Koroshi
A Corpus-based Grammatical Description

Maryam Nourzaei, Carina Jahani,
Erik Anonby, and Abbas Ali Ahangar
The Korosh people are scattered across large areas of southern Iran, from Hormozgan all the way to Khuzestan, and onto the Iranian plateau. This group, which numbers over 10,000 people, is found in significant concentrations near Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province, in north-western Fars Province around Shiraz, and across the southern part of Fars Province.

Although oral accounts situate the provenance of the Korosh in Balochistan, and their language is closely related to southern varieties of Balochi, they have a distinct identity. Some affirm a historical and ethnic connection to the Baloch, but others view themselves as an autonomous tribe; in north-western Fars Province, members of the group maintain an affiliation with the larger Qašqā’ī tribal confederacy.

The present work contributes to the study of the Korosh through the lens of their language, Koroshi. The corpus for this study has been gathered among speakers of the dialect of Koroshi spoken around Shiraz. The book opens with a brief overview of the Korosh people and their culture. The main part of the study consists of an in-depth, corpus-based description of the phonology and morphosyntax of the Koroshi language; a corpus of seven glossed and translated texts of different genres; and a glossary of more than 1200 items. This documentation is supplemented with a CD containing soundfiles of the texts, a searchable PDF of the book, and images of the Koroshi community.

Keywords: Koroshi, Balochi, Iranian languages, language documentation, corpus linguistics, oral narratives.

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ISSN 1100-326X
ISBN 978-91-554-9267-0
urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-252421 (http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-252421)


Distributor: Uppsala University Library, Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden
www.uu.se, acta@ub.uu.se
To the Korosh

Namakēn wārta
Namakdūnā anabōrēnēn
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Abbreviations

1  first person
2  second person
3  third person
[...]  omission of text in a glossed example
...  incomplete sentence
-  affix boundary
=  clitic boundary
/  alternative forms
>  turns into
<  comes from
Ø  zero morpheme
A  agent of a transitive verb
ADD  additive particle
adj.  adjective
ADJZ  adjectiviser
adp.  adposition
adv.  adverb
advz. phr.  adverbialiser phrase
ADVZ  adverbialiser
affirm.  affirmative
alt. npst.  alternative non-past stem
ATTR  attributive
BACKG  backgrounding
C  consonant
card. num.  cardinal numeral
caus.  causative
CL/cl.  classifier
CLM  clause linkage marker
CMP  comparative
conj.  conjunction
coord. conj.  coordinating conjunction
COP/cop.  copula
DC  Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel
DEF  definite
dem.  demonstrative
dem. pn.  demonstrative pronoun
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>det.</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>echo</td>
<td>echo word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>ezāfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLEX</td>
<td>Field Linguistics Explorer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frag.</td>
<td>fragmentary utterance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Text 2: Goli and Ahmad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP.k</td>
<td>imperfective k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV/impv.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND/ind.</td>
<td>individuation clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indef. pn.</td>
<td>indefinite pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interr. pn.</td>
<td>interrogative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Koroshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>Text 3: The King’s Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>Text 4: The King’s Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>minute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Text 6: My Memories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. prop.</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg.</td>
<td>negated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.SBJV</td>
<td>negative subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST/npst.</td>
<td>non-past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num.</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ord. num.</td>
<td>ordinal numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>patient of a transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>person-marking clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers. pron.</td>
<td>personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

This book has been made possible through the collaboration of a large and dedicated group of contributors, colleagues and assistants, to whom we are most grateful.

First of all, we are infinitely thankful to the Korosh community, to all those who contributed with folktales and other texts, and particularly to Alamdar Samsanian, who shared his enormous talent as a storyteller so generously with us. Many thanks go to Hossein Gholi Bahman-Nia and Manuchehr Samsanian for guiding and helping Maryam Nourzaei extensively during her fieldwork. Without the help of our Korosh friends, this project would never have taken place.

We also want to thank Ron Lockwood, SIL International, who has conducted several workshops on the FLEX (Field Linguistics Explorer) program and taught us how to use this powerful tool for linguistic analysis. He has also helped us extensively during the finalisation of the book, both to resolve technical issues and to organize the data in a coherent and accessible way. In addition, we have discussed analytical problems with him and seen how he has tackled similar problems in another Iranian language, Gilaki, which he is working on.

We are grateful to Agnes Korn and Christian Rammer, Frankfurt, for providing the maps, and to Agnes Korn also for valuable suggestions on earlier versions of the manuscript and for providing references to some previously published articles on Koroshi that we were not aware of. Stephen H. Levinsohn, SIL International, has also provided useful comments on an earlier manuscript, for which we are very thankful. Likewise, we would like to thank Thomas Jügel, Frankfurt, for valuable input on the description of alignment in Koroshi. We also extend our thanks to Ali Hassouri, Stockholm, whose explanations about weaving and carpets helped us better understand the text about weaving.

We would like to thank Mohammad Mehdi Jabbari and Mohammad Hadi Fallahi of ʿOlūm va Tahqīqāt University Fārs, Shiraz, for their supportive attitude towards Maryam Nourzaei during her time as an M.A. student at that university, and to Seyed Mostafa Assi for accepting the duty of external examiner at Maryam Nourzaei’s M.A. defence. Many thanks also go to Ehsan Nourzaei, Maryam’s brother, who accompanied her on her field trips.

Sincere thanks to the Vilhelm Ekman Foundation, the Editorial Committee of Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, and the Department of Linguistics and
Philology, Uppsala University, for financing the publication of this volume. We also extend sincere thanks to the Royal Society of Humanities at Uppsala for a travel grant that made it possible for Carina Jahani to travel to Germany to work with Ron Lockwood to finalize the corpus in FLEX.

Now, may our Korosh friends experience the blessings that the camel, Ahmad, the king’s daughter and the king’s son experienced in the stories you are about to read. And may all the readers enjoy their reading!

Uppsala, Sweden, Ottawa, Canada, and Zahedan, Iran
June 11, 2015

Maryam Nourzaei, Carina Jahani,
Erik Anonby, and Abbas Ali Ahangar
1. Introduction

The diversity of languages in Iran makes this country a true paradise for linguists and at the same time a great challenge for those who are interested in language documentation. One of the language varieties in Iran that has intrigued researchers for a long time, and about which there was until recently very little information, is Koroshi, which was known to be spoken by about 40-50 families in Fars Province (Grimes 2000). Mahamedi (1979) gives a brief description of the Koroshi verb system, and Windfuhr (1989:248, 1992:29) mentions the Koroshi language and its special plural marker. Through the works of Salāmi (1383 Š. [2005], 1385 Š. [2006/07]) and ʿEmādi (1384 Š. [2005/06]), some information about the grammar and vocabulary of Koroshi was made accessible to readers of Persian, but a comprehensive study of this language based on a text corpus was still lacking.

The present project of documenting the way of life, oral traditions, and ethno-linguistic heritage of the Korosh came into being by one of those “fortuitous events” that often shape our path ahead. In 2008, Maryam Nourzaei lived in Marvdasht. On one occasion when she was travelling on a local bus between Shiraz and Marvdasht, she suddenly heard some ladies speaking what sounded like her own language, Balochi, to their children. As she started to talk to them, it turned out that they were Korosh.

It was in view of this turn of events that Maryam Nourzaei contacted and got to know Carina Jahani, Uppsala University, Sweden. In light of the need for further study of the Korosh and their language, the two decided to begin language documentation by collecting oral texts among the language community. From that time, the project took place under the supervision of Carina Jahani, and Abbas Ali Ahangar, University of Sistan and Baluchestan, Zahedan, Iran. Nourzaei started her work in Fars Province, where she was at the time doing her M.A. in Linguistics at the ‘Olum va Tahqīqāt University Fārs. Once she started doing fieldwork among the Korosh in Fars Province, it became clear that this group is not limited to this province; there are, in fact, members of the Korosh community scattered throughout southern Iran, and the group is far larger than had previously been reported (see Grimes 2000, based on Mahamedi 1979).

The corpus for this study has been gathered among speakers of the dialect of Koroshi spoken around Shiraz in Fars Province. In the beginning of 2009, Nourzaei recorded a large number of texts from male and female speakers 40 years of age and older, and later the same year, during a visit to Uppsala, she
and Jahani transcribed and analysed six of these texts: one animal fable, three longer traditional oral tales, one life story and one procedural text. The contributions of four speakers, three men and one woman, are represented in this initial selection, which was the basis of Nourzaei’s M.A. thesis, defended in 2010 (Nourzaei 1388 Š. [2010]).

Erik Anonby became involved in the project in 2011 within the context of his postdoctoral research at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University. Building on Anonby’s existing work in Hormozgan Province, southern Iran (Anonby & Yousefian 2011), the research team widened the scope of activities to explore the sociolinguistic context and phonological structure of Koroshi in a systematic way.

In 2012, 2013, and 2014, Nourzaei did additional fieldwork among the Korosh and collected more oral texts, out of which she and Jahani later transcribed and translated four life stories and two folktales. Three speakers, one man and two women, provided these texts. One of the women had already contributed in 2009, which means that we have transcribed and translated texts from four men and two women altogether. Each of these contributors are between the age of 40 and 60 years and have little or no formal education.

Several publications have already appeared as a result of the present research project. In a volume in honour of Joy Edelman, Jahani and Nourzaei (2011) presented the story Karok o oštorok ‘The Donkey and the Camel’, which is here re-published with minor changes in the analysis. Koroshi language data have also been discussed in articles on impersonal constructions (Jahani et al. 2010), non-canonical subjects (Jahani et al. 2012) and the verb clitic =a/a= in Balochi (Nourzaei and Jahani 2013). A shorter phonological and grammatical description of Koroshi is being published as an encyclopaedia article (Nourzaei, Jahani, and Anonby, forthcoming). Nourzaei has also presented a number of conference papers on various aspects of Koroshi grammar.

This work provides a global overview of Koroshi through the lens of this text corpus, and is organised in three main parts: a comprehensive grammatical description based on the texts (Chapter 3); the texts themselves, glossed using FLEX (Chapter 4); and a glossary of the vocabulary found in the texts (Chapter 5).

Each of the researchers has made an essential contribution to the present book. Anonby and Nourzaei have written the overview of the culture and sociolinguistic situation of the Korosh people. Anonby and Jahani worked together on the phonological description, and Jahani and Nourzaei wrote the grammatical description in cooperation with the other two authors. Nourzaei has done all the recordings as well as preliminary transcriptions of the texts. She and Jahani have then finalized the transcription and analysed the texts using the program FLEX (Field Linguistics Explorer), translated the stories into English, and prepared the Koroshi lexicon.
The present study draws on all the texts so far transcribed for the phonological and grammatical description. Those that are analysed and published here in full have been selected mainly from the texts gathered in 2009. One text belongs to the additional texts recorded in 2014. These texts include four folk tales, two life stories, and one procedural text. One female and two male speakers, all belonging to the same extended family, are represented in this selection.

The female speaker, Mahtalat Samsanian, contributed a folktale, a third person life story (i.e., about a person other than herself), and a procedural text on weaving. She lives in Dehpiyāle, a suburb of Shiraz. One of the male speakers, Alamdar Samsanian, provided an animal fable and two folktales. He lives in Marvdasht, about 40 km to the north-east of Shiraz. The other male speaker, Darab Samsanian, provided a first person life story. He lives in Ahmadābād, which is another suburb of Shiraz.

For an introduction to the texts published in this volume, see Table 1. Additional texts will be published in Maryam Nourzaei’s forthcoming doctoral thesis, to be defended at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University.

Table 1: Presentation of the corpus included in this volume

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Narrator</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Genre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Karok o Oštorok</em>: The Donkey and the Camel (DC)</td>
<td>Alamdar Samsanian (M)</td>
<td>2m10s</td>
<td>Animal fable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Goli o Ahmad</em>: Goli and Ahmad (GA)</td>
<td>Alamdar Samsanian (M)</td>
<td>5m23s</td>
<td>Folktale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Šāhay Janek</em>: The King’s Daughter (KD)</td>
<td>Mahtalat Samsanian (F)</td>
<td>4m27s</td>
<td>Folktale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Šāhay Bač</em>: The King’s Son (KS)</td>
<td>Alamdar Samsanian (M)</td>
<td>16m20s</td>
<td>Folktale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dāstānay Dāstān</em>: The Story of Dastan (SD)</td>
<td>Mahtalat Samsanian (F)</td>
<td>13m35s</td>
<td>Third person life story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Manī Yād</em>: My Memories (MM)</td>
<td>Darab Samsanian (M)</td>
<td>6m27s</td>
<td>First person life story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Korošobāray Gāfag</em>: The Weaving of the Korosh (WK)</td>
<td>Mahtalat Samsanian (F)</td>
<td>6m04s</td>
<td>Procedural text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One of the texts from the glossed corpus gathered in 2009 has not been published here due to the nature of the text and the fact that many individuals discussed there are mentioned by name. Still, some examples in the grammatical description have been taken from this text, and the vocabulary found in it is included in the glossary.

The division of texts in Chapter 4 is based on discourse units. As such, some units are as short as a single word, whereas other units are very long. The primary criterion for determining divisions in the text has been the separation of units where the text exhibits falling intonation followed by a pause.

There is one systematic difference between the way verb forms are translated in the grammatical description and in the corpus. The default tense of narration of past events in Koroshi is the non-past form, which is the unmarked form in the category of tense. This is evident from the stories in the corpus. Within the context of the glossed stories in Chapter 4, such verb forms have been translated into the past tense, which is the default tense of narration of past events in English. In the grammatical description, however, these verb forms are translated into the present tense in order to make the grammatical structure explicit for the reader.

In the glossary, only words and word meanings found in the corpus are given. We have selected the basic forms based on their frequency in the corpus, lack of contraction, and similarity to words in other varieties of Balochi.

For verbs, the infinitive is given as the main entry. The regular non-past stem, which can be derived by removing -(y)ag from the infinitive, is not given in the glossary. Forms in brackets after the infinitive consist of variants of the non-past stem, if any, and the past stem, with variants, if any.

A searchable PDF of this book, sound files of the texts, and pictures from the Korosh community are available on the accompanying CD as well as online at: http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:810250.
2. The Korosh

2.1. Geographical distribution

The Korosh tribe (tāyefe) is scattered across large areas of southern Iran, from Hormozgan all the way to Khuzestan, and onto the Iranian plateau. In general, Korosh communities are found in villages near large towns and cities, and in the suburbs of these cities. In total, the group probably numbers well over 10,000 people, but because they are typically distributed in small groups, and are located in many communities, it is difficult to give a precise figure. Three areas with significant concentrations of Korosh are Bandar Abbas, around Shiraz, and across the southern part of Fars Province (see Map 1).

Of these three areas, the one with the largest number of Korosh is that of Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province. There, Korosh are evenly divided between the city of Bandar Abbas, where they are mostly found in the eastern suburbs, and the villages between Bandar Abbas and Mīnāb. In many of these villages, such as Jallābi and Hassan Langi, they constitute the majority of the population. There are also some Korosh living in the city of Mīnāb and in villages to the south, as well as to the north-west in the Rudbār District of southern Kerman Province.

A second group of Korosh are found in pockets across the southern part of Fars Province, where they live in the districts of Lār, Lāmerd, Khoji, Mohr, Qīr va Kārzīn, Jahrom, Fasā, and Firuzābād. In most of these places, the Korosh live in small groups as parts of larger communities, but in the village of Galehdār, in Mohr district, they make up most of the population. There are also Korosh living near this area in several communities along the coast, from Bandar Kangān in southern Bushehr Province all the way to Bandar Bushehr, and in from the coast, in Borāzjān.

The third concentration of Korosh is centred in the north-western part of Fars Province, where they are located in the suburbs of Shiraz and in the districts of Marvdasht and Kāzerun; in the latter district, many live in the municipality of Gereh-Bālādeh. There are also some Korosh families living in the nearby district of Gachsārān (Dogombadān) in the province of Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad, and further away in Āghājāri (Khuzestan Province) and Shahrezā (Esfahan Province).
2.2. Origins and identity

The name Korosh (Koroš) and, consequently, the ultimate ancestry of the people, has been linked by some members of the tribe to the Qoreyshi tribe of Arabia or, variously, to Cyrus the Great (Kuroš-e kabīr).

Some oral accounts state that, several hundred years ago, the Korosh came from Bampur, Dalgān, Irandegān and the Lāshār District (all of them near Irānshahr in Sistan and Baluchestan Province), travelling from there along the Makrān coast to the Bandar Abbas area, where a large portion of the tribe has settled. Another group that makes up the Korosh may have come to Bandar Abbas from Rudbār in Kerman Province. From Bandar Abbas, the Korosh then presumably spread out to Fars Province and neighbouring areas.

Although the provenance of the tribe is situated in Balochistan, and the language is closely related to southern varieties of Balochi (see Map 2), the Korosh have a distinct identity. Some of them confirm a historical and ethnic connection to the Baloch, but for some people in the southern Korosh communities, Korosh is seen as an autonomous tribe, and some of those in northwestern Fars Province see the tribe as affiliated with the larger Qašqāʿī īl (Koroshi ʿel; ‘tribal confederacy’) (see Windfuhr 1989a:248). Most Korosh clans among the various Qašqāʿī tribes with whom they are associated are known to the Qašqāʿī simply as Koroš or Dārgā.
2.3. Culture and way of life

The traditional livelihood of the Korosh is animal husbandry, and camels have been an important part of this lifestyle. While those in southern areas worked for themselves as camel herders, the clans who migrated to the north-west as a result of drought eventually gained a place in the larger Qašqā’i society as camel herders for the īl. The place of animal husbandry and, in particular, camel herding, is diminishing. Many Korosh have taken up farming, and those who have relocated to cities are often employed in industry and trade.

The musical heritage of the Korosh, as with many aspects of their culture, varies according to the regions where they are found. Especially in the north, they play a type of flute they call kalam (and more widely known in the area as nay šāhmīrzā) when driving camels. This instrument is identical to the nal of Balochistan. Those living in Hormozgan have sāz clarinets and large dohr/dohl drums in common with neighbouring Bandari populations. Korosh women in the north are permitted to sing in the presence of men. This contrasts with the situation in the south, where gender segregation has until recently been prominent.
Korosh communities adhere to the Shi’ite branch of Islam. Until recently, Korosh weddings were distinctive, but in the north, Koroshi wedding traditions have now been replaced by those of the Qašqā’i, and in the south by those of Bandari city dwellers. Funerals and commemorations of deceased relatives are elaborate.

Korosh men do not wear regionally distinct clothing. Korosh women in the north wear the same colourful dress as Qašqā’i women, including a pleated dress covered by a long shirt, and a triangular scarf held on with a cloth headband. Until about the time of the Islamic revolution, Korosh women in the south wore clothes similar to those worn by the Baloch. Presently, they often wear a black čādar ‘chador’ and share the colourful borka ‘face mask’ (P. negāb) in common with Bandari people.

Traditional crafts, as in other parts of Iran, include the weaving of carpets (qālī) and mats (ǰāǰīm). Carpet and mat designs as well as colours are very similar to those of the Qašqā’i; for example, one of the patterns used by the Korosh, known as māhī-dar-ham, is a well-known Qašqā’i pattern. Names of other patterns include korzakorzi, kalleaspī, and kallešīrī. Games played by children include kawkolābar (P. kolāhbaži ‘hat game’), havaylayb (P. čubbāzi ‘stick game’), jammāz (P. šotorbāzi ‘camel game’), and alaxtar (P. bāzi bā yek pā ‘one-legged game’).

2.4. Language use and vitality

Use of the Koroshi language varies greatly among the regions where it is spoken. In the south, where Korosh represent most of the population in their communities, the language is in vigorous use by all members of the community. Bandari and (to a smaller extent) Farsi are used as languages of wider communication when Koroshi speakers come in contact with speakers of these varieties. In contrast, Koroshi speakers here use their own language when communicating with members of Baloch communities.

At the north-western end of the Koroshi language area, which is the focus of this book, multilingualism is the norm: in addition to speaking Koroshi, the Korosh here speak Qašqā’i, Persian and, in the communities near Kāzērūn and Gachsārān, Lori as well. Because they are a minority in this part of the language area, Koroshi tends to be limited to home domains; and among children here, Qašqā’i and Persian are replacing Koroshi as the primary language of communication.
3. Linguistic overview of Koroshi

From a linguistic point of view, Koroshi can be described as a distinct sub-group within the Balochi macro-language, although it shares many features with southern dialects of Balochi. Koroshi itself also displays internal dialect divergences: the Koroshi spoken in Fars province (the “northern” dialect) differs to some extent from varieties spoken in the south-eastern part of the language area near Bandar Abbas (the “southern” dialect). The description of phonology and morphosyntax given here is based on data gathered from the northern dialect. Even within the northern dialect, there is a significant amount of variation in the data, and this is taken into consideration throughout the description.

3.1. Phonology

3.1.1. Vowels

The Koroshi phoneme inventory includes eight vowels: three short ones (a, e, o), and five long ones (ā, ī, ē, ū, ō) (see Table 2). It is similar to that of Southern Balochi dialects spoken in Iran (Jahani and Korn 2009:642, Okati 2012:212), apart from the fact that ā is a back vowel, as in Persian. The sounds ay [ej] and aw [aw] are best analysed as VC sequences rather than diphthongs since, unlike vowels, they can never be followed by more than one consonant within a syllable. Nasalization, which is common in Southern Balochi dialects, is phonetically less salient in Koroshi.

Table 2: Koroshi vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ļ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>ē, e</td>
<td></td>
<td>ō, o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Koroshi vowel system is, however, highly unstable. There is a strong tendency towards convergence with the Persian system, in which the long mid vowels ē and ō have merged with the long high vowels ĭ and Ļ: in Koro-
shi, ē and ō are often found in free variation with their high counterparts. There is, in fact, considerable variation among all front vowels, among all back vowels, and even between ā and a, e.g., ēdā, ēda, eda, īdān, edān ‘here’; čōbān, čūbān, čobān ‘shepherd’.

3.1.2. Consonants

There are several differences between the Southern Balochi consonant system (Jahani and Korn 2009:645) and that of Koroshi (see Table 3). The most salient ones are as follows: first, the fricatives f, x, and ģ occur frequently, both in loanwords and due to a diachronic process of spirantization, e.g., ģāfel ‘unaware’, a=kafi(t) ‘he/she falls’, emšaf ‘tonight’, xodā ‘God’, tōxā ‘in’. Second, w exhibits a fricative and/or labiodental articulation in some positions, e.g., wad [fad ~ vad ~ vad] ‘self’. Third, the glottal plosive is peripheral – in the data it is encountered only in the word alʔān ‘now’ – and has often been replaced by h (e.g., mahlūm ‘clear’). Fourth, the retroflex stops t and d are not attested in the data (they are replaced by t and d), and r is marginal, being found in our corpus only in the word lera ‘camel’. Fifth, the stops k and g are palatalized in positions other than before back vowels, as in Persian (cf. Jahani and Paul 2008). Sixth, a velar nasal ķ is found in place of the ng sequence.

Table 3: Koroshi consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental / Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar / Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops / Affricates (vl.)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vl.)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3. Phonological processes

Important historical phonological processes which have taken place include:

- spirantization of p and k after vowels: āp > āf ‘water’, a=kaft ‘he/she falls’ (the form a=kapīt is also encountered in the data), šap > šaf ‘night’, gōk > gōx ‘cow’, tōkā > tōxā ‘inside’ (but note, for example, čāk ‘fat’, which has not undergone this process);
- progressive assimilation of a plosive to a homorganic fricative or nasal: tolomba > tolomma ‘water pump’, a=gendīt > a=gennīt ‘he/she sees’, dass > dass ‘hand’, mozd > mozz ‘wages’ (the zd > zz shift also being attested in other Balochi dialects). It seems that the sound shift ng (> ŋ) > ŋ also belongs in this category: sangīn > saŋīn ‘heavy’, lang > laŋ ‘lame’. In some cases the geminate consonant has been further reduced to a single consonant: dorost > doross > doros ‘right’;
- regressive assimilation of šm > mm:
- metathesis: ġasr > ġars ‘palace’, tarh > tahr ‘plan’;
- word-final devoicing (in common with other Balochi dialects; see Korn 2005:268–271): az > as ‘from’, hodū=e > hodū=e ‘approximately’; and, conversely,
- voicing (likely due to Persian influence): wat > wad ‘self’, a=bīt > a=būd ‘he/she becomes’, mētag > mēdag ‘encampment’.

3.1.4. Stress and intonation

Normally, nouns and adjectives are stressed on the last syllable (gar’den ‘neck’, ma’zan ‘big’). Even in the vocative, stress usually stays on the last syllable of nouns (ay dā’zan ‘hey woman!’), but occasionally – as in Persian – it moves to the first syllable (a’sī ‘alamdār ‘he says: “Alamdar!”’). When the plural marker -(a)bār and the comparative suffix -ter are attached, they take on the word stress (bozo)bār ‘goats’, ġālī)bār ‘carpets’, mazar’ter ‘bigger’). In monosyllabic items, there is a tendency to move word stress to case suffixes, but in polysyllabic words it remains on the stem (bo’zay, bo’zā ‘goat (genitive, oblique)’; gar’denay, gar’denā ‘neck (genitive, oblique)’).

Clitics are normally unstressed. This can be seen in copulas (boz=en ‘it is a goat’, ze’reng=ay ‘you are clever’), person-marking clitics (wad=om ‘myself’, ’bāg=as ‘their garden’) (see also Section 3.2.1.5.3, where stress on person-marking clitics is discussed), and the individuation clitic =ī/=ē/=e (’bāg=ī ‘a (certain) garden’, de’rast=e ‘a (certain) tree’). In contrast, the attributive suffix

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1 As outlined in this section, stress placement is determined by higher-level phonological and discourse-related constraints rather than being a contrastive feature of word identity. The marking of stress is therefore limited to the present section, one section in 3.2.1.5.3 where stress is discussed, and the text corpus.
-ěn/-en/-ĩn and the definite suffix -oku/-ak (originally a diminutive suffix, see Section 3.2.1.1.3) are normally stressed (syāḥēn 'mēš ‘black sheep’, bozorg-ta'ren go'nāh ‘the greatest sin’, ava'līn keš'nā ‘the first neighing’; ka'rok ‘the donkey’, kafta'rak ‘the hyena’).

In verbs, stress on past forms is assigned by default to the final syllable of the stem (‘did=om ‘I saw’, a='kod=ad ‘he/she did (imperfective)’), but if the negation prefix na- or prohibitive prefix ma- is added, it takes the word stress (‘nadid=om ‘I didn’t see’, a='nakod=ad ‘he/she didn’t (imperfective)’, 'madey ‘don’t give’). Non-past forms tend to take stress on the personal ending (a=ne'nē ‘he/she sits’), but the negation and subjunctive prefixes, which are always stressed, override this pattern and take the main word stress (a='nanennī ‘he/she doesn’t sit’, 'benennī ‘he/she may sit’). Complex predicates are stressed only on the non-verbal element if there is no negation on the verb (harā'kat a=kant ‘he/she moves (lit. makes movement)’). Negated complex predicates are stressed both on the non-verbal element and the negation prefix (za'rar'nakānān ‘I should not make any loss’).

There is contrastive intonation in Koroshi: declarative sentences and sentences with question words are characterized by falling intonation on the final syllable of the sentence, whereas yes/no questions have rising intonation. Subordinate clauses with or without a clause-linking conjunction also have rising intonation if they precede the main clause.

Phrase and sentence level stress and intonation, as well as syllable length, interact with word stress assignment. Consequently, the stress patterns described here are not absolute.

3.2. Morphology and phrase level syntax

3.2.1. Nominal morphosyntax

3.2.1.1. Nouns

3.2.1.1.1. Basic inflection

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two number categories (singular, plural) and three cases (nominative, genitive, oblique) (see Table 4).

Table 4: Case and number system of Koroshi nouns (example: janek ‘girl’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>janek-Ø</td>
<td>janek-ā</td>
<td>janek-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>janek-obār</td>
<td>janek-obār-ā</td>
<td>janek-obār-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The oblique suffix is occasionally shortened to -a. It is realized as -yā or sometimes -hā after a vowel, and once as -nā. The genitive suffix is occasionally reduced to -e, and on personal names (as well as on pronouns; see Section 3.2.1.5) the form of the genitive suffix is -ī.²

3.2.1.1.2. Number
The basic plural marker is -(o)bār, e.g., bozobār ‘goats’, gālībār ‘carpets’. Contrary to most Balochi dialects, where the main distinction is between direct and oblique case forms, but in common with some other Balochi dialects in Iran (see, e.g., Jahani and Korn 2009:651–653), the basic distinction in the noun inflection is that of number: singular versus plural.

\[\text{joğla} \ a=k-ay-Ø \quad \text{pād} \quad 0-ay-Ø\]

\[\text{boy} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{foot} \quad \text{SBJV-come.NPST-3SG}\]

‘the boy is about to stand up’ (KS:41)³

\[\text{joğla-bār} \ a=k-ōšt-ant\]

\[\text{boy-PL} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{IMP.k=stop.NPST-3PL}\]

‘the boys stop’(KS:46)

\[\text{i} \quad \text{korrāg-ay} \quad \text{mūd-ā} \quad ās \quad a=dā-d\]

\[\text{PROX} \quad \text{foal-GEN} \quad \text{hair-OBL} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{give.NPST-3SG}\]

‘he sets fire to a hair from this foal’ (KS:66)

\[\text{yek}=e \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ē} \quad \text{mūd-obār-ā} \quad ās \quad 0-day-Ø\]

\[\text{one}=\text{IND} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{hair-PL-OBL} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{IMPV-give.NPST-2SG}\]

‘set fire to one of these hairs’ (KS:56)

\[a=k-ay-Ø \quad \text{joğla-ay} \quad \text{jelo}\]

\[\text{VCL}=\text{IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{boy-GEN} \quad \text{in.front.of}\]

‘it comes up to the boy’ (KS:18)

\[\text{go} \quad \text{sīb-ā} \quad \text{be-jan-t} \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{joğla-bār-ay} \quad \text{sīnā}\]

\[\text{with} \quad \text{apple-OBL} \quad \text{SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{boy-PL-GEN} \quad \text{chest.OBL}\]

‘she should hit [one of] those boys in the chest with the apple’ (KS:74)

---

² This is also true of Turkmenistan Balochi, see, for example, Axenov (2006:73).
³ The information given in parentheses after each example indicates the text and unit where it is found.
Two other plural-type suffixes are used for adverbials: -ān⁴ and -hā⁵ (see also Ėmāḏi 1384:41–42, who reports more frequent use of the plural suffix -ān than what is found in this corpus).

\[
\begin{align*}
a=\text{čed}=ad=e\text{š} & \quad \text{tawsan-ān} \\
\text{VCL}=\text{shear.PST}=\text{COP.PST}=\text{PC.3PL} & \quad \text{summer-PL} \\
\text{they sheared [the sheep] in summertime} & \quad (WK:54)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
a=m\text{ān-ī} & \quad rū=\text{ye} \quad \text{ord-ā} \quad tā \quad \text{modat-hā}=\text{yī} \\
\text{VCL}=\text{remain.NPST-3SG} & \quad \text{on}=\text{EZ} \quad \text{camp-OBL} \quad \text{until} \quad \text{time-PL}=\text{IND} \\
\text{they stay (lit. it stays) back at the camp for a long time} & \quad (DC:4)
\end{align*}
\]

Third person plural non-human subjects, as well as human subjects which denote a group, are treated as collective nouns and found with singular verb agreement.

\[
\begin{align*}
o\text{št}\text{o\text{r}}=\text{obār} & \quad \text{lā\text{ğ}ar} \quad \text{ma-bī-yag}=\text{en} \\
\text{camel-PL} & \quad \text{thin} \quad \text{IMP-become.NPST-INF}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \\
\text{the camels are (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin)} & \quad (KD:18)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
o\text{št}\text{o\text{r}}=\text{obār} & \quad \text{ma-r\text{aw}-a} \quad mā \quad ĭ\text{ś-ī} \quad \text{fekr-ā} \\
\text{camel-PL} & \quad \text{IMP-go.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{into} \quad \text{PROX-GEN} \quad \text{thought-OBL} \\
\text{the camels are entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought)} & \quad (KD:28)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m\text{ān-ī}} & \quad \text{na\text{wkar}=obār}=\text{om} \quad [\ldots] \quad mā \quad t\text{a-ī}
\text{PN.1SG-GEN} & \quad \text{servant-PL}=\text{PC.1SG} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{PN.2SG-GEN} \\
\text{ståhr}=\text{en} & \quad \text{town}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \\
\text{my servants are (lit. is) in your town} & \quad (KS:137)
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes, this lack of plural marking for groups extends to the noun as well. In the following example both the noun and the verb appear in the singular to denote a group of human subjects.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bač}=e & \quad \text{mad\text{r}a\text{s}a-ī} \quad a=\text{nenn-ī} \quad \text{r\text{ann}ay} \\
\text{child}=\text{EZ} & \quad \text{school-ADJIZ} \quad \text{VCL}=\text{set.out.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{after.PC.3SG} \\
\text{the schoolboys set out (lit. the schoolboy sets out) after him} & \quad (KS:43)
\end{align*}
\]

---

⁴ The word čūbān ‘shepherd’ appears with -ān as a plural marker on one occasion, but normally it is found with -obār (čūbānān, čūbānobār).

⁵ The suffix -hā appears to be a copy from Persian. See also Windfuhr (1989b:533), who prefers to describe the function of this suffix as “amplification” rather than “plurality”.
After numerals the singular form of the noun is used.

\[\text{haf} \quad \text{taba} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{šāh-ay} \quad \text{lógica} \quad \text{bālād-ter}\]
seven storey than king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
‘seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)

\[\text{man} \quad \text{šīš} \quad \text{nawkar} \quad \text{ass=}=\text{om} \quad \text{idān}\]
PN.1SG six male.servant be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG here
‘I have (lit. to me there is) six servants here’ (KS:131)

3.2.1.1.3. Definiteness and indefiniteness
The individuation clitic =ī/=ē/=e, normally together with the numeral ye/yek/yak/ya/yak ‘one’, indicates singularity and specificity (‘a certain’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:43):

\[\text{ya} \quad \text{čāh}=\text{ī} \quad \text{war} \quad \text{a}=\text{k-ār-īt}\]
one well=IND PREV VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG
‘she digs a well’ (KS:18)

Indefiniteness is occasionally expressed only with the individuation clitic or only with the numeral:

\[\text{rōč}=\text{ī} \quad \text{āgā} \quad \text{ye} \quad \text{kar}=\text{e}=\text{o} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{oštōr}=\text{e}\]
day=IND sir one donkey=IND=and one camel=IND
\[\text{xarāb} \quad \text{bod-}a=\text{Ø}\]
thin become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
‘one day, sir, a donkey and a camel have gotten thin’ (DC:2)

\[\text{ye} \quad \text{ādām}=\text{e} \quad \text{bīčāra}=\text{en}\]
one human.being=EZ poor=COP.NPST.3SG
‘there is a poor fellow’ (GA:26)

\[\text{ye} \quad \text{nafar} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{šāh-ay} \quad \text{jan-ā} \quad \text{a}=\text{š-īt}\]
one person to king-GEN wife-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG
‘someone (lit. a person) told the king’s wife...’ (KS:22)

The individuation clitic precedes the oblique and genitive case endings (see also Section 3.2.1.1.4):

\[\text{ar}=\text{ra-Ø} \quad \text{had}=\text{e} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{čōbān}=\text{ē-yā}\]
VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ one shepherd=IND-OBL
‘she goes to a shepherd’ (KD:5)
‘you are the son of a king’ (KD:30)

The historical diminutive function of the suffix -ok/-ak has been weakened, and it contributes to a definite singular interpretation of the word to which it is attached (see also ‘Emādi 1384:42–43). Definite nouns are otherwise un-marked:

‘I want this bald [girl]’ (KD:29)

‘the donkey slows down’ (DC:16)

‘the donkey says...’ (DC:23)

‘the camels are (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin)’ (KD:18)

3.2.1.1.4. Case
The subject is expressed with the unmarked nominative case:

‘the caravan turns around’ (DC:11)

‘the dragon goes’ (GA:22)

‘the boys stop’ (KS:46)

6 The morphologically unmarked nominative (NOM) is only marked in the glosses when the nominative form is under discussion in the grammatical description.
joğla ra-Ø madrasa
boy.NOM go.PST-3SG school
‘the boy went to school’ (KS:33)

The nominative case is also used for vocatives. In one instance, the vocative suffix -yā is found in a fixed expression adopted from Persian.

ay čubān
VOC shepherd.NOM
‘hey shepherd!’ (KS:57)

ay man-i janek-obār=om
VOC PN.1SG-GEN daughter-PL.NOM=PC.1SG
‘hey, my daughters!’ (KS:72)

xodā-yā
God-VOC
‘dear God’ (SD:25)

The oblique case, marked by -ā (with variants), is used for definite direct objects as well as indirect objects:

ī kār-ā ma-kan-Ø
PROX deed-OBL PROH-do.NPST-2SG
‘don’t do this’ (DC:9)

bann-ā a=prēn-i mā čāh-ā
rope-OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG into well-OBL
‘he throws the rope into the well’ (GA:13)

tamām=e joğla-bār-ā gerd a=kan-ant
all=EZ boy-PL-OBL gathered VCL=do.NPST-3PL
‘they gather all the boys’ (KS:73)

korrag-ā bāḥā bo-koš-ay
foal-OBL must SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG
‘you must kill the foal’ (KS:30)

pūl-ā a=dā-Ø ālem-ok-ā
money-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG wise.man-DEF-OBL
‘she gives money to the doctor (lit. wise man)’ (KS:28)
Occasionally a definite direct object ending in -ā does not get the oblique suffix:

\[ tā \quad man \quad ē \quad aždahā \quad Ø-bōj-ān \]

in.order.that PN.1SG PROX dragon.NOM SBJV-open.NPST-1SG

‘... and I will (lit. so that I may) open up this dragon’ (GA:21)

When a person-marking clitic is attached to the direct object, the direct object usually appears in the (unmarked) nominative case in all forms but the 3rd person singular.\(^7\) There, the oblique case suffix merges with the person-marking clitic (ā + Ī > ay, see also Section 3.2.1.5.3):

\[ har \quad do=nī \quad a=bar-ant \]

each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL

‘they take both of them’ (DC:13)

\[ yek=e \quad a \quad ī \quad mēš-obār=at \quad be-day-Ø \]

one=IND from PROX sheep-PL=PC.2SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

‘Give [me] one of these sheep of yours’ (KS:57)

\[ yek \quad kam=e \quad gōžday \quad a=war-ān \]

one little=IND meat.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG

‘I will eat a little [of] its meat’ (KS:57)

Compare the following example where the oblique suffix is found in a similar context that lacks the person-marking clitic on the direct object:

\[ yek=e \quad a \quad ē \quad mūd-obār-ā \quad ās \quad Ø-day-Ø \]

one=IND from PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

‘set fire to one of these hairs’ (KS:56)

In the case of the direct object, the type of differential object marking (DOM) found elsewhere in Balochi (see Jahani and Korn 2009:669–670) is encountered in Koroshi as well. An indefinite direct object is thus normally found in the nominative case.

