv, sóske, ništo. 560. «Ej ládno, – phenél, – so vuló – na vuló». 561. Me túke din'óm zbóra, me túke phenl'óm. 562. Áke, túke, andár odoléste, áke, túke balá. 563. Čhinél léске, čhinél péstar balá. 564. «Akalá balá: áke, adavá bal kan-čh'és o jekh – túke drom kan-ovél, kána te ĝ'as odolé dromésa, kan-ĝ'ás, dečí kan-čh'és avér bal – páni kan-ovél, kan-čh'és avér bal – oprál kan-nakhés, túke kan-phinrávd'ol baró – baró... mósti, kan-nakhés oprál, dečí kan-ĝ'ás, veš kan-ovél, kan-dikhés othé binás esí, asavkó kher, be kaj, phol'ákoro, tu te ĝ'as léste, kamél te čh'és trító bal, aj dečí kan-perés odolé ĝ'uvl'áte, odolé rakl'áte, áma, dikh, othé sáki ov, potomušto othé si láte, tóže esí asavké šéja, kaj, kon ĝ'anél, so kan-ovél, garáv tut, – phenél, – látar, dikh». 565. Lel o rakló, ej ládno. 566. Áke, bax me del tut o Del. 567. Ej, gel'am, [akaná] vs'ó. 568. Deí, me

kamáv te ġ'av, te sig'aráv te ġ'av. 569. Ej, ládno, deí, ġ'a. 570. Mukél les e phurí. 571. Del les odolá balá, taj geló. 572. Niklistó o rakló. 573. Našól, áke o gras léskoro, kaj ur'ál. 574. Ur'ánilo, vs'o. 575. Bešél o rakló opré léste. 576. Čit'ás pes, pošól. 577. Kána, adá, léske, o gras phenél: «Háde, – phenél, – xanisa te das e pendéx ko sap, te las aménca e rակլés, potomúšto ov túke kan-kamél pes othé, ov túke jardými kan-kerél, bilésko tu naši kan-lés e rakl'á, túke othé kan-ovél géne aždahás, kon ġ'anél, so, va, taj dikh, phenáv, sáki te ovés, háde». 578. Lel odá rakló, vaj li č'ačipé, háde. 579. Ġ'an othé: ej d'es, trin mul, paň' mul, deš mul d'es. 580. O rakló: nikháj sutó, nikháj ušinó – alají. 581. Áma athé, ras, o rakló andé ko veš, del andé ko veš, dikhél: o sap fúl'el. 582. «Aj, dáde, tu sastó, zoraló san? – taj avés tu akatár. – Tu, so túte polučilos'?» 583. Va, deí, me, ková, arakhl'ómas, sar te keráv averé phen'áte, sar te ovés tu manúš. 584. Áke, akajá pendéx: xa la taj kan-ovés manúš, ankhá, no tu kamél te kerés mánge jardými te ġ'as máncá. 585. Me ġ'av te lav e ġ'uvl'á. 586. Ajakhá-ajakhá. 587. Me dexl'óm ġ'uvl'á, šukár ġ'uvlí si, patišainka taj me mangáv la te lav. 588. Del trad odová sap: «Ej, daváj, ládno, – phenél. – Vaj, tu kerésa mánge?» 589. Ras me túke poob'eš'ál, me kan-ġ'av túsa. 590. Káte te na ġ'as, me túsa kan-ováv, me kan-keráv túke jardými. 591. So kamél, kan-keráv alají. 592. Del [o rakló] e pendéx léste. 593. Xal'ás la taj vuló manúš – krasáv'ec. 594. Be, krasáv'ec, krasávco – rakló, patišás – rakló si, ur'avdó alají andé phol'áke savut'énde, alají si o rakló, be kaj. 595. Ty što. 596. M'éči ko rakló, odá alají, opré léste savoró, be kaj. 597. Dál'se manúš ġ'al. 598. Lel: «Háde», – phenél. 599. Čh'en pes l' o duj opré ko gras taj vur'an. 600. Vur'an – vur'an, kána adá: «Káte, adá, amé vur'ás, so raklí si odojá, so ġ'uvlí si odojá, kaj tu phenés, aj, me na ġ'anáv». 601. Me butén ġ'anávas othé, deí, manušen, me but ġ'anávas tóže. 602. Nu! 603. Na ġ'anáv sar so, kástar tu phenés. 604. Del trad akatár o gras, phenél léske manušykanés, vaj rակլéske, opré léste kaj vur'ál: «Tu ġ'anés, deí, odolé rakl'á, odojá raklí si ti phen e č'ačí, no tu n'e udivl'ájs'a, odová murš esí lačh'ó manúš taj ov mangél te lel la, te phen'án». 605. Mérim, odová taj si e rakl'ákoro phral. 606. Hálii'an? 607. Vot. 608. Kána, adá, o rakló: «Ej, ládno, me phen'á n'e tak prósto te les», – phenél. 609. «Oj kandél ankhá, tut kan-dén trin zahádkes, jésli tu len ne othadájješ [nine sounds: o-t-h-a-d-a-j-e-š], to tu otkhá li kan-ačh'ós, kan-merés, aj, jésli tu othadájješ [nine sounds: o-t-h-a-d-a-j-e-š], to znáčit, – phenél, – tu kan-lés la, taj li kan-ovés barvalénge barvaló, taj li túke kan-ovén alají, – phenél, – podárkes, e káskere, e papudéngere: e volšébn'a šéja, o volšébn'a angrust'á, o konádes, li xapé li piipé». 610. «Ty, – phenél, – ni v č'om nikohdá nuždát's'a n'e búd'eš». 611. Taj li tut naši nikhon-nikh pob'edit', ništo, taj tu kan-ovés zuraléndar zuraló. 612. Vot! 613. Ej, taj so? 614. «Aj man, – phenél, – xoxávde, – o rakló phenél, – aj man xoxávde duj manušá, duj



raklé, man xoxavdé, taj andé odolé thanénde, taj pel'óm odolé phur'áte, taj kerd'ás man e phurí, sap te ováv». 615. Taj me nanaší níšto te g'av, níšto te keráv, vs'ó. 616. Ej, zakoldóvani sas o rakló. 617. «Duj raklé, – phenél. – Vot, no den mánge, – phenél, – zbóra, kaj kan-kerés mánge jardými razobrát's'a odolé do rakléncia, aj me kan-keráv túke jardými te les me phen'á, geró». 618. «Ej, ládno», – o rakló phenél. 619. Aj andár sóste túsa postupíli ajakhá? 620. Me g'avas, deí, mangl'óm te lav g'uvl'á tóže romn'á mánge, áma odolá raklé pelé pes me droméste, o duj. 621. Mérim, oj esás léngi phen, e raklí, aj on na manglé te den la mánde, vot. 622. Taj xoxavdé man, vot, taj geldé avrethé, averé rigáte, taj mánde, deí, esás tóže, e ková, aždahás. 623. Ej, amé astarásas e aždahadén taj vur'ás opré lénde, sar opré grasténde. 624. Amé léndar na trašás, aménde si asavké aždahádes taj li asavkó šéji, kaj aménge níšto na kerén o aždahádes. 625. Aj, on esí aménde, sar grastá. 626. Vot. 627. Zakoldóvan'a si o aždahádes. 628. Léste si, ko rakló, nu dopústim, jest' asavkí angrustí – ov la ur'avél taj o aždahás les na astarél, potčín'ájets'a léske, alají kerél. 629. Hál'os tu? 630. Lel ov okotár, phenél: «Ej, ládno, ras si ajakhá – ládno», – phenél. 631. Ahá, lel, koróč'e hovor'á. 632. On g'an, kána odá rakló léske: «Šun, – phenél, – tu kan-avés othé, p'érví zahádka túke kan-ovél asavkí: trin kúč'kes kan-ovén baré, andé ke bar, xerbuzé, xerbuzé baré, lačh'é xerbuzé – trin kúč'kes kan-ovén, jekh kúč'ka kan-ovél lačhí, lačh'é o xerbuzé, be kaj, jekh kan-ovél asavkí o jekhpáš – lačh'ó, o jekhpáš – na, aj o jekh kan-ovél o xerbuzé samóji naaradimená». 633. Ej, užé alají, ková, naaradimená, va. 634. Oj túke kan-phenél: «Xa xanisa xerbuzé, aj dečí dikhása so kan-ovél, xa xanisa xerbuzó, tu kamél te na xas, – phenél, – o xerbuzó kátar lačhí kúč'ka, aj sámí naaradimená, tu te xása lačh'ó xerbuzó, tu otkhá kan-ačh'ós, l'» okolá te xása tu na kan-ovés manúš, kan-ovés ģivindó, no namanúš kan-ovés, ja kermó kan-ovés, ja so kan-ovés, ja savó-nébut', ková, kan-ovés: ruv, ja ričhiní, ja šó-to». 635. Lel oká rakló: «Háilil'an?», – phenél. 636. Del geró andé ke bar othé, áma, be, nanáj bar, nanáj phol'áko keripé, nanáj phol'áko binás, dvor'écy, be, kher esí phol'áko kerdó, be kaj, naši dikhés káring léste, te jakhá lel, tu hál'os? 637. Phol'áko alají, alají thaból, alají andár kerdó, be. 638. Binás esí, be, kerdó. 639. Nanáj e raklí, odojá krasávica. 640. Sar dikhl'ás, be, o rakló, vs'ó. 641. Taj ačhiló ko than bar, be, andár pénč'era dikhl'ás e rakl'á. 642. Phen, be, esí patišáinka, krasávica, okojá, kaj naši dikhés, naši te jakhá te des látar, do tóho e raklí si šukár but. 643. Taj si ko šeró odojá koróna láte, ej caríca si raklí, patišáinka – č'ač'és. 644. Patišás esás o dad láko. 645. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, e raklí léske: «Áke, me túke phenáv dl'a nač'ála: le taj xa tu xerbuzó xanisa, aj dečí túke, me kan-zborízav túsa». 646. Tu te al'an te les man, te mangés te les man tut. 647. Othadáješ, me trin zahádkes, me kan-g'av túte, te na, to tu kan-ovés athé,

kan-merés. 648. Phenél o rakló: «Ej ládno». 649. Ej, áke, si o xerbuzé, le vybirajskér o xerbuzé taj xa xerbuzó. 650. Vaj. 651. Oj ĝ'anél, e raklí, kaj ov trító lačh'ó xerbuzó kan-xál, vaj. 652. Adá l'ubóji, vaj tu na les kernaló te xas, va, právil'no. 653. Kan-nikalés lačh'ó, kan-činés taj kan-xás, právil'no. 654. Lel o rakló, dikhl'ás, pašyló ke p'érvi kúč'ka. 655. Lačh'é xerbuzé, boldin'ás pes, geló okothé, geló okothé. 656. Kána odojá, e raklí [phenél]: «Aj sóske tu čh'orés taj na les te xas xerbuzó?» 657. «Áke, lačh'ó xerbuzó!» – me túke phenl'óm. 658. Aj na, značit bóldé tut taj ĝ'a túke othár. 659. Kána, adá, o rakló: «Nu, ládno, no me, – phenél, – xáva asavkó xerbuzó, so me, me, – phenél, – l'ubóji xav, mánge, savó del mo ĝi, me xav mánge akalá xerbuzé, adá xerbuzé si?» 660. Me l'ubóji, mánge jekh esí, me xav savoró podr'át. 661. Lel ov kátar ke ploxóji kúč'ka, kátar ke trító, kátar ke naaradimé, e kúč'ka odojá, lel xerbuzó. 662. Lel, del les andé phu. 663. Lel o kotór, lel, xal. 664. Dikhl'ás e raklí, udivilas'. 665. [Phenél]: «Sóske tu xas kernaló xerbuzó, le lačh'ó taj xa xerbuzó!» 666. Kána adá, ov [del pes godí]: «Na, o lačh'é me tuméngé m' ačh'ól, xa tu lačh'ó». 667. Kána ov láke akatár. 668. Kána oj: «Dikhl'an savó tu san, vaj me túke phenáv, te xas akavá». 669. Aj, me xav, áke, savó, savó mánde, jekh esí, me. 670. Aj si o rakló bokhaló, mangl'ás te xal. 671. «Áke», – phenél, xal, krepiskerd'ás. 672. Kána adajá: «Ej, ládno, akaná, ládno». 673. Hálil'an? 674. Tóko xal'ás, ková, phenl'ás o rakló, phenl'ás odolá zbóres láte, ras, taj avén odolá aždahádes – trin, trin aždahádes vulé, odolé kuč'kátar kátar ko xerbuzé aždahádes vulé, be, ko lačh'é, l' okolátar, l' akalátar vuló aždahás, kátar ke trító kúč'ka. 675. Kána odojá raklí: «Áke, jésli tu ne uhadáješ, tu tóže kan-ovés, tóže aždahás». 676. Tu dikhés, savé xerbuzé xal'an, adá si o xerbuzé e aždahadéngere. 677. Tóko o aždahádes xan akalá xerbuzé, hálil'an? 678. Áke, tu tóže xal'an, tu te xásas akalé kuč'kátar, tu srázu kan-ovésas aždahás, hálil'an? 679. L' akatár. 680. Aj akatár – na. 681. Túte si vozmóžnost', te hál'os akaná tu. 682. Jésli tu othadáješ e p'érvi zahádka, tu kan-ačh'ós manušesa. 683. Taj kan-ovél alaji normál'no, hálil'an. 684. Kána adajá raklí akatár: «Áke, duj manušá esí, duj muršá esí: lačh'é taj nalačh'é, on te mangén manušés te mudarén, te xoxavén, tu so kan-kerés odolé manušéngé?» 685. Kan-mudarés len ili na? 686. Vaj on mangén te mudarén lačh'é manušés. 687. Del trad o rakló: «Me, me by li mudarávas, li na mudarávas, me na ĝ'anáv léngiri díla, no me túke phenáv: «Me kan-keráv jardými odolé manušéske, no te mudaráv ja te na mudaráv, me na ĝ'anáv, kamél te dikháv káring lénde»». 688. Kána adavá akatár, e raklí: «Ládno, p'érvi zahádka tu othadál [seven sounds: o-t-h-a-d-a-l], mangés te dikhés odolé manušén?» 689. «Va!» – [phenél o rakló.] 690. Ej, de zbóra mánge, podúmaj taj de zbóra. 691. Áke, me túke jekh d'es dav adaléske. 692. Te si odolá manušá nalačh'é, n'eprávil'n'a si, odolá manušá, te nanáj lačh'é,

právil'n'a, te na kerdé on právil'no, tu len na kan-mudarés, no kamél te kerés  
 jardými odolé manušeske, savés on xoxavdé taj manglé te mudarén. 693.  
 Va! 694. Ej, de zbóra, kaj tu ajakhá da kan-kerés. 695. Del o rakló: «Ej  
 ládno, lačh'ól!» 696. «Aj ráno, – phenél, – dikhása». 697. Páš'ol o rakló te  
 sovél. 698. Avél o phral e rakl'ákoro. 699. Kána, adá, ov léske: «Ráno kan-  
 avén duj manušá, on kan-ovén ur'avdé andé phol'ákere savut'énde, alají si  
 zakerdý». 700. «Tu na kan-peng'arés odolé manušen, – phenél, – no dikh:  
 šop tu len te na mudarés andár mánde, on man obíd'eli, adá si, odolá duj  
 manušá, savé man xoxavdé, mi phen nana astard'ás len, no, vidát', kaj si láte  
 othé, kaj uǵ'arén, háli'l'an, kaj uǵ'arén, so kan-keráv me lénca?» 701. «Te na  
 mudarés la! – úšel o rakló. – Aj sóske, on túsa kerdé ajakhá, sóske te la na  
 mudarés?» 702. Aj naší, me te mudaráv la, vaj me túke poobeš'áls'a, vaj  
 andár túte me len naší mudaráv, vaj sóske: adá si te duj phralá: o baró phral  
 taj maškarunó, kaj gelé te prandózen. 703. Mérim, o rakló peló léske  
 phen'áte, vaj, li ko rakló phen esí – e patišaínka – kheré, taj mangl'ás te lel e  
 phen'á, aj on na diné taj manglé, taj dur'ardé les, geldé, taj peló othé, taj  
 ačh'avdé les otkhá, odolé phur'áte. 704. Taj phurí kerd'ás les o sap, aj, odolá  
 našlé. 705. Aj e raklí les nana astard'ás taj otomstíla e phen adajá. 706. Len  
 astarélas péste, len astarélas péste, kheré, háli'l'an, taj lel akatár. 707. «Dikh,  
 – phenél, – te na mudarés len, te na kerés, ková, kon ĝ'anél so, adá, deí, te  
 phralá si, me na mangáv te ovél dušmanlýki, ras esí ajakhá, no tu lénca  
 zboríze, taj ker akajakhá, nakažý len ajakhá, adá si ti díla, ker ajakhá, šop te  
 hál'on on tut, aj tu len». 708. O rakló, be, birdén: «Bar vuló pe thanéste, sar  
 adá, me duj phralá te kerén ajakhá, deí, ková, ej, n'eprávil'no kerén», –  
 rasužďajet o rakló. 709. Va! 710. Aj, o manušá, dikh, na mudardé li na kerdé  
 lénge níšto. 711. Taj o rakló phenél: «Andár mánde, tu, man gorí, naší túke,  
 tu, mo amál esán, tu man výručil, spas, kerd'án mánge lačhipé». 712. Áke,  
 me túke te keráv jardými me phen'á te les, li ková, me. 713. Va! 714. Aj me  
 mangl'óm te lav, no, mérim, esí adá ti phen, mánge phukavd'ás užé mi phen  
 odová alají. 715. Háli'l'an? 716. Kaj si odojá raklí, kas me dexl'óm, adá si ti  
 phen, mérim, on esí lákere phralá. 717. Me na mangáv te mudaráv len. 718.  
 Ej ládno. 719. Del trad o rakló: «Ej lačh'ól!» 720. Me tut tóže dexl'óm, li me  
 phen'á me tóže n'e prótiv, tu te les me phen'á. 721. Aj, oj, deí, mi phen  
 prótiv esí ja na? 722. Del trad o rakló: «Na, ti phen tóže man dexl'ás, amí te  
 phralá kerdé, kaj man na dexlé te phralá, taj, oničín, ajakhá vuló». 723. Lel,  
 koróč'e hovor'á, [phenél, kaj] te phralá, deí, nanáj lačh'é manušá, on nanáj  
 lačh'é, deí, aj dikhés, so te kerés, sar, vuló, e díla. 724. Del trad o rakló: «Ej,  
 ládno, me tóže sahyndým lénge – me phralá si – me kan-dikháv man lénca,  
 dečí dikhása, sar so kan-ovél». 725. Ládno, lel, koróč'e hovor'á, sabastán e  
 raklí, mukél odolé do manušen. 726. Alají si ur'avdé andé phol'ákere  
 savut'a, alají si kerdé, be kaj – na peng'arés la – ajakhá móste kerdé si. 727.

E raklí len kerd'ard'ás. 728. Ej akaná, zakoldovála, be, kaj si, sar averá manuša, tu hál'os. 729. Del trad o rakló birdén, ras. 730. «Aj, – phenél, – dádelejav, kas me dikháv, so si adavá, adá ajakhá». 731. Me al'óm túte taj so kerén athé, vaj adá me phralá si. 732. Del pes angáli, č'umídel pes pe phralénca, ková. 733. Del trad. 734. On čhité oprál péste odolá savú'a, odolá kolá. 735. Čhit'ás oprál lénge šerénde taj vulé léske phralá, be. 736. So kerén tumé athé, sar pel'anús tumé athé, so si adá ajakhá, sar ková, so kerén tumé athé? 737. Den trad o phralá: «Amé na ġ'anás, amén lil'ás raklí, savó-to manúš – amé láte – koldúnja si, be, so si oj, zakoldováli amén, taj sam amé athé, na ġ'anás kaj te ġ'as, ródasas aménge te prandózas ġ'uvl'én, romn'én, aj n'e polučilos', amé výjexali, amén rakló aló te lel amaré phen'á, amé na ġ'anásas les, taj ková, taj na mukul'ám, xoxavd'ám les, taj geld'ám avér drom taj pel'ám savé-to vešéste, odová veš, kaj sas asavkó kaló, dr'emúči, ková, kon ġ'anél, asavkó n'eproxodími veš baró taj pel'ám taj vs'o, taj pelí saví-to phurí opré aménde: les, e raklés, šó-to kerd'ás léske, aj amé trašanil'am taj našl'ám, aj ov šó-to vuló, kon ġ'anél, so vuló léstar». 738. «Ahá, ej ládno», – lel akatár o rakló lénge phukavél. 739. Áke, deí, adajá raklí mánge Devléstar esí: me la arakhl'óm. 740. «Áke, tumé sanús, l' amarí phen, áke te les!» – o rakló. 741. Níkl'ol l' o rakló, odová. 742. Áke, me les spas, les akajá phurí kerd'ás te ovél sap, vot. 743. Odojá phurí, kaj sas bišužý, koldúnja asavkí. 744. Koróč'e hovor'á, vs'o, me les spas, e raklés, kerd'óm, aj adá si léski phen. 745. Aj ov ġ'álas te lel amaré phen'á. 746. Ov si lačh'ó manúš, lačh'ó rakló, aj tumé les na hálil'anús taj ková. 747. Sar, deí? 748. Ajakhá, ajakhá, gorí mánge, tumé li na mudardé li na kerdé jardými, ajakhá-ajakhá. 749. So te kerás, me, áke, láva, adá si mi ġ'uvlí, mi romní. 750. Me kamél la te lav, vot. 751. Áke túke, vs'o. 752. Géne jekh zahádka ačh'ól mánge taj me la kamél te lav. 753. Aj, o rakló, láko phral kerél jardými, šop me la te lav, aj me kamél te keráv léske jardými. 754. Vaj, o rakló lačh'ó manúš esí. 755. Vaj, l' aménde phen esí, li láke rom kamél. 756. Kamél te das la e raklés te les. 757. Oj n'e prótiv, oj dexl'ás e raklés. 758. Sar? 759. Vaj ajakhá-ajakhá-ajakhá. 760. Mul'óm, amé, áke, polučilos' ajakhá, amé, kána ačhil'ám li biromn'éngo, li bikoléngo. 761. Vaj adá tuménge o Del kerél, kerd'ás ajakhá taj tumé te ačh'ón ajakhá. 762. Ej, má trašan, kerása tuménge jardými, arakhása li tuménge romn'én. 763. Arakhéna li tumarí bax li tumé. 764. Áke, kamél akaná me jekh posl'édni zahádka e rakl'áki te othadyvaiskeráv [fifteen sounds: o-t-h-a-d-y-v-a-i-s-k-e-r-a-v], aj dečí me tóko la kan-láv, vot, taj vs'o. 765. Mánge na kamél níšto me dadéstar, ništóstar, mánde si athé phol'á, li baxtá – alají, kaj dahá nikhón na dikhl'ás ajakhá, vot. 766. Aborkhá odová [it must be: odolá] šéja, odová barvalipé. 767. Del trad o phral: «Ej, lačh'ó, taj so, sar te kerás amé tut jardými, so áke akaná, ej, –

phenél, – ništo, o phral kan-kerél jardými, ej, ládno, vs'o normál'no, hálil'an?» 768. Odá vtoróji zahádka otheadál [seven sounds: o-t-h-a-d-a-l] o rakló: kaj si manuša, ov len na mudard'ás, kaj si léskere phralá. 769. O rakló razobrals'a posprav'edlivomu. 770. Tu hál'os, léске hal'ard'ás oková. 771. Tr'éjtja zahádka akaná, poluč'ájets'a ajakhá. 772. Oj léске phenél, e raklí: «Áke, tu, man te lésa, xaj, te ġ'av me túte, tu man te lésa, sar amé kan-bešaš, so amé kan-kerás?» 773. Vot. 774. Tu so kan-kerés, kan-ovén aménde púja ja na kan-ovén? 775. Del trad o rakló: «Ej, amí, sar, helbéty, kan-ovén púja, kan-bešaš, xorandás te ovél, sar polóženo, vs'o». 776. Del trad e raklí léске: «Ej, tu káte kan-bešés, te dadéste ja athé kan-ačh'ós mánde?» 777. Del trad o rakló: «Ej, dikhása!» 778. Ej, mánde li phen esí, li phralá sí, li túte si alají. 779. Dečí dikhása sar so ovéla, vot. 780. Kána adajá, léске raklí: «Me dikháv, tu san god'avér manuš, lačh'ó manuš esán, god'avér, me na mangáv, šóby tu..., t' ovél túte, t' ačh'ós tu athé, te ovél túsa, kon ġ'anél so, vot, adá na mándar zavisít, deí, adavá alají, koróč'e hovor'á, aménde si othé, bešél amaró dad, áma ov esí ġ'ungaló manuš, ov esí mútlak zuraló, odá». 781. Ov mánge: tu lésa te ušarés, jésli tu lésa te ušarésa, taj tu te désa les andé ke phú, znáčit ov kan-dél tut mánde, aj te ná – tu kan-ačh'ós athé, vs'o, sánkim, kan-ovél túsa, kon ġ'anél, so. 782. Aj ov si, deí, li ġ'adýs. 783. Ov esí, amé dáže sam na ġ'anás, tóko ov – sar taj so. 784. Ov esí mútlak god'avér. 785. Ov lačh'ó manuš, no si akajakhá. 786. Ov phenél: «Tohdá tóko murš kan-ovél mo ġ'amutró, savó man an phú kan-dél, hál'os?» 787. Del trad akatár o rakló: «Amé na ġ'anás, sar, ne mo phral na ġ'anél, ne me». 788. Tu, jésli smóžet odová te kerés, tr'éjtja otheadát' zahádka, te na – znáčit vs'o, te na – dikh, múrša, te muršymása, dikh. 789. Del trad o rakló: «Me na trašáv, me na trašáv, me Devléstar esóm, ej, túsa, máng e Devléstar, mánge o Del jardými kerél, me odoléstar na dav man godí, me užé dikhl'óm, nanáj odová, aj o dad mánge so si». 790. Del trad e raklí: «Tu má sig'ar, ne dúmaj, kaj al'án prósto ajakhá si». 791. Ej ništo, me kan-pášl'av kotorí te sováv taj i vs'o, me kan-mangáv e Devlés taj kan-ovél alají o lačhipé. 792. Pášl'ol o rakló te sovél: xal'ás, pil'ás taj pašliló te sovél. 793. A, deí, mo dad tut kan-uğ'arél, tu lésa te marés tut. 794. Ov kan-avél, ov na bešél athé aménca, aj bešél avrethé, léste o kher esí géne jekh taj bešél, deí. 795. Ej ládno. 796. Pášl'ol o rakló te sovél taj mangél e Devlés. 797. O Devél te kerél jardými léске: sar so, so si odová, so za manuš esí, kaj raklí phenél, te les na kan-dés andé ke phú, ajakhá nanaši, potomúšto ov esí, be, sar ġ'adýs, o gağ'ó, hem zoraló ġ'adýs. 798. Del trad o rakló, phuč'él ko Del... e Devléstar: «So me te keráv, ker man jardými akajakhá-akajakhá, mánge ráno kamél te maráv man láke dadésa, akajakhá-akajakhá, so za manuš esí, so si odová ajakhá, taj me na ġ'anáv, so te keráv, l'' o rakló phenél, phral lákoro, léске phenl'ás, kaj tu nanaši les kan-lés, hál'os tu, mútlak zoraló si». 799. Lel okotár ov,

phenél léske, o Del, vot: «Tu, – phenél, – ráno, kána ov kan-avél, géne trin kúč'kes xerbuzé kan-thén, háli'l'an, tu le, – phenél, – taj čhi andé léste o kermalé xerbuzé, kána kan-marés tut lésa, čhi andé les o xerbuzé, – phenél, – o kermalé, be, čh'és andé láte (it must be: léste) lačh'ó xerbuzó, – phenél, – ov maj zoraló kan-ovél». 800. «Ov esí aždahás, – phenél, – aj hál'ol te ovél li manúš ovél, ov esí aždahás, no ov esí zakoldóvani: li manúš, l' aždahás t' ovél, háli'l'an tu?» – [phenél]. 801. Tu les naši kan-lés, te čh'és andé léste, katar ke kojá kúč'ka, ke sr'édni, kaj si o jekhpáš naaradimená o xerbuzé. 802. «Ov, – phenél, – tóže zoraló ovél, te čh'ésa lačh'ó xerbuzó, baró, pherdó xerbuzó, te des vród'e les e xerbuzésa, ov, – phenél. – Maj ková kan-ovél, aj te čh'ésa naaradimé xerbuzó, tu léstar e zor po hál'a – po hál'a kan-lés, kan-ǵ'ál e léskiri zor, háli'l'an, mar les odolé xerbuzé, dumukhénca, vasténca ma mar les, odá b'espól'ézno si, ov tut kan-mudarél deči ajakhá». 803. Lel o rakló: «Ej lačh'ó, – phenél, – bax me del tut o Del, Dévla, kaj tu kerd'an mánge jardými, alají ková, la, vs'o, deí». 804. Ras, o Del taj iš'és. 805. Lel sabastán o rakló úš'el, č'ač'és, o rakló, níkl'ol avrí, dikhél. 806. Ej, avrí trin kúč'kes esí, xerbuzé, sar kaj esás phenló sas: o lačh'é, o naaradimená taj ko maškár: jekhpáš naaradimená, o jekhpáš lačh'é si, háli'l'an. 807. Lel o rakló akatár, hópa: «Aj adavá xerbuzó sóske athé?» 808. Del trad e raklí léske: «Ej, adá, áke, mo dad avél athé taj on kamén te ovén athé». 809. «Aj sóske? – phenél. – Amé na ǵ'anás, adá ov phenl'ás ajakhá, kána kan-marén tumé, o xerbuzé kamén t' ovén athé vs'ehdá, kána, áke, kón-to aménde manúš avél te mangl'arél te lel man, ov phenél: «Then man o trin kúč'kes xerbuzé»». 810. Lačh'é, naaradimená taj adavá, aj sóske ov amén na phukavél, na phenél, ov li na ǵ'anél, hál'os tu? 811. Lel, koróč'e, akatár o rakló: «Ej ládno, m' ačh'ól, vot». 812. Lel akatár, ras, dva, vaj phinrávd'ol ov akatár, be, opré grasténde. 813. Trin grastá si, odojá kar'éta, be, phol'ákiri taj si andé bešló odová manúš, kaj avél, o dad léngoro, avél, mukél pes telé, be kaj: patišás esí, patišás esí, be, alají andé phol'áke savut'énde, o m'éči akavá, te marél pes. 814. Kon kan-marél pes, deí, mánca athé? 815. Me dikháv athé but manušá si. 816. Del trad o rakló: «Me túsa kan-maráv man, me al'óm te čhijá te lav, me kan-láv, oj kan-ovél mi romní, adá si mi romní, e Devléstar esí oj mánde, me la kan-láv, me kan-maráv man túsa, aj jésli túke kohdá uhódno, te kamél túke, no me na mangáv te maráv man túsa, ej, tu, kan-ovél, típa, mo sastró, sar mo dad, sar me túsa kan-maráv man». 817. Del trad ov: «Na, tu naši kan-ovés, áke mán, te marésa tut mánca, taj te lésa tut, tu man zoráte, znáčit deči me dav me čhijá, me čhijá túte, dav, vs'o, aj te na – znáčit tu otkhá li kan-ačh'ós, tu sohlásni san adaléske?» 818. Úš'el ov: «Va!» 819. Lel, nu daváj, nu daváj, te marás amén. 820. Len te marén pes. 821. Lel o rakló, vaj, tóže nikalél odová m'éči. 822. Len te marén pes m'éč'enca. 823. Marén pes, aj bot'eni. 824. Ov

sar del e raktés, o raktó jekhpáš andé phú ğ'al, hálil'an. 825. O raktó geró níkl'ol andár, vaj bahatýri si, tóže níkl'ol, tóže del les, aj léske níšto nana ovél, lel o raktó pal ko kúč'kes prástal, pal ko terék'a garavél pes, marél pes lésa, nanaši kerél níšto, hál'os tu. 826. Lel o raktó, vaj, vród'e by srázu na lel. 827. O raktó pášol ko okolé xerbuzé. 828. Lel ov okotár jekh xerbuzó, o raktó, te dikhél, phenél: «Te probuiskeráv so kan-ovél». 829. Lel jekh lačh'ó, baró xerbuzó, be, birdén, čh'el andé léste, hál'os tu? 830. Del, kána adá, ov akatár léste géneja te marén pes m'eč'énca. 831. Sar del les. 832. Ov akajakhá ğ'al, be, vaj ğ'al andé men'átar, o raktó, andé phú. 833. O gaĝ'ó maj zoraló ovél, tu hál'os tu. 834. Odá ğ'álas akatár, andé phu ği ko jekhpáš, aj, adá, men'átar ğ'al andé ke phú. 835. Kána, adá, phenél: «Áke, dikhés, č'ačipé si, adá mánge o Del phenl'ás». 836. Lel ov akatár, be, o xerbuzó o naaradimé, čh'el andé léste, ov te marél pes lésa. 837. Oká, sar del les, ov andé phú ğ'al. 838. Kána dikhés, e zor léski ğ'al, lel, marél pes, lel, čh'el géne jekh xerbuzó. 839. Marél pes lésa géne, sar del ov, tóko č'angá ğ'an andé phú. 840. «Ahá!» – [del pes godí] o raktó, znáčit lačh'ó. 841. Lel marél pes, lel opré ko m'éči nakhavél odá xerbuzó. 842. Šart andé léste. 843. Géneja lel, čh'el káring léste n'éskol'ko štuk: duj, trin. 844. Pášol, odá, te marél pes. 845. Oká gaĝ'ó užé níšto, užé andé phú raktó na ğ'al. 846. Kána adá [phenél]: «Ej, akaná tu minró san, lel pal léste te marél pes, lel, marél pes, marél pes, be, d'es, be, duj, be, trin, vs'ó, khinilé». 847. Khin'ól l' oková gaĝ'ó, be, khiniló. 848. Kána odá raktó les, sar din'ás deči dumúkh, jekh dumúkh, sar din'ás les taj perél oká gaĝ'ó. 849. He! 850. Vs'ó. 851. Taj výkl'učils'a. 852. Kána adá raktó: «Áke, – phenél, – Dévla!» – m'éči si paš léste, akaná vs'ó. 853. «Áke, tu san mi romní», – phenél láke. 854. Del trad e raktí: «Va!» 855. Vs'ó, deí. 856. Ej č'umidylár pes, vs'ó. 857. Alají obrádyvalis', alají, aj, dáde, č'umiden pes, kerén pes sar adá ajakhá, ov alají esás n'epob'edími, les níkhon-nikh ne pob'eždál, vot. 858. Adá ajakhá. 859. Lel, koróč'e, ğ'angávd'ol odá gaĝ'ó, be, odá patišás ğ'angávdílo. 860. Kána odá ov: «Ex, múrša, te muršymáske, arákhilil'an tu, múrša, kátar tu al'án, kon esán tu asavkó, ládno, me mi zbóra astaráv, me dexáv muršés, me sam o murš, li dav muršéske me čhijá, áke túke andár adaléste, áke túke adá phol'áko dvor'écy, adavá binás, adavá kher, alají me túke dav, áke túke me vastéstar angrustí, oj esí n'eprostóji, oj esí, odojá angrustí, be, saví kamél, e volšébní, vot». 861. Áke túke odojá angrustí. 862. So mangés, oj túke kan-kerél, i l'ubóji želánija, li tu kan-ovés n'epob'edími voopš'é, adalé angrust'áke, áke, túke adavá, áke, túke mangín, áke, túke grastá, guruvá, áke, túke bakré, áke, túke alají, be. 863. Be, din'ás les savoró, so mangés. 864. Phenél: «Le, ker so kamés, o phol'á n'em'ér'eno, be kaj». 865. Koróč'e hovor'á, so mangés, odojá angrustí bóldes, taj ovél túke, so mangés, vs'ó. 866. Bešén, xan, pijen. 867. Akajakhá-akajakhá. 868. Áke, mánde si jekh

čh'avó, ov mánge phenl'ás, kaj dexl'ás ġ'uvl'á, va! 869. «Ej, áke, – koróč'e hovor'á, del trad o rakló, – má traša, me léske, dáde, me akatár, me ġ'anáv: odojá ġ'uvlí si mi phen, adá si me phralá, akajakhá-akajakhá vuló maškaré lénde taj na hálile pes on». 870. Tóže mánge ková, te na den e phen'á vród'e by srázu, kak hovorítca: p'érvomu popávšemu, vot. 871. Aj mánge te hál'on so si, ... savé... drom, aj, pelé andé vešéste temináke, ková, taj andár niklistí ġ'adýisa, taj ková, taj kerd'ásas, te ovél sap taj sas andé te čh'avé, akajakhá-akajakhá. 872. Aj me les, deí, polučilos', me ġ'anáv, výručil, spas me les..., taj si akajakhá-akajakhá. 873. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, o rakló phenél: «Va, deí má trašan, akankhá amé kan-kerás, bijavá kan-ovén: kan-xas, kan-pijás, kan-bešás taj kan-ovél alají o lačhipé». 874. Háden, deí, akaná kheré aménde, aménde kheré háden, me dadéste, me dejáte, me phen'áte háden, deí, othé aménde mis'afiri te xas, te pijás, aménde si othé but rodič'a, but manuša, vaj mo dad tóže si patišás, deí, háden. 875. Ej, then pes, bešén andé adalé kar'eténde, adalé kolénde, grasténde. 876. O rakló e rakl'ása bešló, be, opré pe grasténde, aj o dad din'ás andé odolé kar'etáte, ke phol'ákiri, o grastá odolá kaj vur'an. 877. Thed'ás andé pe čh'avés, do phralén, be kaj, l' o xapé, l' o piipé, l' o raktjés andé, andé o konádes, phol'áko terdó. 878. Li xan, li pijén, li ur'an péske oprál, va. 879. Vur'anile d'es, duj, trin, pang' mul, áke tav, léske avén, odová, be, odolé patišajlyk'éste, káte bešél odá patišás. 880. Avén othé, oj dádele, sar dikhl'ás o dad pe čh'avén, aj dáde, adá kátar al'anús, so kerd'anús, me púja, me čh'avé, vaj me tuménge sahyndým, prandosail'anúsas ja so kerd'anúsas, dikhl'am manuša. 881. Del trad o tiknó čh'avó: «Aj, dáde, adá, áke, mi romní, adá, si mo sastró, me... odá, si mo phral». 882. Áke, al'am, áke, me phralénca, me phralén vstr'étil, vs'o normál'no, al'am, áke. 883. Vot, me prandosáil'om, áke, aj me phralá – na, nana arakhlé podxod'áši níšto, ej dúmaju, kaj arakhása, kerása lénge jardými, arakhása, prandózena, arakhéna l' on pinrí bax, pinrí š'ástija, ej so te kerés. 884. Del trad o dad: «Aj dáde, mó čh'o, éla..., élan». 885. Thed'ás odolá konádes, be kaj, thedé konádes, kerdé adá, kerdé o manuša léskere alají, kerdé asavkó piipé, asavkó bijáv, be, nikhón na dikhl'ás, o parnó d'un'ás na dikhl'ás adavá, so kerdé on, tu hálil'an, bijáv: xan, pijén, be kaj, vs'o, lošázen. 886. Del trad akatár o čh'avó pe dadéske: «Dáde, vaj áke aló aménde, adavá manúš esí o kumnátos minró». 887. Ov dexél me phen'á, aj mi phen les dexél, vaj ov la mangl'ás te lel, no polučilos' ajakhá-ajakhá. 888. On patišádes esí tóže barvaléngé barvalé manuša, on, áke din'ás mo sastró: alají si, alají si ajakhá-ajakhá, me kan-ġ'av te bešáv othé, man din'ás mo sastró phol'ágoro kher, mangín, kaj dahá níkhon-nikh na dikhl'ás, háde mánde taj dikhén tumé sam, taj dikhén asavkó barvalipé, manginá nanáj taj din'ás ov asavkí podárka – angrustí: so mangáva, odová l' ovél, asavkó šéji si, adá si lač'hé manuša, adá si alají – bax. 889. Del trad o dad: «Ej, ras esí,



mó čh'ó, ajakhá, kaj: den íkos e phen'á, te phuč'ás láte: sohlásni si oj ja na?») 890. Del trad e phen akatár: «Va!, dáde, me, deí, kan-ǵ'av léste, vs'ó, ... me dexáv les, me les užé dikhl'ómas, amé užé ǵ'anás amén, l' ov dexél užé man, ajakhá polučilos', va». 891. Del trad o dad: «Ej, lačh'ó, gel'an, gel'an». 892. O bijáv – géne jekh, be kaj, xan, pijén, oká, be, vs'ó. 893. Odá, be, mul vs'ó, breš xalé, be, mul duj, be, mul trin xalé brešá, kon ǵ'anél, áke, asavkó bijáv esás lénde. 894. Li me sómas othé, li me xal'óm, li me pil'óm, č'ajlil'óm. 895. Al'óm, aj, dáde, kheré, taj pašlil'óm, taj phukavd'óm li túke, be. 896. Áke sar sas odová.

### The Three Witches

1. It was very long ago. 2. [There] lived a tsar on earth in short, yes. 3. And [he] was very-very rich. 4. The tsar [was] a man, he had a wife, a family, children, he had a daughter and three sons. 5. Well, [his] elder son was almost an ordinary person. 6. That another son was the same, and the younger one was, as they told him a little bit meek. 7. In short, they lived, well, [and] the daughter was a beauty. 8. [She] was so beautiful [that] God cannot give [more]. 9. Well, in short, there weren't a person on earth to see. 10. Well, what's next? 11. And his youngest son grew up and was a strong man. 12. [He] grew in a word not from day to day, but rather from hour to hour. 13. Well, to put it simple, he was growing up. 14. Well, the youngest son became sixteen years old. 15. And the rest were older, well.

16. They begin to get married; they go to look for wives for them. 17. The father wanted to find wives for them, but they didn't like it. 18. We shall go on our own to seek, to look, to do. 19. We shall choose women [or] wives by ourselves. 20. We shall find and take them; we'll get married by our own. 21. If we need money or help, we'll come and tell you. 22. The tsar's sons mount their horses. 23. Two men, two brothers, and they went forward. 24. And the youngest son stayed at home, he didn't hurry to get married. 25. He lived [on] and then said, "I'll go to see". 26. 27. "I'll go and see what my elder brothers are doing; they are absent for too long; I miss them; I'll go to look for my brothers". 28. His father says to him, "Oh my son, take this horse that is in the stable". 29. 30. 31. Come and take right that horse. 32. That horse is small and doesn't look beautiful, but take that horse, oh my son, and go.

33. Well, the son took a bag with some bread for a travel. 34. He didn't take much food not to overload the horse. 35. The horse that my father gave me doesn't look well or beautiful, it's lean, and still I'm leaving this place. 36. He rides for a day, or two or three days. 37. He's got tired. 38. The fellow thinks, "What's to be done?" 39. He began snoozing riding

via a forest glade. 40. 41. I must go to a place in the forest where I can sleep well and where no-one can see me. 42. No-one there can touch my horse. 43. He tied the horse beside him to let it graze on the grass. 44. The horse behaved naturally. 45. Then he went to sleep. 46. And he had a dream while sleeping. 47. He saw a man. 48. The man was a stranger, and he was old. 49. So the old man was standing in front of him, his beard being grey and his dress being decorated with gold. 50. That man all glittered. 51. It was God who came to him while he was sleeping, and he said, "My boy, you are leaving to look for your brothers. But don't search for them, as they'll find you by themselves. You'd better go and look for your fortune!" 52. There's a very beautiful woman, and she'll be your wife, but you must take her. 53. There are many evil spirits around her and even one azhdahas. 54. And she is bewitched; it's not easy to take her. 55. She gives three tasks for you to fulfil. 56. 57. This is what God told him when he was sleeping, and added, "You'll go and see: there will be three houses where three old sisters live; be careful, as they are witches". 58. They can do everything: they even kill and eat people or burn them, so be careful. 59. Only you can have a deal with them. 60. The first old woman will tell you, "Do this thing for me!" 61. Act the following way. 62. Here's a purse for you; there will be a comb, a ring and a spoon inside. 63. Here's a ring for you to give to the first old woman. 64. These three witches are very strong. 65. So give it to her. 66. Give a comb to the second sister, and the spoon is for the youngest one. 67. If you don't do this way, you'll be done. 68. You will live no longer, you'll be a dead man. 69. He said so and disappeared; this old man wasn't [present] any more. 70. The boy keeps sleeping. 71. He gets up very early in the morning, it's a twilight still, and the boy doesn't understand what's going on. 72. The boy says, "I had a dream, and I saw an old man, but I don't understand anything more". 73. Was it a dream or truth? 74. The boy didn't understand. 75. He got up and said, "That man approached me and told something about old women and a certain girl, and he also said my brothers will be found by themselves". 76. Who this man was I don't understand. 77. He looked around and saw a purse. 78. It was beautiful. 79. The boy supposed that somebody lost the purse. 80. He opened it and looked inside. 81. There were a silver spoon, a comb and a ring. 82. Everything was as the old man told the boy while he was sleeping. 83. Then the boy thought, "It was truly God who visited me when I was sleeping, and he told me what to do; if I disobey, I'll fail". 84. So he took the purse. 85. He says, "I should really go and see what that girl is indeed; is she really so beautiful that there's no other girl like her?" 86. Let me go and see. 87. It may well be like this, as God told me about her. 88. Then I must obey his order not to look for my brothers. 89. I must go. 90. He mounted his horse.

91. And the horse was tied all the night and grazed on its own. 92. And the horse was a jade no more. 93. The boy even didn't mount it at first. 94. He was astonished when he saw it. 95. What a miracle! 96. Standing there was a beautiful, well-cared-for horse. 97. It was all gold, and the wings grew on it. 98. So it changed from a semi-dead horse that seemed about to fall into a flying horse. 99. 100. The boy mounts the horse, and it speaks as a human being. 101. He communicates with the boy just like a man. 102. The horse says, "Come here and climb on me". 103. Did you think your father gave you a bad horse? 104. If it is necessary, I can turn the same kind of horse again, and be like now if necessary. 105. Don't be afraid, mount me and go. 106. The horse goes on, "You have treated me kindly, you took care for me, you didn't beat me, you rode slowly on me, and now due to it I understood that you are my master. Oh God, mount me and go". 107. They became friends. 108. The boy mounts the horse and flies ahead. 109. The boy says, "Brother, I don't know where to go"; and the horse replies, "Don't worry, brother, I know those old women, it was God who visited you at night, don't be frightened". 110. "Everything will be OK, but be careful: those old women are terrible witches". 111. "That's all I can tell you". 112. "They can do who knows what". 113. Yes.

114. The horse goes on, "Let's go to the eldest of the three sisters, I know them, don't worry, I'll find them". 115. Let's go to the eldest sister, and behave as God told you. 116. They fly and see a very large forest, so dense that even a fly can't pass through it. 117. Nothing goes through it. 118. And inside the forest there is a large house. 119. 120. Literally, dead silence reigns there. 121. No living creature can be seen. 122. The flying horse descends to the edge of the forest. 123. It landed and says, "Look!" 124. "Don't be afraid of the old woman, she's very ugly". 125. "Her hair is long, she has a beard and is all wrinkled, and her skin is dark". 126. "She is all covered with hair and also has long nails". 127. "Don't be afraid of her; on the contrary, behave as if you are not afraid. Give her a piece of bread to eat". 128. "Even if she does something to frighten you, don't be scared, just produce that comb and give it to her". 129. "Take that comb and throw it to her". 130. The boy thinks, "Where have I got to, I don't understand". 131. Just as he approaches the road, a big snake descends from a tree. 132. It crawls towards the boy. 133. 134. 135. The boy got frightened, but as he was a strong man, he just thought, "What's to be done?" 136. His father gave him a knife, a very good one, a kinzhal. 137. Just as the boy produced the knife, the snake jumped on him and spinned around the boy. 138. The boy can do nothing. 139. 140. The snake says, "Don't be afraid of me; you wanted to kill me, that's why I constricted you". 141. 142. Don't be afraid, I was enchanted. 143. That old woman enchanted me when I found myself

there. 144. Now I live here and can do nothing to disenchant myself. 145. What's to be done, I don't know. 146. If you help me, I'll do thrice as much good for you. 147. [You may help me] as you are going to visit that old woman. 148. 149. When you talked with your horse, I learnt that you have got that horse. 150. He's a good horse! 151. 152. I've heard that you are going there, and you will be able to help me to become a man again, as you have been sent by God. 153. In a word, help me. 154. 155. Maybe your talk will be able to persuade her. 156. "She's a witch, and she lives where nobody lives, where a beast or a bird or even a fly can't go". 157. The poor boy looked and got frightened. 158. The snake released his grip and said, "Help me, please, I'll be of use to you". 159. I'll help you somewhere else. 160. Wherever you go, whatever you do, I'll follow you and give you help. 161. So the boy [indeed, *the snake*] says, "Go this way, go straight ahead". 162. "There is a field there, you'll see it, and there are big flowers, very beautiful flowers". 163. "And there's a tree there with apples growing; [but] don't take a [single] apple from its top, or you'll become a snake like me". 164. "Or you'll turn some other beast". 165.

166. You see, the snake informed him; isn't it good? 167. Good! 168. So the boy leaves from that place. 169. The boy sees a field where there is plenty of flowers, and there's a tree with golden apples on top, such beautiful and attractive apples that one wants to eat them. 170. If you look at them, you almost die from wishing to eat them. 171. 172. 173. No one can pass the tree by without catching some apples, taking them away and eating. 174. The boy stopped. 175. 176. He wishes to take and eat an apple. 177. The boy stood still as if he was enchanted. 178. He looks around and sees nobody there, and the boy says, "Should I take one apple to eat; maybe the snake told me a lie". 179. 180. The boy asks himself, "Should I take one?" 181. But his horse flies above him and says, "Go your way, don't take apples, the snake is a man, he told you the truth". 182. Do what he told you there! 183. The boy goes away from the tree. 184. As he left, he saw a house standing like a palace. 185. The house is big, but old. 186. 187. There are no windows, no doors. 188. The boy finds nothing. 189. He approached the house and found nothing, so he walked around it. 190. He began going around the house and finds nothing. 191. He finds no door. 192. He stopped and says, "How to get inside there and where that old woman is". 193. Everything is calm. 194. 195. "What should I do?" 196. He approaches the house and knocks on the wall. 197. As he banged, the door opens. 198. The door opens, he enters and sees nobody inside; everything is silent. 199. But there is a table and a bed there. 200. And there's an oven too. 201. 202. He looks inside and sees nobody but a black cat walking; as the cat saw the boy, it rushed to him. 203. The boy takes a long stick that stood there. 204.

He throws the stick. 205. The cat hides itself somewhere. 206. As he did it, the sky got dark and the thunder struck. 207. Everything around gets dark, and lightning strikes from above; there comes a sound of [someone] coming here. 208. The boy hears something flying. 209. Somebody quickly approached the house [from above]. 210. "Oh, why it smells with man here? Why there is a human smell?", says the newcomer. 211-212. The woman's voice replies, "You must be mistaken, brother; who can come here? Nobody can get to this place"; and he argues, "No, there's somebody here, something smells"; but the witch goes on, "Brother, it's because you've eaten a man over there that you feel the smell". 213. "No, something really smells here", insists the dragon. 214. "Never mind, brother". 215. "OK, let's wait and see". 216. 217. The boy sees an azhdahas with three heads. 218. And on that dragon an old woman witch rides. 219. She enters the house and sees nobody there. 220. The boy has hidden himself behind the oven. 221. 222. The boy got frightened by what he has heard. 223. He was scared as he saw the azhdahas. 224. Meanwhile that old woman searches her house by smelling and she also feels someone to be present. 225. "Who's hiding there", she asks. 226. "If we find him, I'll eat him at once". 227. Let me now look for him. 228. And she says to the azhdahas, "You've already eaten a man, so now fly to your place and take some rest, have a sleep". 229. And near the house there was a cavern in a mountain. 230. There was an entrance there with the door; the azhdahas went into it. 231. The azhdahas moved in with flames and smoke, saying "Pkhuv!, Pkhuv!" 232. And the old woman says, "Well, you are here!" 233. She is sitting at the table saying, "You are here, I know it already that you are here, I see you, appear in front of my eyes, or I'll make you come, display yourself to me, come from there you man!" 234. The poor boy says to himself, "If I don't leave my hiding, she will make me leave it; she'll say that I got frightened, while I was told to have no fear". 235. So he leaves his hiding place. 236. Is this you, old woman? I've come to you. 237. 238. And why did you come to me? 239. Who are you for me? 240. What are you? 241. Who are you? 242-243. The boy replies, "I've come to you, I am not afraid of you, if you don't believe me, here's some bread for you, I need your help". 244. 245. 246. But why should I help you? You know that nobody comes to this place, and I am the owner of it. 247. My only wish is enough for you to become dust or worm, or to be turned into a piglet that I'll fry in my oven and eat! 248. So, why did you come to me? 249. What do you want? 250. The boy stands up and says, "Don't be afraid you old woman, I have no fear of you, I see that you are so old a witch, I need your help". 251. I tell you once again, you must do something for me. 252. I'm going to find a woman whose beauty is second to none in the whole world, I want to

marry her. 253. I'm looking for her, I want to find that beautiful woman, but I don't know where I should go. 254. That's what I don't know. 255. And I have something to give to you. 256. If you help me, I'll do something more than just a meal for you. 257. The old woman says to him, "Now I'm going to cook and eat you; I'll turn you into a piglet, and you'll become a beautiful young piglet with rose skin, and I'll put you into the oven and fry for eating"; and the boy replies, "No, you old woman, this is for you" – and produces the comb. 258. Here's a beautifully made silver comb for you. 259. Here's a comb for you, but before getting it, help me to find that girl. 260. Just as the old woman saw the comb, she asked, "Where did you get that comb? Give it to me!" 261. The boy said, "I can throw the comb into your furnace, and it will be destroyed!" 262. The old woman calls him, "No, I'll help you; this is my sister's comb, where did you see her?!" 263. I haven't seen my sister for some three or four hundred years, who knows how long; where did you get that comb? Did you kill my sister? 264. The boy answers, "No, she's alive, she sent you her greetings and gave me this comb for you to recognize and help me!" 265. I helped her, and I saw your youngest sister as well. 266. Do you have a younger sister? 267. She replies, "Yes! And how did my sisters do? Didn't they eat you?" 268. "No, they didn't, I did some good for them both, and you won't eat me either, as I came to you for help". 269. 270. An azhdahas threatened your sisters, and it even took one of them into the air and flew away to eat her. 271. I helped, I made the azhdahas release them and killed him . 272. 273. Oh, thank you, come to my table and have a meal [says the old woman]! 274. 275. I'll help you! 276. So the boy deceived her. 277. He deceived [the old witch], or he would have been already eaten. 278. 279. So he gives her the comb. 280. When she said farewell to the boy, she added, "Here's a gift from me, too". 281. If you go and see my sister, then you should go this way. 282. The woman that you are looking for lives in the same area where my sisters live. 283. Right in the forest like this. 284. That forest is even larger than this one. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. And with this the old woman gives him a gift: a bag with another smaller bag in it; there are some small teeth; and she says, "Take these teeth, they will be of use to you: if you throw one tooth, the forest will grow, if you throw another one, a sea of water will appear, if you throw yet another tooth, flames and smoke will erupt, you see?" 290. You will need these things when you go to look for that girl. 291. Do you understand? 292. You'll show it to my younger sister, and if she sees it she'll recognize you and help you; then the first witch says, "Take care not to lose it; and now have a meal and go to bed". 293. But the boy is afraid lest she could eat him and he says, "No, I have to leave now, I'm in a hurry, I must look for my brothers as well". 294. 295. 296. She says, "Good, go,

take care!” 297. So she gave him her gift. 298. And the boy left her. 299. Just as he entered the forest, he whistles and his horse descends from the sky. 300. The horse jumps from above, and the boy goes away on it. 301. 302. He took off and flew into the clouds. 303. 304. So he left. 305. The horse says, “You did everything perfectly; now let’s go farther, I know the way”. 306. But the boy says, “Brother, I forgot about the snake”. 307. He forgot to ask the old witch about the boy who was turned into a snake, he forgot to help him. 308. The horse says, “Don’t worry, that witch couldn’t help him, but her sister can”. 309. You will ask that sister about that fellow, only she can help him to become a man again, the elder sister couldn’t do that. 310. 311. They fly and see, “Oh God, that new forest is even more high and dark and big, the hell with it”. 312. They also see a house standing in the forest. 313. The house is covered with thorns. 314. He stopped and looked. 315. The boy stopped at the edge of the forest, as it looked impassable. 316. There are no living creatures there. 317. 318. 319. There’s not a soul there. 320. The boy slowly approaches the house and sees an open door; he enters and sees a stair; just as he is about to step it, he hears the cry from the sky, “Ooo...” 321. That old woman is flying, and she is more ugly than her elder sister, she’s even humpbacked, and her hands are long; the witch says, “Oh you a man, where did you come from and how did you get here?” 322. “I’ll eat you, who are you?” 323. The boy promptly produces the small bag and displays it to her. 324. “Stop, don’t eat me, I’m coming from your sister, she sent you her greetings and gave me this item to show you and be recognized”. 325. “Do you know that small bag?” 326. You see, I was at hers. 327. I was treated kindly, had some meal and drink. 328. 329. That’s the matter. 330. The witch says, “Yes, it’s my sister’s bag, it used to belong to our mother”. 331. Our mother lives no more, she gave this thing to my elder sister. 332. You must have killed her and took that bag. 333. She couldn’t give it to you [willingly]. 334. “No”, he says, “I was her guest”. 335. Oh no, I’ll eat you! 336. The boy almost died of fear, but then he recalled something. 337. God gave him a purse where a ring and a spoon were still left. 338. The boy says, “Stop, I’ve got one more thing”. 339. He produces the spoon and says, “Here’s a silver spoon for you, a beautifully made one”. 340. And where did you take it from? 341. [Your sister gave it to me]. 342. Yes! 343. “If you brought a spoon as well, then all that you’ve said is true; if you’ve taken only a small bag, than my sister should have been killed”; it seems there was a secret agreement between the sisters. 344. 345. 346. If something wrong happened to one of them, than there must be only a small bag, but if everything is OK, a bag should go with a spoon. 347. So everything went as the boy had seen in his dream. 348. So my sister is OK, [the witch says]. 349. Oh God, come closer, I

haven't seen her for God knows how long. 350. The old woman waved her hand and spread the tablecloth over the table, and it became covered with food. 351. Oh Lord, various drinks and dishes appeared on the table, only the birds' milk is absent. 352. They sat at the table to have a meal. 353. As the hungry boy was eating, the old woman asked him, "What do you want you man, what are you looking for?" 354. I'm looking for such a beautiful girl that is only one in the world, but I can't find a road to her, I don't know what to do. 355. But your elder sister told me that you have the youngest sister as well. 356. I was also looking for my brothers, but failed to find them. 357. [The witch says,] "Be careful with my sister". 358. "She is the most severe of us all and she's also blind, she cannot see with her eyes; so when you come to her, she may well not recognize you at once and swallow you or do any other evil to you". 359. "Don't look at her, she's like a beast, she's all covered with hair, you'll say she's like a wolf or a she-bear, or an evil spirit". 360. "Well, good", says the boy, "I carried a message of greeting from your sister, and I'll go and take your greeting to another sister". 361. But I have a friend whom your elder sister mistakenly turned into a snake. 362. And now this poor creature crawls on trees. 363. Do a kind thing, release him, he's young. 364. [Your elder sister has already forgotten about him]. 365. And he's my friend. 366. Help him to become a man again. 367. You see, you and me, we are people. 368. You are like my grandma for me. 369. Help him, I ask you. 370. The old woman says, "Well, if I'm like a grandma for you as you've said, I'll help you and tell [what to do]". 371. Here's a small bag with something inside for you. 372. "There's a nut in the bag; watch not to eat it, give it to nobody, you should give the nut to that man; you must also show this bag to my youngest sister; if you don't display both bags to her, she'll burn you alive or eat you; as soon as you come to the forest where she lives, she'll learn of your coming from the wolves and bears that live there". 373. "Thank you", says the boy, "I wish you to live long". 374. "And if not, the better", he thinks silently. 375. And the boy turned away. 376. "Thank you", he said to the old woman with a bow. 377. As he was about to leave, the witch said, "Spend a night here oh my son, there was nobody here for three hundred thousand years, for five hundred years; I haven't seen a guest to come to me, so spend a night here"; and the boy thinks, "Who knows what she may do to me during a night". 378. "Oh no, I'm in a hurry, I must go, my friend is over there, and I don't know what's going on with my brothers", the boy said; and he added cheating the witch, "I had a rest at your sister's, I'm not tired". 379. Good, go your way, take care. 380. [He's going to mount his horse]. 381. The boy goes away and whistles; his horse flies from the clouds and descends to him. 382. Over! 383. [He mounts the horse]. 384. "Well, what did you do?"