---

\(^7\) There is one merger of the oblique case suffix and the 1st plural person-marking clitic in the data:

\[ fekrayn < fekr-ā=en \]

thought.OBL.PC.1PL

‘our thought’ (SD:67)
bāmard ya čāh=ī pēdā a=kan-t
man one well=IND.NOM visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG
‘the man finds a well’ (GA:8)

ya barra=e be-day-Ø man
one lamb=IND.NOM IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG
‘give me a lamb’ (KD:5)

oštōr=o haywān=o eš-ān walm=e az=aš
camel=and animal=and PROX-PL.NOM many=IND from=PC.3PL
a=ger-an
VCL=take.NPST-3PL
‘they take a lot of camels and [other] animals and the like from them’
(SD:24)

The nominative form can also be used for an indirect object that follows the verb:

ağd=ī a=kan-t a=dā-d=ī
marriage=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
ahmad Ahmad
‘he marries her off, he gives her to Ahmad’ (GA:31)

In contrast to other Iranian languages, including other dialects of Balochi,
and contrary to DOM, generic direct objects and the non-verbal element of
complex predicates are often marked with the oblique case marking -ā (see
also ʿEmādi 1384:58):

pūl-ā a=dā-Ø ālem-ok-ā
money-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG wise.man-DEF-OBL
‘she gives money to the doctor (lit. wise man)’ (KS:28)

man bokā ǰan-ā be-ger-ān
PN.1SG want wife-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-1SG
‘I want to get married (lit. take wife)’ (MM:41)

zahr-ā a=rēč-ī mā xorāk=ī
poison-OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG into food=PC.3SG
‘she pours poison into his food’ (KS:17)
ham kalam-ā ma-Jan-a ham šēr-ā
both flute-OBL IMP-play.NPST-3SG both poetry-OBL
ma-gaš-a
IMP-say.NPST-3SG
‘she is both playing the flute and reciting poetry’ (KD:28)

The oblique case is normally used after prepositions:

dawr=e ī mēdag-ā
around=EZ PROX encampment-OBL
‘around this encampment’ (UT)

a rāh=ē-a mah-ā-Ø
from way=IND-OBL IMP-come.NPST-3SG
‘he is coming from another direction (lit. a way)’ (MM:22)

go ī čōbān-obār-ā
with PROX shepherd-PL-OBL
‘with these shepherds’ (UT)

joğla by-ay-Ø  rū=ye ḡālī-yā
boy SBJV-come.NPST-3SG on=EZ carpet-OBL
be-nenn-ī
SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG
‘for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet...’ (KS:18)

The unmarked nominative case is sometimes found after prepositions (for specific instances of this phenomenon, see Section 3.2.1.4):

a=raf-t mā ya šāh-ay ġars=o bārgāh
VCL=go.NPST-3SG into one king-GEN palace=and royal.court.NOM
‘she goes to a king’s palace’ (KD:12)

go bozz-ay mūd=at-Ø
with goat-GEN hair.NOM=COP.PST-3SG
‘they were (lit. it was) [made] of goat hair’ (WK:52)

The oblique form of a noun is used without a preposition to denote temporal or spatial location. Such adverbials are often placed after the verb, e.g., ze-mestānā ‘in the winter’, āken lōgā ‘we came home’.
‘go hunting, you too’ (KS:85)

‘I came [and] ended up (lit. fell) in town’ (MM:24)

‘they used to go [up] into the mountains in winter’ (UT)

Note, however, that the nominative is sometimes used for place adverbials without a preposition that follow the verb.

‘the boy went to school’ (KS:33)

The oblique suffix is placed at the end of an ezâfe construction (see Section 3.2.1.2) rather than on the head noun (i.e., here it behaves like a clitic):

‘it goes to another town’ (GA:35)

The genitive case, marked with the suffix -ay/-e/-ī denotes possession or similar relations:

‘the girl’s hair’ (KD:41)

‘the king’s son says...’ (KS:5)

‘the children of the Korosh’ (UT)
‘she goes into the shadow of this tree’ (KD:23)

The genitive case is used for objective genitives:

‘I remember how he used to play his clarinet (lit. his clarinet-playing)’ (DC:10)

The genitive case is also used with postpositions:

‘in the well’ (KS:18)

‘they go to find (lit. behind) Ahmad’ (GA:38)

The genitive suffix is placed at the end of an ezaf construction (see Section 3.2.1.2) rather than on the head noun (i.e., here it behaves like a clitic):

‘the meat (lit. carcass) of seven black sheep’ (KS:10)

There is one instance in the corpus where an oblique ending is added to a noun in the genitive case to express location. This is a common feature in, for example, Turkmenistan Balochi (Buddruss 1988:48, Axenov 2006:80–82, see also Korn 2008).

‘they don’t keep [him] in the encampment, in that [encampment] of the Korosh’ (SD:53)
3.2.1.2. The ezāfe construction

The ezāfe construction is employed in Persian to link attributes, such as genitive attributes, attributive adjectives and objects of prepositions, to their headword. Although this construction is not part of inherited Balochi morphology, many Balochi dialects – especially those which are spoken in Iran – have copied it from Persian (see Jahani and Korn 2009:652).

In Koroshi, the ezāfe is realized as =e/=ye.8 The variant =e is found after a consonant, and =ye occurs after a vowel.

pošt=e mēdag-ā
behind=EZ encampment-OBL
‘behind the encampment’ (SD:73)

rū=ye ord-ā
on=EZ camp-OBL
‘at the camp’ (DC:4)

This construction binds together:

• noun + genitive attribute (limited to fixed expressions copied from Persian; normally the genitive attribute is placed before its head and takes the genitive case, see Section 3.2.1.1.4):

banne=ye xodā
servant=EZ God
‘that fellow (lit. God’s servant’) (SD:21)

rahat=e xodā
mercy=EZ God
‘God’s mercy (used like the English expression ‘may...rest in peace’)’ (SD:26)

• noun + attributive adjective (frequently occurring, although there are also adjectives that precede the noun as in other Balochi dialects; see Section 3.2.1.3):

8 Twice the ezāfe is realized as =ay. One of the instances is as follows:

had=ay barra-obār-ā
to=EZ lamb-PL-OBL
‘to the lambs’ (SD:62)
‘you fool (lit. O unaware heart)’ (DC:9)

‘there is a poor fellow’ (GA:26)

- preposition + prepositional object (frequently occurring, see also Section 3.2.1.4):

‘she goes to a shepherd’ (KD:5)

‘she keeps taking [them] under a tree’ (KD:17)

- various other head + attribute relations copied from Persian:

‘at the beginning of the revolution’ (UT)

‘all the boys’ (KS:73)

‘full of swords’ (KS:18)

‘on the outskirts (lit. at this side) of the town’ (KS:55)

‘that which you have in mind’ (lit. the issue of attention)’ (WK:41)
3.2.1.3. Adjectives and adverbs

There is no number and case agreement between the adjective and the noun. Attributive adjectives are either linked to the noun by means of the ezāfe construction (see Section 3.2.1.2) or they are placed before their noun and take the suffix -ēn/-en/-īn, as in other variants of Balochi (see, e.g., Jahani and Korn 2009:655) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:65–66):

ye ādam=e bīčāra=en
one human.being=EZ poor=COP.NPST.3SG
‘there is a poor fellow’ (GA:26)
bōr-ēn pašm-ā a=rēs-ay
beige-ATTR wool-OBL VCL=spin.NPST-2SG
‘you spin the beige wool’ (WK:24)

syāh-ēn mēš-ay šīr-ā be-d-ay
black-ATTR sheep-GEN milk-OBL SBJV=give.NPST-2SG
‘you should give [it] milk from black sheep’ (KS:11)

ī kassān-o-ēn janek sībay
PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG
a=na-prēn-ī
VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG
‘the (lit. this) youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

The comparative suffix -ter/-tar is used with adjectives (bālādter ‘higher’) as well as adverbs (pēšter ‘earlier, beforehand’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:51–52):

haf tabaḡ a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
seven storey than king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
‘seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)

as oroj kasān-ter alī.akbar=at-Ø
than Oroj small-CMP Ali.Akbar=COP.PST-3SG
‘[the one] after (lit. younger than) Oroj was Ali Akbar’ (MM:10)

ya čātmā=ī pēšter as deraxt
one stand=IND before from tree
ā=bored=ad=ēš
VCL=cut.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL
‘beforehand they had cut [beams for] a frame from a tree’ (WK:19)

Superlatives are formed by the adding the attributive suffix to the comparative form:

bozorg-tar-en gonāh
big-CMP-ATTR sin
‘the biggest sin’ (UT)
behtar-īn ālam
better-ATTR world
‘the best world’ (UT)

Adjectives can also function as nouns and as adverbs:

rū mazan-ter-ay gap-ā a=dīd=ad=en
on big-CMP-GEN word-OBL VCL=see.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL
zarar=en
harm=COP.NPST.3SG
‘because of what the elders said, we realized it would be harmful’ (UT)

A suffix -o is sometimes found with adjectives, and it is particularly common with the adjective kas(s)ān ‘small’. When an attributive adjective takes -o, this suffix is placed before the attributive suffix. The etymology and function of this suffix is unclear. However, in view of its phonetic similarity to the diminutive/definite suffix -ok, and its frequent, but not exclusive, use on the adjective kas(s)ān ‘small’, it is likely that -o comes from -ok historically. As such, it is tentatively glossed as a diminutive suffix.

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3.2.1.4. Adpositions

Prepositions and postpositions are both found in Koroshi. Like other dialects of Balochi in contact with Persian (see Jahani and Korn 2009:657), Koroshi has a preference for prepositions. The head of the prepositional object is normally found with the oblique case suffix (see also Section 3.2.1.1.4):

a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
from king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
‘higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)
Sometimes the head noun of the prepositional object is in the unmarked nominative case; this happens frequently in the corpus if the head noun is followed by the individuation clitic or the copula (see also Section 3.2.1.1.4):

\[
\text{as } \text{o} \text{roj} \quad \text{kas} \text{ān-ter} \quad \text{alī.} \text{akbar}=\text{at-Ø} \\
\text{from } \text{Oroj} \quad \text{small-CMP} \quad \text{Ali.Akbar=COP.PST-3SG} \\
\text{‘[the one] after (lit. younger than) Oroj was Ali Akbar’ (MM:10)}
\]

\[
\text{ba } \text{ya } \text{xān}=\text{e } \quad \text{ [...]} \quad \text{cōbān}=\text{ad-ān} \\
\text{to } \text{one} \quad \text{khan=IND.NOM} \quad \text{shepherd=COP.PST-1SG} \\
\text{‘I was the shepherd of a khan’ (MM.18)}
\]

\[
\text{gālī } \text{ham } \text{be } \text{ē } \quad \text{šekl}=\text{en} \\
\text{carpet } \text{ADD} \quad \text{in } \text{PROX} \quad \text{form.NOM=COP.NPST.3SG} \\
\text{‘so the carpet is [made] in this way’ (WK:50)}
\]

If a person-marking clitic is added to the prepositional object it is often in the nominative case, although there are also examples of mergers of the oblique suffix and the person-marking clitic (see Section 3.2.1.2):

\[
\text{ē } \text{jan}=\text{i} \quad \text{gō } \text{ē } \quad \text{bač}=\text{ē} \quad \text{xaylī } \text{bad} \\
\text{PROX} \quad \text{wife=PC.3SG} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{child.NOM=PC.3SG} \quad \text{very bad} \\
\text{bod-a}=\text{Ø} \\
\text{become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG} \\
\text{‘this wife of his was very mean to his son (lit. this son of his)’ (KS:3)}
\]

\[
\text{ya } \text{nax}=\text{e} \quad \text{espēd}=\text{i}=\text{am} \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{badan}=\text{i} \\
\text{one} \quad \text{hair=IND} \quad \text{white=IND=ADD} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{body.NOM=PC.3SG} \\
\text{na-b-īt} \\
\text{NEG.SBJV-become.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{‘there should not be one [single] white hair on its body’ (KS:11)}
\]
There are also double prepositions:

\[ a \ rū \ šāh-ay \ sar-ā \ korrag \ mot \ a=kan-t \]
from on king-GEN head-OBL foal jump VCL=do.NPST-3SG
‘the foal jumps over (lit. from on) the king’s head’ (KS:52)

Prepositions that correspond to postpositions in other Balochi dialects generally employ the ezāfe construction in Koroshi:

\[ ar=ra-Ø \ had=e \ pedarzanay \]
VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ father.in.law.OBL.PC.3SG
‘he goes to his father-in-law’ (KS:87)

Prepositions copied from Persian are normally, but not always, constructed as in Persian:

\[ wad=am \ a=pēč-ān \ dawr=e \ šāh-ay \]
REFL=PC.1SG VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ king-GEN
‘I will wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (P. dawr=e ‘around’) (GA:19)

\[ ġayr=e \ xodā \]
except=EZ God
‘except for God’ (P. ġayr az ‘except’) (GA:1)

(also attested as:)

\[ ġayr.az \ xodā \]
except God
‘except for God’ (P. ġayr az ‘except’) (DC:1)
Postpositions, whose objects are in the genitive case (see Section 3.2.1.1.4) are occasionally employed in Koroshi.

\[ \text{čāh-ay} \ tōxā \ por=e \ šamšīr=o \ nayza \ a=kan-t \]

well-GEN in full=EZ sword=and spear VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘she fills the well with swords and spears’ (KS:18)

3.2.1.5. Pronouns

3.2.1.5.1. Personal pronouns

Typical personal pronouns are found for the singular and plural of the 1st and 2nd persons (Table 5). As in many Iranian languages, including other varieties of Balochi, the form of the nominative/oblique is historically that of the oblique which has also taken over the nominative domain. The 3rd person, however, is referred to using demonstrative pronouns (see Section 3.2.1.5.2 and Table 6) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:44, 47).

Table 5: Personal pronouns in Koroshi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative/Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>man-ā</td>
<td>man-ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta-rā</td>
<td>ta-ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mā-rā</td>
<td>mā-ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>šomā</td>
<td>šomā-rā</td>
<td>šomā-ī / šomay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koroshi is pro-drop; agreement is marked with person-marking suffixes or person-marking clitics.

\[ \text{gašt}=\text{om} \quad \text{nana}=\text{m} \quad \text{xodā} \quad \text{bozorg}=\text{en} \]

say.PST=PC.1SG mother=PC.1SG God big=COP.NPST.3SG

‘I said, “Mother, God will help us (lit. God is great)”’ (MM:70)

\[ a=\ddot{\text{s}}-\text{ī} \quad \text{xayle} \quad \text{xob} \quad \text{ber-r-en} \]

VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

‘she says, “Very well, let’s go”’ (GA:6)

Personal pronouns appear as a marked construction:

\[ \text{man} \quad \text{gašt}=\text{om} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{gōš}=\text{et} \quad \text{ke} \]

PN.1SG say.PST=PC.1SG PN.2SG ear=PC.2SG do.PST

‘I told [you]; did you listen?’ (DC:24)
The nominative/oblique form of personal pronouns is used as the subject:

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{kay}=\text{ay} \]
PN.2SG who=COP.NPST.2SG
‘who are you’ (KS:129)

\[ \text{mā} \quad \text{ā} \quad \text{zamān} \quad \text{ītaw} \quad \text{nay-ad-en} \]
PN.1PL DIST time like.this NEG-COP.PST-1PL
‘we were not like this in those days’ (UT)

The nominative/oblique form is also used as the object of a preposition (see Section 3.2.1.4) and as an indirect object\(^9\) (a structure also found in, and possibly copied from spoken Persian; in other Balochi dialects the object form of a personal pronoun is used for the indirect object; see, for example, Jahani 2003:116, Axenov 2006:105, and Barjasteh Delforooz 2010:386):

\[ \text{dawr}=\text{e} \quad \text{man} \]
around=EZ PN.1SG
‘around me’ (UT)

\[ \text{bahr}=\text{e} \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{a}=\text{gašt}=\text{ad}=\text{ī} \]
for=EZ PN.1PL VCL=say.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG
‘he kept telling us...’ (UT)

\[ \text{be-day-Ø} \quad \text{man} \]
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG
‘give [her] to me’ (GA:28)

Indirect objects can additionally be constructed with a preposition + person-marking clitic or only with the person-marking clitic (see 3.2.1.5.3):

\[ \text{harčī}=\text{et} \quad \text{bokā} \quad \text{bahr}=\text{at} \quad \text{a}=\text{d-ān} \]
whatever=PC.2SG want for=PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG
‘I will give you whatever you want’ (GA:16)

\(^9\) Note that the nominative form of a noun can also be used to denote an indirect object (see section 3.2.1.1.4). Both the personal pronoun and the noun are in this function placed after the verb.
‘I will give my clothes along with my gold to you’ (KD:5)

The object form of a personal pronoun is used to denote a direct object:

‘they are ridiculing me’ (KS:112)

‘I must [be able to] recognize you’ (KS:101)

The genitive form of personal pronouns is used to express possession or similar relations:

‘my servants [...] are (lit. is) in your town’ (KS:137)

‘our elders’ (UT)

The 1st person plural pronoun (or the 1st plural person-marking clitic, see also Section 3.2.1.5.3) can be used in place of the 1st person singular, particularly for a modest reference to oneself:

‘the plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today’ (KS:35)

‘I (lit. we) left the khan’ (MM:44)
In the folktales in the corpus, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular (whether a full pronoun or a verb ending) is always used for a singular referent, even if this happens to be a person of high status such as the king. In the life stories, there are occasional uses of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person plural pronoun in expressions of politeness; this convention is copied from Persian.

\textit{ta ye ſāh=ī-ay bač=ay}

PN.2SG one king=IND-GEN son=COP.NPST.2SG

‘you are the son of a king’ (KD:30)

\textit{arz Ō-kan-ān xedmat=e šomā}

statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG service=EZ PN.2PL

‘let me tell you (lit. let me make statement at your service)’ (MM:8)

3.2.1.5.2. Demonstratives

Koroshi has two-way deixis (proximal/distal) marked by demonstratives. Demonstrative determiners are uninflected for number and case and consist of ʔ/ē (proximal deixis) and ā (distal deixis).

\textit{mā ē čāh-ā}

into PROX well-OBL

‘into this well’ (GA:8)

\textit{go ē koroš-obār-ā}

with PROX Korosh-PL-OBL

‘with these Korosh’ (SD:67)

\textit{mā ī deraxt-e sāheg-ā}

into PROX tree-GEN shadow-OBL

‘into the shadow of this tree’ (KD:23)

\textit{ā sāhat}

DIST hour

‘at that time (lit. ‘hour’) KS:100"
Demonstrative pronouns are inflected for case and number (Table 6).

Table 6: Demonstrative pronouns in Koroshi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ē/ē/ēš</td>
<td>ēši/iši/eši</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ēšan/išan/ ešan/sân</td>
<td>ēšání/išání/ ešání</td>
<td>ēšanā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āhi/āɪ/āšī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>āšān</td>
<td>āšānī</td>
<td>āšānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative pronouns are used in place of 3rd person personal pronouns. Nominative forms (except ēš) are used for subjects.

ē saray patī ma-kan-a
PROX head.OBL.PC.3SG bare IMP-do.NPST-3SG
‘she is unveiling herself’ (KD:28)

ham=ā mānt-a=Ø
EMPH=DIST remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
‘he is left (lit. has remained)’ (KS:78)

īš-ān man-ā reśxan ma-kan-ay=ant
PROX-PL PN.1SG-OBJ ridiculing IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL
‘they are ridiculing me’ (KS:112)

The nominative form ēš is only used as a predicate in this corpus:

moškel=ēn ēš=en
problem=PC.1PL PROX=COP.NPST.3SG
‘this is our problem’ (UT)

When demonstrative pronouns denote direct objects, however, several different strategies are used, and a singular/plural distinction is found. In the singular, the most common form for a direct object is the oblique, but occasionally the nominative is also used. In the plural, secondary object marking with the suffix -ā is found.

na-bāhāt=ā-Ø ēš-ī Ø-prēn-ān mā čāh-ā
NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG PROX-OBL SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into well-OBL
‘I should not have thrown her into the well’ (GA:10)
Demonstratives in the oblique case, which in the singular are identical to the genitive/object and in the plural to the nominative, are also used for the object of a preposition:

\[ \text{bāḥād [...] ba īš-ī be-b-ed nawkar=ō} \]
\[ \text{must for PROX-OBL SBJV-become.NPST-2PL male.servant=and} \]
\[ \text{kanīz} \]
\[ \text{maidservant} \]
\[ \text{‘you must [...] become servants for him’ (KS:139)} \]

\[ \text{man ba īš-ān lonk=i nayan} \]
\[ \text{PN.1SG to PROX-PL piece=IND bread} \]
\[ \text{ma-dī-yag=ān} \]
\[ \text{IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG} \]
\[ \text{‘I provide for their basic needs (lit. I give them a piece of bread)’ (MM:27)} \]

Demonstratives in the genitive case denote possession, possession-like relations, objective genitive, etc. The genitive form of demonstratives is also used for objects of postpositions:

\[ \text{āšī lōg-ā ham jedā=en ko} \]
\[ \text{DIST.GEN house-OBL ADD separated=PC.1PL do.PST} \]
\[ \text{‘we arranged a separate house for him as well (lit. we separated his house as well)’ (MM:34)} \]

\[ \text{oṣtor-obār ma-rav-a mā īš-ī fekr-ā} \]
\[ \text{camel-PL IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX-GEN thought-OBL} \]
\[ \text{‘the camels are entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought)’ (KD:28)} \]
āšān-ī čok-obār
DIST.PL-GEN child-PL
‘their children’ (UT)

ar=raf-t ēš-ī rannā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG PROX-GEN after
‘she goes to find (lit. behind) him’ (UT)

Demonstratives are often preceded by the particle *ham* for emphasis.

ham=i kačal-ok-ā bokān=om
EMPH=PROX bald-DEF-OBL want=PC.1SG
‘I want [to marry] this very bald [girl]’ (KD:29)

ham=a waz=en
EMPH=DIST situation=COP.NPST.3SG
‘the situation is the same [as before] (lit. it is that same situation)’ (KD:37)

There is a preference in discourse for proximal demonstratives, which shows that narrators put themselves inside the story rather than outside it (English, in contrast, normally prefers distal deixis; see also Roberts 2009:233 and Barjasteh Delforooz 2010:159–160).

ar=r-an ham=i sahrā
VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX wilderness
‘they go [out] into the (lit. this) wilderness’ (GA:7)

ī korrag a=k-ay-t jelo=ê
PROX foal VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG in.front.of=PC.3SG
‘the (lit. this) foal comes up to him’ (KS:17)

ī kassān-o-ēn janek sībay
PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG

a=na-prēn-ī
VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG
‘the (lit. this) youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

The nominative/oblique plural form is sometimes used to denote a group of associated persons. Note also that the combination of the conjunction =o ‘and’ + the nominative/oblique plural form ēšān/īšān/ešān/šān is frequently used as a filler.
ya rō šāh=o ʾīš-ān a=k-ā-yanṭ
one day king=and PROX-PL VCL=IMP=k-come.NPST-3PL
‘one day the king and his men (lit. they) come’ (KS:65)

ber-r-et šekāl=o ʾīšān ba man
IMPV-go.NPST-2PL hunt=and like.this for PN.1SG
‘go hunting, like this, for me’ (KS:84)

taxyle ḡašaṇ=en=o ʾīšān
very beautiful=COP.NPST.3SG=and like.this
‘she is very beautiful, you know’ (KD:39)

3.2.1.5.3. Person-marking clitics
The person-marking clitics in Koroshi are presented in Table 7 (see also Ḥemādī 1384:45–46).

Table 7: Person-marking clitics in Koroshi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>=on/=om/=am/=em/=m</td>
<td>=et/=at/=te</td>
<td>=ī/=e/=ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>=ō</td>
<td>=eš/=aš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the corpus, there is one example of a 3rd singular person-marking clitic realized as =nī and one of a 2nd plural person-marking clitic realized as =nō after a vowel:10

har do=nī a=bar-ant
each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL
‘they take both of them (lit. it)’ (DC:13)

har do=nō gō tīr-ā a=jan-ān
each two=PC.2PL with bullet-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-1SG
‘I will shoot both of you’ (SD:57)

10 As in Bakhtiari and Southern Luri, the latter of which is a contact language to Koroshi, the n here has an epenthetic function (see also Anonby and Asadi 2014:88–89).
The person-marking clitics attach to:

- nouns:

  \[\text{mazon-ên \ berâd=}on \ \text{orof=}at-Ø\]
  \text{big-ATTR \ brother=}PC.1SG \ \text{Orof=}COP.PST-3SG
  ‘my oldest brother was Oroj’ (MM:10)

- adjectives:

  \[\text{bôr=}ay \ \text{jedâ} \ \text{a=}kan-en\]
  \text{beige=}PC.3SG \ \text{separated} \ \text{VCL=}do.NPST-1PL
  ‘we set aside the (lit. its) beige [yarn]’ (WK:3)

- adverbs:

  \[\text{ya \ kojî} \ \text{ham} \ \text{gêš=}en \ \text{ā=}gâ\]
  \text{one \ beam ADD \ more=}PC.1PL \ VCL=weave.PST
  ‘we also wove one extra beam [into the warp]’ (WK:47)

- reflexive pronouns:

  \[\text{hâlâ} \ \text{wad=}et \ \text{be-ge-Ø}\]
  \text{now \ REFL=}PC.2SG \ \text{IMPV}=take.NPST-2SG
  ‘stop (lit. take yourself) now’ (DC:21)

- interrogative / indefinite pronouns:

  \[\text{kodom=}î \ \text{a=}ger-ay\]
  \text{which=}PC.3SG \ VCL=buy.NPST-2SG
  ‘which one of them (lit. it) will you buy?’ (UT)

\[\text{har \ kodom=}î \ \text{a=}jan-t\]
\text{each \ which=}PC.3SG \ VCL=hit.NPST-3SG
‘each one of them (lit. her) hits [someone]’ (KS:75)

- numerals:

\[\text{har \ do=}nî \ \text{a=}bar-ant\]
\text{each \ two=}PC.3SG \ VCL=take.NPST-3PL
‘they take both of them (lit. it)’ (DC:13)
verbs:

\[ gašt=eš \]
say.PST=PC.3PL
‘they said’ (SD:32)

preverbs:

\[ dar=om \quad a=gēk=a \]
PREV=PC.1SG VCL=take.out.PST=COP.PST
‘I would take [them] out’ (MM:74)

the non-verbal element of a complex predicate:

\[ bār=ī \quad ko \]
load=PC.3SG do.PST
‘he loaded up’ (UP)

prepositions:

\[ dāstānay \quad be-gaš-ān \quad bahr=ō \]
story.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-say.NPST-1SG for=PC.2PL
‘I should tell you (lit. for you) her story’ (SD:2)

When a person-marking clitic attaches to a noun in the oblique case, or to a postposition, it merges with the oblique suffix -ā; in such instances the clitic is often part of the syllable that carries the word stress, e.g., ‘tā + =at > ’at. The realization =ay in the 3rd person singular can often, but not always, be considered the result of such a merger.

\[ ran'nat (< ran'nā=at) \quad ma-gard-a \]
after(PC.2SG IMP-go.around.NPST-3SG
‘she is looking for you’ (GA:52)

\[ a=nenn-ī \quad ran'nay (<ran'nā=i) \]
VCL=set.out.NPST-3SG after(PC.3SG
‘they set (lit. he sets) out after him’ (KS:43)

\[ a \quad ka'nīzay (<ka'nīzā=i) \quad a=š-īt \]
to maidservant.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG
‘she says to her maidservant...’ (SD:14)
The 3rd singular person-marking clitic can also merge with the -a of the past participle (see also Section 3.2.2.2):

\[ \text{ya } \text{berōd}=e \text{ ham bod-ay (<bod-a}=ī) } \]
\[ \text{one brother}=\text{IND ADD become.PST-PP.PC.3SG} \]

‘she had a brother, too’ (SD:4)

When the head word to which the 3rd singular person-marking clitic =āy attaches does not have an oblique function, there is no reason to assume that =āy is the result of a synchronic merger of -ā + =ī.

\[ \text{bowā}=\text{ay } \text{a}=\text{s-ī } \text{ādam}=e \]
\[ \text{father}=\text{PC.3SG VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG human.being}=\text{EZ} \]
\[ \text{xūb}=\text{i}=\text{en} \]
\[ \text{good}=\text{IND}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \]

‘her father says, “He is a nice person”’ (SD:22)

Person marking clitics have diverse syntactic functions in Koroshi. They are employed to:

- mark verb agreement for transitive verbs in the past temporal field (see also Section 3.2.2.6.3):

\[ \text{man } \text{gašt}=\text{om ta gōš}=\text{et ke} \]
\[ \text{PN.1SG say.PST}=\text{PC.1SG PN.2SG ear}=\text{PC.2SG do.PST} \]

‘I told [you]; did you listen?’ (DC:24)

\[ \text{bowā}=\text{yan gašt}=\text{ay}=\text{ad}=\text{i bāhā } \]
\[ \text{father}=\text{PC.1SG say.NPST-INF}=\text{COP.PST}=\text{PC.3SG must} \]
\[ \text{be-mer-ay} \]
\[ \text{SBJV-die.NPST-2SG} \]

‘my father had said, “You must die”’ (UT)

\[ \text{marō } \text{zarh}=\text{eš rēt}-\text{a mā xorāk}=\text{at} \]
\[ \text{today poison}=\text{PC.3PL pour.PST-PP into food}=\text{PC.2SG} \]

‘they have poured poison into your food today’ (KS:17)

- denote a non-canonical (dative) subject (see also Section 3.2.2.8 and Jahani et al. 2012):

\[ \text{ya } \text{paygām}=\text{e ass}=\text{en}=\text{om bahr}=\text{at} \]
\[ \text{one message}=\text{IND be.NPST}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG}=\text{PC.1SG for}=\text{PC.2SG} \]

‘I have (lit. there is to me) a message for you’ (GA:50)
a=š-i ahmad čōn=en=et
VCL=say.NPST-3SG Ahmad how=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG
‘[someone] says, “Ahmad, how are you [feeling] (lit. how is it to you)?”’ (GA:43)

• denote a possessor:11

mā bāğa
in garden.OBL.PC.2SG
‘in your garden’ (KS:78)

ta hōn=i man be-kaš-ān badan=am
in.order.that blood=PC.3SG PN.1SG SBJV-rub.NPST-1SG body=PC.1SG
‘...for me to rub its blood on my body’ (KS:30)

lāšay ham be-zo-Ø
carcass.OBL.PC.3SG ADD IMPV-take.NPST-2SG
‘take its meat (lit. carcass)’ (KD:7)

• denote a direct object:

bāmand loh=e a=dā-Ø
man pushing=PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG
‘the man pushes her’ (GA:9)

nābūd=en a=kan-t
annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG
‘he will destroy us’ (KS:126)

11 Note that the person-marking clitic is attached to the head of the noun phrase rather than to the genitive attribute, which is its semantic host. This is evident in the following example:

doi-ay badan=at
mother-GEN body=PC.2SG
‘your mother’s body’ (KS:32)

The person-marking clitic is also attached to the copula rather than to the noun preceding the copula:

janek=en=et
daughter=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG
‘she is your daughter’ (KS:107)
\( a=\text{war-ān}=\text{et} \)
\[ \text{VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG} \]
‘I will eat you’ (GA:32)

- denote an indirect object:

\( \text{be-day-Ø}=\text{om} \)
\[ \text{IMPV-give.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG} \]
‘give [her] to me’ (GA:21)

\( a=\text{d-ān}=\text{et} \)
\[ \text{VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG} \]
‘I will give [her] to you’ (GA:30)

\( a=\text{d-ān}=\text{ō} \)
\[ \text{VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2PL} \]
‘I will give [it] to you’ (KS:95)

- denote the object of a preposition:

\[ \text{panj nafār hojūm}=\text{e ko bahr}=\text{am} \]
\[ \text{five person attack=PC.3SG do.PST for=PC.1SG} \]
‘five persons attacked me (lit. made attack for me)’ (MM:21)

\[ \text{gōn}=\text{et jā} \text{ Ø-kan-Ø} \]
\[ \text{with=PC.2SG war SBJV-do.NPST-3SG} \]
‘[if he wants] to go to war with you’ (KS:121)

\[ \text{ber-r-\text{en} had}=\text{ī} \]
\[ \text{SBJV-go.NPST-1PL to=PC.3SG} \]
‘let’s go to him’ (KS:126)

- specify the referent of a reflexive pronoun (see Section 3.2.1.5.4).

3.2.1.5.4. Reflexive pronoun
There is one reflexive pronoun, \( \text{wad} \), in Koroshi. It is often combined with a person-marking clitic that specifies the person, and it can be used as subject, object, or object of a preposition (see also ‘Emādi 1384:49):

\[ \text{wad}=\text{ī saray a=borr-ī} \]
\[ \text{REFL=PC.3SG head.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=cut.NPST-3SG} \]
‘he himself slaughters [these animals] (lit. cuts its head)’ (KS:97)
The reflexive pronoun has the genitive form *wadī*, which is not specified for person, e.g., *wadī badan* ‘own body’ (i.e., my/your/his/her/our/their body). It is used when the subject and the possessor is the same person.

\[\text{wad}-\text{i} \quad \text{do}=\text{om} \quad \text{ko}=\text{st}=\text{om}\]

REFL-GEN  mother=PC.1SG  kill.PST=PC.1SG

‘I killed my mother’ (SD:66)

\[\text{wad}-\text{i} \quad \text{bol}=\text{en} \quad \text{be}=\text{ger}=\text{en}\]

REFL-GEN  sweater=PC.1PL  SBJV-take.NPST-1PL

‘we should take our sweaters’ (UT)

\[\text{wad}-\text{i} \quad \text{tag}=\text{sir}=\text{e}=\text{s} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{nay}=\text{ad}=\text{Ø}\]

REFL-GEN  fault=PC.3PL  ADD  NEG-COP.PST-3SG

‘it wasn’t their fault either’ (UT)

3.2.1.5.5. *Reciprocal pronouns*

The reciprocal pronoun is *ham* or *hamdegar* ‘each other’. Only *hamdegar* is attested with case endings; the oblique form is *hamdegarā* and the genitive form *hamdegaray* (see also ʿEmādi 1384:48):

\[\text{gāli} \quad \text{wad}=\text{e} \quad \text{gel}=\text{im} \quad \text{dar} \quad \text{kan}=\text{ag}=\text{ī} \quad \text{čō}\]

carpet  with=EZ  gelim  wooden.frame  do.NPST-INF=PC.3SG  like

\[\text{ham}=\text{en}\]

each.other=COP.NPST.3SG

‘The carpet and (lit. with) the gelim, tying them to the frame is [done] in the same way’ (WK:39)
mašadī  dāstān  wad=o  amū  hosayn  hamdegar-ā
Mashhadi  Dastan  REFL=and  uncle  Hosayn  each.other-OBL

bokān=eš  a=b-ī
want=PC.3PL  VCL=become.NPST-3SG
‘Mashhadi Dastan herself and Hosayn like (lit. want) each other’ (SD:16)

xayle  hamdegar-ay  xāter=en  bokā
much  each.other-GEN  mind=PC.1PL  want
‘we take good care of each other (lit. we want each other’s mind a lot)’ (MM:65)

3.2.1.5.6. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns
The interrogative pronouns found in the corpus are kay ‘who’ and čē/čē/čī/ča ‘what’ (see also ’Emādi 1384:48). These pronouns use the nominative form also after prepositions, but adds -ā to denote a direct object. There are no genitive forms of interrogative pronouns in the corpus.

janek-ā  ba  kay  bokān=et
girl-OBL  for  who  want=PC.2SG
‘for whom do you want the girl?’ (SD:29)

čē  xabar=en
what  news=COP.NPST.3SG
‘what is happening (lit. what news is there)?’ (UT)

čī-yā  be-gaš-ān
what-OBJ  SBJV-say.NPST-1SG
‘what should I say?’ (GA:41)

ē  čē=ē  barģ  ma-ţan-a
PROX  what=IND  flash  IMP-hit.NPST-3SG
‘what is that (lit. this) [thing] shinning?’ (GA:8)


harka  bār=ī  kod-ay=ad
everybody  load=PC.3SG  do.PST-PP=COP.PST
‘everybody had loaded up (to migrate)’ (UT)
however much cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG
‘bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked’ (KS:109)

‘my foal, nobody can raise [it]’ (KS:6)
‘I don’t want anything’ (KS:61)

‘all this is a trick’ (KD:32)
‘you give all this to me’ (KD:8)

If the predicate of hīčī/heška/hīške/hīška ‘nobody’ is affirmative, the translation ‘anybody, anyone’ is more appropriate. This likely applies to hīčī/hečī ‘nothing’ as well, but there are no examples of hīčī/hečī ‘nothing’ occurring with an affirmative verb in the corpus.

‘so is there anyone left?’” (GA:25)

The genitive form of harkas (harkasay) is the only inflected indefinite pronoun form found in the corpus.

‘I will kill anyone whose head the foal jumps (lit. jumped) over’ (KS:50)
Interrogative and indefinite pronouns can also function as determiners.

če xabar=en
what news=COP.NPST.3SG
‘what is happening (lit. what news is there)?’ (UT)

hāmмо kas=e ke āk-an böj-ag
all person=IND CLM come.PST-3PL open.NPST-INF
a=nayān bejoz ta
VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG
‘no matter who comes (lit. all persons who came), I will not unwrap [myself] except for you’ (GA:20)

There is sometimes case agreement between the interrogative/indefinite determiner and the noun (see also ʿEmādi 1384:49, who gives the example kām-ā pūrāhom-ā ‘which-OBL shirt-OBL’).

Ø=na-zān-ān [...] kām-ā mahal-ā ar=ra-Ø
VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG which-OBL place-OBL VCL=go.NPST-3SG
‘I don’t know [...] to what place he goes’ (SD:44)

3.2.1.6. Numerals and classifier

3.2.1.6.1. Numerals


Cardinal numerals from one to ten are connected to multiples of ten by means of the conjunction =o, e.g., bīs=o panj ‘twenty-five’, panjā=o haft ‘fifty-seven.

The word for ‘hundred’ is sad. Cardinal numerals from 100 to 900 are copied from Persian: dewīst, sīsad, čārsad, pūnsad, šešsad, hafsad, hašsad, nohsad.
The word for ‘thousand’ is *hezār*. Thousands are formed by the numerals ‘two’ to ‘nine’ before ‘thousand’: *do hezār, say hezār, čār hezār, panj hezār, šēš hezār* etc.

As already mentioned in Section 3.2.1.1.2, after numerals the singular form of the noun is used.

```
haʃ tabaʃ a ʃāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
seven storey from king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
‘seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)
```

The cardinal numeral ye/yek/yak ‘one’ has two functions: it is the numeral ‘one’, and it is also used before a noun, with or without the individuation clitic =i/=e/=e, as an indefinite determiner (see also Section 3.2.1.1.3):

```
yak sāl jāhl yak sāl bālād
one year down one year up
‘one year less [or] one year more’ (MM:7)
```

```
y a čāh=i war a=k-ār-īt
one well=IND PREV VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG
‘she digs a well’ (KS:18)
```

In elliptic constructions, numerals function as nouns and can take the attributive suffix, case endings, the individuation clitic, or a person-marking clitic.

```
ē say-ēn-ā raŋ a=kan-en
PROX three-ATTR-OBL colour VCL=do.NPST-1PL
‘we colour these three’ (WK:5)
```

```
yek=i kōr bod-a=Ø
one=IND blind become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
‘one was blind’ (KD:16)
```

```
haʃ do=nī a=bar-ant
each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL
‘they take both of them’ (DC:13)
```
Approximate quantity is expressed by using two cardinal numerals following one another:

\[ \text{pas.az } \text{čār } \text{pan } \text{rō} \]

after four five day

‘after four, five days’ (GA:10)

Another way of expressing approximate quantity is to use an indefinite construction with yak in front of the numeral which is then followed by a noun with the individuation clitic (see also Section 3.2.1.1.3):

\[ \text{ya } \text{bīs } \text{rōč}=\text{ī} \]

one twenty day=IND

‘for about twenty days’ (SD:54)

Ordinal numerals are scarce in the corpus. Only the three ordinals awalin ‘first’, domī ‘second’, and sewomī ‘third’ are found. Except awalin ‘the first’, which is a borrowing from Arabic and common in Iranian languages, ordinals are formed by adding \(=(o)mī \) (or \=(o)mīn; see ‘Emādi 1384:54) to a cardinal numeral. In elliptic constructions, ordinal numerals function as nouns and can take a case ending.

\[ \text{sewomī}-\text{yā } \text{dya } \text{man-ā } \text{košt-ag}=\text{eš} \]

third-OBL then PN.1SG-OBJ kill.PST-PP=PC.3PL

‘on the third [neighing], then they [will] have killed me’ (KS:36)

Many determiners are also used to denote certain indefinite or definite quantities:

\[ \text{tamām}=\text{e } \text{joḡla-bār-ā} \]

all=EZ boy-PL-OBL

‘all the boys’ (KS:73)

\[ \text{hāmmo mardom} \]

all people

‘all the people’ (GA:5)

\[ \text{koll}=\text{e } \text{koroš-obār-ā} \]

all=EZ Korosh-PL-OBL

‘all the Korosh’ (SD:84)
sawgāt=e  zīyād-ā  
gift=EZ  many-OBL  
‘many gifts’ (SD:85)

bazī  mawğe  
some  time  
‘sometimes’ (UT)

hīc  kār=i  
no  deed=IND  
‘nothing (lit. no deed)’ (UT)

3.2.1.6.2. Numeral classifier
There is only one numeral classifier in the present corpus, tā, which is probably copied from Persian (see also ʿEmādi 1384:53, who in addition to tā, also found the classifier dāna, which is common in other dialects of Balochi. There seems to be no distinction in the function of the two, according to the examples ʿEmādi presents). The classifier tā is optionally added to a numeral when a noun follows, or in an elliptic numeral construction, both for animate and inanimate nouns.

čel-tā  tofaqči  
forty-CL  gunman  
‘forty gunmen’ (SD:69)

ya  do-tā  kōh=om=am  wārt  kōh=om=am  jat  
one  two-CL  stone=PC.1SG=ADD  eat.PST  stone=PC.1SG=ADD  hit.PST  
‘I was both hit by a couple of stones and I threw [a couple of] stones too’ (MM:21)

haywān=am  a=zād=ad-Ø  da-tā  pūnza-tā  
animal=ADD  VCL=give.birth.PST=COP.PST-3SG  ten-CL  fifteen-CL  
‘so the animals (lit. animal) gave birth to some ten, fifteen [offspring]’ (UT)

hodūd=e  bīs  nax  
about=EZ  twenty  thread  
‘about twenty threads’ (WK:10)

mā  haft  berād=en  
PN.1PL  seven  brother=COP.NPST.1PL  
‘we are seven brothers’ (MM:9)
3.2.2. Verb morphosyntax

Koroshi verbs are either simple, constructed with a preverb (e.g., *dar kafag* ‘to leave’), or complex.

Simple verbs comprise two classes depending on their transitivity. Examples of intransitive verbs are, *kafag* ‘to fall’, *rawag* ‘to go’, and *bayag* ‘to become’, to be’. Examples of transitive verbs are *kanag* ‘to do’, *warag* ‘to eat’, and *barag* ‘to take’. The number of simple verbs is limited in Koroshi.

Some verbs are constructed using a combination of a simple verb and one of five lexical preverbs: *ber* (r) (e.g., *berr* *dayag* ‘to throw down’), *ēr* (ēr *kanag* ‘put down, put into’), *dar* (dar *kafag* ‘to come out’), *pīš* (pīš āyag ‘happen’; copied from Persian), and *war* (war ārag ‘to dig’). These preverbs are derivational, and either expand the lexical meaning of the verb or change it completely.

Complex predicates have a noun or an adjective as their non-verbal element. Examples include *rāh* *kafag* ‘to set out’ (lit. ‘to fall road’), *bār* *kanag* ‘to load’ (lit. ‘to make load’), *mazan* *kanag* ‘to raise (person or animal)’ (lit. ‘to make big’), *soss* *kanag* ‘to loosen, to slow down’ (lit. to make loose’). Verbs constructed with preverbs and complex predicates both retain the transitivity of the simple verb.

3.2.2.1. Verb stems

Each Koroshi verb has either an unmarked core (e.g., *nenn* ‘sit down’, čar- ‘to graze’) or a causative core, which adds *ēn* to the unmarked core (e.g., *nennēn* ‘to place, to put someone in a place’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:73). With some verbs, the vowel in the core is lengthened when the causative suffix is added (e.g., čārēn ‘pasture (v.), allow to graze’). The core constitutes the non-past stem of the verb.

Like in many other Iranian languages, and in all other dialects of Balochi, the Koroshi verb has two stems. These are: a) the unmarked non-past stem (e.g., *kaf* ‘fall’, *kan* ‘do’, *war* ‘eat’), which is used for non-finite forms, indicative non-past forms, subjunctive forms and imperatives; and b) the marked past stem (*kaft*, *kod*, wārt-), which is reserved for indicative past forms (see also ‘Emādi 1384:67).

3.2.2.2. Non-finite verb forms

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix -ag to the non-past stem (*kanag* ‘to do’, *kafag* ‘to fall’, *warag* ‘to eat’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:62). In periphrastic verb constructions that make use of the infinitive, the suffix is frequently realized as *-ay* (makanay=and/makanag=and ‘they do’). The infinitive is employed to construct imperfective forms with the copula (see Section 3.2.2.6.4) and it is also used as a verbal noun (e.g., *xarag* ‘buying’). It can be part of a passive verb form as well (see Section 3.2.2.7).
Another non-finite form is a verbal adjective (or “gerundive”) which adds -ī to the infinitive and denotes what can/should be done (e.g., gašāgī ‘say-able’) (see also ʿEmādi 1384:54).

The past participle is formed by adding -a(g)/-ay to the past stem (ko-da(g)/koday ‘done’, boda(g)/boday ‘been’). It is used in the present and past perfect formation (see Section 3.2.2.6.5), to form a backgrounding imperfective form (see Section 3.2.2.6.4), and to form passives (see Section 3.2.2.7).

### 3.2.2.3. Person-marking suffixes

The basic set of person-marking suffixes (personal endings), shown in Table 8 below, is used for indicative and subjunctive non-past forms, and for past forms of intransitive verbs (for past forms of transitive verbs, see Section 3.2.2.6.3) (see also ʿEmādi 1384:71).

In the 3rd person singular, non-past and past suffixes differ, but for the rest of the suffixes there is no tense distinction.

**Table 8: Basic set of person-marking verb suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix Type</th>
<th>Person-marking non-past suffix</th>
<th>Non-past copula</th>
<th>Past copula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-ān/-on</td>
<td>=on/=ān</td>
<td>=ad-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-ay/-ē</td>
<td>=ay</td>
<td>=ad-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG non-past</td>
<td>-ū/-ēt/-īd/-d/-a</td>
<td>=en(t)/=ēn</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-ēn/-en</td>
<td>=en/=em</td>
<td>=ad-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-et/-ēet/-ed</td>
<td>=et</td>
<td>=ad-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-an(t)</td>
<td>=an(t)</td>
<td>=ad-an(t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.2.4. TAM prefixes and clitic

Finite verbs are marked for person and TAM (tense, aspect, mode). There are three prefixes and one clitic with TAM functions (also described by ʿEmādi 1384:72–77, except for the k- prefix).

Imperfective aspect is marked with the verb clitic a=/ar=/az=, which appears in the non-past indicative construction as well as in the imperfective past construction. The form ar= occurs in variation with a= with the verb rawag ‘to go’ (ar=ra/a=ra ‘he/she/it goes’), the form az= occurs in this corpus with the verb zorag ‘to take, to buy’.) The form ā= occurs in free variation with a=, especially when the imperfective prefix k- has been insert-

---

12. Technically, the epenthetic r and z in these allomorphs are a copy of the initial stem consonant, filling an empty consonantal slot in the clitic.
orphs are a copy of the (a=kōštī ‘he/she/it stops’; verb stem: ošt). The default form is a= (a=kayt ‘he/she/it comes’, a=štī ‘he/she/it says’).

The imperfective aspectual meaning of the a= prefix (with variants) seems to have been bleached in the non-past temporal field, where it is now a general marker of the indicative mood; there, other constructions are employed for marked imperfective forms (see Section 3.2.2.6.4).

There is also another imperfective prefix, k-, which appears on verb-initial verbs stems in the non-past indicative affirmative form (a=kōštī ‘he/she/it stops’, a=kārant ‘they bring’; see also Axenov 2006:166–167).

A third marker, the prefix ma-/me-/m-/mah-/māh-, appears to be a copy from the Persian imperfective prefix mi-. It is used in an alternative non-past indicative formation as well as in non-past and past marked imperfective forms, all of which are discussed below. The default form is ma- (makana ‘he/she/it does’, mazānūdīn ‘I know’), but me- occurs occasionally as a free variant (medān ‘I give’). The form m- is sometimes found on the verb ellag ‘to leave’ (namelā boda ‘he/she/it didn’t allow), and mah- is found in free variation with the infrequent form māh- on the verb āyag ‘to come’ (mahā/māhā ‘he/she/it comes’).

The highly variable subjunctive/imperative (irrealis) prefix be-/bo-/bī-/bīy-/by-/bér-/bez-/m- is used in the formation of subjunctive and imperative forms. The alternation between allomorphs is phonologically conditioned. While be- is the default (begaşān ‘I should say’), bo- is found in free variation with be- when the first stem vowel is o (bōbottān ‘I should cut’, bezo ‘take (2sg. =ay)’), and bī- is used in free variation with be- for stems in which the first vowel is ī (bībī/bebī ‘may it be’). The form bīy- is found with ā- and a-initial stems (bīyārēt ‘bring (2pl. impv.)’ bīyaškōnān ‘I may hear’), and on the verb ‘to come’ it is sometimes shortened to by- (bīyā/byā ‘come (2sg. impv.)’, byayt ‘he should come’). Other vowel-initial stems and stems in initial w- take b- (bel ‘let (2sg. impv.)’, bōštān ‘I may stand up’, bwā ‘he/she should eat’). The form ber- is frequently, though not always, used with the verb ‘to go’ (bewray ‘you (sg.) should go’), but not with other stems starting in r- (berēsēy ‘you (sg.) should spin [wool]’); and the form bez- is optionally used with stems starting in z- (bezsey ‘it should give birth’, bezō ‘take (2sg. impv.)’, bozoray ‘you (sg.) should take’). One verb, gennag ‘to see’, sometimes takes the be- prefix, but sometimes the prefix appears as m- together with a reduced non-past stem (begen-nay/mennay ‘you (sg.) should see’).

---

13 As is the case for the clitic a=, the epenthetic r and z in these allomorphs are a copy of the initial stem consonant, filling an empty consonantal slot in the prefix.
The subjunctive/imperative (irrealis) prefix is frequently omitted, particularly on verbs with preverbs and with complex predicates, but is sometimes also omitted on simple verbs (*dar kan* ‘take out (2sg. impv.)’ *say kan* ‘look’ (2sg. impv), *prēnān* ‘I should throw’).

### 3.2.2.5. Negation prefixes

Koroshi has two negation prefixes, *na-*/nā-/nay- and *ma-* (see also ʿEmādi 1384:73). All finite verb forms except the imperative are negated by the prefix *na-* (with variants). The variant nā- is rare and occurs in free variation with the default form *na-*. The variant *nay-* occurs, although not totally consistently, with vowel initial stems, and the form *n-* has only been observed in contracted 1sg. non-past forms of the verb ‘to come’ (*a=)nayān (< *a=)nayāyān*).

```
dya na-gašt=om nay-ā-ay
well NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-2SG
‘well, didn’t I tell you not to come?’ (GA:47)
```

```
na a=nayān¹⁴ dīga
no VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG well
‘well, no, I won’t come’ (GA:33)
```

```
nā-bokān=i raŋ Ø-kan-ay
NEG-need=PC.3SG colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG
‘you don’t need to colour [it]’ (WK:23)
```

The imperative is negated with the prohibitive prefix *ma-*:

```
xorāk-ā ma-wa-Ø
food-OBL PROH-eat.NPST-2SG
‘don’t eat the food’ (KS:18)
```

```
bowā ma-koš-et=e
father PROH-kill.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG
‘father, don’t kill it’ (KS:49)
```

¹⁴ Most negated forms of the verb ‘to come’ contain a merger of the negation prefix and the verb stem. The form occurring in the corpus is (*a=)nayān (< *a=)nayāyān*). The 3rd person singular form (*nay-ay-Ø/nay-ay-Ø*) is, however, not merged.
3.2.2.6. Finite verb forms

3.2.2.6.1. The copula
The copula is enclitic when it is not negated. Negated forms, however, are not enclitic (Tables 9–10) (see also ‘Emâdi 1384:85).

Table 9: Non-past forms of the copula

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>=on/=ān</td>
<td>nay-on/nay-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>=ay</td>
<td>nay-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>=en(t)</td>
<td>na-en(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>=ēn/=en</td>
<td>nay-ēn/nay-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>=et</td>
<td>nay-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>=an(t)/=and</td>
<td>nay-an(t)/nay-and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ta ye šāh=ī-ay bač=ay
PN.2SG one king=IND-GEN son=COP.NPST.2SG
‘you are the son of a king’ (KD:30)

man-ī nawbat=en
PN.1SG-GEN turn=COP.NPST.3SG
‘it is my turn’ (DC:21)

man xān nay-ān
PN.1SG khan NEG-COP.NPST.1SG
‘I am not the khan’ (SD:8)

ta kačal nay-ay
PN.2SG bald NEG-COP.NPST.2SG
‘you are not bald’ (KS:112)
Table 10: Past forms of the copula

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>=ad-ān</td>
<td>nay-ad-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>=ad-ay</td>
<td>nay-ad-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>=a(d)-Ø</td>
<td>nay-a(d)-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>=ad-en</td>
<td>nay-ad-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>=ad-et</td>
<td>nay-ad-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>=ad-an(t)</td>
<td>nay-ad-an(t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*hodūt* =e  *pūnzda*  *sāl-a* =ad-ān
about=EZ  fifteen  year-ADJZ=COP.PST-1SG

‘I was about fifteen years old’ (MM:20)

*šahr-ī* =ad-an
*town-ADJZ=COP.PST-3PL*
‘they were townspeople’ (UT)

*tağsīr* =eš  *ham*  *nay-ad-Ø*
*fault=PC.3PL  ADD  NEG-COP.PST-3SG*
‘it was not their fault either’ (UT)

*a*  *zamān*  *ītaw*  *nay-ad-en*
*DIST  time  like.this  NEG-COP.PST-1PL*
‘in those days we were not like this’ (UT)
3.2.2.6.2. Verb forms based on the non-past stem

The non-past indicative and the subjunctive are the two basic non-past finite verb forms. Distinct imperative forms are found for the 2nd person (Table 11).

Table 11: Non-past indicative, subjunctive and imperative verb forms in Koroshi (kanag ‘to do’; the most frequent person-marking suffixes are shown here)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>affirm.</td>
<td>neg.</td>
<td>affirm.</td>
<td>neg.</td>
<td>affirm.</td>
<td>neg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>a=kan-ān</td>
<td>a=na-kan-ān</td>
<td>(be-kan-ān</td>
<td>na-ka-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>a=kan-ay</td>
<td>a=na-kan-ay</td>
<td>(be-kan-ay</td>
<td>na-kan-ay</td>
<td>(be-kan-Ø</td>
<td>ma-kan-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>a=kan-t</td>
<td>a=na-kan-t</td>
<td>(be-kan-t</td>
<td>na-kan-t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>a=kan-en</td>
<td>a=na-kan-en</td>
<td>(be-kan-en</td>
<td>na-kan-en</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>a=kan-et</td>
<td>a=na-kan-et</td>
<td>(be-kan-et</td>
<td>na-kan-et</td>
<td>(be-kan-et</td>
<td>ma-kan-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>a=kan-ant</td>
<td>a=na-kan-ant</td>
<td>(be-kan-ant</td>
<td>na-kan-ant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-past indicative with a= clitic

The non-past indicative is formed by the imperfective clitic a= (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem + person-marking suffix (see also ‘Emādi 1384:75–77 and Mahamedi 1979:287):

\[ \text{ahmad-ā ā=k-ār-ant} \]

Ahmad-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

‘they bring Ahmad’ (GA:28)

\[ \text{man emšaf ar=r-ān wad=am} \]

PN.1SG tonight VCL=go.NPST-1SG REFL=PC.1SG

\[ \text{a=pēč-ān dawr=e šāh-ay ānek-ay garden-ā} \]

VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ king-GEN daughter-GEN neck-OBL

‘tonight I will go and wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (GA:19)

In contrast to previously described Balochi dialects, where the imperfective aspect clitic is found as an enclitic (=a) and omitted under certain conditions, for example, clause-initially and after the individuation clitic (Buddruss 1977:9–13, 1988:62–65, Axenov 2006:166–170), in Koroshi it is a proclitic and is normally retained in all positions (see also Nourzaei and Jahani 2013).
The non-past indicative is negated by the negation prefix *na-* (with variants), which is inserted between the imperfective verb clitic and the non-past stem.

Only rarely is the verb clitic omitted. This occasionally happens with negative forms of the two verbs *zānū* ‘to know’ and *bayag* ‘to become, to be’:

The non-past indicative is employed to denote:

- states or events occurring at the present time. Both in traditional folktales and, sometimes, in accounts of real events – although not in the first-person accounts in this corpus – narrators normally put themselves inside the framework of the story by using the non-past tense not only in dialogue but also in narrative parts of the story, and also by employing proximal deixis on demonstratives (see Section 3.2.1.5.2) and on time and place adverbials. In the grammatical descriptions, these non-past tense verbs are translated using the English present tense. In the text
corpus, however, the narrations are translated into the past tense, which is the default tense for narration of past events in English.

\[
\text{camel as soon as} \quad \text{VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on=EZ slope-OBL}
\]
\[
a=\text{\textit{\textit{\textit{s}-\textit{\textit{i}t}}}} \quad \text{ay} \quad \text{kar} \quad \text{VOC} \quad \text{donkey}
\]
‘as soon as the camel arrives at the slope it says, “Hey there, donkey”’ (DC:19)

\[
\text{Ahmad \ ADD} \quad \text{VCL=go.NPST-3SG in dragon-GEN ear-OBL}
\]
\[
ye \quad \text{cē} \quad a=\text{\textit{\textit{s}-\textit{\textit{i}d}}}
\]
‘then Ahmad goes [and] whispers (lit. says) something in the dragon’s ear’ (GA:31)

• habitual events in the non-past temporal field without a specific time reference:

\[
\text{sheep-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=shear.NPST-1PL wool-DEF-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=spin.NPST-1PL}
\]
‘we shear the sheep, we spin the wool’ (WK:2)

\[
\text{wool=EZ} \quad \text{good-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=take.NPST-2SG}
\]
‘you take the good wool’ (WK:42)

• future time reference:

\[
\text{PN.1SG} \quad \text{dragon-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=open.NPST-1SG}
\]
‘I will unwrap the dragon’ (GA:43)

\[
\text{VCL=fall.NPST-2SG into well-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=die.NPST-2SG}
\]
‘you will fall into the well [and] die’ (KS:20)

\[
\text{VCL=say.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG}
\]
‘[the boy] says, “I will come”’ (KS:39)
Non-past indicative with ma- prefix

In addition to the basic indicative non-past indicative with the a= clitic described above, there is a non-past indicative construction consisting of the prefix ma- (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem + person-marking suffixes (makanna ‘he laughs’). This construction is negated by adding the negation prefix na- (with variants) before ma- (namačārēna ‘she doesn’t take [the camels] grazing’). This non-past indicative form seems to be a recent copy from the Persian non-past indicative structure, a possibility also supported by the fact that the 3rd person singular suffix in this construction is -a (cf. colloquial P. -e) rather than the -ī/t/-ī/-t/-d found in the non-past indicative formation with the a= clitic. (For other TAM-forms with the ma- prefix, see Section 3.2.2.6.4)

ē čē=e barḵ ma-jan-a
PROX what=IND flash IMP-hit.NPST-3SG
‘what is that (lit. this) [thing] shining?’ (GA:8)

ahmad=ī ke xayle nārāhat=a-Ø hālā
Ahmad=IND CLM very troubled=COP.PST-3SG now
ma-kann-a
IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG
‘Ahmad, who was very worried [before], is now laughing’ (GA:42)

oštor-obār ma-raw-a mā īš-ī fekr-ā
camel-PL IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX-GEN thought-OBL
‘the camels are entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought)’ (KD:28)

There is no obvious aspectual distinction between the two indicative non-past formations, as both are employed for iterative and durative actions. The construction with ma- is, however, more restricted and is not used for future time reference in the corpus.

ta ba.čē ma-raw-ay korrāg=at
PN.2SG why IMP-go.NPST-2SG foal=PC.2SG
ma-prēn-ē mā daryā-hā
IMP-throw.NPST-2SG into sea-OBL
‘why do you go and throw your foal into the sea?’ (iterative) (KS:5)
\[\text{Subjunctive}\]

The subjunctive is formed by the prefix \textit{be-} (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem + person-marking suffixes. The prefix can be omitted and is, as in Persian, often left out in complex predicates (see also 'Emādi 1384:77–78).

\[a=\text{na-twān-t} \quad \text{bār-ā} \quad \text{be-bā-Ø}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-3SG} & \quad \text{load-OBL} & \quad \text{SBJV-carry.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{‘it cannot carry the load’} & \quad \text{(DC:17)}
\end{align*}

\[\text{man=}o \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{ber-r-ēn}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{PN.1SG=} & \quad \text{PN.2SG} & \quad \text{ADD} & \quad \text{SBJV-go.NPST-1PL} \\
\text{‘let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’} & \quad \text{(GA:5)}
\end{align*}

\[\text{ǰoḡla} \quad \text{by-ay-Ø} \quad \text{rū=ye} \quad \text{ḡālī-yā}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{boy} & \quad \text{SBJV-come.NPST-3SG} & \quad \text{on=EZ} & \quad \text{carpet-OBL} \\
\text{be-nenn-ī} & \quad \text{be-kaf-ī} & \quad \text{mā} & \quad \text{čāh-ā}\]
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG} & \quad \text{SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG} & \quad \text{into} & \quad \text{well-OBL} \\
\end{align*}

\[\text{be-mer-īt}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{SBJV-die.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{‘...for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die’} & \quad \text{(KS:18)}
\end{align*}

\[\text{na-bāhāt=}a-Ø \quad ēō \quad \text{Ø-kan-ān} \quad \text{na-bāhāt=}a-Ø\]

\begin{align*}
\text{NEG-must=} & \quad \text{COP.PST-3SG} & \quad \text{like.this} & \quad \text{SBJV-do.NPST-1SG} & \quad \text{NEG-must=} & \quad \text{COP.PST-3SG} \\
\text{ēš-ī} & \quad \text{Ø-prēn-ān} & \quad \text{mā} & \quad \text{čāh-ā} \\
\text{PROX-OBL} & \quad \text{SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG} & \quad \text{into} & \quad \text{well-OBL} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{‘I shouldn’t have done like this, I shouldn’t have thrown her into the well’} & \quad \text{(GA:10)}
\end{align*}
Contrary to other dialects of Balochi, where the subjunctive is negated by
*ma*-, in Koroshi the negation *na*-(with variants; see Section 3.2.2.5) is used, possibly due to Persian influence. The negation replaces the prefix *be*-(with variants):

\[
\begin{align*}
rū=ye & \quad \text{ḡālī-yā} & \quad \text{na-nenn-ay} \\
on=\text{EZ} & \quad \text{carpet-OBL} & \quad \text{NEG.SBJV-sit.down.NPST-2SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘you shouldn’t sit down on the carpet’ (KS:20)

The subjunctive is employed to denote irrealis modality in a number of irrealis contexts, for example:

- to denote volition/intention/necessity/prospective aspect (see also Jahani, forthcoming) with the verb *bokā*-/*bokān*-/*bokār*- ‘to want’ which always occurs in the 3rd person singular. There is no infinitive form of this verb. To mark past tense, the past copula is added to the stem. This verb normally takes a non-canonical (dative) subject (see Section 3.2.2.8). When the verb denotes volition/intention/prospective aspect, the person-marking clitic denoting the non-canonical subject and the person-marking suffix on the verb agree in person and number.

\[
\begin{align*}
bokān=e̞ & \quad \text{bo-koš-ant=ī} \\
\text{want=PC.3PL} & \quad \text{SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘they are going to kill it’ (KS:48)

\[
\begin{align*}
bokān=et & \quad \text{čobān-ī} & \quad \text{na-kan-ay} \\
\text{want=PC.2SG} & \quad \text{shepherd-NMLZ} & \quad \text{NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-2SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘don’t you want to be a shepherd (i.e., do you want to quit being a shepherd)?’ (UT)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agar} & \quad \text{bokār=ad=om} & \quad \text{ba} & \quad \text{wad=om} & \quad \text{kār} \\
\text{if} & \quad \text{want=COP.PST=PC.1SG} & \text{for} & \text{REFL=PC.1SG} & \text{work}
\end{align*}
\]

Ø-kan-ān

SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

‘if I had wanted to work for myself (i.e., have my own business)’ (UT)

---

15 The interlinearization focuses this divergence between Koroshi and other Balochi dialects by glossing *na*- as NEG when it negates non-subjunctive TAM-forms and as NEG.SBJV when it negates the subjunctive TAM-form.
When the verb denotes necessity, the person-marking clitic is invariably in the 3rd person singular:

\[ nā-bokān=ī \quad rāy \quad Ū-kan-ay \]

NEG-need=PC.3SG  colour  SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

‘you don’t need (lit. it is not necessary for you) to colour it’ (WK:23)

- to denote prospective aspect with the verb āyag ‘to come’ (see also Jahaní, forthcoming). This construction is only found in the non-past tense in the corpus.

\[ a=k-ā-yant \quad korrāg-ā \quad bo-koš-ant \]

VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL  foal-OBL  SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

‘they set out to kill the foal’ (KS:40)

\[ ĵoḷa \quad a=k-ay-∅ \quad pād \quad Ū-ay-∅ \]

boy  VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  foot  SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

‘the boy is about to stand up’ (KS:41)

\[ a=k-ay-∅ \quad as \quad asp-ā \quad wad=ay \quad pert \]

VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  from  horse-OBL  REFL=PC.3SG  thrown

\[ Ū-kan-∅ \quad be-jerg-ī \]

SBJV-do.NPST-3SG  SBJV-flee.NPST-3SG

‘she is about to throw herself from the horse in order to run back’ (SD:49)

- to denote obligation with the verb bāhā/bahā/bāhāt/bāhād/bāhās/bāyat ‘must, have to’, which always occurs in the 3rd person singular with or without an added copula in the non-past tense but with the past copula in the past tense. The stem that occurs with the past copula in the corpus, bāhāt, also occurs with the non-past copula, which shows that it cannot be a marked past stem. There is, however, a special past stem copied from Persian, bāese, which does not add the past copula and does not occur in the non-past tense.

\[ bāhā \quad be-mer-ay \]

must  SBJV-die.NPST-2SG

‘you must die’ (UT)
bāhāt=en hafte-ī haft mēš=e syāh-ay
must=COP.NPST.3SG week-ADVZ seven sheep=EZ black-GEN
lāš be-d-ay b-wā-Ø
carcass SBJV-give.NPST-2SG SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG
‘you must give [it] the meat (lit. carcass) of seven black sheep per week to eat’ (KS:10)

na-bāhāt=a-Ø ēš-ī Ø-prēn-ān mā
NEG-must=COP.PST.3SG PROX-OBL SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into
čāh-ā
well-OBL
‘I should not have thrown her into the well’ (GA:10)

bāese ya kār=ē be-kan-an
must.PST one work=IND SBJV-do.NPST-3PL
‘they should have done something (lit. a work)’ (UT)

• to denote ability with the verb twānag (with variants) ‘to be able to’:

a=tān-ay šāh-ay janek-ā bahr=am
VCL=be.able.NPST-2SG king-GEN daughter-OBL for=PC.1SG
be-ger-ay
SBJV-take.NPST-2SG
‘can you get the king’s daughter for me?’ (GA:17)

man-ī korrāg-ā hīška a=na-twān-t
PN.1SG-GEN foal-OBL nobody VCL=NEG.be.able.NPST-3SG
mazan Ø-kan-t
big SBJV-do.NPST-3SG
‘my foal, nobody can raise [it]’ (KS:6)

• to denote possibility with the adverb šāya ‘maybe’:

šāya ba man janek-ā na-d-ant
maybe to PN.1SG girl-OBL NEG.SBJV-give.NPST-3PL
‘maybe they won’t give the girl to me’ (SD:19)
• for hortatives other than 2nd person imperatives:

\[\text{man}=\text{o} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{ber-r-en}\]

PN.1SG=and \quad PN.2SG \quad \text{ADD} \quad \text{SBJV-go.NPST-1PL}

‘let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’ (GA:5)

• for wishes (optative mood):

\[\text{došman}=\text{en} \quad \text{Ø-b-ī} \quad \text{čō} \quad \text{ham}=\text{ā} \quad \text{kar-ā}\]

enemy=PC.1PL \quad \text{SBJV-become.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{EMPH=DIST} \quad \text{donkey-OBL}

‘may it happen to our enemy as to the donkey’ (DC:26)

• to denote doubt and hesitation:

\[\text{man} \quad \text{četaw} \quad \text{Ø-kan-ān}\]

PN.1SG \quad \text{how} \quad \text{SBJV-do.NPST-1SG}

‘what should I do?’ (GA:40)

• in a number of subordinate clauses (see Section 3.3.3).

**Imperative**

The imperative is formed similarly to the subjunctive, with the prefix be- (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem without any person marking in the 2nd person singular, but with the person-marking suffix in the 2nd person plural (see also ʿEmādi 1384:74). While the negation prefix na- (with variants) is used to negate the subjunctive, the prohibitive prefix ma- negates the imperative.

\[\text{by-ā-Ø} \quad \text{man}=\text{o} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{ber-r-en}\]

IMPV-come.NPST-2SG \quad PN.1SG=and \quad PN.2SG \quad \text{ADD} \quad \text{SBJV-go.NPST-1PL}

‘come on, let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’ (GA:5)

\[\text{wel} \quad \text{Ø-day-Ø} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{kār-ā} \quad \text{ma-kan-Ø}\]

loose \quad IMPV-give.NPST-2SG \quad \text{PROX} \quad \text{deed-OBL} \quad \text{PROH-do.NPST-2SG}

‘forget it (lit. give loose), don’t do this’ (DC:9)

\[\text{ber-r-et} \quad \text{ham}=\text{ā-hī} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{bēy-ār-et}\]

IMPV-go.NPST-2PL \quad \text{EMPH=DIST-OBL} \quad \text{ADD} \quad \text{IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL}

‘go [and] bring him, too’ (GA:27)
3.2.2.6.3. Verb forms based on the past stem

The marked past tense system has limited use in traditional oral tales, which have the unmarked non-past as their basic tense. In accounts of real-life events, especially those which are recent and/or autobiographical, the past is the basic tense.