[the horse asks]. 385. "Everything's all right" [replies the boy]. 386. "That's good! The key thing is not to get frightened. Don't be scared by the youngest sister: she's not like a human being". 387. "Her sisters' appearances are acceptable, but that one is like an evil she-bear, she's horrifying". 388. The boy mounted the horse and it flew ahead. 389. The boy says, "We must rescue our man; let's go to the third old woman". 390. Go ahead! 391. And so they are flying for a day or two or three, who knows how long. 392. They keep flying for many days. 393. The boy says he got tired, and the horse replies, "Don't worry, catch me and sleep, embrace me and don't be afraid, I'll keep flying". 394. The boy falls asleep. 395. They flew to the place. 396. The horse awoke him, "Get up you man! We've arrived". 397. "Look, brother, be careful now". 398.

399. "I'll go down at the edge to be visible, and you should walk that way; here everybody knows [everything]: both the forest and its animals are hers". 400. The boy cautiously walks toward the forest. 401. He sees there's no pass to go. 402. As he approached the trees, a snake swiftly crawls out of the forest.

403. The boy jumps away and seizes a big stone. 404. He raises the stone to hit the snake. 405. But the snake says him, "Don't throw your stone at me, don't kill me, I'll show you the way". 406. Here nobody knows the way, only I do, or you won't walk through the forest and find the old woman. 407. The old woman sent me, we have already got to know that you've come; if you kill me, you won't get inside and everything around you will be scorched. 408-409. The old woman says, "You'll be dead now and won't get back". 410. "What do you want?" [the snake asks]. 411. The boy answers, "I've come from the sisters and I've got something". 412. From whose sisters did you come? 413. She has two sisters, and I'm carrying a message of greeting. 414. I've come from her sisters, I was at the eldest's and at the middle sisters' [houses]. 415. "I'm not afraid of her and I would like to talk with her, or I'll kill you". 416. The snake says, "Then come follow me". 417. As the snake moved into the forest, a road appeared in front of the boy, and it was shining as the road was made of gold. 418. 419. 420. 421. The boy follows the snake, and nobody prevents them from going. 422. 423. Finally they arrive to a house, and the snake says, "You say you are brave and never get frightened; then push this door [open] to see what is there inside". 424. Will you be able to open the door? 425. Do open the door! 426. The boy presses the door with his hand, but can't get it opened. 427. "Well", he says to the snake, "show your might, bang the door". 428. The snake bangs. 429. Just as the door opens, the boy sees darkness inside, and from there flame and smoke breaks out; then the old woman appears from somewhere, and she's hairy and looks like a beast

more terrible than a wolf or a bear, but not like a human being. 430. Neither a man nor a wolf she is, she has a tail and very long nails. 431-432. This old witch asks, "Why did you come to me?" 433. "I'll burn you alive!" 434. "I'm not afraid of you; look what I'm carrying to you; I've come to you with purpose: your sisters sent me to you". 435. The witch replies, "I don't need any sisters, I live alone, I even don't remember when I last saw them, I've forgotten that I have any sisters". 436. You cheat me. 437. And he says, "No, look what kind of greeting they sent you!" and with this he produces both small bags. 438. "Do you recognize them?" asks the boy. 439. "Yes", she answers, "No, no". 440. The boy wonders, "What do you mean?" 441. "Yes, I know these things, they belonged to my mother", says the old woman. 442. "So you see I don't cheat you!" [the boy says]. 443. "And still I'll burn you and eat right now!" the old witch exclaims. 444. The boy remembers, "When I was sleeping that old man gave me a purse, and there the ring is still left", and he takes the ring out. 445. "Look here, I don't cheat you!" 446. As the old woman saw the ring, she asked, "Where did you take it from?" 447. The boy says, "I tell you, I'm not a cheat!" 448. "Then you told me the truth; how do my sisters do? Are they OK?" 449. "Yes!" 450. "So what?", the old woman asks. 451. Your sisters sent me to you intentionally. 452. Then what did they send you for? How did you manage to become their friend? 453. I saved them: a big azhdahas seized them and was about to eat them, and I helped them.

454. I killed the azhdahas, and now they are helping me. 455. I don't know what to do? 456. I came here to learn something about a girl that once came to me in a night dream, a very beautiful girl. 457. I want to take her. 458. Where can I find her? 459. I was told that only you could help me; I came to you with good, you are a grandma to me. 460. 461. She wonders, "How can I be your grandma?" 462. You see I've brought you this thing; if you think I did it for nothing, you are wrong. 463. Didn't I bring you that thing? 464. And she says, "Yes!" 465. "Well, let's wait and see; now come to my home, take a meal and spend a night; you'll leave only after that". 466-468. The boy asks, "But what if you eat me?" 469. She says, "Don't be afraid, I haven't seen a man here for many years". 470. 471. "I got old and have never seen a man here, so don't be afraid; I need to think about the girl whom you are looking for and then I'll tell you what to do". 472. But here, at my place, an azhdahas lives as well. 473. That azhdahas doesn't obey me, I don't know what to do with him; so if you fight that azhdahas and win, I'll do what you ask me to do, but if you lose, the azhdahas will eat you and I won't be able to help you". 474. 475. "Well, he says, good; if there's no other way out than that's all right". 476. The old woman arranged a table full of dishes, and the boy had a meal. 477. Now go

to bed, have a sleep. 478. The boy obeyed and laid down, but he thinks, "What if the old woman does something with me when I'm sleeping?" and drowsiness pressures him. 479. He also thinks, "What kind of azhdahas must it be that the old witch can't do anything with him? What can I do then? I should ask God to explain". 480. Maybe God will tell me when I'm sleeping? 481. So the boy dozed off. 482. 483. And an old man came to him during his sleep. 484. 485. The boy asks him, "What should I do? How can I surpass that azhdahas in strength and kill him? 486. The old man, or God, says to him, "Don't be afraid. If you get frightened, you'll lose and he will eat you; there's only one escape: not to be frightened; if you aren't scared you'll ultimately kill him!" 487. The old man says, "The old woman, the oldest of the sisters, gave you a small bag; there are some dragon's teeth in it; that dragon was enchanted, it was our father's dragon and it carried him; and this dragon is his son living at the old woman's; he used to carry her but then refused to do it; he's very stubborn and rapacious. 488. Take these teeth and drop them one by one when fighting him; you'll see what's to happen; but don't be afraid of anything. 489. With this the boy falls asleep. 490. He gets up in the morning. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. The boy got up and washed his face with cold water. 496. At the old woman's there were a well and a spring with pure cold water. 497. The boy had a drink and washed himself. 498. The old woman asks, "Do you like to have a meal before the fight with the dragon?" 499. "It's better to have a fight in the morning: now he's hungry and so rapacious that I'm myself afraid of him". 500. If you only defeat him he would become obedient. 501. It's because there are no other strong people here but for me. 502. 503. 504. The boy says, "No, I'll go and fight the azhdahas, I'm not afraid of him, I'll have a fight and if he wins, he'll eat me, but if not I'll humiliate him". 505. The boy takes with him a knife that his father has given and leaves. 506. The old woman leads him to a deep dark cave where the azhdahas lives. 507-508. As they approached the cave, the old woman threw a stone into the azhdahas's hole. 509. She calls him to appear on the surface. 510. The earth begins to tremble, flames and smoke leak out of the cave. 511. The azhdahas emerges from there. 512. He asks the old woman, "Why did you come here, why did you awake me?" 513. I'm not afraid of you, I'll now swallow you. 514. The old woman says, "I know you are strong and may eat me, but wait a moment". 515. Here a man has come to me; you haven't seen a man here for long. 516. (And the azhdahas was very old indeed, he was a hundred years old or eleven hundred years). 517. The azhdahas asks, "So what?" 518. The witch replies, "This strong man is here to fight with you". 519. You say you need a strong man to fight with, and a very strong man has now been found. 520. I found you a strong man to fight with. 521.

If you defeat him, then you'll be able to do with me all you would like. 522. The boy unfolds his knife and says, "I'm not afraid of you, come out and have a fight with me". 523. The boy goes on, "Come out and I'll put you down". 524. The azhdahas started to exhaust flames and smoke to laugh at the boy. 525. The azhdahas says, "I'll now kill you with my single finger". 526. And the boy says, "Come on, we'll wait and see who'll win". 527. "You are large and that's why you believe you'll kill me". 528. 529. And they begin a fight. 530. The old woman witch disappeared. 531. They begin fighting, the land shakes, and the boy hides himself behind a tree. 532. He thinks, "If I run far from the dragon, I'll not defeat him". 533. The boy produces the pursuit, takes a tooth out of it and throws the tooth toward the dragon. 534. And "woosh!" - a forest grew up instantly. 535. It was three times higher than the dragon. 536. The dragon began flying and cutting the forest issuing flames and smokes. 537. And the forest was set on fire. 538. The dragon attacks the boy again, and the boy runs to hide to another place. 539. So the azhdahas dealt with the forest. 540. Then the boy throws another tooth toward the azhdahas, and a sea of water appeared. 541. The azhdahas didn't expect that and fell into water. 542. He first began sinking, but then surfaced and took off into the air. 543. The azhdahas flies above the water. 544-545. What else can the boy do? 546. He throws the third tooth toward the azhdahas, and a fire erupts from the water. 547. The fire burns the dragon. 548. Good job! 549. The fire consumes him. 550. The dragon falls into the water. 551. The boy jumps into the fire with his knife; he attacks the dragon and stabs him into his head and eyes. 552. The boy jumps into the fire as if it doesn't burn. 553. It was a matter of just a second. 554. The boy killed the dragon, it died, it fell down and became motionless. 555. Both the fire and the water disappeared. 556. Only the dragon's teeth remained. 557. The old woman witch emerges. 558. She says, "Oh you really are a strong man, you are stronger than I am; you know something special". 559. I can do nothing [wrong] with you. 560-561. "Well, that's now done, and I promised you [my help]". 562. Here are some hair for you. 563. She cuts some of her hair and [gives them to the boy]. 564. "If you drop one hair, there'll be a road for you to go along; if you drop another one, the water will appear; drop the third hair, and there'll be a bridge for you to cross the water; then go ahead and you'll see a forest and then a palace of gold; if you approach it, drop yet another hair, and you'll get to that girl; but take care, as all sorts of things happen there". 565-566. The boy thanks the witch. 567. 568. He says, "I have to go now". 569. Well, do go. 570. The old woman releases him. 571. She gives him the hair, and with it the boy leaves. 572. 573. He finds his horse that can fly. 574. 575. The boy mounts the horse. 576. They rush on. 577. The horse says, "We must

first give a nut to that snake to turn it into a fellow; he'll be of use to you: you won't be able to take that girl without his help; but there'll be another azhdahas, so take care". 578. 579. They are flying for a day, or three, or five, or even ten days. 580. The boy never went asleep. 581. Once he entered a forest and saw a snake crawling from a tree. 582. "Hie, are you OK?" asks the snake, "Did you succeed?" 583. Yes, he replies, I learnt from another sister how to make you a man again. 584. Here's a nut: eat it, and you'll become a man; but you must go and help me. 585. I'm going to take a woman. 586. 587. I'm in love with a woman, a very beautiful woman, and I want to take her. 588. The snake says, "I agree, but help me please". 589. I'll follow you, I promise. 590. Wherever you go, I'll be with you and help you. 591. I'll do everything you would need. 592. The boy gives the nut to the snake. 593. He ate it and became a beautiful man. 594. He turned into a handsome fellow in golden dress. 595. 596. And he has a sword. 597. 598. 599. Both boys mount the horse and fly. 600. As they fly, that fellow asks, "Where do we go? And what is the woman you talked about?" 601. "I used to know many people over there", the former snake adds. 602. 603. I don't know the one whom you talked about. 604. The horse tells him, "You should know that girl, she's your own sister; but don't worry: that strong man is a good fellow and he wants to take her". 605. So the former snake who's become a man again is the girl's brother. 606. 607. 608. Then he replies, "Taking my sister isn't easy". 609. She'll put three questions to you, and if you fail to answer them, you'll remain there and die, but if you find the answers, you'll take her and become rich among the rich: you'll have many magical things of our ancestors like rings, tables, food and drinks. 610. You'll never feel any need at all. 611. And no-one will be able to defeat you, as you'll become the strongest among the strong. 612. 613. 614. "And as for me, I had been deceived by two guys who led me to the places where the old witch lived, and she turned me into a snake". 615. And I couldn't do anything. 616. So the boy was enchanted. 617. "Promise me you'll help me to deal with those two guys, and I'll help you to get my sister". 618. "OK, good", the boy says. 619. And why it happened to you? 620. I wanted to marry a girl, but those two guys stood on my way. 621. She might have been their sister, and they didn't want to give her to me. 622. And so they led me to the wrong place, and I also had to face that azhdahas. 623. Well, we keep azhdahades and fly them like you ride horses. 624. We aren't afraid of them, we have a certain thing that makes azhdahades safe. 625. Azhdahades are like horses for us. 626. 627. 628. A fellow has a ring: as he puts it on, an azhdahas becomes obedient and does everything. 629. 630. 631. 632. The girl's brother explains, "As you arrive there, your first task will be like this: there will be three heaps of water-melons in the

garden; in one heap there'll be good water-melons, in another one half of water-melons will be rotten, and the water-melons in the third heap will all be rotten". 633. 634. She'll say to you, "Eat a water-melon"; and you shouldn't eat a water-melon from a good heap, but eat the most rotten of them; if you eat a good water-melon you'll remain there, you'll stay alive, but not as a man but as worm, or a wolf, or a bear". 635. 636. The girl's seeker enters the garden and finds a golden palace there. 637. It's all made of gold and it all shines. 638. 639. And that beautiful girl is there. 640. As the boy saw her, he was done. 641. He stood still like a stone as he saw her through a window. 642. She was so beautiful that one couldn't take his eyes of her. 643. And there was a crown on her head. 644. Her father was a tsar. 645. The girl begins speaking to him, "Eat a water-melon first, then I'll talk to you". 646-647. If you came to take me, you must answer three questions; if you answer them, I'll go to you, if not, you'll die here. 648. The boy says, "I agree". 649. So, here are some water-melons, choose one and eat. 650. 651. The girl believes that he'll take a good water-melon. 652. You wouldn't eat a rotten water-melon. 653. You would take a good one, slice it and eat, wouldn't you? 654. The boy took to the first heap of water-melons. 655. There were good water-melons there, and he moved away from it. 656. Then the girl says, "Why don't you take and eat any of these water-melons?" 657. "Here's a good one for you!" 658. If don't like them, get out and go away. 659. The boy says, "I am ready to eat any water-melon that I can stomach". 660. "I can eat any of them". 661. He takes a water-melon from the third heap. 662. He strikes it against the ground. 663. He takes a piece and eats it. 664. The girl got puzzled. 665. She asks, "Why do you eat a rotten water-melon? Take a good one". 666. The boy replies, "Oh no, let the good one be left for you". 667. 668. She says, "But I told you to eat that water-melon". 669. "But I eat the one I've got, I don't care". 670. And the boy was hungry, he wanted to eat. 671. 672. 673. 674. As he ate a water-melon, three azhdahades appeared from a heap of water-melons. 675. The girl says, "If you don't answer my questions, you'll be an azhdahas too". 676. You see what kind of water-melons you ate: these are the azdahades' water-melons. 677. Only the azdahades eat them, you see. 678. If you ate a water-melon from this heap, you'd become an azdahahas as well. 679. And from this heap either. 680. And from this heap – not. 681. Now you have the opportunity to understand yourself. 682. If you answer my first question, you'll remain a man. 683. Everything will be all right. 684. The girl goes on, "Suppose there are two strong men; if they are going to deceive and kill somebody, what will you do with them?" 685. Will you kill them, or not? 686. You know they are going to kill a good man. 687. The boy answers, "I don't know their affair, I'll help the man they are going to kill, but I don't

know if they must be killed, I must have a look at their side”. 688. Then the girl says, “Well, you’ve answered my first question; do you like to see these men?” 689. “Yes!” 690. Well, promise me, think a little and promise me. 691. I give you a day to think of that. 692. If those bad people did something wrong, you won’t kill them, but you must help the man whom they have deceived and whom they are going to kill. 693. Yes! 694. Promise me you will do it. 695. The boy says, “Yes, I agree”. 696. “And tomorrow we’ll see”. 697. The boy goes to sleep. 698. The girl’s brother comes. 699. He says, “Tomorrow two men will come; they will be dressed in golden clothes up to their tips [for them not to be recognizable]”. 700. “You will not recognize those people; but be careful not to kill them because of me: they did me harm, they mislead me and now they wait to see what I’ll do with them”. 701. And why did they do it with you? 702. They are two elder brothers of yours, who had left [home] to look for wives [to marry them]. 703. The boy obviously wanted to take the strong man’s sister, but her brothers didn’t like that and mislead him so that he found himself at the old woman’s. 704. The old woman made him a snake, and those two ran away to escape. 705. And the girl didn’t keep him. 706. She kept them at her house. 707. Make sure, he says, not to kill them; these are your brothers; do so that you recognize each other and that no trouble would be between you. 708. The boy stood still being shocked by the fact that his brothers could play this trick. 709. Yes. 710. The people who detained his brothers didn’t kill them or made any harm. 711. And the girl’s brother says, “I think you shouldn’t kill them because of me; you are my friend, you rescued me, you did good for me”. 712. That’s why I’m helping you to take my sister. 713. Yes! 714. And I wanted to take your sister. 715. Clear? 716. The girl whom I love is your sister, and those two guys are your brothers. 717. I don’t want to have them killed. 718. Good? 719. The boy answers, “I agree!” 720. I like you, and I don’t object your taking of my sister. 721. And does my sister agree to marry you? 722. Yes, she loves me too, but your brothers didn’t like me and so all this happened. 723. 724. “Well, the boy says, I miss my brothers, let me have a look at them, and next we’ll see what’s to happen”. 725. In the morning the girl releases those two guys. 726. Both are dressed in golden clothes, and their faces are altered beyond recognition. 727. The girl made them change. 728. She enchanted them and changed their appearance. 729. The boy gets up. 730. Oh, he says, whom do I see?! What’s that?! 731. I came to you, but what do my brothers do here?! 732. He embraces and kisses his brothers. 733. 734. They put those clothes down. 735. They become his brothers again. 736. What are you doing here? How did you get to this place? 737. The brothers answer, “We don’t know; we are enchanted by a magician girl and have to stay here; we don’t know

where we should go; we have been looking for women to marry them, but we failed; a boy approached us who wanted to marry our sister; as we didn't know him, we deceived him: we lead him along the wrong way and found ourselves in a forest; the forest was dark and dense and impassable; and there an old woman attacked us: she did something with that fellow and he turned into some other being, and we got frightened and ran away". 738. Now the youngest brother begins to tell his story. 739. God sent this girl to me; I found her. 740. 741. That boy is the fellow whom you had misled. 742. I rescued him: the old woman turned him into a snake. 743. That old woman was an evil witch. 745. And he went to take our sister [as wife]. 746. He's a good guy, you simply misunderstood him. 747. 748. 749. So, this is my woman, my future wife. 750. I must have her. 751. 752. There's one more question left, and I must have her. 753. And her brother is assisting me, but I must help him. 754. You see, he's a good fellow. 755. You know, we have a sister either, and she needs a husband. 756. We must give her to that boy. 757. She doesn't object, she loves him. 758. 759. 760. So it all happened that you are left without wives. 761. It is God who arranges things this way. 762. But don't worry, we'll find wives for you too. 763. You'll find your happiness as well. 764. I only need to answer the girl's last question, and next I'll take her. 765. I need nothing from my father; I have enough gold and happiness here. 766. There's a whole fortune here. 767. One of his elder brothers asks, "How can we help you?" – and the boy answers, "Never mind, it's all right, clear?" 768. The boy has really answered the girl's second question: he didn't kill those people as they were his brothers. 769. The boy did justice to them. 770. The girl's brother explained him the matter. 771. The third task remains. 772. The girl asks him, "If you take me, if I become yours, how should we live, what will we do?" 773. 774. What will you do, shall we have children? 775. The boy answers, "Sure, we'll have a family and children". 776. The girl insists, "Where are you going to live – at your father's [house], or here, at my place?" 777. The boy answers, "We'll wait and see". 778. Well, I have brothers and a sister. 779. So let's wait and see how things will go. 780. Then the girl says, "I see you are a clever and kind man, and I don't want you to stay here: who knows what may happen, it doesn't depend upon me; we have a father, a very strong and rapacious man". 781. He wants you to fight him; if you win the fight and drive him into the ground, he'll let me go to you; if not, you'll stay here and who knows what will happen to you. 782. My father is also a magician. 783. Even we don't know what he can do. 784. He's very clever. 785. He's a good man, but he has a point. 786. He says, "Only then a strong man will become my son-in-law, when he drives me into the ground". 787. 788. So, if you are able to fulfil this third task, it's



OK, but if not – then take care. 789. The boy replies, “I’m not afraid, I came from God and God helps me, I’ve already seen quite a lot”. 790. The girl says, “Do not rush in, and do not think that it’s simple”. 791. The boy thinks, “I’ll have a short sleep and I’ll ask God for a help, and everything will be all right”. 792. So the boy ate and drank and went to bed. 793-794. [The girl warned him that] her father was to come soon for a fight, as he lived in another place. 795. 796-797. As the boy is falling asleep he asks God to help him to drive that man into the ground, because he’s a strong magician. 798. The boy asks, “What should I do? I have to fight the girl’s father, but I was told I couldn’t overcome him as he’s very strong”. 799. God answers him, “Tomorrow when that man comes, there again will be three heaps of water-melons; so you should throw only rotten ones into him; if you threw a fresh water-melon, he’ll become ever stronger”. 800. “He’s an azhdahas, but he can also be a man; he’s an enchanted azhdahas: a man and an azhdahas in one”. 801. You’ll not defeat him if you throw into him a water-melon from the middle heap, where half of the water-melons are rotten. 802. “He’ll become ever stronger if you hit him with a fresh water-melon; but if you throw rotten water-melons, you’ll gradually take his strength; so hit him with bad water-melons, don’t hit him with your fists or hands – it’s useless; otherwise he’ll kill you”. 803. The boy says, “Thank you for helping me, oh God”. 804. And God disappeared. 805. The boy gets up in the morning and looks around. 806. As he was told, there are three heaps of water-melons in the garden: a heap of fresh, the heap consisting of both fresh and rotten water-melons and that of rotten. 807. The boy asks, “What are all those water-melons for here?” 808. The girl answers, “My father is about to arrive, and it’s necessary to have them here”. 809-810. “But why?”, the boy asks the girl. – “We don’t know, such was his order: every time a man comes to seek my hand, my father orders to pile three heaps of water-melons – fresh, mixed fifty-fifty and rotten”. 811. The boy says, “Let it be so”. 812-813. Then a golden carriage appears drawn by three horses, and a man sits inside the carriage: he’s the girl’s father, his dress is golden and he has a sword. 814. He asks, “Who’s about to fight with me here?” 815. I see many people here. 816. The boy says, “I’ll have a fight with you, I’ve come to take your daughter, she’ll be my wife, that’s the will of God, I’m going to fight you if you don’t like to have me as your son-in-law; but if you like, how can I have a fight with my father-in-law?” 817. The girl’s father replies, “No, have a fight with me, and if you overpower me, than I’ll give you my daughter, but if not, you’ll stay here”. 818. The boy says, “Yes!” 819. OK, let’s begin the fight. 820. They start fighting. 821. The boy removes his sword. 822. They begin to fight with swords. 823. They fight, but for nothing. 824. As the man hits the boy, he’s

driven to the ground by half. 825. The boy crawls out of the ground and runs to hide behind the trees. 826. 827. The boy approaches those water-melons. 828. He takes one water-melon of the heap, saying "Let me see what may happen". 829. He throws a good water-melon. 830. They go on fighting with their swords. 831-832. The girl's father gives him another blow, and drives the boy into the ground up to his neck. 833. The father becomes even stronger. 834. Before that water-melon was thrown, his blows drove the boy into the ground up to his waist, but now he went into the ground up to his neck. 835. The boy says, "It's true what God told me". 836. He takes a rotten water-melon and throws it at him. 837. The girl's father drives him into the ground again. 838. The boy takes and throws another rotten water-melon. 839. The girl's father strikes him again, but this time the blow drives the boy into the ground only up to his knees. 840. "Good", the boy thinks, "it works". 841-842. The fight goes on: the boy picks one more rotten water-melon on his sword and throws it towards his rival. 843. He throws several more water-melons – two or three. 844. The fight goes on. 845. Now the boy isn't driven into the ground any more. 846. The boy says, "Now you are mine", but their fight continues for a day, or two, or three, and the boy gets tired. 847. But his rival is also tired. 848. Finally the boy bangs him with his fist: just one blow, and that man falls down. 849. 850. It's over. 851. He collapsed [literally, *he switched off*]. 852. The boy exclaims, "Oh God, his sword is now lowered". 853. "Now you are my wife", he says to the girl. 854. The girl answers, "Yes!" 855. 856. They kissed each other. 857. All get into raptures and kiss; they wonder how the undefeatable man was defeated. 858. 859. Then that tsar comes round [literally, *he woke up*]. 860. He says, "Oh you strong man, where did you come and who are you? Well, I'll stand to my promise: I like strong people and I'm giving you my daughter. This is also a golden palace for you and a ring from my hand. It's not a simple ring, it's a magical one". 861. Here's the ring for you. 862. It can fulfil every your will or desire; with this ring you'll be undefeatable; here's the wealth for you: horses, bulls, sheep. 863. He gave everything to the boy. 864. "What do you want? Do what you like". 865. Just turn that ring, and your wish is fulfilled. 867. So it was. 868. Here I have a son, and he said he loves a woman. 869. The boy explains, "Don't worry, daddy, I know the matter: that woman is my sister, and these are my brothers; it so happened that they misunderstood each other". 870. They were anxious not to give their sister to an accidental suitor. 871. At night they found themselves in a forest, and a witch emerged from there; she turned the boy into a snake, and your sons were present there. 872. But I rescued him. 873. Now we shall have wedding parties: we'll eat and drink, and everything will be all right. 874. Let's go to my parents' home to meet

my father and mother and my sister; let's go there as my father is also the tsar and we have many relatives and people. 875. And they board their carriages and ride horses. 876. The boy and the girl mounted their horses, and the girl's father seated himself in his golden carriage. 877. There he also seated his son and two brothers; and there were plenty of food and drinks in the carriage. 878. So they fly in the sky, eating and drinking. 879. They were flying for a day, or two, or three, or maybe five days, and finally arrive to the tsardom where that tsar lives. 880. As the tsar saw his sons, he exclaimed, "Gods, where did you come from, oh my sons? I missed you! Have you got married?" 881. The youngest son speaks, "Hei, dad, this is my wife, and this is my father-in-law". 882. I have come back with my two brothers, they are all right. 883. So I've got married, and my brothers haven't, they didn't find anyone suitable, but I believe we'll find wives for them, they will also find their happiness. 884. 885. The father orders to lay the tables, and his people arrange such a wedding party that the whole world hasn't seen before. 886. The youngest brother speaks to his father, "Dad, here a man has come to us: this man is my brother-in-law". 887. He loves my sister, and she loves him. 888. His parents are also tsars, they are rich among the rich, they have everything; I'll go to live there, as my father-in-law gave me a golden palace; come along with me and see this wealth; he also gave me a gift – a ring that fulfils any wish; these are good people. 889. The father replies, "If it's really so, then call for my daughter and let's ask her if she wants to marry that fellow". 890. The sister replies, "Yes, daddy, I'll go to him, I love him, I've already seen him, we know each other, and he loves me either". 891. The father says, "Good, you may go". 892. One more wedding party – everybody eats and drinks. 893. It took a year or two or three years to eat everything – such was this party. 894. And I was there as well, and I had meal and drink and was sated. 895. I returned home, lay down to have a rest and told you the story, brother. 896. This is how it all was.

### 19. "Láxoja phirén ladi" ("Lakhoya Roma Wandering")

"*Láxoja phirén ladi*" ("Lakhoya Roma Wandering") is a text recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The informant was Mr. Nikolai Dmitriyevich Dzhumalei (b. 1962). The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 51, 79.

This is a short *bylichka*-type tale from a nomadic life of Vlax Roma who in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were deported from the Ukraine to Krasnodar

district and have been living there ever since. Events that the informant described might not be just only imaginary but might have really taken place in Romani life. Many Roma believe that there's some kind of connection between a person who was [mistakenly] buried alive and later gained consciousness in a grave, and the activities of some evil forces.

The informant imitates Vlax-Roma's speech. In phrase №13 he pronounces Vlax-Romani word *uladlé* ("they are gone away") while its Crimean Romani form is *ladlé*. In phrase № 16 he pronounces Crimean Romani words *tiknoró bakroró* ("small lamb") in a way Vlax-Roma do: *tiknorró bakrrorró*, with a guttural [rr] typical to that language. In phrase №19 he pronounces the words of Vlax Romani: *ž'al* ("he goes") and *gaž'é* ("non-Roma"), but in Crimean Romani these words are pronounced: *ǰ'al* and *gaǰ'é*. In phrase № 20 the informant uses Crimean Romani verb *č'ordé* ("[they] stole") in its Vlax form *uč'ordé*. In the phrases №№23 and 37 are used Vlax Romani words: *bre!* ("brother!") and *začhitó* ("lain" p.p.), which in Crimean Romani have following forms: *be!*, *čhitó*.

### Láxoja phirén ladi

1. Znáčit koč'eváli o láxoja, be. 2. Koč'eváli láxoja, be. 3. E vurdagénca alají, pošól koróč'e. 4. Ej, koč'újut, koč'újut, koróč'e. 5. Ğ'an, ras, taj terdilé thanéste, xotráste, taj si e katúna, kaj térd'ol mamúj lénde, aj sas phuró manúš taj muló. 6. Kaj te garavás? 7. Rán'se hd'e popálo. 8. Te garavás maškaré ko katúnes. 9. Garavdé maškaré ko katúnes. 10. Avér d'es pojéxali. 11. Koróč'e, gelé avér d'es. 12. Tóko gelé, avér d'es odolé thanéste averá láxoja avén. 13. Ej, akathár n'edávno o romá, vídno, uladlé. 14. Aj o jiv esás, Dévlale. 15. Tákže katúny thedé sar okothé. 16. Ej akaná, koróč'e, e rat, e rat, koróč'e, ras dikhén o tiknorró bakrrorró, užé dv'enátcat', v p'érvom č'asú. 17. Úš'el lénge odá: «So tumé, romá, te xan nanáj, grasténge ni khas nanáj, e grasténge», – o bakroró tiknoró. 18. Ğ'al ková: n'ečístaja síla. 19. Ž'al ko gaž'é, č'orél o khas, e č'oč'kadén, e guruvén, koróč'e – pryx – lénge. 20. Avér d'es o gaǰ'é: «Vot cyhán'e, ej, sánkim, o kalé uč'ordé». 21. Ras, e barén opré lénde. 22. Daváj, taj alé alají o baré lén lilé. 23. «Bre, éto n'e my», – [phenén o romá]. 24. «Aj kto?» – [phuč'én o baré]. 25. «Éto o Kúz'a, Kuz'ú», – [phenén o romá]. 26. «Što za Koz'ú?» – [phuč'én o baré]. 27. «Nu, Koz'ú zd'élal i vs'o, n'e v'érit'e? – [phenén o romá], – pridít'e nóč'ju i posmótrit'e!» 28. Okolá, o baré [zborizen]: «Daj, te dikhás č'ač'és, vaj, móžet v natúr'e lil'ás?» 29. Multuk'éncá odolénca taj si bešlé v zasádu. 30. Ras, dv'enátcat' č'asóv nóči, p'érvyj č'as. 31. Ov: «E grasténge, te xan nanáj ni khas, li tuménge xan nanáj». 32. Ras, i pošól, koróč'e. 33. O baré sar dikhlé odová, bre, bristerdé odolá pe multúk'a. 34. Zabyli, koróč'e. 35.

Nu hd'e, ras, ras, taj arakhlé káte si ov xranló. 36. Avér d'es náč'ali kopát'. 37. Ov esi telé mósa čhitó, phuró manúš, telé mósa začhitó. 38. Kána xranlé, [lilé] o kiló taj mardé léske [andé ko] jiló. 39. Béber'a din'ás asavké, kon ĝ'anél so béber'a sas. 40. Vot, pr'etstáv' s'eb'é, koróče: vs'o pól'e mukló alají, ras taj ladlé.

### Lakhoia-Roma Wandering

1. Well, brother, [once] the Lakhoia-Roma went wandering. 2. The Lakhoia went wandering. 3. With [their] carts, in short. 4. [They] keep wandering [for some time]. 5. [They] ride and [finally] stopped at a farmstead; and there is a tent standing in front of them [where] there was an old man [who] has died. 6. Where [is he to be] buried? 7. In old times [they used to do it] anywhere. 8. Let [us] bury [him] between the tents. 9. [So they] buried [him] between the tents. 10. Next day [they] went away. 11. In short, [they] left one day later. 12. Just as [they] had left, next day some other Lakhoia arrive at that place. 13. Well, Roma must have left this place (gone away) recently. 14. And there was snow, oh Gods. 15. [They] put [their] tents the same way as there [= as it had been done before]. 16. Now it's night, night; in short [they] see a little lamb. 17. That one addresses them, "What [are] you [doing], Roma? There's nothing to eat, there's no hay for [your] horses", a little lamb [says]. 18. It's the evil force going [to them]. 19. [The little lamb] goes to non-Roma, steals hay, piglets, bulls, in short – bang [literally, *prikh* - an interjection marking the sound of a blow] – from them. 20. Next day the non-Roma people [say], "They were the Blacks [= the Roma] who stole". 21. [They called] the police [to catch] them. 22. All the police came [and] detained them [the Roma]. 23. "Brother, it's not us", [the Roma say]. 24. "Then who [did it]?" [the police asked]. 25. "It's Kuzia, Koziu", [the Roma say]. 26. "What kind of Koziu?" the police asked. 27. "Koziu did it, and that's all, do [you] believe?" [the Roma say]; "Come [here] next night and take a look!" 28. Those police [talk], "Let us really take a look, maybe [he] indeed gathered [everything]". 29. With those guns [they] sit in the ambush. 30. [It's] twelve o'clock, [it's] an hour past midnight. 31. He [appears saying], "There's no hay for the horses to eat, and you have nothing to eat". 32. And in short [he] went away. 33. As the police saw [him], they forgot those guns of theirs. 34. In short, [they] forgot. 35. Very soon [they] found where he had been buried. 36. Next day [they] started excavations. 37. He has been lain with [his] face down (probably, [he] had turned over in his grave), the old man placed with his face down. 38. When [they] dug [the grave] up, [they took] a picket and drove [it] in [his] heart. 39. He shouted [so terribly]; who knows what sort of crying it

was. 40. Well, in short, imagine [it]: [they] left the whole field – hup - and left away.

## 20. “O rom o Bárdo taj o Šejtáni” (“A Rom named Bardo and a Sheitan”)

“*O rom o Bárdo taj o Šejtáni*” (“A Rom named Bardo and a Sheitan”) is a text recorded in 2003, in the community of Severskaja (Severskij region, Krasnodar district) from Mr. Ivan Neishayevich Ohly (Romani name Shoshoi), born in 1973. The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 51-52, 79-80.

The core of the story is made of two anecdotes known in the Russian folklore (SUS № 1175 and № 1176), whose existence there is traced to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. But in the Romani version of the anecdote that the author recorded, it’s not a Russian peasant who sold his soul to Devil, but rather an unlucky Rom the blacksmith. And it is also not he who rescues himself by giving an irresolvable task to Sheitan, but his cunning Romani wife. What remain similar are the two tasks given to Sheitan: to straighten a woman’s curly hair and to catch her fart.

The anecdote was told in a very nice language that may be even called a bit archaic. The informant created by laconic means the vivid images of a helpless Rom named Bardo, of his cunning and shrewd wife, of a curious but silly Sheitan. It is the Romani woman’s cunningness that destroys the Devil’s intrigues and saves the Rom from all his troubles.

A speech of this informant is interesting in its phonetic peculiarities. In some words he pronounces the combination of velar consonants [k] and [g] with a front-row vowel [e] as [k’e] and [g’e], that is in a Tartar manner typical of a Crimean Roma’s group *č’ornomorlúdes* who pronounce velar occlusive before front-row vowels like Tartar dorsal [κ] and [r]. These are other examples of palatalizing velar occlusive that can be found in this story: *bišušěsk’e* “[to an] impure”, *mang’ěs* “[you] want”, *kan-k’eráv* “I shall do”, *túk’e* “[to] you”, *k’erěs* “you [are] doing”, *g’elě* “they went away.”

## O rom o Bárdo taj o Šejtáni

1. Ej, bešélas jekh rom č’oktán-č’oktán. 2. Buč’ólas Bárdo. 3. Aj esás léste xorandás baró, taj sas ov č’oró. 4. Kerélas butí, phirélas an bazári, te biknél e butí. 5. Odojá butí ģ’álas plóxo, xorandás kamél te xavd’arél, lově si zálag. 6. Áke geló jékhvar an bazári. 7. Na bikind’ás níšto. 8. Č’al taj del pes godí: «Kaj me te lav odolá lově?» 9. Užě phenél: «Na ģ’anáv, so te

k'eráv, li mo jiló kan-dáv bišužesk'e, ábi te bešáv xot' zalagisa normál'no, sar manúš». 10. Tóko phen'ás odojá zbóra, mamúj léste – o bišužó. 11. «Ahá! – phenél. – Ğ'anáv so mang'és tu, Bárdo!» 12. Úš'el ov léske: «Éla kerás akajakhá: kan-bešés tu breš, rónvo, so dexés kan-ovél túte, kan-ovés barvaló, no brešestar me aváv taj lav tut máncá». 13. «So te kerél? – [del pes godí]. – Daváj!» 14. Diné vastá. 15. Tóko din'ás vas – geló péske o bišužó. 16. Akaná ĝ'al dromésa [taj del pes godí]: «Xoxavd'ás man ja na?» 17. Phenél: «Te aváv kheré, te ovél lačh'ó kher, mi romní ur'avdó [it must be: ur'avdí], o xorandás č'ajló, xapé, te ovél man lačh'ó gras». 18. Ej, ĝ'al dromésa, avél kheré, dikhél, na peng'arél pi xalabúda. 19. Baró kher lačh'ó, e romní, níkl'ol okotár ur'avdí lačh'és, alají an phol'á, o púja alají ur'avdé, xan, asán, dáde, déi. 20. Akaná bešél. 21. Bešél péske šukár, verkáj phirél: an t'eátres phiravél pe xorandás. 22. O púja phirén an škóles. 23. Ej bešél vópš'em šukár. 24. Adá, nakhél po-zálag o vaxýti ajakhá, pášol tak breš. 25. Akaná o Bárdo si n'eglúxi (it may be: n'e v dúx'e), vaj. 26. Pe romn'áke na hal'arél so vuló. 27. Del pes godí: «So me kan-k'eráv? Vaj áke pášol o breš taj te lel man o šejtáni». 28. Ej, akaná sál't'a n'edovól'ni. 29. Aj e romní léske [phenél]: «So vuló, so vuló?» 30. Ov na hal'arél. 31. Ej dečí, d'évatca n'ékuda, lel tynýki phukavél la. 32. Akaná din'ás oj pes godí, úš'el: «Má traša! Sar avél ov, bičh'ál les mánde an vánnaja, aj tu beš tynýki, ej-ej». 33. Áke, kána pašyló o vaxýti, okotár avél o bišužó. 34. «Ej, so, Bárdo, al'óm pal túte», – [phenél o bišužó]. 35. «Ej-ej, – phenél [o Bárdo], – al'an-al'an, óke, ĝ'a tóko me ĝ'uvl'áte, šó-to te phenél túke, an vánnaja si taj othár, éla, taj háde!» 36. Akaná, – «Ej so? – del pes godí o bišužó. – Kan-ĝ'av te dikháv so si, so ĝ'uvlí si léste, so mangél?» 37. Ğ'al akaná an vánna, aj ĝ'uvlí léski nangilí taj si so si mas an vánna si pašlí nangí, nan'ól. 38. Akaná úš'el oj: «Ğ'anáv, bišužéja, kaj al'an pal me roméste, so sas tuménde ĝ'anáv». 39. Daváj akajakhá, mangés akankhá zahadáju túke, vaj tu alají ĝ'anés, alají hál'os: zahadáju túk'e duj minré zahádkes, k'erés len, znáčit le li man túsa. 40. Ej, bišužéske maj zjadé. 41. [Phenél]: «Daváj!» 42. Lel oj, sar si an vánna, čh'el ryl. 43. Akaná úš'el: «Arákh, so me našavd'óm!» 44. Aj g'elé puzyrídes. 45. Ej, del pes godí o bišužó: «Me na kan-arakháv». 46. Akaná axtardíjel odojá vánna, alají axtardý, axtardý – nanáj ništo. 47. Šaštý. 48. So si adá, bísim so vuló? 49. Kaj odojá del géne jekh [zahádká]. 50. Ej, akaná nikalél andár pe ming'áte zar, del léste [taj phenél]: «Ále, najésa hort'ár la, kána kan-hort'arés, kan-avés pal mánde taj pal me roméste». 51. Akaná ov sídel, aj oj maj, maj burdíjel pes, sídel, aj oj maj burdíjel pes. 52. Taj si tal ke phurt ĝ'' akaná, kaj hort'arél la. 53. Odá rom bešló šel breš pe xorandása, pe pujeňa.

## A Rom named Bardo and a Sheitan

1. Well, [there] lived a Rom long ago. 2. Bardo was his name. 3. And he had a large family, and he was poor. 4. [He] went in for the blacksmith trade [and] went to a market to sell what he made. 5. Those things were sold out weekly, [and he] needed to feed [his] family, [and there wasn't] enough money. 6. Once [he] left for the market. 7. [He] failed to sell anything. 8. [He] goes [back] and thinks, "Where should I take that money?" 9. [He] even says, "I don't know what to do, [I'll] even give my soul to the Evil one, [I] only wish [I] should live normally, like a man, for at least a short time". 10. Just as [he] said this word, the Evil one [comes] towards him. 11. "Well", [he] says, "[I] know what you want, Bardo!" 12. He addresses him, "Let's do this way: you'll live for exactly a year, you'll have what you like, [you'll] be rich, but one year from now I shall come and take you with me". 13. "What [should I] do?" [he thinks], "Do it!" 14. [They] gave hands [to each other]. 15. As soon as [he] gave [his] hand, the Evil one left away. 16. Now [he] goes along [his] way [and thinks], "Did [he] cheat me, or not?" 17. [He] says, "If [I] arrive at home [and] if there is a good house, [and] my wife [is] dressed, the family [is] well-fed, [if there is] food, [and] I've got a good horse". 18. Well, [he] goes along [his] way, [he] arrives at home, [he] looks [and] doesn't recognize his cabin. 19. [His] house [is] big and good, [his] wife comes from it well-dressed [and] all decorated with gold, all children are dressed, [they are] eating [and] laughing, saying "Daddy". 20. Now [he is] living. 21. [He] lives beautifully, [he] goes everywhere [and] takes his family to theaters. 22. [His] children go to schools. 23. Well, his life is in general excellent. 24. So the time passes little by little, it approaches one year. 25. Now you see Bardo is out of [his] temper. 26. [He] doesn't explain to his wife what has happened. 27. [He] thinks, "What should I do? The year is passing, and the sheitan is to take me". 28. Now [he] is always dissatisfied. 29. And the wife [tells] him, "What's happened, what's happened?" 30. He doesn't explain. 31. But finally he quietly tells her, [as] he has no other way out. 32. Now she thinks [and] addresses, "Don't be afraid! As soon as he comes, send him to the bathroom to me and sit calmly; come on". 33. Well, when the time arrived, the Evil one comes from there. 34. "Well, Bardo, [I've] come for you", [the Evil one says]. 35. "Come on", [Bardo] says, "so you've come, but only visit my wife, she's about to tell you something, she's in the bathroom, and from there we'll go". 36. Now, "So what?" the Evil one thinks, "Let me come and see what kind of woman he's got [and] what she wants". 37. [He] went to the bathroom, and [Bardo's] woman has undressed herself [and] is lying naked in the tub taking the bath. 38. Now she addresses, "[I] know the



Evil one that you've come for my husband, [and I] know what had been between you". 39. Let's do this way: I'll ask you two of my riddles, as you know everything [and] can [do] everything; if you solve them, take me with you too". 40. Well, it's even better for the Evil one. 41. [He] says, "Come on". 42. Then, still in the tub, she gave a fart [literally, *she exhausted winds*]. 43. Now [she] addresses, "Find what I've missed". 44. And the bubbles came. 45. Well, the Evil one falls to thinking, "I won't find [it]". 46. [He] searched that bathroom through, [but] there's nothing [there]. 47. [He] is surprised. 48. What's that, what's happened, you see? 49. And this one gives him one more [riddle]. 50. Now she produces a hair out of her cunt, gives it to him [and says], "Straighten it out with [your] finger, [and] when [you] straighten [it] you'll go for me and my husband". 51. Now he's pulling the hair, but it twists even more, [he] pulls [again], but it twists. 52. And [the Evil one] is still under the bridge straightening it. 53. That Rom lived for a hundred years with his family, with his children.

## 21. "Trin rókes" ("The Three [Ladies'] Dresses")

"*Trin rókes*" ("The Three [Ladies'] Dresses") is a text recorded in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The two informants were Mrs. Nadezhda Semionovna Ohly (Romani name Tseya), born in 1975, and Tatyana Semionovna Dzhumalei, born in 1961. The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 52-53, 80-81.

The story is based on a contamination of two Russian fairy-tale plots: "A Sister falls through" (SUS 313 E\*) and "A Pig Cover" (SUS 510 B). A brother strongly loves his sister and is ready to marry her. But she flies from him and falls through the ground, while dolls give answers to her brother instead of her. After a number of adventures the sister who had fallen through meets a Tsar's son and marries him; she and her brother later come to peace.

The informant's story has some deviations from the Russian version of the plot. The brother leaves [his home] to look for a bride that would be better than his sister. As he fails to find such a girl, he returns home and makes his sister agree to marry him. She only asks him to give her a gift of three dresses: a solar, a lunar, and a blue one for the marriage.

This turns events to another folk-tale plot: "A Pig Cover." In the Russian variant of the plot, a father wants to marry his daughter who asks him to be given three dresses – with stars, moon and sun; then she puts on a pig cover and flies out of her father's home. After that she gets to a palace

and appears three times during a holiday in [her] magic dresses; the Tsar's son falls in love with her and recognizes her by her shoes.

In the informants' story, a sister falls through the ground together with a chest with [her] dresses. There she hides the dresses in an oak-tree, then puts on a pig skin and finds a job at a rich woman's whose son is looking for a bride. She twice appears in a church in her magic dresses. The rich woman's son falls in love with her. When she appears in the church for the third time, the protagonist fails to catch her. When he returns back home, he recognizes her by a galosh that falls from her shoe. The girl's brother dies, and she inherits all his tsardom.

A scene in which a rich woman's son identifies his girl servant as a beauty whom he wanted to hold by her hand in the church (but failed) and reproaches her, "Why are you hiding your face, this beautiful face under this skin, and made yourself a she-Sheitan!" is presented in a very Romani style.

### Trin rókes

Ríta 1. Esí jekh phuró taj jekh phurí. 2. Akaná bešen barvalé, o Del me na del. 3. Áma si lénde duj púja: jekh rakló si, taj jekh čh'aj, jekh čh'avó, jekh čh'aj. 4. Akaná thel merél o phuró, pal léste but na nakhló merél l' e phurí. 5. Ačhiló e phen taj o phral. 6. Áma si l' o duj ġ'ané, kašuké o kaná, asavké šukará manuša si, o phral esí šukár, aj e phen esí maj šukár. 7. Áke, akaná o phral ġ'al, ródel péske ġ'uvl'á te prandózel. 8. Phirél, o Del me na del, kaj tóko ov nana ġ'al. 9. Alají d'un'ás phird'ás.

Tán'a 10. Ģ'al othár te ródel péske ġ'uvl'á. 11. Áma phenél ov e phen'áke: «Me te na arakháva, sar túte, asavk'á šukar'á me kan-aváv taj kan-prandózav opré túte, de man adajá zbóra». 12. Hál'os tu ja na? 13. Taj lel oj, taj del odojá zbóra léške. 14. Tu te na arakhésa túke adalé ġ'uvl'á, asavké ġ'uvl'á, sar mánde, šukar'á, avésa amé lása amén taj bešása. 15. «Aj, so kan-phenén manuša?» – [phuč'él oj]. 16. Ništo na phenéna, ajakhá znáčit aménde kátar Del esí sužd'enó. 17. Ej geló, rodin'ás. 18. Ródel – ródel, ródel – ródel na arakhl'ás, asavké šukaré ġ'uvl'á ov, li na arakhl'ás. 19. Avél ke phen, perél koč'énca, mangél e phen'á. 20. Aj, e phen móžet, kaj phar'ól e laġ'átar, o Del me na del, so kan-phenén o manuša, so si adá ajakhá. 21. Phral phen'ása, émiš, te len pes. 22. Úš'el oj léške: «Šun mánde, me túte kan-ġ'av, no s takím uhovórom, – [phenél]. – Jekh plátija ker mánge khaméskiri, aj jekh plátija ker mánge čh'onutéskiri, aj e jekh plátija kerésa mánge bijavéskiri, holubóji». 23. Lel ov, kerél, láke kinél akasavké rókes o trin, anél del láte. 24. Lel oj, phándel pes andé kómnata. 25. Sivd'ás triné kuklén. 26. Lel, thed'ás odolé kuklén pal ko konás, aj sam, vaj, ur'avél pes,

sánkim, ratí si, adá rat esí, rat. 27. Adá šunél šótos'. 28. O kúkles andár puménde: «Kix-kix, kix-kix», – asán o trin kúkles. 29. Úš'el e jekh kúkla: «Kix-kix, bratvá». 30. Úš'el e jekh: «Brat s'estrú l'úbe». 31. Úš'el e jekh: «Syrá z'eml'á rastúpica, brat s s'estrój razlúčitca». 32. Lel, phinrávd'ol e phu, ġ'al okojá raklí odolé sanduk'ésa andé ke phú, kaj taj so, terdí [si] paš ko sandúki, gelí andé ke phu, phándel angál e phú. 33. Akaná ačh'olás'a oj sovs'ém kakój-to si avré dizáte: kon ġ'anél kaj ačh'olás'a oj. 34. Odá sandúki esí paš láte, áma dikhél: esí baró dúbi, lel odá sandúki, ġ'al, thel les andé ko dúbi. 35. Phinrávd'ol o dúbi. 36. Úš'el oj: «Dub, dub rastvorís', krásna d'évica id'ót». 37. Lel o dúbi phinrávdilo. 38. Ģ'al oj andé, thed'ás andé odolá savút'a. 39. Vot. 40. Lel, níkl'ol andár. 41. Aj dikhél durál: esí gavoró, gavoró. 42. Lel oj, sánkim, avél, ġ'al káring odolé gavéste. 43. Aj so te kerél? 44. Aj e raklí ší šukár, o Del me na del. 45. Kašuk' o kaná. 46. So te kerél? 47. Ģ'al svinopas'éste, kaj si, kaj č'ar'avél e kolén, č'oč'kadén.