In the past tense, the main distinction is aspectual, namely between the perfective past, which does not contain the imperfective aspect clitic, and the imperfective past, which contains the imperfective aspect clitic $a=$ (with variants).

\[ \text{had}=e \quad \text{iš}-i \quad \text{čōbān} \quad \text{bod}-ān \]
by=EZ \quad \text{PROX-OBL} \quad \text{shepherd} \quad \text{become.PST-1SG} \\
‘I became his shepherd’ (perfective aspect) (MM:45)

\[ \text{harjāh} \quad \text{āšog} \quad a=\text{bod}=\text{ad-Ø} \]
everywhere \quad \text{in.love} \quad \text{VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG} \\
‘he used to fall in love with many girls (lit. everywhere)’ (imperfective aspect) (UT)

Alignment for verb forms based on the past stem

A key distinction that must be taken into account for verb forms based on the past stem is that the agreement markers for transitive verbs in the past tense are normally the person-marking clitics (see Section 3.2.1.5.3) rather than the person-marking suffixes.

\[ \text{kam.kam} \quad \text{god} \quad \text{bod-en} \]
little.by.little \quad \text{big} \quad \text{become.PST-1PL} \\
‘little by little we grew up’ (MM:33)

\[ \text{man} \quad \text{nay-āk-ān} \quad \text{be-gaš-ān} \quad \text{bōj-ag} \]
PN.1SG \quad \text{NEG-come.PST-1SG} \quad \text{SBJV-say.NPST-1SG} \quad \text{open.NPST-INF} \\
\text{b-ay-Ø} \quad \text{IMPV-come.NPST-2SG} \\
‘I didn’t come to tell you to unwrap yourself (lit. to say: “unwrap yourself”)’ (GA:48)

\[ \text{panj} \quad \text{nafar} \quad \text{hojūm}=e \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{bahr}=\text{am} \]
five \quad \text{person} \quad \text{attack=PC.3SG} \quad \text{do.PST} \quad \text{for=PC.1SG} \\
‘five persons attacked me (lit. made attack for me)’ (MM:21)
Occasionally the person-marking clitic as an agreement marker is missing in the past tense for the 3rd person singular on a transitive verb. (An intransitive verb would have the -Ø person-marking suffix.)

The person-marking clitic as an agreement marker on transitive verbs is normally attached either to the verb or, in the case of complex predicates, to the non-verbal element of the complex predicate. The following example illustrates both possibilities.

Only rarely are there intervening words or clitics between the agreement marker and the verb.

'I told [you]; did you listen?' (DC:24)

'I would take the animals out grazing at eleven at night’ (MM:79)

'I was both hit by a couple of stones and I threw [a couple of] stones too’ (MM:21)
Alignment in Koroshi is normally non-ergative. The case marking on both nouns and pronouns groups the agent (A) of transitive verbs and subject (S) of intransitive verbs together over against the patient (P) of transitive verbs. Person and number agreement is between the S/A and the verb, even if the agreement marker is not always attached to the verb itself. As mentioned above, it is important to note that the agreement markers differ between intransitive and transitive verbs. For intransitive verbs they are person-marking suffixes and for transitive verbs person-marking clitics.

šāh (S)   ham  a=k-ay-Ø   bālād
king   ADD  VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  up
‘the king comes up as well’ (KS:124)

kākol (A)  ba  man  ītawr=ī  ga
Kakol.NOM  to  PN.1SG  this.way=PC.3SG  say.PST
‘Kakol told me like this’ (SD:36)

xān-ay  haywān-ā (P)  ham  dād=om  dassay
khan-GEN  animal-OBL  ADD  give.PST=PC.1SG  hand.OBL.PC.3SG
‘I returned the khan’s animals (lit. animal) to him’ (MM:44)

When a person-marking clitic attaches to the P of past transitive verbs, and in fact when it attaches to any P (see Section 3.2.1.1.4), the P takes no case suffix even if it is a definite noun. This means that in these instances S=A=P; in other words, such sentences demonstrate neutral alignment.

talab=am  na-dād=eš  jānek=eš
claim.NOM=PC.1SG  NEG-give.PST=PC.3PL  girl.NOM=PC.3PL
ham  xo  na-dād
ADD  well  NEG-give.PST
‘they neither gave [back] my claim (i.e., that which they owed me), nor did they give the girl’ (SD:32)
Perfective past

The perfective past is formed with the past stem + person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs, and the past stem + person-marking clitic for transitive verbs. The person-marking suffixes always attach to the verb, but the person-marking clitics either attach to the verb or to the non-verbal element of a complex predicate (see Section 3.2.2.6.3). This applies to all finite verb forms based on the past stem. Negation is expressed with the prefix na-(with variants), which precedes the stem (Table 12) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:79, 82 and Mahamedi 1979:287).

Table 12. Perfective past in Koroshi (kanag ‘to do’ (tr.) and rawag ‘to go’ (itr.); only the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kod- ‘do.PST’</th>
<th>raft- ‘go.PST’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod=om</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod=et</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod=ī</td>
<td>(na-)raft-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod=en</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod=ō</td>
<td>(na-)raft-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod=ēš</td>
<td>(na-)raft-an(t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

had=e īš-ī čōhān bod-ān
by=EZ PROX-OBL shepherd become.PST-1SG
‘I became his shepherd’ (MM:45)

gōš=ī na-ge
ear=PC.3SG NEG-take.PST
‘he didn’t listen’ (UT)

raft-en kōbīn ejāra=en ko
go.PST-1PL combine.harvester rent=PC.1PL do.PST
‘we went [and] rented a combine harvester’ (MM:71)
The perfective past denotes:

- single past events viewed in their entirety:

```
dōī=n=am    ke šas sāl-a rahmat=e xodā
mother=PC.1PL=ADD TOP sixty year-ADJZ mercy=EZ God
raft-Ø
go.PST-3SG
‘my (lit. our) mother, may God have mercy on her, died at the age of sixty’ (MM:55)
```

```
be man ētawr=eš ga talab=am
PN.1SG this.way=PC.3PL say.PST claim=PC.1SG
na-dād=eš jānek=eš ham xo na-dād
NEG-give.PST=PC.3PL girl=PC.3PL ADD well NEG-give.PST
‘they told me like this; they neither gave [back] my claim (i.e., that which they owed me), nor did they give the girl’ (SD:32)
```

- relative past tense for backgrounded events in temporal, conditional, and general relative clauses which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (see also Sections 3.3.3.3, 3.3.3.4.1, and 3.3.3.4.4):

```
har waxt saxt=et bo-Ø yek=e a
each time difficult=PC.2SG become.PST-3SG one=IND from
ē mūd-obār-ā āš Ø-day-Ø
PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
‘set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem (lit. whenever it was difficult to you)’ (KS:56)
```

```
aga dīd=et ke xūb=en gol-ā
if see.PST=PC.2SG CLM good=COP.NPST.3SG flower-OBL
be-rēč-Ø
IMPV-pour.NPST-2SG
‘if you see that it is good, pour out the flowers’ (KD:38)
```

```
rū harkas-ay sar-ā ham korrag rapt-Ø
on whoever-GEN head-OBL ADD foal go.PST-3SG
ā=koš-ān=ī
VCL=kill.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG
‘I will kill anyone whose head the foal jumps over’ (KS:50)
```
Imminent events presented as though they have already happened:

\begin{verbatim}
man  raft-ān
PN.1SG  go.PST-1SG
\end{verbatim}

‘I am leaving right away (lit. I went)’ (GA:32)

Imperfective past

The imperfective past is formed with the verb clitic \(a=\bar{\bar{a}}=\bar{\bar{a}}=\bar{\bar{a}}\) + past stem + past copula with a person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs, and \(a=\bar{\bar{a}}=\bar{\bar{a}}=\bar{\bar{a}}\) + past stem + past copula stem + a person-marking clitic for transitive verbs. Negation is expressed with the prefix \(na-\) (with variants), which is placed between the clitic \(a=\) (with variants) and the stem (Table 13) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:81–82). (For imperfective forms with the copula, see 3.2.2.6.4.)

Table 13: Imperfective past in Koroshi (\textit{kanag} ‘to do’ (tr.) and \textit{rawag} ‘to go’ (itr.); the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kod- ‘do.PST’</th>
<th>raft- ‘go.PST’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(a=(na-)kod=ad=om)</td>
<td>(a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{\bar{a}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(a=(na-)kod=ad=et)</td>
<td>(a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{\bar{a}}y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(a=(na-)kod=ad=\bar{\bar{i}})</td>
<td>(a=(na-)raft=ad(\bar{\bar{a}})=\bar{\bar{a}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>(a=(na-)kod=ad=en)</td>
<td>(a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{\bar{e}}n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(a=(na-)kod=ad=\bar{o})</td>
<td>(a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{\bar{e}}t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(a=(na-)kod=ad=e\bar{\bar{s}})</td>
<td>(a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{\bar{a}}n(t))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\begin{verbatim}
harjā  āšog  a=bod=ad-\bar{\bar{a}}
\end{verbatim}

everywhere in.love VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG

‘he used to fall in love with many girls (lit. everywhere)’ (UT)

\begin{verbatim}
tawār=e  a=na-kod=ad
\end{verbatim}

sound=PC.3SG VCL=NEG-do.PST=COP.PST

‘he would keep quiet (lit. he would not make sound)’ (UT)

\begin{verbatim}
čādorsyāḥ-bār=en  ā=gāft=a
\end{verbatim}

black.tent-PL=PC.1PL VCL=weave.PST=COP.PST

‘we used to weave black tents’ (WK:51)
The imperfective past is used to denote habitual events in the past tense:

\[
\begin{align*}
a=\text{raft}=\text{ad-en} & & \dot{c}\text{"ub\text{"an}-i-y\text{"a} & & \text{dawr}=\text{et} \\
\text{VCL=}\text{go.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}=}\text{1PL} & & \text{shepherd-\text{NMLZ}=}\text{OBL} & & \text{around=}\text{PC.2SG} \\
\dot{c}\text{o}k-\text{ob\text{"a}r} & & \text{gerd} & & \dd{\text{\text{a}=}\text{bod}=\text{a-}0} \\
\text{child-\text{PL} } & & \text{gathered} & & \text{VCL=}\text{become.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}=}\text{3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘We used to go out with the animals (lit. shepherding). The friends (lit. children) were all together (lit. gathered around you).’ (UT)

\[
\begin{align*}
hayw\text{"an-\text{\text{"a}}} & & \text{masan} & & \text{s\text{"ahat}=e} & & \text{\text{"c\text{"a}r} } & & \text{man} & & \text{dar=}\text{om} \\
\text{animal-\text{OBL} } & & \text{in.\text{fact}} & & \text{hour=}\text{EZ} & & \text{four} & & \text{PN.\text{1SG} } & & \text{PREV=}\text{PC.\text{1SG}} \\
a=\text{g\text{"e}k}=\text{a} & & \dd{a=}\text{bort}=\text{ad=}\text{om} \\
\text{VCL=}\text{take.\text{out.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST} } } & & \text{VCL=}\text{take.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}=}\text{PC.\text{1SG}} \\
a=\text{\text{"c\text{"a}r\text{"e}nt}=ad=}\text{om} \\
\text{VCL=}\text{take.\text{grazing.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST} } } & & \text{PC.\text{1SG}} \\
\text{s\text{"ahat}=e} & & \text{\text{"c\text{"a}r} } & & \text{ke } & & \dd{a=}\text{bort}=\text{ad=}\text{om} \\
\text{hour=}\text{EZ} & & \text{four} & & \text{CLM} & & \text{VCL=}\text{take.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}=}\text{PC.\text{1SG}} \\
ta\text{\text{"g\text{"r\text{"i}ban} } & & daw\text{"azdah}=e & & \text{zohr} & & a=k-\text{\text{"a}w\text{"urt}=ad=}\text{om} \\
\text{around} & & \text{twelve=}\text{EZ} & & \text{noon} & & \text{VCL=}\text{IMP.\text{\text{\text{\text{"k}}bring.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}=}\text{PC.\text{1SG}} \\
a=\text{do\text{"st}=ad=}\text{en} & & \text{\text{"s\text{"i}r-\text{\text{"a} } } & & \text{garm}=\text{en} \\
\text{VCL=}\text{milk.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}=}\text{PC.\text{1PL} } & & \text{milk-\text{OBL} } & & \text{warm=}\text{PC.\text{1PL}} \\
\dd{\text{\text{"a}=}\text{kod}=ad} \\
\text{VCL=}\text{do.\text{PST}=}\text{COP.\text{PST}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The animals, you know, I would take them out at four o’clock [in the morning], I took [them] grazing. When I took [them grazing] at four, [then] I brought them at about twelve noon. We milked [them]. We heated up the milk.’ (MM:74–77)

3.2.2.6.4. Imperfective forms with the copula

There are two types of imperfective forms that make use of the copula (see also ‘Emâdi 1384:78–79, and Mahamedi 1979:288); one used to denote progressive, continuous, or iterative aspect, and the other one for background information. The copula marks these constructions as stative, that is, they refer to a state rather than to an event.\(^{16}\)

The first imperfective form with the copula consists of the prefix \textit{ma-} + infinitive + non-past copula for the non-past tense. This form is negated with the prefix \textit{na-} (with variants), which precedes the \textit{ma-} prefix.

\(^{16}\) In a manuscript for a conference presentation on the Greek verb (Tyndale House, Cambridge, 10–11 July 2015) which Stephen H. Levinsohn kindly has put to our disposal, he points out that if a language has two imperfectives and one of them involves the copula, the norm is for the copular form to be more stative than the other, and that the copular imperfective is particularly suitable for presenting iterative events.
oštor-obār lāɣar ma-bī-yag=en
camel-PL thin IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
‘the camels are (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin)’ (KD:18)

oštor-ā azīyat ma-kan-ag=en
camel-OBL trouble IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
na-mayl-ag=en be-čar-ī
NEG-IMP.let.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG SBJV-graze.NPST-3SG
‘she is giving the camels (lit. camel) a hard time, she is not letting them graze’
(KD:20–21)

kākol amū gō ājanek-ā sawladawla-ī mēdag-ā
Kakol uncle with girl-OBL Sawladawla-GEN encampment-OBL
xoš ma-kan-ag=en
happy IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
‘uncle Kakol is enjoying himself with the girl in Sawladawla’s encampment’
(SD:70)

ta ūdān čōn ma-kan-ag=ay
PN.2SG here how IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG
‘what are you doing here’ (KS:128)

In the past tense, this imperfective form consists of the prefix ma- + infinitive + past copula for the past tense. It is negated with the prefix na- (with variants), which precedes the ma- prefix:

ēš-ī ma-šašt-ay=ad-ant rū ġirat-ā
PROX-OBL IMP-attribue.NPST-INF=COP.PST-3PL on zeal-OBL
‘they attributed this [behaviour] to [their] zeal’ (UT)

na-ma-tān-ay=ad-ān ber-ř-ān
NEG-IMP-be.able.NPST-INF=COP.NPST-1SG SBJV-go.NPST-1SG
‘I could not go’ (UT)
This imperfective form denotes progressive, continuous, or iterative aspect in the non-past and past tense. The same type of construction has also been reported for Lashari Balochi (see Yusefiān 1383:181). Transitivity in this construction is determined by the finite auxiliary verb, which is intransitive, rather than by the non-finite form of the main verb. Alignment is therefore non-ergative regardless of the transitivity of the main verb, which means that this construction always takes person-marking suffixes and never person-marking clitics as agreement markers.

The second type of imperfective with the copula consists of the prefix ma- + non-past stem + -ā (3sg.) / -ēn (3pl.) + boda (past participle of ‘to become, to be’). It is negated with the prefix na- (with variants), which precedes the ma- prefix. Since the finite verb in this construction is based on the non-past stem, it exhibits non-ergative alignment.

This second form is used for background information in narratives, both traditional tales and accounts of real events, where the non-past is the main tense. Longer examples are given here in order to illustrate the backgrounding function of this verb form:

```
xolāsa  ar=r-ant  ahmad-i  rannā  
in.short  VCL=go.NPST-3PL  Ahmad-GEN  behind
ahmad  ham  ke  a  aždahā  zal=ay
Ahmad  ADD  CLM  from  dragon  gall.bladder=PC.3SG
ma-raw-ā  bod-a  nā-mah-ā-Ø
IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG  become.PST-PP  NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG
bod-a
become.PST-PP
xolāsa  šāh  a=š-ī  na  bahā  ber-r-ay
in short  king  VCL=say.NPST-3SG  no  must  SBJV-go.NPST-2SG
```

‘So they go to find (lit. behind) Ahmad. But Ahmad, who is dead scared of (lit. whose gall bladder is going from) the dragon doesn’t [want to] come. Anyway, the king says, “No, you must go”.’ (GA:38–39)

---

17 The verb ‘to come’, whose non-past stem already ends in -ā, does not add any extra -ā 3SG suffix after the stem (there are no examples of the corresponding plural form in the corpus).
18 Although this is an account of past events, the narration is in the non-past tense. Therefore also the backgrounding verb forms are translated in the non-past tense here. This also applies to the two following examples.
‘This Uncle Hosayn, when he goes with the khan – he goes with [his] horse, they go to buy camels, to visit the encampment, and things like that. In any case, one day they go to the Darreshuri encampment.’ (SD:7)

3.2.2.6.5. Perfect verb forms

In addition to basic non-past and past forms, there are two perfect verb forms. They are based on the past participle of the main verb. (For the formation of the past participle, see Section 3.2.2.2) The use of present perfect and past perfect verb forms is limited in the corpus.

Present perfect

The present perfect consists of the past participle + non-past copula with a person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs and the past participle + person marking clitic for transitive verbs. Negation is expressed with the prefix na-(with variants), which precedes the stem (Table 14) (see also ʿEmādi 1384:80, 83, 86, and Mahamedi 1979:287–288).
Table 14: Present perfect in Koroshi (kanag ‘to do’ (tr.) and rawag ‘to go’ (itr.); the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>kod- ‘do.PST’</strong></th>
<th><strong>raft- ‘go.PST’</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod-agⁱ⁹=om</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ag=ān/on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod-ag=et</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ag=ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod-ag=i</td>
<td>(na-)raft-a(g)=Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod-ag=en</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ag=en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod-ag=ō</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ag=et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod-ag=ēš</td>
<td>(na-)raft-ag=an(t)/and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present perfect denotes:

- present states at the time of narration (or when past events are narrated using the non-past tense, at some indefinite time in the past):

  hīška    ham    mānt-a=Ø
  nobody    ADD    remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
  “so is there anyone left?”’ (GA:25)

  kačal=en    go    janay    īdān
  bald=COP.NPST.3SG  with  wife.OBL.PC.3SG  here
  neš-t-a=Ø
  sit.down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
  ‘it is the bald [one] who is sitting there (lit. here) with his wife’ (KS:127)

- past events still relevant at the time of speech (or in past events narrated using the non-past tense, at some indefinite time in the past):

  harčī    pakk-ag=et    bīy-ār-Ø
  however.much  cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG  IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG
  ‘bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked’ (KS:109)

  man    ġōl=om    dād-a    bahr=ay
  PN.1SG  promise=PC.1SG  give.PST-PP  for=PC.3SG
  ‘I have promised him’ (UT)

ⁱ⁹ The form koday is an alternative throughout the paradigm. Variation between g and y in this context applies to other verbs as well (see also section 3.2.2.2).
The present perfect of the verb *bayag* ‘to become, to be’ is also used in the introductions of non-past tense based narratives to set the scene for the story:

\[
yek \quad dāzan=ē \quad bod-a=Ø \quad nām=e
\]

one \quad woman=IND \quad become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG \quad name=PC.3SG

\[
golī \quad bod-a=Ø \quad xaylī \quad ham \quad bad
\]

Goli \quad become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG \quad very \quad ADD \quad bad

\[
bod-a=Ø
\]

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘there is (lit. has been) a woman, her name is (lit. has been) Goli, she is (lit. has been) very bad’ (GA:2–3)

**Past perfect**

The past perfect consists of the past participle or past stem\(^{20}\) + past copula with a person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs and the past participle or past stem + 3sg. past copula + person-marking clitic for transitive verbs. Negation is expressed with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the stem (Table 15) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:80, 83, and Mahamedi 1979:288).

Table 15: Past perfect in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.); the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>kod- ‘do.PST’</strong></th>
<th><strong>raft- ‘go.PST’</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod(-ag)(^{21})=ad=om</td>
<td>(na-)raft(-ag)=ad-ān/on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod(-ag)=ad=et</td>
<td>(na-)raft(-ag)=ad-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(na-)kod(-ag)=ad=ī</td>
<td>(na-)raft(-ag)=ad-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod(-ag)=ad=en</td>
<td>(na-)raft(-ag)=ad-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod(-ag)=ad=ō</td>
<td>(na-)raft(-ag)=ad-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(na-)kod(-ag)=ad=ēš</td>
<td>(na-)raft(-ag)=ad-an(t)/and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{20}\) These two variants are found side by side also in other Balochi dialects; see, e.g., Jahani and Korn 2009:673–674.

\(^{21}\) The form *koday* is an alternative throughout the paradigm. Variation between *g* and *y* in this context applies to other verbs as well (see also section 3.2.2.2).
The past perfect denotes:

- in past tense based narrations, past events still relevant at a later time in the past:

  \[ \text{harka} \ bār=i \ \text{kod-ay}=ad \ \text{dar} \]
  
  everybody load=PC.3SG do.PST-PP=COP.PST PREV

  \[ \text{kaft-ay}=ad-Ø \ \text{kanek}=i \]
  
  fall.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG side=IND

  ‘everybody had loaded up [to migrate] and ended up somewhere’ (UT)

  \[ \text{a} \ \text{dass}=\text{eš} \ \text{namak}=en \ \text{wārt}=ad \]
  
  from hand=PC.3PL salt=PC.1PL eat.PST=COP.PST

  ‘we had been helped by them (lit. we had eaten salt from their hand)’ (UT)

- counterfactual past (rarely attested):

  \[ \text{mā}=\text{am} \ \text{be} \ \text{i} \ \text{waz} \ \text{na-raised-ay}=ad-en \]
  
  PN.1PL=ADD to PROX situation NEG-arrive.PST-PP=COP.PST-1PL

  ‘then we would not have found ourselves in (lit. reached) this situation’ (UT)

3.2.2.6.6. Marked evidential form

There is one construction in Koroshi which consists of the present perfect form of the main verb + the perfect participle of the verb bayag ‘to become, to be’ (boda). This form is very rare in the corpus, and it is only attested in the 3rd person. The finite verb in this construction, rather than bayag, is the main verb and takes the transitive or intransitive agreement marker. There are no negated forms in the present corpus.

This construction seems to be a marked evidential form, denoting non-eyewitnessed events (see also ‘Emādī 1384:80–81, who calls it “reported past perfect”). In the following example, the first verb is in the non-past indicative and the rest of the verbs employ the construction under discussion. The form jadeš must be seen as a merger (< jad-a=ĕš).
‘not a single bullet hits them, but they (reportedly) shoot animals and camels, you know, [and] the sacks are overturned and the rice is poured out on the ground’ (SD:73)

This form is also used when the narrator adds explanations which are not part of the actual narrative. In the following example, the inserted explanation starts with ī=am and ends with zortay boda.

‘He says, “Fine!” – Well, it was him. At that time, he had removed the stomach from his head, [you know]. – Then, afterwards, they will come to get the meat (lit. carcass) [from him].’ (KS:99–101)
3.2.2.7. Passive voice

There are a few examples of passive voice in the corpus (see also Jahani and Korn 2009:662–663). The passive voice is either formed with the infinitive of the main verb + a finite form of the verb āyag ‘to come’, or with the past participle of the main verb + a finite form of the verb bayag ‘to become, to be’.

\[
\text{man bōj-ag a=k-ā-yān}
\]
PN.1SG open.NPST-INF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG
‘I will unwrap [myself] (lit. come open, be opened)’ (GA:21)

\[
\text{ādam=e ċī=ye košt-a}
\]
human.being=IND thing=IND kill.PST-PP
\[
nā-bod-ay=Ø
\]
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
‘no person, nothing, has been killed’ (SD:82)

Most instances of an unknown or non-specified human agent employ a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person plural construction (see also Jahani \textit{et al.} 2010).

\[
\text{marō zahr=eš rētk-a mā xorāk=at}
\]
today poison=PC.3PL pour.PST-PP into food=PC.2SG
‘they have poured poison into your food today (i.e., there has been poison poured into your food today)’ (KS:17)

\[
\text{axbār-ā a=d-ant bahṛ=ay}
\]
news.PL-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL for=PC.3SG
‘he gets the news (lit. they give the news to him)’ (SD:55)

3.2.2.8. Non-canonical subject constructions

Several verbs are constructed with non-canonical (dative) subject (see Jahani \textit{et al.} 2012). One such dative construction expresses possession ‘to have’ (see also Emādi 1384:87–88). The possessor is expressed by a person-marking clitic added to the existential verb in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular assay/assad ‘there is / there was’ or to a copula form. In complex predicates the person-marking clitic is added to the non-verbal element (Table 16).
Table 16: Possession in Koroshi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative non-past</th>
<th>Negative non-past</th>
<th>Affirmative past</th>
<th>Negative past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>(ass=)en=om</td>
<td>nēss=en=om</td>
<td>ass=ad=om</td>
<td>nēss=ad=om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>(ass=)en=et</td>
<td>nēss=en=et</td>
<td>ass=ad=et</td>
<td>nēss=ad=et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>(ass=)en=ī</td>
<td>nēss=en=ī</td>
<td>ass=ad=ī</td>
<td>nēss=ad=ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>(ass=)en=en</td>
<td>nēss=en=en</td>
<td>ass=ad=en</td>
<td>nēss=ad=en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>(ass=)en=ō</td>
<td>nēss=en=ō</td>
<td>ass=ad=ō</td>
<td>nēss=ad=ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>(ass=)en=eš</td>
<td>nēss=en=eš</td>
<td>ass=ad=eš</td>
<td>nēss=ad=eš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`fağat ya payğâm=e ass=en=om bah=at
only one message=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG for=PC.2SG`

‘I only have a message for you (lit. there is only one message to me for you)’ (GA:50)

`mā say oștor=en=en
PN.1PL three camel=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1PL`

‘we have three camels (lit. we, there are three camels to us)’ (KD:15)

`ya arbāb=ē ass=ad-Ø=om
one boss=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG=PC.1SG`

‘I had a boss (lit there was a boss to me)’ (UT)

The person-marking clitic may also be attached to the word preceding the verb:

`xabar=om nēss=en
news=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG`

‘I don’t know (lit. there is no news to me)’ (UT)

The verb ‘to want’ is normally constructed with a non-canonical subject in the form of a person-marking clitic, with or without the presence of a coreferential personal pronoun (see also Section 3.2.2.6.2):

`man ham=īš-ī bokân=om
PN.1SG EMPH=PROX-OBL want=PC.1SG`

‘I want [to marry] this very [girl]’ (KD:29)
‘I will give you whatever you want’ (GA:16)

‘this foal can provide you with whatever you may want’ (KS:12)

‘I wanted to work for myself (i.e., be my own boss)’ (UT)

‘I don’t want anything’ (KS:61)

Once in the corpus, a personal pronoun denotes the canonical subject (without a person-marking suffix on the verb) of ‘to want’:

‘well, you only want its stomach’ (KD:8)

A number of physical and mental states with a passive experiencer rather than an active instigator as the subject are also constructed with non-canonical subjects. The experiencer (i.e., the non-canonical subject) is invariably expressed by a person-marking clitic.

‘I am not well (lit. I, to me there is not health)’ (KD:31)

‘Ahmad, how are you [feeling]? (lit. how is it to you?)’ (GA:43)
yād=om mah-ā-Ø sāz-ay
memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG clarinet-GEN

jan-ag=ī
play.NPST-INF=PC.3SG
‘I remember (lit. memory comes to me) how he used to play his clarinet’ (DC:10)

har waxt saxt=et bo-Ø yek=e a
each time difficult=PC.2SG become.PST-3SG one=IND from
ē mūd-ōbār-ā ās Ø-day-Ø
PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
‘set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem (lit. whenever it was difficult to you)’ (KS:56)

3.3. Clause and sentence level syntax

3.3.1. Clause constituent order

The basic constituent order in the Koroshi clause is subject-object-verb (SOV):

bāmard ya čāh=ī pēdā a=kan-t
man one well=IND visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG
‘the man finds a well’ (GA:8)

man aždahā-ā a=bōj-ān
PN.1SG dragon-OBL VCL=open.NPST-1SG
‘I will unwrap (lit. open) the dragon’ (GA:43)

Koroshi is pro-drop. The subject is therefore often found only as the person-marking verb suffix or person-marking clitic:

a=š-ī a=d-ān=ō walī be šart=ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2PL but to condition=IND
ke wad=om saray bo-borr-ān
CLM REFL=PC.1SG head.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-cut.NPST-1SG
‘I will give [it to] you, but on the condition that I myself can slaughter it’ (KS:95)
‘I didn’t find the Korosh [to kill them], but I killed my mother’ (SD:66)

In ditransitive verbs, the recipient normally follows the verb. If a recipient is a full noun, sometimes it is in the nominative case, and sometimes in the oblique case. Pronouns take the nominative/oblique case.

‘she gives money to the doctor (lit. wise man)’ (KS:28)

‘they give the girl to Uncle Hosayn’ (SD:24)

‘give me one of these sheep of yours’ (KS:57)

‘maybe they won’t give the girl to me’ (SD:19)

‘he gets the news (lit. they give the news to him)’ (SD:55)

Adverbials of time and manner precede the verb phrase whereas place adverbials most commonly follow the verb phrase:

‘they have poured poison into your food today’ (KS:17)
suddenly thought=PC.3SG work VCL=do.NPST-3SG
‘suddenly he gets an idea (lit. suddenly his thought works)’ (GA:40)

Alamdar dinner-ADVZ PROX-PL-OBJ VCL=take.NPST-3SG
‘in the evening (lit. at dinner-time) Alamdar takes them to the mountain’ (UT)

An object can be preposed to topicalise it. In the example “my foal” is known information, and “nobody can raise” is new information:

PN.1SG-GEN foal-OBL nobody VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-3SG
‘my foal, nobody can raise [it]’ (KS:6)

Nominal clauses lack a verb. Only in instances when the verb would have been the 3rd person affirmative copula do nominal clauses occur. This clause type is rare in the corpus:

PN.1SG IMP-know.NPST-1SG PROX how-ATTR=IND
‘I know what kind [of person] she is’ (KD:32)
3.3.2. Coordination

Clauses in Koroshi are coordinated through juxtaposition (asyndetic coordination) of clauses or the use of coordinating conjunctions (syndetic coordination).

3.3.2.1. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is a common means of coordinating clauses to associate them. Such events are not portrayed as distinct, but as part of a whole; the one flows into the next. Rising intonation at the end of each clause is the only means by which the coordinated structure can be recognized:

\[
\begin{align*}
ar &= raf-t \\
\text{VCL} &= \text{go.NPST-3SG} \\
y &= \text{shahr=e} \\
dyar &= \text{a} \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
ar &= r-a-\text{Ø} \\
\text{VCL} &= \text{go.NPST-3SG} \\
y &= \text{town=EZ} \\
\text{other-OBL} &= \text{e} \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
a &= p\text{e\-c}i \\
\text{VCL} &= \text{twist.NPST-3SG} \\
dawr &= e \\
\text{ya} &= \text{shah=e} \\
dyar &= ay \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{janek-ay} & \\
\text{garden-\text{a}} & \\
\text{daughter-GEN} & \\
\text{neck-OBL} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘it went [its way], it went to another town [and] wrapped itself around the neck of another king’s daughter’ (GA:35)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jog\=la} & \\
\text{by-ay-\text{Ø}} & \\
\text{boy} & \\
\text{SBJV-come.NPST-3SG} & \\
\text{on} &= \text{EZ} \\
\text{carpet-OBL} &= \text{g\=al\=i-y\=a} \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be-nenn-\text{i}} & \\
\text{SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG} & \\
\text{SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG} & \\
\text{m\=a} & \\
\text{\=c\=a\=h-\text{\=a}} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be-mer-\text{\=it}} & \\
\text{SBJV-die.NPST-3SG} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘...for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die’ (KS:18)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma-raw-\text{\=a}} & \\
\text{IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG} & \\
\text{bod-\text{\=a}} & \\
\text{korrag=\text{\=i}} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma-pr\=en-\text{\=a}} & \\
\text{IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG} & \\
\text{bod-\text{\=a}} & \\
\text{m\=a} & \\
\text{dary\=a-h\=a} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘it goes [and] throws its foal into the sea’ (KS:4)
3.3.2.2. Syndetic coordination

Syndetic coordination, that is, coordination with conjunctions, is also found in Koroshi. Typically, it associates distinct events rather than events viewed as part of a whole (see Section 3.3.2.1). The most common conjunction is the enclitic =o (occasionally with the variant =wo after a vowel) ‘and’. It normally has a conjunctive function (‘and’).

\[ ar=r-ant=o \quad i=am \quad a=k-\bar{a}-ant \]
\[ VCL=go.NPST-3PL=and \quad PROX=ADD \quad VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL \]

‘they go and bring him as well’ (KS:80)

\[ korram-ay \quad dawr\=a \quad geft-ag=e\=s=o \quad bok\=a=e\=s \]
\[ foal-GEN \quad around \quad take.PST-PP=PC.3PL=and \quad want=PC.3PL \]
\[ bo-k\=o-ant=i \]
\[ SBJV=kill.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG \]

‘[the king’s men] have surrounded the foal and they are going to kill it’ (KS:48)

\[ do\=ba\=ra \quad a=raf-t \quad jo\=gl\=a \quad madrese=wo \]
\[ again \quad VCL=go.NPST-3SG \quad boy \quad school=and \]
\[ a=k-ay-\bar{O} \quad jo\=gl\=a-ay \quad jelo \]
\[ VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG \quad boy-GEN \quad in.front.of \]

‘again the boy goes to school and [the foal] comes up to the boy’ (KS:18)

Occasionally, the conjoined events are in an adversative relationship (‘but’):

\[ a=jan-ant=o \quad i \quad kass\=a-o-\bar{e}n \quad janek \]
\[ VCL=hit.NPST-3PL=but \quad PROX \quad small-DIM-ATTR \quad girl \]
\[ sibay \quad a=na-pr\=e\=n-i \]
\[ apple.OBL.PC.3SG \quad VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG \]

‘they hit [some boys], but this youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)
There is also a non-enclitic variant of the conjunctive coordinating conjunction, *wa* ‘and’. Its non-enclitic character is clear since it occurs clause-initially, after rising intonation and a pause. This variant may be a copy from Persian.

*yek kam=e gōžday a=war-ān wa*

one little=IND meat.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG and

*komay ham bokān=om*

stomach.OBL.PC.3SG ADD need=PC.1SG

‘I will eat a little [of] its meat, and I also need its stomach’ (KS:57)

Other coordinating conjunctions are the disjunctive coordinator *wali/wale* ‘but’ and the adversative coordinator *yā* ‘or’.

*koroš-obār-ā pēdā=om na-ko wali wad-ī*

Korosh-PL-OBL visible=PC.1SG NEG-do.PST but REFL-GEN

*doī=om košt=om*

mother=PC.1SG kill.PST=PC.1SG

‘I didn’t find the Korosh [to kill them], but I killed my mother’ (SD:66)

*ādam=e xūb=ī=en wale hayf ke*

human.being=EZ good=IND=COP.NPST.3SG but alas CLM

*koroš=en Korosh=COP.NPST.3SG*

‘he is a nice person, but too bad that he is Korosh’ (SD:22)

*bīy-ā-Ø ber-r-en ba talabayn yā*

IMPV-come.NPST-2SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL for claim.OBL.PC.1PL or

*ke ber-r-en m-enn-en jānek-ā*

CLM SBJV-go.NPST-1PL SBJV-see.NPST-1PL girl-OBL

*a=d-ant=en VCL=give.NPST-3PL=PC.1PL*

‘let’s go for our claim (i.e., to get the bridal gift back) or go [and] see [if] they give us the girl’ (SD:27)
In addition to syndetic coordination that makes use of a single conjunction (monosyndetic coordination), use of a double conjunction (bisyndetic coordination) with yā [...] yā ‘either [...] or’ and ham [...] ham ‘both [...] and’ is also attested:

\[
yā \ bīs \ nax=en \ yā \ masalan \ ċel
\]

‘it is either twenty threads or it is, for example, forty threads’ (WK:11)

\[
meškī \ ham \ ham \ a=b-ī \ ābī
\]

‘the black [wool], you can both dye (lit. make) it blue and dye (lit. make) it black’ (WK:7)

### 3.3.3. Subordination

#### 3.3.3.1. Subordinating conjunctions

Koroshi makes use of the general subordinating conjunction ke to introduce complement clauses (also called nominal clauses), relative clauses and adverbal clauses. A number of compound conjunctions, composed of nouns or other elements plus ke, such as mawgeī ke ‘when’, bejāī ke ‘instead of’, hamī/hamē ke ‘as soon as’ and be šartī ke ‘on the condition that’, are also used. Additional subordinating conjunctions include tā/ta ‘until, so that’ and aga/aya ‘if’. As in other dialects of Balochi, subordination in Koroshi closely follows the basic pattern of Persian and copies its compound conjunctions (see also Jahani and Korn 2009:678).
3.3.3.2. Complement clauses
There are two types of nominal complement clauses in Koroshi: predicative complements and direct object complements. They normally follow the main clause and are either linked to it by asyndetic subordination (juxtaposition) without any overt marker of subordination other than rising intonation, or with the subordinating conjunction ke.²²

\[
a=genn-an \quad bale \quad aždahâ=am \quad pîk-ay=Ø
\]
VCL=see.NPST-3PL \quad yes \quad dragon=ADD \quad twist.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
\[
dawr=e \quad šāh-ay \quad janek-ay \quad garden-ā
\]
around=EZ \quad king-GEN \quad daughter-GEN \quad neck-OBL
‘they see [that] indeed the dragon is wrapped around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (GA:44)

\[
be-zân-ān \quad ke \quad sarmas \quad lōg-ā
\]
SBJV-know.NPST-1SG \quad CLM \quad Sarmas \quad house-OBL
\[
na-b-ī
\]
NEG.SBJV-become.NPST-3SG
‘I should know that Sarmas will not be at home’ (SD:43)

A predicative complement clause occurs with the verb bayag ‘to become, to be’ or with the copula:

\[
bāz \quad ham=ī \quad a=b-ī \quad ke \quad sāda \quad ham
\]
again \quad EMPH=PROX \quad VCL=become.NPST-3SG \quad CLM \quad simple \quad ADD
\[
be-gâf-ēn
\]
SBJV-weave.NPST-1PL
‘we can also weave in a plain way (i.e., without any pattern) (lit. it also becomes that we weave simple)’ (WK:16)

\[
ğarâr=en \quad marō \quad mā-rā \quad bo-kōš-ant
\]
agreement=COP.NPST.3SG \quad today \quad PN.1PL-OBJ \quad SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL
‘the plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today’ (KS:35)

²² Levinsohn (2013:154) argues that in another dialect of Balochi (Sistani Balochi) this subordinator marks interpretive use, i.e., “that the following speech is to be understood not as a description of what has been said on a particular occasion, but rather as a representation of an utterance or thought” and that it is sometimes used to background the question or proposal it introduces, “thereby highlighting the following answer or execution of the proposal.” In an unpublished paper dated 10/08/2005 Farrell also posits an interpretive use for ke in Southern Balochi.
A direct object complement clause acts as the direct object of the main clause:

\[
a=\text{genn}-\text{i} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{pīremard}=\text{e} \quad \text{idānākō}=\text{en} \\
\text{VCL}=\text{see.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{old.man}=\text{IND} \quad \text{right.here}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \\
\text{‘he sees [that] there is an old man right there (lit. right here)’ (KS:59)}
\]

\[
xān \quad \text{gašt}=\text{Ø} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{āḡā} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{joz} \quad \text{man-ī} \\
\text{khan} \quad \text{say.PST=PC.3SG} \quad \text{CLM} \quad \text{ sir} \quad \text{PN.2SG} \quad \text{ part} \quad \text{PN.1SG-GEN} \\
\text{awlād} \quad \text{a=b-ay} \quad \text{child.PL} \quad \text{VCL=become.NPST-2SG} \\
\text{‘the khan said: “Young man (lit. sir), you will be [like] one of my children” (MM:36)}
\]

In a few instances the direct object complement clause precedes the main clause, in which case it is linked to the main clause by asyndetic subordination (juxtaposition);

\[
harčī=\text{et} \quad \text{bokā} \quad \text{bahr}=\text{at} \quad \text{a=d-ān} \\
\text{whatever=PC.2SG} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{for= PC.2SG} \quad \text{VCL=give.NPST-1SG} \\
\text{‘I will give you whatever you want’ (GA:16)}
\]

The complement clause after a speech verb is always reported in the form of direct speech without any modification of pronouns or verb forms from the actual or imagined speech act.

\[
a=\text{š-īt} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{garār}=\text{en} \quad \text{marō} \\
\text{VCL=say.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{CLM} \quad \text{agreement=COP.NPST.3SG} \quad \text{today} \\
\text{mā-rā} \quad \text{bo-koš-ant} \quad \text{PN.1PL-OBJ} \quad \text{SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL} \\
\text{‘[the foal] says, “The plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today”’ (KS:35)}
\]

\[
aždahā \quad a=\text{š-ī} \quad \text{bann-ā} \quad \text{wel} \quad \text{ma-day-Ø} \\
\text{dragon} \quad \text{VCL=say.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{rope-OBL} \quad \text{loose} \quad \text{PROH-give.NPST-2SG} \\
\text{harčī}=\text{et} \quad \text{bokā} \quad \text{bahr}=\text{at} \quad \text{a=d-ān} \\
\text{whatever=PC.2SG} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{for= PC.2SG} \quad \text{VCL=give.NPST-1SG} \\
\text{‘the dragon says, “Don’t let go of the rope, I will give you whatever you want”’ (GA:16)}
\]

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In nominal complement clauses after verbs of cognition and perception the TAM form of the verb always reflects the direct cognition or perception:

\[
a=dīd=ad=en \quad \text{zarar}=en
\]
\[
\text{VCL}=\text{see.PST}=\text{COP.PST}=\text{PC.1PL} \quad \text{harm}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG}
\]
‘we realized (lit. saw) that it would (lit. will) be harmful’ (UT)

\[
dīd=om \quad \text{fāyeda}={ī} \quad \text{nē}
\]
\[
\text{see.PST}=\text{PC.1SG} \quad \text{use}=\text{IND} \quad \text{NEG.be.NPST.3SG}
\]
‘I realized (lit. saw) that it would be (lit. is) of no use’ (UT)

\[
\text{aga} \quad dīd=et \quad \text{ke} \quad xūb=en \quad \text{gol-ā}
\]
\[
\text{if} \quad \text{see.PST}=\text{PC.2SG} \quad \text{CLM} \quad \text{good}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \quad \text{flower-OBL}
\]
\[
\text{be-rēč-Ø}
\]
\[
\text{IMPV}-\text{pour.NPST-2SG}
\]
‘if you see (lit. saw) that it is good, pour out the flowers (lit. flower)’ (KD:38)

The subordinating conjunction \(tā/ta\) also occasionally introduces nominal complement clauses that present irrealis events.

\[
b-el-Ø \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{be-gaš-ān} \quad \text{ham}={ī} \quad \text{kākol}
\]
\[
\text{IMPV}-\text{let.NPST-2SG} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{SBJV-say.NPST-1SG} \quad \text{EMPH}=\text{PROX} \quad \text{Kakol}
\]
\[
bīy-ay-Ø \quad \text{be-bār-t}=om
\]
\[
\text{SBJV-come.NPST-3SG} \quad \text{SBJV-take.NPST-3SG}=\text{PC.1SG}
\]
‘let me (lit. let that I) tell Kakol to come take me’ (SD:40)

### 3.3.3.3. Relative clauses

Subjects, objects, and adjuncts can all be relativised. Relative clauses are introduced with the subordinating conjunction \(ke\):

\[
kākol \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{sawladawla-ī} \quad \text{lōg}=en \quad \text{četaw}
\]
\[
\text{Kakol} \quad \text{CLM} \quad \text{Sawladawla-GEN} \quad \text{house}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \quad \text{how}
\]
\[
bod-ag=en
\]
\[
\text{become.PST-PP}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG}
\]
‘what has happened to Kakol, who is in Sawladawla’s house’ (SD:76)
Asyndetic subordination is occasionally found with clauses where the head noun is the direct object of the relative clause:

\[
\text{har } kār=ī \quad bokān=ī \quad Õ-b-ī
\]
each deed=IND want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG
\[
\text{be-kan-t} \quad a \quad \text{dassay} \quad a=k-ay-t
\]
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG from hand.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
‘he can do whatever he wants (lit. each deed he wants to do)’ (KS:122)

In restrictive (defining, identifying) relative clauses the head noun is marked by the individuation clitic =ī/ē (analogous to the marking of the head noun with the individuation clitic =ī in Persian), often in combination with a demonstrative or a numeral:

\[
\text{ham}=ā \quad kačal=ī \quad ke \quad mā \quad bāgt \quad kār
\]
EMPH=DIST bald=IND CLM in garden.OBL.PC.2SG work
\[
\text{ma-kan-a} \quad \text{ham}=ā \quad \text{mānt-a}=Ø
\]
IMP-do.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
‘that bald [fellow] who is working in your garden, he is left (lit. has remained)’ (KS:78)

The presence of an individuation clitic on a head noun that can already be identified signals that the relative clause should be interpreted as restrictive. In the following example, there are “two different Ahmads” to choose between and the relative clause tells which one is intended by the head noun:

\[
\text{ahmad}=ī \quad ke \quad xayle \quad nārāhat=a-Ø \quad hālā
\]
Ahmad=IND CLM very troubled=COP.PST-3SG now
\[
\text{ma-kann-a}
\]
IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG
‘Ahmad (i.e., that Ahmad) who was very worried [before], is now laughing (i.e., a “different” Ahmad)’ (GA:42)

The head of a relative clause can also be a demonstrative or an adverb, neither of which take the individuation clitic:

\[
ā \quad ke \quad kōr \quad bod-a=Ø \quad gōš=e
\]
DIST CLM blind become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG ear=PC.3SG
\[
\text{mēškon-ā} \quad \text{bod-a}
\]
IMP.hear.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP
‘the one that was blind was hearing’ (KD:24)
If there is an open restriction, an indefinite pronoun introduces or takes the place of the head noun:

har kār=ī bokān=ī  Replies=IND want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG
be-kan-t a dassay  SBJV-do.NPST-3SG from hand.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
‘he can do whatever he wants (lit. each deed he wants to do)’ (KS:122)

harčī pakk-ag=et bīy-ār-Ø
however.much cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG
‘bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked’ (KS:109)

In clauses with an open restriction where the deictic centre is in the main clause, the perfective past is used as a relative past tense for backgrounded events which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (cf. Sections 3.3.3.4.1 and 3.3.3.4.4):

hāmmo kas=e ke āk-an bōj-ag
all person=IND CLM come.PST-3PL open.NPST-INF
a=nayān bejōz ta
VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG
‘no matter who comes (lit. all a person who came), I will not unwrap (lit. open) [myself] except for you’ (GA:20)
Non-restrictive (i.e., descriptive) relative clauses provide additional information about the head noun rather than identifying it. There is no marking of the head noun with the individuation clitic in non-restrictive relative clauses:

\[
as \; \text{ā-ī} \; \text{kasān-ter} \; \text{sarferāz=en} \; \text{ke}
\]
from \text{DIST-OBL} \; \text{small-CMP} \; \text{Serferaz=COP.NPST.3SG} \; \text{CLM}

\[
ašāyer=en
\]
nomad=COP.NPST.3SG

‘the one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Sarferaz, who is a nomad’

(MM:13)

\[
ahmad \; \text{ham} \; \text{ke} \; \text{a} \; \text{aždaḥā} \; \text{zal=ay}
\]
Ahmad \text{ADD} \; \text{CLM} \; \text{from} \; \text{dragon} \; \text{gall.bladder=PC.3SG}

\[
\text{ma-raw-ā} \; \text{bod-a}
\]
IMP-go.NPST-BACKGR.3SG \; \text{become.PST-PP}

\[
\text{nā-mah-ā-Ø} \; \text{bod-a}
\]
NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKGR.3SG \; \text{become.PST-PP}

‘but Ahmad, who is dead scared of (lit. whose gall bladder is going from) the dragon, doesn’t [want to] come’ (GA:38–39)

3.3.3.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial (or adjunct) clauses express the same types of functions as adverbs: temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, concessional and consecutive. While most kinds of adverbial clauses follow the main clause, there are some that precede it.

Many adverbial clauses are relative clauses that have taken on new semantic relations. Structurally, they keep the pattern of the relative clause, including the marking of the head noun with the individuation clitic:

\[
hāmmo \; \text{kas=e} \; \text{ke} \; \text{āk-an} \; \text{bōʃ-ag}
\]
all \; person=IND \; CLM \; come.PST-3PL \; open.NPST-INF

\[
a=\text{nayān} \; \text{beʃoz} \; \text{ta}
\]
VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG \; except \; PN.2SG

‘no matter who comes (lit. all a person who came), I will not unwrap (lit. open) [myself] except for you’ (relative clause) (GA:20)
ta ke āk-ay man bōj-ag
PN.2SG CLM come.PST-2SG PN.1SG open.NPST-INF

a=k-ā-yān
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG
‘when you come (or: you who come) I will unwrap [myself]’ (temporal clause) (GA:21)

be.jā=ī.ke be-gaš-ī allāho.akbar
instead.of (lit. in.place=IND.CLM) SBJV-say.NPST-3SG Allah.is.greater
a=š-ī allāh=a haf marg
VCL=say.NPST-3SG Allah=and seven death
‘instead of saying “Allah is greater” he says, “Allah, damn it (lit. and seven deaths)”’ (replacive clause) (KS:119)

3.3.3.4.1. Temporal clauses
One frequently occurring adverbial clause type is temporal. Temporal clauses are most frequently connected to the main clause with the general subordinator ke. This type of temporal clause normally precedes the main clause. The subordinator ke occurs after the first phrase in the clause.

sōb-ī ke pād a=k-ā-yan
morning-ADVZ CLM foot VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
a=genn-an bale āždahā dawr=e šāh-ay
VCL=see.NPST-3PL yes dragon around=EZ king-GEN
janek-ay garden=en
daughter-GEN neck=COP.NPST.3SG
‘in the morning, when they get up, they see that, oh dear (lit. yes), the dragon is [wrapped] around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (GA:23)

ĩn̄ar=e šahr-ā ke a=ras-ī dya pīyāda
here=EZ town-OBL CLM VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG then on.foot
a=b-īd
VCL=become.NPST.3SG
‘when he arrives on the outskirts (lit. at this side) of the town, he dismounts’ (KS:55)
Occasionally a temporal clause introduced with *ke* follows the main clause to highlight its contents,\(^2\) in which case *ke* occurs as the first element in the subordinate clause.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ham}=\text{idān} & \text{bokān}=\text{eš} & \text{bod}-\text{a} & \text{b-wasp}-\text{an} \\
&\text{EMPH}=\text{here} & \text{want}=\text{PC.3PL} & \text{become.PST-PP} & \text{SBJV}=\text{sleep.NPST-3PL} \\
&\text{ke} & \text{tīr}=\text{o} & \text{tofāṛ} & \text{a}=\text{b}-\text{īt} \\
&\text{CLM} & \text{bullet}=\text{and} & \text{gun} & \text{VCL}=\text{become.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘they are about (lit. right here they want) to go to sleep when there is shooting (lit. bullet and gun)’ (SD:72)

Temporal clauses can also be linked to the main clause by means of a compound conjunction, sometimes with a more specific meaning than *ke*, e.g., *waxtī* (*ke*) ‘when’, *mawģēi* (*ke*) ‘when’, *hamē/hamī* *ke* ‘as soon as’, *har waxt* ‘whenever’. These clauses precede the main clause, and are sometimes found with a left-dislocated subject.

\[
\begin{align*}
&waxtī.\text{ke} & \text{rass}=\text{en} & \text{espēd}=\text{ī} & \text{jedā} \\
&\text{when} & \text{spin.PST}=\text{PC.1PL} & \text{white}=\text{PC.3SG} & \text{separated} \\
&a=\text{kan}-\text{en} & \text{VCL}=\text{do.NPST-1PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘when we have spun [it], we set aside the (lit. its) white [yarn]’ (WK:3)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ē} & \text{hosayn} & \text{amū} & \text{mawģēi} & \text{ma-raw-ā} \\
&\text{PROX} & \text{Hosayn} & \text{uncle} & \text{when} & \text{IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG} \\
&\text{bod}-\text{a} & \text{gō} & \text{xān-ā} & \text{ma-raw-ā} \\
&\text{become.PST-PP} & \text{with} & \text{khan-OBL} & \text{IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG} \\
&\text{bod}-\text{a} & \text{gō} & \text{asp-ā} & \text{ma-raw-ēn} \\
&\text{become.PST-PP} & \text{with} & \text{horse-OBL} & \text{IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL} \\
&\text{bod}-\text{a} & \text{ošter-ay} & \text{xarag-ā} & \text{ham}=\text{i} & \text{sarkašī} \\
&\text{become.PST-PP} & \text{camel-GEN} & \text{buying-OBL} & \text{EMPH}=\text{PROX} & \text{visiting} \\
&\text{mēdag-ā} & \text{āŋa} & \text{īŋa} & \text{be.har.sūrat} & \text{ar}=\text{r-ant} \\
&\text{encampment-OBL} & \text{there} & \text{here} & \text{anyway} & \text{VCL}=\text{go.NPST-3PL} \\
&\text{ya} & \text{rō} & \text{darašolf-ay} & \text{mēdag-ā} & \text{one day} \text{Darreshuri-GEN} & \text{encampment-OBL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘This Uncle Hosayn, when he goes with the khan – he goes with [his] horse, they go to buy camels, to visit the encampment, and things like that. In any case, one day they go to the Darreshuri encampment.’ (SD:7)

\(^{2}\) Hwang (1990:69) notes that this is a common cross-linguistic feature of post-nuclear subordinate clauses (see also Levinsohn 2007:73).

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‘as soon as they bring [him], sir, the youngest daughter hits him in the chest with the apple’ (KS:80)

‘whenever [the horse] was giving birth it went [and] threw its foal into the sea’ (KS:4)

‘when you come (lit. came), I will unwrap [myself]’ (GA:21)

‘set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem (lit. whenever it was difficult to you)’ (KS:56)

The subordinator tā/ta ‘until’ introduces temporal clauses that denote the limit of an event. This type of temporal clause follows the main clause.
ar=ra-Ø tā a=ras-ī rū čāh-ā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG until VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on well-OBL
‘he goes until he arrives at the well’ (GA:12)

b-el-Ø ta ham=ī ber-r-ān ba
IMPV-let.NPST-2SG that EMPH=PROX SBJV-go.NPST-1SG to
koroš-ā tā ya bār=e deya ē sarkof-ok=om
Korosh-OBL until one time=EZ other PROX taunt-DEF=PC.1SG
nay-aškont-a
NEG-hear.PST-PP
‘let me go to the Korosh before I hear this taunt one more time’ (SD:41)

3.3.3.4.2. Causal clauses
Causal (or reason) clauses set the scene for the main clause. Causal clauses that follow the main clause are connected to it with the general subordinator ke, which occurs as the first element in the subordinate clause:

harčē=ī bokān bahr=ay be-d-en
whatever=PC.3SG want for=PC.3SG SBJV-give.NPST-1PL
ke ē nābūd=en a=kan-t
CLM PROX annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG
‘let’s give him whatever he wants, because [otherwise] he will destroy us’ (KS:126)

Causal clauses can be introduced by the compound conjunctions be xātere ke ‘because, since’, ḥālā ke ‘now that, since’, or na (ke) ‘since (lit. no that)’. These causal clauses precede the main clause:

be.xātere.ke ay dar=ī fāyeda nē tawār=e
because from in=PC.3SG use NEG.be.NPST.3SG sound=PC.3SG
a=na-kod=ad
VCL=NEG-do.PST=COP.PST
‘because there was nothing to gain (lit. there is no use) from it, he would not say anything’ (UT)

ḥālā ke ētawr=en man ţanek-ā
now CLM this.way=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG girl-OBL
ā=k-ār-ān
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG
‘now that it is like this, I will bring the girl’ (SD:46)
since tall become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG=and beautiful

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  PROX-PL  to thought=PC.3PL

‘since he was tall and handsome, they thought (lit. to their thought) he was the khan’ (SD:10)

3.3.3.4.3. Purposive (final) clauses

Purposive clauses, also called final clauses, follow the main clause and are usually linked to it by means of the conjunctions ke or tā/ta. The verb in purposive clauses is always in the subjunctive:

‘she also spreads out a carpet over the well, for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die’ (KS:18)

‘she pours poison into his food to kill him’ (KS:17)

‘give me a job, so that I can work here’ (KD:14)
Purposive clauses can also be connected to the main clause by juxtaposition:

\[
\text{man} \quad \text{nay-āk-ān} \quad \text{be-gaš-ān} \quad \text{bōj-ag}
\]

PN.1SG  NEG-come.PST-1SG  SBJV-say.NPST-1SG  open.NPST-INF

\[
\text{b-ay-Ø}
\]

IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

‘I didn’t come to tell you to unwrap [yourself] (lit. to say, “unwrap yourself”)’ (GA:48)

3.3.3.4.4. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses, which normally precede the main clause, but are occasionally embedded in the main clause, are usually linked to it by means of the conjunction aga/aya ‘if’.

\[
\text{aga} \quad \text{bokān=ī} \quad \text{Ø-b-ī} \quad \text{gōn=et} \quad \text{jaŋ}
\]

if  want=PC.3SG  SBJV-become.NPST-3SG  with=PC.2SG  war

\[
\text{Ø-kan-Ø} \quad \text{nābūd=et} \quad \text{a=kan-t}
\]

SBJV-do.NPST-3SG  annihilated=PC.2SG  VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘if he wants to go to war with you, he will destroy you’ (KS:121)

\[
\text{ay} \quad \text{golī} \quad \text{bann-ā} \quad \text{aga} \quad \text{zenne=y}
\]

VOC  Goli  rope-OBL  if  alive=COP.NPST.2SG

\[
\text{be-ge-Ø}
\]

IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

‘hey, Goli, if you are alive, take hold of the rope’ (GA:13)
Conditional clauses can also be linked to the main clause by juxtaposition:

\[ \text{ē \; bokān=} \text{ī} \quad \text{Ø-}b-\text{id} \quad nābūd=\text{en} \]

PROX \; want=PC.3SG \; SBJV-become.NPST-3SG \; annihilated=PC.1PL

\[ \text{Ø-}k\text{an-t} \quad nābūd=\text{en} \quad a=\text{kan-t} \]

SBJV-do.NPST-3SG \; annihilated=PC.1PL \; VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘[if] he wants to destroy us, he will’ (KS:139)

The verb in the conditional clause can be in either the indicative or the subjunctive. The indicative often indicates a strong likelihood that the condition will be fulfilled, thus approaching the semantics of a causal (reason) clause, whereas the subjunctive presents an irrealis condition that may or may not be fulfilled.

\[ \text{šāh \; aga \; janek=} \text{a} \quad \text{āgd} \quad a=\text{kan-ay} \]

king \; if \; daughter=PC.2SG \; marriage \; VCL=do.NPST-2SG

\[ \text{be-day-Ø=} \text{om} \]

IMPV-give.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG

‘[O] king, if/since you are going to marry off you daughter, give [her] to me’ (GA:21)

\[ \text{aga \; a \; dass=} \text{eš} \quad \text{namak=} \text{en} \quad \text{wārt=} \text{ad} \quad \text{dya} \]

if \; from \; hand=PC.3PL \; salt=PC.1PL \; eat.PST=COP.PST \; again

\[ \text{mā} \quad a=\text{na-}tān-\text{en} \quad \text{masalan} \quad \text{ër}=\text{ī} \]

PN.1PL \; VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-1PL \; in.fact \; PROX-OBL

\[ \text{belaxara \; tehnā \; ēr \; Ø-}kān-\text{en} \]

anyway \; alone \; PREV \; SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

‘if/since they had shown kindness to us (lit. if we had eaten salt from their hand) then, anyway, we couldn’t leave such a person (lit. this one) alone, you know’ (UT)

\[ \text{aga \; be-tān-ay} \quad \text{ē} \quad \text{korrag-ā} \quad \text{bo-koš-ay} \]

if \; SBJV-be.able.NPST-2SG \; PROX \; foal-OBL \; SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

\[ a=tān-ay \quad \text{šāh-ay} \quad \text{bač-ā} \quad \text{ham} \]

VCL=be.able.NPST-2SG \; king-GEN \; son-OBL \; ADD

\[ \text{bo-koš-ay} \]

SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

‘if you manage to kill the foal, you will be able to kill the king’s son as well’ (KS:25)
As in relative clauses with open restriction and in temporal clauses, the perfective past is also used in conditional clauses as a relative past tense for backgrounded events which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (cf. Sections 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.4.1):

[relative clause]

‘now, [if] you like, you spin the beige wool for its warp’ (WK:24)

‘if you see (lit. saw) that it is good, pour out the flowers (lit. flower)’ (KD:38)

3.3.3.4.5. Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses, which precede the main clause, are signalled by adverbs, such as harčī ‘however much/many’ or hālā [...] be har sūrat ‘now [...] anyway’.

‘even though they bring all kinds of wise men (lit. however many wise men they bring), all kinds (lit. however many), [from] here and there, it doesn’t unwrap [itself]’ (GA:24)
however much they go (lit. he goes) around, they see [that] they get nothing (lit. nothing comes to grip)” (KS:92).

‘even if (lit. now) I am taller, anyway, he is the khan’ (SD:12)

Consecutive clauses describe a consequence of the main clause. They follow the main clause and are connected to it with ke. The verb of a consecutive clause can take indicative or subjunctive form.

‘the man pushes her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) falls into the well’ (GA:9)

‘no lover’s money has [ever] returned into his pocket (lit. into what lover’s pocket has money gone), [which means] that [you shouldn’t expect] your money to return (lit. go) into your pocket [either]’ (SD:32)
3.3.3.4.7. Replacive clauses

Replacive clauses, which precede the main clause, describe an alternative (irrealis) event that is replaced by another (realis) event. The verb in replacive clauses is in the subjunctive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be} &= \text{be-}\text{jāī.} & \text{be-} & = \text{be-ga-} & \text{allāho} & = \text{allāho.} & \text{akbar} & = \text{a=}\text{š-ī} \\
\text{instead.of} & = \text{SBJV-say.NPST-3SG} & \text{Allah.is.greater} & = \text{VCL=say.NPST-3SG} \\
\text{allā} & = \text{o} & \text{haf} & = \text{marg} & \text{Allah=} & = \text{o} & \text{and} & \text{seven death} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘instead of saying “Allah is greater,” he says, “Allah, damn it (lit. and seven deaths)”’ (KS:119)

3.3.4. Tail-head linkage

In Koroshi, tail-head linkage is a device that operates on discourse level to create cohesion, highlight an event, or introduce a new narrative unit in a discourse (for further details, see Nourzaei, forthcoming). It consists of a repetition in the next sentence of part or all of the previous sentence. The first sentence ends with falling intonation, while the repeated segment in the second sentence has rising intonation. Tail-head linkage is very common in the traditional narrative genre, and is also present in accounts of real-life events.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{har} & = \text{do=nī} & \text{a=} & = \text{bar-ant} & \text{bār} & = \text{a=} & = \text{kan-ant} \\
\text{each} & = \text{two=PC.3SG} & \text{VCL=take.NPST-3PL} & \text{load} & = \text{VCL=do.NPST-3PL} \\
\text{bār} & = \text{a=} & = \text{kan-ant}=o & \text{ar}= & = \text{r-an} & \text{load} & = \text{VCL=do.NPST-3PL=} & \text{and} & = \text{VCL=go.NPST-3PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They take both of them and load them up. They load them up and go.’ (DC:13–14)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bām} & = \text{ar=ra-Ø} & \text{mā} & = \text{Čāh-ā} \\
\text{man} & = \text{push=PC.3SG} & \text{VCL=give.NPST-3SG} & \text{CLM} & = \text{woman} \\
\text{ar}= & = \text{ra-Ø} & \text{mā} & = \text{Čāh-ā} & \text{a=} & = \text{k-ay-Ø} \\
\text{VCL=} & = \text{go.NPST-3SG} & \text{into} & = \text{well-OBL} \\
\text{ar}= & = \text{ra-Ø} & \text{mā} & = \text{Čāh-ā} & \text{a=} & = \text{k-ay-Ø} \\
\text{VCL=} & = \text{go.NPST-3SG} & \text{into} & = \text{well-OBL} & \text{VCL=} & = \text{IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The man pushes her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) falls into the well. She falls into the well [and] he comes [back home].’ (GA:9–10)
‘Then (lit. right here) Dastan gets upset. She gets upset [and] says...’
(SD:39–40)
4. Text Corpus

4.1. Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel

Karok o Oštorok
The Donkey and the Camel
recounted by Alamdar Samsanian

DC:1
ˈyekī ˈasse ˈyekī ˈnaya ˈgayr az xoˈdā
yek=ī ass=e yek=ī nay-a-Ø ġayr az xodā
one=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND NEG-COP.PST-3SG except God

ˈhīčka ˈnayat
hīčka nay-at-Ø
nobody NEG-COP.PST-3SG

Once upon a time... (lit. There is one, there was no one, except for God there was no one.)

DC:2
ˈrōčī ˈāgā ye ˈkare o ya ošˈtore xaˈrāb
rōč=ī āgā ye kar=e =o ya oštor=e xarāb
day=IND sir one donkey=IND =and one camel=IND thin

boda a mēˈdagā āmāˈnīt
bod-a=Ø a mēdag-ā ā=mān-īt
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG from encampment-OBL VCL=remain.NPST-3SG

One day, sir, a donkey and a camel had gotten thin [and were not strong enough to walk], they stayed (lit. it stays) behind at the encampment [at the time of migration].

DC:3
amāˈnīt ˈrūye orˈdā
a=mān-ī rū=ye ord-ā
VCL=remain.NPST-3SG on=EZ camp-OBL

They stayed back at the camp.
They stayed back at the camp for a long time, [then] slowly but surely it started to rain and the grass grew.

They grazed here and there until they got well, they got fat.

They got fat, then [one day] a caravan was about to pass by.

A caravan was about to pass by.
The donkey said, “Goodness gracious, I remember how my father used to play his clarinet.”

The camel said, “You fool (lit. O unaware heart), don’t act like this, don’t do this, we have now been at ease for a long time. Nobody loads us up (lit. they don’t load us up), forget it, don’t do this!”
Sir, [the donkey] started heeing and hawing there and then. Well, the caravan turned around. It turned around and came and took both the camel and the donkey. They took both of them and loaded them up. They loaded them up and went. They went until they [had to] climb (lit. hit) at a hill.
They climbed a hill. The donkey slowed down.

It could not carry the load, it slowed down.

So they put the donkey on the camel.

As soon as the camel arrived at the slope it said, “Hey there, donkey!”

[The donkey] said, “What do you want (lit. yes)?”
4. Text Corpus

**DC:21**

hālā 'wadet 'bege ma'nī naw’bat
hālā wad=et be-ge-Ø man-ī nawbat
now REFL=PC.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-GEN turn

en
=en
=COP.NPST.3SG

[The camel said,] “Stop (lit. take yourself) now, it is my turn.”

**DC:22**

ašī 'manī bo’woay 'layt ka’nagom ham
a=s-ī man-ī bowo-ay layt kan-ag=om ham
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN father-GEN game do.NPST-INF=PC.1SG ADD

'yādom ma’hā 'haway layt ka’nagī
yād=om mah-ā-Ø haw-ay layt kan-ag=ī
memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG a game-GEN game do.NPST-INF=PC.3SG

It continued (lit. said), “I remember how my father played, how he played haw (i.e., a game with sticks).”

**DC:23**

'kar ašī 'ay 'makan 'ēō ē’dā ‘sare
kar a=s-ī ay ma-kan-Ø ēō ēdā sar=e
donkey VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC PROH-do.NPST-2SG like this here on=EZ

šay en 'man 'xord abān
šay =en man xord a=b-ān
slope =COP.NPST.1PL PN.1SG shattered VCL=become.NPST-1SG

The donkey said, “Hey there, don’t act like this, we are on a slope here, I will be shattered.”

**DC:24**

ašī 'nabē man 'gaštom
a=s-ī Õ=na-b-ē man gaš=om
VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=NEG-become.NPST-2SG PN.1SG say.PST=PC.1SG

ta 'gōšet ke
ta gōš=et ke
PN.2SG ear=PC.2SG do.PST

[The camel] said, “You won’t, [and, by the way,] I told [you] [not to stop the caravan]; did you listen?”
4.1. Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel

Well, then the camel swayed to and fro [and] threw the donkey down from up there. It got shattered among the rocks.

Now, may it happen to our enemy as to the donkey and to our friend as to the camel.
4. Text Corpus

4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

Goli o Ahmad

Goli and Ahmad

recounted by Alamdar Samsanian

GA:1
xolāˈsa ˈyekī  ad  ˈyekī  ˈnayad  ˈgayre
xolāsa yek=i =ad-Ø yek=i nay-ad-Ø gayr=e
in short  one=IND  =COP.PST-3SG  one=IND  NEG-COP.PST-3SG  except=EZ

xoˈdā  ˈheška  ˈnaya
xodā heška nay-a-Ø
God  nobody  NEG-COP.PST-3SG

Well, once upon a time... (lit. Well, there was one, there was no one, except for God there was no one.)

GA:2
xolāˈsa  dāˈzanē  yek  dāˈzanē  boda
xolāsa dāzan=e yek dāzan=e bod-a=Ø
in short  woman=IND  one  woman=IND  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ˈnāme  goˈlī  boda
nām=e golī bod-a=Ø
name=PC.3SG  Goli  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, a woman, there was a woman, her name was Goli.

GA:3
ˈxaylī  ham  ˈbad  boda
xaylī ham bad bod-a=Ø
very  ADD  bad  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  actually

She was actually very bad.

GA:4
xeyˈlī  ham  ˈbad  boda  azˈzīyate  ˈšūay
xaylī ham bad bod-a=Ø azzīyat=e šū=ay
very  ADD  bad  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  trouble=EZ  husband=PC.3SG

makaˈnā  boda  o  ˈāŋa  ˈīŋa
ma-kānā bod-a =o āŋa īŋa
IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG  become.PST-PP =and  there  here

She was actually very bad. She was giving her husband a hard time, you know.
4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

GA:5

tā ˈya rōcē ˈšūay aˈšī ke ˈay goˈlī
tā ya rōc=ē ʃū=ay a=š-ī ke ay golī
then one day=IND husband=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM VOC Goli

ī hāmˈmo marˈdom maraˈwa sawˈzā ˈāŋa ˈīŋa
ī hāmmo mardom ma-raw-a sawzā āŋa īŋa
PROX all people IMP-go.NPST-3SG herb.OBL there here

ˈbyā ˈman o ta ham ˈberren
by-ā-Ø man =o ta ham ber-r-en
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.1SG =and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

So, one day her husband said, “Hey, Goli, all the people go [to pick] green herbs here and there, come on, let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too.”

GA:6

aˈšī ˈxayle xob ˈberren
a=š-ī xayle xob ber-r-en
VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

She said, “Very well, let’s go.”

GA:7

arˈran haˈmī sahˈrā ˈdya sawˈzā
ar=r-ān ham=ī sahrā dya sawzā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX wilderness well herb.OBL

mačeˈnēn boda o ˈāŋa ˈīŋa arˈra
ma-čen-ēn bod-a =o āŋa īŋa ar=ra-Ø
IMP-pick.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP =and there here VCL=go.NPST-3SG

ˈyak ˈčāhī peˈdā akant
yak čāh=ī pēdā a=kan-t
one well=IND visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG

They went [out] into the (lit. this) wilderness, you know, they picked green herbs, like this. [The man] went [and] found a well.
4. Text Corpus

**GA:8**

The man found a well. He said, “Hey, my wife (lit. woman), look into this well, what is that (lit. this) [thing] shining?”

**GA:9**

The woman came, sir, to look into the well. The man pushed her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) fell into the well.

**GA:10**

The man found a well. He said, “Hey, my wife (lit. woman), look into this well, what is that (lit. this) [thing] shining?”

The woman came, sir, to look into the well. The man pushed her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) fell into the well.
4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

She fell into the well [and] he came [back home]. After four, five days her husband said, “I shouldn’t have done like this, I shouldn’t have thrown her into the well. She was my (lit. our) wife.”

GA:11
xolā’sa nārā’hat abī ya ’banne a zo
xolāsā nārāḥat a=bī ya bann=e a=zo-Ø
in short troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG one rope=IND VCL=take.NPST-3SG

ar’ra
ar=ra-Ø
VCL=go.NPST-3SG

Anyhow, he became troubled, took a rope [and] went.

GA:12
a ’zo ar’ra tā ara’sī rū
a=zo-Ø ar=ra-Ø tā a=ras-ī rū
VCL=take.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG until VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on

čā’hā
čāh-ā
well-OBL

He took [it] [and] went until he arrived at the well.
4. Text Corpus

GA:13

ban’nā aprē’nī mā čā’hā a’šī ’ay ’golī
bann-ā a=prēn-ī mā čāh-ā a=š-ī ay golī
rope-OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG into well-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC Goli

ban’nā aɡa zen’ne y ’bege ta
bann-ā aɡa zenne =y be-ge-Ø ta
rope-OBL if alive =COP.NPST.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG in order that

’m a ’ bekešānet bā’lād
man be-keš-ān=et bālād
PN.1SG SBJV-pull.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG up

He threw the rope into the well [and] said, “Hey, Goli, if you are alive, take hold of the rope, so that I can pull you up.”