Ríta. 48. Makhél po muj sáza. 49. Lel, mangél oj sar: «De man šo-nébut' te vúr'av!» – nangí si, si s'' o mas. 50. Oprál péste alají, vaj čhit'ás, áma si nangí. 51. De man šo-nébut' te vúr'av. 52. Lel, del la č'oč'kaní morthí. 53. Nakhavél la oj opré péste. 54. Avél andé ko gav, vot. 55. Mangél pes gaġ'áte, te kerél xyzméti. 56. Úš'el odojá: «Ej ládno, me tut kan-mukáv, te kerés mánde xyzméti». 57. Sánkim, te kídel, te xal'arél... 58. Akaná, avél o čh'avó láko kheré. 59. Úš'el pe dejáke: «Mí dáj, kátar alí odojá manušní aménde asavkí khandiní, uródlivi, kašuk' o kaná, opré láte č'oč'kaní morthí?» 60. Áke, mó čh'o, avd'és, kaj alí, mangl'ás pes xyzmet'éste, ajadým la, kaj si č'orí raklí, te kerél xyzméti. 61. Kamél te des la, mí daj, šo-nébut' te vúr'el, potomú što, na ušadijel manušendar. 62. Lel oj, del la purané savút'a, ur'avd'ás.

63. Áma ov, phirél, sánkim, ródel te prandózel, te prandózel, áma na arakhél ġ'uvl'á péske te prandózel, aj oj dexl'ás les, sar dikhl'ás les, oj dexl'ás les, but šukár esás rakló odolé gaġ'áko. 64. Úš'en: «Kamél te ġ'as ke khangerí bazar'éskoro d'és, te moliskerás amén». 65. On kážni bazári phirén ke khangerí. 66. Lel, avél o bazári. 67. Ur'avdé pes on pe dejása, o duj ġ'ané. 68. Bešlé, gelé. 69. Lel oj, níkl'ol andár ke bar, prástal odolé dub'éste: «Dub, dub, rastvorís' krásna d'évica id'ót!»

70. Lel, o dúbi phinrávd'ol. 71. Ģ'al oj andé, ur'avél pe savút'a. 72. Ur'avél e khaméskiri plátja. 73. Lel la, ur'avd'ás e khaméskiri plátja. 74. Avél othé dovrús ke khangerí. 75. Del andé ke khangerí, sar dikhl'ás ov la – muló. 76. Kátar alí adajá ġ'uvlí. 77. Kon esí, kátar esí – n'eizv'ésno. 78. Lel oj, moliskerd'ás pes birsahát, čh'el pes andár ke khangerí, ovél kajipi. 79. Avél géneja othé ko dúbi, ur'avél géne o purané savút'a, odolá, savé din'ás la e gaġí.

80. «Hájda, néne, kheré!» – [phenél o č'h'avó]. 81. Avén on kheré. 82. Akaná on tóko zborizen. 83. Vaj, so ġ'uvlí sas, mí daj, kátar oj alí, me mul'óm kaj dikhl'óm. 84. Vaj so šukár manúš esás. 85. Aj oj šunél. 86. Lel akaná oj géneja. 87. Avél géne bazári, sánkim géneja gelé on ke khangerí, lel oj č'h'el pes, ġ'al géne ko dúbi: «Dub, dub, rastvorís' krásna d'évica id'ót», – lel ur'avél e č'h'onutéskiri plátja, avél othé ke khangerí. 88. Alí ke khangerí. 89. Géne – géne. 90. Ov, kaj dikhl'ás la – muló. 91. Akaná, vaj, sánkim, sar me láte te pášav, kon ġ'anél? 92. Lel oj, birsahát moliskerd'ás pes, niklistí andár ke khangerí, gelí. 93. Prastánili prastandós, ur'avd'ás o savút'a, alí kheré. 94. Akaná ov phirél, deníl'ol, vaj andé ko kher, aj oj léške: «Adá mé som, adá mé som». 95. Aj ov: «Mul'óm, užé tu kan-ovés odojá, odojá sar e Devléski patišáinka, tu, kaj al'an andé č'oč'kaní morthí!» 96. Ej ver-só zbóres. 97. Hál'os, tu? 98. Opré láte, opré raklí. 99. Lel akaná, ov geló géne ke khangerí, sánkim, aj ov pridúmal, sánkim, kaj avél oj andé khangerí, me la kan-dáv búrnekh, me ból'se la na kan-mukáv. 100. Hál'os? 101. Aj e raklí šunél, kaj ov phenél ajakhá. 102. Lel oj, ur'avd'ás pes, áma ke túxl'a, opré ke túxl'a oj ur'avélas halóša, sánkim, halóša. 103. Lel, ur'avél akaná oj géne, ur'avél plátja n'eb'ésni t'úsi – holubóji. 104. Lel, ur'avél oj odojá plátja, avél géneja, del andé, aj ov tóko mangl'ás te pášol láte, lel oj, taj č'h'el pes andár ke khangerí, te našél, taj perél kátar ke túxl'a, e halóša peravd'ás. 105. Ávgos halóša ur'avénas opré túxl'a. 106. Ačhiló jekh halóša. Tán'a. 107. Gelí oj kheré, áma si o jekh halóšy láte, aj o jekh halóšy nanáj. 108. Akaná, vaj oj phirél, upravl'ájetca andé ke bar. 109. Xavd'arél e č'oč'kadén, e guruvén, šulavél, kidel, xal'arél. 110. Áma si alají sáza makhlí. 111. Avél ov kheré, phirél andé ke dvóri. 112. O rakló deníl'ol. 113. So te kerél? 114. Dikhél: láte halóšy nanáj, ke služánka. 115. Jekh halóšy si, o jekh halóšy nanáj. 116. Akaná adá ov láte: «Kaj, ále, mer'aiskér aká halóšy, te dikháv». 117. Lel oj, č'h'el andé p' o pinré, andé ke halóšy. 118. Kána adá: «Tak, adá tu sánas ke khangerí?!» 119. «Aj tu, – phenl'ás, – to muj garavés, odá šukár muj tal odolé morč'áte, taj li kerd'ás (it must be: kerd'an) tut šejtánisa».

120. Taj lel ov, taj xal'ard'arél la, taj nan'arél la, taj ur'avd'ás e raklí alají, te ġ'al te lel po sandúki, taj avél angál léšte odová man'éri. 121. Taj lel, taj prandózel ov opré láte. 122. Láko phral, aj, e kasavet'éstar ov muló, nanáj ov. 123. Ačhiló adá mangín, adá cárstva alají láte.

### The Three [ladies'] Dresses

Rita. 1. There is an old man and an old woman. 2. Now [they] are living in prosperity [so that even] God can't give [them] more. 3. And they have two children, a son and a daughter, a son and a daughter. 4. Now the

old man dies; not so much time passed, and the old woman dies as well. 5. The sister and the brother are left. 6. Those two are – dead are my ears – very beautiful: the brother is beautiful, and the sister even more beautiful. 7. Now the brother leaves to find a woman to marry [her]. 8. God doesn't make us walk where he goes. 9. [He] passed the whole world through.

Tania. 10. He comes from there to look for a woman. 11. And he says to [his] sister, "If I fail to find such beautiful one like you, I'll go back and marry you; give me such word." 12. [Do you] understand that, or not? 13. And she gives him such word. 14. If you don't find such a woman as beautiful as I am, [you'll] be back and we will live [as husband and wife]." 15. "Oh what would people say?" [She asks]. 16. [They] will say nothing; it's the God's destiny for us. 17. Well, he left and searched. 18. [He] is looking and looking, looking and looking, [but] didn't find such beautiful woman, didn't find. 19. [He] comes [back] to [his] sister; falls on his knees [and] asks [his] sister. 20. But the sister is almost torn apart [by the fear] for what people may say. 21. The brother and sister as if started (to be spouses). 22. She addresses him, "Listen from me, I'll go to you, but under one condition. Make [me] one solar cloth [of the sun's colour], and one lunar cloth [of the moon's colour], and [you'll] make one [more] cloth for wedding; [it must be] blue." 23. He fulfils [her wish]: [he] buys three such clothes [literally, *skirts*] to her [and] brings [them] to her. 24. She locks herself in a room. 25. [She] sewed three dolls. 26. She takes one doll and puts it at the table; [after that] she puts on her clothes, for it was at night, you see. 27. This one [the brother] hears something. 28. The dolls between themselves, "Kikh-kikh, kikh-kikh" – the three dolls laugh. 29. One doll says, "Kikh-kikh, fellows". 30. One [doll] says, "The brother loves [his] sister." 31. One [more doll] says, "The wet soil will open; the brother and sister will be parted." 32. The earth opens; that girl goes with that chest into the earth; she went into the earth; the earth closes in front of her. 33. Now she is left alone in another town; who knows where [did she] stayed in the street. 34. She goes and puts that chest into an oak-tree. 35. The oak-tree opens. 36. She addresses, "Open up, you oak-tree, a pretty girl is coming." 37. The oak-tree opened broadly. 38. She enters inside; [she] put those clothes into [it]. 39. So. 40. [She] gets out from inside. 41. And [she] sees from far away: there's a small village, a small village. 42. She takes and leaves toward that small village. 43. And what's to be done? 44. And the girl [is] beautiful, God may give no more. 45. Deaf [are my] hears. 46. What's to be done? 47. [She] goes to a pig herder, [to] the one that looks for those pigs.

Rita. 48. [She] smears her face with dirt. 49. She asks, "Give me something to put on," [as she is] naked. 50. [She] threw everything from

herself; you see: she's naked. 51. Give me something to put on. 52. [He] takes a pig skin and gives [it] to her. 53. She puts it on. 54. [She] goes to the village, well. 55. [She] asks for a job at a woman's. 56. That one addresses, "Well, I let you in to work for me." 57. Well, to clean, to wash. 58. Now her son returns home. 59. [He] addresses his mother, "Mother, where did that woman come here from? [She is] so ill-smelling, so ugly; deaf [are my] ears, she has a pig skin on her." 60. Well my son, [she] came today [and] asked for a job; I felt pity for her poverty; let her work. 61. Oh my mother we should give her something to put on, because it's shameful from the people. 62. She takes [some] old clothes and gives them to her; [she] put them on.

63. And he's looking around to find a woman to marry, to marry; the boy was very beautiful. 64. [He] addresses, "We must go to church on Sunday [literally, *on a market-day*] for a prayer." 65. They went to church every Sunday. 66. Sunday comes. 67. [He] and his mother put on [their Sunday clothes] as two human beings. 68. [They] left [to church]. 69. She takes and runs to that oak-tree, "Open up, you oak-tree, a pretty girl is coming."

70. The oak tree opens. 71. She goes inside [it and] puts her clothes on. 72. [She] puts on the solar clothes. 73. [She] takes it [and] puts the solar clothes on. 74. [She] goes right there to the church. 75. [She] enters the church; as he saw her [he almost] died. 76. Where did that woman come [from]? 77. Who's she [and] where [she is] from [is] unknown. 78. She quickly prayed, [then] rushes out of the church [and] disappears. 79. [She] goes to the oak-tree again [and] again puts on the old clothes that the woman has given her.

80. "[Let us] Go home, mother", [the son says]. 81. Now they arrive to [their] home. 82. Now they are only talking. 83. What a woman was there, oh mother, where did she come from? I died as I saw [her]. 84. What a beautiful person [she] was, you see. 85. And you see she hears [what the boy says]. 86. She now begins again. 87. One more Sunday comes; he leads [his mother] to church again; she takes rushes; [she] goes to the oak-tree [and says] "Open up you oak-tree, a pretty girl is coming" – [she] takes the lunar clothes, puts them on and goes there to the church. 88. [She] came to the church. 89. Again – again. 90. As he saw her, [he] died. 91. How should I approach her, who knows? 92. She prayed quickly, left the church, [and] went away. 93. [She] ran, put on [her old] dress [and] went [back] home. 94. Now he walks around the house getting mad, and she [tells] him, "It [was] me, it [was] me." 95. And he [says], "Oh God [literally, *I've died*], how could you be that one? She was the tsaritsa of God [and] you came in a pig skin!" 96. Well, all sorts of words. 97. Do you

understand? 98. To her, to the girl. 99. He went to the church again; you know he made a plan: as she comes to the church again, I'll catch her, [and] I never let her go. 100. Do you understand? 101. And the girl hears that he says [all] that. 102. She dresses herself; and [she] puts a galosh over her shoes. 103. Now she puts on the clothes of the sky-colour, the blue one. 104. She puts that clothes on [and] goes into [the church]; but just as he wanted to approach her, she rushes away from the church to escape; and a [galosh] falls from [her] shoes, [she] dropped a galosh. 105. They used to put galoshes over shoes in the past. 106. [Only] one galosh was left.

Tania. 107. She went home; and there's [only] one galosh on her; and one galosh is lacking. 108. Now she's moving around doing [her] job in the yard. 109. [She] feeds pigs [and] oxen; [she] sweeps, cleans, [and] washes. 110. And [she is] all smeared with soot. 111. He comes home, [and] walks round the yard. 112. The guy is getting mad. 113. What's to be done? 114. [He] looks [and notices]; she lacks a galosh, a servant girl. 115. One galosh is here, [but] another [one] is not. 116. Now that one [says] her, "Now try this galosh for me to see." 117. She takes inserts her feet into the galoshes. 118. When that [one says], "So it was you there in the church?" 119. "And you hide your face, this beautiful face under this skin, and made yourself a *she-sheitan*."

120. And he takes and makes her wash herself; he cleans her; [he] made her tell about everything, [made her] go and take the chest; and [she] passes before him this way. 121. And [he] takes and marries her. 122. Her brother, oh, [he] died of sorrow; he's no more [alive]. 123. That wealth, this kingdom was all left for her.

## 22. "Kalí ģ'uvlf" ("The Woman in Black")

"*Kalí ģ'uvlf*" ("The Woman in Black") is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The informant was Mrs. Nadezhda Semionovna Ohly (Romani name Tseya), born in 1975. The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 53-54, 81-82.

In order to make the story more dramatic, the informant three times tells that small children and also their mother and things around them were smeared with blood. In ordinary Romani life any bleeding in a family member – be it a nasal bleeding or that from a wound or a cut – brings everyone into panic fear. Women begin shouting and crying, they tear their hair. That is why those three scenes in the tale (phrases № 73-75, 89-92, and 108-112) where blood is mentioned strongly impress the nerves and imagination of Roma listeners. Perhaps anything connected with human

blood is a sort of taboo for Crimean Roma; that let scholars explain the fact that no doctors can be found among Roma. Not rare in Romani folklore is also a topic of kidnapping, that is explained to people around as if the mother ate her small children; such topic may be found in this story.

### Kalí ģ'uvlí

Céja. 1. Taj si jekh phuró taj jekh phurí, taj nanáj lénde púja, be voopš'é. 2. Taj on geré an veš kaštá te kíden. 3. Ková. 4. Kíden o kaštá, o kaštá. 5. Šunél e phurí – o pújos rovél, aj kaj – n'eizv'ésno. 6. Ğ'al akajakhá pal ko baró lopuxís dikhél: pújos esi, ej obyknov'eno pújos esi an p'el'ónkes thedó akajakhá, rovél. 7. Taj lel e phurí odolé pujós. 8. Aj vulí ko phuró taj phenél: «Dévla, phuréja, dikh so arakhl'óm andé ko veš». 9. Lel o phuró: «Č'ál'ti háde kheré». 10. Len, bešén géne andé vúrdon. 11. Hájda! 12. Alé kheré. 13. Avél okojá rakl'orí na bar'ól akajakhá, sar obyč'no, amí po minútam, po č'asám, po minútam, po č'asám. 14. Taj barilí, barí raklí vulí. 15. Dikhél e phurí taj o phuró: šos' o del kaliló birdén. 16. Na hálile ništo. 17. Dikhén: mukél pes kar'éta kalí, o grastá kalé, taj dikhén andé kar'éta, kaj esi bešlí kalí ģ'uvlí, alají andé kaló. 18. Mukl'ás pes lénde. 19. Úš'el lénge okotár oj: «Adajá rakl'orí, sánkim, adajá č'hajorí esi minrí, hál'os tu?» 20. Tak o Del sózda, vópš'em, sar pherd'ól láke šesnátcat' l'et, me kan-aváv taj kan-láv la, adalé rakl'or'á. 21. Hál'os tu? 22. Taj lel, taj gelí. 23. Len o phuró, e phurí roven, na mangén te den. 24. Vaj bar'arén la, vaj pújos esi. 25. Lel taj pherdiló láke šesnátcat' l'et, odolé rakl'or'áte. 26. Lel oj mukél pes géneja. 27. Kaliló o del. 28. Mukél pes géneja, lel e rakl'or'á, thed'ás andé kar'éta, gel'd'ás la. 29. Anél andé asavké kheréste, sar, be, dvorcás esi. 30. N'e to dvorcás esi, n'e to ... taj si akajakhá, kaj des aká vudár taj si kalidóri. 31. Dévla, ģ'as taj ģ'as, koncá – krája n'emá, taj si akajakhá o vudará podr'át. 32. Oj la sikavél [taj phenél]: «Akajá ti kómnata kan-ovél, akajá, kaj saví mangés, andé so komnatáte mangés de, l'ubojáte ģ'a, versó si». 33. Taj sikavél láke jekh kómnata. 34. Andé akalé komnatáte, te na des voopš'é, dáže o vudár te na phinravés. 35. Úš'el odojá, e rakl'orí: «Ej, ládno, me nanáj te ģ'av othé, ahá». 36. Akaná oj phirél, e rakl'orí, dikhél o kómnates, ková. 37. Nakhél d'es, nakhél duj, trin. 38. Taj sál't'a, be, nakhél pašál odolé komnatáte, taj dumaiskerél: «Što takóje, sóske oj mánge phen'ás, te na aváv andé odolé komnatáte». 39. Taj r'ešýlas', be, te del andé komnatáte, taj phinrável o vudár. 40. Sar dikhl'ás, taj pharí duj. 41. Ov esi? 42. O gróbos ko maškár ko kher, ej, ko maškár ko záli. 43. Ej, odolé komnatáte si thedó taj si oj sutí. 44. Nanáj gerí [te] phándel birsahát o vudár taj [te] ovél kajípi. 45. Našlí. 46. Tóko din'ás gerí andé ko kher taj si bešlí. 47. Avél oj, odojá dáma taj lil'ás te phuč'él la. 48. Tu esánas, odolé



vudaréste, tu phinravd'án o vudár, tu dikhl'án? 49. Oj phenél: «Na!» 50. Géne láke, phuč'él: «Tu dikhl'án, sánkim, tu phinravd'án o vudár, tu dikhl'án man andé?» 51. [Oj phenél]: «Na, na taj na». 52. Lel ger'áki čhib, čh'el la avrí, andé ko veš. 53. Taj si gerí paš ko dúbí bešlí, kaj rové. 54. E čhib lil'ás látar taj vulí sar n'emóji. 55. Naší zborízel. 56. Taj čh'el ger'á ko maškár ko veš paš ko dúbí, taj si gerí kaj rové. 57. Ğ'al opré gras ková, be, ej o rakló. 58. Dikhél: raklí si bešlí, kaj rové. 59. Pášol láte, úš'el ov láke: «Aj sóske tu san korkorí andé ko veš, taj li rovés korkorí andé veš?» 60. Aj, ój-to, vaj naší zborízel, naší phukavél, vot. 61. Lel la, thel opré gras, gel'd'ás. 62. Aj si akajá rakl'orí – patišáinka, o Del me na del, krasávica. 63. Anél la kheré. 64. Okoring akaríng, prandosáilo opré láte. 65. And'ás léske pujós. 66. Akaná pašlilé alají te sovén, avél oj láte. 67. Alí oj láte géneja, phuč'él géneja: «Tu, mo vudár phinravd'án, tu mo gróbos dikhl'án, tu man dikhl'án?» 68. Oj phenél: «Na!» 69. Géne jékhvar: «Tu mo vudár phinravd'án, tu mo gróbos dikhl'án, tu mo gróbos dikhl'án?» 70. Oj phenél: «Na». 71. Phuč'l'ásas tríval akajakhá: «Tu mo vudár dikhl'án, tu mo gróbos dikhl'án?» 72. «Na», – [phenél e raklí]. 73. Lel e pujós othár, makhél láko muj rat, gelí. 74. Esí gerí bešlí, kaj rové, o Del me na del. 75. Áke ušinó o rom láko taj phuč'él, sar dikhl'ás o rat, čh'el pes ko pújos, nanáj o pújos. 76. Oj, fájma, amaré pujós xal'ás? 77. Lel, marél la, mard'ás la, vopš'é. 78. Ej níšto, prostíli vród'e láke okothár. 79. Dečí géne jékhvar jekhé pujós and'ás, taj si tiknoró tóže. 80. Lel oj. 81. Géne alí. 82. Li vtorojé pujós ajakhá že lil'ás. 83. Akaná so? 84. [O rakló dumaiskerél]: «Xal'ás e pujós géne jekhés, vtorojés xal'ás». 85. Vs'ó. 86. Phukavél adalá te nakazyvaiskerás. 87. Geldé ger'á andé baró veš.

Ríta. 88. Lil'ás e vtorojé pujós. 89. Gelí, makh'l'ás la ratá. 90. Géneja gelí. 91. Avél o gağ'ó láko kheré kátar oxóta. 92. Dikhél oj esí andé ratá. 93. Aj e služánka lákiri [phenél]: «Áke, oj xal'ás e pujén, la kamél mudardó, la kamél ková». 94. Aj o rakló dexélas la, o Del me na del. 95. Patišáji [sas] taj na mangélas láke d'un'ás. 96. Lel ov géne jékhvar prostíl. 97. Nakhló góda trí, č'etýr'e, možet l' o but – kon ĝ'anél. 98. Othé ačhilí oj géne nasvalí. 99. Arákhilile láte géne púja, tóko užé o duj arákhilile – ogíz'a. 100. Lel akaná o rakló... 101. Aj užé na geló nikháj na oxótu, amí ačhiló, kána arákhilile o púja, ov ačhiló kheré. 102. Lel teminisáilo, vuló géneja témina, sovl'ard'ás alajé slug'én taj služankén, vópš'em, kon esás andé ko patišajlýki othé, alajén sovl'ard'ás. 103. Li les sovl'ard'ás, aj oj ačhilí jekh ĝ'aní andé kómnata e pujénca korkorí. 104. Avél láte géne. 105. Úš'el oj láke: «Tu phinravd'án odojá kómnata, tu dikhl'án kon esás andé?» 106. Úš'el oj: «Na, na dikhl'óm». 107. [Oj, kána avél láte, oj zborízel lása, aj kána lélas te ĝ'al látar, oj kerélas la nemojá, te na zborízel.] 108. Lel e do pujén, makhél alají andár kómnata ratá, makhél alají odojá krováti ratá, la –

ratá, užé s nox do holový, pólnostju kerd'ás e kómnata andár alají ratá, o muj ratá, andár ko muj, vród'e, o ratá ġ'an. 109. Ke pujénge p'el'ónkes tóže alají ratá. 110. Ahá, akaná oj gelí, niklistí, gelí. 111. Ġ'angávd'on alají, čh'en pes othé láte. 112. Dikhén, oj esí géne andé ko ratá o st'énkes alají ratá, o púja nanáj, vs'o. 113. Muló o patišáji, taj lel ov [phenél]: «Va, d'ejstvít'el'no oj xal amaré pujén, oj si ġ'adýisa, d'ejstvítel'no xal oj e pujén». 114. Akaná raklí gerí rovél, havulízel, čhingerél pe balá. 115. Vaj! 116. So bot'eni. 117. Vaj! 118. Ništo naši phukavél. 119. Taj lel taj gelél la, te tharén. 120. Din'ás prikázi o patišáji, o gaġ'ó láko, o rom, te tharén la. 121. Thedé bari jag ko maškár ke pol'ána – stólbi. 122. Taj phánden la opré odolé stolb'éste. 123. Aj nakhló móžet m'és'aca dva, tri, andé t'úr'ma sas oj čhití an odolé t'emnicáte, hál'os tu. 124. Akaná, kána andé la ke pol'ána, te tharén la, užé thedé la ko stolbás. 125. Agurál láte o kaštá, te tharén la, aj oj esí, kaj rovél gerí, taj dikhél akajakhá opré si phanlí. 126. Taj dikhél káring opré, vs'o. 127. Teminisáilo birdén, muklé pes kalé bulúk'a. 128. Áke taj la, kaj avél oj e kar'etása. 129. Odojá e č'órnaža dáma alí, rat, alají te na dikhén. 130. Mukél pes, aj andé si o púja. 131. Hál'os tu? 132. Andé odolé kar'etáte. 133. Oká si sar baró, oká si sar tiknó, aj okolá o duj sar tikné, vaj. 134. Kolá si. 135. Taj ur'avdév si, o Del me na del. 136. [Aj áke, odovkhá... bristerd'óm, so phenl'ás oj]. 137. Géneja, v posl'édnij ras phuč'áv me tútar. 138. Avél oj láte géne, aj alají, povíd'e, vs'o... 139. Sar suté si. 140. V posl'édnij ras me tútar phuč'áv, áke, tut užé kan-tharén, jag kan-dén, te tharén tut. 141. V posl'édnij ras me phuč'áv: «Tu dikhl'án andé odolé komnatáte so si, ja na?» 142. Aj oj, va, rovél, bl'eízal, úš'el: «Na, na!...» 143. Lel oj, del láki čhib, del e pujén. 144. Ále te pujén. 145. Molod'éc, kaj, kaj tu phenl'án: «Na». 146. Tu te phenésas: «Va, me kan-ovávas te thanéste, aj tu me thanéste kan-ovésas». 147. Taj del e puji alají (it must be: pujén alajén), taj gelí, taj akalá ġ'angávdile taj dikhén, kaj si o púja paš láte, kaj rovén o púja, taj si phanlí. 148. Vot i skásk'e kon'éc.

### The Woman in Black

Tseyá. 1. And there is an old man and an old woman, and they have no children at all. 2. And these poor creatures gather wood in a forest. 3. This. 4. [They] gather firewood, firewood. 5. [Once] The old man hears a baby crying, and where it cries [is] unknown. 6. [He] goes like this over a large burdock, [and] sees a baby; an ordinary baby in swaddling clothes laid this way. 7. The old woman cries and takes that baby. 8. The old man did it and says, "Oh God! Look you old man what I have found in the forest." 9. The old man says, "Let us go home quickly." 10. [They] sit into [their] cart again. 11. Go! 12. [They] arrive home. 13. Now that [baby] girl doesn't

grow like this, in a usual way, but [she rather grows] with every minute, with every hour. 14. And [she] grew up, [she] became an adult girl. 15. The old woman and the old man [once] look [around] and see the sky turning dark quickly. 16. [They] didn't understand anything. 17. [They] see a black carriage descending [from the sky], [its] horses [are] black; and [they] see in a carriage that a black woman is sitting, [dressed] in all black. 18. [She] descended toward them. 19. She addresses them from there, "This girl is mine, you see, this girl is mine, do you understand?" 20. God created [her] this way: in short, as she becomes sixteen, I'll arrive and take her, that girl. 21. [Do] you understand? 22. And [she] drove away. 23. The old man [and] woman start crying, [they] don't want to give [the girl]. 24. You see: they are bringing her up; you see: [she's] their child. 25. The time came for that girl to become sixteen. 26. She starts to descend again. 27. The sky turned dark. 28. [She] descends once again, takes the girl, places her in the carriage; [she] drove her away. 29. [She] brings her to such a house [that it looks rather] like a palace. 30. [...] and as one enters it, [there is] a door and a corridor. 31. Oh God: one goes and goes, [and] there's no end [to the house]; [there are] only doors in a row. 32. She shows her [around]: this room will be yours; enter any room you like; there are different [rooms here]. 33. And [she] shows her one room. 34. Not to enter this room anyway, not even to open [its] door. 35. That girl addresses, "Good, I won't enter [this room], very well." 36. [It's] necessary; she that girl walks [around], [she] inspects rooms. 37. A day passes, [then] two days, [and] three. 38. And she always walks near that room and thinks, "What's that? Why did she tell me not to enter that room?" 39. [Finally she] decided to enter the room and [she] opens the door. 40. As [she] saw and [she] got very frightened [literally, *she burst into two*]. 41. And what [did she see there]. 42. A coffin stands at the centre of the room, well, in the hall's centre. 43. Well, [the coffin] is placed in that room, and she is sleeping. 44. The poor creature failed to close the door in a moment and disappeared. 45. [She] ran away. 46-47. Just as the poor one entered the house and sat down, she (that lady) enters and began questioning her. 48. Did you... in this door... did you open the door? Did you look [inside the room]? 49. She says, "No". 50. [She] asks her again, "Did you look [inside]? Did you open the door? Have you seen me?" 51. [She says], "No." 52. [She] takes the poor [girl's] tongue [and] throws it away into a forest. 53. And the poor one sits near an oak-tree crying. 54. [She] took the tongue from her, and became like dumb. 55. [She] cannot talk. 56. And [she] throws the poor one in the middle of the forest near an oak-tree, and the poor one is crying. 57. A guy rides on a horseback. 58. [He] sees a girl sits crying. 59. [He] approaches her [and] he addresses her, "And why are you alone in the forest?" – and [she] is crying alone in

the forest. 60. And she cannot speak, cannot tell, yes. 61. [He] takes her, seats her on [his] horse, [and] drove away. 62. And that girl [is] a tsarevna: God can't give more beauty. 63. [He] takes her to [his] home. 64. Here- there, [he] married her. 65. [She] delivered a child for him. 66. Now [she] approached her [when] everybody fell asleep; she comes to her. 67. She came to her once again, and again asks, "Did you open my door? Did you see my coffin? Did you see me?" 68. She says, "No!" 69. One more time, "Did you open my door? Did you see my coffin? Did you see my coffin?" 70. She says, "No!" 71. Once [she?] sits, [and she asks] for three times like this, "Did you see my door? Did you see my coffin?" 72. "No", [says the girl]. 73. [She] takes the child from there [then] smears her face with blood, [and] went away. 74. And the poor one sits crying God can't give more. 75. And [her husband] saw that [there was] blood; and [he] asks, [he] rushes toward the child, [but] there's no child. 76. She might have eaten that child. 77. [The husband] took beating her; he beats her up [severely]. 78. Well, it's nothing; [it] seems they pardoned her for that [literally, *from there*]. 79. Then once she delivered another single child, and [the child] is small. 80. She takes him too. 81. [She] came again. 82. [She] took the second child too. 83. So what's next? 84. [The guy thinks], "[She] ate the child, one more [child]; [she] ate the second [child]." 85. That's all. 86. [I] must punish that one. 87. The poor one was taken to a large forest.

Rita. 88. [She] took the second child. 89. [She] left [the place] after smearing her with blood. 90. [She] left again. 91. Her husband returns home. 92. [He] sees her in blood. 93. And her girl servant [says], "Here, she ate children, she must be killed, she must be that [=dealt with]." 94. And the guy loved her God can't give more. 95. [He] was the tsar and [he] didn't want the world for her. 96. He pardoned her one more time. 97. Three of four years passed, maybe more – who knows? 98. [She was pregnant]. 99. [She gave birth to twins]. 100. Now the boy starts.... 101. Now [he] didn't leave for hunting; [he] stayed at home when the children were found [=we born]. 102. It became dark; darkness occurred again; she made all servants asleep; in general, everyone who was in the tsardom, she made them all sleeping. 103. And [she] made him sleeping too, and she stayed in a room with children on her own. 104. [She] approaches her again. 105. She addresses her, "Did you open that room? Did you see who was there?" 106. She addresses, "No, I didn't see." 107. [When she visited her she talked to her]. 108. [She] takes both children, smears the whole room inside with blood, smears all that bed with blood, her with blood, from feet to her head, she did the room completely; blood inside, the face [is in] blood, the mouth seems bleeding. 109. On the infants' sheets [there's] blood [literally, *they are all in bloods*]. 110. Well, now she went away, [she] left. 111.

Everybody woke up [and] rushed there to her. 112. [They] see she is in bloods again [and] there are no children; that's all. 113. The tsar died [=the father of the children was deeply shocked]; and he says, "Oh yes, she's really eaten our children; she [is] a witch; she really eats children." 114. Now the poor girl is weeping, moaning, [and] tearing her own hair. 115. You know. 116. That [it is] pointless. 117. You know. 118. [She] can tell nothing. 119. [He] takes her and drives [her] away to be burnt. 120. The tsar, her husband, ordered her to be burnt. 121. [They] put a large fire [= a heap of fire-wood], a pole in the centre of a field. 122. And [they] tie her to that pole. 123. Well, two or three months passed; she was kept in prison, in that dungeon, [do] you understand. 124. Now when she was taken to the field to be burnt [there], they already placed her to the pole. 125. [There are] branches around her to burn her, and she is crying a poor one and looks [around] like this, tied at the top. 126. And [she] looks upstairs, that's all. 127. It turned dark quickly, black clouds descended. 128. Here she is the one that comes with a carriage. 129. That black lady came, night, for no one to see. 130. [The carriage] descends, and there are children inside. 131. Do you understand? 132. In that carriage. 133. That [one] is older, that [one] is younger, and those two [yet] younger, you see. 134. That. 135. And [they are] dressed well, as God can't give. 136. And that one, [I?] forgot what she said. 137. Again I ask you for the last time. 138. She arrives again, and that's obviously all. 139. As if [everybody is] sleeping. 140. I ask you for the last time; you are to be burnt; they will light the fire to burn you. 141. I ask [you] for the last time, "Did you look at what was in that room, or not?" 142. And yes, she's crying [and] weeping, [she says] "No, no!" 143. She [the Lady] takes [and] gives [back to the girl] her tongue [and] her children. 144. Here are children for you. 145. You are a clever one to answer "No". 146. If you have said "Yes, I would be in your place, and you would be in mine." 147. And [she] returns all children, and left away; and those [people] woke up and see children around her crying and [she is] tied. 148. This is the end of the fairy-tale.

### 23. "Trin phralá" ("The Three Brothers")

"*Trin phralá*" ("The Three Brothers") is a text recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The informant was Mrs. Nadezhda Semionovna Ohly (Romani name Tseya), born in 1975. The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 54-57, 82-85.

The beginning of the story repeats in a slightly modified way the topic of *Čh'avó taj patišáj* (A Guy and a Tsar). The basis of the informant's

story is a plot of a Russian fairy-tale *About a Blind Man and a Legless Man* (SUS 519) that in the Russian variant may be retold in this way: a servant helps a Tsar's son to get married, but when a mighty wife learns of the servant's fraud, she has his legs cut. The legless man finds a blind one; they help each other; a sorceress heals them; they rescue the tsar's son and tame his wife.

In the informant's story this plot is significantly altered: the cutting of legs is arranged by a young tsar's son, who had arrived to court the tsar's daughter but found himself to be late and who now wants to take revenge on his rival.

The tsar gives the Legless man the self-running top boots; the guy still leaves grief-stricken. In a forest he meets a Scratching Man and a Blind Man who turn out to be his brothers. They find a witch in the forest and make her heal them; then they kill the witch for her tricks.

Into this principal plot of the tale a story is plaited of a miraculous birth of a Legless brother after his old mother ate an apple; this story begins the fairy-tale. It is ended by a scene of the Tsar's strong daughter being tamed; the informant presents it similarly to a scene of taming a shrewish Romani wife.

### **Trin phralá**

1. Esí jekh phuró taj jekh phurí, aj lénde púja nanáj. 2. Aj o phuró phirél andé veš kašténgé. 3. Anél kaštá, ej odolésa li bešén. 4. Kerél xyzmėti o phuró. 5. Phurí šó-to vródi tavél, pekél. 6. So si odá li xan, áma gerénde púja nanáj, níšto nanáj. 7. Užé phuré manušá si. 8. Ej, taj geló jékhvar o phuró andé ko veš kašténgé. 9. Aj, úš'el akatár: «Dévla, Dévla, dáže pújos nanáj man, jekh pújos, šop te, sánkim, te díkhél man opré phurimáste». 10. Akaná kátar aló, na aló, áke tav, angál léste phuró manúš. 11. Úš'el léske: «So tu kerés?» 12. Úš'el [o phuró]: «Kaštá čhingeráv». 13. Aj túte nanáj níšto so te xas? 14. Úš'el ov: «Dévla, esí mánde, phuréja, esí, áke, manró taj páni». 15. Éla, bešás taj te xas. 16. Lel taj del les o phuró, odolé phuré manušés o manró, páni din'ás les, akaná xal'ás. 17. Úš'el léske: «Ále akajkhá phabáj, gel te phur'áte taj de, taj me xal, tuménde kan-bijánd'ol pújos». 18. Kan-ovél tuménde rakloró. 19. Lel akaná odojá phabáj o phuró, geló kheré, del la ke phurí. 20. Lel e phurí xal'ás, mul'óm, ačhilí phurí nasvalí. 21. Kátar ov vuló, kon ġ'anl'ás. 22. Arákh'l'ol ke phurí pújos – čh'avoró. 23. Akaná odá pújos bar'ól po minútam, po č'asám, áma mamúj lénde si, kaj bešél patišájji, taj phirél andé škóla patišájěskoro rakloró, aj ov tóže din'ás pe čh'avorés andé škóla, taj phirél l' odová. 24. Áma odá pújos sar del búrnekh pujénca, kaj khelél, sar del búrnekh mus'átar – e musí andé

vas ačh'ól, del búrnekh č'angátar – e č'ang ačh'ól andé ko vas. 25. So te kerén, so te na kerén, o patišáji denílilo. 26. Lel o phuró (it must be: patišáji) del ikos les, e phurés o patišáji. 27. Din'ás les ikos péste.

28. Úš'el léske: «To pújos kal'ečiskerél amaré pujén, kerél len invalid'én, so mangés, odá li ker les, ker les kajípi, kaj te na ġ'al». 29. Aj, o phuró geró rovél, rovél pal léste – o Del me na del, l' e phurí, l' o phuró. 30. Len, thed'arén les, te ġ'al andé baré – baré vešeste, káte si duj bújvol'a. 31. Odolá duj bújvol'a manušés pharavén maškarál. 32. Vot. 33. Aj pašé odolé dujé bujvol'ende nádur esí sap. 34. Kána del e šol, o phivlé manušá, o ġ'uvl'á, phar'ón maškarál. 35. Kon deníl'ol, kon bar ovél pe thanéste. 36. Mul'óm! 37. Lel akaná ov geló andé odolé vešeste. 38. Aló, dikhél: duj guruvá si. 39. Mukén pes mamúj léste. 40. Lel ov del len búrnekh, thel len andé ko vúrdon, odolé baré guruvén. 41. Lel akaná, mukél pes káring léste odá sap, aj ov kidel o kaštá. 42. Kaštá kidel. 43. Vród'e o dad thed'ard'ás les te kidel o kaštá, te anél kheré, aj ov bičh'ald'ás les te mudárd'ol. 44. Vaj othé. 45. Lel, kidin'ás o kaštá, l' okotár odá sap, lel o sap, odolé sapés, del les búrnekh, phándel oprál odojá skírda e kašténca. 46. Bešél andé odolé vurdáste, opré odolé guruvénde i pojéxal. 47. Avél andé ko gav, aj on, kána xurmutíjen, odolá guruvá, až e phu izrál pal lénde. 48. Odá sap, kána del e šol, o manušá kašukízen, kon našél, kon deníl'ol, kon phar'ól maškarál. 49. O patišáji, sar šunl'ás, sar dikhl'ás, del íkos e phurés péste, [phenél]: «Býstro te kerél kajípi odolé alajén». 50. Lel, kerél geró kajípi, geld'ás len géne palé, andé ko veš mukl'ás. 51. Lel akaná ov úš'el: «Thed'ár les, me fúl'el andé xaníng, taj amé opré léste kan-čh'ás mašynénca bará». 52. Naší mudarés les, hál'os tu. 53. Thed'arél les te fúl'el andé ke xaníng, andé zabróšeni. 54. Len čh'orén opré léste o bará, aj on, so čh'orén opré léste o bará, aj ov e barénca jekh níkl'ol. 55. So čh'orén opré léste o bará, aj ov e barénca jekh níkl'ol. 56. Do tóho, do tóho, kaj níklístó tap opré. 57. Úš'el o patišáji: «So mangés odá li ker léske, me te na dikháv les andé amaré gavéste!» – e phuréske. 58. Lel akaná geró phuró rovél: «Vaj mó čh'o! So me te keráv?» 59. O patišáji tut na mangél te dikhél andé ko gav. 60. E daj gerí rovél, péske bleizel, l' o j rovél, l' o phuró rovél. 61. Lel ov, so te kerél. 62. Ras kamél te ġ'al, znáčit me kan-ġ'av. 63. Kan-ġ'av te ródav mi bax, káte so si, móžet šó-to arakháva. 64. Lel akaná ov geló. 65. Ĝ'al, geló taj geló dromésa andár ko vešá, andár ko dr'emúč'a odolá rázn'a ková. 66. Avél, dikhél: opré terék'i si bešli ġ'adyisa. 67. Del la búrnekh e ġ'adyisá. 68. Odojá lil'ás te del béber'a: «Aj dáde, kon esán tu asavkó, so si za zor túte, muk man!» 69. [O raktó phenél]: «Mángo kamél m'éči!» 70. Úš'el o j léske: «So m'éči me tut te dav?» 71. [Ov phenél]: «Mángo kamél m'éči, kaj mangés othé li le!» 72. Lel oj, thed'arél les, te ġ'al asavké, asavké thanéste, te vázdel, baró bar kan-ovél, taj tal odolé baréste si odová m'éči. 73. Áma odová m'éči si, o Del me na del. 74. Kána

kerés akajakhá jekhé vastésa taj alají peravés, so si, so nanáj angál túte. 75. Ej, geló akaná ov. 76. Mukl'ás la, geló. 77. Ğ'al e dromésa, dromésa. 78. Geló taj geló. 79. Dikhél baró – baró teréki si. 80. Áma paš odolé terek'éste dikhél, esí baró bar. 81. Ğ'al, vázdel odá baró bar, dikhél odá m'éči. 82. Lil'ás les taj geló. 83. Avél kakój-tos' xotráste. 84. Áma si: patišáji bešél taj si léste šukár – šukár č'h'aj, aj ov dexl'ás la. 85. Sánkim, mangél te phenél e patišajéske ov, aj o patišáji kak ras odá mam'énti kerél sastizánija m'éždu ko bahatýr'a, sánkim. 86. Kon výigrajēt, odoléske kan-dél pe č'h'ejá. 87. Taj avénas opré lénde, baró otr'ádi, odolá kolá, kaj marén pes kamađenca manušá, va, avré carstv'éstar, kakój-tos' avré thanéstar. 88. Ej, vópš'em marén pes, marén pes, marén pes, marén pes. 89. Lel avél ov okotár, dikhél, kaj marén pes, mukl'ás pes andé odoléste, čhingerd'ás alajén. 90. O patišáji, kaj dikhl'ás, denílo, vaj. 91. Del les íkos péste. 92. Úš'el: «Kátar tu esán, so thanéstar tu esán?» 93. Úš'el ov: «Me akasavké-akasavké thanéste me bešavas, no man andár kuvdyrál». 94. On trašán me zorátar, me takat'éstar. 95. On man kuvdyrál. 96. Amí athé so tu ródes, kaj tu ĝ'as akaná? 97. Me ródav manušés te prandózav, te bešáv.

98. Aj jekh esás, kaj dexél e patišajinká, jekh manuš esás, kaj dexél e patišajinká, odolé car'éskere č'h'ejá. 99. Úš'el léste [o patišáji]: «Aj so tu mangés?» 100. Sánkim, me túte dáva me č'h'ejá, me dikhl'óm kasavkó san tu. 101. Mánge asavké manušá li kamén, me som užé phuró manuš, hem kan-dikhés [man], o barvalipé alají kan-ač'h'ól túke, taj kan-bešés me č'h'ejása. 102. Aj ov, kaj marélas pes, khiniló taj geló pal ko azbári akajakhá taj pašliló te sovél, aj léste sas, odá m'éči lésa sas, vaj. 103. Sar pašliló te sovél, taj sutó. 104. Asavkó soipé sutó, kaj ov nanaší ĝ'angávd'ol, dáže hál'os tu?. 105. Aj odá, kaj dexélas e patišajinká, aló. 106. Výsl'edil odolé raklés, sánkim, kaj si sutó, taj avél, taj lel lésko m'éči, taj thel les akajakhá. 107. Ov, sánkim, esí sutó taj thel léske ko č'angá o m'éči pr'ámo mósa. 108. Kána ov din'ás béber'a. 109. Aj ov čhit'ás pes, kána ov čhit'ás pes taj čhinél l' o duj č'angá, taj ačhiló o rakló bič'angéngo. 110. Taj lel ov akaná. 111. So te kerél? 112. O patišáji, vaj, čhit'ás pes, dikhél, ková. 113. Úš'el: «Me athé na bešáv, mánge na kamél». 114. Angál léste o č'angá o rikoné s'urudyrál taj xalé léske č'angá, ej ačhiló, bipinréngo ačhiló, hál'os tu?

115. Úš'el o patišáji: «So me túke te keráv, so me túke te keráv lačhipé, kaj me nanaší keráv túke níšto». 116. Ládno, mánde si č'ézmes – skoroxód'a. 117. Me len túte li kan-dáv. 118. «Me kan-ğ'áv athár, kon ĝ'anél kaj», – [phenél o rakló]. 119. Šop me te na dikháv nikhás, me bič'angéngo nikháske na kamáv. 120. Lel del léste o patišáji odolá č'ézmes, nakhavél len, sánkim, pe koč'énde. 121. Ur'ánilo, geló, geló taj geló baré vešéste. 122. So te kerél akaná, aj ov rovél, vaj rovél. 123. Na hál'ol, so te



kerél, rovél, o Del me na del, sar rovél andé odolé vešéste. 124. Áma dikhél: manúš hem ġ'al, hem xanġ'ovél pes, taj, kaj del pes, o terék'a vur'án, kaj del pes, o terék'a vur'án. 125. Dikhél, dikhél: peng'ard'ás les. 126. Mul'óm, néne, ahá! 127. Úš'el léske: «Khéli, Khéli, – anáv din'ás lés. – Éla adaríng, adaríng, – odá, kaj dikhl'ás, [phenél]. – Aj, dáde, mo phral Kút'ul'ma, adá, mérim, tu san?» 128. Úš'el: «Va, me som». 129. «Aj, so vuló túsa?» – [phenél o rakló]. 130. Áke ková, aj sam xanġ'ovél po šeró. 131. O Del me na del, nanaši terd'arél pes, áke, so kerél pe šeréske. 132. Lel o rakló pe koč'endar o rat, makhél lésko šeró taj terdiló. 133. Te na xanġ'ovél po šeró. 134. Ahá, bešlé si kaj zborízen: áka pi hór'a phukavél léske, aj oká pi hór'a. 135. Dikhén: durál manúš vur'ál, del pes an terék'a, jéli-jéli avél, hem akajakhá e vastendar kerél. 136. Taj li del pes an terék'a taj perén odolá terék'a taj xurd'ón angál léste. 137. Mul'óm, dikhén: úš'el ov, béber'a del: «Aj, dáde, Koréja, Koréja, mo phral, éla adaríng!» 138. Aj ov esi koró. 139. Šunl'ás o sési. 140. Aló káring léste: «Aj, dáde, mo phral, Kút'ul'ma, adá tu san, ej, so vuló túke?» 141. Ej phukavd'ás l' adaléske so vuló. 142. Len geré, bešél opré akaléste: opré ko koró, taj lilé te ġ'an. 143. Akaná ġ'an, ġ'an, ġ'an, ġ'an. 144. So te kerén? 145. Avén andé baré dr'emúč'a vešéste. 146. Dikhén: vs'o, nanáj užé kaj te ġ'an, so te kerén. 147. Len akaná vázden puménge izbúška taj si kaj bešén. 148. Kerdé puménge izbúška taj lilé te bešén andé odolé izbuškáte. 149. Ġ'an na oxótu, astarén zv'er'én, mudarén, xan, ková. 150. Vot. 151. Taj pelé, pelé, sánkim, gelé na oxótu taj perén opré rakl'áte. 152. Peló opré rakl'áte, dikhél, gerí rovél, bešli si kaj rovél. 153. Aj, dáde, mi phen'oríje, so vuló túsa? 154. So kerd'án? 155. Úš'el oj: «Man e máč'uxa minrí kuvdý andár ko kher, gelí me dadéste taj kuvdý man andár ko kher, taj výžyla man andár ko kher», – aj e máč'uxa láki si ġ'adýisa. 156. Ej lel akaná geró [phenél]: «Ej, háde aménde taj beš aménca». 157. Lilé te bešén šukár. 158. Raklí lil'ás lénge te tavél, te kerél, te morél oprál lénde, te xal'arél oprál lénde, aj on lilé te bešén.

159. Ġ'ánas na oxótu, avénas othár, oj ačh'ólas kheré, kídelas, xal'arélas, kerélas. 160. Áke tan len! 161. Gelé na oxótu. 162. Áke taj la, kaj avél ke bar lénde phurí gaġí. 163. Aj, dáde, mí čh'aj, sár san, so kerés? 164. De man te xav šo-nébut'. 165. Lel la, oj del la andé kher íkos, din'ás la te xal. 166. Úš'el: «Dévla, mí čh'aj, mar mánge kotorísa andé me šeréste, mo šeró do tóho dukhál, kotorí te marés andé me šeréste, móžet térd'ola». 167. Amí, tu so, bábo, kátar al'án, so kerd'án? 168. Me athé nádur bešáv. 169. Me dikhl'óm, kaj thaból tuménde e jag taj al'óm tuménde. 170. Ej, bešli akaná e raklí te dikhél, te marél láko šeró. 171. Oj angál láte bangilí. 172. Aj oj, kána bangilí angál láte, oj lil'ás láko naj, o činatáji taj si kaj pijél. 173. Hál'os tu? 174. Aj e raklí jekhé vastésa marél o šeró láko, aj oj o činatáji láko lil'ás taj pijél. 175. Aj, vot - vot užé on kan-ovén kheré. 176. Lel oj del

trad. 177. Me kan-ǵ'áv, mí č'h'aj. 178. Kamél te ǵ'av. 179. Va, bábo, ankhá me phralá kan-avén. 180. Lel oj, gelí. 181. Alé on kheré. 182. Thedé, xalé. 183. Kerd'ás, vaj, oj, povídi, xabé. 184. Xalé, pilé, vs'o. 185. Len sabastán géne, vaj on ǵ'an na oxótu te mudarén. 186. Kamél te xavd'arén pes šó-to, aj oj géne ačhilí korkorí. 187. Áke taj la, géne, kaj avél odojá phurí gaǵí. 188. Lel oj géne mukél andé ko kher. 189. Xavd'ard'ás la. 190. Géneja bešli te marél láko šeró, géne lil'ás te pijél e rakl'ákoró naj, ahá! 191. Ej, sokabór othé nakhló vaxýti, lel ov. 192. Oj ušini: «Me kan-ǵ'áv, mí č'h'aj». 193. Aj ǵ'anélas, kána avén, kána ǵ'an, kána avén, kána ǵ'an. 194. Akaná on alé kheré, dikhén káring láte. 195. Šó-to nitó, šó-to oj kišlilí e raklí. 196. [Odolá phuč'én]: «Mí phén, so vuló túke, kon tut obíd'el, móžet tu, Khél'aj, móžet tu, la, ková, xurladýn?» 197. Me na xurladým la! 198. Koréja, móžet tu? 199. Úš'el odá: «Aj, dádeč'ko, me na, ková, sar me kan-xurladíjav me phen'á, vaj oj mánge mí phén esí, sar me la kan-xurladíjav». 200. Aj oj [phenél]: «Na, man nikhón na xurladý, nikhón, me – ková». 201. Móžet kasevéti kerés? 202. «Na, odá tuméngé ajakhá kázetca, kaj me kišlil'óm», – aj na phukavél oj. 203. Ej, koróč'e, ajakhá n'éskol'ki ras. 204. Avél oj géne láte, vot. 205. Aj ko páng'to var užé, oj vulí užé sovs'ém, e raklí, sovs'ém užé, vs'o, doxódit oj. 206. Hál'os tu, ja na? 207. Sovs'ém vulí kišli, až horbáti, kalilí e raklí. 208. Avén on kheré, dikhén káring láte: «Štó-to nitó». 209. Tak, akaná tu améngé phukáv, kon avél túte kheré, amé ǵ'as aj túte kón-tos' avél kheré. 210. Lel oj phukavél léngé, užé nanáj la takáti. 211. Úš'el: «Mánde avél phurí manušní, avél, mangél te xal, vot, aj deči mangél man, me láke te maráv andé šeró, no me, kána bešáv te maráv láke andé šeró, oj lel mo činatáji taj pijél». 212. «Tak, – úš'el ov, – amé ráno na oxótu nana ǵ'as, amé kan-garavás amén, aj tu désa la íkos, oj te avéla, désa la íkos andé ko kher». 213. Akaná, vaj áke, vród'e sabastán, on, xaj ková, on garavén pes andé ko kher. 214. Áke taj la, l' oj. 215. O vaxýti aló, aj taj, kaj l' oj, kaj avél. 216. Del la íkos. 217. Lel e raklí and'ás la andé ko kher, vot. 218. Thed'ás te xal, thed'ard'ás la géne te dikhél, áke andé šeró te marél. 219. Tóko bešli te marél láke andé ko šeró, taj lil'ás e rakl'áko naj géne te pijél. 220. Taj č'h'el pes okotár oková Khéli taj del la búrnekh. 221. Níkl'ol okotár o Koró. 222. Kána adavá [phenél]: «Podájte sl'epómu v rúki!» – sánkim, te mudarél la. 223. Vot. 224. Den la búrnekh. 225. Oj lil'ás te rové, te mangél pes, te kerél pes. 226. Aj on esás o trin manušá, odolá, sar phralá sas, on esás Devléskere, no len sar zakaldováli. 227. Kána on vstr'étilis', oká sas bič'angéngo, oká sas, kaj xanǵ'ovél po šeró, taj na sas léske žýzn'a, aj aká, si koró. 228. Hál'os tu? 229. Úš'el: «Tak». 230. Del la búrnekh. 231. Kaj? 232. «Ma mudarén man, ma mudarén man, me tuméngé, so mangén, odá li kan-keráv, – oj phenél, – tóko má mudarén man», – va, odojá phurí. 233. Len on úš'en: «Tak, tu dikhés kasavké amé sam, aká si koró, me som

bič'angéngo». 234. Ov: «Dikh so vulí, býstro te bóldes la, sar kaj sas oj, asavkí li t' ovél». 235. «Aj, me kan-keráv», – lel gelél len andé veš. 236. Bešél akavá opré ko Khéli, o Koró vastéstar, o rakló astarél la baléandar, o bič'angéngo, taj ĝ'an e vešesa. 237. Úš'el: «Áke, me tumén and'óm». 238. Aj si páni do tóho si o páni prozráč'ni: o Del me na del. 239. Akavá: «Čh'en tut andé, áke, me čh'el pes andé o Koró, taj dikhéna so kan-níkl'ol». 240. Úš'el o rakló: «Ná! Térd'ol!» 241. Lel, čh'el andé kaš, tóko čhit'ás andé o kaš, sar lil'ás te thaból o kaš, o Del me na del. 242. Oj mangl'ás te mudarél len, hál'os tu? 243. Taj del la búrnekh, nu i pášol géneja, šart-šart, tak-tak, marél la. 244. Úš'el oj: «Má mudarén, me tumén kan-geláv, kan-geláv». 245. Ej, gelé géne andár ko veš, andár ko veš. 246. Perén géneja pan'éste. 247. Óz'era – baró tóže. 248. Úš'el: «Áke, akathé si odová». 249. Lel ov: «Kaj, térd'on, má čh'en tumén andé», – [phenél o Khéli]. 250. Lel, čh'el andé o kaš, kernó kaš. 251. Tóko čhit'ás andé odá kaš, taj níkl'ol andár až lulud'ása. 252. Merés, kaj dikhés karing odolé kaštéste. 253. Úš'el o rakló: «Áke, akaná čh'en tumén». 254. Čh'el pes andé e raklí, níkl'ol othár sar kaj sas, asavkí že, géne, sar kaj sas. 255. Čh'el pes and' o Koró, kaj sas koró, vuló jakhénca. 256. Niklistó andár alají dikhél. 257. Lel, čh'el pes l' akavá, l' oková. 258. Vulé alají, sar kamél. 259. Len, den la búrnekh. 260. Gelén la odolé pan'éste, káte si odová, kaj thabiló o kaš. 261. Čh'en la andé. 262. Thardé la andé odolé pan'éste. 263. Akaná on poproš'ális'a, vot. 264. Élan akaná, kon káring te ĝ'as, te ródas amari bax. 265. Ej, vs'u, žyzn' amé na kan-bešás andé baré vešéste. 266. Odá sámas amé bez..., sánkim, bangé, koré esámas, kaj amé nikháske na kamásas. 267. Aj akankhá amé móžem te arakhás, sar te bešás, te kerás aménge t' ovén xorandádes, šob amé te bešás.