GA:14

xolā’sa ‘hamītaw ban’nā aka’sī bā’lād
xolāsa ham=ītaw bann-ā a=kaš-ī bālād
in short EMPH=this way rope-OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG up

agen’nī ’ban saḥān en
a=genn-ī ban saḥān =en
VCL=see.NPST-3SG rope heavy =COP.NPST.3SG

Well, he pulled up the rope, like this. He noticed (lit. sees) the rope was heavy.

GA:15

aka’sīd o aka’sīd ’tā aɡen’nīt
a=kaš-īd =o a=kaš-īd tā a=genn-īt
VCL=pull.NPST-3SG =and VCL=pull.NPST-3SG until VCL=see.NPST-3SG

ye’haw ažda’hā ’āk bā’lād
yehaw aždahā āk-Ø bālād
suddenly dragon come.PST-3SG up

He pulled and pulled until he suddenly saw a dragon come up.

GA:16

ažda’hā ’āk bā’lād hawlakī ’ābī ke
aždahā āk-Ø bālād hawlaki a=b-ī ke
dragon come.PST-3SG up panicking VCL=become.NPST-3SG CLM

ban’nā ke ’wel dā ažda’hā a’šī
bann-ā ke wel Ø-dā-Ø aždahā a=š-ī
rope-OBL CLM loose SBJV-give.NPST-3SG dragon VCL=say.NPST-3SG
A dragon came up. He was panicking [and wanted] to let go of the rope, [but] the
dragon said, “Don’t let go of the rope, I will give you whatever you want.”

The man said, “Fine, can you get the king’s daughter for me?”

The dragon said, “Yes, I will get her for you.”

So [then] it said, “Very well, tonight I will go and wrap myself around the neck of the
king’s daughter.
Then, no matter who comes (lit. all a person who came), I will not unwrap (lit. open) [myself] except for you.

When you come, I will unwrap [myself]. Then say, “[O] king, if you are going to marry off you daughter, give [her] to me, and I will open up this dragon.”

Well, in the evening the dragon went and wrapped itself around the neck of the king’s daughter.
In the morning, when they got up, they saw that, oh dear (lit. yes), the dragon was [wrapped] around the neck of the king’s daughter.

Even though they brought all kinds of wise men (lit. however many wise men they brought), all kinds (lit. however many), [from] here and there, it didn’t unwrap [itself].

They said, “So is there anyone left?”

[Someone] said, “There is one person, a poor fellow who is called Ahmad, he is left.”
4. Text Corpus

**GA:27**

\[\text{a} \ ' \text{si} \ \ ' \text{xob} \ \text{berret} \ \text{ham} \ ' \text{hi} \ \text{ham} \]
\[\text{a}=\text{si} \ \text{xob} \ \text{berret} \ \text{ham}=\text{hi} \ \text{ham} \]
\text{VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG well IMPV-go.NPST-2PL EMPH=DIST-OBL ADD}

\[' \text{biiyaret} \]
\text{biiy-ar-et IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL}

[The king] said, “Well, go [and] bring him, too!”

**GA:28**

\[\text{ar} \ ' \text{rant} \ \text{ke} \ \text{mow} \ ' \text{ge} \ \text{ah} \ ' \text{mad} \ ' \text{a} \ \text{ak} \ ' \text{rant} \]
\[\text{ar}=\text{rant} \ \text{ke} \ \text{maw} \ ' \text{ge} \ \text{ahmad}=\text{a} \ \text{ak}=\text{rant} \]
\text{VCL}=\text{go.NPST-3PL CLM when Ahmad-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL}

\[\text{ah} \ ' \text{mad} \ a \ \text{sah} \ ' \text{ha} \ a \ \text{si} \ \text{ay} \ \text{shah} \ \text{aga} \ \text{e} \]
\text{ahmad a sah-\text{a} a=si ay shah aga e}

Ahmad to king-OBL VCL=\text{say.NPST-3SG VOC king if PROX}

\[\text{ja} \ ' \text{nekat} \ \text{a} \ ' \text{agd} \ \text{akanay} \ \text{beday} \ \text{man} \]
\text{ja-nekat aagd akanay beday man}
\text{VCL=do.NPST-2SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG}

\[\text{ta} \ \text{man} \ \text{e} \ \text{a} ' \text{da'h} \ ' \text{ha} \ \text{bo} \ ' \text{jahn} \ a \]
\text{ta man e a\text{da'ha} b\text{o}j-an a}
\text{in order that PN.1SG PROX dragon SBJV-open.NPST-1SG from}

\text{gar'denay gardenay neck.OBL.PC.3SG}

They went [and] when they brought Ahmad, he said to the king, “O king, if you are going to marry off your daughter, give [her] to me, so that I can unwrap (lit. open) this dragon from her neck.”
Well, then the king had no choice. He said, “Very well, I will marry her off, I will give [her] to you.”

I will marry her off, I will give [her] to you.”

Anyway, he married her off, he gave her to Ahmad and then Ahmad went [and] whispered something in the dragon’s ear and the dragon went [away].
When the dragon unwrapped itself to go, well, it said, “Ahmad, I am leaving right away (lit. I went) [but] if I ever wrap myself around anybody’s neck, you should not come, you know! [If you do], then I will get angry [and] eat you.”

He said, “Well, no, I won’t come.”

Anyhow, the dragon went [its way].

It went [its way], it went to another town [and] wrapped itself around the neck of another king’s daughter.
4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

**GA:36**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'harčī} & \quad \text{ā'lem} & \quad o & \quad \text{'harčī} & \quad \text{'āŋa} & \quad \text{'ŋar} \\
\text{harčī} & \quad \text{ālem} & = & \quad o & \quad \text{harčī} & \quad \text{'āŋa} & \quad \text{'ŋar} \\
\text{however many} & \quad \text{wise man} & = & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{however many} & \quad \text{there} & \quad \text{here} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ākā 'rant} & \quad \text{āgā} & \quad \text{bo'jag} & \quad \text{a'nyay} \\
\text{ā=k-ār-ant} & \quad \text{āgā} & \quad \text{bōj-ag} & = \quad \text{a=nay-ay-Ō} \\
\text{VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL} & \quad \text{Sir} & \quad \text{open.NPST-INF} & \quad \text{VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

[Even though] they brought all the wise men [from] here and there, sir, it didn’t unwrap itself.

**GA:37**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bo'jag} & \quad \text{a'nyayt} & \quad \text{tā} & \quad \text{a'šant} & \quad \text{fe'lān} \\
bōj-ag & = \quad \text{nay-ay-t} & \quad \text{tā} & = \quad \text{a-š-ant} & \quad \text{felān} \\
\text{open.NPST-INF} & \quad \text{VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{VCL=say.NPST-3PL} & \quad \text{so and so} \\
\text{'şahrā} & \quad \text{'yak} & \quad \text{na'far} & \quad \text{en} & \quad \text{be} & \quad \text{'nāme} & \quad \text{ah'mad} & \quad \text{şā'hay} \\
\text{şahr-ā} & \quad \text{yak} & \quad \text{nafar} & = \quad \text{en} & \quad \text{be} & \quad \text{nām}= \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{ahmad} & \quad \text{şā-ay} \\
\text{town-}\text{OBL} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{person} & = \quad \text{COP.NPST.3SG} & \quad \text{by} & \quad \text{name}= \quad \text{EZ} & \quad \text{Ahmad} & \quad \text{king-GEN} \\
\text{dū mâd} & \quad \text{en} & \quad \text{'ā} & \quad \text{a'tān} \\
\text{dūmād} & = \quad \text{en} & \quad \text{ā} & = \quad \text{tān-Ū} & \quad \text{son in law} & = \quad \text{COP.NPST.3SG} & \quad \text{DIST} & \quad \text{VCL=be.able.NPST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bo'jīdī} \\
\text{Ø-bōj-īd}= \text{ī} \\
\text{SBJV-open.NPST-3SG}= \text{PC.3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It didn’t unwrap itself until [people] said, “In such-and-such a town there is a person called Ahmad, he is the king’s son-in-law. He can unwrap it.”

**GA:38**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xolā'sa} & \quad \text{ar'rant} & \quad \text{ah'madī} & \quad \text{ran'nā} & \quad \text{ah'mad} & \quad \text{ham} & \quad \text{ke} & \quad \text{a} \\
xolāsā & \quad \text{ar=r-ant} & \quad \text{ahmad-ī} & \quad \text{rannā} & \quad \text{ahmad} & \quad \text{ham} & \quad \text{ke} & \quad \text{a} \\
\text{in short} & \quad \text{VCL=go.NPST-3PL} & \quad \text{Ahmad-GEN} & \quad \text{behind} & \quad \text{Ahmad} & \quad \text{ADD} & \quad \text{CLM} & \quad \text{from} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ažda 'hā} & \quad \text{'zalay} & \quad \text{mar'a 'wā} & \quad \text{boda} \\
aždahā & \quad \text{zal}= \text{ay} & \quad \text{ma-raw-ā} & \quad \text{bod-a} \\
\text{dragon} & \quad \text{gall bladder}= \text{PC.3SG} & \quad \text{IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG} & \quad \text{become.PST-PP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'nāmahā} & \quad \text{boda} \\
\text{nā-mah-ā-Ō} & \quad \text{bod-a} \\
\text{NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG} & \quad \text{become.PST-PP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

So they went to find (lit. behind) Ahmad. But Ahmad, who was dead scared of (lit. whose gall bladder is going from) the dragon, wouldn’t come.
Anyway, the king said, “No, you must go. This is improper,” and things like that. He sent him away.

Ahmad came [but he was] worried, you know, [and said to himself,] “What should I do? The dragon will eat me,” [he said] like this. Then, in the middle of the road, suddenly he got an idea.
They saw that Ahmad, who was very worried [before], was now laughing and happy.

[Someone] said, “Ahmad, how are you [feeling]?” He said, “Never mind, let’s go. I will unwrap the dragon.”

They went and went [and] when they approached (lit. arrived on this side of) the court, you know, they saw [that] indeed the dragon was wrapped around the neck of the king’s daughter.
When the dragon’s eye fell on Ahmad, it got angry.

It said, “Well, didn’t I tell you not to come?!”

Ahmad said, “I didn’t come to tell you to unwrap [yourself] (lit. to say, ‘unwrap yourself’), actually. I didn’t come to say ‘come loose, [and] go!’”

[The dragon] said, “So what do you [have to] say?”
4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

**GA:50**
a'sī faḡat ya payḡāme 'assenom
a=š-ī faḡat ya payḡām=en as=en=om
VCL=say.NPST-3SG only one message=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

bahrat
bahr=at
for=PC.2SG

[Ahmad] said, “I only have a message for you.”

**GA:51**
a'sī 'cī en
a=š-ī =cī =en
VCL=say.NPST-3SG what =COP.NPST.3SG

[The dragon] said, “What is it?”

**GA:52**
a'sī golī a čāhā dar kafta
a=š-ī golī a čāh-ā dar kaft-a=Ø
VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli from well-obl.PREV fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

rannat magar'da
rannat ma-gard-a
after.PC.2SG IMP-go around.NPST-3SG

[Ahmad] said, “Goli has come out of the well [and] she is looking for you!”

**GA:53**
'āgā ažda’hā ham az tor’say bo’jag
āgā aždahā ham az torsay bōj-ag
sir dragon ADD from fear.OBL.PC.3SG open.NPST-INF

akay ‘haw ‘boro ke ‘raft
a=k-ay-Ø haw bo-ro-Ø ke raft-Ø
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG yes IMPV-go.NPST-2SG CLM go.PST-3SG

Sir, the dragon unwrapped itself out of fear, [and] how it was running!
Now, may our enemy experience what Goli did and our friend what Ahmad experienced.
Once upon a time... (lit. There is one, there is no one.)

In the name of God, in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful.

May God bring [good fortune].

There was a princess (lit. king’s daughter) [and] anyhow, the poor girl (lit. God’s servant), I don’t know how it happened, she became homeless [and went away] from there.
She went to a shepherd, she said, “I will give my clothes along with my gold to you, you give me a lamb.

Give me a lamb, I only want the stomach of the lamb, I have use for its stomach.

Take its meat (lit. carcass) for yourself.”
Anyway, the shepherd agreed [and] said, “Well, you only want its stomach, [and] you give all this to me, like this.”

She said: “No problem!

Then I want to come home with you.”

She went. Now, this shepherd had a mother too, an old woman.
She went [and] worked for them for some time, like this, [and] then she went, once again she went to a king’s palace to stay there.

When she went to that palace she pulled the stomach over her head, [then] she went to that palace there.

She went [and] said, “Give me a job. Give me a job, so that I can work here.”
4.3. Text 3: The King’s Daughter

**KD:15**

The King’s Daughter

ēʾšān aʾšant mā ʾsay ošʾtor enen
čē-ān a=š-ant mā.say oštor =en=en

PROX-PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL PN.1PL three camel =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1PL

ʾsay ošʾtorā ʾbebar ʾbečārēn
say oštorā be-bar-Ø be-čārēn-Ø

three camel-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2SG IMPV-take grazing.NPST-2SG

ʾbiyār
biy-ār-Ø

IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

They said, “We have three camels. Take the three camels grazing [and] bring them [back].”

**KD:16**

＇ē mawḡe... ʾsay ošʾtor ʿyekī ʾlaŋ boda
čē mawḡe say oštor yek=ī laŋ bod-a=Ø

PROX time three camel one=IND lame become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ʿyekī ʾkōr boda ʿyekī ham ʿkar
yek=ī kōr bod-a=Ø yek=ī ham kar

one=IND blind become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND ADD deaf

boda
bod-a=Ø

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

At this time .... One of the three camels was lame, one was blind, and one was deaf.

**KD:17**

abaʾrant... mabaʾrā boda ʾčēre ya
a=bar-ant ma-bar-ā bod-a čēr=e ya

VCL=take.NPST-3PL IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP under=EZ one

deʾraxe hamoʾdān ʾwade ʾmanenʾnā
derax=e ham=odān wad=e ma-nenn-ā

tree=IND EMPH=there REFL=PC.3SG IMP-sit down.NPST-BACKG.3SG
They took... she kept taking them under a tree [and] there she herself sat down and they were grazing, so to speak.

[The owners of the camels] saw that these camels were (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin) day by day.

So now, [one day] they said, “What is going on?” They said, “She is not taking them grazing. She is riding the camels (lit. camel), she is giving the camels a hard time.
4.3. Text 3: The King’s Daughter

KD: 21

\[ \text{\'namaylagen} \quad \text{\'bečarī} \]
\[ \text{na-mayl-ag=en} \quad \text{be-čar-ī} \]

NEG-IMP.let.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG  SBJV-graze.NPST-3SG

She is not letting them graze.”

KD: 22

\[ \text{\šā hay} \quad \text{\bač pay\'gīr \ abī} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{\'bera} \]
\[ \text{\šāh-ay} \quad \text{bač paygīr} \ a=b-ī \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{be-ra-Ø} \]

king-GEN  son  persistent  VCL=become.NPST-3SG  CLM  SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

\[ \text{\'mennī} \quad \text{ba \ 'če \ \čo} \quad \text{maka \ 'nagen} \]
\[ \text{m-enn-ī} \quad \text{ba če} \quad \čo \quad \text{ma-kan-ag=en} \]

SBJV-see.NPST-3SG  why  like this  IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

\[ \text{oštorno \ 'bār} \quad \text{ba \ 'če} \quad \text{lā\'gar \ 'mabayan} \]
\[ \text{oštorno} \quad \text{ba če} \quad \text{lāgar} \quad \text{ma-bay-an} \]

camel-PL  why  thin  IMP-become.NPST-3PL

The king’s son started looking into [the matter] (lit. becomes persistent) [and decided] to go and see why she was doing this, why the camels were getting thin.

KD: 23

\[ \text{a \ 'raft} \quad \text{agen\'nī} \quad \text{maw\'geī ke} \quad \text{mara\'wa} \quad \text{mā} \]
\[ \text{a=raf-t} \quad \text{a=genn-ī} \quad \text{mawgēi ke} \quad \text{ma-raw-a} \quad \text{mā} \]

VCL=go.NPST-3SG  VCL=see.NPST-3SG  when  IMP-go.NPST-3SG  into

\[ \text{\'ī} \quad \text{de\'raxe} \quad \text{sā\'hegā} \quad \text{\'sarē} \quad \text{pa\'ī} \quad \text{makana} \quad \text{hī\'lō} \]
\[ \text{ī} \quad \text{deraxt-e} \quad \text{sāheg-ā} \quad \text{sar=ē} \quad \text{patī} \quad \text{ma-kan-a} \quad \text{hilō} \]

PROX  tree-GEN  shadow-OBL  head=PC.3SG  bare  IMP-do.NPST-3SG  swing

\[ \text{maka\'nagen} \]
\[ \text{ma-kan-ag=en} \]

IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

He went [and] saw [that] when she went into the shadow of this tree, she was unveiling herself [and] playing on a swing.

KD: 24

\[ \text{oštorno \ 'bār} \quad \text{\'ā} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{\'kōr} \quad \text{boda} \quad \text{\'gōše} \]
\[ \text{oštorno} \quad \text{ā} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{kör} \quad \text{bod-a=Ø} \quad \text{gōš=e} \]

camel-PL  DIST  CLM  blind  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  ear=PC.3SG

\[ \text{mēško \ 'nā} \quad \text{boda} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{\'ē} \quad \text{masa\'lan} \quad \text{ka\'lamā} \]
\[ \text{mēškon-ā} \quad \text{bod-a} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ē} \quad \text{masalan} \quad \text{kalam-ā} \]

IMP.hear.NPST-BACKG.3SG  become.PST-PP  CLM  PROX  for example  flute-OBL
4. Text Corpus

As for the camels, the one that was blind was hearing her playing the flute, for example, and it could not graze.

KD:25

And the one that was deaf was seeing, it was looking at her beauty.

KD:26

The same thing happened to the one that was lame.

KD:27

It was lame [but] it was hear... (lit. its eye hear...) it was both seeing and hearing.
The story goes (lit. it says) that the king’s son went and looked [and] saw that she was actually unveiling herself and she was both playing the flute and reciting poetry. The camels were entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought), they could not....

He went, he went [and] said, “I want [to marry] this very [girl], this very [one]. I want this king’s... this bald [girl].”
His mother made a big fuss, she fell ill [and] [people there] said, “Why, what kind of a story is this? How come you want this bald [girl]? You are the son of a king!” [But] he said, “Well, I want this very [girl].”

In any case, one day she came, this girl, this bald [girl] came [and] pretended to be ill. She said, “I am not well,” things like that.
The king’s son said, “All this is a trick and I know what kind [of person] she is.”

He went [and] said, “I want her.” Well, he persisted [and] they married him to this [girl].

They married him [to her]. The king’s wife, the king’s wife, the mother of the groom said.... Well, in the morning....
It was the morning after (lit. of) the wedding, and the bride and the groom were in the bridal chamber.

A basin, she gave one, you know, one basin of ashes [to a maidservant] and, well, one of flowers too, one basin of flowers.

She said, "Go, if you see that the situation is the same [as before], pour out the ashes [and] come [back]."
If you see (lit. saw) that it is good, pour out the flowers (lit. flower) [and] come [back]."

The maidservant went and saw, goodness gracious, this bald [girl] was [beautiful like] a flame [of fire], she was a... she was very beautiful, you know.

She became speechless (lit. her tongue catches), she got all excited, she poured out both the ashes and the flowers and came back.
4. Text Corpus

**KD:41**

She came back [and] said, “It is full of light (lit. light of light), it is a [totally unexpected] situation, it is (lit. has become) bright in the room because of the girl’s hair, the light [from it].”

**KD:42**

Well, the king’s wife became very happy [and] said, “How [has] this [come about]?”

**KD:43**

PROX one king=IND-GEN daughter become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
Then [the girl] said.... It became clear that she was a princess and had made herself
[look] this way so that nobody would recognize [her].
Once upon a time.... (lit. There was one, there was no one, except God there was no one.)

A king, sir, his wife died, he went [and] took another wife.

A PROX son=PC.3SG very bad become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG want=PC.3SG
He took another wife and this wife of his was very mean to his son (lit. this son of his), she wanted his son to die, [so that] all the wealth would be hers.

So, one day.... The king also had a horse. Whenever [the horse] was giving birth, it went [and] threw its foal into the sea.

He said... the king’s son said, “Hey there horse (lit. donkey), why do you go and throw your foal into the sea?”
4. Text Corpus

**KS:6**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{a`šīt} & \text{‘manī} & \text{kor`ragā} & \text{‘hīška} & \text{a`natwānt} \\
\text{a=š-ī} & \text{man-ī} & \text{korr-ā} & \text{hīška} & \text{a=na-twān-t} \\
\end{array}
\]

VCL=say.NPST-3SG  PN.1SG-GEN  foal-OBL  nobody  VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3SG

\[\text{ma`zan \ kant}\]

mazan  Ø-kan-t

\[\text{big \ SBJV-do.NPST-3SG}\]

It said, “My foal, nobody can raise [it].”

**KS:7**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{šā`hay} & \text{‘bač} & \text{a`šīt} & \text{‘man} & \text{ma`zanē} & \text{akanān} \\
\text{šāh-ay} & \text{bač} & \text{a=š-īt} & \text{man} & \text{mazan=ē} & \text{a=kan-ān} \\
\end{array}
\]

king-GEN  son  VCL=say.NPST-3SG  PN.1SG  big=PC.3SG  VCL=do.NPST-1SG

The king’s son said, “I will raise it.”

**KS:8**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{a`šī} & \text{‘wāllā} & \text{a`natwānay} & \text{a`šī} \\
\text{a=š-ī} & \text{wāllā} & \text{a=na-twān-ay} & \text{a=š-ī} \\
\end{array}
\]

VCL=say.NPST-3SG  by.God  VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-2SG  VCL=do.NPST-3SG

\[\text{če`taw \ atvā`non}\]

četaw  a=twān-on  how  VCL=be able.NPST-1SG

It said, “By God, you cannot.” He said, “How [come]? I can.”

**KS:9**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{a`šī} & \text{‘xo} & \text{jar`yānē} & \text{čī`tār} & \text{en} & \text{ke} \\
\text{a=š-ī} & \text{xo} & \text{jaryān=e} & \text{čī`tār} & \text{en} & \text{ke} \\
\end{array}
\]

VCL=say.NPST-3SG  well  issue=PC.3SG  how  =COP.NPST.3SG  CLM

\[\text{a`natwānnon}\]

a=na-twān-on  VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-1SG

He said, “Well, what is the issue that I cannot?”
4.4. Text 4: The King’s Son

KS:10

It said, “You must give [it] the meat (lit. carcass) of seven black sheep per week to eat.

KS:11

And always, you know, you should give [it] milk from black sheep to drink – which means that there should not be one [single] white hair on their bodies (lit. its body) – until it grows big.

KS:12

Then this foal can provide you with whatever you may want.”
He said, “Well, I will raise it.”

So when this horse was about to give birth, you know, he took this foal and gave it the meat (lit. carcass) of seven ewes.... He gave the meat of seven black ewes every week, he also always milked the milk of black ewes and gave [the milk to the foal and] the foal drank [it] until it grew big.
It grew big and he said, “Very well.” Anyway, this foal knew everything.

Now, the king’s [new] wife intended to kill the king’s son.

She poured poison into his food to kill him, [but] the (lit. this) foal came up to him, [and] said, “They have poured poison into your food today. Don’t eat the food.”
It said, “Don’t eat the food.” So, that day at noon, he didn’t eat the food. Again the boy went to school and [the foal] came up to the boy, you know. Right where the boy would [usually] sit [the king’s wife] dug a well and filled it with swords and spears. She also spread out a carpet over the well, for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die.
He said, “Very well!”

So again the foal came up to him [and] said, “Hey, you shouldn’t sit down on the carpet. There is a well under it. You will fall into the well [and] die.”

So, whatever the king’s wife did she couldn’t kill this boy.
Then someone told the king’s wife, “Hey there!”

She said, “Yes?”

[That person] said, “The [reason] why you cannot kill this boy [is that] this foal is telling him everything.

If you manage to kill the foal, you will be able to kill the king’s son as well.”
The King’s Son

She said, “Very well!”

So she went to a doctor and she rubbed turmeric on her whole body.

Turmeric; so the doctor, you know, she gave money to the doctor (lit. wise man) [and] said, “Say [that] the blood from the foal is its remedy.”

She came [back] [and] said, “My remedy is the blood from the foal, [O] king.”
4. Text Corpus

KS:30
kor ‘ragā bā’hā ’bokošay ta ‘hōnī ’man
korrag-ā bāhā bo-koš-ay ta hōn=i man
foal-OBL must SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG in order that blood=PC.3SG PN.1SG

‘be kašān ba’danam ‘xūb bān
be-kaš-ān badan=am xūb Ø-b-ān
SBJV-rub.NPST-1SG body=PC.1SG good SBJV-become.NPST-1SG

You must kill the foal, for me to rub its blood on my body [and] get well.”

KS:31
be xā ’tere ke ‘betānt kor ‘ragā ’bokošī šā’hay
be xātere ke be-tān-t korrag-ā bo-koš-ī šāh-ay
since SBJV-be able.NPST-3SG foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG king-GEN

ba’čā ham ’bokošī
bač-ā ham bo-koš-ī
boy-OBL ADD SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG

[She said this] in order to be able to kill the foal and also kill the king’s son.

KS:32
xolā’sa ‘hay ‘šāh maga’šā boda
xolāsa hay śāh ma-gaś-ā bod-a
in short ITER king IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

‘byā kor ‘ragā ’bokošen o ’bad ’bahre
by-ā-Ø korrag-ā bo-koš-en =o bad bahr=e
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL =and then for=EZ

do ’tay ba’danat o šān ‘xūb en ‘ē ham
doī-ay badan=at =o šān xūb =en ē ham
mother-GEN body=PC.2SG =and like this good =COP.NPST.3SG PROX ADD

‘name’lā boda joq ’la ham rezā ’yat
na-m-el-ā bod-a jóqla ham rezāyat
NEG-IMP-let.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP boy ADD approval

‘namadayā boda ’bokošant
na-ma-day-ā bod-a bo-koš-ant
NEG-IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

So, the king kept saying, “Come, let’s kill the foal, like this, it is good for your mother’s body, you know, it is good [for her].” But the boy didn’t allow [this], he wouldn’t consent to them killing [the foal].
Then one day they made a plan that they would kill it when the boy went to school.

He thought (lit. says), “Very well!”

Well, the foal told [the boy]: “The plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today.
If you go to school, when I neigh for the first time, [if] you don’t come [it is all right], [but if] you don’t come by the time I neigh the third time, on the third one, then they [will] have killed me.”

So this boy filled one of his pocket with sweets [and] one with salt, [and] he went to school.

The foal said, “At school they have actually forbidden your coming [out of the school], you know.”
So he went to school and, well, they set out to kill the foal.

When the foal neighed the first time, the boy was about to stand up. The teacher said, “Sit down!”

So he sat down, [but] when it neighed the second time the boy took off (lit. makes movement).
The schoolboys set (lit. the schoolboy sets) out after him, to catch him.

They set out after him, to catch him. But the boy took off and first he threw out the sweets.

First he threw out the sweets.
The boys stopped and gathered the sweets. They gathered them, [and] again they set out after him. [When] they caught up with him (lit. arrive here), this time he threw out the salt. So they looked up, [because they thought] it was sweets [or] something. Well, sir, the salt poured into their eyes.

The salt poured into their eyes and the king’s son went [on].

He went [and] arrived [and saw], that indeed, [the king’s men] had surrounded the foal and they were going to kill it.
He said to his father, “Father, don’t kill it. Let me take a ride in this square, let me take a ride, then kill it.”

So the king said, “Very well, encircle him, sir, make a circle around him, [if] the foal jumps over somebody’s head, I will kill him (lit. I will kill anyone whose head the foal jumped over).”
He told his son, “Very well, mount [the foal], take a ride; then we will kill it.”

Sir, so his son mounted and urged the horse on. The foal jumped over the king’s head.

[The boy and the horse] went.

He went to another town.
He went [and] when he arrived on the outskirts (lit. at this side) of the town, he dismounted and [the foal] went [its way]. [Beforehand] it gave him a handful of [hair from] its mane.

The foal gave a little of its mane, [and] said, “Set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem, and I will show up.”
So he went his way [and] when he got to the town, there, he said, “hey shepherd,” [and the shepherd] said, “Yes?” [The boy] said, “Give me one of these sheep of yours to buy, I want to slaughter [it]. I will eat a little [of] its meat, and I also need its stomach, all the rest is yours.”

KS:58

So he went his way [and] when he got to the town, there, he said, “hey shepherd,” [and the shepherd] said, “Yes?” [The boy] said, “Give me one of these sheep of yours to buy, I want to slaughter [it]. I will eat a little [of] its meat, and I also need its stomach, all the rest is yours.”
Well, so the shepherd sold the sheep, and the boy (lit. this one) slaughtered [it]. He ate a little of its meat, too, and also got its stomach, took and washed [it] [and] cleaned it and [then] he pulled it over his head to pretend that he was bald (lit. now, that means I am bald).

KS:59

ar’rapt ara’sī ’ya ’bāğiyyā
ar=rap-t a=ras-ī ya bāg=ī-ya
VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG one garden=IND-OBL

agen’nī ’ya pīre’marde īdānā’kō en pā’kan
a=genn-ī ya pīremard=e īdānākō =en pākan
VCL=see.NPST-3SG one old man=IND right here =COP.NPST.3SG cleaning

makana o ’kār makana
ma-kan-a =o kār ma-kan-a
IMP-do.NPST-3SG =and work IMP-do.NPST-3SG

He went, [and] arrived in a garden. He saw [that] there was an old man there (lit. right here), digging and cleaning out [around the trees] and working.

KS:60

a’šī ’ay pīre’mard a’šī ’bale
a=š-ī ay pīremard a=š-ī bale
VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC old man VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes

He said, “I don’t want anything, [just] let me work here alongside you. I don’t even want a salary.

Just [give] me something to eat.”

The kept on working there until one day... the king’s you know.... It was actually the king’s garden.

One day the king and his men (lit. they) came to this garden for leisure. The king had seven daughters, in fact.
The king had seven daughters, and, well, you know, they enjoyed themselves and [then] they went, and this [boy] was working there. Then, one day he set fire to a hair from this horse, this foal, and the foal came.

The foal came and he mounted [it]. He was riding around in this garden.
She saw, dear Lord! There was a rider on a horse in this garden, he was riding around, it was as if there was an angel riding around in this garden.

KS:70
\begin{align*}
\text{pas a } & \text{ mod’datī } \text{ ākōš tī } \\
\text{after } & \text{ time=IND VCL=IMP.k-stop.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-stop.NPST-3SG }
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{agen’nī } & \text{ ‘bale pīyā’da bo } \\
\text{VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes on foot become.PST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and }
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{ī } & \text{ am } \text{ āk } \text{ ha’mā } \text{ koma’okā } \text{ ‘kaštī } \\
\text{PROX } & \text{ =ADD come.PST-3SG EMPH=DIST stomach-DEF-OBL pull.PST=PC.3SG }
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{sa’ray } & \text{ agen’nī } \text{ ‘hā ha’mā } \text{ ka’čal en } \\
\text{head.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes EMPH=DIST bald =COP.NPST.3SG }
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{ke mā } \text{ bā’gaš } \text{ ‘kār } \text{ makana } \\
\text{CLM in garden.OBL.PC.3SG work IMP-do.NPST-3SG }
\end{align*}

Afer a while he stopped, he stopped. She saw that he got off [the horse]. She went [towards him] and he came [towards her] too. He pulled that stomach over his head. She saw [that] it was that bald [one] who worked in their garden.

KS:71
\begin{align*}
a’šī & \text{ ‘xayle ‘xob } \\
a=š-ī & \text{ xayle xob }
\end{align*}

\text{VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well }

She said, “Very well.”
Well, it so happened that one day the king said, “Hey, my daughters, now you have (lit. she has) grown up and it is time to get married, you know!”

[So] they gathered all the boys.

They also gave an apple each to the daughters. They said, “Whatever each one wants.... Whomever she wants, she should hit that boy in the chest (lit. in the chest of those boys) with the apple.”
So, those six sisters of hers, each one of them (lit. her) hit [someone], one, for example, [hit] the vizier’s son in the chest. In short, each one hit a rich person, you know.

They hit [some boys], but this youngest girl didn’t throw her apple.

She didn’t throw it, she kept throwing it up [into the air] and catching it.
Then the king said, “Come [on], who else is left? What is the problem (lit. how is it)?” They said, “Sir, that bald [fellow] who is working in your garden, he is left.”

**KS:79**

*ašī*  
as-ī  
say.NPST-3SG  
|  

*ˈxo*  
/o/  
well  
|  

*ˈberret*  
impv-go.NPST-2PL  
|  

*ˈī*  
/am/  
=am

The king said, “Well, go and bring him, too.”

**KS:80**

*arˈrant*  
/ar=r-ant/  
go.NPST-3PL  
|  

*ˈī*  
/am/  
=am  
|  

*ˈakāˈrant*  
/ā=k-ār-ant/  
impv-k-bring.NPST-3PL  
|  

As soon as  
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL  
sir  
small-DIM-ATTR  
daughter  
with

*ˈāġā*  
/āğa/  
kassān-o-ēn  
janek  
go

They went and brought him as well, and as soon as they brought [him], sir, the youngest daughter hit him in the chest with the apple.
4. Text Corpus

KS:81

aˈšantˈna ešteˈbāh boda o
a=š-ant na eštebāh bod-a=Ø =o
VCL=say.NPST-3PL no mistake become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

folān bīˈsān ćetawˈrī āˈgā ˈbāz ham sīˈbā aˈdan
so and so and so how sir again ADD apple-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL

dasˈsay ˈbāz am aˈjant
dassay bāz =am a=ǰan-t
hand.OBL PC.3SG again =ADD VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

They said, “No, there has been a mistake, you know, how come?” Sir, again they
gave her the apple [and] again she hit [him].

KS:82

aˈśīˈxayle xob hāˈlā ke ˈdyā boˈkānī
a=š-ī xayle xob hālā ke dya bokān=ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well now CLM well want=PC.3SG

ˈbedetī
be-d-et=ī
IMPV=give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

[The king] said, “Very well, since she wants [him], give [her] to him.”

KS:83

ˈāŋa ye bīyāˈbānī am ya ˈlōge aˈdant beheˈsāb
āŋa ye bīyābān=ī =am ya lōg=e a=d-ant behesāb
there one desert=IND =ADD one house=IND VCL=give.NPST-3PL actually

kaˈčal hamoˈdān ˈberra zenneˈgī kant
kačal ham=odān ber-ra-O zennegī O-kan-t
bald EMPH=there SBJV-go.NPST-3SG life SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

They also gave [him] a house there, [in] an uninhabited place, you know, for the bald
[fellow] to go there [and] live [with his wife].

190
To live [there]. Then the king said, “Hey my sons-in-law, come [and] go hunting, like this, for me.”

They all came, [and] they went [hunting]. So, the king’s youngest daughter said to her husband, “Come [on], go hunting, you too.

Get a horse or something from my father [and] go hunting.”
4. Text Corpus

KS:87
ar‘ra 'hade pedar‘zanay 'hade šā’hā
ar=ra-Ø had=e pedarzanay had=e šāh-ā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ father in law.OBL.PC.3SG to=EZ king-OBL

a ‘šiī 'man am bo’kānom 'berrān ī ‘šān
a=š-ī man =am bokān=om ber-r-ān īšān
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG =ADD want=PC.1SG SBJV-go.NPST-1SG like this

He went to his father-in-law, to the king, [and] said, “I want to go, too.”

KS:88
ya ġa’tere 'laŋī a‘dantī o ya
ya ġater=e laŋ=tī a=d-ant=tī =o ya
one mule=EZ lame=IND VCL=give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG =and one

xor‘ǰīnī am aprē’nant ‘rūyay a‘šī
xorǰīn=tī =am a=prēn-ant rū=ya a=š-ī
saddlebag=IND =ADD VCL=throw.NPST-3PL on=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

xo ‘berra
xo ber-ra-Ø
well IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

They gave him a lame mule and threw a saddlebag onto it as well. [The king] said, “Well, go.”

KS:89
ar‘rant o ar‘ra ī kō’hā o a
ar=r-ant =o ar=ra-Ø ī kōh-ā =o a
VCL=go.NPST-3PL =and VCL=go.NPST-3SG PROX mountain-OBL =and from

ī kor‘ragay mū’dā ‘dūd adā
ī korrag-ay mūd-ā dūd a=dā-Ø
PROX foal-GEN hair-OBL smoke VCL=give.NPST-3SG

They went, and he went to this mountain and he set fire to [one] of this foal’s hairs.
He set fire to it and the foal came to him. He said, “I want you to gather all the prey there is [in the forest] here.”

So his foal gathered all there was, all the prey there (lit. here).
They went [and] saw [that] in one place, oh my! All the prey there was [to be found] was gathered next to that (lit. this) tent.

They came to him [and] said, “Give each one of us one of these items from your prey.”