268. Ej, len, poproš'ális'a on andé ko veš, diné pes angáli, č'umidyrál pes, runé opré jekh, jekh avréste, boldiné pes taj gelé, vot. 269. Taj gelé. 270. Geló rakló avér drom, oká pinró, oka pinró, oka pinró. 271. Aj ov geló odolé thanéste, káte les kerdé bič'angéngores. 272. Hál'os tu? 273. Vot, áke tav les, kaj aló odolé thanéste. 274. Dikhél: pastúxi č'ar'avél č'oč'kadén. 275. Lel ov, pharavél e č'oč'kás, lel andár léste rýnza. 276. Nakhavél opré péste, aj oj, xaj, kháandel alají sámí khulá, vot. 277. Aj odolé rակլés, kána ov thed'ás odová m'éči, ĝ'anés. 278. Oj thed'ard'ás les, mérim, odojá e patišáinka, kaj dexélas les. 279. Oj thed'ard'ás les, šop te ĝ'al odová taj te thel o m'éči léske č'angénde, šop ov te čhinél pe č'angá. 280. Aj ov, odá, hálilosas dahá o zamán, taj lel, taj ĝ'al ko dvor'écy, mangl'ás pes te kerél pastúxi, ková, tudá-s'udá. 281. Áma dikhél: oj kážen rat pr'evraš'ájetca, kážen rat pr'evraš'ájetca, sar ĝ'adyisa si odojá patišáinka. 282. Taj lel, taj ĝ'al láte andé ke kómnata, čhit'ás oprál péste odová ková želútka, odojá rýnza, taj čh'el oprál péste, taj ĝ'al láte andé ke ková. 283. Kána din'ás la búrnekh, taj lil'ás te marél la, taj lil'ás te marél la, te marél la,

te marél la. 284. Do tóho mard'ás la. 285. Aj oj, kána délas béber'a: «Tu sar č'oč'kás, tu sar ruv, tu sar géneja, kon ĝ'anél...? Odá hib'el'!» 286. Do tóho mard'ás la, do tóho, poká, vs'o. 287. Sar pelí bes soznánija, taj del e trad sovs'éem avér manuš. 288. Taj vulí lačhí ĝ'uvlí. 289. Gelé oprál láte odolá alají o magíjes, taj lilé te bešén, t' ovél lénde xorandás, pújos. 290. Taj lilé te bešén.

291. Li me sómas paš lénde. 292. Xal'óm, pil'óm, č'alil'óm. 293. Óke odovkhá.

### The Three Brothers

1. There is an old man and an old woman, but they have no children. 2. And the old man goes to the forest to get some wood. 3. He brings firewood back, and that's how they earn their living. 4. The old man works. 5. The old woman seems to cook and boil some [meal]. 6. They eat what they have, but they have no children. 7. And they are old already. 8. One day the old man left for the forest to chop [some] firewood. 9. And [there he] addresses, "Oh God, I haven't got just even one child who could take care of me when I'm old". 10. [Suddenly] an old man appeared before him. 11. He asks him, "What are you doing?" 12. The old man replies, "I cut wood". 13. Have you anything to eat [with you]? 14. He answers, "Oh you old man, here's bread and water". 15. They sat down for a meal. 16. The old man gave him some bread and water, and he had a meal. 17. Then [that man] gives him an apple, saying "Take that apple to your old wife; let her eat it, and a child will be born to you". 18. You'll have a son. 19. The old man takes the apple and brings it back to his wife. 20. The old woman ate it and became pregnant [literally, *not well*]. 21. Who knows where it came from? 22. A child is born [literally, *is found*] to the old woman, a baby boy. 23. Now that boy grows up with every passing minute and hour; and on the opposite side [of the street] the tsar lived, and his son went to the same school where the old man sent his son. 24. And when the old man's son brawls with other children and catches someone's arm, this arm remains in his hand; and when he catches someone's leg, this leg remains in his hand. 25. The tsar had almost gone mad as he didn't know what to do. 26-27. The tsar called for [= summoned] the old man.

28. [The tsar] says to the old man, "Your son cripples our children, he makes them invalids; do anything with him, make him disappear so that he never attends [school]". 29. The poor old man and the old woman cry for him. 30. They make him go to a very large forest where there are two bulls. 31. Those two bulls tear a man in halves. 32. 33. And not far from those two bulls there is a snake. 34. When [he] whistles, people burst in two. 35.

Others go mad or become stone-still. 36. Oh God [literally, *I've died*]! 37. Now he left for that forest. 38. He arrived there and saw two bulls. 39. They moved toward him. 40. He seizes those two big bulls and puts them into a cart. 41. Now that snake moves toward him, and he is gathering firewood. 42. [He] gathers firewood. 43. His father made him gather firewood, but in fact he sent his son to his death [literally, *to kill himself*]. 44. 45. As the boy gathered some firewood, he seized the snake and tied a bundle with it. 46. He sat in the cart upon those bulls and drove away. 47. He arrives in the village; and when the bulls howl, the earth trembles. 48. When that snake whistles, people become deaf; some run away, others go mad, others burst into halves. 49. As the tsar saw it, he called [for] the old man [and says], "Make all these [beasts] disappear". 50. The poor man took them back to the forest and released there. 51. Now the tsar orders the old man, "Make him go into the well, and we'll drop stones on him using machines". 52. He cannot be killed, you see. 53. [He] makes him go down into a desolate well. 54. They drop stones on him, but he climbs out together with stones. 55. No matter how many stones are dropped, he climbs out with them. 56. He climbed to the very top [of the well]. 57. The tsar orders, "Do what you like with him, but I want never to see him [again] in our village!" 58. Now the poor old man cries, "Oh my son, what should I do?" 59. The tsar doesn't like to see you in the village. 60. The poor mother cries and moans, and the old man cries. 61. 62. "If I must go, then I'll go", [the boy says]. 63. I'll go to look for my fortune; perhaps I'll find one. 64. And so he left. 65. He went through dense forests. 66. Once he saw a witch sitting on a tree. 67. He seizes her. 68. She started shouting, "Oh God, who are you? What might do you have? Release me!" 69. [The boy says], "I need a sword". 70. She asks him, "What kind of sword do you need?" 71. [He says], "I need a sword; take it where you wish!" 72. She makes him go to a place where a very large stone lies; he is to lift the stone and find a sword under it. 73-74. The sword is such that when you wave it, you make everything in front of you falls. 75. Now the boy left. 76. He released her and went away. 77. He goes along that road. 78. 79. He [now] sees a very large tree. 80. He [also] sees a large stone near the tree. 81. He lifts that large stone and sees that sword. 82. He took it and went away. 83. [Then] he entered a small village. 84. There a tsar lived with a very beautiful daughter; and he falls in love with her. 85. He wanted to tell the tsar of that; at this very moment the tsar was conducting a competition of strong men. 86. [He promised his daughter to the winner]. 87. People from another place, another tsardom were fighting with swords [there]. 88. And so they go on fighting. 89. He saw them fighting; he attacked a man and cut him. 90. As the tsar saw it, he lost his mind. 91. He summoned [the boy]. 92. He asks [the boy], "Where are you

from?” 93. [The boy] replies, “I’m the son of so-and-so, I used to live in that place, but I was driven out of it”. 94. They are afraid of my might, of my health. 95. They expelled me. 96. And what are you looking for here? Where are you going now? 97. I’m looking for a woman to marry [and] to live [with her].

98. But there was a man who loved the tsarina, the tsar’s daughter.

99. The tsar says, “What do you want?” 100. I mean I’ll give you my daughter, I’ve seen what a [strong] man you are. 101. I need such people; all my [wealth] will be left to you, and you’ll live with my daughter. 102. And as he got tired after the fight, he went behind a farmstead and fell asleep; and the sword was with him. 103-104. He slept and didn’t awake. 105. And the one who loved the tsarina approached him. 106. He traced where the boy was sleeping and came there and took his sword. 107. He placed the sword with its sharp edge against the boy’s legs. 108. Then he made a loud cry. 109. The boy woke and leaped up; both his legs were cut off. 110-111. What is he to do? 112. The tsar rushed in and saw that. 113. 114. [Meanwhile] the dogs ate his legs and the boy was left without his legs.

115. The tsar addresses [him], “What can I do for you? I can make no good to you”. 116. OK, I’ve got a pair of fast-going top-boots. 117. I’ll give them to you. 118. “I’ll go from this place to who knows where” [, the boy says]. 119. For me to see nobody; nobody needs me legless. 120. The tsar gave him the top-boots; the boy put them on his knees. 121. He went to a large forest. 122. What should he do? He is crying. 123. He doesn’t know what to do and so he cries in that forest. 124. [Suddenly] he sees a man walking and scratches himself. 125. [The boy] recognized him. 126. Oh God [literally, *I’ve died!*] 127. He addresses him, “Kheli, Kheli – he gave him this name – Come here!” and the man [says], “Oh God, this is my brother Kutuilma! Is that you indeed?!” 128. [He] addresses, “Yes, that’s me”. 129. “So what happened to you?” [The boy asks]. 130. “That’s the matter”, he says and keeps scratching his head. 131. He cannot stop scratching his head even for God. 132-133. The boy takes blood from his knees and greases his head; and he stopped scratching his head. 134. They sat down and talked of each other’s sorrow. 135. [Then] they see a man flying from somewhere and knocking against the trees; [finally] he falls down. 136. The trees crumble before this man. 137. Oh God: they see who the man is and call him, “Oh God, Koreia, Koreia, oh my brother, come here!” 138. And he is blind. 139. He heard his voice. 140. He approached him, [saying] “Oh God, oh my brother Kutuilma, is that you? What’s happened to you?” 141. So he told this [man] what’s happened. 142. [After that they went again]. 143. They go and go and go. 144. What should they do? 145-146. They enter a large dense forest and see: that’s all, there’s

nowhere to go any more. 147. They build [literally, *rise*] a cabin for them to live at. 148. They made a cabin and began living in it. 149. They go hunting, kill animals and eat them. 150. 151. Once when they were hunting they came across a girl. 152. They found her sitting and crying. 153. Oh God, my sister, what happened to you? 154. 155. “My step-mother drove me out of home; she had married my father and then hounded me out”; and her step-mother is a witch. 156. Now the boy says, “Well, come to us and live with us”. 157. They began a good life. 158. The girl began to cook for them, to launder and wash for them, and they began to live.

159. They went hunting and returned back, and stayed at home to wash and do. 160-161. Here they are leaving for hunt. 162. [As they left] an old woman approached the fence of their house. 163. Oh God, my daughter, how are you? What are you doing? 164. Give me something to eat. 165. She [the girl] calls her into the house and gave her some food. 166. [The old woman] addresses [the girl], “Oh God, my daughter, search the skin on my head for lice [literally, *beat my head a little*], my head aches, [if you] beat in it a little, the ache may cease. 167. And you, grandma, where did you come from? What were you doing? 168. I live not far from this place. 169. I saw a light burning [in your house] and came here. 170. [The old woman] sat closer to the girl for [her] to search her head and beat [lice]. 171. She bent toward the old woman. 172. As the girl bent, the old woman took her little finger [into her mouth] and began sucking [it]. 173. You see? 174. The girl “beats her head” with one hand, and she took her little finger and sucks [it]. 175. [Meanwhile the three brothers were about to return home]. 176. The old woman rises to her feet. 177. I’ll go, oh my daughter. 178. [I] must go. 179. Yes, grandma, my brothers are about to be [here]. 180. And she left away. 181. [The three brothers] returned home. 182. They had a meal. 183. 184. 185. Next morning they go hunting once again. 186. They need something to eat; and she is left alone again. 187. The same old woman comes again. 188. [The girl] lets her in once more. 189. [The girl] fed her. 190. [She] sat to “beat her head” again, and she began sucking the girl’s finger. 191-192. Some time passed, and [the old woman] rose [and said], “I’ll go, my daughter”. 193. She knew when [the three brothers] leave [home] and come back. 194. As they returned home, they looked at the girl. 195. Something is wrong: the girl has grown thinner. 196. [They ask], “My sister, what’s happened to you? Who did you harm? Maybe it’s you, Kheli, who did it?” 197. I did her no harm! 198. Maybe it was you, Koreia? 199. He responds, “Oh God! How may I hurt my sister?!” 200. And she [says], “Nobody did me any harm!” 201. Maybe you feel sorrow? 202. “No, I only seem to grow thinner”, but she doesn’t tell [them about the old woman]. 203. These [sequence of events] repeated several times. 204. 205. [After the

fifth visit by the old woman the girl became almost dead]. 206. 207. She became very thin, even gibbous. 208. They return home and look at her: "Something is wrong". 209. Well, tell us who visits you; we leave the house, but someone comes here. 210. She tells them [the truth], as she has no more strength [to hide the matter]. 211. She says, "An old woman comes to me; she asks for food, and then she asks me to "beat in her head"; when I sit down to beat, she takes my little finger and sucks it". 212. "Well, he says; tomorrow we won't go hunting; we shall hide ourselves, and if she comes you'll invite her to the house". 213. Next morning they hide themselves in the house as if they had left [it]. 214-215. The time has come, and the old woman appears. 216. She invites her. 217. She leads her to the house. 218. [She] offered [her] food; [after that the old woman made the girl "beat in her head"]. 219. As the girl sat down to "beat in her head", [the old woman] took the girl's finger to suck again. 220. [At that moment] Kheli fell upon her and seized her. 221-222. Then Koro appeared saying, "Put [something] into a blind man's hands", meaning to kill her. 223. 224. [He also] seized her. 225. She began crying and begging [for clemency]. 226. And the three brothers were enchanted men. 227. When they first met, one of them was legless, another scratched his head so that he saw no life at all, and another one was blind. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. Meanwhile the old woman asks, "Don't kill me; I'll do what you like!" 233. He says, "You see who we are: that [fellow] is blind, and I'm legless". 234. He [says], "Look what [= how ill] has the girl become! Make her the one that she had been! Now!" 235. "Well, I'll do" [says the old woman]; [she] leads them to a forest. 236. This [boy] sits on Kheli, and [takes] Koro with his hand; the legless boy holds her by her hair, and they go through the forest. 237. [Then she] says, "I've taken you [to where you want to be]. 238. [There was some] transparently-clear water [there]. 239. [The old woman says], "Jump there [literally, *throw yourself inside it*]; let Koro throw himself on, and you'll see what kind of man he'll emerge [from the water]. 240. The boy addresses, "No! Stop!" 241. [He] throws a branch [from a tree] into [the water] and as he threw it, the branch burst into fire. 242. She wanted to kill them, you see? 243. [The boy] seizes her again and lashes her. 244. She addresses, "Don't kill me, I'll show you the way". 245. They again went through the forest. 246-247. [Then they] come across a large lake. 248. [She] says, "Here's what you need". 249. "Stop, don't rush on", [Kheli says]. 250. [He] takes a rotten branch and throws it in [the lake]. 251. Just as he threw it, the branch appears [from water] with a flower. 252. [The branch looks so beautiful that one may die watching it]. 253. The boy addresses, "Now jump in [water]". 254. The girl jumps into [water] and appears back right as [healthy as] she had been. 255. Koro who was blind jumps in and appears



with eyes. 256. [He] went away [from water] and [now] sees everything. 257. [Now the rest of the brothers jump in the lake]. 258. They all become as they needed to be. 259. [Then] they seize her [the old woman]. 260. [He] forces her toward the water [lake?] where the branch burnt. 261. [They] throw her into [water]. 262. [They] burnt her in that water. 263. Now they said farewell to each other. 264. Let us now go whatever way each [of us] like to seek happiness. 265. We won't live in the vast forest any more. 266. We used to be blind and [otherwise physically handicapped] and nobody needed us [then]. 267. Now we can find [a better life] and make families.

268. [So] they embraced and kissed each other with tears to say good-bye; [after that they] turned around and went their ways. 269. 270. Each boy went his own way. 271. And he came to the place where he was made legless. 272. Do you see? 273. Here he comes to that place. 274. [He] sees a shepherd pasturing pigs. 275. He [the boy who used to be legless] takes a boar, tears it in two and removes a stomach [from the boar]. 276. [He] puts the stomach smelling with shit upon himself. 277-279. And the guy that put a sword against his legs did so on the order from the tsarina: she loved that guy. 280. And he had understood that already at that time; now [he] goes to the [tsar's] palace: he wanted to be a herdsman. 281. And [he] sees [that] every night she turns like a witch. 282. And so [he] goes to her room; he threw that stomach off himself, that stomach, and throws off himself and goes to her. 283. When [he] caught her he started beating her, started beating, beating, beating. 284. [He] beat her that heavy. 285. And she when [she] was crying, "You are like a boar, a wolf, you [are] again, who knows...? That disaster". 286. [He] beat her up to that, up to all. 287. As she fell unconscious, and gets up [like] a different person. 288. [She] became a good woman. 289. All that magic went off her, and they started to live to have a family, a child. 290. And [they] started living.

291. And I was near them. 292. [I] ate, [I] drank, and got sated. 293. That is that.

#### 24. "Rat'áko ženíxi" ("A Night-time fiancé")

"*Rat'áko ženíxi*" ("A Night-time fiancé") is a text recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The informant was Piotr Nikolayevich Dzhumalei (Romani name Liatuni), born in 1985. The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 57-58, 85-86.

This fabulous plot is rather widespread in the European folklore, including the Russian one: a bride mourns over her fiancé who has been killed; he appears at night and drives her into his grave (SUS 365).

Imagine now a Romani tabor standing at a forest edge and an unexpected appearance one evening – from God knows where – of a young beautiful Rom who courts a girl on his own, then arranges wedding and brings the girl to his... grave, from which place she twice succeeds to escape, and then to find a small knife and kill her dead husband.

Here we have a *bylichka-strashilka* [a kind of a frightening tale with some elements of real life] that old Roma told to the youngs as edification and with a hope that the latter would be wiser in their behavior so that nothing like what they have heard in the tale would happen to them.

Stories with this plot have already been recorded from informants belonging to different Romani groups. One of these tales is *A Dead Man-Lover* that Estonian folklore scholar academician Paul Ariste recorded in the Baltic Sea area from some Latvian Roma. The tale was published in *A Book of Gypsy Folk-Tales* in London in 1948 (entry № 12).

### Rat'áko ženíxi

1. Rán'se o romá koč'eváli, vaj koč'eváli, phirénas, va, bukadaré tabor'éncia. 2. Akaná, vaj, alé taj terdilé sar m'ézdu ko veš. 3. Ej koróč'e, ras, avél č'h'avó, lénde č'h'avoró, tól'ko belvel'é: «Sel'am! Sel'am! Amí [so kerén] tumé?» 4. So kerd'an? 5. Kátar esanús? 6. Amé, áke, ved', te ačhiskeras. 7. Amí tu kaj, áke taj, amé akathé nádur bešás. 8. Mi daj, mo dad, tam, ková, koróč'e, amé othé bešás. 9. Ej ládlo, aj othé č'h'ajorí sas ternahár, koróč'e, taj sas šukár, o Del me na del. 10. Ras, o č'h'avoró, vaj káring láte, dikhél, zborízél, xaj. 11. Ej, hd'éto dv'enádcát', ej so, me kan-ğ'av kheré, lačí tumarí rat, ková, 12. Ej, de, mó č'h'o. 13. Boldin'ás pes, geló. 14. Oká č'h'avoró, koróč'e, avér d'es géne avél belvel'é, ratí tóže: «Sel'am-sel'am, koróč'e at'ál-at'ál». 15. Ej zborízen, ková, ej ov, ras káring ke č'h'ajorí, dikhél užé č'h'avoró, oj tóže káring léste, koróč'e, dexplé pes. 16. Ej, na tr'étij ras aló, phenél: «At'ál-at'ál, – ov láke dadéste. – Koróč'e, me ková, dexpl'óm ková». 17. Mo dad, mi daj mangén te avén te mangl'arén, ková. 18. Ej ládno. 19. Áke, avén móžet te mangl'arén. 20. Sar so, dikhása, óke uštíjasa ej daváj.

21. Ej akaná, koróč'e, geló ov. 22. Hd'é-to bazar'éstar avél užé jekh ģ'anó. 23. «Amí ti daj?» – [phuč'él o dad]. 24. «Nasvalé si odolá, – phenél, – naší avén, ková». 25. Áke ková, diné č'ut'-č'ut' lové te kerás akajakhá, xaj kotorísa, ej. 26. Ej ládlo, lel ov, koróč'e, vaj ratí, aj sóske phenél disé. 27. «Má! – phenél. – Ratí». 28. Kan-ovél, koróč'e. 29. Ej éla, avén ratí. 30. Then belvel'é konás. 31. Áke lil'ás te temínizel. 32. Avél géneja, ej so? 33. Daváj. 34. Ej kerdé, xaj, avél ov, ej de, gel'am amé opré gras, taj gelé. 35. Akaná ģ'an, ģ'an, kána adá: «Amí to dad, ti daj?» 36. «Č'h'e, adá nasvalé si»,

– xaj, láke phenél. 37. Adá ġ'an, ġ'an. 38. Vaj dikhél: ġ'an taj ġ'an, ġ'an taj ġ'an, o, slóvom, drom ne konč'ájetca. 39. Dečí ras perén, sar ko grób'a aló, oj ras asavkí. 40. «So, ková?» – [phuč'él e č'h'ajorí]. 41. «Háde, me athé bešáv, áke mo kher», – taj si gróbos, taj si phuterdí jáma. 42. Ej so, éla, chí tut. 43. Akaná oj pharí duj, koróč'e. 44. Kána adá oj: «Ej daváj». 45. Ov fulistinó. 46. De, č'h'e. 47. Má! 48. Xaník tu ġ'a p'érvi. 49. Del pes ov andé jáma. 50. Akaná phenél: «Ej, so tu sungás taj tu šun». 51. Ej va, ládno daváj. 52. Lel taj po halísa oj nač'alá te del po jekh kírpá, po jekh kírpá. 53. Zad'éržyvajet sahá't'a. 54. Dečí lil'ás, čhit'ás o miriklé, ej po ... po halísa, te dis'ól č'al'ti, po kotorísa, po kotorísa, to miriklé, to ková, to ... koróč'e, ej post'ep'énno po jekh savúti. 55. Koróč'e, ras, disiló, sar thel pes. 56. Ej, thel pes o vas, phanl'ás pes. 57. Čhi tut č'al'ti, aj oj: «Nat!» – našlí. 58. Akaná ov phanl'ás pes. 59. Oj našlí, našlí. 60. Ğ'al kheré, koróč'e at'al-at'al, koróč'e. 61. «Ej, adavá šéji muló si, ková», – [phenél e dadénge]. 62. Káste din'anús man, ková. 63. Akaná o dad. 64. Ej sar, so tu? 65. O č'h'avoró lač'h'ó si! 66. Na, ková, kaj geld'ás man okothé. 67. Ej koróč'e, o dad pak'ánilo č'ut'-č'ut', vaj. 68. Akaná o [it must be: e] rat géneja. 69. Avél odá č'h'avoró sabastán, oj, na sabastán – belvel'é géneja. 70. Ej aló, géneja ková. 71. Sar, so tu? 72. Sóske našl'an, ková? 73. Oj, vaj tu ková géneja, ej lil'ás bešlí géneja, geldé, o dad, e daj: «Déba, déba!» 74. Ej daváj, koróč'e! 75. Akaná našél géneja, akaná géneja že lil'ás pésa savú't'a sp'ecyál'no, géneja zad'éržyvajet, sabáhi pašyló. 76. Sar thel pe[s], avél at'al-at'al, ej koróč'e užé pak'ánili [it must be: pak'ánile]. 77. Avél. 78. De, tak, mí č'h'aj, na mangél te ġ'al, ková, m' ač'h'ól adá ajakhá, ková. 79. Ej koróč'e, č'h'ajorí šó-to niklistí avrí. 80. Ej koróč'e, šos' kríki, ková. 81. Sar del andé taj dikhél alají. 82. Koróč'e, mulé si, ej užé vs'o! 83. Lel ov la, koróč'e, thel opré gras taj si kaj gelél. 84. Akaná oj: «Tu so, ková, koróč'e, tu le to vas, ková, ej taj so?» 85. Me na som, tu man na kan-lés po-l'ubómu. 86. Ej koróč'e, ġ'an. 87. Ej akaná oj: «Térd'o! Ej, háde akajakhá po andár veš, akajakhá maj pašé kan-ovás, ej sp'ecyál'no, ej daváj». 88. Me ajakhá ovél. 89. Ej taj si kaj ġ'an, ġ'an, ġ'an, koróč'e géne: ras výjexali géne. 90. Ej, Devlésa! 91. Akaná le, chí tut te pinrénde. 92. «Na, – phenél, – térd'o», – géneja post'ep'énno šos' thel, géne ur'avd'ás pes, vaj géne post'ep'énno, po jekh kírpá pharavél taj del les, te ovél dispé. 93. Koróč'e, našlí géneja othé te na dikhél alají. 94. Koróč'e! 95. Koróč'e, alají mulé si. 96. Šaštý č'h'ajorí sar ková, taj lil'ás te našél, našél, našél, akajakhá taj avél láte angál taj phenél láke: «Ov tut vs'o ravno kan-arakhél, lúč'se má našav [it must be: naš], taj si, – phenél, – jekhé thanéste, thanéste». 97. Phenél: «Les ko ková asavkí [it must be: asavkó] šéji, asavkí [it must be: asavkó] šéji sar č'h'ur'orí, odojá č'h'urí kan-lés, koróč'e, kan-trádes an léste taj ov vs'o!» 98. Ej pólnostju kamél, ej daváj, prastánili oj pal terek'éste, ras, oj vaj... prástal, phutrél, dikhél, koróč'e, odojá č'h'urí. 99. Akaná šun, akaná,

koróč'e, odá č'h'avoró avél. 100. Ej, ková tam déba opré gras. 101. Ej koróč'e, thed'ás la, no láte n'e polučilos' ni sar te del les č'h'ur'ása, koróč'e, géneja akaná phenél: «Tu kan-ǵ'ás p'érvi», – taj č'h'el les andé ke jáma. 102. Lel oj, koróč'e, vaj trašál li les te phándel odá šéji. 103. Ej del les oj e č'h'ur'ása, ej koróč'e, peló an gróbos, taj ušinó, na, taj lil'ás, koróč'e, te merél taj bar peló. 104. Lel oj č'h'el pes andé jáma, č'ut'-č'ut' than ačhiló, taj č'h'el pes, taj níkl'ol, taj našél, našél, našél.

105. Ğ'al. 106. Vaj, káring te ğ'al, vaj nanáj užé láte, koróč'e, mudard'ás odová šéji. 107. Našli, taj dečí: káring te ğ'al, avér la bič'h'alél palál. 108. Taj vot: skáske kon'éc.

### A Night-time Fiancé

1. Roma used to wander in old times; you see [they] wandered, moved [from place to place], yes, in numerous tabors. 2. Now, you see, [once a tabor] stopped in a forest. 3. Oh, in short, once a guy approaches them in the evening, [saying], “Salam! Salam! And [what are] you [doing]?” 4. What [did you] do? 5. Where are you from? 6. Well, we [have just] stopped here. 7. And where do you [live]? – We live not far from here. 8. My mother [and] father – in short we live over there. 9. Well, good, and there was a girl there, ready for marriage, and [she] was [as] beautiful [as] God may not make. 10. Well, the boy looks her way [and] begins to talk. 11. Well, now midnight comes, well, I am to go home, good night for you. 12. Come on, my boy. 13. [He] turned around [and] went [away]. 14. That guy, in short, comes [to that place] another evening, [or rather] night, [saying], “Salam, salam – in short, so-so”. 15. Well, [they] talk [and] the boy looks toward the girl, [and] she [looks] toward him too, in short [they] fall in love. 16. Well, [he] came [there] for the third time [and] says, “Well, well – [he says] to her father. – In short, well, I am in love”. 17. My father [and] my mother wants to come to ask in marriage. 18. Well, good. 19. [They] may come [here] to ask in marriage. 20. Let them have a look.

21. Now, in short, he went away. 22. About one week later he arrives all alone. 23. “And where is your mother?”, the [girl's] father asks. 24. “They are not well”, he says, “[they] cannot come here”. 25. Well, they give [me] some money to do these things. 26. Well, in short, he [asks to make the wedding] at night; why not at daytime [the girl's parents ask]. 27. “No”, [he] says, “at night”. 28. [It] will be. 29. Well, come here at night. 30. In the evening [they] lay a table. 31. It's getting dark. 32. [He] comes again. – So what? 33. Come on. 34. Well, [the boy and the girl] rode [to the suitor's]. 35. Now [they] ride and ride, [and] this one [= the girl] [asks],

“And [where are] your father, your mother?” 36. “Chkheh [a form used to address a woman], they are ill”, [he] tells her deceiving [her]. 37. Those [people] go and go. 38. You see, she looks [and sees]: [they] go and go, go and go, in a word, the road doesn’t come to an end. 39. Then [they] find themselves near a cemetery. 40. “What’s that?”, [the girl asks]. 41. “Come on, I live here, this is my home”; – and there is a grave, and there is an open pit. 42. So what, come on, jump [down there]. 43. Now she got frightened, in short. 44. Then she [says], “Well, let’s go”. 45. He dismounted. 46. Come on, jump [there, he offers the girl]. 47. No! 48. You go first [, she asks the boy]. 49. He jumps into the pit. 50. Now [he] says, “Why do you smell, do listen [to me]”. 51. Good, let’s go. 52. She begins to handle [him her clothes] one by one. 53. [She’s] playing for time. 54. Then [she] took [her] beads and threw them piece-by-piece for the dawn to come sooner. 55. In short, the dawn came. 56. [The pit got closed]. 57. “Jump quickly” – but she [said] “No” [and] ran away. 58. Now he got closed. 59. She runs away, runs away. 60. [She] goes home, in short. 61. “And this one is a dead man” [, she says to her parents]. 62. Whom did you give me to? 63. Now [the girl’s] father [asks her]. 64. Well, how are you? 65. [He] is a good boy! 66. The one who drove me there. 67. In short, [her] father believed [her] a bit. 68. Now the night [came] once again. 69. That boy arrives in the morning, or no, in the evening again. 70. So [he] came again. 71. Well, how are you? 72. Why did [you] run away? 73. [The girl says to him], “You [are here] again!” And she mounted [the horse] again [and they] went away, [and] the father [and] mother [say], “Quickly, quickly!” 74. Well, come on, in short! 75. Now [she] runs away again, now [she] took [her] things with her with the special purpose to play for time, [and] morning came. 76. [She] rushed away [and] returned [home], and [her parents] finally believed [her]. 77. [He] arrives. 78. [The girl’s father says,] let’s do this way: my daughter doesn’t want to leave [my house], let her stay here. 79. Well, in short, the daughter took to a street for some purpose. 80. Well, in short [there came] a cry [from there]. 81. As she enters, she sees everything. 82. In short, dead men are [around her]! 83. In short, he takes her, sits [her] on a horseback and drives [her] away. 84. Now she [says], “What are you [doing]? Remove your hand, so what?” 85. [You] won’t take me anyway. 86. Well, in short they ride on. 87. Now she [says], “Stop [here]! Let’s ride this way through the forest: we’ll get closer; let’s go”. 88. Let it be so. 89. Well, they ride and ride, and again arrive [to the grave site]. 90. Well, God bless us! 91. Now jump to your feet. 92. Now stop, [she] puts something down little by little, you see [she] again tears one piece of clothing after another and gives [them] to him for the dawn to come. 93. In short, [she] ran away there again not to see everything. 94. In short! 95. In short, all [are] dead men. 96. The

girl was surprised how it [could happen] and began running away; but as she runs, he meets her and says, “He will find you anyway, [you’d] better don’t fly away, and [there] is in one place...”. 97. [He] says, “Take from that one such a thing, a thing like a small knife; [you’ll] take this knife [and] drive it into him, and he’ll be done!” 98. Well, [you] must [drive it] full length, come on; she ran behind a tree..., she runs, you see, [she] opens [?] and sees the knife. 99. Now, listen, now, in short, that fellow arrives. 100. [And he quickly] mounted [his] horse. 101. In short, [he] seated her, but she failed to stab him with the small knife, in short, now [she] again says, “You go first”, and [she] throws him into the pit. 102. Well, in short [she] is scared to fold this thing [the knife]. 103. Well, she stabs him with the small knife, well, in short, [he] fell into the grave and stood up, no, [he] began to die, and fell down like a stone. 104. She jumps into the grave [as] some place is left there, and rushes and climbs out and runs away, runs, [and] runs.

105. [She] leaves. 106. But what way to go? She already hasn’t [her husband], in short, that thing [the little knife] killed [him]. 107. [She] runs away, and then: what way to go, another one sends her back. 108. And so: this is the end of the story.

## 25. “Saporó” (“The Young Snake”)

“*Saporó*” (“The Young Snake”) is a text recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district). The informant was Piotr Nikolayevich Dzhumalei (Romani name Liatiuni), born in 1985. The text was first published in 2004, in *Istoriia i folklor*, pp. 58-59, 86-87. In 2006 the text was published (with Italian translation) in Alberto Melis’s book *Fiabe zingare (The Romani tales)* in Cagliari, Italy (pp. 219-230).

The plot of the tale (a young snake turns into a man and marries a Tsar’s daughter, but she [mistakenly] burns his skin and makes him die; he is resurrected by his wife’s tears) is quite wide-spread and can be found in the folklore of many Roma’s ethnic groups; its most similar version in the Russian folklore is the topic of *Snake-Tsarevich* (SUS № 433B).

Another variant of this fairy-tale is a story that Efim Druts and Aleksei Gessler recorded in 1987 at Peri railway station (Leningrad District) from a Kalderash Roma’s woman named Rita Mikhai (Kalderash Roma who came from the Balkans have been known in Russia since 1850s). The story was re-told in 1991 in a book *Skazki tsygan SSSR* (pp. 192-197).

The texts that the author gathered in this book let one say that a story about a Young Snake is also rather widespread among Crimean Roma

who live in western areas of the Krasnodar District. For example, this plot is included in the beginning of *Ačıl sófral!* story.

### Saporó

1. Beşélas phuró taj phurí, taj na sas lénde púja. 2. Taj sas geré, vaj, phuré. 3. Taj nanáj kon pal lénde dohl'ádyval ková, vaj geré. 4. Vaj péč'ka si, vaj kaštá kamén. 5. Taj gelé andé veš, gelé andé veš te phagerél kaštá. 6. Phagerél o phuró, e phur'áke phenél: «Aj ty taskáj!»... 7. Ej akaná, koróč'e, lel o phuró phagerél, e phurí tašydíjel. 8. Akaná phagerél, phagerél, koróč'e, taj phagerél jekh kaš. 9. Aj dikhél andé tiknoró saporó. 10. Saporó si taj si, kaj marél pes andé phu, taj si, kaj rovél sar pújos. 11. Akaná o phuró dikhél. 12. Šaštý, ajadý les. 13. E phur'orí, at'ál-at'ál, na phenl'ás phur'áke. 14. Lel ov, ej, odolé saporés taj gelél kheré. 15. Taj sas lénde péč'ka. 16. Aj e duxóvka, ğ'anés. 17. Taj géneja sar tikní duxóvka, tól'ko oj č'ut'-č'ut' nahr'eválas' taj thel odolé saporés andé korópka. 18. Thel o phuró. 19. Ej akaná, koróč'e, xavd'arés les o phuró: súti léske po halísa. 20. Aj ov, vaj bar'ól, bar'ól, bar'ól... 21. Užé andé odolé duxovkáte na resél, taj aš niklistó, koróč'e, taj si kaj rovél, ej, marél pes an phu. 22. Koróč'e, ej, o phuró, užé phurí dikh'l'ás les. 23. Sar? 24. So? 25. Ej, taj ras, taj č'h'el oprál péste kóža, odová sap, taj ovél baró sap, taj č'h'el oprál péste kóža taj si č'h'avoró romanó. 26. Koróč'e, taj nikl'ol andár patišáji. 27. Ej, šukár, o Del me na del. 28. «Néne, dáde, áke, me ková, – phukavd'ás lénge, – [me andé kóža sómas]». 29. On šaštyrál. 30. Ej xánas, pijénas, raduiskerénas péske phuró taj phurí. 31. Áke, o Del bič'h'ald'ás lénge č'h'avés. 32. Ej koróč'e, kána adá akavá o ... ej odová č'h'avoró [phenél]: «Néne, dáde, áke, aménde lové nanáj me kamél te ğ'av te kazandíjav, móžet peráva me baxtáte». 33. Ej, odová. 34. Ej da, geló odá č'h'avoró.

35. Ğ'al, ğ'al, koróč'e, taj perél. 36. Ej, koróč'e, korol'évstvo sas, koróli beşélas, taj sas léste č'h'aj. 37. Koróč'e, barvaló, o Del me na del. 38. Taj [sas] pas'ólki. 39. Ej, akaná, andé odolé pas'olkáte stražník'a. 40. Ej, daváj. 41. Odolá stražník'a sar strášn'a. 42. Oková pášol, o cári. 43. Ej, na! 44. Pášol odolé soldat'enge [taj phenél]: «Tak, u m'en'á doč', ková, smotríť'e, vóps'em sl'edít'e za n'ej, ja pojédu po d'elám!» 45. Nu daváj. 46. Akaná, vaj, geló odá cári. 47. O č'h'avoró – ras, lása, ej, paš láte, vaj, xaj ke kómnata taj storožyskerél, taj dexl'ás ov la. 48. Ej akaná, koróč'e, avél o cári. 49. Áke kan-avén me č'hijá te mangl'arél avér cári. 50. Ková, koróč'e. 51. Ej, kána adá pašyló léste, odá č'h'avoró. 52. «Ej móžno vas! – [phenél] odolé car'éske. – Móžno!» 53. «Ej so? – [phuč'él o cári]. – Koróč'e, tu, č'hijá mangés te les roméste?» 54. «Va!» – [phenél o č'h'avoró]. 55. «Sóske?» – [phuč'él o cári]. 56. «Áke, o cári – me som! – phenél, – o cári». 57. Taj

nazváls'a, kaj si o cári. 58. Ej prósto ajakhá, te dikháv, ub'edit's'a, kaj normál'no si o xorandás. 59. Ej daváj.

60. Ej akaná, kána adá léske: «Te kerésa tu mánge, me túke dáva phabáj...» 61. «Te kerés, – phenél, – mánge, áke, kar'éta, na, mósti, te kerés adá móst'a xrustál'n'a okolé r'ec'kátar ġi okothé, šop me moh te nakháv, to dečí me čhijá dikháv te dav túte, ja na». 62. Ej ládno. 63. Akaná, aj ov láte o vastá phol'áke, sar e Devlésko si, koróč'e, birsahát [poká zborízel] te našél lása, ej daváj. 64. Taj kerél aká mósti, Devlalé, taj lil'ás te blistízel oká mósti, ej hīb'el'! 65. Phol'ál! 66. Sabastán úš'el o cári, sar dikhl'ás, šaštý. 67. «So te kerél? – [del pes godí taj akaná adá phenél čh'avoréske]. – Nu, jésli zd'élaješ tu mánge ková, géneja kar'éta phol'áki, to me dečí dikháva te dav tut me čhijá, nu daváj». 68. Géne že, ratí, e barí rat, ras, úš'el o cári, dikhél až briliant'énca, kolénca, phol'énca. 69. Hīb'el', šaštý o cári. 70. Ej koróč'e, géneja, ej géne me túke o šánsi dav, te dikháv, sar tu bešés. 71. Ker akatár tropínka ġi túte, šop me ráno výjexal taj te dikháv sar tu bešés, ej ládno. 72. Ej akaná, koróč'e, vaj kerél odová, vaj dromá, odová – tropínka, tropínka. 73. Ej koróč'e, kerd'ás ġi pe kheréste, taj lil'ás te ġ'al ko kher. 74. Uš'el o dad, e daj sabastán, sar dikhl'ás, šaštyrál.

75. Aj ov, vaj ur'avd'ás koróna sar korol'éva, koróli. 76. Šaštyrál akaná. 77. Avél, koróč'e, ej, o cári opré odolé [tropínke] pe čh'ajása, xaj, te dikhél, sar ov bešél. 78. Sar alé, sar dikhlé, šaštyrál. 79. Ej ládno, koróč'e, užé slúh'a si lénde, xaj ková, koróč'e, bukadár pacár'a [it must be: ko cári]. 80. Akaná o cári: «Nu ládno!» 81. Nu kerdé otkhá bijáv. 82. Akalá kerén bijáv, ková, aj othé sas avér čh'avoró taj dexélas la taj mangl'ás [it must be: manglél] on, ej, odá koróli, ov mangl'ás pe čh'avéske te mangl'arél, taj lel odová čh'avó ġ'al andé kómnata, taj dikhél odojá šérsti léski, kaj čhit'ás kátar ko sap, aj on xan, pijén puménde. 83. Ej, vaj khelén, vaj bijáv. 84. Ej, lel odová taj čh'el andé p'éc'ka e saporés, aj léske, ej žen'ex'éske, vaj šos' užé naši, vaj thaból léski kóža, ej na kóža, e kátar sap, odová, kaj čhit'ás, odojá morthí. 85. Va! 86. Prástal odoring te dikhél, so thaból, so tumé kerdé? 87. Térd'o, vopš'é na ajakhá.

88. Ej koróč'e, ġ'anés sar sas? 89. E princésa gelí taj dikhl'ás, so si, taj phen'ás: «Sóske odová, kóža si andé kómnata?» – taj čh'el andé p'éc'ka. 90. Akaná ov prastánilo, o rakló, vaj hál'ol šos' léske vuló plóxo. 91. Del béber'a: «So tu kerd'án, so tu thard'án, kóva, akaná me – vs'o». 92. Koróč'e, taj perél angál láte. 93. He! 94. Akaná oj lil'ás te rovél, koróč'e. 95. Odolá ávs'a, kaj pelé opré léske móste, taj ras, taj ġivínd'ol o rakló. 96. Ej č'umidý la, koróč'é, taj kerdé maj baró bijáv. 97. Xal'ám, pil'ám. 98. Li tu sánas otkhá, li me – alaj. 99. Koróč'e, vs'o.



## The Young Snake

1. There lived an old man with an old woman, and they had no children. 2. So they were unlucky, [as they were] old, you see. 3. And they had nobody to watch over them, unlucky [ones]. 4. You see, there was a stove, [and] they needed [some] firewood. 5. And [so] they went to a forest, to a forest to break [some] wood. 6. The old man gathers (firewood) [and] says to the old woman: “And you pull [it]”. 7. Now, in short, the old man gathers, [and] the old woman pulls [it] down. 8. Now [he] gathers and gathers [and], in short, and [he] breaks a tree [literally, *one branch*]. 9. And [he] sees a small young snake inside. 10. The young snake writhes on the ground and cries like a child. 11. Now the old man looked. 12. [He] was surprised and felt sorrow for it [the young snake]. 13. He said nothing to the old woman. 14. [He] takes that young snake and brings him home, you see. 15. And they had got a stove. 16. An oven, [you] know. 17. And one more oven, a small one that got warm only a little, and [he] put that young snake into a box. 18. The old man puts [him]. 19. Well, now, in short, the old man feeds him: gives him a bit of milk. 20. And he grows [and] grows [and] grows. 21. [There’s] already no more [space] for him in that oven, and he even stretched [out of it], in short, and [he] cries, well, [he] writhes against the ground. 22. In short, well, the old man, the old woman has already seen him [the snake]. 23. How? 24. What? 25. Well, right at this time that snake throws [his] skin and becomes a big snake, and [he] threw [his] skin and is a Romani son. 26. In short, a tsar emerges from there. 27. [He is] as beautiful as God cannot give. 28. “Mother, father, here I am, - he told them, - [I was in the skin]”. 29. They were surprised. 30. Well, [they] ate [and] drank [and] the old man and the old woman were glad. 31. Here God sent them a son. 32. Well, in short, when... that son [says], “Mother, father, I have to go to wage [money], maybe I’ll catch my fortune”. 33. Well, that one. 34. Well, and that son left.

35. [He] goes [and] goes and finds himself [at a place]. 36. Well, in short, there was a kingdom, a king lived [there] and he had a daughter. 37. In short, [he] was rich [as] God can give no more. 38. And [there was] a settlement. 39. Well, there were guardsmen in that settlement. 40. Come on. 41. Those guardsmen [were] so horrifying. 42. That tsar approaches. 43. Oh no! 44. [He] approaches those soldiers [and says], “Well, I have a daughter, well, watch her, I am going on business”. 45. Come on. 46. Now that tsar left away, you see. 47. A boy [appears] near her, as if in her room, and he guards her and falls in love with her. 48. Now, in short, the tsar comes back. 49. Another tsar is about to come [here] to suit my daughter. 50. Well, in short. 51. Well, when that one approached him, that fellow. 52. “May I have

you!” [he says] to that tsar. – “Please”. 53. “So what [do you want]? – [the tsar asks]. – In short, do you want to marry [my] daughter?” 54. “Yes,” [the fellow says]. 55. “Why?” [the tsar asks] 56. “Here, I am the tsar, the tsar.” 57. And [he] called himself as being the tsar. 58. Well, just to have a look, to make sure everything is all right in your family. 59. Well, come on.

60. Well, now [the tsar tells him], “If you do [this for] me, I’ll give you an apple...” 61. “If [you] make a carriage for me, no, a bridge, you should do those crystal bridges from that river to this place, for me to cross [the river], then I’ll consider giving you my daughter”. 62. Good. 63. And he [thinks], “She has golden hands”, and he is like the God’s one [and he] in a moment agrees to run away with her. 64. And [he] makes this bridge, oh Gods, and the bridge shone. 65. Gold! 66. The tsar gets up in the morning, [and] as he saw [the bridge] he was amazed. 67. “What is to be done”, [he thinks and then says to the fellow]. – Well, if you make a golden carriage for me, then I’ll consider giving you my daughter. Come on!” 68. Again at night, at midnight, the tsar gets up [and] sees [the carriage] even with those diamonds, with golden decorations. 69. Dear I, the tsar was amazed. 70. Well, I give you yet another chance to see how you live. 71. Make a path from this place to yours, for me to leave tomorrow and see how you live, OK. 72. Well, now, you see that one makes the path, the path. 73. Well, in short, [he] made [the path] up to his home and began going home. 74. [His] father gets up, and as the mother saw [the path] in the morning, [they] became surprised.

75. And, you see, he put on a crown like a king. 76. [They were] surprised. 77. In short, the tsar walks along these [paths] with his daughter as if to see how he lives. 78. As [they] came, as [they] saw, [they] were surprised. 79. Well, in short, they already have numerous servants, as the tsar [has]. 80. Now the tsar [says], “Well, good”. 81. Well, they celebrated the wedding right there. 82. Those [people] celebrate the wedding, well, and there was another fellow [son of another king], and [he] loved her, and they wanted [to marry]; that king wanted to woo [that girl]; and that fellow enters the room and sees that skin of him [of the snake] that the snake had shed; [meanwhile] the rest [of the people] are eating and drinking [not seeing it]. 83. You see, [it’s a] wedding [party], [and] they [are] having good time. 84. That one takes [the snake skin] and throws it into the oven; and the fiancé feels not well, you see: his skin is burning, not the snake skin, the one that he [once] thrown down, that skin. 85. Yes! 86. [He] runs to that place to look what’s burning; what have you done?! 87. Stop, it’s all wrong.

88. Well, in short, do you know how it all happened? 89. The princess came [into the room] and saw what is [there] and said, “Why that skin is in the room?” – And [she] throws [it] into the oven. 90. Now he

rushed, [that] fellow, you see, he felt bad. 91. [He] cries, “What have you done, why have you burnt [that skin], now I’m finished”. 92. In short, [he] falls in front of her. 93. 94. Now she burst out crying, in short. 95. Those tears [of her] that fall on his face [reanimated] the boy. 96. Well, [he] kissed her, in short, and [they] made an even greater wedding party. 97. [We] ate [and] drank enough [there]. 98. And you were there, and me too - everyone [was]. 99. In short, that’s all.

## **26. Adá vuló paš ke diz Zlatóústje** **(“It Happened near the city of Zlatoustie”)**

*Adá vuló paš ke diz Zlatóústje* (“It Happened near the city of Zlatoustie”) is a text of a Romani *bylichka-strashilka* that was recorded in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij Bor region, in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mr. Viktor Borisovich Humerohlyi (b. 1964), Romani name Bairam. The text is published here for the first time.

This folk tale describes some horrifying events that happened to an old relative of Mr. Viktor Humerohlyi, namely his encounter with a spirit of a dead woman house-owner. The tale warns Roma not to use someone’s soap for washing or laundering. Roma are said to have a habit of throwing away the soap that other people used in a Romani home.

The name of the city where those terrifying events took place sounds like a name of a town of Zlatoust (in the South Urals), though the narrated events might be of imaginative character. The author may only mention that the informant’s old relative was his uncle, Mr. Gennadii Ivanovich Ohly, who inherited some old stories and tales from his parents.

### **Adá vuló paš ke diz Zlatóústje**

1. Sobýtija éti proixodíli v naše vr’ém’a. 2. Éto býlo v hórod’e Zlatóústje. 3. Po pridániju nášyx starikóv, rótstv’ennikov. 4. Étot raskás ja slýšal ot d’ád’ki. 5. S’ejč’ás, vot, raskažú.

6. Phirénas o zamán manušá dahá ladí. 7. Ladí phirénas, grasténca, urdénca, xorandadénca taj gelésas amaré othé. 8. Ej amaré: o phuré, vot. 9. Amaró kak dahá sas tiknó taj phirélas taj phukavélas ov odová užé aménge akaná. 10. Ğ’anas on ladí xorandása, grasténca, vurdénca, alajésa. 11. Ğ’anas, phirénas taj belvélilo. 12. Belvélilo. 13. Aj pelé on ko č’éti ko dizáko. 14. Odová Zlatóústje. 15. Kaj phenén léske: Zlatóústje – diz. 16. Taj pelé on othé. 17. Ej, koróč’e hovor’á, belvélilo. 18. Užé lil’ás témina te perél.

19. «So, – phenél, – te kerás, kaj te ĝ'as?», – vot. 20. Áma si ková. 21. O č'éti, pol'ávina, sar vešoró. 22. Andé ko veš trašánile te ĝ'an: rázn'a kolá andé te na ovén. 23. Li sapá, li ková – kon ĝ'anél, so si. 24. Ej, on phenén: «Éla akatkhá te thas amén ková, e jag». 25. Ej ávgos sas, esás: jagá thénas, phirénas. 26. Bešénas šos', xapé savó-to, kartóp'a pekénas. 27. O púja prástan, khelén, kerén, vot. 28. «Élan te thas e jag akatkhá taj te bešás ko č'éti e dizákoró», – phenél. 29. Vot esí: nikhás manuša nanáj, ne kherá nanáj othé: nikhás – ništo. 30. Pol'ávina si, pol'ávina, barí pol'ávina, taj si livadí barí, taj si, koróč'e hovor'á, ková. 31. O manuša thedé jagá: duj – trin jagá thedé, taj si bešlé agurál, kaj zborizen, phukavén péske šó-to otkhá taj kartóp'a kerén. 32. Šos' xapé, zborizen, xan.

33. O púja prástan, khelén, vot. 34. Ratí užé, ratiló. 35. O grastá si phanlé otkhá. 36. Len, kerdé, andár vúrda lilé e grastén, muklé taj si kaj č'ar'on o grastá, vot. 37. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, alé, ková. 38. Phenél: «Páni kamél otkhá šó-to», – taj gelé o duj manuša pan'éske, te dikhén páni te róden savó-to. 39. Te esí xaning savi-to, ja č'oxráki, ja sovó-to só-to, te anén páni – pan'éske. 40. Bytý o páni lénde. 41. Ej, gelé. 42. Ej nanáj len saháti, mul duj nanáj saháta.

43. Áke, kaj prástan. 44. Devlalejáv! 45. O duj ĝ'ané prástan, vur'án. 46. Alají andár lénde až, be kaj. 47. Jél'e-jél'e zborizen. 48. «So vuló tuménca, so vuló odová, kaj sanúsas, sóske prástan, so si othé, kon perél pal tuménde, ja so vuló?» – [phuč'én]. 49. Aj dadelejáv, Devlaléja, Dévla! 50. Izrán alají, naši phenén, e čhib [na] boldín'ol, naši phenén ništo zbóra. 51. «So vuló, so dikhl'ám amé akankhá, kas dikhl'ám, aj dádele, manuš savó-to, baró, uč'ó; baró manuš asavkó te dikhés sar v'elikáni, be, baró manuš, dikhl'ám, taj peló káring aménde, taj čhit'ás andé aménde savé-to kaštá, taj mard'ás dumukhénca e phu, taj izránili e phu, Devlaléjav, taj thaból alají, aj ov esí alají sar jagátar kerdó, jagása thaból alají odová manuš», – [phenén]. 52. «Ništo na hálil'am so si taj kon esí, so si adavá ajakhá, taj dikhl'ám, taj phar'ám duj, taj vul'ám kajipi othár, našl'ám taj na ĝ'anás so si, kon esí odová», – [phenén]. 53. Aj, dádeleja, taj peló pal aménde. 54. Ej, akaná, alají šunén taj na hál'on ništo, taj si vzrósl'a č'h'avé, romá vzrósl'a si taj pak'án lénge, sar jekhé rigátar li pak'án, li na pak'án o romá. 55. Pharé duj o manuša, o púja, alají birdén, alají okružýli.

56. Ej, ková, diné krúhi taj si bešlé, be, mamúj... paš ko jagá alají. 57. Alají izrán, o púja geré trašánile, vaj. 58. Trašán, vs'o. 59. Va! 60. Aj kon-to phenél: «Má trašan, vaj, ništo, so si só-to, phenás so kerén».

61. Taj si bukadár manuša, ej mul č'elov'ék mózet p'atnácat' – s'emnácat' – dvátcat' tam, vot. 62. Manuša si. 63. O grastá, alají vúrda phanlé si. 64. Alají, ková, kerdó alají, vs'o. 65. Kon ĝ'anél so te kerén akalá, vot. 66. Li trašán, vaj, kón-to pal manuša, kón-to na trašál, kón-to li na

pak'ál, kón-to pak'ál, alají. 67. O manušá phenén: «Vaj, dáde!» 68. Akalénde, ej, po muj čhité, muj nanáj odolé trašátar, naši phirén manušá, be, naši zbóra phenén tólkom. 69. Ej, odolá skor'éj ko grastá, be kaj, okotár asavkí jag, savé-to šáh'a birdén, sar ġ'al, sar prástal asavkó manuš, asavkí jag barí prástal káring lénde. 70. Hálil'an? 71. Jag, pr'ámo, barí. 72. Aj, dádele, akaná dikhén on, kaj vazdínilo odová sar stólbi, odová manuš vazdínilo. 73. Be kaj, ej, móžet, m'étrov, be, s'em' – vós'em' ućipé. 74. Tu hálil'an? 75. Esí odá jag – manuš. 76. Taj zborízél odá manuš, be, asavkó sési hromovóji, asavkó ková, taj zborízél lénde: «Ej, tumé, tumé al'anús akathé, kon esanús tumé?» 77. Vot. 78. Na, e gaġikanés zborízél, e gaġikanés zborízél, gaġikanó sési sí. 79. Kon esanús tumé, kátar esanús tumé, sóske al'anús athé mánde, me tumén alajén kan-mudaráv, kan-mul'akeráv tumén alajén, vs'o!