He said, “I will give [it to] you, but on the condition that I myself can slaughter it.”
They said, “Very well.”

So they said, “Very well.” Sir, he himself slaughtered [these animals] and said, “Its taste [should go] into its head!”

He said, “O, its taste [should go] into its head!” He slaughtered them (lit. it). Then they said, well, these six sons-in-law said, “Well, there is [another] one too, he has a lame mule, he comes afterwards, give him [the meat] to bring.”
4. Text Corpus

KS:99

\[
\begin{array}{c}
a^\prime \acute{s}i\ a\acute{\alpha}\tilde{s}-\tilde{i} \\
b\acute{\iota} \text{am} \ a^\prime \acute{w}a\tilde{d}i \\
a^\prime =\acute{s}-\tilde{i} \ b\acute{\iota}-b\acute{\iota} \ \tilde{i} \ =\text{am} \ \text{wad}=\tilde{i}
\end{array}
\]

\text{VCL}=\text{say}.\text{NPST-3SG} \ \text{SBJV}=\text{become}.\text{NPST-3SG} \ \text{PROX}=\text{ADD} \ \text{REFL}=\text{PC.3SG}

\text{boda} \quad \text{xo}

\text{bod-a}=\emptyset \quad \text{xo}

\text{become}.\text{PST-PP}=\text{COP.}\text{NPST.3SG} \ \text{well}

He said, “Fine!” – Well, it was him.

KS:100

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\acute{\alpha} \ \text{sa}\acute{\iota}hät \ \text{ko}^\prime \text{mâ} \ \acute{\alpha} \ \text{rû} \ \text{sa}^\prime \text{ray} \ \text{zor}^\prime \text{tay}
\end{array}
\]

\text{DIST hour stomach.OBL from on head.OBL.PC.3SG take.PST-PP.PC.3SG}

\text{boda}

\text{bod-a}

\text{become.PST-PP}

At that time (lit. hour), he had removed the stomach from his head, [you know]. –

KS:101

\[
\begin{array}{c}
tâ \ ^\prime \text{bad} \ \text{am} \ \text{ke} \ \text{lâ}^\prime \text{śâ} \ \text{âkâ}^\prime \text{yant}
\end{array}
\]

\text{then afterwards}=\text{ADD} \ \text{TOP carcass-OBL VCL}=\text{IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL}

\text{'bebarant} \quad \text{a}^{\prime} \text{śî} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{i}^\prime \text{taw} \ \text{man}

\text{SBJV}=\text{take.NPST-3PL} \ \text{VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG} \ \text{well this way PN.1SG}

\text{bâ}^\prime \text{hât} \text{en} \quad \text{î} \quad \text{lâ}^\prime \text{śâ} \quad \text{ma}^\prime \text{dî}^\prime \text{yân} \quad \text{î}^\prime \text{taw} \ \text{man}

\text{must}=\text{COP.NPST.3SG} \ \text{PROX carcass-OBL IMP}=\text{give.NPST-1SG} \ \text{PN.2PL}

\text{šo}^\prime \text{mârâ} \quad \text{pa}^\prime \text{jâh} \quad \text{'bîyârân} \quad \text{a}^\prime \text{śî} \quad \text{‘çetar} \quad \text{‘âgâ}

\text{šomâ-râ} \quad \text{pa}^\prime \text{jâh} \quad \text{bîy-âr-ân} \quad \text{a}=\acute{s}-\tilde{i} \quad \text{‘çetar} \quad \text{‘âgâ}

\text{PN.2PL-OBJ recognizing} \ \text{SBJV}=\text{bring.NPST-1SG VCL}=\text{say.NPST-3SG how sir}

Then, afterwards, they were coming to get the meat (lit. carcass) [from him]. He said, “No, I must [be able to] to recognize you, you know, after all (lit. this way) I am going to give you the meat.” They said, “How, sir?”
He made (lit. hit) a tattoo on each one’s shoulder.

So, he made a tattoo on each one of them and let them go. They came, he gave [them] the meat [and] they brought [it].

He himself mounted his mule and... his lame [mule] afterwards, too, and brought the heads and trotters.
He brought [it] [and] at supper these six sons-in-law, sir, however much they cooked the meat [and] took it to the king, the king kept eating [and] saying, “It has no taste.”

Then his youngest daughter made a head-and-trotter dish for him [and] brought [it in]. He kept refraining from eating [it].
He didn’t eat [it]. His wife said, “Well, she is your daughter [after all], she has brought it. Take pity on her (lit. she is pitiful) and eat just a little.”

The king ate a little [and] realized (lit. sees) it was actually very tasty.

He got going [and] said, “Go [and] bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked.”

She brought it and he ate, the king.
He ate [and] these six sisters kept ridiculing her. They said, “Look at him (lit. his here and there), look at his lame mule.”

This youngest sister got sad, in the evening she went to her husband and said, “I know that you are not bald, I know who you are, they are ridiculing me.”
I can’t take it any longer, you must reveal yourself.”

He said, “Very well!

Wait, tonight I will tell you how things should be.”

So that night he set fire to [one of] the foal’s hairs.
4. Text Corpus

The foal came [and] he said, “I want you to build a palace here that is seven storeys higher than the king’s palace.”

Sir, the foal constructed a building that was seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house).

In the morning, the muezzin got up to go on the roof and give the call to prayer. As soon as his eyes (lit. his eye) fell on this palace, instead of saying “Allah is greater,” he said, “Allah, damn it (lit. and seven deaths)!”
The King's Son

The king said, "Catch him, the brat, bring him down [and] kill him. What is he saying [at this time] in the morning?"

[The muezzin] said, "King, have mercy [on me], look [and] see what there is, right here. Whoever that (lit this) is, if he wants to go to war with you, he will destroy you.

He can do whatever he wants (lit. each deed he wants to do)."
4. Text Corpus

KS:123

'ē īdāna'kō ē'sī ya ša'ja sāx'tagī 'ē
ē īdānakō ēš-ī ya šaf-a sāxt-ag=ī ē
PROX right here PROX-OBL one night-ADJZ make.PST-PP=PC.3SG PROX

'gars o bār'gāhā
gars =o bārgāh-ā
palace =and royal court-OBL

He has built this right here in one night, this palace.”

KS:124

xolā'sa 'šāh ham a'kay bālād o
xolāsa šāh ham a=k-ay-Ø bālād =o
in short king ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG up =and

agen'nī 'bale
a=genn-ī bale
VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes

So the king came up as well and saw [that it was] indeed [like this].

KS:125

ya 'gars o bār'gāhī 'assan gaša'gī
ya ġars =o bārgāh=ī assan gaš-ag-ī
one palace =and royal court=IND actually say.NPST-INF-ADJZ

'naen
na-en
NEG-COP.NPST.3SG

[There was] a palace [there] [that was] actually beyond description.
He said, “Well, let’s go to him and give him whatever he wants, because [otherwise] he will destroy us.”

They went [and] went until they saw that, oh my! It was the bald [one] who was sitting there (lit. here) with his wife.

The king said, “What are you doing here?” He said, “The house is mine, the palace is mine.”
4. Text Corpus

KS:129
ašī 'xob ta 'kay ašī
a=š-ī xob ta kay a=š-ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG who =COP.NPST.2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

man fe'lān šāhay bač on
man felān šāh-ay bač =on
PN.1SG so and so king-GEN son =COP.NPST.1SG

[The king] said, “Well, who are you?” He said, “I am the son of king so-and-so.”

KS:130
ašī 'xo 'čīet bo'kā
a=š-ī xo čī=et bokā
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well what=PC.2SG want

[The king] said, “Well, what do you want?”

KS:131
ašī man šīš naw'kar 'assenom
a=š-ī man šīš nawkar ass=en=om
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG six male servant be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

'idān
īdān here

He answered, “I have six servants here.

KS:132
ā'kagon šīš naw'karam fa'gat
āk-ag=on šīš nawkar=am fağat
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG six male servant=PC.1SG only

'bīyay mā lō'gam kār kanant
bīy-ay-Ø mā lōgam kār Ø-kan-ant
SBJV-come.NPST-3SG in house.OBL.PRO.1SG work SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

I have only come for my six servants to come and work in my house.”
The king said, “Do your servants have any sign, any name?”

He said, “Yes, each one has a tattoo.”

[The king] said, “How do you mean?”

He said, “Just like I am saying, sir.

My six servants each have a tattoo, they are (lit. he is) in your town.”
4. Text Corpus

KS:138
xolāˈsa ʾākāˈyant ʾsay akānant ta ʾbale
xolāsa ā=k-ā-yant say a=kan-ant ta bale
in short VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL looking VCL=do.NPST-3PL MIR yes

ʾšāhay šīš dūˈmād ʾyekī ya ʾmohrī a
šāh-ay šīš dūmād yek=ī ya mohr=ī a
king-GEN six son in law one=IND one tattoo=IND be.NPST.3SG

So they came and saw that indeed each of the king’s sons-in-law had a tattoo.

KS:139
ʾšāh aʾšī ʾxob bāˈhād ʾberret ba īʾīš
šāh a=š-ī xob bāhād ber-r-et ba īš-ī
king VCL=say.NPST-3SG well must SBJV-go.NPST-2PL for PROX-OBL

ʾbebed nawˈkar o kaʾnīz ʾē boˈkānī
did nawkar =o kanīz ē bokān=ī
SBJV-become.NPST-2PL male servant =and maidservant PROX want=PC.3SG

bīd nāˈbūden kant
Ø-b-īd nābūd=en Ø-kan-t
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG annihilated=PC.1PL SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

nāˈbūden akant
nābūd=en a=kan-t
annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG

The king said, “Well, you must go and become servants for him, because [if] he wants to destroy us, he will.”

KS:140
xolāˈsa ʾī šīš beˈrād... o ʾī šīš beheˈsāb hamˈrīš o
xolāsa ʾī šīš berād =o ʾī šīš behesāb hamrīš =o
in short PROX six brother =and PROX six actually brother in law =and

šīš gāˈhār arˈrant ba kassān-oʾēn gāˈhārā
šīš gāhār ar=r-ant ba kassān-o-en gāhār-ā
six sister VCL=go.NPST-3PL for small-DIM-ATTR sister-OBL

aˈbant kaʾnīz o nawˈkar
a=b-ant kanīz =o nawkar
VCL=become.NPST-3PL maidservant =and male servant

So these six brothers... Actually, these six brothers-in-law and six sisters went and became the servants of the youngest sister.
Now, may our friend experience what the king’s son did and our enemy what the six servants experienced.
4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

Dāstānay Dāstān
The Story of Dastan
recounted by Mahtalat Samsanian

Well, in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

I want to tell you the story of Mashhadi Dastan. She herself was [called] Dastan, her name was [Dastan, which means “story”], [and] I should also tell you her story.

Dastan was a girl from the [Turkish] Darreshuri [tribe], she was a Darreshuri girl.
The Story of Dastan

SD:4

ya beˈrāde ham 'boday 'nāmī sarˈmas
ya berād=e ham bod-ay nām=i sarmas
one brother=IND ADD become.PST-PP.PC.3SG name=PC.3SG Sarmas

boda
bod-a=Ø
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She had a brother, too, whose name was Sarmas.

SD:5

maˈša ˈi hoˈsayn am koˈroʃ boda
mašaī hosayn =am koroš bod-a=Ø
Mashhadi Hosayn =ADD Korosh become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Now, Mashhadi Hosayn was a Korosh.

SD:6

eˈʃān… maʃaˈi eˈʃān koˈroʃay fāˈmīl
eš-ān mašaī eš-ān koroš-ay fāmīl
PROX-PL Mashhadi PROX-PL Korosh-GEN family

boda 'ā ham a daraʃoˈlīay fāˈmīlā
bod-a=Ø ā ham a darašoli-ay fāmīl-ā
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG DIST ADD from Darreshuri-GEN family-OBL

boda
bod-a=Ø
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They… Mashhadi [and] his people (lit. they) were a Korosh family and those [other ones] were from a Darreshuri family.

SD:7

ˈē hoˈsayn aˈmū ˈmawɡeˈi maraˈwā boda gō
ē hosayn amū mawgeī ma-raw-ā bod-a gō
PROX Hosayn uncle when IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP with

xāˈnā maraˈwā boda gō asˈpā
xān-ā ma-raw-ā bod-a gō asp-ā
khan-OBL IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP with horse-OBL

maraˈwēn boda oʃˈteray xaˈragā
ma-raw-ēn bod-a oštər-ay xarag-ā
IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP camel-GEN buying-OBL
This Uncle Hosayn, when he would go with the khan – he used to go with [his] horse, they were going to buy camels, to visit the encampment, and things like that. In any case, one day they went to the Darreshuri encampment. One… all… a fellow (lit. servant of God) said, “Invite him.” They took his horse, they took Hosayn’s horse to tie it up, instead of the khan[’s horse].
4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

SD:9
āʾšī  asʾpā ʾbeegeret ʾbebannet
āšī asp-ā be-ger-et be-bann-et
DIST.OBL horse-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL IMPV-tie.NPST-2PL

Take [and] tie up his horse.”

SD:10
aʾšant xo ta... deʾya na raʾšīd
a=š-ant xo ta deya na rašīd
VCL=say.NPST-3PL well PN.2SG well since tall

They said, “Well, you…” You know, since he was tall and handsome, they thought (lit. to their thought) he was the khan.

SD:11
aʾšīt ke ʾta ho ʾgašaŋʾter ay
aʾš-īt ke ta ho ʾgašaŋ-ter =ay
VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG TOP beautiful-CMP =COP.NPST.2SG

[Someone] said, “Well, you are more handsome [and] taller than the khan.”
He said, “Well, even if (lit. now) I am taller, anyway, he is the khan, take and tie up his horse.”

Well, there and then, a woman happened to like him, you know. She had a girl as well; she was the mother of Mashhadi Dastan.
4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

SD:14

a kaˈnīzay aˈšī tāˈrof kan
to maidservant.OBL PC.3SG VCL=say NPST-3SG politeness IMPV-do NPST-2SG
ta ˈbyayt tōˈxā ya ˈčāhē ˈāfe banˈneye
ta by-ay-t tōxā ya čāh=ē āf=ē banne=ye
in order that SBJV-come NPST-3SG in one tea=IND water=IND servant=EZ
xoˈdā ˈbwā āˈdame ˈxūbī en
xodā b-wā-Ø ādam=e xūb=ē =en
God SBJV-drink NPST-3SG human being=EZ good=IND =COP NPST-3SG

She said to her maidservant, “Invite the fellow to come in [and] have a [cup of] tea, [some] water, he is a good person.”

SD:15

kanˈīˈzok ham aˈkayt tāˈrofe
maidservant DEF ADD VCL=IMP k-come NPST-3SG politeness=PC.3SG
akant ˈē ham ˈbade aˈnayay
a=k-an-t ē ham bade=ē a=nay-ay-Ø
VCL=do NPST-3SG PROX ADD bad=PC.3SG VCL=NEG come NPST-3SG
arˈra anenˈnīd o ˈāfe ˈčāhē
ar=ra-Ø a=nenn-īd =o āf=ē čāh=ē
VCL=go NPST-3SG VCL=Sit down NPST-3SG =and water=IND tea=IND
haˈmī mašaˈdī dāsˈtānī dōˈi ˈgōnī maˈzāḡ
ham=ī mašadī dastān-ī dōī gōn=ī mazāḡ
EMPH=PROX Mashhadi Dastan GEN mother with=PC.3SG joke
akan mazāˈğī ˈgapā maˈjaˈnā
a=k-an-Ø mazāg-ī gap-ā ma-ja-nā
VCL=do NPST-3SG joke-ADJZ word OBL IMP hit NPST BACKG.3SG
boda o eˈšān
bod-a =o ešān
become PST-PP =and like this

So the maidservant came [and] invited him. He didn’t dislike [the idea], he went [and] sat down and [had] some water and tea. Mashhadi Dastan’s mother was joking with him, she was telling jokes, you know.
4. Text Corpus

SD:16
ˈtā ʾēšān haʾmōdān hamdeʾgarā boʾkāneš
tā ēsh-ān ham=ōdān hamdegar-ā bokān=ē
then PROX-PL EMPH=there each other-OBL want=PC.3PL

aʾbī haḡiʾgat mašaʾdī dāšʾīān wad o aʾmū hoʾsayn
a=bi-Ō haḡiḡat mašadī dāstān wad =o amū hosayn
VCL=become.NPST-3SG in fact Mashhadi Dastan REFL =and uncle Hosayn

hamdeʾgarā boʾkāneš aʾbī ʾwaleʾ mā deʾlā
hamdegar-ā bokān=ē a=b-i wale mā del-ā
each other-OBL want=PC.3PL VCL=become.NPST-3SG but in heart-OBL

So, there and then they came to like (lit. want) each other. Actually, Mashhadi Dastan herself and Hosayn liked (lit. wanted) each other but [only] in secret (lit. in heart).

SD:17
ˈtā ʾya ʾrō jāʾnek aʾzay aʾšī ke ʾman ʾāʾšeģe
tā ya rō jānek az=ay a=š-ī ke man āšeġ=e
then one day girl to=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG in love=EZ

ta bodagān aʾmū hoʾsayn haʾmī
ta bod-ag=ān amū hosayn ham=ē
PN.2SG become.PST-PP=COV.NPST.1SG uncle Hosayn EMPH=PROX

aʾšī ke ʾman ham haʾmī ʾāʾšeģe ʾta
a=š-ī ke man ham ham=ē āšeġ=e ta
VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG ADD EMPH=PROX in love=EZ PN.2SG

bodagān
bod-ag=ān
become.PST-PP=COV.NPST.1SG

Then, one day, the girl said to him, “I have fallen in love with you.” At that point Uncle Hosayn said, “I have fallen in love with you as well.”

SD:18
ēʾdān aʾmū hoʾsayn aʾšī ʾxo ʾta baʾhā ba
ēdān amū hosayn a=š-ī xo ta bahā ba
here uncle Hosayn VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG must to

boʾwāyat dōʾīat ba meʾdagat ʾbeɡašay
bowā=yat dōī=at ba mēdag=at be-gaš-ay
father=PC.2SG mother=PC.2SG to encampment=PC.2SG SBJV=say.NPST-2SG
4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

Then (lit. here) Uncle Hosayn said, “Well, you must tell your father, your mother, your people (lit. encampment), so that I can then come and propose. Well, I am a respectable person. [It could happen that] I come to propose [and] your mother [and] father don’t give you [to me] and call me ‘Korosh’.

SD:19
šō’mā ham dara’solī et ‘šāya ba ‘man ja’nekā
šomā ham darašolī =et šāya ba man janek-ā
PN.2PL ADD Darreshuri =COP.NPST.2PL maybe to PN.1SG girl-OBL

‘nadānt
na-d-ant
NEG.SBJV-give.NPST-3PL

You are Darreshuri.” [He thought,] “Maybe they won’t give the girl to me.”

SD:20
’xo ja’nek a’šī ‘bebī az bo’wāem
xo janek a=š-ī be-b-ī az bowā=em
well girl VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG to father=PC.1SG

a’šān a dō ūam a’šān ta ba
a=š-ān a dō=am a=š-ān ta ba
VCL=say.NPST-1SG to mother=PC.1SG VCL=say.NPST-1SG in order that to

bo’wāem a berādo’bāram ‘begašī
to father=PC.1SG to brother-PL=PC.1SG SBJV-say.NPST-3SG

Well, the girl said, “Fine, I will tell my father, I will tell my mother so she can tell my father [and] my brothers.”
4. Text Corpus

SD:21

'xo ja'nek a'šī  a bo'wā... dō'īay
xo janek a=š-ī  a bowā  dōīay
well  girl  VCL=say.NPST-3SG  to  father  mother.OBL.PC.3SG

Well, the girl told her father and her mother, and her mother said, “He is a nice person; if your father gives [you to him], he is a nice person, that fellow.”

SD:22

'xo ja'nekā om... ja'nekay dō ī  ba bo'wāay
xo janek-ā =om janek-ay dōī  ba bowāay
well  girl-OBL  =ADD  girl-GEN  mother  to  father.OBL.PC.3SG

Well, the girl’s mother told her father and her father said, “He is a nice person, but too bad that he is Korosh.”
He said, “Well, since he is a nice man, we will give [our] daughter to him, now we will consult with our relatives and others, [then] we will give her.”
Well, anyway, they came for the proposal and they gave the girl to Uncle Hosayn and.... So Uncle Hosayn... they also came and decided (lit. cut) the bridal gift and they came [and] talked and agreed on the bridal gift. In any case, they took a lot of camels and [other] animals and the like from them (i.e., Hosayn’s family) because he was a bit… his family was Korosh and they were Turks (i.e. a Turkic speaking group in Iran). They took a lot of animals, they took a lot of camels from them.

SD:25
xo ešān... hālā nazānān xo’dāyā šīš māh tūl
well PROX-PL now VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG God-VOC six month length
akašī yā ke yek sāl
a=kaš-ī yā ke yek sāl
VCL=pull.NPST-3SG or CLM one year

Well they.... I do not remember (lit. know) now, dear God, [if] it took six month or one year.

SD:26
be har sūrat a’mū ho’sayn rah’mate xo’dā ar’ra ma’rīz
be har sūrat amū hosayn rahmat=e xo’dā ar=ra-Ø marīz
anyway uncle Hosayn mercy=EZ God VCL=go.NPST-3SG ill
abī rah’mate xo’dā ar’raft
a=b-ī rahmat=e xo’dā ar=raf-t
VCL=become.NPST-3SG mercy=EZ God VCL=go.NPST-3SG

In any case, Uncle Hosayn passed away (lit. went in God’s mercy), he got sick, he passed away.
Well, they all... they went. The encampment went [on their seasonal migration] and came [back]. After that, [Uncle Hosayn’s brother] Uncle Kakol came. They said, “Well, come, let’s go for our claim (i.e., to get the bridal gift back) or go [and] see [if] they give us the girl.”

Well, Uncle Kakol himself went [there] and said, “Actually, I (lit. we) have come either for my (lit. our) claim or for the girl.”
4. Text Corpus

**SD:29**

\[a\,ˈʃan\quad ja\,ˈnek\,ː\,ā\quad ba\quad ˈkay\quad bo\,ˈkān\,et\quad a\,ˈʃī\quad ba\]
\[a=\,š-an\quad janek-ā\quad ba\quad kay\quad bokān=et\quad a=\,š-ī\quad ba\]
\[VCL=\text{say.NPST-3PL}\quad \text{girl-OBL for who want=PC.2SG}\quad VCL=\text{say.NPST-3SG for}\]

\[ˈwadom\quad wad=om\quad \text{REFL=PC.1SG}\]

They said, “For whom do you want the girl?” He said, “For myself.”

**SD:30**

\[ˈxo\quad a\,ˈšan\,t\quad ta\quad ā\,ˈdame\quad do\,ˈros\quad hesā\,ˈbī\]
\[xo\quad a=\,š-ant\quad ta\quad ā-dam=e\quad doros\,hesābī\]
\[\text{well VCL=say.NPST-3PL PN.2SG human being=EZ proper}\]

\[ˈnayay\quad ˈmā\quad ja\,ˈnek\,ā\quad ba\quad ˈta\quad a\,ˈnaden\]
\[nay-ay\quad mā\quad janek-ā\quad ba\quad ta\quad a=na-d-en\]
\[\text{NEG-COP.NPST.2SG PN.1PL girl-OBL to PN.2SG VCL=NEG-give.NPST-1PL}\]

Well, they said, “You are not a reliable (lit. proper) person. We won’t give the girl to you.”

**SD:31**

\[ˈgoddā\quad om\quad ta\,ˈlab\quad mā\quad ˈkām\quad ā\,ˈšeɡay\quad jī\,ˈbā\]
\[goddā\quad =om\quad talab\quad mā\quad kām\quad āšeɡ-ay\quad jīb-ā\]
\[\text{then =ADD claim into which in love-GEN pocket-OBL}\]

\[raf\,ˈta\quad ke\quad mā\quad ta\,ˈī\quad jī\,ˈbā\]
\[raft-a=Ø\quad ke\quad mā\quad ta-ī\quad jīb-ā\]
\[\text{go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM into PN.2SG-GEN pocket-OBL}\]

\[ˈberaft\quad \text{be-raf-t}\quad \text{SBJV-go.NPST-3SG}\]

And, besides, no lover’s money has [ever] returned into his pocket (lit. into what lover’s pocket has money gone), [which means] that [you shouldn’t expect] your money to return (lit. go) into your pocket [either].
Well, so Uncle Kakol, came [back] [and] said to [the people at] his encampment, he said, "They told me like this; they neither gave [back] my claim, nor did they give the girl, and about the claim they said, 'No lover’s money has [ever] returned (lit. gone) into his pocket, [which means] that [you shouldn’t expect] your money to return (lit. go) into your pocket [either].’"
They said, “Well, we must find someone [who can act as] a mediator to go and see Mashhadi Dastan: if she comes with us, [then] let’s take [her with us and] escape.”

Well, in any case, Dastan, Mashhadi Dastan said, “I will let you know” to that man who had come to take the message [to Kakol], you know.
They say (lit. (s)he says) there was a pedlar, he used to go to their encampment, to the pedlar … the pedlar said, “Kakol told me like this, he said, ‘If you come, if you want, then I should come to take you [and] escape.’”

She said, “Well, I will let you know, go now until I let you know.”
Anyway, she was thinking about (lit. in the thought that) what to say. One day, she went with her sister-in-law to the river. The sister-in-law, anyway, there was a quarrel between them, you know. Her sister-in-law said to her, “What do you [have to] say, you leftover from the Korosh.”

Then (lit. right here) Dastan got upset.
She got upset [and] said [to herself], “All right, let me tell Kakol to come take me, I shouldn’t have to hear this taunt again (lit. in another place).

She will say, ‘Look, let me go to the Korosh before I hear this taunt one more time.’”

Well, this [issue] finished and she said, “Go tell Kakol, ‘I will come.”
I will come, ‘but let me myself inform [you], to be sure (lit. I should know) that Sarmas will not be at home.”
In any case, one day, Sarmas went trading. Now I do not know, by God, to what place, he went trading. So Dastan sent a message. She said, “Come, on this arrangement, that I will be sleeping in such and such a place, behind the bedding, behind those things, and I will have tied up my stuff, I will be ready. Come on such and such a night for us to go.”

They came [and saw] that Dastan was sleeping behind those things and had tied up her stuff. It was by her side.
Since Uncle Kakol was a bit afraid (lit. was shaking), you know, he was not brave (lit. hand and foot were not for him), his uncle said, “Well, now that it is like this, I will bring the girl and give [her] to you there.”

SD:47

gāˈbūl akant

gābūl a=kan-t
accepting VCL=doNPST-3SG

He agreed.

SD:48

xāˈlūī jaˈnekā beˈlann akant kāˈkol aˈmūī
gxālū=ī jānek-ā belann a=kan-t kākol amū-ī
uncle=PC.3SG girl-OBL high VCL=doNPST-3SG Kakol uncle-GEN

‘ǰanay... xāˈlū jaˈnekā beˈlann aˈkant
Jan-ay xālū jānek-ā belann a=kan-t
wife-GEN uncle girl-OBL high VCL=doNPST-3SG

ākāˈrī anenˈnēnī mā kotˈtay
ā=k-är-ī a=nennēn-ī mā kottay
VCL=IMP.k-bringNPST-3SG VCL=placeNPST-3SG in lap.OBL.PC.3SG

marawˈēn boda
ma-rāw-ēn bod-a
IMP-goNPST-BACKG.3PL becomePST-PP

His uncle picked the girl up, Uncle Kakol’s wife… [his] uncle picked the girl up. He brought and placed her on his lap. They were riding.
On the way, when the girl saw that it was not Kakol, she was about to throw herself from the horse in order to run back.

Uncle Kakol’s uncle said, “No, don’t throw yourself down, Kakol is with us, well, go and ride with Kakol, do not be worried.”

Well, she went and rode with Kakol, then she became calm, you know.
4. Text Corpus

SD:52
āˈrām  abī    arˈraft    hade    kāˈkol    aˈmū
ārām  a=b-ī    ar=raf-t    had=e    kākol    amū
calm  VCL=become.NPST-3SG  VCL=go.NPST-3SG  to=EZ  Kakol  uncle

arˈra    ākāˈyant
ar=ra-Ø    ā=k-ā-yant
VCL=go.NPST-3SG  VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

She became calm, she went to Uncle Kakol, she went. They came.

SD:53
ākāˈyant    aˈhamōdān    ham ke
ā=k-ā-yant    a    ham=ōdān    ham ke
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL  from  EMPH=there  ADD  CLM

ākāˈyant    kāˈkol    aˈmūa    abaˈrant    ya
ā=k-ā-yant    kākol    amū-ā    a=bar-ant    ya
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL  Kakol  uncle-OBL  VCL=take.NPST-3PL  one

ˈjāye    ˈamnī    mā    meˈdagā    neˈgah    aˈnadāran
jā=ye    amn=ī    mā    mēdag-ā    negah    a=na-dār-an
place=EZ  secure=IND  in  encampment-OBL  keeping  VCL=NEG-hold.NPST-3PL

mā    korošoˈbārayā    abaˈrant    ya    ˈjāye    ˈamnī
mā    koroš-obār-ay-ā    a=bar-ant    ya    jā=ye    amn=ī
in  Korosh-PL-GEN-OBL  VCL=take.NPST-3PL  one  place=EZ  secure=IND

They came, and when they came from there, they brought Uncle Kakol to a safe place. They did not keep [him] in the encampment, in that [encampment] of the Korosh, they took him to a safe place.

SD:54
ˈxo    yaˈbīs    ˈrōčī    hamˈišān    negahˈbāˈnīyā    adayant
xo    yaˈbīs    rōc=ī    ham=iš-ān    negahbānī-yā    a=da-yant
well  one  twenty  day=IND  EMPH=PROX-PL  guarding-OBL  VCL=give.NPST-3PL

Well, for about twenty days, they were keeping watch.

SD:55
ēˈšān    xoˈbāˈrī    kay    aˈkay    dāsˈtānī
ēš-ān    xoˈbaˈrī    kay    a=kay-Ø    dastān-ī
PROX-PL  well  Mashhadi  who  VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG  Dastan-GEN

beˈrād    keˈmasˈbāˈrī    as    čōgdāˈrīyā
berād    ke  sarmas  bod-a=Ø    as  čōgdārī-yā
brother  CLM  Sarmas  become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG  from  trading-OBL
They, well, Mashadi, what was his name (lit. who), came [back], Dastan’s brother who was [called] Sarmas, came from his trading trip. He got the news (lit. they give the news to him) that the Korosh had taken his sister. He came [back].

When Sarmas’ mother realized that Sarmas had come, she took up [his] child in her bosom and came out [of the house].

She came out, Sarmas said, “Put the child on the ground, [otherwise] I will shoot both of you.”
Yes, he said, “Where is my wife (lit. the encampment)? Where is my sister? Where are the rest of the encampment?”

She said, “Well, the Korosh took your sister, your wife has gone for water, and the rest of the encampment, as you see, they are in their houses.”

Well, he said, “So you don’t know (lit. are you without information, yourself)? It is your conspiracy.”
4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

SD:61
′wadī fet′na enet bokānom
wad-ī fetna =en=et bokān=om
REFL-GEN conspiracy =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG want=PC.1SG

′bokošānet
bo-koš-ān=et
SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

It is your conspiracy, I am going to kill you.”

SD:62
dā′zan hamīdānā′kō sar′masī dō′ī čo′kā a′zo
dāzan ham=īdānākō sarmas-ī dōī čok-ā a=zo-Ø
woman EMPH=right here Sarmas-GEN mother child-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG

ke hā′lā ′yanī mara′wagān haday barrao′bārā
ke hālā yanī ma-raw-ag=ān had=ay barra-obār-ā
CLM now that is IMP-go.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG to=EZ lamb-PL-OBL

o a ′hīčīyā ′xabarom nē a′šī
=o a hīčī-yā xabar=om nē a=š-ī
=and from nothing-OBL news=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

čo′kā ′ēr kan de′gārā bokānom
čok-ā ēr Ø-kan-Ø degār-ā bokān=om
child-OBL PREV IMPV-do.NPST-2SG ground-OBL want=PC.1SG

′bejanānet
be-ǰan-ān=et
SBJV-hit.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

At that (lit. this) very time, the woman, Sarmas’ mother, took the child as if she intended to go to the lambs and was not aware of anything. He said, “Put the child on the ground. I am going to shoot you.

SD:63
yā am ke ′čoket ′ēr ′nako de′gārā go čo′kā
yā =am ke čok=et ēr na-ko degār-ā go čok-ā
or =ADD CLM child=PC.2SG PREV NEG-do.PST ground-OBL with child-OBL

aja nānet
a=jan-ān=et
VCL=hit.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

And (lit. or) if you do not put the child on the ground, I will shoot you together with the child.”
Well, his mother saw that Sarmas was actually going to shoot her, she put the child down at a distance (lit. there) [and] said, “Well, shoot me now.”

So Sarmas, since he was very angry, he was really upset, he shot right into his mother’s heart.
He shot into his mother’s heart, then (lit. right here) Sarmas went [and] said to the encampment, “Well, I didn’t find the Korosh [to kill them], but I killed my mother.”

Then, his encampment got together and they came [and] took his mother’s corpse, they went and buried her, you know. Then they said, “Well, let’s take counsel (lit. put our thought together) in order to see what we should do with these Korosh, who have brought this disgrace on us.”
4. Text Corpus

SD: 68
'hečī akāˈyant o aˈšant xo
hečī a=k-ā-yant =o a=š-ant xo
nothing VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL =and VCL=say.NPST-3PL well

'berren baˈhā bekašen 'berren 'rūeš
ber-r-en bahā be-kaš-en ber-r-en rū=eš
SBJV-go.NPST-1PL must SBJV-pull.NPST-1PL SBJV-go.NPST-1PL on=PC.3PL

hāˈlā ya āˈdamā baˈhā bokošen deˈya
hālā ya ādam-ā bahā bo-koš-en deya
now one human being-OBL must SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL well

Well (lit. nothing), they came and said, “Well, let’s go, we should attack them (lit. we
must pull, go on them), we must kill someone anyway.”

SD: 69
ākāˈyant ya ˈcēltā tofang ěi payˈdā akant
ā=k-ā-yant ya čel-tā tofanţi paydā a=kan-ant
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL one forty-CL gunman visible VCL=do.NPST-3PL

a ˈwadī mēˈdageš ākāˈyant
a wad-ī mēdag=eš ā=k-ā-yant
from REFL-GEN encampment=PC.3PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

akaˈšant 'rū korošoˈbāray mēˈdagā
a=kaš-ant rū koroš-obār-ay mēdag-ā
VCL=pull.NPST-3PL on Korosh-PL-GEN encampment-OBL

They came [and] found some forty gunmen from their encampment, they came [and]
attacked the encampment of the Korosh.

SD: 70
ākāˈyant ˈē korošobār ham ˈbīs ˈrō
ā=k-ā-yant ē koroš-obār ham bīs rō
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX Korosh-PL ADD twenty day

boda ke negahbāˈnīyā madaˈyen
bod-a=Ø ke negahbānī-yā ma-day-ên
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM guarding-OBL IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3PL

boda ˈhamī ґaˈtār a ˈpošteš o
bod-a ham-ī ґatār a pošte=š o
become.PST-PP EMPH=PROX cartridge belt to back=PC.3PL =and
They came, and these Korosh, they had been keeping watch for about twenty days, with the cartridge belt over their shoulders, and they were watching, you know. One day, one [of them] said, “Well, now Sarmas is enjoying himself with his wife in his house [and] uncle Kakol is enjoying himself with the girl in Sawladawla’s encampment. We are here, the cartridge belt is on our shoulders, the sun is burning us, and the flies are eating us at night as well. This is none of our business (lit. for us what).”

SD: 71

They went [away] to go to sleep, you know.
They were about (lit. right here they want) to go to sleep when there was shooting (lit. bullet and gun).

They were about to go to sleep when there was shooting. (lit. bullet and gun).
There was shooting, they fled. There was a pit, you know, there was a pit, they went (lit. poured) into this pit [and] hid behind the encampment. The children, the old, the young, all went into this pit in order to hide. Not a single bullet hit them, but they shot animals and camels, you know, [and] the sacks were overturned and the rice was poured out on the ground, the sacks of wheat were overturned and it was poured out on the ground, the goatskin containers with oil in them were overturned.

SD: 74

Well, so they said, you know, one of them said, “Damn it (lit. your house burnt), you killed all of them, you know, [whereas] they [only] took one person and escaped. Come let’s go back.”
Well, they went back [and] said, “We have destroyed this encampment.”

Then one of them... they (i.e., the Korosh) said, “Well, this is how they dealt with us (lit. brought on our head), but let’s go and see what has happened to Saw... to Kakol, who is in Sawladawla’s house.”
They went [there and saw that] nothing had happened to Uncle Kakol. They informed Sawladawla, as well, they said, “Actually, last night Sarmas gathered [some] people, forty gunmen and attacked the encampment, but thank God, [because] right was on our side nothing happened to us, but we lost a lot of property.”