80. Sar dikhlé o romá odová birdén, pharé duj: ne ġivindé, ne mulé. 81. Déba e grastén, e kolén, e vurdadén [it must be: o vúrda]. 82. Kon so kerél: kon e grastén del andé, andé ko vúrda bešél. 83. E pujén thel, kidel. 84. Kon..., kon garavd'ás pes tal ko vúrda. 85. Kon – káthe. 86. Kon lil'ás odolá jagá o tharé, o kaštá o tharé, kaj thabón andár ke jag. 87. Lilé te čh'en káring léste. 88. Phenén: «Jagása kamén les te trašavés». 89. Aj ov, sam sar jag esí taj čh'en andé léste odolá jagá, odolá kaštá, odolá kolá – vs'o. 90. Povídi, be, ov lil'ás, ková, te tynklandíjel, terdílo. 91. Hál'os tu? 92. Odová manuš, aj dečí géneja maj xúže lil'ás, tu hál'os tu, jagá te čh'el, zahor'élos' štó-to, be kaj, asavkí béberi, asavkí sar šol vazdínili, balvál vazdínili, asavkí, be kaj tam, trubá. 93. Ej, koróč'e hovor'á, len on, ková... 94. Ej vs'o, diné e grastén andé, bešlé taj lilé te ġ'an, kajípi te našén. 95. Ej, povídi-to našlé, be, našlé.

96. Savó-to č'éti dikhén: gav esí, gav. 97. Ej, thabón jarýk'a, lámpes, káste sí, káste momol'á sí, káste so sí andé kheroré, sar sí aménde. 98. Thabón, ková, andé pénč'eres jagá. 99. Dahá manušá nanáj suté, kón-to sutó sí. 100. Diné birsahát andé ko gav. 101. Lilé, ková, vulicénca, vulicénca te ġ'an, vaj. 102. Dikhén, jagorí thaból, kheroró sí.

103. Den, on marén, ková, sánkim. 104. Ej, nadur katár ko č'éti tóže. 105. Otkhá marén ko gaġ'é. 106. Den íkos gaġ'én: «Pomohít'e, pomohít'e», – sánkim. 107. Ej, den béber'a, vaj: «Ker jardými, ková, – rusítiko den béber'a on, hál'os tu? – kéren jardými, kéren jardými!» 108. Marén, e ková, e kalítka, marén vot. 109. Níkl'ol andár ko kher... géne, oková, avrí jarýki thabiló, o jarýki. 110. Níkl'ol andár e gaġí, níkl'ol andár, kohdá odojá oj: «Kon esanús tumé? Katár adá avén? Katár ġ'an tumé?» 111. Vot. 112. Pe grasténca sí pe vurdénca, pujénca. 113. Rovén o púja, o manuš rovén, o ġ'uvlá, okolá. 114. So? 115. Sóske rovén? 116. So vuló?

117. Aj, dáde, so dikhl'ám amé akankhá taj na ġ'anás. 118. Amé trašás. 119. So te kerás, áke, na ġ'anás. 120. Al'ám, ková, o ġ'ukelá bašén, alají bašél. 121. O manušá. 122. Esás niklisté komšúdes. 123. O komšúdes niklisté. 124. Koróč'e hovor'á, manušá: «So vuló?» 125. Aj, dáde so dikhl'ám amé akankhá, kaj asavkí díla aménca prikl'učilas'. 126. Savó-to manúš, saví-to jag, baró sar v'elikáni, ková, zborízél, del béber'a, balval, thuv, jagá č'h'el, kerél taj našl'ám, vul'ám kajípi – kára kajípi alají. 127. Phar'ám duj. 128. O púja: «So si adá ajakhá? So si adá? Kon esí adá? So si adá ajakhá?» 129. Amé sokabór phirás, dahá asavkó na dikhl'ám, li na šunl'ám, li na dikhl'ám. 130. Del trad jekh gaġi: «Tumé ġ'anén so? - phenél, – Vot: akatkhá si kher, akatkhá č'h'uč'h'ó kher esí, tumé ġ'an andé taj ratkerén, áke tuménge momol'á, šéja, kaj kan-tharén othé tam šó-to, áke andé taj ratkerén tuménge».

131. E gaġi phenél: «Andé nikhón naná bešél, bešélas jekh, ková, andé, sánkim, gaġi, gaġ'ó – on mulé taj si, ková, o kher č'h'uč'h'ó, nikhás nanáj».

132. Lel akatár, oj, ej den pes godí xot' ajakhá, povídi-to, vaj, but manušá si, kaj te ġ'an, so te kerás. 133. Ej, den andé e grastén, phanlé o vúrda, oková, kon sar, kon káthe.

134. Diné andé ko kher, diné andé ko kher: č'h'uč'h'ó kher esí, kher č'h'uč'h'ó, kaštunó kher, puranó ov... 135. Diné andé. 136. Vs'o!

137. Dikhén: andé kúxonka esí terdí sar vr'em'ánka, be, so si andé terdó, sar saráji si terdó andé bar. 138. Andé e bán'a andé kerdí. 139. Ej, lilé te xal'arén pes. 140. Ej, kón-to xal'ard'ás otkhá, kón-to so. 141. Ej, vród'e, be, uspokóilis' o romá. 142. Vród'e-to uspokóilis', vs'o normál'no. 143. Xal'ardé pes, kerdé pes, e puġén thedé te sovén, taj pašlilé, be. 144. Kon sovél, kon naší.

145. Ej, povídi diné ratí užé, ratí, be, hluxóji, hál'os tu, hluxóji nóči si, užé mard'ás o dv'enátcat', pal ko dv'enátcat', be, kerdiló vaxyti: témina – rat. 146. Ej, kon andé líndra din'ás, ej, kon so kerd'ás, kon nanáj sutó. 147. Be, akathár na phanlé o vudará, lilé toverá pésa o romá otkhá: káste č'h'ur'á, toverá, šó-to pésa si, savó-to, káste senéki, káste so si. 148. Ej, esí, be. 149. Koróč'e, be, na hál'on ne níšto.

150. Šunén: mard'ól o vudár, den angál: «Kon esí?» 151. Ej, gaġikanés den angál: «Kon esí? Kon esí?» 152. Tynýki si, be, mard'ól maj lač'h'és o vudár. 153. Phuč'él: «Kon esí?» 154. Nikhón naná del angál. 155. Maj lač'h'és mard'ól o vudár. 156. Užé do tóho, kaj užé, be, oková, č'ut' andár na nıkl'on odolá o p'etl'ádes, odolá kr'uč'ók'a, odá alají, be. 157. Ej, mul'óm, aj dečí sar vazdínilo, sar lilé te mard'ón o pénč'eres: jekh pénč'era, avér – alají o pénč'eres. 158. Sar lilé te mard'ón o pénč'eres alají, be kaj, taj vazdínilo, be, asavkó stúki, asavkó ková, asavkó maripé, asavkó svísti, asavkó, ková, šol lil'ás te ovél andé ko kher, o kaná, kaj phánden o manušá.

159. Aj dádele, asavkó maripé, alají mard'ól, alají xurd'árd'ol. 160. Odolá jal'á na lilé te mard'ón, te xurd'árd'on, te phag'ón o jal'á. 161. Asavkí balvál na vazdínili andé odolé kheréste. 162. Nikhás nanáj, amí xurd'árd'ol, mard'ól alají taj sési. 163. Aj, dádele, so si adavá alají, lilé te rovén, te kerén. 164. Thardé momol'á, jagá, manglé Devlés. 165. So si adá ajakhá?

166. Aj, asavkó sési ġ'uvlikanó, gaġ'áko sési: «Tumé sóske al'anús mánde athé, andé me kheréste, adá si mo kher, tumé akathé al'anús, me tumén alajén kan-tasaváv, kan-keráv alajén, tumén akaná me, me kan-mudaráv tumén, tumé alají mulé kan-ovén, tumé al'anús mánde, nanil'anús andé ke bán'a, káthe me nan'ávas, káthe nan'árdé man taj me romés, káthe nan'árdé amén, káthe amé bešás, tumé al'anús akathé». 167. Ej, vs'o! 168. Odolá romá pharé duj, trašánile, mulé. 169. «Kon esán tu?» – [phuč'én o romá]. 170. Me athé bešavas, me som e xoz'ájka e kheréskiri, tumé nanil'anús andé me ban'áte, o sapúni esás odová othé, kaj nan'árdé man, dei, ková, tumé nanil'anús lésa, astard'anús les, o sapúni minró, dei. 171. Alají o kher, káthe sovás, káthe phirás, vs'o! 172. Akaná me tumén, ková, kan-mudaráv, dei, kan-tasaváv tumén. 173. Hálil'an? 174. Taj alají andé parnéste taj vazdínilo pr'ámo andé ko kher, odojá gaġí andé parné savut'ende, andé ž-u-u-u... balval'ása, kolénca. 175. Mérim, oj esí e xoz'ájka e kheréskiri, mulí si, e gaġí mulí si, e xoz'ájka e kheréskiri. 176. Káthe phenl'ás, vaj, e gaġí phenl'ás lénge: «Bešélas andé gaġ'ó gaġ'ása taj mulé nanáj len». 177. Mérim, vaj, o romá gelé andé bán'a, andé bán'a sas, taj gelé o romá andé taj nanilé, andé si sapúni taj nanilé odolé sapun'ésa. 178. Mérim, kána mulí e gaġí, e gaġ'á xal'árdé odolé sapun'ésa. 179. Tumé hál'on ja na? 180. Vot v č'om d'élo! 181. Taj ačhiló odová zmýlko. 182. Hál'os tu? 183. Andé oká da ačhiló. 184. E gaġ'á garavdé. 185. O kher odová ajakhá li ačhiló, andé nikhón na bešél. 186. Mérim odojá gaġí phirélas, hál'os tu? 187. Mulí sas, mulí taj phirélas oj, taj dikhl'ás, vaj. 188. Taj, mérim, nan' ovél, kána, áke, e mulé manušés, muló manuš merél taj les nan'arén, e manušés, aj odá sapúni nan' ovél lésa te xal'arés tut. 189. Te ačh'avés les, les kamél te les te xrándes, te čh'es les hd'é-to, šop, vs'o, ov te nan' ovél – rigáte. 190. Kána e mulé manušés nan'ad'arésa, hál'os tu? 191. Aj on – na. 192. On na ġ'anén, o romá, be kaj, lilé taj xal'árdé pes, taj kerdé. 193. Taj avén, taj, koróč'e hovor'á, odojá díla vulí. 194. Dévla! 195. O romá li trašán akaná. 196. Vaj, trašán li te kon avrí niklistó. 197. Diné búrnekh odolá kolá: senék'a, odolá toverá, terdilé alají káring láte – vs'o. 198. Be, koróč'e, so te na ovél, koróč'e, odá vuló, odová meripé, odolá stúk'a, odolá alají, ková, be, ko jekhpáš ke rat, s dv'enátcati do utrá, poká alají kidínilo, akajakhá alají. 199. Thardé momol'á, mangén e Devlés o manušá – alají. 200. Vs'o! 201. Káste o jiló din'ás búrnekh kon kaj so. 202. Ej, koróč'e, do utrá, poká na din'ás béberi o bašnó. 203. Taj del béber'a o bašnó, ras, taj

vs'o: tynyklandý. 204. Be, jékhtar o bašnó din'ás, dúvar, trival, vs'o. 205. Ništo na vuló, nikhás nanáj, ništo: vs'o – tynýki alají. 206. Pharé o romá duj, niklisté andár ko kher, diné grastén. 207. Odolé gağ'enge že [phenén]: «Č'to vy nam, sánkim, so tumé amén bič'al'dé so, so tumé bič'al'd'anús amén, dei, othé, odolé kheréste, ej andé mulí gağí si, mulé gağ'é bešen». 208. «Sar, so?» – [phuč'én]. 209. «Akajakhá, akajakhá, amé na šunl'am, áke, ġ'an taj dikhén: alají si xurd'ardó, opré aménde alají si: odolá pénéč'eres, odolá jal'á, odolá alají, odolá balval'á, kolá, šol'á». 210. Kan-tasavélas amén odojá gağí, vazdínili opré aménde, ur'ánili akajakhá. 211. Alají dikhl'am amé, phar'am duj. 212. Andé sapúni sas, taj amé na hálil'am, nanil'amúsas, ková, deí, ková, taj vs'o!

213. Del trad e gağí: «Ej, va! amé šunl'am, dei, kaj othé bešél, kaj oj phirél odojá gağí, no amé, vaj, n'e dúmali, vaj, andé nikhón na ġ'álas». 214. Tynýki, nikhón ništo na phenélas, vot. 215. Aj sar tumé – akajakhá, akajakhá vuló, ej aménde andé ko gav, deí, manušá iš'ezájut. 216. Na avén o manušá, merén taj on: nikhón na arakhél manušen, nikhon-nikh. 217. Aj sar, akajakhá-akajakhá amé šunásas, kaj phirénas andé o molod'ózy. 218. O terné andé, be, phirénas te dexén pes. 219. Ej, kon: raktó rakt'ása ġ'al hd'é-to. 220. Rakt' ó kompánijes, smotrí l' on ġ'an; to pijén, to khelén andé rakté rakt'éncá, andé ko kher ko č'h'uč'h'ó. 221. Tu hál'os, tu? 222. Taj pal odová odolén na ovénas, iš'ezáli, kon andé perélas, pal savé-to, pal... kón-to – sar, len nikhón nan' arakhélas, odolé manušen. 223. Amé na ġ'anásas, na šunásas ništo, deí, ej vs'o. 224. Mérim, adá sar ġ'anás taj tasavélas len odojá gağí mulí, taj lélas, taj gelélas, taj xrándelas okoring. 225. Ej, kon ġ'anél la, mózet xálas len, mózet, Dévla. 226. Ne izv'ésno, so vuló. 227. Áke túke alají, akajá díla, sar esás odová, ladí sar kaj phirénas o manušá. 228. Áke adavá, taj vulé kajíp'a amaré o zamán odolá othár, odolé gavéstar, katár ko Zlatóustja, odolé dizátar taj nakhlé tap, kim bísim káthe, odoringá, užé odolé rigénde, káring ko Kubáni. 229. Li na terdilé, ne ratí, ne disé geré. 230. Vs'o! 231. Kajipi vul' othár. 232. Áke túke so sas adá.

### **It Happened near the city of Zlatoustie**

1. These events took place nowadays. 2. They happened near the city of Zlatoustie. 3. It's a legend of our old relatives. 4. I heard the story from my uncle. 5. Now I'll tell it to you.

6. Roma used to wander at those times. 7. Once they travelled there with their horses and carriages and families. 8. 9. My uncle was young then. 10. So they travelled wandering with their families, horses and carriages. 11. One day they travelled till dark. 12. It went dark. 13. They found themselves at the outskirts of a city. 14. It was the city of Zlatoustie. 15. 16.



And there they had come. 17. And it was getting dark. 18. Darkness was seizing everything.

19. Well, what they had to do? 20-21. The place where they found themselves was a field near a forest. 22. The Roma were afraid to have a stay in the forest. 23. They were afraid of snakes and any other things. 24. So they said, "Let us set our fires at this place". 25. Then they used to cook on fires. 26. They boiled soup or baked potatoes. 27. Children were running around and playing. 28. The Roma decided to stay at the outskirts of that city. 29. There was nobody there: no other people, no houses. 30. Only a vast field. 31. So they made two or three fires and sat down round them talking and baking potatoes. 32. They warmed soup and began their meal.

33. Children were running around. 34. Then night came. 35. Horses were linked there. 36. They were unharnessed from their carriages for grazing. 37-38. Two people were sent to get back some water. 39. They were to find a well or a spring and bring some water. 40. The Roma had run out of water. 41. So those people left. 42. They were absent for an hour or two.

43. Then they returned running. 44. Oh Gods! 45. Two people are running, almost flying. 46. They lost their breath. 47. They could hardly speak. 48. "What happened to you, where have you been, why are you running, what is there, who attacks you?" 49. Oh Gods! 50. Those people were trembling, they couldn't speak, their tongues failed to talk, and they were not able to say a word. 51. "What we've just seen was a very tall man, a giant; he looked as if he was made of fire; he threw some branches into us; he also beat the ground with his fists and the ground shook". 52. "We understood nothing, but we got very frightened [literally, *we burst into halves*], we ran away from there and we don't know who he was". 53. Oh Gods, that man followed us. 54. Everybody listens to the story, both the young and adults, but they believe or not. 55. Still everybody got frightened.

56. People gathered round the burning fires. 57. Children were trembling. 58. They were scared. 59. 60. Somebody said, "Don't be frightened, for nothing bad has happened yet".

61. They were numerous, some fifteen or seventeen or even twenty Roma were there. 62. 63. Their horses were safe. 64. Everything was fixed. 65. 66. Still some Roma were frightened, while others were not; some believed the story, and others didn't. 67. People exclaimed, "O Gods!" 68. Some Roma's faces were distorted of fear. 69. Others rushed to save horses, but they heard the sound of footsteps from where their horses stood, and tall column of fire run towards them. 70. Clear? 71. A very large fire. 72. Now they saw a man who had risen up in front of them. 73. He was seven or eight meters tall. 74. Clear? 75. He was a man of fire. 76. And he asked

them in a thunder-loud voice, “Who are you who has come here?” 77. 78. He spoke like a man, but not in Romani tongue. 79. Who are you, where have you come from? I’ll kill you all, I’ll make you dead!

80. As the Roma saw it, they got frightened [literally, *burst into halves*] and kept sitting half dead and half alive. 81. 82. Some rushed to harness horses and take places in their carts. 83. They began gathering their children. 84. Others hid themselves under their carts. 85. 86. Some removed burning branches from camp-fires. 87. They began throwing the branches into the giant. 88. They said, “We must frighten him with fire”. 89. They throw burning branches into him, but he himself was like a fire. 90. The giant stopped. 91. 92. But then he became even worse: he began throwing flames and set something on fire. 93. 94. The Roma harnessed their horses and rushed away. 95. They left that place.

96. From there they went to a certain village. 97. There lights were seen burning in the houses. 98. 99. It meant some villagers were not sleeping yet. 100. The Roma quickly drove into the village. 101. They went along the streets. 102. They saw a house with a light in a window.

103. They approached it and knocked the door. 104. It was not far from the outskirts of the village. 105. They knocked a door of a house of some non-Roma people. 106. The Roma ask them, “Help us!” 107. They cry in Russian, “Help! Help!” 108. The Roma also knock on the door. 109-110. Some non-Roma people emerge from the house and ask, “Who are you? What place have you left and where are you going now?” 111. 112. With all your horses and carts and children are they. 113. Women and children are crying... 114. 115. Why are you crying? 116. What has happened to you?

117. Oh God, we don’t know what we’ve just seen. 118. We are afraid. 119. We don’t know what to do. 120. We came here; dogs in the village were barking. 121. 122. People from a near-by house also took to the street. 123. 124. They asked, “What’s happened?” 125. Oh God, what we’ve seen, what’s happened to us! 126. A giant man attacked us, he cried at us and threw flames and smokes and made wind blowing. 127. We got very frightened. 128. 129. We have never seen or heard of anything like this as long as we have been wandering. 130. A non-Romani woman said, “Here’s a vacant house over there; come in and spend a night in it”.

131. The woman went on, “Nobody lives there any more; once a man and a woman lived there, but now it’s vacant”. 132. The Roma considered the proposal [they really need a place to spend a night]. 133. So they unharnessed their horses and stopped at the house.

134. They entered the house: it was all wooden and old. 135. 136.

137-138. They found a kitchen and a bath there. 139. So they washed themselves. 140. 141. Finally they get calm. 142. Everything seemed all right. 143. The Roma washed their children and went to sleep. 144. Some of them stayed on a watch.

145. It was midnight; the clock [had] struck twelve: it was night, darkness. 146. 147. The vigilantes were armed with knives, pitchforks and axes. 148. 149.

150. Suddenly they hear the front door being knocked at and asked, "Who's there?" 151. They cried in a non-Romani language, "Who's there? Who's there?" 152. Nobody replied, only the door was being knocked at stronger. 153. They asked, "Who's there?" 154. Nobody replied again. 155. The door was being knocked at stronger yet. 156. Its hinges and locks were about to jump off. 157-158. Next windows of the house began smashing and there came loud whistle – so loud that people had to close their ears. 159. Everything in the house began smashing and breaking. 160. Windows were smashed into pieces. 161. Strong wind rose in the house. 162. There was no other person seen, and still things were destroyed. 163. "Oh Gods, what's that?" cried Roma. 164. The Roma lit candles and prayed to God. 165. What's going on?

166. Then the woman's voice said, "Why did you come to my house? It's my house! I'll kill you all! You all will be dead! You came to me; you washed in the bath where my husband and I used to wash!" 167. 168. The Roma got terrified and became still. 169. "Who are you?" they ask. 170. I used to live here, I'm the mistress of the house, and you've washed yourselves in my bath using even my soap! 171. 172. And now I'll kill you, I'll strangulate you. 173. 174. That non-Romani woman appeared in white clothes causing more wind to blow. 175. She must have been the dead mistress of the house. 176. Indeed, the village woman had told them that a couple had lived there and then died. 177-178. So the Roma washed themselves in the bath with the soap that had been used to wash the dead non-Romani woman before she was buried. 179. 180. That's the matter. 181. A small piece of soap had been left. 182. 183. 184. The non-Romani woman was buried. 185. Her house had been empty ever since. 186-187. So it was obviously that dead woman who returned to the house at night. 188. It seems one mustn't wash himself with the piece of soap that was used to wash a dead body. 189. Such piece of soap must be thrown away or buried in the ground. 190-192. But the Roma didn't know about that. 193. That's why the whole affair happened. 194. Oh God! 195. Now the Roma got frightened. 196. 197. They took their axes and forks and look toward the woman. 198. It went on banging and smashing windows from midnight till morning. 199. People lighted candles and prayed to God. 200. 201. Some

Roma had heart seizures of fear. 202. It all went on till morning, till the first cock cried. 203. As village cock cried, everything became calm. 204. The cock cried once, twice, then thrice – and that was over. 205. There was nothing [dangerous] any longer. 206. The Roma got very frightened; they left the house and harnessed their horses. 207. They said to the non-Roma village people, “Why did you send us to the house where a dead non-Romani woman lives?” 208. “Indeed?” the villagers ask. 209. Come here and look: the windows are smashed all around. 210. That non-Romani woman rose against us and flew like this; she might well strangle us all. 211. We saw her; we almost burst into parts from fear. 212. There was a piece of soap in the bath, and we used it to wash ourselves.

213. A non-Romani woman says, “Well, we really heard that a woman lived and walked there, but none of us have ever been in this house”. 214. Nobody has ever spoken of that. 215. But some people from this village have disappeared. 216. They didn’t die, but disappeared, and nobody found them. 217. We also heard that young people used to visit this house. 218. The young went there to make love. 219. Boys and girls went to it. 220. They also had drinking parties there. 221. You see? 222. And those who entered the house then disappeared, so that nobody found them. 223. 224. It seems that non-Romani woman strangled them and took them to the other side to bury. 225. Maybe she ate them. 226. We don’t know what went on. 227. 228. As Roma heard all that, they left that village and moved as far away as they could. 229. They travelled day and night. 230. Over! 231. They disappeared from there. 232. Here’s for you what happened.

**27. “Te arakháva maj denil’á tútar...”  
 (“If I find Anyone More Stupid than You...”)**

“*Te arakháva maj denil’á tútar...*” (“If I find Anyone More Stupid than You...”) is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) in 2002 from Mr. Viktor Borisovich Humerohlyi (b. 1964), Romani name Bairam. The text is now published for the first time.

The story is a retelling that is close in content to two Russian folk tales. The story begins with a plot (SUS № 1384) of a husband looking for someone more stupid than his wife who mourns over her child that has not been born yet; in a Romani version she does a funeral repast to mark her baby that isn’t born yet. After some time the husband succeeds in finding such a person in a widow (SUS № 1540). When a passer-by tells the widow that he has come from the other world and had met her recently deceased husband there, the woman gives him the money and clothes to be delivered

to her late spouse. The informant's story lacks the Russian ending of the tale, in which the dead man's senior son pursues the cheat.

### «Te arakháva maj denil'á tútar...»

1. Bešélas gağ'ó gağ'ása. 2. Lel jékhvar o gağ'ó, avél kátar ke butí. 3. Avél kátar butí, be, dikhé! paš ke bar manušá si terdé. 4. Bukadár – jekhpáš bar manušá terdé si. 5. Paš ke bar e romní rovél andé kalé savut'énde. 6. «So vuló odová, so, – phenél, – vuló othé, so vuló?» 7. Aj bešén duj ġ'ané. 8. Lénde ne púja nanáj, ne níkhon-nikh nanáj. 9. Aj, dádelejav! 10. O rom avél. 11. [Oj] del trad taj roméske phenél: «Ej, áke, me keráv, sánkím, dovás dav, dovás das». 12. «Taj so vuló?» – [phuč'él ov]. 13. «Ej áke, amaró pújos muló taj das dovás», – [phenél oj]. 14. Sar ov del trad: «Taj kaj aménde púja? Kána muló o pújos? Kána sas, so vuló? Kátar lil'an tu pujós, vaj na sas aménde púja!» 15. «So?» – odová denílilo o manuš, denílilo o gağ'ó. 16. Kána odojá: «Ej, áke dikh, áke, amé bešás túsa, va, ej aménde, na prim'ér, te ovél túsa pújos taj te níkl'ol ov opré baró teréki taj te perél othár taj te mudarél pes». 17. «O pújos?» – [phuč'él ov]. 18. «Va! – [phenél oj], – So, áke muló, arávdilo, nanáj o pújos taj kamél o dovás te das, áke, taj dav dovás, vaj». 19. Denílilo o gağ'ó, phenél: «Či tu so denílil'an, či tu so kerd'an, či xalazína to šeró, te kókala, savó pújos, savé dovádes, kidin'an manušen akathé taj thes te kerés dovás, savé pujóske, savó?» 20. Aj oj: “Na i vs'o”. 21. Áke odová, ker li tu o dovás. 22. Dikhl'ás, dikhl'ás o gağ'ó taj phenél: «Akajá gelí god'atar fájma!» 23. «So, – phenél, – me te keráv, manušále?» – manušéngé. 24. Kaj púja? 25. V'et' tumé ġ'anén, amé bešás lása, púja nanáj, níšto nanáj. 26. Dikhlé o gağ'é, xalé, pilé, boldiné pes péske, hájda kheré! 27. Be, denilí si, bisim, xot' xal'am, pil'am taj gel'am améngé kheré, aj so kamél? 28. Va!

29. Kána adá ov dikhl'ás, dikhl'ás, kána adá ov: «Ládno». 30. «Adá, – phenél, – bax nanáj, ne púja nanáj, ne níšto». 31. «Kan-ğ'av, – phenél, – me tútar te phiráv mángé, óke, palál o Del din'ás opré ke phu». 32. «Te arakháva me maj denil'á tútar, maj denil'á tútar, – phenél, – maj denil'á tútar, znáčit me kan-aváv palé, kan-bóldav man, aj te na arakháva maj denil'á tútar, znáčit me túte na kan-bóldav man», – pe romn'áke phenél o rom.

33. Vaj, din'ás alají o mangín: li grastén, li kolén, li kahn'én, li papinén, li lové – alají din'ás, daxtytý ko gağ'é. 34. Kerd'ás ková, molími dová: álen, deí, kerén! 35. Daxtytý alají. 36. [Phenél]: «Pominájt'e, deí, mojevó synóč'ka, r'eb'ónoč'ka». 37. Tumé hál'on so si? 38. Daxtytý angál ko pújos, kaj muló, vród'e b to ková. 39. Lel o gağ'ó: vs'ó ačhiló, ajakhá, biništósko. 40. Lel pe savut'a o gağ'ó, po kost'úmi. 41. Bešél [taj] geló

péske o gaǵ'ó, geló te phirél. 42. «So, – phenél, – me te keráv, so me te keráv, so te dikháv me, be?» 43. Geló te phirél. 44. Kan-ǵ'áv te phiráv te keráv but'á te kazandíjav; te phiráv te dikháv so si opré parnó d'un'ás.

45. Vs'o! 46. «Ej dikh! – phenél. – Te arakháva me maj denil'á tútar, me kan-aváv, – phenél láke, – te ná, me znáčit, na kan-bóldav man túte dečí!» 47. «Vs'o! – phenél. – Dikh!», - boldin'ás pes taj geló. 48. Ğ'al o gaǵ'ó pe dromésa, phird'ás, nu kaj, so. 49. Perél savé-to dazáte. 50. Thed'ás pes xyzmet'éste o gaǵ'ó. 51. Vaj, kamél šó-to te xal, te arakhél e kop'éjka lové. 52. Thed'ás pes xyzmet'éste. 53. Kerél butí o gaǵ'ó: xyzméti kerél, bešél kák-to tam. 54. Diné kheroró les otkhá, péske bešél. 55. Kátar ke butí, vaj, diné kheroró tiknoró sar ková – e kvartíra. 56. Bešél péske andé, bešél, níšto nanáj asavkó. 57. Dikhél manušá kerén but'á péske, xyzmét'a, ková. 58. Bešén po prostómu: níkhaj – níšto.

59. Ras, vyxodnóji d'es léste. 60. O gaǵ'ó phenél: «Kan-ǵ'áv hd'e-nébut' te phiráv te dikháv manušen». 61. Vyxodnóji d'es. 62. Kotorí léste lovoré, otkhá šéji, ková. 63. Kind'ás péske o gaǵ'ó savút'a. 64. Esí ková: šužó. 65. Geló, moravd'ás pes šukár. 66. Geló. 67. Ahá! Ğ'al andé ko gav, phirél, dikhél: kher esí. 68. Lačh'ó kher baró, taj si, be kaj, dvuxetažni kher baró, lačh'ó. 69. Lel o gaǵ'ó marél. 70. Marél o vudár. 71. Níkl'ol andár e gaǵí. 72. Kána adavá del sel'ámi lása e gaǵ'áke: «Sel'ám – sel'ám!» 73. Kána odojá gaǵí léske akatár...

74. Mangl'ás ov páni te pijél. 75. Nikalél páni e gagí, del les páni te pijél. 76. Pil'ás páni. 77. Kána odojá e gaǵí léske: «Aj kátar tu avés, manuša?» 78. Del trad ov akajakhá: «Kon ĝ'anél? Okolé d'un'ástar». 79. Vaj, phirél geró, phirél. 80. «Okolé d'un'ástar!» – phenél. 81. Kána odojá akatár: «Tu okolé d'un'ástar avés, va?»...

82. Kána adá oj léske akatár: «Aj tu othé na dikhl'an me romés?» 83. Kána odá ov: «Dikhl'óm!» 84. Kána odojá: «Hriškás?» 85. Kána adá: «Vaj, Hriškás dikhl'óm!» 86. «Ej taj sar si othé? – [phuč'él gaǵí]. – So kerél ov othé?» 87. Ej amí, mánge so phenl'ás? 88. «Kerd'ás túke sel'ámi!» – [phenél gaǵ'ó]. 89. Ej kána adá akatár oj léske: «Ej ta so, móžet šo-to mangl'ás?» 90. Kána adá ov: «Ej, helbéty m mangl'ás! – phenél. – Vaj, kost'úmi kamél léske othé lačh'ó, lové kamél, grastés mangl'ás! Va!» 91. Ej, vaj mánde alají lészero ačhiló, lésko gras si óke terdó, o savút'a, o šéja. 92. Élan andé ko kher, múrša! 93. Dévla! 94. A! 95. Beš! 96. Te xas mangl'ás. 97. [Oj] xavd'ard'ás, pijavd'ard'ás les. 98. Xal'ás. 99. Kána adá [phenél]: «Áke o lové túke, gel léste, Dévla». 100. O lové léste te des, ko Hriška, áke. 101. Ej, o lové. 102. Áke o gras, o kost'úmi lésko, áke alají, o šéji – alají. 103. Lel odá, thel léske baré ková, odolá savút'a, alají o šéja – vs'o.

104. Xal'ás, pil'ás. 105. Kána [phenél]: «Ej ládno, ej me gel'óm!» ... 106. Ej, koróče hovor'á, va, geló, be. 107. So te kerél, lel bóldel pes, o

gağ'ó ġ'al. 108. Avél péste othé, andé ke diz palé. 109. Bešló opré ko gras... pošól. 110. Avél andé ke diz. 111. Kána adá [del pes godí]: «So te keráv me xyzméti, so te keráv me athé?» 112. «Me dúmal, kaj mi romní si, – phenél, – sámi denilí opré ke parnó d'un'ás». 113. Mérim, maj látar denilí arákhli. 114. Ej sar? 115. «Akalé d'un'ástar, – phenél, – aváv – mul'óm». 116. E romés na dikhl'ás e gaġí. 117. O rom muló láko, mérim. 118. E gaġ'áko rom muló, aj oj jekh ġ'aní ačhilí taj kerél kasevéti pal ko gaġ'ó, taj gelí gerí god'átar pal léste. 119. Dumaiskerél, kerél – jekh ġ'aní si. 120. Vs'ó. 121. O mangín esí, be. 122. Vaj, o phol'á, o šéja – alají. 123. O kher odová – alají si. 124. Ávgos: odá – kaj. 125. Anél: ras l' oková ačhiló gaġ'éste. 126. Lel oj, bičh'alél léste, gelí god'átar e gaġí pal léste. 127. «So des, denilí, deniló manúš?» – [del pes godí gaġ'ó]. 128. Kána adá: «Undým, – phenél, – l' o lové, l' o phol'á, l' o manginá». 129. Ur'avdó. 130. Ur'avél odá kost'úmi opré péste, bešél opré ko gras. 131. Ej, m' ovél sastí, zoralí. 132. Phenél: «Bax me del la o Del!» 133. So te kerés, kan-ġ'av akaná me palé, me romn'áte. 134. Áke túke alají díla. 135. Avél péske kheré palé opré ko gras. 136. E romní sar dikhl'ás, [phuč'él]: «Aj kátar al'an, so kerd'an?» 137. «Esómas, – phenél, – okolé d'un'áste». 138. Ej? 139. «Taj diné man, – phenél, – othé, áke, grastén, phol'á, lové». 140. «Arakhl'óm maj, – phenél, – denil'á tútar, taj al'óm oničín túte manginésa, phol'ása, – phenél, – taj lovénca». 141. Áke túke, sar ovél opré ko parnó d'un'ás, šop tumé odová te ġ'anén.

### **“If I find Anyone More Stupid than You...”**

1. There once lived a man and a woman. 2. One day a man returns home from work. 3. As he approaches his house, he sees some people standing there. 4. There are quite a lot of people; they occupy half of the garden. 5. His wife dressed in black is weeping near the house. 6. “What’s happened?” asks the man. 7-8. They lived all alone, with no children. 9. Oh God! 10. The husband comes closer. 11. The woman answers, “This is the funeral meal.” 12. “And what’s happened?, the husband asks her. 13. She replies, “Our child has died, and this is the funeral meal.” 14. The man wonders, “Have we ever had any children? When has the child died? Where did you get a child from when we had none at all?” 15. The man almost lost his mind. 16. The woman explains, “If, for instance, we have had a child and it climbed the tall tree but then fell from there, the child would smash itself up.” 17. 18. And if the child fell down and died, we must have a funeral meal, and that’s what I’m doing.” 19. The man got angry and shouted, “You must have gone mad as you gathered people there to have a funeral meal.” 20. She answers, “No.” 21. You must take part in it. 22. The

man looked at his wife and then said, “She must be mad.” 23-25. He addressed to the people, “You know we have no children. 26. The people looked at the scene, ate and drank, and left away. 27. Some said, “She really must be mad, but we had a meal and drinks here.” 28. Yes!

29. As the man saw all that, he said, “Well.” 30. “I’m not happy here, we have no children.” 31. “I’m leaving you now, as God pushes me in my back”. 32. “If I find a woman more stupid than you, I’ll return; if I find no more stupid, I won’t be back.” 33. She really spent all her wealth to make a funeral meal: she dispensed horses, hens, and geese, and money to non-Roma; she left nothing. 34. She really arranged the funeral meal. 35. She gave everything out. 36. She kept saying, “This is for you to remember my baby.” 37. 38. 39. Her man was left with nothing. 40-41. So he took his things and his dress and he drove away. 42. He kept asking himself, “What have I to do?” 43. 44. He left to wander and to take a look at what was going on around.

45. 46. He said, “If I find anyone more stupid than you, I’ll come back, but if not, I won’t be back to you.” 47. “That’s all,” the man said, “take care!” 48-49. The man walked for some time and found himself in a city. 50. He found a job there. 51. He needed to eat, to find a kopeck of money. 52. So he got some job. 53. So the man works and lives there. 54-55. His employer gave him a cabin to live. 56. And so the man lives there and works. 57-58. He sees people around him living and working the same way as he does.

59. Once he had a day-off. 60. The man says, “Let me take away to walk and watch people.” 61. It’s a day-off. 62. He’s got some money. 63. The man bought some clothes. 64. He became well dressed. 65. He also had a shave. 66. 67. He walked to a village and saw a house there. 68. It was a good two-storied house. 69-70. The man knocked on the door. 71. A woman comes from the house. 72. The man greets the woman, “Hi!” 73.

74. He asked to be given some water. 75. The woman took water and gave him to drink. 76. The man had a drink. 77. Then the woman asks, “Where do you come from, oh man?” 78. He says like this, “Who knows? I’m from the other world.” 79. 80. 81. She says, “Are you really from the other world?”

82. Then she asks, “Haven’t you seen my husband there?” 83. The man says, “Yes!” 84. She inquires, “My Grishka?” 85. The man answers, “I saw your Grishka there.” 86. “Well, how does [he] do there?” – [the woman asks]. 87. Well, what did [he] tell me? 88. “[He] sent [*literally*, made] you [his] regards!” – [the man says]. 89. Then she [says to] him, “Maybe he asked for something?” 90. Then he [says], “Of course he asked! You see: he needs a good suit there, and money, and a horse! Yes!” 91. Well, I



preserved all his things: his horse is standing, his clothes [and other] things. 92. Come to my house, you man! 93. O God! 94. Ah! 95. Take a seat! 96. [He] asked for some food. 97. [She] fed him [and] gave him a drink. 98. [He] had a meal. 99. Then she [says], “Here is some money for you to bring to him, oh God”. 100. Give the money to Grishka. 101. Well, money. 102. Here’s a horse, [here’s] his suit, that’s all, thing – everything. 103. He takes all these numerous [*literally*, big] things – everything.

104. [He] ate and drank. 105. Then [he says], “Well, I’m leaving!”... 106. Well, to put it short, yes, he left, brother. 107. What’s to be done, the man gets back, [he] drives away. 108. [He] returns to his place, back to the town. 109. [He] mounted the horse [and] went ahead. 110. [He] arrives to the town. 111. Then this one [thinks], “What for should I work, what should I do here?” 112. [He] says, “I have thought that my wife is the most stupid person on earth.” 113. [It] seems a more stupid one has been found. 114. Well, so what? 115. “I’m coming back from this world – [he] says – oh God [*literally*, *I’ve died*]”. 116. The woman didn’t see [her] husband. 117. He husband seems to have died. 118. The woman’s husband died, and she was left alone and is grieving for [her] husband and gone mad over him, a poor creature. 119. [She] thinks [and] does – [she] is alone. 120. Everything. 121. There’s some property, brother. 122. You see: gold, things – everything. 123. [She also] has that house – [she] has everything. 124. In the past: that – where. 125. [She] carries: hop! And it was left at the man. 126. She takes [and] sends to him, the woman went mad over him. 127. “What are you doing, a stupid [woman], a stupid person?” – [the man thinks]. 128. When that one, “[I’ve become] well off, - [he] says – the money, and gold and properties.” 129. [I’m] dressed [up]. 130. [He] puts that suit on [and] mounts the horse. 131. Well, be healthy [*literally*, be intact], [be] powerful. 132. [He] says, “Let God give her happiness!” 133. What is to be done, I’ll go now back to my wife. 134. That’s the whole affair for you. 135. [He] rides back home on a horseback. 136. As [his] wife saw [him] [she asks], “And where [did you] come from? What [did you] do?” 137. “[I] was – [he] says – in the next world.” 138. Indeed? 139. “And there they gave me horses, gold, money”. 140. “[I] found a [person] more stupid than you are; that’s why [I] came back with property, gold and money.” 141. Here’s for you to know what happens on earth.

**28. So dumaiskerél o sm’ertníki angál ko meripé**  
**(“What does a Sentenced-to-death Man think before the Execution”)**

*So dumaiskerél o sm’ertníki angál ko meripé* (“What does a Sentenced-to-death Man think before the Execution”) is a text of a story

recorded in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) in 2002 from Mr. Viktor Borisovich Humerohlyi (b. 1964), Romani name Bairam. The text is published here for the first time.

Scholars usually explain Romani stories on topics related to prison by the fact that this ethnic group is exceptionally criminalized; for a long time Roma have been said to be thieves. It's necessary to say that each story about a prison might be transmitted from one Rom to another as a sort of someone's memoir of the time spent in custody.

The informant's mentioning of a priest who gives the absolution shortly before the prisoner is to be executed brings the action of the story back to some earlier time, most certainly to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the author's informants made the following explanation of the Roma's habit to steal. In old times we used to wander; we travelled from one place to another in kibitkas drawn by horses. It was the horses that we had to feed every day that made us steal first of all maize, lucern and even hay, and we did it every night. Roma often paid fines for this and sometimes were sent to prison.

### **So dumaiskerél o sm'ertníki angál ko meripé?**

1. Esás jekh žurnalisti – gağ'ó. 2. Žurnalisti kerélas xyzméti, butí, žurnalisti. 3. Aj léste sas amál: nač'ál'nik milícyji. 4. Vot. 5. Del trad ov jékhvar léske. 6. Avél léste kheré, ej mis'afiri aló. 7. Bešlé, xalé, pilé. 8. Úš'el ov léske: «Áke, mánde, – phenél, – esí akankhá zadánija mánge diné asavkí, ej minré baré». 9. Me kamél te jazdíjav óč'erk, stat'já sostávit' asavkí: so dumaiskerél o manuš savó si...savéske diné výššaja m'éra. 10. Tu hál'os, tu? 11. Výššaja m'éra. 12. Sm'ertníki so dúmajet angál ko meripé. 13. «Sar mánge, – phenél, – me les te jazdíjav, t' ovél ov, te ušadijel, t' ovél č'ačipé, nu sar č'ačipé ovél alaji». 14. Vaj, adá kamél me te jazdíjav, o manušá kan-drabkerén l' odová óč'erk minró štop te ġ'anén kaj si odová č'ačipé. 15. Sar me te jazdíjav, me na ġ'anáv, kon mánge móžet te kerél jardými, taj sar? 16. «Me, – phenél, – nana ġ'anáv so te keráv». 17. Áke, al'óm túte n'epos'éstv'eno, móžet tu šó-to mánge xot' potskážes, só-to kak? 18. Kaj me asavké manušes te lav, sop ov mánge te phenél, te phukavél, so ispýtyvajet manuš angál ko meripé? 19. Kon esás adavá, adalé diláte, on nanáj ġivindé, o sm'ertník'a. 20. Vaj, den výššy m'éra taj i vs'o prim'érno. 21. Vaj, áke les, taj smysl, taj vs'o. 22. Sar me te hál'av, sar me te jazdíjav adalé manušestar? 23. So manuš dúmajet, adavá, áke, žýzn'eni jest' óč'erk. 24. Sar esí taj so si? 25. Va!

26. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, odová nač'ál'nik milícyji: on pilé, xalé. 27. Ej vot, akaná ov léske: «Me ġ'anáv sar túke pomóč', vot prim'érno, – phenél, – me túke pomogú, prósto podrúžeski, sar amál amaléske, me túke kan-keráv jardými, – phenél, – vot», – odoléske. 28. Aj ov [phenél]: «Aj sar?» 29. «Ráno, – phenél, – tu mánde éla ko xyzmėti». 30. «Ej, – phenél, – ráno éla mánde othé ke butí, taj me túke kan-keráv jardými, amé túsa zborízasa, dikhása, sar so». 31. Mánde othé si savé-to mysl': me túke – phenása taj zborízasa othé taj dikhása sar so kan-ovél.

32. «Le túsa savút'a. – phenél. – Kóje što le tam, te ovél túsa savutís'a». 33. Ov phenél: «Sóske?» 34. «Ej, dečí, – phenél, – hál'osa, le, vaj tu kamél te dikhés te ġ'as te dikhés sar so si othé, odojá d'éla». 35. Vot. 36. Ej, lel avél o rakló, les tudá, žurnalísti ko nač'ál'nik milícyji, ke butí. 37. Del trad léske: «So? – phenél. – Áke, sánkim, te kerás». 38. «Sar?» – ov phenél.

39. Šun mánde, me túke mohú pomóč' odním tól'ko spósobom. 40. «Kakím?» – [phuč'él o žurnalísti]. 41. Áke, éla akankhá jazdíjav me lilá, protokól'a, alají odová: uholónnaja d'éla, vród'e by tu mudard'án manušes, taj me tut kan-tháv andé phanlí ko phandimár'a. 42. Aj andé kan-bešén, alají si bešl' ódolá sm'ertnik'a: o phandimár'a kon esí za ubíjstvo bešló, alají. 43. Tu kan-bešés lénca, taj kan-šunés, taj kan-hál'os, taj kan-phukavén túke so sar esí, taj tu ispytáješ odová othé andé. 44. Kan-hál'os léndar hem kan jazdíjes tu ková, ti kníga, to oč'erk adavá. 45. Tu hál'os, tu? 46. Sar? 47. Taj kan-jazdíjes, tól'ko takím variántom, aj ból'se me nanaší. 48. «Te thav tut bililéngo, prósto, – phenél, – me naši». 49. Vdrux kan-ovél prov'érka, komísija, taj adá šéji, taj kan-phenén: «So túte kerél odová manúš, ved' právil'no?» 50. Aj ov [phenél]: «Ej va».

51. Lel ov jazdíjel léske rázn'a protakól'a, pokazánija, kolá. 52. Oká potpisál alají, kaj mudard'ás manušes savé-to, kerd'ás mudaripé. 53. Koróč'e hovor'á, akajakhá-akajakhá, kaj mudard'ás les, kerd'ás les vs'o! 54. Lel oká potpisál. 55. Kerd'ás alají. 56. L' oká potpisál, o žurnalísti. 57. Alají, vs'o. 58. Dohovorilis'a.

59. Ġ'al ko prokuróri, del o prokuróri léske sánkycja, alají, vs'o, níkon na ġ'anél odová. 60. «Tól'ko, – adá phenél, – vaj tu taj me ġ'anás». 61. «Adá, – phenél, – andár odoléste, maj dečí, – phenél, – kan-thén andé ko phandipé andár túte». 62. O nač'ál'nik milícyji phenél léske: «Dikh, nikháske te na phukavés, potomúšto dečí – vs'o, vot!» 63. Li mán kátar butí kan-č'hén, kan-phänden man – alají. 64. «Sar adá ajakhá? – kan-phenén. – Tu kerésa?» 65. Ġ'al ko prokuróri, thel les sánkycja o prokuróri, kerél alají léske.

66. Then les andé ke kám'era, be, ke kám'era sm'értnikov. 67. Thedé les andé, káte bešén o sm'ertník'a – alají. 68. Ej, esí bešló andé d'es,

duj, trin. 69. Péste lil'ás otkhá, vaj savutís'a, sóby p'er'eod'ětsa. 70. Ková si: «Den te xan. – phenél. – Dikh, kan-bešés lénca, me túke naši andé jardými kan-keráv, vaj srázu te dikhén». 71. Te na hál'on li o phandimár'a. 72. Kandén taj kan-mudarén tut andé. 73. [Kaj] mándar esán potsadnojí savó-to, ková tam šó-to savó-to kon ġ'anél. 74. Kaj kerés butí opré aménde, vot. 75. Vaj trašán. 76. «Dikh, – phenél, – ov sáki, hál'o, jázdije taj dikh». 77. Aj dečí, ková, kána užé kerésa, me aváva túte, tam prim'érno bazar'éstar mul tam, taj hál'ava. 78. Túke bazári resél, ja duj? 79. Me but naši, vaj, tut astaráv prim'érno andé, ej bazári mul duj, sokabór. 80. Taj tu hál'osa taj jazdýjesa, so tut int'er'esújet, so túke kamél. 81. Te hál'os odová: manušéngo xatýri, o jiló, sar esí so. 82. So ispytyvajet manuš – alají. 83. «Ej ládno, – [phenen], – dohovorílis'!» 84. Aj lilá kan-ovén mánde andé ko s'ějfi, deí, phanlé. 85. Sar, ková, tu níkl'os, aj dečí kan-lás taj kan-pharavás o lilá i vs'o. 86. Níkhon níšto na ġ'anél, áke túke alají d'ěla, tól'ko takím variantom ostálos', takím spôsobom i vs'o, me túke mohú te keráv jardými sar amál amaléske. 87. Amalá sas mútlak lačh'ě, vaj. 88. Tu hál'os, va? 89. Amalá! 90. Vot!

91. Ej ládno! 92. Bešló si andé e phandimar'énca, vs'o. 93. Nakhél d'es, nakhél duj, nakhél trin – níkhás nanáj, nakhél štar, nakhél pang'. 94. Anél léske o lilá. 95. Aló, nakhél, o lilá, sánkim, dáli výššuju m'éru, vaj. 96. Vs'o! 97. Léske aló odá: lilá xaj, výššuju m'éru dáli. 98. Prihovór búd'et priv'ed'ón v ispoln'énije ráno. 99. Tu hál'os?! 100. O prihovóri užé aló léske. 101. Ráno ispoln'ájets'a prihovór, v ispoln'énije – mudarén les. 102. Den výššaja m'éra rakléske. 103. Ej, ov ne dúmajet ni o č'om. 104. Vs'o! 105. Oká boldin'ás pes, geló – o nač'al'níki. 106. Ej vs'o: ráno – ráno. 107. Čhit'ás léske jakhása, sar bísim les. 108. Vs'o normál'no? 109. Jazdýn? 110. Oká kerél: vs'o normál'no jazdým, tóže. 111. Hál'os tu? 112. Jazdým, deí, vs'o, so kamél, hálil'om, deí, aj ovél, ládno. 113. Ahá!

114. Avél sam o nač'al'níki milícyji. 115. Godí del pes: «So lénca bešló, hálilo pov'ěrxnosno». 116. A ím'enno, so ispytyvajet: oš'utit' i ispytát', ov dahá na hálilo. 117. Oničin ov aló léste taj phenél ov léste. 118. Ov hálilo so prim'érno, sar manušá dumaiskerén, sar pes č'ústvujut, so si ad' ajakhá, sar so, vot. 119. «Aj do koncá, – phenél, – te hál'ol ov ne pón'al, dahá ne oš'utíl, ne ispytál odová na s'eb'ě». 120. Taj oničin aló [nač'ál'nik milícyji] taj phenél léske: «Ráno to prihovóri prixódit užé v ispoln'énije, vr'ém'a prišló! Vs'o! Výššuju m'éru dáli, vs'o t'eb'ě. Ráno tut mudarén, vs'o! Prihovór závtra privódiťs'a v ispoln'énije. Kakím óbrazom, kto jevó znájat tam. Výššaja m'éra – rastr'él, ilí kto jevó znájat ilí el'ektríč'estvom, ilí kak tam, poráznomu: multuk'ěsa mudarén ja sósa – kon ġ'anél».

121. Ej, oká, vaj, ne dúmajet níšto. 122. Avél ráno, nakhlí e rat. 123. Ne, ov dumaiskerél, vaj dikhél káring ko manušá, ko ková. 124. Jazdý

odolá, pi díla kerél. 125. Uğ'arél: sabastán kan-mukén, vaj, othé. 126. Ej phenén: «Sabastán, v d'év'at' č'asov sabastán, utrá prihovór privódit's'a v ispoln'énije». 127. V vós'em, deí, ková ovél, odolá sm'énes, kolá prov'érkes, kolá, aj v d'év'at' č'asov užé prihovór, les kan-gelén na kazn', na kazn'. 128. Lel, koróč'e hovor'á, ov so kerél: ov uğ'arél, vós'em': alé, prov'érka, ková, les na nikalén, o nač'al'niki nanáj, pol d'ev'átovo vaxýti, avél o d'ežurni: «Takój-to, takój-to», – léške, sánkim, del liloró, phenél o anáv. 129. Phenél: «Akankhá sahat'éstar, minut'endar tut kan-nikalén», – užé te gelén tut ko ková, sánkim ko rastr'éli.

130. Ov ras; phenél: «Amí kaj o nač'al'niki?» – sánkim ej, milícyji. 131. Aj ov léške phenél: «Aj so, tu na ġ'anés dahá?» 132. Aj ov penél: «Na!» 133. Taj so vuló? 134. Vaj, o nač'al'niki milícyji razbíl's'a v avtomobil'noj katastrof'e. 135. Sar razbíl's'a v avtomobil'noj katastrof'e, kána? 136. Ej áke, dei, belvel'é, ajr'át. 137. «Ej, razbíl's'a, – phenél, – násm'ert'». 138. Nač'al'nik milícyji pohíb v avtomobil'noj katastrof'e, léško amál – taj o gağ'ó, taj vuló bar, o žurnalísti pe thanéste.

139. Kak, što, aj nikhón n'e znájjet étovo. 140. O lilá si andé s'éjfi pašlé, phanlé léste, vaj, po dohovóru íxn'emu, aj níkhon na ġ'anél, ni o prokuróri dáže, ni jekh ġ'anó na ġ'anél, kaj on kerdé f'ektívnyje o lilá, xoxavné lilá kerdé, f'ektív'n'a – potpisáli, potstróili vs'o. 141. Tu hál'os, ja ná? 142. Vaj! 143. Kásko damás esí te kan-ovél avárija taj o gağ'ó, ková, kan-mudárd'ol o gağ'ó? 144. Tu hál'os, ja ná? 145. O nač'al'niki. 146. Vs'o! 147. Kána adá ov [del pes godí]: «Tak, so te keráv, sar, vaj mánde...» 148. «Na, – phenél, – me som asavkó – asavkó manúš – žurnalísti». 149. «Me al'óm athé sp'ecyál'no te jazdíjav, – phenél, – asavkí-asavkí díla». 150. «O lilá, – phenél, – amé lésa sam jazdymús, kerd'amús, ov esí mo amál, kamél te mukl'arén man, adá nanáj o č'ačipé, deí».

151. Aj ov phenél: «Na, vaj, áke, alají o lilá, sar prokuróri [potpisál], alají...» 152. «So tu hl'adíš? – [del pes godí o d'ežurni]. – Tu, deí užé denílil'an, pohnál, bisim, adá hónit užé, ej god'átar geló». 153. Tu hál'os? 154. «Savó, ková? – phenél. – Ej, me sómas...» 155. Me som d'ežurni, me and'óm, al'óm – gel'óm, vs'o! 156. Boldin'ás pes, geló péske oká d'ežurni [phenl'ás]: «Daváj hatóvs'a, vs'o!» 157. Taj ačhiló ov bar pe thanéste. 158. V tvojom raspor'ažéniji, koróč'e hovor'á, ej, v t'eč'enije č'ása, phenél léške so si vaxýti. 159. Kídesa, nastraivájs'a, vs'o.

160. Avél o popázi andé, popaz'és diné íkos, e popaz'és. 161. O bát'uška! 162. Lel o bát'uška, kerél léške ková, otčítvyanije, odá otp'évanije. 163. Lésa kerél ková, sánkim ispov'édujet les. 164. O popázi aló, les užé vs'o, ispov'édujet les, vs'o! 165. Ková synók, éto, nu n'e bójs'a, gr'exí tvojí, jésli jest', raskažý, pust' Box t'eb'á éto tam, sánkim o Del tut me ajadíjel, me

kerél tut vs'o – alají. 166. Tu hál'os, sar esi? 167. Vs'o esi. 168. Ej ov esi na muló, na ģivindó.

169. Lel ov, phukavél e popaz'éske alají, vot: «Ajakhá, ajakhá, ajakhá, deí, vuló; káste te phukaváv, užé nikháste, akajakhá asavkí díla». 170. Del trad o popázi: «Ej níšto, mol, so te kerés, adá byvájét ajakhá, deí, putí hospód'ni, – phenél, – n'eispov'edímý, vot i vs'o, kr'epís', d'eržys', što t'ep'er' d'élat', na vs'o vól'a Bóžyja, t'ep'er' vs'o, s mírom, synók, s Bóhom, s mírom». 171. «Vs'o!, bát'uška, – [phenél o žurnalisti], – vs'o!» – taj ov pharó, muló – rovél, bl'eízel, vs'o. 172. Pharó popázi geló. 173. Ğ'al léstar taj vs'o. 174. O popázi, sánkim, les očiš'énije kerd'ás, blahoslovíl. 175. Ğ'al o popázi.

176. Akankhá les kan-lén na rastr'él. 177. Vs'o, kan-mudarén, vs'o. 178. Terdiló, lel o d'ežurni nakhél odolá minútes, lel o d'ežurni, phenél: «Asavkó-asavkó, – del léski jilalí – anáv, – vyxodí na ispoln'énije prihovóra!» – vot. 179. O rakló terdó sas, bar ačhiló pe thanéste, li naš'í niklistó, vaj, andár, terdó da si. 180. Aj objavíli... lésko anáv, taj parniló ov taj parniló ov za odovkhá, za odín d'en', za minúty taj vuló parnó, s'edóji polnost'ju, alají vuló, parnilé o balá, kaj sas ko rakló o balá, tam sar kalé, kolá. 181. Taj parniló, taj vuló parnó [it must be: parní] šah o šeró, pólnost'ju parniló. 182. Tu hál'os, ja ná? 183. Ot étoj p'er'ežýtija, za odnú étu noč', za č'asý étí, tu hál'os, parniló pólnost'ju. 184. Parnó vuló o šeró alají, o balá parnilé vulé sar šah. 185. Vs'o! Terdiló sar vkópani, kaj naši níkl'ol. 186. Len den andé, nikalén les andár, vs'o, ne mulés, ne ģivindés. 187. Nikalén les tal vasténde, gelén po kalidóru. 188. Nu vs'o, prihovór, vs'o, s'ejč'ás privódit's'a v ispoln'énije, vs'o.

189. Vs'o! gelén les, níkl'ol andár ko vudár, mamúj, lésko amál, o nač'al'níki milícijji. 190. «A, sel'ám – sel'ám, so kard'án tu, be, so vuló adá túsa?» – aj ov terdó si na hál'ol níšto. 191. God'átar ĝ'al o manúš – odá o žurnalisti, kaj dikhl'ás les, vs'o. 192. Taj terdiló ov sar bar, vs'o, taj rovél, o ávs'a č'h'ord'ón. 193. Ov sam na hál'ol, so te kerél. 194. «Ej, so? – phenél. – Akaná». 195. «Akaná tu hálil'an? – phenél. – So č'ústvujet sm'értnik p'er'ed sm'ért'ju, ajakhá by tu nana hál'osas, te na keráv me, – phenél, – me túke odojá díla, – phenél, – tu mangl'án man sob me túke te keráv, – phenél, – odová jardými, mangl'án? – phenél. – Va! adá, tu so phuč'l'án, kak al'án tu andé ko phandimár'a, ko kolá, xaj tu so, tu ĝ'anl'ásas, kaj tu kan-níkl'os andár?»

196. «Tý, – phenél, – n'e ispytál odová by alají, tú by nana dikhl'án odová, kána sánas andé, taj n'e ispytál, taj tý by na jazdíjesas právil'no óc'érk, právil'ni stat'já». 197. «Hálil'an? – phenél. – Ja ná?» 198. «Dáže, – phenél, – me som nač'al'níki athé, me keráv butí, – phenél, – athé, xyzmėti». 199. «Alají, – phenél, – me ĝ'anáv, e odolé phandimar'én, léngere

díles, alají me ġ'anáv, – phenél, – sar – so». 200. No me odová naší ispytyvaju tóže. 201. «Me odová na ġ'anáv. – phenél. – Hál'os tu?» 202. Léngo jiló, vaj ov phar'ól andé lénde. 203. «Kón-to, – phenél, – vyd'éržyvajet, ej kón-to – n'ét, [n'e] vyd'éržyvajet, o jiló terdó, phar'ól, kón-to – so». 204. «Alají manušeske, kón-to vyd'éržyvajet, kón-to – na, aj šop odová alají t' ovél, sar tu phenl'án, – phenél, – man».

205. «Aj me túke din'óm vozmóžnosť odová ispytát', adá me, – phenél, – alají kerd'ard'óm sp'ecyál'no, potstróil alají odová, phenl'óm, kaj me ková, te phenén túke odová alají». 206. «Ajakhá phenl'óm, – phenél, – me [odolenge, kon esí] v potčín'éniji: «Phenén léske ajakhá-ajakhá, kaj si oková, kaj me mudárdil'óm, kaj kerd'ard'óm alají o lilá»». 207. «Áke, – phenél, – o lilá, áke tav, – on phenél, – dikhés andé me vasténde». 208. Lel taj pharavél. 209. Vs'o! 210. «Áke, – phenél, – vs'o». 211. Tu san akaná vól'ni manuš, tut níkhon na mudarél, níkhon na kerél. 212. «Akaná, – phenél, – tu smóžeš te jazdíjes ti [it must be: to] stat'jás, to óč'erk asavkó, te ovél ov č'ačikanó, te ovél právil'ni, vs'o». 213. Ov avs'endar, odá manuš parniló, parno si, vs'o, vuló, phuriló, phuriló! 214. Tu hál'os? 215. Phuriló, pólnost'ju parniló o manuš. 216. Akaná phenél: «Va! phuriló». 217. Vot t'eb'é, vs'o. 218. «Akaná me hálil'óm, so si odová – bešypé taj sar esí, – [phenél], – odová opré parno d'un'ás». 219. So dumaiskerél o manuš angál odoléste, kaj les kan-mudarén, angál ko meripé! 220. So dúmajet sm'értnik p'ér'ed sm'ért'ju? 221. Áke adavá stat'jás, odová óč'erk.

### **What Does a Sentenced-to-Death Man Think Before the Execution?**

1. There was a journalist – he was a non-Rom. 2. He worked as a journalist. 3. And he had a friend – a police chief. 4. 5. Once a journalist approached him. 6. He visited the police chief at his home. 7. They had a meal and drink. 8. Then the journalist told the police chief, “My superiors gave me a task”. 9. I am to write an article about the thoughts of a man who was sentenced to death. 10. 11. 12. What does such man think before death? 13. But how can I write the truth? 14. What I need is truth, for the people to read the article and understand everything. 15. I don't know how to write the essay, or who may help me. 16. I don't know what to do. 17. So I came to you for some help. 18. Where should I find someone able to tell me what a man feels before death? 19. 20. 21. 22. How can I understand and write about such person? 23. I need a true-to-life essay. 24. 25.

26. The journalist and the police chief had a drink and a meal. 27. Next the police chief said, “I'll help you, for you are my friend”. 28. The journalist asked, “But how?” 29-30. The police chief answered, “Come to

my office tomorrow, and I'll help you". 31. I've got an idea, let's wait and see.

32. "Take some clothes with you", the police chief also said. 33. The journalist asked, "What for?" 34. The police chief replied, "You'll see it later". 35. 36. So [next day] the journalist came to the police chief's office. 37. 38.

39. The chief said, "There's only one way for me to help you". 40. "What kind of way is it?" the journalist asked. 41. I shall write some papers that will accuse you of a murder, and I'll put you into the prison together with other inmates. 42. There are criminals accused of murder in this prison. 43. So you'll spend some time with them listening, and they'll tell you what it is, and you'll understand it. 44. You'll learn their feelings and write your story. 45. 46. 47. There are no other ways for you to write it. 48. But I have no right to put you into prison without a fake accusation. 49. What if there is a check, and they'll ask what an innocent person does in prison? 50. The journalist said, "Indeed".

51. The police chief wrote testimonial protocols for him. 52. The journalist signed papers admitting that he had murdered a man. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. They both agreed to do all that.

59. The police chief went to the prosecutor's office and got the necessary warrant. 60. It's only we two who know [the affair]. 61. 62-63. The police chief said, "Tell no-one about that. If others get to know that, I'll lose my job and go to prison myself". 64. 65. So the police chief went to the prosecutor and got the necessary warrant.

66-67. The journalist was placed into the prison cell with other inmates sentenced to death. 68. He spent a day or two or three days there. 69. He took some clothes to change. 70. The police chief warned him, "You'll be given food there, but I am unable to rescue you in this cell". 71. Behave so that other inmates don't understand who you really are. 72-73. If they think you were sent there by me, they'll kill you. 74-75. They are afraid of police informers. 76. "Take care, look out and put everything down". 77. I'll come for you in about a week from now. 78. Do you need a week or two? 79. I can't keep you in a cell for too long. 80. After a week or two you'll understand and write what you need. 81-82. It's enough to understand the souls and feelings of people. 83. Do you agree? 84. And all your papers will be locked in the safe at my office. 85. Just as you leave the cell, we'll tear the papers to pieces. 86. Nobody knows about that; it's the only way I can help you, my friend. 87. They were good friends indeed. 88. 89. 90.

91-92. So the journalist was put into a cell with other prisoners. 93. A day passed, and two days, and three – nobody visited him. 94. Then they



brought the papers to him. 95. The documents certified that he was sentenced to death. 96. Over! 97. He received the death penalty. 98. The execution was to be held the next day. 99. 100. It was the ultimate sentence. 101. Tomorrow he was to be executed. 102. 103. The journalist didn't think of anything [wrong]. 104. 105. The prison officer [who brought the sentence to him] turned around and left the cell. 106. 107. But before leaving, he winked. 108. It looked as if he asked the journalist, "Are you OK?" 109. Did you write what you wanted? 110. The journalist sent him a sign: I wrote it. 111. 112. 113.

114-115. Meanwhile the police chief thought, "The journalist has got only a slight hint of what it is to wait for one's death". 116. He couldn't understand their feelings so far. 117. 118. 119. He didn't experience all this personally. 120. So the police chief went to him and said, "The time has come for your sentenced to be carried out. You shall be executed tomorrow. Nobody knows how it is done. The death sentence is carried out by shooting or by electricity – it's unknown".

121. But the journalist wasn't frightened. 122. A night passed, and a new day came. 123. He didn't worry. 124. He went on writing, doing his job. 125. He expected to be released later that morning. 126. Then he was told, "Executions are carried out at nine o'clock". 127. At eight the prison wardens changed shifts and checked inmates, and at ten he would be executed. 128. The journalist was waiting: at eight there was the prisoners' roll-call, but he wasn't taken out of the cell; at half to nine the officer-in-charge entered and called his name. 129. The officer said, "In few minutes you'll be taken to execution".

130. The journalist asked, "And what about the police chief?" 131. The officer replied, "You really don't know?" 132-133. The journalist said, "No! And what's happened to him?" 134. The police chief died in a traffic accident. 135. Oh, really? And when? 136-137. Last night he was crashed to death. 138. The journalist became stone-still.

139. Nobody else knew about their agreement. 140. The papers were locked in the safe, and no-one else, even the prosecutor, knew that they two had made false documents. 141. 142. 143. Who could ever believe that an accident would happen and non-Rom would die? 144. 145. 146. 147. The journalist thought, "Oh, what's to be done?!" 148. He said, "I'm a journalist". 149. "I've come here to write an article". 150. "The police chief and I faked papers, he was my friend, you must release me".

151. The prison officer said, "No, here are the documents, the prosecutor signed them". 152. "Why are you looking at me?" 153. 154. 155. I'm just the officer-in-charge; my job is to bring you the papers. 156. "Get ready", said the officer and left the cell. 157. The journalist remained stone-

still. 158. [He was told that] he had just one more hour to live. 159. [He was also told] to get ready and be prepared.

160. A priest entered the cell. 161. 162. He gave the journalist the final prayer. 163. The priest also confessed him. 164. 165. Oh my son, don't be frightened, tell me about your sins if you have any, let God pardon you. 166. 167. 168. The journalist was already half-alive and half-dead.

169. He told the priest his whole story, "That's how it happened; there's no more to tell you about". 170. The priest replied, "It can't be helped now; God's ways are inscrutable; hold out; everything is in the will of God; that's all oh my son; pass in peace and with God". 171. "It's all over, father, it's all over", said the journalist crying and sobbing, as he almost burst in two of fear. 172. The priest left his cell uneasily. 173. Still, the priest left him. 174. He heard the journalist's confessions and blessed him. 175. The priest left.

176. Now it was time for the journalist to be taken to execution. 177. He was to be killed. 178. A few [oppressive] minutes passed; the officer-in-charge entered the cell and shouted, "Citizen so-and-so, come out for execution". 179. The journalist stood stone-still at his place, he couldn't move out. 180. As he heard his name shouted out, he turned pale and his hair became snow-white. 181. His head became as white as cabbage. 182. 183. You see, he turned white in one night because of this nervous shock. 184. His head became white; his hair was now white like a head of cabbage. 185. He stood paralyzed and couldn't go out. 186. The prison guards entered, they took the journalist out half-dead and half-alive. 187. They led him out by the hands and escorted along the corridor. 188. The sentence was to be carried out in few moments.

189. As he was led out of the doors, his friend the police chief appeared in front of him. 190. "Hello, brother, what's happened to you?", and the journalist stood still, failing to understand anything. 192. He stood stone-still, and tears were streaming of his eyes. 193. He didn't understand what to do [next]. 194-195. "Well", the police chief said, "have you now understood how a prisoner sentenced to death feels? Without me playing this trick you'd never understand it; you asked me to help you, [and I did my best]". 196. "Otherwise you'd never experience it all and would never write a true story". 197. "Is it clear, or not?", the police chief asked. 198-200. "Even I, who works in prison, and who knows the inmates and their affairs, even I don't know that, you see". 201. 202. "Their hearts must be ready to burst". 203. "Some of them can stand it, others cannot and their hearts fail". 204. "It all depends upon each person".

205. "So I intentionally arranged it so that you were told all these things". 206. "I ordered you to be told that I had crashed to death". 207.

“Here are the documents [accusing you] in my hands”. 208. With this the police chief tore the papers to pieces. 209. It’s all over! 210-211. He went on, “Now you are a free person, no-one is to execute you”. 212. “Now you’ll be able to write your article so that it would be true and precise”. 213. The journalist stood crying, with his hair white and his face many years older his age. 214. 215. He grew old and turned white. 216. 217. 218-220. He said, “Now I have really understood what the prison is and what a man sentenced to death thinks before execution”. 221. This is the article, or essay.

### 29. E Dar’jáki paramisí (“A Darya’s Tale”)

*E Dar’jáki paramisí* (“A Darya’s Tale”) is a text of a fairy-tale tape-recorded in 2003, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from a Romani girl Darya Vladimirovna Karachuk (born 1996). It is published for the first time.

According to the young narrator, she was retelling her most favorite story that her mother had told her. Despite her young age Darya wasn’t timid in front of a tape-recorder; she delivers the story fervently and with pleasure. Like an experienced narrator she applied some technique to attract listeners’ attention and support their interest; the author would call this technique nearly professional.

The story’s characters act quite dynamically; the narrator focuses her listeners’ attention on their actions. When she tells about some boring events like a baby’s crying, his lulling, and his fast growth, the storyteller resorts to multiple repetitions of words naming these developments (cf. phrases № 21-26, 31, 36).

Imitating adult storytellers Darya inserts some dirty words in her story. In phrase № 87 she said *móžet opré léste si č’orijét so?* (Maybe, Satan knows what’s upon him?); she pronounces obscene Russian words *č’ort znájjet* (Satan knows) with a sort of fear and not clearly enough; as a result, these words were tape-recorded as *č’orijét*.

### E Dar’jáki paramisí

1. Bešélas phuró taj phurí, aj lénde na sas ni púja, ni vnúk’a. 2. Aj e phurí šó-to lil’ás te kerél, ková – e č’ar čhinél opré bar. 3. Dikhél káring xaníng esi sv’éti, káring xaníng – sv’éti. 4. Ğ’al o sv’éti odá rigáte. 5. Dikhél – esí – e phurí – raklí terdí: šukár, parní, sivoné jakhéngi. 6. Aj e phurí phenél: «Kátar tu esán?» 7. Aj oj phenél: «Me duré gavéstar esóm. Taj phenlé kaj si athé me rodič’a, andé tumaré gavéste, taj me mangáv len te

ródav, aj naší me len ródav. Taj me jekh d'es tuménde kan-ováv, taj ráno kan-ǵ'áv te ródav me rodič'én».

8. Aj e phurí phenél: «Ej, éla andé kher, me ankhá kan-xal'aráv me vastá, taj tháva túke konás – xása». 9. Gelí ko kher [e raklí]. 10. Phurí xal'ard'ás pe vastá. 11. Oj [e raklí] užé kerd'ás l' o piroškídes, l' o pil'm'én'a, li bóršy tadv'ás – alí phurí – l' o č'áji thed'ás. 12. Alí phurí [taj phuč'él e rakl'atar]: «Sar tu ajakhá déba?» 13. «Adá me birsahát kerd'óm», – phenél e raklí.

14. E phurí [phenél]: «Phuréja, éla, xa!» 15. Aló geró phuró xal'ás [taj] pašliló. 16. Kána adá o phuroró [phenél]: «Mí č'h'aj, ǵ'a, le pání! – xaníng, vaj, esí. – Le sebéerka pání, pání mangáv te pijáv». 17. Tól'ko gelí e raklí taj lel la opré o Del. 18. Akaná, aj ov, o phuró phenél: «Káj es' táj odojá e raklí, káj es' taj, ǵ' akaná šó-to nanáj, kaj ǵ'a, phuríje, dikh!» 19. Dikhél – nanáj – e phurí – raklí.

20. Ǵ'al e phur'orí avrí... na! 21. Ǵ'al o phuroró avrí, dikhél: pújos esí, tiknoró – rovél. 22. «Hej!-hej!» – rovél taj rovél. 23. Lel, anél les o phuró andé ko kher. 24. Ov rovél taj rovél. 25. Aj e phurí les xavd'ard'ás, pijavd'ard'ás. 26. Ov géne, géne rovél, géne rovél taj géne, taj géne rovél taj géne, taj géne rovél, taj géne rovél. 27. «Akaná léske, – phurí [phenél], – naší níšto keráv». 28. O phuró pašliló, aj e phurí...

29. Vaj, ov rovél... 30. Lel e phurí kač'aiskérél les, thel, vaj, ková. 31. Esí pašlí e phurí [phenél]: «Phuréja, úši, kač'aiskér les, phuréja, úši, kač'aiskér les, phuréja, úši, kač'aiskér les!» 32. Ov na úš'el. 33. Akaná č'h'el pes e phurí ko sv'etí. 34. Mérim o phuró si bijakhéngo, alají si andé kókala, mérim les o pújos xal'ás, taj li pujósko muj – samóji o rat. 35. Aj e phurí odá, sar dikhl'ás, [din'ás béberi]: «Hib'el'!»

36. Taj lel maj o pújos, taj lil'ás o pújos te bar'ól, taj te bar'ól, taj te bar'ól, taj te bar'ól, taj te bar'ól, Devlalé! 37. Taj lil'ás te prástal pal ke phurí. 38. Taj dandelél, taj phagerél jekh musí akajá, taj xal. 39. E phurí si gerí bešlí, rovél. 40. Taj xal [o pújos] l' akajá musí. 41. Aj o phuró, vaj, nanáj. 42. Aj e phurí, vaj, pénč'eres phagerd'ás, našlí ko sos'éd'a. 43. Káste na ǵ'al, kon te na dikhél: akajá kaj si bimus'éngi užé phánden o vudará, o vudará, o vudará...

44. Taj ǵ'al e phurí andé ke khangerí taj mangél pes. 45. Ği ke sabastán mangl'ás pes, kána diné béber'a o bašné. 46. Alí kheré phurí, aj o phuró esí opré skaméjka bešló, alají si sastó, aj phenél... 47. Aj e phurí phenél: «Amí, o pújos kaj?» 48. Aj o phuró phenél: «Naná o pújos! Amí tu, kaj sánas?» 49. Aj ov, o phuró: «Tu kaj sánas, ková?» 50. Aj oj [phenél]: «Me gel'omas andé ke khangerí». 51. «O pújos xal'ás li me duj mus'á, so me te keráv?» – [del pes godí e phurí].

52. Taj lel e phurí, gelí avrí, taj si bešlí opré xaning. 53. Dikhl'ás: mukl'ás pes o Del. 54. Phenél láke: «Tumé mánge te déna lové, o phol'á – o lové, me tuméngé kan-dáv e rakl'á». 55. Aj e phurí phenél: «Mangáv tut, – phenél, – Dévla, no me túke kan-dáv o lové». 56. Aj ov phenél: «Daváj!» 57. Aj oj phenél: «Ras tu ajakhá kerés améngé, va! bilovéngé ačh'avés amén, va!» 58. «Aj amé, – phenáv, – mangáv – li lovénca, li rakl'ása». 59. Potomú phurí phenél... 60. «Me, – phenél, – áke dikh: sar som č'orí gerí, ková, e raklí kána si, mánge si bax, aj ajakhá mánge nanáj bax – níšto». 61. Ej lel o Del, ģ'al opré.

62. Aj o phuró, vaj, na ģ'anél, kaj e phurí-to, kaj rištý e Devlésa – na! 63. Aj e phurí léške na phukavél. 64. Lel, ģ'al o phuró avrí. 65. Dikhél... dikhél l' e raklí, avél e raklí. 66. «So kerd'án, ková?» – [phuč'él o phuró]. 67. «Níšto, akajakhá-akajakhá», – [phenél e raklí]. 68. Aj o phuró phenél: «Tu kaj sánas, ková?» – e rakl'áke. 69. Aj oj phenél: «Me gel'omas te ródav me rodič'én, aj on nanáj, so me te keráv?» 70. Aj o phuró phenél: «Ej, ras tu gel'án, te rodič'én rodin'án, jésli tu na arakhl'án, beš aménde!» 71. «Phurí si, maj so, e phurí, – phenél [o phuró], – pal túte rovél, havulizel, so me láke te keráv?, lúč'še tu beš lása».

72. Nakhél paňġ' – šov d'es – merél e phurí. 73. Akaná so te kerén? 74. Dur oprál kher garavdé la. 75. Akaná, akaná ková: ģ'al e raklí avrí. 76. Dikhél: rakló si opré lávuč'ka, [mangél látar]: «Čh'e, de man páni, vaj, ģ'uvlije». 77. Lel e raklí, del les páni. 78. Ģ'al, phenél oj pe papúske... 79. Aj ģ'al, phenél raklí phuroréske: «Phuréja, áke, améngé aló savó-to rakló, mangl'ás mándar páni, me les din'óm». 80. Aj o phuró phenél: «Ej, phuč', móžet kan-xál ov?»

81. Lel e raklí phuč'él: «Kan-xás? Kan-dáv?» 82. «Ej, te désa, kan-xáv!» – [phenél o rakló]. 83. Lel e raklí čhit'ás, xal'ás ov. 84. Aj e raklí phenél: «So te kerás, kerás akaná amé?» 85. So lása akaná te kerás, phuroréja, móžet o rakló... 86. Aj ov xal'ás, vród'e, vs'o. 87. Aj e raklí phenél: «So [a]mé te kerás, kaj ov si rakló, móžet opré léšte si č'orijét [possibly: č'ort znájet] so?» 88. Lel o phuró, [phenél]: «M' áčh'ol me sovél ov». 89. Sutó o rakló andé kladóvka. 90. Ušinó sabastán, xal'ás. 91. Kána adá o phuró léške...

92. Kerd'ás e phuréske saráji, kard'ás géne so, kerd'ás e č'ar kotorí. 93. Kána adá léške o phuroró [phenél]: «Mó čh'o, vaj, ģ'a, le...» 94. Aj ov phenél o phuroró: «Mó čh'o, vaj, ģ'a, le lopáta, taj ģ'a paš ko... káte si alají o terék'a, xránđe len káte si – andé me bar'áte, othé kan-ovén phol'á! Xránđe, xránđe!» 95. Ov ģ'al, o rakló xranl'ás, xranl'ás. 96. Aló, [phenél]: «Dáde, nanáj!» 97. Aj ov [phenél]: «Lačh'és xránđe!» 98. Lel, vaj, o rakló xranl'ás rakl'ása. 99. Vuló lénđe pújos, užé ke raklí. 100. Tiknoró pújos.

101. Tól'ko rakl'ása on xranlé odojá jáma, č'érez minútki taj merél o phuró. 102. Taj ačhiló odá o rakló taj e raklí. 103. Phenlé, kaj ankhá on ĝ' akaná bešén.

### A Daria's Tale

1. There lived once an old man with an old woman, and they had neither children, nor grand children. 2-3. One day the old woman cut grass in the garden and saw light on the side of well. 4. 5. The old woman looked to that quarter and saw a beautiful blond girl with grey eyes standing there. 6. The old woman asked her, "Where are you from?" 7. The girl answered, "I'm from a distant village, I'm looking for my relatives, I want to find them, but I can't do it now, I'll stay at yours for a night and tomorrow I'll go on".

8. The old woman said, "Come to my home, I'll wash my hands and then lay table for us to have a meal". 9. The girl entered the house. 10. The old woman washed her hands. 11. Meanwhile the girl cooked pies and ravioli and prepared borsch and even put a teapot on for the old woman. 12. As the old woman entered the house, she asked, "How did you do all that so quickly?" 13. The girl said, "I did all that in a moment".

14. The old woman calls, "You old man, come and have a meal!" 15. The old man had his meal and then left to have a sleep. 16. He said, "Oh my daughter, go to the well and bring a pail of water for me!" 17. Just as the girl left, God took her to the skies. 18. The old man said [after some time], "Where is this girl? She's absent still. You, old woman, go and look for her". 19. The old woman looked around and saw no girl. 20. The old woman went out to the street, but there was no girl either. 21. The old man went to the street and saw a small crying child there. 22. [The child] cries and cries: "hei-hei". 23. The old man took him to his house. 24. The child keeps crying. 25. The old woman gave him food and drink. 26. Again he cries, again cries and again, and cries again and again, and again cries and cries. 27. "I can do nothing more to him", said the old woman. 28. The old man went to bed, and the old woman... 29. The child went on crying. 30. The old woman tried to rock him. 31. [Then] the old woman [says], "Old man, get up [to] rock him! Old man, get up [to] rock him! Old man, get up [to] rock him!" 32. The old man didn't get up. 33. The old woman approached him. 34. She saw that only bones were left of her husband, and the child's mouth was all blood; it looked as if the child ate the old man. 35. As the old woman saw it, she exclaimed, "I'm lost!"

36. The child began to grow up, and grow, and grow, and grow... Oh God! 37-38. He began running for the old woman and biting her hands

off to eat. 39. The old woman sat down crying. 40. The child ate her second hand as well. 41. And there was no husband around. 42. The old woman broke a window and escaped to her neighbours. 43. But as she approached each house, people saw she was handless and closed their gates.

44. The old woman went to the church to pray. 45. She was praying until morning came and cocks cried. 46. The old woman returned home and saw her husband seating on a bench and having no injuries. 47. The old woman asked, "And where is the child?" 48. The old man replied, "There's no child. And where have you been?" 49. 50. She said, "I was in the church". 51. "That baby ate my arms; what should I do?", thought the old woman.

52. She went to the street and sat near a well. 53. She saw God coming down from the sky. 54. God told her, "If you give me your money, your golden coins, then I'll return the girl to you". 55. The old woman said, "I plead you God, I'll give you money". 56. God said, "Come on!" 57-58. Then she changed her mind, "You are leaving us without money, but what I want is both money and the girl". 59. And so the old woman said... 60. "I'm poor and unhappy, the girl was my happiness; otherwise I've got no luck at all". 61. Then God went back to the skies.

62. The old man didn't get to know that his wife quarrelled with God. 63. The old woman didn't tell him of that. 64. The old man left his house to the street. 65. He saw a girl approaching him. 66. The old man asked her, "What were you doing?" 67. "Just nothing." 68. The old man asked again, "Where have you been, girl?" 69. She said, "I was looking for my people, but I found no-one; what should I do next?" 70. The old man said, "If you found no relatives, come and live here, with us". 71. "My old wife is crying for you, so you'd better live here".

72. Some five or six days passed, and the old woman died. 73. 74. She was buried far from her house. 75. Then the girl went to the street. 76. She saw a boy sitting at the bench and he asked, "Chkkeh, give me some water!" 77. The girl gave him some water. 78-79. Next she went to her old man and said, "Here a young fellow came asking for water, and I gave it to him". 80. The old man said, "Ask him if he wants to eat".

81. The girl asked the boy, "Do you like to eat?" 82. He replied, "I do if you offer to". 83. The girl laid a table and he had a meal. 84-85. Then the girl asked the old man, "What are we to do next?" 86. And the boy ate everything he was offered. 87. 88. The old man answered, "Let him have a sleep". 89. The boy went to sleep in a storeroom. 90. Next morning he got up and had a meal. 91.

92. Then the boy repaired the old man's shed and mowed grass. 93. The old man said to him, "You young man, take a shovel and go to my

garden; dig the trees there round; there'll be golden coins there!" 94. 95. The boy went in for digging. 96. Then he returned home and said, "There are not coins, daddy!" 97. The old man answered, "Do it better!" 98. The boy went in for digging with the girl assisting him. 99. 100.

101. Just as they dogged a deep pit, the old man died. 102. So the boy was left with the girl. 103. They are said to have been living since then.

### **30. "De man jekh kotór píta!" ("Give Me a Piece of Doughnut!")**

*"De man jekh kotór píta!"* ("Give Me a Piece of Doughnut!") is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2002, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Nadezhda Semionovna Ohly (Romani name Tseya), born in 1975. It is published for the first time.

The informant retells (in a slightly altered form) a Russian folk story, though acting in her version are Sheitans, who first help a guy to restore his eyesight after his elder brother has made him blind, and then punish the elder brother for the evil that he has inflicted upon the junior one. After the younger brother overhears Sheitans' conversation, he heals the Tsar's daughter and marries her.

#### **De man jekh kotór píta!**

1. Esí duj phralá, bešén duj phralá. 2. Nu esí geré č'ororé. 3. Znáčit o baró phral esí prandomé, aj o tiknó nanáj prandomé taj bešél geró lénde. 4. Taj lel léski romní, ej, esás sar ġ'adýisa, taj na mangélas te bešél, ej, o phraloró ko phral taj lel taj phenél léske: «Íli tu les kan-kuvdíjes andár kher, íli me kan-ġ'av mángē».

5. Lel ov r'ešýl, lel e phralés gelél andé ko baró veš te gelél. 6. Lel oj pekl'ás pítes, jekh kerd'ás: duj londé taj trin kolá, asavké lač'h'é. 7. Taj lil'ás te gelél gerés andé ko veš. 8. Geld'ás: ġ'an, ġ'an, ġ'an taj pelé andé baré vešeste – č'órnyj l'es nazyvájets'a, vópš'em.

9. Aj ov geró khiniló taj mangél te xal. 10. [Phenél]: «Mo phraloró, be, de man jekh kotór píta te xav». 11. Lel ov [phenél]: «Nana dav!» 12. «Be, de, má ker ajakhá», – [mangél o tiknó phral]. 13. «Ej, kan-dáv tóko pri odnóm uslóvije», – [phenél o baró phral]. 14. «So?» – [phuč'él o tiknó]. 15. «Te des ti jekh jakh mánde!» – [phenél o baró]. 16. Lel geró ov, del pi jekh jakh léste. 17. Akaná lil'ás, xal'ás, din'ás les o londé pítes.

18. Aj londó, vaj xás: páni kamél. 19. Dikhél: pijél ov [o baró phral] o páni. 20. Úš'el akatár léske: «Mo phraloró, be, de man, ej kotorí páni». 21. Lel ov kána odá: «Na, te désa li ti vtoróji jakh!» 22. «Kan-dáv», –



[phenél o tiknó]. 23. Lel ov geró čhit'ás géne jekh pi jakh avri, din'ás léste taj vuló geró koró. 24. Lel ov [o baró phral] ačh'avél les andé odolé vešeste taj geló, znáčit.

25. So te kerél geró akavá, vaj ačhiló, so vs'ó. 26. Aj akaté užé rat'ól. 27. Taj lel ov taj níkl'ol opré ko baró teréki. 28. Arakhl'ás teréki, taj níkl'os [it must be: níkl'ol] č'ap ke makúška, taj si bešló. 29. Anáv. 30. Ratí si. 31. Dikhén pes o trin šejtán'a andé ko veš. 32. «O-o-o-o», xaj, ková.

33. Úš'el o jekh šejtáni: «Dévla, be, so me ġ'anáv, tumé na ġ'anén, čh'avále». 34. Úš'en okolá: «Ej, so tu ġ'anés?» 35. Úš'el okotár: «Me ġ'anáv, manuš, áke koró manuš te léla, te xal'aréla, sánkim, pe jakhá e dros'ésa sabastán, tóko peló o drósi, taj te lel te xal'arél pe jakhá, znáčit ov kan-dikhél, léste o jakhá, ej, kan-dikhén».

36. Úš'el okotár ov – oká jekh: «Aj me so ġ'anáv, tumé na ġ'anén». 37. Aj okolá phenén: «Ej, phukáv». 38. «Me šunl'óm, kaj si caríca, ej na caríca – e princésa nasvalí, taj la níkhon naši vyličskerél, vopš'é níkhon». 39. «No me ġ'anáv jekh sr'étstva. – [phenél odová šejtáni]. – Te keréla manuš odojá sr'étstva, oj kan-ġivind'ol, kan-ovél hortí». 40. Sánkim, kon kan-lél e l'ahušká taj kon kan-kerél la te tavél [te] xal, oj výzdaravit.

41. Úš'el akaná o trító: «Me tóže so ž'anáv, ko patišáji, ko patišáji esí: merén o sluhádes bipan'é». 42. Li o patišáji na ġ'anél, so te kerél, no o cári phenl'ás: «Esí asavkó, sar ková – horasoró, kaj lel o páni vs'ó vr'em'a othé, nu odolé thanéste šítáj baró bar, kaj les manuš ne zdvín'et, thanéstar níkhon vopš'é».

43. Vot, kon, sánkim, posm'éjet odá bar, sánkim, te čh'el, znáčit, ková. 44. Znáčit o cári kan-dél jekhpaš cárstva taj pe čhijá léste. 45. Aj, aká, vaj, šunl'ás opré. 46. Ahá, šunl'ás alají. 47. Ej okotár ... taj gelé, okolá šéja vur'ánile. 48. Akaná geró uġ'arél, vaj, kána užé rasv'ét, o drósi te perél. 49. Fúl'el geró telé š'upaiskerél e č'ar. 50. Ahá, nanáj suslí. 51. Níkl'ol géne oprál, si bešló. 52. Taj lil'ás, taj mukl'ás pes géneja. 53. Tóko mukl'ás pes, thel po vas taj peló o drósi, taj lel ov, taj xal'arél pe jakhá, taj lil'ás te dikhél.

54. Taj lel ov, taj ġ'al othé ko patišáji. 55. Dikhél d'ejstvit'el'no e raklí si nasvalí léskiri. 56. Úš'el okotár léske, patišajéske: «Áke, me al'óm, sánkim, me šunl'óm, kaj si túte ti čh'aj nasvalí pharés, me al'óm, sánkim, te dikháv, te pomohaiskeráv tuménge, šop oj te hort'ól».

57. Úš'el o patišáji léske: «Aj, mó čh'o, aj, mó čh'o, me na ġ'anáv, la mnóhije áke pytális'a te l'ečiskeren, no n'e výličili, níkhon, hál'os tu, aj tu navr'át li». 58. Úš'el ov [o phral tiknó] okotár: «Amí, mé te hort'aráva, so kan-dés adaléske man?» 59. Úš'el ov okotár: «Mó čh'o, tu te hort'arésa, me kan-dáv tut polcárstva». 60. Ej polcárstva.

61. Lel ov astarél l'ahušká bar'á, lel kerél la, lel žariskerél odá mas taj lel taj xavd'arél la. 62. Taj hortilí okojá princésa, dáde, birdén. 63. Hál'os

tu? 64. Taj lil'ás te úš'el, ková. 65. Lel del léste o patišáji odá. 66. Úš'el okotár: «Mó čh'ó, tu, sánkim, výl'ečil me čh'ejá, kátar tu odojá sr'éststva ģ'anés?» 67. Me ģ'anavas. 68. Ej me ģ'anáv géne jekh šéji te phenáv túke te keráv géne odá šéji. 69. «So man vzam'éni kan-dés, me jésli o bar te čh'áva, t' ovéla alají páni, t' ovéla lačh'ó, páni si», – [phuč'él o phral tiknó].

70. Úš'el okotár [o patišáji]: «Sar me v'el'él, prikázyval te dav polcárstva taj me čh'ejá odolé manušeske, savó kan-čh'él o bar oprál ko páni». 71. Lel ov ģ'al taj čh'el o bar oprál ko páni, čhit'ás. 72. Ej akaná o patišáji taj del e čhijá taj polcárstva, akaná, vaj, bijáv khelén.

73. Aj o [baró] phral šunl'ás taj avél othé. 74. Esí bešló, vaj xal tóže taj pijél. 75. Úš'el okotár pe phraléske: «Mo phraloró, vaj, me tútar o jakhá lil'óm, sar tu akaná dikhés, sar ková, sánkim, hál'os tu». 76. Taj lel taj phukavél léske alají. 77. Hál'os tu? 78. Kána adá: «Mo phral, níkal me jakhá». 79. Sánkim, oká užé o phral, savó e geréstar lil'ás.

80. «Sóske, be, ģ'a okorin, me nana láv te jakhá», – otkázyvajets'a [o tiknó phral]. 81. «Na, č'ač'és, le me jakhá taj gel man andé ko veš», – [phenél o phral baró]. 82. Lel ov léske č'ač'és gelél an veš, čh'el. 83. Ej óke, ... [niklistó] opré ke makúška. 84. Uĝ'arél, vaj, xaj, o droší.

85. Dikhén pes o trin šejtán'a géneja andé odolé vešéste, odolé terek'éste. 86. Tóko on esí telé, aj ov opré. 87. Úš'el okotár o jekh: «Čh'avéja, be, tu pómniš akavá, kaj me phukavd'óm tuménge, sánkim, kaj te xal'arés o jakhá taj kan-dikhés». 88. «Pómnim, vaj, č'ač'és odá manuš kerd'ás, kakój-to manuš kerd'ás», – [phenén o šejtán'a].

89. Úš'el oká: «Aj tu pómniš, me kaj phenl'óm?» 90. Úš'el: «Va!» 91. Úš'el li oková, o trító: «Aj tu pómniš, li me kaj me phenl'óm?» 92. Znáčit, áke amén potslúšyval manuš taj dikhlé birdén opré, sánkim. 93. Taj te meráv taj tasavén les. 94. Ej akalá kheldé o bijáv. 95. Xalé, pilé, barválile. 96. Vot skásk'e kon'éc, aj kon slúšal – molod'éc.

### **“Give Me a Piece of Doughnut!”**

1. There lived two brothers. 2. 3. The elder brother is married, and the younger one is not and he lives with the family of his elder brother. 4. Once the elder brother's wife who didn't like that told her husband, “Drive your younger brother out, or I will leave the house”.

5. The elder brother agreed to drive him into a large forest. 6. The woman baked five doughnuts for them to eat during their travel; she put too much salt into two of them. 7. 8. So the brothers drove into a dark forest.

9. Poor younger brother got tired and he asked to eat. 10. [He said,] “Brother, give me a piece of doughnut”. 11. The answer was “No!” 12. “Brother, don't do so, give it to me”. 13. “Well, I'll do, but under one

condition". 14. "What is it?" 15. "If you give me your eye!" 16. The poor young brother gave his eye to the elder one. 17. Then the elder brother gave him the over-salted doughnuts.

18. But when one eats over-salted food, he needs water. 19. He saw his elder brother drinking water. 20. The younger brother asked him, "Brother, give me some water!" 21. The elder brother replied, "I'll do, but if you give me your other eye". 22-23. Poor young brother removed his last eye, gave it to him and became blind. 24. The elder brother left him in the forest and drove away.

25. What had the poor creature to do? 26. It was getting dark there. 27. The boy climbed on a tall tree. 28. He found the tree and climbed on to the very top of it and sat down there. 29. 30. 31. Meanwhile three sheitans walked through the forest. 32.

33. One sheitan said, "I know something that you don't know, fellows". 34. Others replied, "Then what do you know?" 35. He said, "I know that if a blind man washes his eyes with morning dew, his eyes will see again".

36. Another sheitan said, "I know something that you don't know". 37. Others said, "Then tell us". 38. I know there is a princess who's fallen ill, and no-one can heal her. 39. But I know one medicine; if a man makes it, she will be in good health". 40. If someone cooks a frog and makes the princess eat it, the girl will recover.

41. Then the third sheitan spoke, "I also know something: the tsar's servants are dying without water".

42-44. And the tsar doesn't know what to do, but he said, "There's a hill where they take water from, and there's a large stone there, so big that nobody can move it"; so the tsar promised to give his daughter and half of his tsardom to the one who throws this stone downhill. 45. The boy who was sitting on top of the tree heard all that. 46. 47. The three sheitans left the place. 48. The boy waited for the dawn, when dew was about to fall. 49. He even came down from the tree to touch the grass. 50. It wasn't wet. 51. He climbed back and set down [on top of the tree]. 52. Then he came down again. 53. This time just as he reached the ground, the dew fell into his palm; he washed his eyes and regained his eyesight, began seeing again.

54. Then the boy went to the tsar. 55. He really saw a sick girl there. 56. The boy said to the tsar, "I've heard that your daughter is seriously ill and I came here to help her to recover".

57. The tsar said, "Oh fellow, many people tried to heal her, but they failed; and you will hardly succeed". 58. The boy asked the tsar, "If I heal her, what will you give me?" 59. The tsar answered, "I'll give you half of my tsardom".

61. The boy captured a large frog, fried its meat and fed the tsar's daughter with it. 62. The princess recovered in a moment. 63. 64. She got up from her bed. 65. 66. The tsar asked the boy, "You've healed my daughter, oh my dear; where do you know that medicine from?" 67. I knew it. 68. Indeed, I know one more thing to be done here. 69. "What will you give me if I throw the stone downhill and let the water flow?"

70. The tsar answers, "I've already promised to give half of my land and my daughter to the one who throws the stone from the [source of] water". 71. Then the boy went uphill and threw the stone down from there. 72. The tsar gave him his daughter and half of his land; they held the wedding celebration.

73. The elder brother heard of that and came there. 74. He sat at the table to eat and drink. 75. He asked his junior brother, "I took the eyes from you; then how can you see now?" 76. The younger brother told him everything. 77. 78. Then the elder brother asked, "Brother, remove my eyes from me". 79.

80. "What [should I do it] for, brother? I won't take your eyes; go there!" 81. "No, indeed, take my eyes and lead me to that forest". 82. The younger brother took his eyes, led him to the forest and left there. 83-84. The elder brother climbed up a tree to wait for the dew.

85. The three sheitans met near that tree. 86. 87. One sheitan said, "Do you remember me telling you how a blind man can see again by washing his eyes with dew?" 88. "We remember that; and a certain man really did so", other sheitans answered.

89. Another sheitan asked, "Do you remember what I told?" 90. The answer was "Yes". 91. The third one spoke, "And do you remember what I said?" 92. It means someone overheard us; with this they all looked upstairs. 93. [They saw the elder brother sitting on top of the tree] and strangulated him. 94. Meanwhile, the wedding ceremony was over. 95. They ate and drank and became rich. 96. That's the end of the fairy-tale; and the one who listened to it is a fine fellow.

### **31. Avgutné roméndar ("About the old-time Roma")**

*Avgutné roméndar* ("About the old-time Roma") is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2003, in the community of Rajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Yeseniya Romanovna Pohorelova (b. 1978) and Mrs. Zinaida Gennadyevna Balai (Romani name Mada) (b. 1957). The story is published for the first time.

The informants' story is a Romani version of a fairy-tale on the subject of the Russian origin – about a fiancé who is a dead man. In this

story a guardsman killed a young Rom who had tried to steal horses. The young boy's mother put his body in a coffin and placed it into a cabin in the yard. The rest of events that happen in the story is a complete antithesis to the events in *Rat'áko ženíxi* fairy-tale. The wife's love triumphs: after the woman has been praying for her husband for forty days, he is returned to life. The action of this story has a vivid Christian coloring.

During their narration the two informants [sometimes] go wrong and help each other not to get lost in the plots of several fairy-tales that they know. When the author asked the women to explain how they learnt the stories that they are telling, Mrs. Zinaida Balai says, "Long ago, when I was still an infant, my mother had a book of Russian folk tales; they read them to us, we listened and learned them, and now we tell them to our children and to you."

### Avgutné roméendar

1. Bešénas romá. 2. Ğ'anés, áke, avgutné romá katunénca. 3. Phirén jekh avrénde, xan, pijén. 4. Vot. 5. But šukár romaní č'h'aj esás. 6. Akatár, áke, láke balá thulé, vaj andé phol'á (kon phukavél, odojá sikavél pe vastésa o dulgipé e baléngoro). 7. Avgutné savút'a: šyfón'a lulud'énge, Dévla. 8. Taj dexélas oj č'h'avés. 9. Ov bešél avré dizáte, oj bešél avré dizáte. 10. Akaná thel avél asavkó vaxýti: oj topisáili, mulí. 11. Mulí, áma láte, vaj, phol'áke miriklé, versó si – o brasl'é't'a odolá, vaj – avgutní díla. 12. Lel oj mulí, aj lénde kamélas asavkó asavkó vaxýti t' ovén, sánkim, ková (vaxýti e mangl'arimáskoro).

13. O č'h'avoró geló te č'orél e grastén... 14. Mudarél les o nač'al'níki, o storózy taj xrándel les tal ko teréki. 15. Xranlé tal ko teréki. 16. Akaná uğ'arél les e daj d'es, duj, trin: ov nanáj, ov nanáj. 17. Taj lel, taj ĝ'al avré xotráste ko sus'éd'a. 18. Lilé te phirén, úš'en: «Vy n'e víd'eli, takój krasívij, halubohlázyj praxodíl, n'e znáju što d'élat'».

19. Aj ov pe dejáke phenl'ás: «Me kan-ğ'av te ródav so si odá hór'a taj bída». 20. E daj phenélas: «O Del me na del te ĝ'as te ródes adá, aj bešén o romá barvalés dahá o zamán». 21. Taj xranlé les tal ko teréki. 22. Lel phenél e gaĝi: «Ja víd'ela nóč'ju, kak on šol tudá v l'es s'évodn'a». 23. Mérim ov č'ord'ás e grastén taj mudard'ás les o storózy, taj xranl'ás les tal ke jólka. 24. Lel e daj arakhél, káte si ov xranló. 25. Lel anél les kheré.

26. Lénde andé bar e vr'em'ánka sas. 27. Taj kerél e daj gróbos, taj thel les andé ko gróbos. 28. S dv'enátcati nóči do p'atí utrá ov ovélas kheré, užé e daj ĝ'anélas: thélas samovári, tavélas, pekélas, kerélas. 29. Ov avélas, ovélas bešló kaj xálas taj pijél lénca č'áji. 30. Avél asavkó asavkó vaxýti, taj lel ov taj dexél č'h'ajor'á andár ko xotráste, do étaho s ternaharíla, taj lel, taj

phenél: «Mänge kamél te ĝ'as te mangl'arás la». 31. Taj ĝ'an on ratí v dv'enátcát' nóči ko romá taj phagerén o manró. 32. Ratí gelé te mangl'arén e čh'ajor'á.

33. Čh'en [sáma] o romá. 34. Ej sóske ratí, sóske na disé? 35. «Aj amaró čh'avó dur phirél taj kazandíjel taj kamél léske v šest' utrá te ĝ'al», – [phenén o romá]. 36. Ĝ'an o romá taj mangl'ardé ratí. 37. O romá denílile: ratí, vaj o manró phagerdé, odolé čh'ajor'á geldé. 38. E sasúj phirélas, kazandíjelas e sastrésa, aj ov nanáj, xranló si andé vr'em'ánka, garavdó andé grobóste: agurál léste o lulud'á, o duxides. 39. Kaj? 40. Sar cári si pašló. 41. Te na dikhél jékhvar v dv'enátcát' nóči marél ov, odá...

42. Avél láte jékhvar, dúvar, trívar. 43. V šest' utrá užé našél, v šest' utrá užé našél. 44. Lel e sasúj ĝ'al phirimáske. 45. Úš'el: «Mí čh'aj, áke túke alají e kheréngere kl'úč'a, e komnat'éngere». 46. Taj aká kl'úči. 47. Andé okolé vr'em'ánkate ma ĝ'a te kides. 48. Oj esí andár alají kidiní, šuzý, xal'ardí. 49. Te kides la na kamél, othé vopš'é má ĝ'a, aj amé kan-avás e sastrésa bazar'éstar. 50. Taj gelé, vaj o romá, aj oj ačhíli.

51. Taj vuló láke int'er'ésno. 52. Kidin'ás, xal'ard'ás, thed'ás o samovári. 53. Vaj, uĝ'arél xaj les kátar ko xyzméti. 54. Esí dahá mózet tri, č'etýr'e č'asá v'éc'era. 55. Lel phutrél, oková – int'er'ésno láke – e vr'em'ánka taj dikhél so si andé. 56. Taj dikhél so ov esí pašló andé gróbos. 57. Perél oj v óbmarok, denílili. 58. Lel anél la ov s'eb'é, užé vušinó čh'avoró. 59. Vaj, so te kerél, vaj oj merélas angál léste. 60. Lel anél la s'eb'é, taj garavd'ás la andé ko kher.

61. Aj ov k s'eb'é, taj aló taj pášl'ol géne andé pe grobóste. 62. Dv'enátcát' nóči. 63. Áke tav, kaj avél opré grasténde. 64. «Déba! – [phenél]. – Ur'áv tut, háde, amé ládas!» 65. Úš'el oj: «Kaj?» 66. «Déba, kide te č'úl'a!» – [phenél o čh'avó]. 67. Lel oj kómbos, phándel...

68. Avél taj phenél láke: «Tu dikhl'án kaj som me, man mudardé, me som žyvóji pokojníki, šop me te bóldav man ke žýzni...» 69. [Taj phenél ov láke géne]: «Asavké, asavké gavéste esí khangerí andé vešéste, taj te phánden tut andé ke khangerí sórok dn'ej». 70. [Šunél oj léske zbóres]: «Tu andár te na níkl'os, bešáv koč'éncia, te na ovés bristerdí, kaj mangés man te drabkerés, na sórok p'érvyj d'en' te dejandíjesa me kan-ĝivind'av».

71. Taj lel avér d'es taj avél sabastán o dad, e daj. 72. Oj esí alají šuvlí roimástar. 73. Del trad: «Dáde, néne, me alají ĝ'anáv léstar, akajakhá-akajakhá háden, asavké-asavké gavéste esí khangerí, me dólžen te bešáv koč'éncia sórok dn'ej». 74. Taj then andé vúrdon e grastén, taj then la andé, láke savút'a, te xal, páni lása. 75. Taj gelél andé vešéste andé odolé khanger'áte taj phánden la andé.

76. Sórok dn'ej esás koč'éncia, andár koč'á o ratá ... angál prástan, aj oj tóko ko Del mangél pes, tóko ko Del mangél pes. 77. Na sórok p'érvyj

d'en' phinrávd'on o vudará e khanger'ákere. 78. Andé vúrdon o dad bešló, e daj, o čh'avoró, láko dad, láki daj. 79. Avén ke khangerí. 80. Len e čh'ajor'á, ġ'an kheré. 81. Khelén zánovo o bijáv: xalé, pilé. 82. Vulí léski zakónni ġ'uvlí.

### **About the old-time Roma**

1. Roma lived [in old times]. 2. Those old Roma with kibitkas. 3. They visited each other to eat and drink. 4. 5. There was a very beautiful Romani girl. 6. She had long hair. 7. She wore old-style clothes of chiffon designed with flowers. 8. And she loved a boy. 9. He lived in a town, but she lived in another one. 10. Suddenly she drowned. 11. And the girl had golden beads and bracelets of old work. 12.

13. The boy went to steal horses. 14. The guard shot him and buried under a tree. 15. 16. His mother waited for him for a day, or two, or three days, but he didn't return. 17. The mother went to a near-by town. 18. There she asked, "Have you ever seen a handsome boy with blue eyes? I don't know what to do..."

19. Before the boy left, he had told his mother, "I'm going to find out what troubles and sorrow are." 20. Then his mother said, "Oh God, don't let him look for all that"; and the Roma were well-to-do at that times. 21. 22. One woman told her, "I saw him going to the forest last night". 23. It seems he was stealing [some] horses, but a guard killed him and buried under a fir-tree. 24. The mother found where he had been buried. 25. She took his body home.

26. There was a hut in their back yard. 27. The mother made a coffin and put him in it. 28. [When her son was alive,] he stayed at home from twelve at night till five in the morning; the mother knew that and cooked food for him. 29. He returned [home], ate and drank tea with her. 30. He said he was in love with a girl from town; "I need us to go there and woo her." 31. So at midnight they went to the Roma to break [some] bread [*part of old ritual*]. 32. They went to woo a girl at night.

33. The girl's family paid their attention [to the timing]. 34. Why at night, not at daytime? 35. "I say, our son works far away, and he needs to leave home at six." 36. So the Roma wooed the girl at night. 37. The Roma were shocked: they had broken bread and driven the girl away at night. 38. The husband's father and mother went for the wages, and their son was hidden in a cabin, lying by in the coffin, with flowers and scent around him. 39. 40. He was lying like a tsar. 41. For her not to see... [him?]

42. He went to her once, twice, thrice. 43. [Each time he] runs away at six in the morning. 44-45. As his mother left home for business [of selling goods, telling fortunes and begging], she said, "Oh my daughter,

here are the keys to all rooms.” 46. And this key as well. 47. Don’t go to clean that cabin. 48. It is all washed and cleaned inside. 49. There’s no need to clean it; don’t even go there; my husband and I are about to be back in a week. 50. So Roma went away, and she was left at home.

51. She became thrilled. 52. She cleaned and washed and [also] boiled tea. 53. She waited for her husband to come [back] home from his work. 54. It was still three or four p.m. 55. As she was thrilled, she went [to the yard and] opened the cabin. 56. She looked inside and saw him lying in the coffin. 57. She lost her mind and fell down. 58. The boy got up and brought her. 59. She might have died in front of him. 60. He took her to [his parents’] house.

61. After that he returned to his coffin. 62-63. At midnight he harnessed horses. 64. He said to his wife, “We are going now! Dress up! Be quick!” 65. 66. “Gather your clothes quickly!” 67. She put them in a bundle.

68-69. Her husband said, “So you have seen that they had killed me, and now I’m a dead man; to return me to life you should be locked in a country church for forty days.” 70. There you should pray for me standing on your knees for forty days; if you endure that, I’ll come to life on the forty-first day.

71. Next day the boy’s father and mother returned. 72. Her face was swelled up from crying. 73. She said, “I know everything about him; there’s a church in one village where I must stand on my knees for forty days.” 74. So they harnessed their horses, seated the girl in a cart and took some food and water. 75. She was to be taken to that church and be locked inside it.

76. She kept standing on her knees for forty days; blood streamed from the knees, but the girl went on praying God. 77. On the forty-first day the doors of the church opened. 78. The father and mother and the boy all sat in the cart together with her father and mother. 79. They drove to the church. 80. They took the girl from there and went home. 81. Then they celebrated the wedding once again: they ate and drank. 82. She became his lawful wife.

### **32. Sar me te nıkl'av athár? (“How could I escape from this place?”)**

*Sar me te nıkl'av athár?* (“How could I escape from this place?”) is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2003, in the community of Rajevskaia (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mr. Ivan Nikolayevich Balai (Romani name Dzhaltyr), born in 1933. The text is published for the first time.



The informant retells a version of fabulous adventures of six wonderful comrades-assistants (SUS № 513A), including *Opivalo* who can swallow a sea of water, *Obyedalo* who can eat more than one ox, *Moroz* who can make water ice-bound, *Begun* who can leave any fast-walker behind, *Strelok* who can shoot accurately at any distance, and *Daleko Slyshashchii* who can hear what's going on far away by placing his ear to the ground; they all became brothers with a Horseman wearing a *remenitsa* [a worrier's protective clothes made of leather belts].

In a Ukrainian version, a tsar sends a fast-walker to get some "life-water"; in the Romani version, the informant does not explain the purpose of a competition. During the race the fast-walker asks for some water to drink from his woman rival, but as she's carrying not water but alcohol, the fast-walker gets drunk and falls asleep. Meanwhile the woman fast-walker leaves her rival behind; but one of his sworn brothers (*Strelok* in the Ukrainian variant) throws a top boot into a sleeping man and thus wakes him up to be finally the first to appear at the place of destination.

The end of the story is happy in both the Ukrainian and the Romani versions. In the Ukrainian one the winner marries the Tsar's daughter, while in the Romani variant the brother returns to the tsar to find his wife and to live a long life with her.

### Sar me te níkl'av athár?

1. Lel phenél: «Aj sar me výrvats'a athár?» 2. «Tu ġ'anés so? – e rakl'áke phenél ov. – Tu hazyrdíje ratí, č'asá v dva – tri, mánge grastén, na jekhés: štaré – pang'én zen'énca, xapé, piipé». 3. Ratí alají suté si, taj tu man kan-nikalés... 4. O grastá te ovén hazýr'a. 5. Me sar bešáv tynýki, taj ušól me, aj o grastá t' ovén alají phanlé jekh jekh avréste. 6. Kan-kerés, znáčit me othár, vaj, naši phenél kaj oková mudard'ás taj si ġivindó. 7. Lel akaná prihotóvila, ej láte si maml'ek'ét'a asavké vtixor'á, vs'o.

8. Ratí, jekhpáš rat č'asá... noč', v hlúxyj noč', alají suté si, lil'ás odová ková, sam'é lač'h'é grastén, ej sokabór, sámi, štaré grastén, tól'ki zen'énca, tól'ki xapé: oprál súmkes tam ja što móžet. 9. Ej kerd'ás e raklí odá áke kerd'ás rat'átar. 10. Avér rat v č'as noč'. 11. So phenés, be? 12. Alají prihotóvl'eni, vs'o. 13. Phinravél odojá zindána, odá vudár. 14. O rakló [phenél]: «Tóki te na bristéš mánge savút'a: e r'em'eníca». 15. Ej požálusta, thed'ás e raklí kost'úm'a, móžet kolá, tudá-s'udá, xapé.

16. Tíxo, bláho, manuš nanáj, níšto nanáj: č'as nóči. 17. Alají suté si. 18. Phinravd'ás adá vorotás, nikal'd'ás odá manuš e grastén. 19. Bešló o rakló opré jekhé grastéste, akalá si alají phanlé zen'énca, opré kažn'éste phanlé boxč'ádes xapé. 20. Amí me, me kan-bóldava man, nu na avd'és, na

ráno, me túte ob'azát'el'no kan-aváv, kan-láv tut i my ujd'óm. 21. Geló rakló e grasténca geló, ġ'al d'es, ġ'al duj, ġ'al trin, ġ'al bazári drom korkoró.

22. Disiló, ġ'al e grasténca. 23. Kána dikhél: manúš bešló si, manúš bešló si, č'amukerél kókala. 24. Pašé léste kókala móžet sar oká saráji. 25. «Sel'ám, múrša», – [phenél o manúš]. 26. «Al'éjkim sel'ám, so kerés akavá, phrála, so č'amukerés kókala? – akavá phenél, o rakló. – So č'amukerés kókala?»

27. «Vaj, mo phral, me xal'óm guruvés da na č'ajlil'óm taj č'amukeráv o kókala, – [phenél aká manúš], – guruvorés!» 28. Akaná rakló phenél: «Aj tu man ukundíjes phral, kaj ġ'av me, tu ukundíjes man phral?» 29. «Vaj, mo phral, le man», – [phenél o manúš]. 30. Áke gras, áke zen, áke xapé taj so xapé? 31. Ov xal guruvés, sar na č'ajl'ól. 32. Beš, áke zen, áke gras, pojéxali. 33. Bešló, pošól.

34. Aj ġ'al anglé, móžet bit' d'es geló, aj móžet duj. 35. Kána dikhél: manúš esí bešló, saránda pút'a, sórok kilohráam bará si phlané li akaté, li akaté. 36. Vaj, saránda pút'a. 37. «Sel'ám, múrša!» – [phenél o rakló]. 38. «Al'éjkim sel'ám, mo phral», – [phenél o manúš e barénca]. 39. «So phándes, phrála, akalá bará?» – [phuč'él o rakló]. 40. «Vaj áke, vaj saránda pút'a», – [phenél o rakló]. 41. «Vaj, mo phral, me adalá bará te č'h'áva, me kajípi kan-ováv», – [phenél o manúš e barénca].

42. «Kan-vur'ál, kan-dél pes... taj kan-mudarél pes», – o rakló del pes godí. 43. Vaj alají bahatír'a si. 44. Nanáj, vaj prostóji manúš, bahatír'a. 45. Tu ukundíjes mánca phral? 46. «Vaj, mo phral, – [phenél o rakló], – beš». 47. Odolé barénca? 48. Aj kaj ov oprál ko gras kan-vur'ál, pošól, ġ'al.

49. Kána dikhél manúš d'es'éstar, dóndar, móžet bit'. 50. Kána dikhél: [manúš] po kan ke phu thel. 51. O rakló, ková, úš'el: «Be, so šunés tu okothé, so thes, phrála, ke phu to kan?» 52. Aj o rakló ġ'anél, léske o sunó aló ko rakló. 53. «Vaj, mo phral, me ġ'anáv, so si tal ke phu, so si opré ko del», – [phenél o manúš]. 54. «A, molod'éc, tu ukundíjes mánca phral?» – [phenél o rakló]. 55. Ov [odá manúš]: «Kundíjav, vaj, le man!» 56. Beš, áke gras, áke zen, pojéxali! 57. Ğ'al...

58. Kána ġ'al, angál kham esí, kána dikhél: manúš paš ke der'av si bešló. 59. Áke der'av, ov esí bešló. 60. «Sel'ám, phrála!» – [on phenén]. 61. «Al'éjkim sel'ám, phralále!» – [úš'el o manúš]. 62. «Aj so san atkhá, paš ke der'av?» – [phuč'én o phralá]. 63. «Vaj, mo phral, me xal'óm do guruvén, aj páni te pijáv [nanáj], me áke, kána mangáv te pijáv páni, e der'av mánge zálag esí», – [phenél o manúš]. 64. Aj o rakló phuč'él: «Ukundíjes mánca phral?» 65. «Vaj, mo phral, le man!» – [del o manúš béber'a]. 66. Áke gras, áke zen – užé pang' ġ'ané si – pojéxali.

67. Hópa, alají ustriják'a si. 68. Hop, taj vur'ál, saránda der'avá ur'ánile. 69. Hop, taj fúl'el ko patišáji. 70. «O! – sar dikhl'ás o patišáji

d'un'ás, aborkhá me baléndar but. – Sel'ám!» 71. «Al'éjkm sel'ám! Tu man dožydaiskerd'án, patišáji?» – [phuč'él o rakló]. 72. «Va, me dožydaiskerd'óm», – [phenél o patišáji]. 73. Aj ov léste andé sunó aló, li adá patišáji...

74. «Ej taj le, amé opré ko drom bokhalé sam, phrála», – [phenén o phralá]. 75. «O! – požálasta», – [úš'el o patišáji]. 76. «Tól'ki má the kotór mas, mánde do guruvén xal o jekh, a o jekh tóže guruvés, kókala č'amukerél, aj tu te thésa bakrés adá nanáj ništo», – [phenél o rakló]. 77. «Požálasta!» – [phenél o patišáji]. 78. Ej, čhindé do, triné, štaré guruvén, kerdé ková...

79. Aj kaj e grastén te then andé kon'úšn'a, te then e grastén? 80. Lilé thedé grastén kakój-to kon'úšn'a. 81. Tól'ko grastén den [te xan] orízi, ne khas, ne ništo, oriz'ésa [xavd'arén len]. 82. «Požálasta», – patišáji [phenel] rակլéske. 83. «Ej, amí amé?» – [phuč'én o phralá]. 84. «Áke túke kher, akalá te phralá si?» – [phenél o patišáji]. 85. «Va!» – [phenél o rakló]. 86. Diné, áma binás, binás, áma si alají sasturnó, alají sasturnó. 87. Kána [nakhél]: saháti, duj, trin, štar...

88. O rakló ġ'anél akavá; akavá nanáj [te ġ'anél]. 89. Kána adá: «Ej, kaj the to kan ke phu, so kan-ovél améndar?» 90. «Áke sam bešlé, aj so kan-ovél?» – [phenén o phralá]. 91. Sar thed'ás oká po kan. 92. Kána adá: «Sígo élan, élan te našás, akankhá alají o binás kan-perél opré aménde, sáster, alají č'uhvin'ésko, alají loliló, akankhá kan-thabás, ej býstro!» 93. O rakló ġ'anél. 94. Býstro, sar tol'ko othár, sar e kalítka, sar phinravd' ó vudár, be, tol'ko gelé akajakhá sar ke saráji, oká alají rúxnul, alají. 95. On kan-thabónas alají.

96. Kána adá o rakló akaléske: «E, šunés?» 97. «So?» – [phuč'él o manúš]. 98. «Kaj, ġ'a, le der'áv, tól'ko mač'h'é m' áčh'on taj an akathé!» – [phenél o rakló]. 99. Aj dáde, mo phral, sar čhit'ás pes odová, kaj pijél o der'áv, vaj. 100. Taj li zálag, sar lil'ás e der'áv, sar mukl'ás: na topízen d'un'ás, na topízen maml'ek'ét'a, na topízen, vaj der'áv esí. 101. O patišáji paroxódi kaj arakhl'ás, lódká.

102. «Phrála, le o páni, – [phenél o patišáji], – vaj me manušá, ask'éri, vaj nanáj užé, alají vs'ó». 103. «Nu so? Géne šos' kan-kerés, patišáji», – [phuč'él o rakló]. 104. «Na, phrála, le ty tól'ko, vaj kaj vs'ó – híb'el'», – [del béber'a o patišáji]. 105. «Le, be, le der'áv», – [phenél o rakló]. 106. Lel oká, phirél, thed'ás po muj, nikal'd'ás odá páni, geló, čhit'ás, vs'ó.

107. «So kan-kerás géneja? – [phenén alají]. – The te xas!» 108. Xan. 109. «So géne?» – [phuč'én alají]. 110. «Múrša, mánde si géne jekh aslýja, te phenáv, mož íspólniš, le adá alají o mangín, alají», – [úš'el o

patišáji]. 111. Aj o rakló phenél: «Mángo to mangín, mángo mangín esí, aj to mangín mángo na kamél».

112. «Jekh zadánija», – [phenél o patišáji]. 113. «Nu požálusta, so zadánija?» – [phenél o rakló]. 114. «Mánde raklí kan-ǵ'ál, aj túte, vaj nanáj ǵ'uvlí?» – [phenél o patišáji]. 115. «Esí, muršá!» – [phenén o phralá]. 116. «Ej kan-ǵ'án othár sar mangén te ǵ'an, sar mangén móžet kan-ǵ'án d'es, móžet breš, nu othár kon avéla naznáč'enni than esí: móžet p'atnácat' – dvátcat' kilom'étrov ja dv'ésti, ja pat'sót», – [phenél o patišáji]. 117. «Te avéla mi ǵ'uvlí, te avéla búrum minút na d'es'at' te manušestar, ja géneja búdu povtor'át': te avéla tinró búrum – nič'eho n'e im'éju prótiv. – [géne phenél o patišáji]. – Le te phralén».

118. Aj le alají, so mangés, ǵ'a. 119. Nu daváj! 120. Vaj, o rakló ǵ'anél, vaj te phutrél akalá aká o bará, da kon kan-astarél, ne v'ertal'óti hájma, ne níkhon-nikh. 121. Daváj, le, be, tu kan-ǵ'ás, be, akalénca tu kan-ǵ'ás! 122. No rakló phenél: «Othár, othár phutrésa o bará, potomú adá ǵ'uvlí sí, móžet li te xoxavél ajakhá – murš esí – móžet li te xoxavél tut, nu tu dih!» 123. «Vaj, mo phral!» – [phenél o rakló].

124. Lel akajá, aborkhá č'ajníki, móžet lítrov p'at'd'es'át, sámí čísti spírti – č'ajníki – pošól. 125. «Dikh, be», – rakló phenél. 126. Ej, vaj ǵ'an, kham, hesápi, vaj thabiló pan'éske, vaj xal'ás guruvés. 127. «Mí phen, so gelés andé odolé č'ajnik'éste?» – [phuč'él o rakló e barénca látar]. 128. «Páni!» – [phenél akajá raklí]. 129. «Tak de, šukil'óm, thabilí mi čhiborí, de man páni!» – [mangél o rakló]. 130. «Aj tu ǵ'anésas, kaj kan-avés, sóske túsa na lil'án páni?» – [phuč'él léstar e raklí]. 131. «Ej, vaj me na ǵ'anáv, man kaj kan-bičh'alén», – [phenél o rakló]. 132. «Me na dav, amí me so kan-pijáv?» – [phenél e raklí]. 133. «Man de, Dévla!» – [mangél rakló e Devlés]. 134. Pošól.

135. Ráza dva mangél geró, na del, vaj na del, vaj spírti sí. 136. Alé odolé naznáč'enni than esí. 137. «Čh'e, de, me thabil'óm, mí phen'oríje, xav ti ming'», – [mangél o rakló]. 138. Ále, be! 139. Sar lil'ás ov odá kuvšýni...: hur, hur, hur. 140. O spírti čísti.

141. «Adá, mí phen, éla kotorísa te otdyxaiskerás», – [phenél láke]. 142. «Ej éla», – [phenél e raklí]. 143. Lel bešél, užé matiló. 144. Kána adá: «Mí phen, čh'e, dih akatkhá andé me šeréste, šo-to phirél andé me šeréste». 145. «Kaj? báng'ov», – [phenél oj]. 146. Ej, ej. 147. Sar sutó ov, oj sar din'ás trad i ušlá.

148. Či ko jekhpaš drom: vot-vot, vot-vot, oj. 149. Kána adavá, áke, akaléske: «Kaj dih andár binóki ... kaj dih andár binóki so kerén, be!» 150. «Be, ǵ'a akaná!» – [phenél jekh phral]. 151. Sar dikhl'ás ak' akaná, mul'óm, ov, mo phral sutó sí, o kuvšýni tal ko šeró, taj sí sutó, aj oj, áke, vot-vot kan-avél. 152. Ej avél! 153. So te kerél o rakló?

154. Ko rakló č'ézma si ko pinró xrómovi. 155. Sar čhit'ás o rakló, dikh so murš esí o rakló. 156. Sar thed'ás koč', sar din'ás búrnekh pi č'ézma akatár, sar čhit'ás. 157. Sar čhit'ás, o rakló so murš esí, sar čhit'ás, sar reslí odojá č'ézma, sar din'ás odá kuvšýni. 158. Ov sar ush'inó, sar dikhl'ás: oj nanáj.

159. «Oj, dáde, čh'avéski č'ézma!» – [del béberi o phral]. 160. Sar din'ás la konč'ástar búrnekh. 161. Áma akathé ģ'angírá si. 162. Vaj, mukl'ás odolá o saránda bará, dv'e minúty [nakhló, del bebera]: «Astarén man!» – ģ'angírá thedé, vaj ov kan-vur'ál, taj astarén, astardé les. 163. Vs'o.

164. L' oj alí sahat'éstar. 165. «Ej, so, patišáji, so mangés géne?» – [phuč'él o rakló]. 166. «Le alají, phrála, katár esán, so manúš esán?» – [phenél o patišáji]. 167. «Mánge na kamél to mangín, ne te phol'á ... so keráv te mangínésa, mánde mangín esí, mánde phol'á si, vs'o», – [phenél o rakló]. 168. Áčh'o Devlésa, ģ'a Devlésa. 169. Lil'ás [e grastés taj phenél]: «Beš, be!» 170. Bešen alají opré ko grastá. 171. Áčh'o Devlésa, ģ'a Devlésa. 172. Avél, so thanéste lil'ás e manušés. 173. «Beš, spasíbo túké!» – [phenél o rakló], so thanéste lil'ás alajén ko thaná mukl'ás taj ģ'al géne korkoró taj avél dovrús othé ko patišáji.

174. Sar dikhl'ás o patišáji, [phuč'él]: «So manúš esí adavá, katár esí, so si adá?» 175. Kaj níkl'ol e raklí, e kojá, e čh'aj. 176. «Dáde, tu ģ'anés so manúš esí adavá?» – [phuč'él e raklí]. 177. «So?» – [phenél o patišáji]. 178. «Tu pómniš?» – [phenél e raklí], aj geló saránda breš, saránda breš. 179. «Tu pómniš, kaj lil'anas tu rakléske thanéste manušés?» – [géne jékhvar phuč'él e raklí]. 180. «Va, mi čh'aj!» – [andíjel o patišáji]. 181. «Áke, adá ov esí», – [phenél e raklí]. 182. «Va?» – [andíjel o patišáji]. – Áke to mangín, áke ti romní!» 183. Sánkim, užé čh'aj, akaléske phen, aj kátar phen? 184. Áke bešen do s'evódn'ašni d'en'. 185. Áke, alají paramisi.

### How could I escape from this place?

1. He says, "How could I escape from this place?" 2. He says to a girl, "Get my horses ready for me tonight; not just one horse, but four or five horses with saddles; and [prepare] some food and water". 3. Everyone sleeps at night, and you'll see me off. 4. Horses must be ready. 5. I'll leave [this place] noiselessly; but the horses should be tied to each other. 6. 7. She and her servants did everything as he said.

8. It was past midnight, when everybody was sleeping, that he took the four best horses with only saddles and food bags loaded. 9. That girl did all that at night. 10. 11. 12. Everything was fixed. 13. The door was opened. 14. The boy says, "Don't forget to put in my dress". 15. The girl added some clothes to the food [in packs].

16. It was calm; there was not a single person around; it was one o'clock past midnight. 17. Everybody was sleeping. 18. She opened the gates, and he led the horses away. 19. The boy mounted one horse; others were tied and carried packs with food. 20. [The boy said,] "I will be back, but not today or tomorrow; I'm certain to be back; then I'll take you and we'll both go away". 21. The boy drove away with the horses; he travelled in solitude for a day and two and three days, then for a week.

22-23. One morning he saw a man sitting [beside the road] and chewing bones. 24. Bones were also near him. 25. "Selam, you strong man", the man says. 26. "Aleikim selam! Why are you doing this? Why do you chew bones?", the [riding] boy says.

27. "Alas, oh my brother, I've eaten a bull but failed to be sated; now I'm chewing bones". 28. [Now the travelling guy] says, "Are you going to be my brother?" 29. "Oh my brother, take me [with you]", [the man says]. 30. Here's a horse [for you], here's a saddle, here's some food, but is it enough? 31. He eats a bull until he is sated. 32. Get on the saddle, let us go! 33. He sat, and they went on.

34. They rode for a day or maybe for two days. 35. Then he saw a man who was sitting with heavy stones attached to his body. 36. 37. "Selam, you strong man!" [the boy says]. 38. "Aleikim selam, my brother!" [the man with stones says]. 39. "Brother, why do you tie those stones to yourself?" [the boy asks]. 40. "They weight forty poods [over 600 kilograms. - *Trans.*]", [the boy says]. 41. "Oh my brother, if I get free of these stones, I'll disappear [meaning, *I'll take off to the sky*]" [the man with stones says].

42. "He will take off, [then] knock himself and... hurt badly", the boy thinks. 43. So they all are strong men. 44. Not ordinary people, but strong men. 45. Are you going to be a brother to me? 46. "Well, my brother, take a seat". 47. With those stones [attached]? 48. And how can he fly on the horse? He went away.

49-50. They travelled for a day or two days more, and saw a man who put his ear to the ground. 51. The boy asked him, "Brother, what are you listening to? Why did you put your ear to the ground?" 52. And the boy has already known that, he saw it in his night dream. 53. "Oh brother, I know what's going on under the ground and up in the sky!" 54. "Oh strong man, are you going to be a brother to me?" the boy says. 55. The man replies, "I'll be, take me [with you]". 56. Here's a horse and a saddle, take a seat, let's go on! 57. [He] rides...

58. As he rode toward a sunset, they saw a man sitting at the sea. 59. 60. "Selam, brother!" [they say]. 61. "Aleikim selam, brothers!" [the man replies]. 62. "And why are you here, near the sea?" 63. "Oh my

brother, I've eaten two bulls, but there's no water: when I want to drink, the sea isn't enough for me". 64. And the boy asks, "Are you going to be a brother to me?" 65. "Oh my brother, take me [with you]", the man exclaims. 66. Here's a horse and a saddle; and off they went – five men already.

67. Hup! They all are riding! 68. They flew across forty seas. 69. Finally they landed at the tsar's. 70. The tsar saw more people [standing in front of him] than there were hair on his head, and said, "Selam!" 71. "Aleikim selam! Did you wait for us, oh tsar?" the boy asks. 72. "Yes, I waited for you to arrive", the tsar says. 73. And the tsar saw this boy in a night dream.

74. "We are hungry after our travel", [the brothers say]. 75. "You are welcome", the tsar says. 76. "But don't give us just a piece of meat: one of my men eats two bulls, and another takes a whole bull and even chews its bones, so if you offer us a ram, it's [almost] nothing for them". 77. "Here you are", the tsar says. 78. So they slaughtered two or three or four bulls to make a meal.

79. And where should the horses be placed? 80. They placed the horses in a stable. 81. Give the horses only rice to eat, neither hay nor anything but rice. 82. "Here you are", the tsar [says] to the boy. 83. "And what about us?" the brothers ask. 84. "Here's a house for you! Are those people your brothers?" [the tsar says]. 85. "Yes", the boy says. 86. So they were placed into an all-iron palace. 87. One hour passed, then two hours, and three and four...

88-89. Then the boy asks, "Put your ear to the ground: what is to happen with us?" 90. "We are sitting here, but what is to happen?" [the brothers ask]. 91-92. As he put his ear to the ground, he says, "We must run away now: the whole palace is to fall upon us in a moment; it's made of pig-iron and has got red of heat; we'll be burnt, so let's run away!" 93. The boy knows. 94. As soon as they run away from the palace, it collapsed. 95. They all might have been burnt [if they didn't escape].

96. Then the boy said to another man, "Do you hear?" 97. "Hear what?" [the man asks]. 98. "Go to drink the sea and bring it here, but leave the fish there". 99. The man rushed to drink the sea. 100. He took the whole sea and released it; people began to sink. 101. The tsar found a boat somewhere [not to go down].

102. [The tsar asks], "Brother, take that water away, I've already lost all my guardsmen". 103. "Well, my tsar, what's to be done next?" [the boy asks]. 104. "No, brother, but take the water away, or we'll perish!" [the tsar shouts]. 105. "Take the sea, brother", [says the boy]. 106. His fellow opened his mouth and swallowed all the water.

107. “What’s next?” [they ask]; “Give us [something] to eat”. 108. They had a meal. 109. “What’s next?”[, they all ask]. 110. [Then the tsar asks,] “I have one more old task; if you do it, you’ll take all this wealth”. 111. And the boy says, “[The hell to] your wealth, I have the wealth of my own and don’t need yours”.

112. “Just one task” [the tsar says]. 113. “Well, what kind of task is it?” [the boy says]. 114. “My [fast-walking] girl is to go; and there’s no woman among your strong people [to walk as fast as she]”. 115. “But we have got only men!” [the brothers say]. 116-117. [“So let my girl and your man have a race; if my woman comes first, I’ll give you another task, but if your man is the first, I won’t mind”, says the tsar.]

118. Take all you like. 119. I agree! [the boy said]. 120. The boy knows that if his brother unties his stones, then nothing can hold him, not even a helicopter. 121. You are to go, brother; come on! 122. But the boy warns, “You’ll untie your stones not from the start, for this woman can deceive you, so be on your guard!” 123.

124. The woman took a teapot that holds some fifty liters of pure alcohol and started the race. 125. “Take care, brother”, the boy says. 126. As they went their race under the sun, the man became thirsty: he had eaten a bull before that. 127. “What are you carrying in your teapot, oh my sister?” [the man with stones asked]. 128. “Water!” [the girl replies]. 129. “So give some of it to me: my tongue has dried and burnt” [the man asks]. 130. “Why didn’t you take water for yourself?” [the girl asks]. 131. “I didn’t know that I would have to run the race” [the man says]. 132. “I’ll give you no water; what have I to drink otherwise?” [the girl says]. 133. “Oh God, give it to me!” [the boy asks]. 134. [He] goes on.

135. The poor fellow asks her twice, but she refused to give him water, as she had alcohol instead. 136. [Finally] they came to the place of their destination. 137. “Chkheh, give me [some water]: I’m burnt, oh my sister; I beg your grace [literally, *I’m eating your cunt*]” [the boy asks]. 138. 139. As he took that teapot, he drank from it with gurgling. 140. [It was not the water, but rather] pure alcohol.

141. “Now, my sister, let’s have a small rest”, [he tells her]. 142. “Let’s have it”, [the girl says]. 143. [The man] takes a seat, as he has already got drunk. 144. Then the man asked, “My sister, take a look at my head, something is moving inside it”. 145. “Bend your neck, I’ll take a look” [she says]. 146. Well, well... 147. As he fell asleep, she got up and went away.

148. 149. [Meanwhile the rest of the strong men watched the race with binoculars]. 150. 151. [They saw their brother sleeping with the teapot



under his head, while the tsar's fast-walking girl was about to win the race]. 152. [She's] almost won! 153. What should the boy do?

154. The boy has a leather top-boot on his leg. 155. 156-157. So he pulled the top-boot off and threw it in the teapot. 158. The sleeping man woke up and saw that the girl left the place.

159. "Oh God, that's the boy's top-boot!" [the brother shouts]. 160. He seized it by its top. 161. And here his chains are. 162. [The boy untied the stones that had loaded him; he took off and in two minutes' time appeared in the finishing point.] 163.

164. She [the tsar's fast-walking woman] arrived there one hour later. 165. "Now, you tsar, what else do you want?" [the boy asks]. 166. "Take everything [from me], oh my brother; what kind of man are you?" [the tsar says]. 167. "I don't need your wealth or your golden items; I have my own wealth and golden items", [the boy says]. 168. Leave with God; go with God. 169. [He] took [the horse and said], "Brother, get on the saddle!" 170. They all mounted their horses. 171. Leave with God; go with God. 172. [He] arrived to the place where he took a man [his fellow-traveller]. 173. "Dismount and thank you", [the boy says]; he left all his people where he had taken them and then returned to the tsar all alone.

174. As the tsar saw him, he asked, "Who is this man? Where is he from? Who's he?" 175. Then the tsar's daughter emerges. 176. "Father, do you know what kind of man is he?" [the girl says]. 177. "What?" [says the tsar]. 178. "Do you remember?" [the girl says], and he left forty years [ago]. 179. 180. "Yes, my daughter, [the tsar recollects]". 181. "So it's he" [says the girl]. 182. "Oh really? [the tsar recollects]; here is the wealth and the wife for you". 183. 184. And so they have been living till today. 185. That's the whole story.

### 33. The [les] anáv Č'oréja ("Name [him] Chioreya!")

*The [les] anáv Č'oréja* ("Name [him] Chioreya!") is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2003, in the community of Rajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mr. Ivan Nikolayevich Balai (Romani name Dzhaltyr), born in 1933. The text is published for the first time.

The fairy-tale reveals a private side of Romani soul that may be called collectiveness, or an incapability of living out of a family or without relatives. During all his life Chioreya suffers from his solitude, as he has neither brothers nor sisters – the closest people in his life. That is why he's ready to take even an enchanted woman-snake as his sister.

The story ends when Chioreya, whom the tsar has adopted, falls in love with his daughter. For this romantic liaison he is thrown to a place where two snakes – namely, Aslán and Kaplán – live, but he defeats them, and the tsar's daughter brings him back from the snakes' dungeon.

The motive of not accepting a marriage to a close relative is typical of the folklore of small ethnic groups, such as Crimean Roma. The author's informants often said that all Crimean Roma are relatives four times removed, so it's rather difficult for a young man to find a bride.

### The anáv Č'oréja

1. Ej, esí ko patišáji, esí sánkim, arákhililo jekh rakló, d'ar d'un'adé, arákhililo jekh rakló. 2. Breš, duj, trin, štar, panğ' breš – korkoró. 3. E rakléske hodóv panğ', šest', d'és'at' móžet bit'.

4. Kána o dad phenél pe romn'áke: «So?» 5. «Be, – [phenél oj], – the anáv, o č'avoró užé aborkhorí: panğ' – šov breš esí, aj ov esí [kaj] anáv nanáj». 6. E tak me, vaj dožydaiskeravas, móžet ... ko odová d'es, móžet kakój-to amál géneja ovélas léske, móžet phen, aj móžet géne murš. 7. Nu amál. 8. Ej, kaj te lav mánde nanáj, ková, s'udá-tudá.

9. «Ej lačh'ó, taj so te thas les?» – [phuč'él e daj]. 10. «Ej ras esí korkoró, – [phenél o dad], – éla te thas les Č'oréja». 11. «Vaj, nanáj amál, – [phenél e daj], – áke dikhés: o č'or'á – amalá, vušiné, gelé». 12. «L' akavá amál [nanáj], nu jekh – odín v pól'e n'e vóin, vá», – [dumaiskerél o dad]. 13. «Ajakhá si, – [phenél e daj], – éla te thas les Č'oréja!»

14. Ej, Č'oréja, Č'oréja, vaj ajakhá o rakló li bariló: l'et dvatcat' e rakléske. 15. Č'oréja. 16. Phenél akaná ov pe dejáke: «Néne, vaj so, anáv na sas avér te then, sar adá Č'oréja, ha? Mánde akankhá amalá si, móžet raklí si siráki, aj so bučh'av? Č'oréja! Vaj asán mándar! Aj kátar lil'anús adá anáv?» 17. «Aj, – phenél e daj, – mó č'h'o, ras túte nanáj phen, nanáj phral, znáčit tu č'oró san».

18. Aj ov [phenél]: «Ej, po sprav'edlivosti právil'no tu phenés, néne, ras nanáj mánde phen, nanáj phral, znáčit me č'oró som». 19. Ej óke taj les, taj thas tut Č'oréja, potomú túte na bijándilo géne phral ili phen túte. 20. Ej ládno, ajakhá li ačhiló o rakló Č'oréja.

21. Phér'dol e rakléske dvátcat' č'etýr'e hóda. 22. Akaná del pes godí: «Što mn'e d'elat'?» 23. Aj o dad [taj] e daj na ġ'anél: so si ov? so? 24. Voopš'é na ġ'anén v č'om d'élo? 25. Kána adavá: «Dáde, néne, me kan-ğ'av te ródav kakój-nebut' ġ'uvl'á, bor'á tuménge te anáv andé katúna, móžet bit' li ovéna vnúk'a tuménde, ras tumé mangén vnuk'én, znáčit, móžet ovéla li kakój-to vnúki – duj».

26. «Aj, dáde», – [phenél o rakló]; «Mó čh'ó, razhovór n'étu», – [phenél o dad]. 27. Lel o rakló: multúki nanáj, lel ov e do étoho kerd'ás péske str'élka, str'élka – lúki. 28. Ur'avd'ás pes, lil'ás mózet d'es'éske, dónge xapé andé súmka. 29. «Áčh'on Devlésa!» – [phenél o rakló]. 30. «Ĝ'a Devlésa!» – [phenén o dadá]. 31. «Me t' ováva ĝivindó, – ov phenél pe dejáke, pe dadéske, – me znáčit bóldav man palé ĝ'uvl'ása, aj te na, znáčit, mózet mo jazýs esí asavkó, kaj mahú me hd'é-to te ĝ'av». 32. «Má traša, mó čh'ó!» – [phenél e daj]. 33. Tudá-s'udá – geló rakló.

34. Ĝ'al d'es, ĝ'al duj, ĝ'al trin, ĝ'al bazári, ĝ'al. 35. Aló – dr'emúči veš esí, o Del me na del. 36. Othé ne manúš, ne čiriklí, ne kúšy, ne níkhon-nikh, dr'emúči veš, níkhon-nikh, ne isán, ne nisán, níkhon-nikh nanáj.

37. And' ó rakló: «Me athé kan-keráv mánge z'eml'ánka taj kan-bešáv». 38. Lel akaná, avér d'es, otkhá sutó, thed'ás jag, aj Dádele, nanáj zm'ejádes, nanáj hesápja. 39. Thed'ás jag, bešló, sutó, vaj manúš – sovéla, vaj sabastán ušinó. 40. Lel, xal'ás taj kerd'ás péske, kaj te sovél: «Mózet brešýn? – phenél. – Ková, aj me akathé kan-ováv, aj kakój-nebut', ková – z'eml'ánka». 41. Kerd'ás péske z'eml'ánka.

42. Taj si othé, aj o rakló esí: o Del me na del. 43. Sar dikhél šošojés, va, díki buzn'á. 44. Vaj, veš esí, vaj adá dr'emúči veš. 45. Ej odolés [šošojés] – ras, hópa: «N'et», – rakló phenél. 46. Li čívi xal o rakló, aj te tavél ov na ĝ'anél, an so te tavél, ne kakáji, ne níšto. 47. Aj thed'ás jag, čhind'ás, pekl'ás, požálusta, xal. 48. No na ĝ'anáv: manró, kátar ov kan-lél manró, znáčit ov ajakhá pitájjetca, tóki masésa.

49. Nakhél mózet deš breš, biš breš, ov othé si. 50. O rakló nangiló, vaj so sas: akajá sostén, gad – n'étu. 51. Ĝ'al ov: aborkhá barilé, aborkhá balá. 52. Ej, díki oková, kaj tu nanáj te pášos pašé léste e trašátar. 53. Vaj, o manúš esí. 54. Tak, s'emjás ak' akaléndar áke péske ej arakhl'ás šó-to – s'emjá. 55. Akajakhá, sar kakój-to šo-nébut', vaj nangó si. 56. Ej bešél.

57. So mudarél, pekél, xal odojá. 58. Morth'á čh'el okoté andé, sovél odolésa, opré odolé morth'énde, opré odolé kolénde. 59. Sabastán úš'el sasté porá, aborkhá balá, aborkhá čh'orá.

60. Aj léske hodóv dvátcat' č'etýr'e. 61. Bešél tól'ko odolé str'elkása. 62. L'ubóho, – tol'ko ras – ej óke, tól'ko č'oč'kás ov na mudarélas díki. 63. Odolá kolá, versó dečí, na, aj kolésa mudarélas. 64. Buzn'á dik'a, vaj. 65. Esí dik'a buzn'á. 66. Alají mudarél. 67. Kerél ov právil'no les, a okojá čh'urí ko rakló. 68. Čhind'ás, moravd'ás, pekl'ás, xal'ás.

69. Aj kaj lon ja so, me na ĝ'anáv. 70. Esómas, phenáv: «Phrála, túte lon nanáj, aj man ov uhostíl, li xal'ómas otkhá jekh kotór, nanáj áke so, tu naši xas bilondó?» 71. Aj me gel'ómas, mánge kamélas te ĝ'av.

72. Ahá! 73. Kána šunél... 74. Ej adá móžet l'et p'atnácat' ov andé odolé vešéste esí, be, o rakló. 75. Ráti, jekhpáš rat. 76. Ras, šunél béber'a. 77. Aj kaj, vaj othé ne béber'a, ne níšto, ne manušesko sési, ne voopš'é. 78. Šunél manuškykanó sési. 79. Sési tól'ki ġ'uvlikanó. 80. Lel ov ušinó andé odolé kolénde. 81. Rátí, č'asá v tri nóči, lil'ás e str'élka. 82. Aj o rakló sas hib'el', mudarélas záprosto l'ubojés, no ov na ġ'anél po takáti. 83. Mérim ov, o rakló – bahatíri, bahatíri, z'eml'anój bahatíri.

84. Akaná lel úš'el, pošól ov, vaj ġ'uvlí del béber'a. 85. Pošól odolé beber'ása, pošól, pošól, pošól, pošól – aló. 86. Kána dikhél, asavkí jáma esí kaj n'e dostán'et [o dnas] l'ubój manúš. 87. Kakój-to xaning esí: nu m'étrov p'atd'es'át, a móžet sto, hálib'an?

88. «Výruči, te san ternó – mo phral ov! – oj phenél, odá manúš. – Te san ternó – mo rom ov!» 89. Ov angál na del. 90. «Te san phuró – mo dad ov! – [phenél oda manúš]. – Te san terní – mí phen ov!» 91. Na del angál ov. 92. Kána phenél odá manúš, kaj del béber'a: «Te san ternó – mo phral ov!» 93. Ov sar šunl'ás, vaj léste e phén-to nanáj, aj oj léske phenl'ás: «Te san ternó – mo phral ov!» 94. Ej, o rakló, vs'o.

95. Ov del pes godí: «Xot' jekh phen avéla mánde, vaj, ej sóske thedé Č'oréja, vaj nanáj v'et' phen». 96. Ov othár geló, o rakló kátar ko dad, kátar ke daj. 97. Ej o rakló lel taj nikalél [manušés andár xaning]. 98. Kána nikal'd'ás, [dikhél] ġ'uvlí, áma si sap. 99. Ej esí armán dindí oj. 100. Oj esí raklí, no esí armán dindí.

101. Aj oj, ras: «Bax me del tut [o Del], mo phral». 102. Užé phralá si ov (it must be: on). 103. E phen – phral. 104. «Má xol'áze, bax me del tut o Del, kaj kutardýn man adalé hesap'éstar», – [phenél sap]. 105. Ej níšto, aj so te kerél? 106. «Háde mánca!» – o rakló phenél. 107. Vaj, phen esí. 108. Užé phen – slóvo jest'. 109. Ov, éto, šaštý, nu v'et' ġ'uvlikanó sési, nu, vaj kaj, vaj sap, áma si ġ'uvlí. 110. And'ás la kheré, and'ás otkhá péste. 111. Bešél d'es, bešél duj, bešél bazári. 112. Kána odojá oj léske: «Tu ġ'anés so? Me, me naši bešáv, me kan-ġ'áv, túke jésli ovéla, mo phral, plóxo...» 113. «Aj so buč'h'ós?» – [phuč'él oj].

114. «Me buč'h'áv: mo dad, mi daj thed'ás man Č'oréja», – [phenél o rakló]. 115. «Vaj sóske thedé tut Č'oréja?» – [phuč'él e raklí – sap]. 116. «Potomú: mánde ne phral nanáj, ne phen nanáj, nu me bijándin'om jekh taj thedé mo dad, mi daj man Č'oréja», – [phenél o rakló]. 117. Ej áke, tu užé phen esán mánge.

118. T' ovéla túte kakój-nebut' plóxo, me tut arakháva, mo phral, vs'o! 119. «Me gel'óm, me naši», – [oj léske]. 120. Vaj, sap! 121. Gelí. 122. Ej, ġ'a, mi phen! 123. Ej tu dikh, Č'oréja, ej so-nébut', me ob'azát'el'no [aváva] akathé. 124. Vaj, sap esí! 125. Hálib'an? 126. Gelí!

127. Akaná d'es, duj, trin sutó si o raktó andé odolé, pe komnatáte.  
128. Z'eml'ánka thed'ás, ko ková čhind'ás ke réka [o terék'a], thed'ás akajakhá i vs'o kónč'eno. 129. Breš'yn, aj ov esí andé. 130. Kána dikhél: o patišáji odolé thanéste, káte si ov, psirél na oxótu, o patišáji – inogdá. 131. Ej so – oxóta, prósto... 132. Aj léste rikóné: štar – pang'ǵ, akasavké, baréja Dévla! 133. Oxótnik. 134. Ej sar peló ratí, ej kon ġ'anél, o šejtán'a les gelén.

135. Kána dikhél: odojá izbúška si, nanáj izbúška amí kojá si...  
136. «Pru-u-u!» – thed'ard'ás o patišáji, pášol. 137. «Me sokabór phiráv me vešéste...» – [šaš'ijel o patišáji]. 138. Adá, mérim, o veš léskoro, o patišáji ġ'anél alají: kaj si so. 139. «Aj so takóje, ej ková esí?» – [del pes godí ov]. 140. Ej znáčit, manúš kerd'ás, taj si athé odojá z'eml'ánka. 141. «Xoz'áin, xoz'áin, xoz'áin!» – [del béber'a o patišáji].

142. Lel o raktó, ras, ġ'angávdilo, manúš, vaj! 143. Ov ġ'anél e phen kaj, nu adá muršykanó sési si. 144. Be, úš'el, akajakhá pe balá [taradý], ková, tudá-s'udá. 145. Dikhél, vaj! 146. «Phrála, me sokabór... – o patišáji phenél e raktléske, – sokabór me... adá mo veš esí, sokabór me phiráv, n'éskol'ko l'et, me na dikhl'óm odojá phu».

147. «Aj tu kátar esán?» – [phuč'él o patišáji]. 148. «Me – akajakhá, aj tu kátar esán?» – [phenél o raktó]. 149. «Me? Me patišáji som!» – [phenél o patišáji]. 150. Aj o ġ'ukelá: štar – pang'ǵ. 151. Sar phenl'ás: «Tu patišáji san?» 152. «Va!» – [phenél o patišáji]. 153. Nu patišáji dikhél, kaj o manúš termó, nu ubítí, vaj patišáji. 154. Múrša, so buč'h'ós? 155. Me Č'oréja buč'h'av! 156. Aj so, avér anáv na sas, v'et' túte dad, daj esí? 157. Va! 158. Aj sóske adá : Č'oréja, Č'oréja tut thedé? 159. Potomú, patišáji, mánde [nanáj], vaj mánde na arákh'lilo ne phral, ne phen. 160. Aj mo dad, mi daj thed'ás man Cór'éja. 161. Xorošó.

162. Aj tu akáte, dólžen akaté lí te bešés andé odolé koléste? 163. Odojá phu si, vaj xranl'ás péske, tól'ko péske taj vs'o. 164. Va! 165. Patišáji: «Na, mó č'h'o, má xol'áze, mánde č'h'avó nanáj, mánde si trin rakt'á, háde me tut lav e raktléske thanéste!» 166. Aj adavá, so phenáv, raktléske alósas andé sunó. 167. Adajá paramisí phenl'ól: sunéski paramisí...

168. «Ej, te lésa, patišáji, ej, ġ'av», – [phenél o raktó, amí o patišáji phenél]: «Tól'ki dikh: raktléske thanéste ukundíjes, ej požálusta», – lel, thel les pal ko gras, odolé raktlés. 169. Bešló i pošól, o ġ'ukelá palé, odojá str'élka ko raktó, i ušól. 170. And'ás les, vaj e kheré, vaj o patišáji si, vaj o gağ'ó. 171. Ej le, si sáki, ukundulár. 172. Tu dólžen, mó č'h'avó t' ovés.

173. Avér d'es sabastán, vaj ratí les andé, bič'h'alén: «Býstro andé bán'a!» 174. Ej othé, vaj sluhádes esí, lilé, moravdé raktlés. 175. Ej móžet kakóy-n'ebút' kost'úmi, akasavkó gad. 176. Kerdé raktlés, o raktó: Devlalé.

177. Áke dikhés káring ko kham, káring léste tu naši kan-dikhés – patišáji e Devlésko.

178. Lel o patišáji, anél e triné rakl'én. 179. Áke: «Adalá, adavá tumaró phral esí», – [pe rakl'énge phenél]. 180. Ej léске phenél: «Adalá, áke, te phen'á si, ej me rakléске thanéste lil'óm». 181. «Aj zbóra, tu hál'os, so phenáv me?» – [phenél o patišáji e rakléске]... 182. Ur'avd'é rakl'és – Devlalé – aj alají te den angáli, č'umíden, vaj. 183. Vaj phral esí. 184. Ko patišáji čh'avó nanáj, trin čh'ájá si.

185. Lel akaná o rakló... 186. Ej, va! 187. Adá alají o mangín, vaj, ras esí rakló, taj kaj kan-thés, ej hd'é-to andé saráji ja kaj? 188. Ov o sahbús esí, vaj o rakló. 189. Bešél o rakló d'es, bešél duj, bešél breš, bešél trin, bešél pang'. 190. Dexél e tikní čh'aj, e phen, prim'érno tut, te phenáv túke. 191. Dexl'ás e rakl'á, ej ov g'áti sí, vaj o rakló. 192. Dexl'ás oj les, ov la, e tikné phen'á. 193. Ej akaná bešén, ej b'ez zam'eč'ánija, kaj dexén pes. 194. Okolá na g'anén, o phen'á; o dad na g'anél – prim'érno, odá patišáji; e daj na g'anél; níkhon-nikh, kaj dexén pes. 195. N'et, n'et taj avél léste, nu tam vtixor'á.

196. Aj áke dvorníki... e n'án'ka zam'étila, kaj dexén pes. 197. Kaj n'et-n'et, vaj g'al othé léste, vaj o phral esí, so móžet o phral te lišijel ke phen. 198. Vaj na, vród'e va! 199. Vaj phral esí. 200. Bez zam'eč'ánija.

201. Taj lel taj phenél e patišajéske odojá, odojá – ková. 202. Patišáji [phuč'él]: «So, čh'e?...» 203. «Níšto, tól'ko izviní man», – [phenél e n'án'ka]. 204. «So, phen, so?» – [phenél o patišáji]. 205. «Ej, vaj to čh'avó te čh'ejása khelél, sar kása, ej akasav..., e tikn'ása, ej kamél, ej dikhés», – [phukavél e n'án'ka]. 206. «So? Tu tóč'no phenés?» – [phuč'él o patišáji]. 207. «Va, vaj me dikl'óm me jakhénca», – [phenél e n'án'ka]. 208. «De les íkos, g'an den les íkos», – [phenél o patišáji]. 209. Lel [o sluhás, phenél]: «Tut íkos del to dad». 210. Vaj o dad, vaj esí vród'e...

211. «Tu so? vaj me tut lil'óm rakléске thanéste, va, tu te phen'ása dexés tut», – [phenél xo'amé patišáji]. 212. «Kaj?» – [phuč'él o rakló]. 213. «Áke! De akalá íkos! Phen, čh'e!» – [phenél o patišáji beber'éncia]. 214. «Bre, va, me dikl'óm, – [phenél e n'án'ka], – kaj si, prim'érno, sutó». 215. «A-a-a, suté? – [phenél o patišáji]. – Býstro!» 216. Lel les, čh'el les andé ko Aslán'a, andé ko Kaplán'a e rakl'és.

217. Ej zm'ejás esí, sokabór maml'ek'et'én čh'en andé, tól'ki pol bahatír'a [ačh'ól]. 218. «Duj esí. – phenél. – Duj [sapá]». 219. Sar čh'en les, sar othé andé ko ková, sar del búrnekh o manuš aborkhá, manuš srázu [ovél] sámi kókala. 220. Ne kókala na ačh'ól, ne níšto. 221. Zv'er'a si asavké: Aslán'a – Kaplán'a.

222. Čh'en les andé, be! 223. Sar čhité rakl'és andé. 224. Hop, angál, vaj kakój-to, sar phanlé rakl'és, o manuš othár, odolé zv'er'endar, vaj

níkhon-nikh na níkl'ol. 225. Phanlé, vs'o: n'étu nič'ehó. 226. Ahá! 227. Lil'ás akaná: «U-u-u!» – o zv'ér'a den odolá béber'a, sar l'évi, sar tíhra. 228. Maj baré, be.

229. O rakló dikhl'ás: «Adá, ková si?...» 230. Sar aló o jekh odá Aslán – Kaplán, baréja Dévla – hīb'el'. 231. Sánkím din'ás o rakló pi dumúkh. 232. Sar din'ás andé šeréste, sar peló [odová zv'éri]. 233. Kátar ko šeró ģi ke porí pharavd'ás les. 234. Sar čhit'ás pes l' oková, sar din'ás l' odolés, sar mudard'ás taj lel, taj bešél pašé lénde. 235. Taj si kaj... d'es nakhél, duj nakhél, trin – o rakló na dikhínd'ol. 236. Akajá deníl'ol užé e phen, ja romní si: «Kaj estáv les?»

237. «Aj tu ģ'anés so? – okoja phenl'ás géne láte. – Tu ģ'anés so?» 238. Vaj les andé ko Aslán'a, andé ko Kaplán'a čhité, to dad. 239. Č'h'e, tu [denílil'an]. 240. Akaná nakhél čh'on, nakhél duj. 241. So xal ov othé? 242. Ov ģivindó si, okolá užé, kaj khánden. 243. Lel e raklí. 244. Nanáj níkhon-nikh. 245. Kána adajá, oj – patišáinka: «Devlésko, vaj si!» 246. Kána odojá, oj: «Kaj te ģ'av, mózet bit' othé ková si, be, akasavké... te dikháv mózet kókala, mózet esi léskere?»

247. Mí daj, kókala othé nanáj vopš'é níšto, kókala kan-arakhés? 248. Aj níkhon-nikh, kátar v ob'éd'eni p'er'erýv níkhon-nikh nanáj. 249. Gelí, mukl'ás pes oprál, mukl'ás pes, akaná ģ'al, dikhél vol'č'óki si, akajakhá [o rakló] dikhél. 250. Lel ov... dikhl'ás la. 251. Lel ras: «Éla mándel!» 252. Lel ov, ras phinravd'ás: «Éla athé!» 253. Sar dikhl'ás okolá, kaj si čhité, vaj odolá kolá, o zm'ejádes. 254. Kána adavá, ov: «Tu ģ'anés so? Phen te dadéske, užé khánden akalá».

255. O rakló, vaj sar čhité e raklés, othár manúš na níkl'ol, bahatíri – tól'ko... ni kókala, ni níšto. 256. O rakló sar dikhl'ás, sar din'ás okoléste, pharavd'ás o muj akajakhá-akajakhá. 257. Sar din'ás les e dumúkh andé šeréste, taj kátar šeró ģi ke porí – hópa, duj kotorá. 258. Sar čhit'ás pes, duj esás. 259. Sar čhit'ás pes li oká, sar din'ás – l' odová – n'étu. 260. O rakló bazárit i pošló... 261. Otkhá, vaj alají khánden, vaj. 262. Odojá géne phenl'ás, aj trin – panĝ' d'es na dikhínd'ol o rakló.

263. Aj e raklí phenél, kaj gelél les te xal. 264. Te phralés čhité ko Aslán'a, ko Kaplán'a, vaj ov nanáj ģivindó. 265. Ej tu so phenés? 266. Kan-ģ'av: akasavké kolá si... 267. Kaj ras, kána dikhél [oj]: taj si ov bešló, ras phinravél ov, ras dikhl'ás: okolá šitájetca užé khánden, kána adavá, ov: le, phen te dadéske ja káske, vaj khándel, vaj kaj te bešáv? 268. «Amí tu ģivindó san?» – [phuč'él oj]. 269. Ej áke!

## Name [him] Chioreya!

1. [Once] A son was born to a tsar. 2. [He had no other brothers or sisters] for a year, or two, or three years. 3. [Then] the boy became five, or six, or even ten years old.

4. 5. [Once] the boy's mother says to her husband, "The boy is already five or six; give him a name!" 6. [Her husband answers] "I have been waiting till a brother or a sister is born to him". 7. 8. [Now it seems there'll be none of them].

9. "Well, and what name should he be given?" [The mother asks]. 10. [The father answers], "Well, let's name him Chioreya [literally, *poor*], for he is alone". 11. 12. 13. "Good", [the mother says], "Let's name him Chioreya!"

14. Well, Chioreya and Chioreya, the boy became twenty. 15. Chioreya. 16. Now he says to his mother, "Haven't you got any other name but Chioreya? Now I have friends or maybe even a girl, and what's my name? You see, they laugh at me! Where did you take this name from?" 17. "Oh my son, [the mother says], as you have neither sister, nor brother, then you are a destitute [literally, *poor*]".

18. And he [agrees], "Indeed, mother, you are right: if I have neither sister, nor brother, then I'm a destitute". 19. That's why we name you Chioreya: neither a brother nor sister has been born to you. 20. And so the boy was left [with the name of] Chioreya.

21. The boy becomes twenty-four. 22. Now he's thinking, "What am I to do?" 23. Both his father and mother don't know what's happening to him. 24. They don't know what's the matter indeed. 25. He says, "Father, mother, I'm going to look for a woman; [I'm going] to bring a daughter-in-law to your tent for you to have grand-children".

26. The father says, "I don't object, oh my son". 27. As the boy had no gun, he made an arrow and a bow for himself. 28. [He] put his dress on and took a bag of food for a day or two. 29. "Stay with God", the boy says. 30. "Leave [us] with God", [his] parents say. 31. "If I stay alive, I'll be back to you with a woman; if not, that will be my fortune", he says to his father and mother. 32. "Don't be afraid, oh my son", the mother says. 33. The boy went away.

34. He walks for a day or two, or for a week. 35. He came to a dense forest, God forbid me [to see it]. 36. There's nobody there: neither a man nor a bird, neither a stupid person nor a clever one – nobody at all.

37. The boy thinks, "Here I'll make a dug-out to live in". 38. Next morning he lit a fire and saw many snakes and other troubles. 39. 40. He



had a meal and made a shelter for himself to sleep in case of rain. 41. He dug a pit in the ground to live there.

42. [And the boy was quite good]. 43-45. As he sees a hare or a wild goat – and [remembers] he lives in the wild forest – he catches this hare. 46. And he eats it uncooked, as he hasn't a pot to boil food. 47. But if he lights a fire and fries the meat, he can eat it to his pleasure. 48. But I don't know where he takes bread from; he must take only meat as his food.

49. Ten or twenty years passed, and he's still there. 50. The boy became naked: he has neither shirt nor pants. 51. His hair grew very long. 52-53. He [became] a wild man; one can't come close to him of fear. 54. 55.

56-57. He lives by killing, frying and eating [wild animals]. 58. He throws all those skins inside his shelter and sleeps there. 59. He wakes every morning with feathers in his long hair and beard.

60. And he's still twenty-four [an error in the original?]. 61. He lives using that arrow only. 62. He kills any animal at sight; he cannot only kill a wild boar. 63-64. He hunts mostly wild goats. 65-66. He kills any wild goat. 67. 68.

69. I only don't know where he takes salt from. 70. [When I stayed with him, he treated me to his dishes; I ate just one piece, and asked him, "Brother, you have no salt"; and he said, "So you really cannot eat unsalted food?" 71. [Then] I left, I had to go.

72. 73. 74. He spent some fifteen years in that forest. 75-76. One night he heard human cries. 77. Who may cry here? There has never been a human voice at this place. 78. [He] heard the human voice. 79. [It was] the woman's voice. 80. He got up in [his dug-out]. 81. It was three o'clock past midnight; he took his arrow. 82. The guy was very strong indeed, but he didn't know his strength. 83. He seems to be an earthly giant.

84. So he took to his feet and went [toward the shouts] as it was a woman who was crying. 85. 86. He saw a deep pit, so deep that a man couldn't reach its bottom. 87. It was something like a well, fifty or even a hundred meters deep.

88. "Rescue me", asks the woman; "If you are young you'll be my husband". 89. He pays no attention. 90. "If you are old, be my father; if you are young, be my sister", [the voice says]. 91. He pays no attention. 92. The woman cries again, "If you are young, be my brother!" 93. The boy heard this, as he had no sister.

94-95. The boy thinks, "May I have at least one sister; I had no sister so far and I was named Chioreya". 96. 97. The boy takes a woman away from the well. 98. When he took her out, he saw: it's both a woman and a snake. 99. She was damned. 100. She was a girl, but a damned one.

101. She thanks him [by saying], “Let God give you happiness”.  
102. So they are brother and sister already. 103. 104. “Let God give you happiness for saving me”, [the snake says]. 105. 106. “Come with me”, the guy says. 107. She’s his sister [now]. 108. He promised her to be her brother. 109. He was surprised to find a snake talking with a woman’s voice. 110. He carried her to his home. 111. She lives [there] for a day, for two days, for a week. 112. She told him, “I’ll go away if I disturb you, oh my brother”. 113. And what’s your name?” [she asks].

114. “My father and mother gave me a name Chioreya”, [the boy says]. 115. “But why did they call you Chioreya?” [The snake-girl asks]. 116. “They did so because I have neither sister nor brother; I was a single child, and so my father and mother named me Chioreya”, [the boy says]. 117. But you are a sister to me already.

118. 119. “I’m leaving [you], [I] can’t [live here any longer]”, [she said him]. 120. You see: she was a snake. 121. [And so she] left. 122. [You are free to] Go, my sister! 123. Be sure, Chioreya, I’ll be back to you. 124. You see, she’s a snake! 125. Clear? 126. [And she] left.

127. A day or two, or [maybe] three days later the boy was sleeping in his shelter. 128. He built a shelter near a river. 129. It’s raining, and he’s inside. 130. Then he saw a tsar sometimes go hunting at the place where he is. 131. 132. And he has four or five [big] dogs. 133. [He is] a hunter. 134. So he attacked at night, guided by sheitans.

135. The tsar saw a cabin [near the river]. 136. “Whoa!” the tsar stopped [his horse] and approaches the cabin. 137. “Whenever I travel in my forest...”: [the tsar wonders]. 138. He might know everything in his forest. 139. “And what’s that?” [The tsar is thinking]. 140. This shelter must have been made by a man. 141. “Owner, owner, owner!” [the tsar shouts].

142. The guy woke up: there was a man [there]! 143. He knows where [his] sister is, but [this] was a male voice. 144. 145. 146. “Brother!” the tsar says to the boy, “whenever I have travelled in my forest, I’ve never seen this land”.

147. “And where are you from?” [the tsar asks]. 148. “I’m just like this, and where are you from?” [the boy says]. 149. “I am the tsar!” 150. And [there were] four or five dogs. 151. As he said, “Are you the tsar?” 152. “Yes!” [the tsar says]. 153. 154. Man, what’s your name? 155. My name is Chioreya. 156. Wasn’t there any other name? You must have father and mother? 157. Yes! 158. And why did they name you Chioreya? 159. It’s because neither a brother nor a sister were born to me. 160. So my father [and] my mother named me Chioreya. 161. Good.

162. And do you live in this shelter? 163. Yes, I dug this land for myself. 164. Yes! 165. The tsar [offers], “I have three daughters, but I have

no son; let me take you as my son". 166. About what I tell, the boy has seen dreaming. 167. This story is called the fairy-tale of dreaming.

168. "Well, tsar, if you take me as your son, I'll go", [the boy says]. 169. [He mounted the horse and rode holding his arrow]; the dogs [were] behind him. 170. [And so the tsar took him to his home]. 171. [So they became related]. 172.

173. [Next morning after the night when the boy was brought to the tsar he was sent to a bath-house. 174. [The tsar's servants styled his hair]. 175. [The boy was also given some dress to put on – a shirt and a suit]. 176-177. [When the boy put these clothes on, he acquired an appearance of a God's tsar].

178. [Then the tsar brought in his three daughters]. 179. [He told them], "This is your brother. 180. [The tsar also said to the boy], "These are your sisters; I took you as my son." 181. "Do you understand what this word means?", [the tsar asks him]. 182. Everybody embraced and kissed the well-dressed boy. 183. [He became] brother to them. 184. The tsar has no son, but three daughters.

185-189. The boy lives for a day and two; he lives for a year and for three years, then five. 190-194. [He falls in love with the youngest sister]. 195. She visited him secretly.

196. But a nurse noticed that they were in love. 197. [She noticed] that sometimes she goes to her brother; but the brother may not fancy his sister. 198. [Is it true or not?] 199. He's her brother. 200.

201. [The nurse told the tsar what she had noticed]. 202. The tsar [asks], "What [did you notice] chkhchh?" 203. "Never mind, but still I beg your pardon [for telling that]" [the nurse says]. 204. "What oh sister, what?" [the tsar says]. 205. ["Well your son goes with the youngest daughter", the nurse tells]. 206. "Are you telling me the truth?" [The tsar asks]. 207. "Yes, I saw it with my own eyes", [the nurse says]. 208. "Go and call for him", [the tsar says]. 209. [The servant] says, "Your father calls you". 210.

211. "What are you doing? I took you as my son, and you are going with your sister", [says the evil tsar]. 212. "What?", [the boy asks]. 213. ["Call for the nurse! Tell him what you've seen, you woman!" [the tsar shouts]. 214. "I saw him sleeping", [the nurse says]. 215. ["He was sleeping?" the tsar says; "Punish him now!"] 216. [The boy was thrown to Aslan and Kaplan].

217-221. [Those Aslan and Kaplan were two cruel beasts; they ate those people who were thrown to them so that even bones weren't left].

222. [And the guy was thrown to them]. 223-224. [It was said that nobody returned alive from those beasts]. 225. [The door was closed behind

the boy]. 226. 227-228. [The boy heard their growl, more terrible than that of a lion or tiger].

229. 230. 231-232. [But as one of the beasts approached him, the boy struck him on the head; the beast fell down]. 233. [The boy tore him from his head to the tail]. 234. [The second snake fell on him; the boy struck again and killed him too and then took a seat next to them]. 235. A day passed, then two days; the boy didn't appear. 236. His sister or wife is getting anxious, "Where is he?"

237-238. [The nurse told her, "Do you know? Your father threw him to Aslan and Kaplan"]. 239. 240. Now a month passed, then two. 241. [How does he do there?] 242. He is alive, [and those beasts have] got rotten already. 243-246. [The tsar's daughter decided to go and look for his bones there].

247. 248. 249. She went downstairs and found a spy-hole to look inside. 250. [As she looked, she saw him, and he saw the girl]. 251. 252. He opened the door and said, "Come to me!" 253-254. [She went in and saw the two snakes defeated; the boy said, "Tell your father these ones are already stinking"].

255. The guy, well, as they through the guy, not a man comes out of there but a bogatyr' [strong guy], only a bogatyr'... neither bones nor anything else. 256. As the guy saw [him], he gave him a blow [and] torn his mouth this way, this way. 257. As [he] stroke a blow with his fist at his head, hup! [It became torn] from his head to his tale into two pieces. 258. As [he] rushed [he was torn] into two. 259. As he rushed at him he gave him a blow and he was no more. 260. The boy speaks [...] 261. So it was, you see, everyone smells, you see. 262. That one also said [that] the guy wasn't seen for three or five days.

263. And the girl says that she brings him food to eat. Your brother was thrown to Aslans and Kaplans, oh, he's not alive. 265. What do you say? 266. I'll go: they are [just] like these. 267. That once [she] sees he is sitting, well, he opens, well, he saw: those are to be considered [ill] smelling, and he says, come tell [your] living father or anyone else [that] it smells, [so] where should [I] sit? 268. "Are you alive?" [she asks]. 269. That is!

### **34. Ne trin saháti, amí trin šelá breš** **("Not for Three Hours, but for Three Hundred Years")**

*Ne trin saháti, amí trin šelá breš* ("Not for Three Hours, but for Three Hundred Years") is a text of a fairy-tale recorded in 2003, in the community of Rajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk,

Krasnodar district) from Mr. Ivan Nikolayevich Balai (Romani name Dzhaltyr), born in 1933. The text is now published for the first time.

A fairy-tale with a similar plot is known in the Russian folklore (SUS № 470). A man follows his dead friend to another world; he thinks that he stayed there for just a few minutes, but really spends three hundred years without noticing it.

The message of this story may be as follows: the male friendship remains even after one of the friends died. Indeed, time flies imperceptibly when you are at your best friend's gravesite.

### Na trin saháti, amí trin šelá breš

1. Esí, sánki duj raklé, esí duj raklé, akaná on andé škóla phirénas. 2. Ej, móžet p'ěrvyj – vtorój klas. 3. Ej čh'avó, kon esás? 4. Móžet po p'at' – šest', ej s s'emí l'et ġ'anas, vaj ávgos andé škóles. 5. S'emí l'et – v škólu. 6. Ej do tohó o raklé phirdé po vós'em' – po d'és'at' klásov e obrazovánija. 7. Amalá – na phralá – o amalá si.

8. Vuló raklénge l'et po s'emnácat', háliil'an? 9. Len len e don andé xalavdé. 10. Lilé andé xalavdé, ej, vaj tri hóda, trin ili štar móžet, nu trin breš, nu trin breš. 11. Ej služyskerdé l' o duj andé jekhé d'eséste alé. 12. Alé. 13. Ej vstr'eč'áli o dad, o dejá – ková... 14. Vstr'eč'a: pijén, xan, kaj alé, vaj vs'o! 15. Xorošó.

16. Bešen d'es, bešen duj, bešen bazári, bešen čh'on kheré o raklé. 17. Kána avél, amál phenél: «Be, tu so? Be, éla phrála te prandózas!» 18. Vaj, l'et po vos'emnácat' – po dvátcat' esí manušenge užé. 19. «Dúr'o, be», – o jekh phenél. 20. «Aj tu so? Mangés te prandózes?» – [phenél jekh amál]. 21. «Sar kan-phenés», – [phenél avér amál]. 22. «Amé na prandózas túsa, v'ěki nanáj te prandózas», – [phenél jekh amál]. 23. «Mu'óm, aká! Sóske, báji, vaj borí, me dejáke li te dejáke kan-pomohaiskerén o bor'á», – [phenél avér amál]. 24. S'udá-tudá.

25. «Vaj sar adá ajákha? Na?» – [phenél avér amál]. 26. «Ej so? Daváj! Áke, ále čh'urí te činás, jekh jekh avrésko rat te pijás, kaj tu n'é dólžen, pokámis' phur'ós, tu n'é dólžen – ne tu te prandózes, ne me te prandózav», – [phenél jekh amál]. 27. «Daváj, požálusta, bazára n'et», – [phenél avér amál]. 28. Le. 29. Ej čhindé akajakhá-akajakhá jekh jekh avrésko (it must be: avréski) pálma, pil'ó o rat. 30. Nakhél breš, nakhél duj, nakhél trin, o dad e daj phenél: «So kerén, phralále, vaj prandózen, vaj bor'á kamél, vaj, xoč' te pomohaiskerén aménde, čh'avále!»

31. «Na, amé phenl'ám okolésa, kaj amé n'é dólžny te prandózas, pokámis' phur'ás», – [phenén o amalá]. 32. «Áke túke, so si adá ajakhá, be?»

– pe roméske daj phenél. – Me na ĝ'anáv. – phenél. – Sar mangén!» 33. Nakhél, sánkim pang' – šov breš, a móžet li deš.

34. Lel merél o jekh amál raklésko. 35. Muló, ej akaná so? 36. Ej akavá so? 37. Kážen d'es ko gróbos ĝ'al, perél othé, li sovél othé, li úš'el othé, vs'ó. 38. Ov ne na xal, ne na pijél, ne ništo. 39. Kasevéti, kasevéti, vaj kerél pal ko amál, vaj. 40. Kána o dad phenél léske l' e daj, l' okoléski daj, o dad, sánkim, e muléske phenél: «Mó č'h'ó, vaj adá tu les nanáj te bóldes, adá na geló andé phandipé, ili andé xalavdé, kaj dólžen te avél, taj nanáj ništo, aj adá, tu othár les užé nanáj te vázdes».

41. Aj ov tynýki: «Dúr'on!» 42. Aj ov (h)de-n'ébut' phirél. 43. Kána na vuló, kána o dad e daj akšamdá phenél: «Tu ĝ'anés so? Le túke amalínká!» 44. Sánkim, te prandózel o rakló. 45. «A to tu, vopš'é, vopš'é li túke kan-ĝ'ás othé, no amalínka – oj túsa kan-ovél, li kan-sovél túsa...» – [phenén léske o dadá]. 46. «Ej vs'ó! li tu požálusta, li te god'áte kan-ovél, prim'érno to amál, no vs'ó ravnó oj, okojá pašé túte l' e rat, l' o d'es kan-ovél», – [god'averiskeren les o dadá].

47. «Li kaj ĝ'as (h)d'é-to andé céntra, ili kaj ĝ'as, oj túsa kan-ĝ'ál, vaj aká, vaj č'ačí, vaj», – [phenél o dad]. 48. «Taj so mangén?» – [phuč'él o rakló]. 49. «Le, prandóze taj odojá kan-ovél ti amalínka, sar to ková, to amál», – [phenél e daj]. 50. Akajakhá, ej móžet breš, géne duj, trin. 51. Na vuló! 52. Ej ov [o dad e rakléskoro] podúmal: «A móžet bit', áke amé lil'ám [amén], me lil'óm te dejá, vulí mánde, daj esás, – o dad phenél léske, - dad esás, daj esás, phen'á sas, alají, alají mulé, aj me lil'óm te dejá: áke tu oč'utíls'a, užé, požálusta, užé túke l'exč'e kan-ovél». 53. Kána ov del pes godí, vaj nanáj o rakló deniló.

54. Vaj, o rakl'á, vaj, [phenén]: «Požálusta!» 55. Thel konás, mangl'arél rakl'á, kerél bijáv. 56. Aj ov ĝ'álas, sánkim kážen d'es ĝ'al ko gróbos. 57. Kána adá odová o muló, o rakló [phen'ásas]: «Šun, tu ob'azát'el'no dólžen te prandózes, vot, kána kan-prandózes, tu ke khangerí kan-ĝ'ás lása, sánki ková te kerén, vot, tu báštan lása avésa mánde ko gróbos, háli'l'an, aj potom ĝ'ása ke khangerí». 58. Nu, xorošó, lel prandózel o rakló, ej les prandoskerdé o dadá, o dejá, vaj n'el'z'á éto [d'élat']. 59. Ahá!

60. Ej oj, raklí andé fatás esí, ov ajakhá že – ženix. 61. Taj bristéľ ov, bristerd'ás te ĝ'al ko gróbos lása. 62. Aj, vaj d'un'ás esí, bijáv esí. 63. «Háden-háden!» – [phenén] taj gelé ke khangerí. 64. Ej len, sánkim odá – ková [o popázi] kerd'ás vs'ó, požálusta. 65. Sar aló kheré, ej, vaj boldiné pes kátar ke khangerí, vaj akathé bijáv ĝ'al, aj ov ras: pal ko konás esí lása bešló, pe gaĝ'ása.

66. Kána adá [andý taj del pes godí]: «Aj, dáde, ej ov nikhás, ej mul'óm, néne, vaj oká phen'ás: «Báštan, na ke khangerí, léste te ĝ'al lása ko gróbos, a potom léstar te ĝ'al ke khangerí»». 67. «Adá, mul'óm, so kerd'óm?

Ej ovél, so te phenáv?» – [del pes godí o rakló]. 68. Taj lel taj na phenél láke níšto, ej móžet, vaj avrí péste geló, vaj. 69. Ov sar ušínó, sar geló dovrús ko grób'a.

70. Ras, phinrávd'ol o gróbos; amál, vaj léste luludí si, ženix esí, vaj. 71. «So kerd'án?» – [phuč'él o muló amál]. 72. «Prostí man, be! Bukadár d'un'ádes, áke lilé mo šeró, me túte dumaiskeráv, ková», – [phenél o ženixi – amál]. 73. Ğ'av me ke khangerí, aj tu phenl'án: «Báštan túte te tyjidíjav lása, aj potom ke khangerí. – aj adá. – Ej níšto!» 74. «Ej p'er'ebíl man», – [phenél o ženixi – amál]. 75. «Ej níšto! Vaj tu al'án, ej níšto!» – [phenél o muló amál].

76. Phanliló odá gróbos, vs'o! 77. Bešél akaná, phenél, sar prandoskerd' les, so kerél lésa o dad, léski e daj. 78. Sánkím, mo dad, mi daj, phen'á, móžet, d'un'ás, maml'ek'ét'a phenén: «So?» 79. Ej, taj lil'óm taj prandosáil'om. 80. Ej aká phenél: «Molod'éc, molod'éc, lačh'ól!» 81. Ej phirdé, phirdé. 82. Sikavél: akathé akajakhá bešáv, aj tu sar? 83. «Ej níšto, áke normál'no, vs'o lačh'ó», – [phenél o muló amál]. 84. Akaná, be, bešló: «Tu ĝ'anés so? Vaj, me na phenl'óm ne kháske, ne láke na phenl'óm, me ušín'óm taj gel'óm, nu užé tri č'asá, te ĝ'av, aj to kan-róden man», – [phenél o ženixi – amál]. 85. «Ej, ĝ'a!» – [phenél o muló]. 86. Phinrávd'ol o gróbos, níkl'ol.

87. Be, kaj, ne gav nanáj, ne...múzyka si, vaj, be, što takóje – níkhon-nikh nanáj. 88. Ahá! 89. Len akaná, ĝ'al, vaj ĝ'anél, tri č'asá prošló, ĝ'al, o kherá nanáj, d'un'ás nanáj, bijáv nanáj, níšto nanáj. 90. «Be, što takóje, be, kaj, v č'om d'élo?» – [del pes godí] ov – rakló. 91. Kána odá, ov [t'ušundíjel]: «Aj, aj, a hd'e n'ev'ésta?» 92. Gağ'é averá, d'un'ás užé esí: «Bóže moj, ženix otkúda id'ót?» 93. Ne n'ev'ésty, nič'evó n'et, a ženix, vaj akathé si odojá luludí. 94. Da!

95. Akaná na vuló, a što takóje, otkúda vuló d'un'ás opré ko rakló esí? 96. Č'umíden, kerén: s'udá-tudá, be kaj. 97. Ne, odá geló, nanáj lésko dadésko [kher], ne odá bijáv, ne níšto. 98. Ğ'al ke khangerí, aj popázi si. 99. «Slúšaj, – [phenél] popaz'éske, – ja tri č'asá prošól, hd'e – ková, svád'ba, hd'e rodít'eli, hd'e žená, v tri č'asá u t'eb'á ja byl, ty nas éto – [v'enč'aiskerd'án]?» 100. Kána o popázi: «Da tu što, ja n'e víd'el t'eb'á, dorohój moj, voopš'é!»

101. «Nu kak, nu vot v d'és'at' – odínatcat' č'asóv, ja s n'ev'éstkoju, ot'éc, svád'ba, ja ženíls'a, vot vídiš, – [phenél o rakló], – akathé si odojá luludí». 102. Dikhél odá [taj phenél]: «Da nu što, š'as posmotr'ú zápis'». 103. V č'om d'élo, vaj alají šašijén, alají... 104. Čhit'ás adajá knížka – aborkhá [thulipé]: «Sadís'», – [phenél o popázi], lel géne knížka – nanáj. 105. «A ja, vot v d'és'at' č'asóv – v odínatcat' – a ty što?» – [phenél o ženixi]. 106. «Da n'étu», – [phenél o popázi], lel tríto knížka – aborkhá

[thulipé], zápis', vaj. 107. «A kak famílija? – [phuč'él léstar o popázi]. – Taj si jazdimé, vaj, vot takój – takój, da, jest'!» 108. «A što takój?» – [phuč'él o ženíxi].

109. «A znáješ što, – ov phenél, o popázi léске, – ty znáješ što, tri č'asá ty n'e byl, da, n'e tri č'asá, a trístico l'et prošló, a ty ješ'ó, vaj». 110. «[N'e] trístico l'et esás, a tri č'asá», – [šašíjel o ženíxi]. 111. Ej, vs'o.

### **Not for Three Hours, but for Three Hundred Years**

1. There were two boys, and they both attended school. 2. For a year or two. 3.

8-9. When they became eighteen, they were conscripted to the army. 10. They were to serve as privates for three or four years. 11. They both returned on one and the same day. 12.-13. Fathers and mothers welcomed them. 14. They ate and drank to mark their returning home. 15.-

16. The boys lived at their homes for a day or two, then for a week and a month. 17. One friend visited another and said, "Let us get married". 18. They were eighteen or twenty at that time. 19. "Go away, brother", another young man said. 20. "Don't you like to marry?" asked one of them. 21. "Just as you say". 22. "We'll never get married", said one friend.

23.-26. Well, here's a knife; let's cut [our flesh] and drink our blood [to pledge] that we'll never get married until we get old". 27. "No objections, let's do so", said another boy. 28. Do take it! 29. And so they cut each one's palm and sucked blood. 30. A year passed, then two and three years; their fathers and mothers told them: "Get married, boys; we need daughters-in-law to help us!"

31. "No! My friend and I we gave the oath not to marry until we shall be old!" 32. "What's the matter", the mother said to her husband, "I don't know; do as you like". 33. Five or six years more passed, or maybe even ten.

34. The boy's friend died. 35.-36. And what did his friend do? 37. He visited the grave every day; he falls to the ground and sleeps. 38. He neither ate nor drank. 39. He was sorry for his friend. 40. His father and mother as well as his late friend's father and mother told him, "Oh my son, you'll never return him; he wasn't taken to prison or to the army, from where people come back one day; you cannot raise him from where he's now".

41. The young man replied, "Go away!" 42. 43. Then one evening his father and mother said to him, "Find a girl-friend for yourself!" 44. They wanted him to get married. 45. "Your girl-friend will sleep with you;



otherwise you will go the grave as well". 46. "Your girl-friend will be with you day and night!"

47. "Wherever you go, she'll follow you". 48. 49. "She'll be the same friend to you", the mother said. 50-51. A year more passed, or two, or three years – the boy didn't get married. 52. 53.

54. Many girls wanted to marry him. 55. Finally they arranged the marriage. 56. Still he visited the friend's grave every day. 57. The dead friend told him, "Listen to me: you must get married; but come to my grave in the morning before you lead your fiancée to the church". 58. [The day of the marriage came]. 59.

60. The girl whom he married wore a veil, and he was also dressed like a fiancé. 61. And the young man forgot to go to his friend's grave. 62-63. There were many people at the wedding, and they hurried him, "Come on, come on!" 64. The priest married them. 65. He returned home to the wedding table and took his place at it next to his wife.

66. Suddenly he remembered his friend's words, "First come to my grave, then go to the church". 67. He thought, "What I have done!" 68. He said nothing to his wife, but went away from the house. 69. He went to the grave.

70. The grave opened. 71. "What did you do?" asked his dead friend. 72. "Excuse me, brother: all those people made me almost mad [literally, *they took my head away*]". 73. "I didn't come to your grave before going to the church"; "Never mind", his friend replied. 74. 75. "Still you've come here at last", said his friend.

76. The grave closed. 77. The young man took a seat near it and told how his father and mother had made him marry. 78. He explained that his father and mother and sisters pressed him to do that. 79. "That's why I got married". 80. His friend said, "Well done, good boy". 81. 82. 83. "That's quite all right", his dead friend said. 84. Finally the young husband said, "You know, I told nobody about my going here, nor even my wife; it must be three hours since I left them; I must return". 85. "Then go back!" [said the dead man]. 86. The grave opened and he climbed out of it.

87. The man saw no village, not a single person around. 88. 89. He knew he spent three hours, but he saw no houses, no people, and no wedding party going on. 90. "What's the matter?" he thought. 91. He thought, "And where is my bride?" 92. He met some strange people, and they noticed, "Oh God, a fiancé is going from somewhere!" 93. He still had a flower in the buttonhole. 94.

95. 96. 97. His father's house disappeared, and there was no wedding party. 98. He went to the church and found a priest there. 99. The man asked him, "Three hours ago you married me; three hours passed, and where are my parents and my wife?" 100. The priest replied, "My dear, I have never seen you at all!"

101. "It was at ten or at eleven o'clock this morning; I was with my bride and father; look: I still have a flower in the buttonhole". 102. "Well", the priest said, "let me check my records". 103. 104. The priest took a thick book and found no record; he took another one and still found nothing. 105. "It was at ten or eleven today", said the fiancé. 106. "There's no record", said the priest and took the third thick book. 107. "And what's your name?" the priest asked; "here's your record". 108. "And what's wrong with it?" the fiancé inquired.

109. "Do you like to know what? You were absent not for three hours, but for three hundred years". 110. "But I spent there only three hours, not three hundred years", the fiancé said in surprise. 111. That's all.

## CRIMEAN ROMA'S FOLKLORE RECORDED IN RUSSIAN

Even before the author learned how to understand Crimean Romani and to record texts in this language he, being a person with some scholar curiosity, interviewed Mr. Pavel Humerohlyi's relatives about old fabulous creatures, saints, spirits, and Gods.

### I

The first result of these inquiries was the recording of three stories in which Crimean Roma talked of a spirit named Kakarandzhos who appears before people in his three hypostasis: that of a domestic spirit who inspects the order and tidiness in the female section of the household (kitchen, tableware); a spirit of forge who inspects the order in the male section of the household; and also a good spirit who discloses treasures hidden under the ground and thus rewarding those Roma who keep their household well.

The author put the stories about Kakarandzhos on paper in 1980, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) in Russian from three informants, of whom one was Mrs. Marina Khalilovna Ohly (1941-1995); the names of two other informants were not kept.

A young artist Mr. Vladislav Borisovich Volchenkov who graduated from College of fine arts in the city of Suzdal' re-created the images of all the characters that are spoken about in this chapter.

### Какаранджѳс (Kakaráŋġ'os)

Маленький, страшенький, весь покрыт чѳрными волосами. Обычно живѳт на чердаке дома. По ночам, обычно, перед большими цыганскими праздниками он ходит по домам и смотрит, всѳ ли хорошо приготовила хозяйка к празднику: чиста ли еѳ посуда, всѳ ли прибрано, всѳ ли на месте. Спрашивает посуду и, если всѳ хорошо, он может наградить хозяйку: кинуть золотую монетку в ведѳрko или горшок. На чѳрта не похож: нет у него, ни рожек, ни копытец, ни пяточка, ни хвостика. Ростом в 30 - 40 сантиметров. Обычно ни кому не показывается, показывается тем, кого хочет напугать и выжить из дома. Может измазать животных в хлеву навозом или выдоить корову и разбрызгать молоко по полу и стенам.

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С полметра высоты как человек, на голове красная шапочка. На каждый праздник заходит по ночам (1-2 часа ночи). Ходит и проверяет, чтобы посуда вся была чистая. Если осталась грязная посуда или нечего есть на праздник, то он тянет хозяйку за волосы. Если ты его увидел в темноте хватай шапку и ты сделаешься невидимым, когда её оденешь на голову себе.

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Страшенький, весь в волосах, маленький, если захочет наградить, награждает (золото). Если ты ему сделаешь или скажешь «против шерсти», он скажет: «Puc mi bul skogija» («Пук моя попа шлак») и будет всё skogija – шлак. Не чёрт, приходит под Новый год, у кого грязная посуда, он спрашивает посуду, разговаривает с домашними животными, и, если у хозяйки всё хорошо, он награждает её. Увидит его человек, которого он любит. Какаранджес может открыть землю (кр.-цыг. xázna «казна, клад, подземные сокровища») и одарить человека подземными богатствами. Где живёт - не известно.

### **Kakarandzhos**

[He's] small [and] terrible and [is] all covered with black hair. [He] usually lives in the house's attic. At night, usually on the eve of great Romani holidays, he walks from house to house and examines if a housewife has fixed everything well for a holiday: if her tableware is clean, if everything is washed up, if all the things are at [their proper] places. [He] asks for some tableware, and if everything is all right, he may reward the housewife: [may] drop a golden piece in a pail or a pot. [He] doesn't look like an imp: he has neither horns, nor hoofs, nor a snout, nor a tail. [He's] 30 to 40 centimeters high. [He] usually doesn't show itself to anybody; [he only] shows itself to those whom he wants to frighten or drive out of home. [He] can smear animals in a cattle-shed with manure, or milk a cow and spray [its] milk over the floor and the walls.

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[He's] half a meter high [and looks] like a man, with a red cap on [his] head. [He] comes on every holiday at night (at one or two hours past midnight). [He] walks around and checks if all tableware is clean. If [some] dirty tableware is left, or if there's nothing to eat, [he] pulls the housewife by [her] hair. If you have seen him in the dark, take a cap, and you will become invisible when you put it on your head.

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[He is] a little bit terrible, all [covered] with hair; if [he] wants to give [somebody] a reward, [he] gives (gold). If you do or say something unpleasant to him [*literally*, “rub him up the wrong way”], he will say, “Fart, my bottom, so there’s slag”, and everything will become slag. [He’s] not an imp, he arrives on the New Year’s eve to those who have dirty tableware, [and there] he asks for some tableware; he talks with domestic animals, and if everything is all right, he rewards the housewife. [Only] the one whom he loves [can] see him. Kakarandzhos can open the earth and endow a man with underground treasures. Where [he] lives is not known.

Kakarandzhos is a spirit of Roma’s house and forge; the artist created his image following a number of informants’ accounts. In *Picture I* Kakarandzhos is shown against the background of a Roma’s most loved item – a blacksmith’s anvil; he looks like an evil creature who must be angry over something that the forge-owner has done; that is why the floor of the forge is dotted with numerous small heaps of slag. In his left hand Kakarandzhos holds what Crimean Roma call *vaxtyra*; blacksmiths use it to extinguish fire in a furnace. A *vaxtyra* is made of some strips of fabric that are tied with a long piece of wire, which its handle is twisted of. Lying near the anvil is a large coin, which Kakarandzhos usually uses to reward a careful forge-owner or a tidy kitchen mistress. Whether he is going to leave the coin in this forge is still unclear.

## II

The author went on questioning Mr. Pavel Humerohlyi’s relatives about characters of old Romani fairy-tales, and his curiosity was rewarded again. Mr. Gennadii Ivanovich Ohly (born about 1935) told him that one of these characters was a terrible giant with enormous strength named Gerguli, who lived in impassable forests and hunted animals. The author failed to learn any more details about Gerguli from other informants.

By comparing the name of this fabulous giant with that of the Greek hero Hercules (Ἡρακλῆης in Greek, Hércule in Romanian and Moldavian) one may guess that the giant Gerguli is a reflection of ancient Greek myths about Hercules that were preserved in Crimean Roma’s verbal tradition and that Gerguli was a Crimean Roma’s Hercules.

A forest giant Gerguli in *Picture II* appears before readers with a traditional club in one hand and a piece of meat in the other. The artist’s vision combines many other images of fabulous human beings who used to live in forests on their own, hunting wild animals and eating their meat

roasted over fire. A man depicted may look a bit like ancient Greek Hercules, but Roma's scanty and obscure reminiscences of Gerguli don't let the artist imagine this creature in more details.

### III

The same informant, Mr. Gennadii Ivanovich Ohly, told the author of another fabulous creature. It was a winged horse from old Romani tales named Dunduli. Dunduli is still the only character of Crimean Roma's old folklore that came via the language and folklore of Crimean Tartars [initially] from Arabic Muslim tradition.

Dunduli of Crimean Roma (Дундуль of Crimean Tartars, or Turkish Döldül, or Arabic دلدل) may be considered a reminiscence of both the Prophet Mohammad's winged mule and the winged horse of the sixth righteous caliph Ali. At this point the Muslim tradition lacks unity: both a mule and a horse have the same name. Roma are quite sure that Dunduli is a winged horse.

In many of the tales that Crimean Roma have told the author, winged horses are active participants, but none of them has a name Dunduli. In these fairy-tales the winged horses look much more like the image (borrowed from the Eastern Slavic folklore) of a Russian *koniok-gorbunok* – a stunted animal with two small humps; according to Roma narrators, wings of this animal can appear and disappear, and they look like those of a large bird.

In *Picture III* a beautiful horse has spread its wings and is flying in the sky between the clouds. It may be Pegasus of ancient myths, or Duldul of old Arab Muslim legends, or *Koniok-Gorbunok* of Russian fairy-tales. It's not easy to say whose image the artist preserved most.

### IV

The flying snake-dragon named Azhdahas (Аждагъа in Crimean Tartar) may be considered the most common character of Crimean Roma's folk tales. In Persian folklore Azhdahak is a rich King. After he had sold his soul to the Devil, he became able to turn into a snake with many heads and to do bad flying at night.

According to informants, this fabulous monster lives in caverns under the ground. It's rather malicious: it hunts people and eats them. In the Tartar folklore tradition Аждагъа has seven heads, and each can belch forth both puffs of smoke and jets of flame.

In today Romani fairy-tales Azhdahas has got another number of heads, for instance three, that make him closer to *Zmei-Gorynych* who (in the Russian folklore tradition) may have either three, or six, or twelve heads.

Besides “wild” Azhdahades (Plural) of Romani fairy-tales, there are also “domestic” ones: domesticated Azhdahades, which the characters of tales use to fly and carry loads by, like we do by airplanes.

A seven-headed winged snake Azhdahas who appears in many Crimean Romani tales is shown in *Picture IV* as an evil creature that throws out ever-scorching fire from the mouths in all of its seven heads (he is also known to have forty heads in other fairy-tales). This inhabitant of underground caverns is portrayed with wings like those of a bat and with a long snake-like body ending with a winding tail. What differs Azhdahas from the image of a flying dragon of the Russian fairy-tales is the number of his heads.

## V

During his talk with a Crimean Romani woman Mrs. Melaniya Mikhailovna Ohly (born about 1936) in 2004 the author asked her if her memory keeps any stories about Alim – the protector of the poor. The author had already known from some Tartar fairy-tales that once upon a time there lived in the Crimea a courageous Tartar named Alim-batyr – a noble-hearted outlaw who fought for justice and defended righteous Crimean Muslims from all sorts of oppressors.

When Mrs. Melaniya Ohly heard my question, she livened up and told in Russian the story that the author now presents.

“They say that long ago a coach of the empress was driving along a narrow mountain road carrying the crown and jewelry. Another coach followed it with the empress and her young daughter-heir. Some bandits attacked them and killed all the guardsmen with a purpose to rob the passengers; but a Rom named Alim rescued the empress and her daughter, as well as their treasures. When Alim dealt with the robbers, he saw a crown being thrown to the ground. He lifted it and wanted to put it on his head. At that moment the empress came out of the coach; Alim put the crown on her head and drove away together with them.”

In the informant’s story the protagonist is not the Tartar outlaw Alim-batyr, but a Rom named Alim; he rescues from the bandits (as one may suppose) the Russian empress Catherine the Great who visited the Crimea shortly after the Crimean Khanate had been annexed; there she was proclaimed the Tsaritsa of Taurida. When Mrs. Melaniya Ohly was asked

where the events that she has talked about had taken place, she explained that it had happened before the 1917 revolution in a mountain forest near the city of Novorossijsk.

A noble-hearted outlaw Alim who defeated the robbers that had attacked Tsaritsa's coach in a forest appears in *Picture V* just as he has dealt with the bandits and risen a crown from the ground; Alim is about to put it on his head, but as he sees the tsaritsa coming close to him, he hands her the crown. The story of Rom Alim is an obvious fairy-tale, or the reminiscence of a Crimean Tartar story of Alim-batyr who was a real historical figure in times when the Russian emperor Alexander II ruled (1855-1881). At the picture the artist gave tsaritsa an image of Empress Catherine the Great, as he believed the story to be a memoir (that Roma preserved in their minds) of her real voyage to the Crimea. As a result, Alim in the picture is dressed in the clothes typical of late 18<sup>th</sup> century, rather than in those of the 1860s.

## VI

Acting in many Romani stories are gray-headed old men who appear before people both in their night-dreams and in reality; those men bring people some magic gifts and predict their future. Those elders are called in Romani *Develá* (Gods), but they may be identified rather with Christian saints, including St. Basil the Great of Caesarea who is much respected at the Balkans.

Saint Basil the Great of Caesarea is shown in *Picture VI* not in his canonical image of an elder carrying an ink-well, but rather walking against the background of mountains with a piglet in his hands. Rejoicing animals follow him, including a playfully running colt and a cunning she-ass, by whose snout one may suppose she shouldn't have a simple nature.



## CRIMEAN ROMA'S MUSICAL FOLKLORE

Crimean Roma are perfect musicians, singers, and dancers. The nature endowed many of them with artistic capabilities; even when they are children, they *den o takmát'a tóč'no* (“convey tunes precisely”). The author's first informant wasn't an exception to the rule: Mr. Pavel B. Humerohlyi was a gifted autodidactic musician. He had a small Romani voice of a nice timber, and had a sense of rhythm due to which he played well the drums and the guitar.

Mr. Pavel B. Humerohlyi wasn't alone in the community of Natuchajevskaja: his cousin Dmitrii Gennadyevich Ohly sang a little and played keyboard. It is also necessary to mention their uncle Dmitrii Mikhailovich Karachuk (1924-2006) who was a [professional] accordion-player at the community center in Supsekh village (Anapa region, Krasnodar District). Mr. Dmitrii Karachuk often repeated to his nephews that it was necessary to be exceptionally responsible when playing music, and to play everything precisely, being responsible for every note.

A certain N.G. Stieber in his article *Russkie Tsygane* (“Russian Roma”) that was published in 1895, in the monthly literary supplement to St. Petersburg-based *Niva* magazine (issue № 11, p. 549) wrote, “Crimean Roma play daul (a drum) (Cr. Romani *marén opré davúli*) and zurna (Cr. Romani *zurnás*); they play everywhere, at any place they are invited to: in city coffee-houses and hotels, at Tartar weddings and parties.”

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Even now the skill *te bašavén opré gitáres, te marén opré baján'a* (to play guitars, to play bayans) and other musical instruments, including the skill *opré daul'a* (to play drums) gives many Roma a possibility *te bašavén bijavá, prazdník'a* (to play at weddings, holidays).

Many Roma are perfect dancers. The author would like to remember Mrs. Marina Khalilovna Ohly – a ordinary Romani woman whose dancing was notable for being unusually beautiful: her steps were light, and every movement of her legs, hands, and body were so gracious that her dance resembled rather gliding in the skies above the ground than just stepping on it.

Many Crimean Roma are endowed with different talents; it is due to these talents that they became not only amateur actors, but also professional ones in theatre, singing, and dancing. One should pay tribute of respect to those people, first of all to Russia's Honored Artist [official title awarded by the Government] Mr. Moisei Suleimanovich Ohly, a solo dancer who for many years performed at the stage of the Romeni theatre in

Moscow, as well as to such [Roma] actors as Monti Arslanovich Kazibeyev and Abdisha Ametshanovich Kazibeyev.

Two unsurpassed guitarists Crimean Roma Said Osmanov and Said Saburov were born in the city of Kerch. Two other guitarists and equally excellent singers from the Dzhumasanov and the Dzhelakayev families were also known and loved by the audience.

Crimean Roma from peripheral areas such as that of the Kuban' River were also becoming musicians, singers, and actors. Mr. Anatolii Vasilyevich Humer-ohly told the author of [one such Rom] Mr. Semion Ilyasovich Suinov (1940-1990), who performed as an actor, guitarist, and musician at the Amateur Theatre in the city of Krasnodar.

Mr. Semion Suinov looked much like Vladimir Lenin's double and performed his stage roles to enormous success with the audience. The informant told that after one such performance at a village community centre, Mr. Suinov appeared in the street in Lenin's make-up and was immediately surrounded by local residents who treated him as if he had been the real Soviet prime-minister; some even began to complain of their life problems that hadn't been solved so far.

Mr. Anatolii Vasilyevich Humer-ohly himself was a good dancer, just like his grandfather Piotr Chubarov; until the end of his days old Piotr liked to perform chechotka – the dance that his grandson never mastered.

The Roma used to sing in a number of languages: in Tartar, in Russian, in Ukrainian. They usually sang in these languages to the pleasure of the people among which Roma lived. Inside their own circle Roma sang their own folk songs. Few of these folklore pieces were preserved either in people's memory or in publications. The author could find three Romani songs in Tartar and one *koliadka* carol in Crimean Romani, as well as the notes of an Urmachel dance that Mr. Rashid A. Memishev published. So far the author has failed to find any more songs; he's got an impression that the singing folklore in Crimean Roma's mother tongue had no development.

## I

The text of a *koliadka* [Christmas song] was recorded in 2003, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) from Mrs. Nadezhda Samuilovna Humerohlaya (Romani name Poltavka), born about 1933. The song was mentioned in the 1986 *Manuscript* (p. 8). The complete text was published in Nadezhda Demeter, Nikolai Bessonov and Vladimir Kutenkov's book *Istoria tsygan: Novyi vzgliad* (p. 108) issued in 2000, in Voronezh.

Kas del o Del e Vasil'ás,  
Me baló del ko [person's name] – pašás,  
Me del les o Del šel kabat'á (=kobet'á),  
Muhl'amat'á purané zlot'a.

Aj dos do-no-no  
Káte – khuroró,  
Káte – khuroró,  
Káte – ģ'ornoró,  
Trámbusil'á.

Kas del o Del e Vasil'ás,  
Me baló del ko [person's name] – pašás,  
Me del les o Del xerén, ģ'orén  
Taj trin kat'á, purané zlot'á.

To the one whom God gives St. Basil's day.  
May he give a piglet, [we are] approaching [the name of the person  
for whom the *koliadka* is sang]  
May God give him one hundred pies,  
Rusty old golden coins

Ai don do-no-no,  
To whom a colt,  
To whom a colt,  
To whom a she-ass.  
Trambusila.

To the one whom God gives St. Basil's day.  
May he give a piglet, [we are] approaching [the name of the person  
for whom the *koliadka* is sang]  
May God give him mules, asses  
And three scissors, old golden coins.

The song's variant that the author published in 2004, in *Istoria i folklor* (p. 24) has some minor differences from the first one.

Kas del o Del e Vasil'ás,  
Me baló del ko [person's name] – pašás,  
Me del les o Del: dujé khurén  
Taj trin kat'á, purané zlot'á.

To the one whom God gives St. Basil's day.  
May he give a piglet, [we are] approaching [the name of the person  
for whom the *koliadka* is sang]  
May God give him two colts,  
And three scissors, old golden coins.

Beside this variant of *koliadka* that is sung in honor of one man,  
the Kubanludes-Roma have another variant to honor this man's family as  
well.

Kas del o Del e Vasil'ás,  
Me baló del, pašé [person's name] – pašás, léske xorandáske.  
Me del len o Del sastipé – vestipé  
Taj trin kat'á, purané zlot'á.

To the one whom God gives St. Basil's day.  
May he give a piglet, [we are] approaching [the name of the person  
for whom the *koliadka* is sang].  
May God give health [and] glory to his family  
And three scissors, old golden coins.

According to the informant, Chiornomorludes-Roma added the  
second couplet to the *koliadka*.

Aj don do-no-no,  
Káske – khurorés,  
Káske – ģ'orn/or'á.  
Trin Vasil'á.

Ai don do-no-no,  
To whom a colt,  
To whom a she-ass.  
Three Basils.

St. Basil the Great of Caesarea may be considered one of the most  
honored Christian saints, the memories of which were preserved in the  
folklore of Muslim Crimean Roma. In the Balkans the day of this great saint  
(January 14<sup>th</sup>) is traditionally marked by slaughtering a young piglet and  
cooking a holiday dish (meat in jelly) out of its head.

According to some old beliefs, St. Basil usually appears before the  
people with a foal and a red she-ass. Many people, including Roma, had a

habit to mark this holiday by putting on some fancy dress and walking from house to house with a goat; people sang the traditional holiday song [*koliadka*] with wishes of success in every business to all the inhabitants of the house, both to Roma and non-Roma people.

One such *koliadka* was preserved among the Crimean Roma from the times when their ancestors used to be Christians; the song is still widespread at the present time. People who sing it asks God to give everyone a holiday of St. Basil who should bring *baló* (Cr. Romani for lard) not only to Christians, but also to Muslim Roma, however strange it may look for us.

In the author's opinion, what the archaic text of this *koliadka* means is not lard as such, but rather a pig, because in the language of the Crimean Roma's ancestors the word *baló* might mean piglet (compare Kalderash Romani *baló* for hog); it was later substituted by Crimean Tartar чочкѝа that became Crimean Romani *č'oč'kás* ("pig").

The next wish addressed to St. Basil was the one to give to the people some domestic animals such as a mule (Cr. Romani *xer*), a colt (Cr. Romani *khuroró*), a she-ass (Cr. Romani *ǵ'orn'ori*), as well pies (Cr. Romani *kobet'á*), scissors (Cr. Romani *kat'á*) and also some old golden coins covered with "rust" (Cr. Romani *muxl'amat'á purané zlot'á*).

On the occasion of *koliadka*-singing during the Crimean Roma's *jilbáŝy*-holiday, some Roma said, "*Amé das les Ramazáni* (We give him [literally, *his*] Ramazan)." The meaning of *Ramazan* in the phrase is unclear; it may mean "congratulation."

The informant doesn't translate literally the section of *koliadka* in which a pig or lard are spoken about, but rather explains that these words have the sense "may he give a present."

The memory of Mrs. Nadezhda S. Humerohlaya preserved a song in Tartar; it's singing brings her some pleasant souvenirs of her youth. This is how the song begins:

Чалас, чалас  
Эйлишыштым...

\* \* \*

Songs that Roma compiled in Tartar were collected and published by a Crimean Romani scholar Mr. Rashid Akhmedovich Memishev who was born in 1953, in the city of Tashkent in a family of deported Roma; today Mr. Memishev is a member of the Ukrainian National Union of Writers; he's a poet, a folklore scholar, and a translator from Tajik and

Uzbek. He published the songs in Simferopol' in the 1996 volume of the *Къасевем (Qasevet)* magazine (issue 1[25], pp. 22-27).

## II

*Song I* was recorded from the voice of Romani singer and musician A. Akkash who lived in the city of Bakhchysaray.

Биз гезериз, биз юерериз,  
Джевиз текеп тубюне биз къонарыз.  
Къазма курек биз япарыз,  
Акъшам олса шень ойнарыз!

We walk [and] rest,  
And [we] stop under a nut-tree.  
We make shovels,  
And in the evening we merrily dance.

Allegro vivace



Judging by its content, the song followed Roma in their labour or rest; it is in major key and full of *joie de vivre*.

## III

*Song II* was recorded from the voice of Mr. H. Osmanov, a resident of the city of Bakhchysaray.

Ай, Къурт-Али, ай, балам,  
Къайда да къалды бабайнынъ?  
Салкъын, терен джилгъада  
Джевети къалды бабайнынъ,  
Огюз киби окюрген  
Корюги къалды бабайнынъ.

Oh Kurt-ali, oh little boy,  
Where did your father rest?  
In a deep cool river

His body lies,  
Only [his] blacksmith's bellows remained of him  
That breathes like a bullock.

Moderato



Words of the song make us believe that it is in a minor key. Experts in music define this minor mode as Phrygian (lowered 2 and 9 scale degree) that is typical of the music of many Oriental people such as Turks, Iranians, Hindu, and the peoples of the Balkans.

#### IV

The author of *Song III* is unknown; it may be the result of a people's creativity.

Абильтарнынь тоюнда эркес оюнда,  
Абильтарны сорар исен – келин кьойнунда  
Абильтар кьалайджы, джепке далыджы,  
Акьшам алыджы, сабах вериджи.  
Салачик баши – чакьылдыр дашы!

At Abiltar's wedding everyone dances,  
While drunken Abiltar is in his bride's embraces.  
Abil'tar the tin-smith dives in [other's] pockets,  
[He] collects in the evening and gives back in the morning.  
The summit of [Mt.] Salachiq is all covered with stones.

According to Rashid Akhmedovich, the elite of Roma musicians of the Crimea lived in Aq-qash and Qady-mahalle quarters of the city of Bakhchysaray, as well as in the locality known as Salachiq. The songs published here attract a scholar as examples of Crimean Roma's creativity. They are Romani songs that are performed to the tunes composed by Roma

themselves. It's interesting to note that the melodies of these songs may be described rather as Turko-Indian, than Moldova-Romanian.

The lyrics of every song are not complicated. They reflect the joy of labour and rest, or the grief over a Romani blacksmith who passed away too early and left only his blacksmith's bellows to his son. They also show an unrestricted lifestyle of a Romani tin-smith named Abiltar that he had had before his marriage.

## V

Below were giving the music scores of the Urmachels dance.

Moderato

5

9

13

17

21

25

29

33

This dance is, as the songs mentioned above, is in Phrygian minor mode (lowered 2 and 9 scale degree).



## VI

### Chastushka

Mr. Anatolii Vasilyevich Humer-ohly (Romani name Alim) born in 1961, at the request of the author wrote in 1980, in the community of Natuchajevskaja (Primorskij region in the city of Novorossijsk, Krasnodar district) the lyrics of the following *chastushka* that is now published for the first time:

Lulud'á si opré phu,  
Mi kalí dexlí,  
Mánga phen: “Dexáv me tut!”  
Kan-čhináv len alají.

Andé vas kan-láv me tut,  
Mi kalí dexlí,  
Opré del esí č'erhén,  
Oj esí tinrí!

There are flowers on the ground,  
[Oh] My swarthy beloved one  
Say to me, I love you!  
[I'll] pick them all up [for you].

[I'll] take you in my hand,  
My swarthy beloved one.  
There's a star in the sky –  
It is yours!

## AFTERWORD

After many years of research into Crimean Roma's language and the folklore, the author may make some conclusions.

Crimean Romani is quite volatile and fickle phenomenon of this ethnic group's culture. The studies conducted by the author show that a dispersedly-living ethnic group doesn't produce any new words from the vocabulary that it already has. The language of such group evolves primarily by borrowing words and formants that make new words or alter existing ones. In Crimean Romani only those formants are productive that participate in the adaptation of borrowed words.

In mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Crimean Romani had to shift from one donor language, namely Crimean Tartar, to another – this time to Russian; today Russian serves as the principle donor language to Romani. During this time the Romani speech has already lost much of what it had borrowed from Tartar and goes on losing. Up to these days the complete Tartar-Romani bilingualism that used to exist in the past has practically disappeared. The only exception may be found in those few Crimean Roma who had been deported to Central Asia and who still live side-by-side with Tartars.

The core of the Roma's folklore consists of stories about Romani life; they may reflect both facts of the real life and some fabulous events. The topics of this part of the folklore are most stable in time. Old life in a tabor or the blacksmith's trade have long ago been poeticized by the Roma, together with the stories of fears, or of mysterious events connected with dead people, of dark nights and of living in deserted houses.

Old Roma songs (mostly in Tartar language) today are completely ousted by stage-style Roma's songs with lyrics in other Romani languages. According to information that the author has got, stage-style songs in Crimean Romani were never composed. In a Roma milieu of the Crimea and the Kuban' river areas, Russian and sometimes Ukrainian songs are sung today.

Crimea Roma like to tell long fairy-tales in which they interlace in a specific manner all sorts of topics borrowed from other people's fairy-tales. As narrators will it, the folklore characters sometimes become Romani or acquire Romani names, so that now it is difficult to identify either the prototype-tale, or the folk from which it was borrowed, or the time of the borrowing.

The principal peculiarity of the Crimean Roma's folklore may be described as the absence of Aesopian language. None of the animals that act in Crimean Romani fairy-tales bears any additional connotations that might

let them display some specific behavior patterns of persons through their images.

According to informants' confessions, the Crimean Romani folklore is supported by printed fairy-tales books; literate Roma read and re-told those books in their families. Research has shown that some Roma had command of written Tartar, Russian, and Georgian languages. We should also mention the fact that in the life of the people many fairy-tales are transmitted from parents to children; in other words, the ethnic folklore heritage is forwarded to the new generation of Roma.

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Picture I



Picture II



Picture III





Picture IV

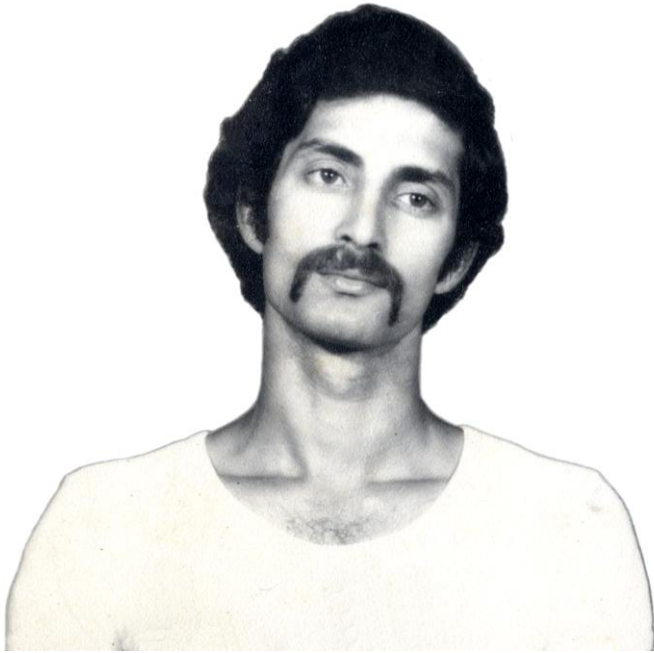


Picture V

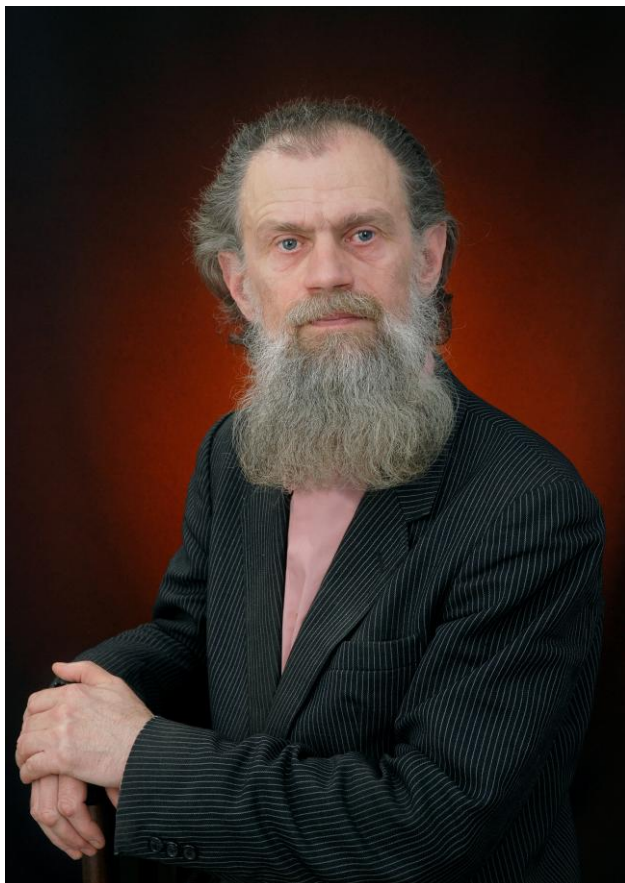


Picture VI

Picture VII



*Mr. Pavel Humerohlyi*



The author of this book, Toropov V.G., was born in 1952 in a multi-national family. From early school-years he loved to read dictionaries and grammars of different languages. The present book is a result of the 30 years' study in the language of Crimean Roma.