Well, so Sawladawla said, “No problem (lit. fear) now, right was on your side, the rice can be replaced (lit. is found in its place), livestock can be found, now thank God that nothing happened to you.”
They said, “We want to fight, to go to fight with Sarmas’ encampment, with the Darreshuri.”

He said, “Well, don’t [go] fight, you have brought the girl, wait until we meet them [and] see what they are saying.”

This Sawladawla sent a person [to the Darreshuri].
They said, “Well we won’t fight again, right was on their side, and now thank God that no person, nothing, has been killed.

We won’t fight again, we will make peace.”

So then, they… so Uncle Kakol threw a party and anyway, he invited all the Korosh families (lit. clans), they came.
Everyone brought such a lot of animals, and they brought camels and in any case, they brought many gifts, and Uncle Kakol both employed (lit. took) a shepherd, and he also employed a servant, and he employed a camel-driver as well, and, you know, he bought everything there was [to get], too.

He bought [this], [and] when Sarmas saw that it turned out like this, you know, he invited them, for a welcoming party [after the wedding].
He invited them for a welcoming party, and he gave a horse to Uncle Kakol and he gave a horse to Mashhadi Dastan.

Well, then they (i.e., Kakol and Dastan) returned back happy and rejoicing.

Now so many, all these Darreshuri, most of them are from Uncle Kakol’s lineage.
4. Text Corpus

SD:90

haˈmī zan o zanxāsˈšī boda o
ham=ī zan =o zanxassī bod-a=Ø =o
EMPH=PROX wife =and proposal become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

eˈšān deˈya ˈkolle fāˈmīlay ˈxaylī fāˈmīlay a
ešān deya koll=e fāmīl=ay xaylī fāmīl=ay a
like this well all=EZ family=PC.3SG much family=PC.3SG from

darašoˈlīyā koˈroš en
darašolī-yā koroš =en
Darreshuri-OBL Korosh =COP.NPST.3SG

[Then] there was intermarriage, you know. Actually, all [Darreshuri] families, many
of the Darreshuri families are Korosh.

SD:91

deˈya xo xoˈdārāˈšokr ˈsohl a kanant o gō haˈmā
deya xo xodārā šokr sohl a=kan-ant =o gō ham=ā
well well praise God peace VCL=do.NPST-3PL =and with EMPH=DIST

taˈmām abī dāsˈtān
tamām a=b-ī dāstān
finished VCL=become.NPST-3SG story

So thank God they made peace and the story finishes with this.
4.6. Text 6: My Memories

Manī Yād
My Memories
recounted by Darab Samsanian

MM:1
besmel’láhe rah ’māne ra ’hīm
besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm
in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

MM:2
’man ko’roš ān
man koroš =ān
PN.1SG Korosh =COP.NPST.1SG

I am a Korosh.

MM:3
asla...
asla
FRAG

Origi....

MM:4
as ’liam hājihayda’rī en
aslī=am hājjihaydarī =en
original=PC.1SG Hajihaydari =COP.NPST.3SG

My origin (lit. original) is Hajiiheydari.

MM:5
mah ’sūmī ’bač ān
mahsūm-ī bač =ān
Mahsum-GEN son =COP.NPST.1SG

I am the son of Mahsum.

MM:6
’nāmom dā’rāb en
nām=om dārāb =en
name=PC.1SG Darāb =COP.NPST.3SG

My name is Darab.
4. Text Corpus

**MM:7**
'man ho’dūte pan’jā o 'haft 'sāl enom hā’lā
man hodūt=e panjā =o haft sāl =en=om hālā
PN.1SG about=EZ fifty =and seven year =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG now

ya yak 'sāl jahl yak 'sāl bālād da’gīğ
ya yak sāl jahl yāk sāl bālād dagīğ
one one year down one year up exactly

'namezānagān
na-me-zān-ag=ān
NEG-IMP-know.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

I am about fifty-seven years old, well, [maybe] one year less [or] one year more, I
don’t know exactly.

**MM:8**
'arz kanān xed’mate šo’mā do’īay ‘nāmon
arz Ø-kan-ān xedmat=e šomā doī-ay nām=on
statement SBJV-do.NPST.1SG service=EZ PN.2PL mother-GEN name=PC.1SG

Ghezwas =en

Let me tell you [that] my mother’s name is Ghezwas.

**MM:9**
mā haft berād =en
PN.1PL seven brother =COP.NPST.1PL

We are seven brothers.

**MM:10**
mazo’nēn be’radon o’roj at as o’roj kasān’ter
mazon-ēn berād=on oroj =at-Ø as oroj kasān-ter
big-ATTR brother=PC.1SG oroj =COP.PST-3SG than oroj small-CMP

Ali-Akbar =COP.PST-3SG PROX-PL life.OBL.PC.3SG give.PST-PP to PN.2PL

My oldest brother was Oroj, [the one] after (lit. younger than) Oroj was Ali Akbar.
They are dead (lit. they have given his/her life to you).
Mahmood Ali, who is still [alive], is [the one] younger than Ali Akbar.

The one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Panjali. He is [alive].

The one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Sarferaz, who is a nomad.

The one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Ghorbanali, [who] is a nomad.

After (lit. younger than) them there is me and a sister.
Our sister is in Baladeh.

I was a shepherd.

I was a shepherd of a khan called Shapur Khan Amanolahi.

I was his shepherd for nine years.

I was his shepherd for nine years. Let me tell you [that] I was about fifteen years old.
The thief himself attacked the animals, five persons attacked me, I was fifteen years old, they couldn’t resist me. I was both hit by a couple of stones and I threw a couple of stones too. They stole (lit. selected) two hundred and fifty animals [and] were taking them away. I took the animals [back] from them (lit. from hand).

MM:22
'sobī pa'dayš šū'enton 'bortom 'bortom sob-ī padayš šūent-on bort=om bort=om morning-ADVZ after.PST-1SG trace.PST-1SG take.PST=PC.1SG take.PST=PC.1SG 'bortom a'gennān a 'rāḥā ma'hā bort=om a=genn-ān a rāḥ=ī-a mah-ā-Ø take.PST=PC.1SG VCL=see.NPST-1SG from way=IND-OBL IMP-come.NPST-3SG

az rāḥā ċappī kod-a īna a'gennān az rāḥ-ā ċapp=ī kod-a īna a=genn-ān from way-OBL overturned=PC.3SG do.PST-PP here VCL=see.NPST-1SG 'benze ā'worta ya 'gawdī at benz=ē āwort-a ya gawdā=ī =at-Ø Mercedes Benz=PC.3SG bring.PST-PP one pit=IND =COP.PST-3SG
In the morning I traced them, I went [and] went [and] went (lit. took, took, took). I saw that he was coming from another direction (lit. a way), he had had an accident. I saw that he had brought a Mercedes Benz [pickup] there (lit. here), there was a pit [in the ground], he had driven (lit. hit) the Mercedes into the pit. [He had brought the Mercedes] in order to load up the animals onto it and take [them with him].

MM:23
xolā’sa hay’wānā ‘geftom ‘natāntī
xolāsa haywān-ā geft=om na-tānt=ī
in short animal-OBL take.PST=PC.1SG NEG-be able.PST=PC.3SG

Well, I took the animals (lit. animal) [back], he could not take [them].

MM:24
‘arz kanān xed’mate so’mā ’dya belaxa’ra zamā’na
arz Õ-kan-ān xedmat=e ṣomā ḏya belaxara zamāna
statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG service=EZ PN.2PL well anyway fate

bah’ram pe’šārī āwo marī’zī ’piš āık
bahr=am pešār=ī āwo marīzī piš āık-Ō
for=PC.1SG pressure=PC.3SG bring.PST illness PREV come.PST-3SG

bah’ram ākān ’kaftān ṣah’rā
bahr=am āk-ān kaft-ān ṣahr-ā
for=PC.1SG come.PST-1SG fall.PST-1SG town-OBL

Let me tell you, well, anyway life (lit. fate) put pressure on me, I fell ill (lit. illness came about for me), I came [and] ended up (lit. fell) in town.

MM:25
hā’lā ‘man ya šer’kateā ’kār maka’nagān
ḥālā man ya šerkat=e-ā kār ma-kan-ag=ān
now PN.1SG one company=IND-OBL work IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

Now I am working in a company.
I have three sons and two daughters. I have taken a wife for one (lit. the) son, I have also given one girl to a husband, right now two sons and one daughter are unmarried.

I provide for their basic needs (lit. I give them a piece of bread).

I am managing somehow (lit. I am living), thank God.

We... when I was seven years old my brother died.
4. Text Corpus

MM:30

We, the seven brothers, three [are] from one mother, four from another mother.

MM:31

The one who took care of us, actually, was a brother called Sarferaz, he was the oldest of the three brothers.

MM:32

He arranged jobs for us.

MM:33

He

256
Then little by little we grew up, one of us went camel-herding, one of us went [and worked as] a shepherd, when we had a chance (lit. arrived), first we got Sarferaz a wife when he was twenty-five, we arranged a separate house for Sarferaz (lit. we separated Sarferaz’ house).

The the turn came (lit. we came) to Ghorbanali, who was younger than Sarferaz, we were brothers, we got him a wife, we arranged a separate house for him as well (lit. we separated his house as well), I was left.

Well, [when] I [was] twenty-five years old, I was a shepherd to a khan.
4. Text Corpus

**MM:36**

The khan said, “Young man (lit. sir), you will be [like] one of my children.” He was lying to me, actually, so that I would take his sheep and goats grazing.

**MM:37**

Sir, I was his shepherd for some eight years, [then] I said, “Now that you became my father, I have now reached [the age of] getting engaged.

**MM:38**

I want to get married.”
4.6. Text 6: My Memories

MM:39
dawāz’dā... ‘šeš hezār ‘toman owa’kēn bāš’log ‘šeš hezār
dawāzda ‘šeš hezār toman owakēn bāšloğ ‘šeš hezār

Twelve... six thousand toman, the bridal gift was six thousand toman at that time.

MM:40
owa’kēn ‘mozz masa’lan ‘sālī he’zār toman
owakēn mozz masalan sāl-ī hezār toman
at that time wages for example year-ADVZ thousand toman

a’dādadeš be ya ‘mozze kārega’rīyā
a=ād=a=ē be ya mozz=e kāregar-ī-yā
VCL=give.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL as one wages=EZ worker-NOMZ-OBL

At that time, the wages, they gave for example a thousand toman per year as a salary to a labourer.

MM:41
‘gašt=om ‘bowā ‘man bo’kā ja’nā ‘begerān
gašt=om bowā man bokā jan-ā beger-ān
say.PST=PC.1SG father PN.1SG want wife-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-1SG

I said, “Father, I want to get married (lit. take wife).

MM:42
zeñne_genre kanān ya āyan’ne ‘bebīdom
zeñnegī Ø-kan-ān ya āyanne be-b-īd=om
life SBJV-do.NPST-1SG one future SBJV-become.NPST-3SG=PC.1SG

[I want] to get a life, to have a future.”

MM:43
xolā’sa sarā’sarī ko jarr’ī bodān gō xā’nā
xolāsa sarās=ī ko jarr-ī bod-ān gō xān-ā
in short quarrel=PC.3SG do.PST quarrel-ADJZ become.PST-1SG with khan-OBL

Anyway, he made a quarrel, I got into a quarrel with the khan.
I (lit. we) left the khan, I returned the khan’s animals (lit. animal) to him as well and I came to a person from Shiraz who was called Mr. Askari, Bahram Askari, he lives (lit. is) in the Khunakhavis part [of town], he is still [alive], I became his shepherd.
He said, “Young man (lit. sir), now that you are a person..., they have told me that you are a smart person, and you are of good use [to me], I will keep you.

**MM:47**

*baḥˈrāt ḵaˈnā ḥam aɣeˈɾān*

=PC.2SG wife-OBL ADD VCL=get.NPST-1SG

I will get a wife for you as well.

**MM:48**

*bāšˈloɡat ḥam aˈdān dōˈatet ḥam*

=PC.2SG ADD VCL=give.NPST-1SG wedding=PC.2SG ADD

I will both pay the bridal gift and make a wedding party for you.” So he did like this.

**MM:49**

*bāšˈloɡam ʃeʃ hezār tomanā dādī*

=PC.1SG six thousand toman-OBL give.PST=PC.3SG

He gave my bridal gift of six thousand toman.

**MM:50**

*bāšˈloğ haˈmī šīrbaˈhā ˈmagoʃan*

=EMPH=PROX bridal gift IMP-say.NPST-3PL

This bridal gift, *bashlogh*, it is also called *shirbaha*. 
4. Text Corpus

**MM:51**

bāš’loğā šeš hezār to’manā ’dādī
bāšloğ-ā šeš hezār toman-ā dād=i
bridal gift-OBL six thousand toman-OBL give.PST=PC.3SG

He gave the bridal gift, six thousand toman.

**MM:52**

dō’aten am kod o belaxa’ra ā je’dā
dōat=en =am kod =o belaxara ā jedā
marriage=PC.1PL =ADD do.PST =and anyway DIST separated

bodan ’man ham je’dā bodagān
bod-an man ham ğedā bod-ag=ān
become.PST-3PL PN.1SG ADD separated become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

We also got married and [my brothers] got their separate families (lit. they were separated) and I got mine too (lit. I, too, was separated).

**MM:53**

hā’lā ’gode ā ’sī dya a ’rūye ’wadī pā’dān
hālā god=e āsī dya a rū=ye wad-i pād-ān
now after=EZ DIST.OBL now from on=EZ REFL-GEN foot-PL

ōš ’tadān
ōstād-ān
stand up.PST-1SG

Then after that I managed my life myself (lit. I stood on my own feet).

**MM:54**

’wadom al ’ʔān pan šeş čokom ’assen
wad=om alʔān pan šeš čok=en ass=en
REFL=PC.1SG now five six child=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

’lōgom ’assen zenne’gī
lōg=om ass=en zennegī
house=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG life

mak’a’nagān
ma-kan-ag=ān
IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

I myself have five or six children now, I have a wife (lit. house), I am living.
4.6. Text 6: My Memories

My (lit. our) mother, may God have mercy on her, died at the age of sixty.

My father, may God have mercy on him, died when I was seven years old.

I don’t really remember when my father died, what it meant, how it was, [how] difficult it was.

Yes.
Then I (lit. we) grew up little by little, I came and went [between different places, jobs, etc.], now I am working in a company.

Yes, well, the [man] from Shiraz paid, I got a wife, I got married.

I married a girl with light locks of hair [and] green eyes, beautiful.

Yes, I married [her].
4.6. Text 6: My Memories

MM:63
’dya ha’mī brā’zāk rama’zān brā’zāken manū’čehr
dya ham=Ī brāzāk ramazān brāzāk=en manūčehr
well EMPH=PROX nephew Ramazan nephew=COP.NPST.3SG Manuchehr

samsānī’yān brā’zāk enom alam’dār
samsānīyān brāzāk =en=om alamdār
Samsanian nephew =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG Alamdar

Well, this nephew, Ramazan is [my] nephew, Manuchehr Samsanian is my nephew, Alamdar is [my] nephew, my brother’s son.

MM:64
‘ē šāhre’zā ā’mūay ‘bač enom
ē šāhrezā āmū-ay bač =en=om
PROX Shahreza uncle-GEN son =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

This Shahreza is my cousin (i.e., paternal uncle’s son).

MM:65
‘mā tī’ra en ‘xayle hamde’garay xā’ter en bo’kā
mā tīra =en xayle hamdegar-ay xāter=en bokā
PN.1PL clan =PC.1PL much each other-GEN mind=PC.1PL want

We, our clan, we take good care of each other.

MM:66
maw’geṭ ke čo’bān bodān masa’lan hay’wān a ba’hār
mawgeṭ ke čobān bod-an masalan haywān a bahār
when shepherd become.PST-1SG for example animal from spring

ke ābo’dad ‘xān hay’wān
ke ā=bod=ad-Ø xān haywān
CLM VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG khan animal

a’dādadī ta’rās
a=dād=ad=Ī tarās
VCL=give.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG scales

When I was a shepherd, you know, when spring came, the khan weighed the animals.
4. Text Corpus

**MM:67**

\texttt{owaˈkī kiˈlū nēss\textasciitilde{=}ad\textasciitilde{=}Ø mann =ad\textasciitilde{=}Ø rōˈgen}

\texttt{owakī kilū nēss=ad-Ø mann =ad-Ø rōgen}

\textit{at that time kilo NEG.be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG mann =COP.PST-3SG lard}

\textit{rōˈgen ‘mann ad}

\textit{lard mann =COP.PST-3SG}

In those days, it was not kilos, it was \textit{mann}, the lard, the lard was [weighed] in \textit{mann}.

**MM:68**

\texttt{ˈmann rōˈgen haˈz\textasciitilde{=}da mann rōˈgen taˈrāzon ko ā xāˈnā}

\texttt{mann rōgen hažda mann rōgen tarāz=on ko ā xān-ā}

\textit{mann lard eighteen mann lard scales=PC.1SG do.PST to khan-OBL}

Mann, lard, I weighed up eighteen \textit{mann} of lard for the khan.

**MM:69**

\texttt{ke māˈdarom ˈgaštī ke ˈbabam ˈgorbūnet haˈz\textasciitilde{=}da}

\texttt{ke mādar=om gašt=ī ke babam ḡorbūn=et hažda}

\textit{CLM mother=PC.1SG say.PST=PC.3SG CLM oh dear offering=PC.2SG eighteen}

\texttt{ˈmann rōˈgena ċetaˈrī ta aˈday}

\texttt{mann rōgen-a ċetarī ta a=d-ay}

\textit{mann lard-OBL how PN.2SG VCL=give.NPST-2SG}

My mother said, “Oh dear, my darling (lit. offering for you), how are you going to give eighteen \textit{mann} of lard [to the khan]?“

**MM:70**

\texttt{ˈgaštom ˈnanam xoˈdā boˈzorg en az xoˈdā}

\texttt{gašt=om nana=m xodā bozorg =en az xodā}

\textit{say.PST=PC.1SG mother=PC.1SG God big =COP.NPST.3SG from God}

\texttt{īˈmīd ˈbebi}

\texttt{īmīd be-b-ī}

\textit{hope SBJV-become.NPST-3SG}

I said, “Mother, God will help us (lit. God is great), put your hope in God.”
We went [and] rented a combine harvester, when we had weighed up eighteen mann of lard, and given it [to the khan], we also gathered twelve mann of lard for ourselves.

You know, in the morning, at about four in the morning my mother would wake me up.

We went [and] rented a combine harvester, when we had weighed up eighteen mann of lard, and given it [to the khan], we also gathered twelve mann of lard for ourselves.

You know, in the morning, at about four in the morning my mother would wake me up.

We went [and] rented a combine harvester, when we had weighed up eighteen mann of lard, and given it [to the khan], we also gathered twelve mann of lard for ourselves.

You know, in the morning, at about four in the morning my mother would wake me up.

We went [and] rented a combine harvester, when we had weighed up eighteen mann of lard, and given it [to the khan], we also gathered twelve mann of lard for ourselves.

You know, in the morning, at about four in the morning my mother would wake me up.
She churned [the milk] in the goatskin, you know, she collected the buttermilk on one side [and] the butter on another (lit. one) side. We made dried whey of the buttermilk, we sold [it], we made lard out of the butter, we sold [it], we [took it] both for our own food and we also sold it.

**MM:74**

hay‘wānā ma’san sā’hate ’čār ’man ’darom haywān-ā masan sāhat=e čār man dar=om animal-OBL in fact hour=EZ four PN.1SG PREV=PC.1SG

agēka a’bortadom a=gēk=a a=bort=ad=om VCL=take out.PST=COP.PST VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

ačā’rēntadom a=čārēnt=ad=om VCL=take grazing.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

The animals, you know, I would take [them] out at four o’clock [in the morning], I took [them] grazing.

**MM:75**

sā’hate ’čār ke a’bortadom tağrī’ban dawāzd’dahe sāhat=e čār ke a=bort=ad=om tağriban dawāzdah=e hour=EZ four CLM VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG around twelve=EZ

‘zohr akā’wūrtadom zohr a=k-āwūrt=ad=om noon VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

When I took [them grazing] at four, [then] I brought them at about twelve noon.
4.6. Text 6: My Memories

We milked [them].

We heated up the milk.

We added (lit. hit) bacterial culture, we made yoghurt, again I (lit. we) took (lit. gave) the animals grazing in the evening, I went and [then] brought [the animals back] at supper.
At supper, you know, in order for the animals to become well-nurtured (lit. good) and for me not to make any loss and to keep a good reputation, I would take the animals out grazing at, for example, eleven at night, I took [them] to the mountain to graze, then I brought them back again to the pen at around one or (lit. and) two.

MM:80

I got the lambs to nurse, I didn’t let the lambs get trampled, which would make it hard for me.

MM:81

You know, I managed eight hundred animals.
Eight hundred animals, three hundred and fifty of them had given birth, you know, they had lambs, goat-kids, they had goat-kids.
Well, now, first we want to weave the \textit{jajim}. 

The \textit{jajim}, first we spin its warp, the wool, you know, we shear the sheep, we spin the wool. 

When we have spun \textit{[it]}, we set aside the (lit. its) white \textit{yarn}, we set aside the beige, we set aside the black, we also set aside the brown.
4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

When we have separated them, well, the white is white, the white is dyed into (lit. becomes) yellow, straw colour or orange, you know, which is [also] called tangerine.

We colour these three, we get [them] from the white [wool].

Then, we dye (lit. make) the beige [part] of it red, you know, it is dyed (lit. becomes) red. You can also get this orange [yarn] from this [beige wool].
The black [wool], you can both dye (lit. make) it blue and dye (lit. make) it black.

You dye it, you tie [the warp] to the wooden frame batch by batch, either five batches or seven batches. The jajim is usually seven batches.

The batch, this batch, when you weave the jajim with batches, you make it batch by batch, you know.
Yes, actually, each batch becomes about twenty threads.

Each batch becomes twenty threads, when you put [the warp] on the wooden frame, you count, it is either twenty threads or it is, for example, forty threads.

Anyone, someone, you weave the goloynay [pattern], you know, what do they call it, the korzakorzi [pattern].
4. Text Corpus

**WK:13**

\[\text{\'yeke} \text{ goloy} \text{ agā} \text{ fay} \quad \text{ma} \text{\'san} \quad \text{a} \text{\'say} \]
\[
\text{yek=} \text{ e} \text{ goloy} \text{ a=} \text{gāf-ay} \quad \text{masan} \quad \text{a=} \text{š-ay} \\
\text{one=} \text{IND} \quad \text{goloy} \text{ VCL=weave.NPST-2SG} \quad \text{for example} \quad \text{VCL=say.NPST-2SG}
\]
\[
\text{bo} \text{\'kānom} \quad \text{\'bekašān} \quad \text{čī} \text{\'hāye} \quad \text{jā} \text{\'jīm} \\
\text{bokān=} \text{om} \quad \text{be-kaš-ān} \quad \text{čī-hā=} \text{ye} \quad \text{jājīm} \\
\text{want=} \text{PC.1SG} \quad \text{SBJV=} \text{draw.NPST-1SG} \quad \text{thing-PL=} \text{EZ} \quad \text{jajim}
\]

You weave a goloy. You say, for example, I want to weave the patterns of the jajim (lit. draw the things of the jajim).

**WK:14**

\[\text{čī} \text{\'hāye} \quad \text{jā} \text{\'jīm} \quad \text{masa} \text{\'lan} \quad \text{gün} \text{\'pūlā} \quad \text{age} \text{\'ray} \quad \text{gün} \text{\'pūlā} \\
\text{čī-hā=} \text{ye} \quad \text{jājīm} \quad \text{masalan} \quad \text{günpūl-ā} \quad \text{a=} \text{ger-ay} \quad \text{günpūl-ā} \\
\text{thing-PL=} \text{EZ} \quad \text{jajim} \quad \text{for example} \quad \text{günpūl-OBL} \quad \text{VCL=} \text{take.NPST-2SG} \quad \text{günpūl-OBL}
\]
\[
\text{āgā} \text{\'fay} \quad \text{īšī} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{\'dārī} \\
\text{ā=} \text{gāf-ay} \quad \text{īš-ī} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{dār=ī} \\
\text{VCL=} \text{weave.NPST-2SG} \quad \text{PROX-OBL} \quad \text{ADD} \quad \text{wooden frame=} \text{PC.3SG}
\]

\text{akanay} \\
\text{a=} \text{kan-ay} \\
\text{VCL=} \text{do.NPST-2SG}

The patterns of the jajim, you take the gunpul [pattern], for example, you weave the gunpul. You also put it up on the wooden frame.

**WK:15**

\[\text{\'hā} \quad \text{hamī} \quad \text{čī} \text{\'hāye} \quad \text{jā} \text{\'jīm} \\
\text{hā} \quad \text{ham=} \text{ī} \quad \text{čī-hā=} \text{ye} \quad \text{jājīm} \\
\text{yes} \quad \text{EMPH=} \text{PROX} \quad \text{thing-PL=} \text{EZ} \quad \text{jajim}
\]

Yes, these patterns of the jajim.
It becomes a *goloynay*, [or] it becomes a korzai, and we can also weave without any pattern (lit. simple).

Yes, these are [the patterns].

This is a *jajim*.

now one stand=IND before from tree VCL=cut.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL
4. Text Corpus

Now the four beams, the beams [for the weaving frame], you put a frame on them. Now, beforehand they used to cut [beams for] a frame from a tree. They tied together a stand, you know. There are four beams.

\[ WK:20 \]
\[ čā\ldots \] aˈgaštadeš čárkoˈǰī kojīˈbārā ′hay
čā a=gaš=ad=eš čárkoǰī kojī-bār-ā hay
FRAG VCL=call.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL weaving frame beam-PL-obl ITER

\[ \]
aˈkaštaden pēˈšā ′yek raŋe...
a=kaš=ad-en pēšā yek raŋ=e
VCL=pull.PST=COP.PST-1PL before one colour=ind

\[ ātānˈtadet \] ′begāfay dobāˈra
ā=tānt=ad=et be-gāf-ay dobāra
VCL=be able.PST=COP.PST=PC.2SG SBJV=weave.NPST=2SG again

\[ aˈǰadadet \] pa ranˈnay ′ya ′tawre ′dya
a=ǰad=ad=et pa rannay ya tawr=e dya
VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.2SG to after.PC.3SG one manner=ez other

\[ aboda \]
a=bod=a-Ø
VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG

Cha... they called it a charkojin (i.e., a kind of weaving frame with four beams). We pulled the beam towards us (lit. to the front). You could weave one colour. Then you pushed [the beam] back [and] it turned out a different way.

\[ WK:21 \]
\[ ē jājīmay \]
ē jājīm-ay
PROX jajim-gen

So much for the jajim (lit. this of the jajim).
The Weaving of the Korosh

**WK:22**

The gelim is also easy. Again, its colour like this, its colour is no different. You must colour [the wool] like [for] the jajim. But we don't colour its warp.

**WK:23**

The warp, which is its base, so to speak, you tie it to the wooden frame. You don't need to colour [it].

**WK:24**

The warp for the wool.
Now, [if] you like, you spin the beige wool for its warp, [if] you don’t feel like it, it will be white. Any colour works (lit. becomes) for the gelim.

**WK:25**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'dār</th>
<th>a=kan-ay</th>
<th>wooden frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

You tie it to the wooden frame.

**WK:26**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ge’lim</th>
<th>ham</th>
<th>farg</th>
<th>a’nakant</th>
<th>‘ā</th>
<th>ke</th>
<th>xā’may</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gelim</td>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>farg</td>
<td>a=na-kan-t</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>xāma=y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gelim is no different. That which you want to weave as its woof; you must spin the woof properly and well.
4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

**WK:27**

xāˈmay kanay 'goddām ye 'kamī hay 'soss

xāma=y Ø-kan-ay goddām ye kam=ī hay soss

woof=PC.3SG SBJV-do.NPST-2SG then.ADD one little=IND ITER loose

kanay 'hay 'bejanay goˈlā doˈros

Ø-kan-ay hay be-jan-ay gol-ā doros

SBJV-do.NPST-2SG ITER SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG flower-OBL right

akanay 'yā 'hawz masaˈlan

a=kan-ay yā hawz masalan

VCL=do.NPST-2SG or hawz for example

You should make its woof. Then you [should] loosen it little by little [and] pound it several times. You make the flower, or the hawz, for example.

**WK:28**

'farɡ aˈnakan 'ya pāˈre ˈčē ˈassen

farɡ a=na-kan-Ø ya pāre čē ass=en

difference VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG one piece what be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

šoˈkālā agāˈjāy 'mānī šoˈkālay akˈsā

šokāl-ā a=gāf-ay mān=ī šokāl-ay aks-ā

šokāl-OBL VCL=weave.NPST-2SG in=PC.3SG deer-GEN picture-OBL

akaˈšāy ˈmānī

a=kaš-ay mān=ī

VCL=pull.NPST-2SG in=PC.3SG

It makes no difference. There are a few things, you weave the shokal [pattern] (i.e., a deer’s picture) in it. You weave (lit. draw) the picture of a deer in it.

**WK:29**

šoˈkāl ˈhū

šokāl ǝhū
dereer deer

Shokal [means] ‘deer’.
Yes, you draw the picture of a deer, for example, you weave [it] (lit. bring in) into [the carpet].

They... now, now you choose any colour that you like, now, whether yellow or white or red.
Yes, actually, well, you should choose yourself to make its pattern, you know. This will become its pattern. They call it hawz, and the hawz, they weave it (lit. bring it in) into the middle of it (i.e., the carpet).

**WK:33**

āŋar īŋar em ke masa’lan konj̱obāray bāz čī

there here =ADD TOP for example corner-PL.OBL.PC.3SG many thing

āzo’rant

ā=zor-ant

VCL=take.NPST-3PL

Here and there, too, for example in the corners, well, they put (lit. take) many things.

**WK:34**

‘hamī korzakorẕī agā’fan ke hā’lā yā ‘say

ham=ī korzakorẕī a=gāf-an ke hālā yā say

EMPH=PROX korzakorẕī VCL=weave.NPST-3PL CLM now or three

en ‘yā ‘do
=en yā do
=COP.NPST.3SG or two

They weave this korzakorẕi pattern, which is either three or two [forms in a pattern].

**WK:35**

agā’fantī

a=gāf-ant=ī

VCL=weave.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

They weave it.

**WK:36**

’e ham ‘as ge’limā

ē ham as gelim-ā

PROX ADD from gelim-OBL

So much for the gelim (lit. this too from the gelim).
4. Text Corpus

**WK:37**

gelim ke sāda en
gelim TOP easy =COP.NPST.3SG

The *gelim* is simple.

**WK:38**

fağaḍ 'ya koʃi̞ 'asseni̞ azo r̲ay
fağaḍ ya koʃi̞=e ass=en=ī a=zor-ay
only one beam=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-2SG

'ya koʃi̞
y a koʃi̞
one beam

It only needs one beam. You take one beam.

**WK:39**

ġāli̞ 'wade geлим 'dār kānagī 'c̪o̞ ham
gali̞ wad=e gelim dār kan-ag=ī c̪o̞ ham

The carpet and (lit. with) the *gelim*, tying them to the frame is [done] in the same way.

**WK:40**

fağaṭ 'bennay 'ce naxše bo'kānet bozoray
fağaṭ b-enn-ay 'ce naxše bokān=et bo-zor-ay
only SBJV-see.NPST-2SG what pattern want=PC.2SG SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

reʃ 'kay ašomā'r̲ay ke masa'lan 'kade
reškay a=šomār-ay ke masalan kad=e
warp.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=count.NPST-2SG CLM in fact height=EZ

nax'sat 'dar ay
naxša=t dar Ø-ay-Ø
pattern=PC.2SG PREV SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

You only need to imagine (lit. see) what pattern you want to choose. You count [the strings of] its warp, so that it will, you know, come out the same size (lit. height) as your pattern.
Yes, [for] the carpet, too, you spin the wool. First you also set aside its woof, that [wool] which you have in mind [for the woof] (lit. the issue of attention). Its wool must be good, you know.

You take the good wool, you spin it for its woof.

Then, its warp must also be smooth, be smooth so that the carpet will not turn out bad, you know, so that it will turn out smooth underneath it.
As for the carpet, there is [the pattern] mahidarham, there is kalleshiri, there is kalleaspi, they [also] weave (lit. bring in) shermohr. It has many patterns, the carpet, too.

Well, anyone, you know, any pattern that she likes, which she has in mind, she weaves [it] (lit. brings it in).
The weaving of the Korosh

The carpet too, you tie its warp to the wooden frame. Now, for example, your pattern, you imagine (lit. see) what pattern you want. You tie [the warp] to the wooden frame. According to your pattern, you know, you measure your warp, either a two-[square-]metre [carpet] or a three-[square-]metre [one] or, in fact, bigger.

You tie [the warp] to the wooden frame. Then when you have tied [it] to the wooden frame, you also choose (lit. take) its pattern. Now, you [may] either want to weave the kallespi [pattern]... You tie [warp onto the frame] according to your warp (the intended meaning is probably: according to your pattern). We also wove one extra beam [into the warp].
Then you also choose its colour. Any colour that you want to use more, you know, you dye (lit. make) more [yarn in] that colour of yours, now, either yellow, or red, or any colour, blue.... They mostly make the base (i.e., the main colour) of the carpets red.

Yes, they make it red. Then its patterns are white and yellow and blue and green, and similar (lit. these) [colours]. These come with the pattern.
4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:50

\[
\text{گلی هام بِ چِل اِن}
\]

\[
\text{گلی هام بِ چل اِن}
\]

carpet ADD in PROX form =COP.NPST.3SG

So the carpet is [made] in this way.

WK:51

\[
\text{پِستر ام ماسالن چادسیاه بَن}
\]

\[
\text{پِستر =ام ماسالن چادسیاه بَن}
\]

before =ADD PN.1PL in fact black tent-PL=PC.1PL

\[
\text{اغفتا کِت اَجاددن سار ای}
\]

\[
\text{اغفتا کِت اَجاددن سار ای}
\]

VCL=weave.PST=COP.PST CLM VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL wilderness

In former times we actually used to weave black tents, too, you know, that we used to put up in the wilderness.

WK:52

\[
\text{هََّا رَن اَجاددن ماسالن سار ای مَنی}
\]

\[
\text{هََّا رَن اَجاددن ماسالن سار ای مَنی}
\]

yes DIST VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL in fact wilderness in=PC.3SG

\[
\text{انشتدن یو بازَزَی بی مَل ای}
\]

\[
\text{انشتدن یو بازَزَی بی مَل ای}
\]

VCL=live.PST=COP.PST-1PL with goat-GEN hair =COP.PST-3SG

Yes, we put them up, you know, in the wilderness, we lived in them (lit. it), they were [made] of goat hair.

WK:53

\[
\text{هََّا بازَزَی مَل‌دَا اَچدادش}
\]

\[
\text{هََّا بازَزَی مَل‌دَا اَچدادش}
\]

yes goat-GEN hair-OBL VCL=shear.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL

Yes, they sheared the goat’s hair.

WK:54

\[
\text{اَچدادش تاَسناَن اَرسادن}
\]

\[
\text{اَچدادش تاَسناَن اَرسادن}
\]

VCL=shear.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL summer-PL VCL=spin.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL

They sheared them in summertime, we spun [the hair].
First we prepared [the hair]. We gathered the womenfolk and, you know, the men and women of the encampment, we all prepared it.

You know, we arranged a place, we all sat down, we prepared [the goat hair], we cooked food. A celebration, it was pretty much a celebration.
5. Glossary

ā

ā, prt. fine, right, well, okay (gives emphasis to the previous statement)
ā dem. that, those (distal demonstrative)
ā var. of az
ābī adj. blue
āborū n. respect, honour, reputation
āborūmann adj. respectable
ādā adv. over there
ādam n. human being, person
āf n. water
āġā n. 1) sir, 2) mister
āhū n. deer
āk, ākk pst. of āyag
ālam n. world
ālem n. wise man, doctor
āmāda adj. ready
āmū var. of amū
ānār n. assumption
ānār kanag v. compl. to assume, to believe
ānā (ānār) adv. there, in that direction
ānār var. of ānā
ārām adj. calm
ārag (pst. āwort, āwūrt, āwo) v. tr. to bring
ās n. fire
ās dayag v. compl. to burn
āšeg (āšog) adj. in love
āšog var. of āšeg
āwāra adj. homeless, vagrant, errant
āwo, āwort, āwūrt pst. of ārag
āyag (ay.; pst. āk, ākk) v. itr. to come
āyanne n. future

a

a var. of az
a dass = c phr. because of, due to
aga (aya) subord. conj. if
āgd n. marriage contract preceding the wedding
āgd kanag v. compl. to give in marriage, to marry off
āgl n. reason
ajīb adj. strange
ajīb ģarīb phr. adj. strange
aks n. picture
aksaran adv. mostly
alaf n. grass
alakī 1) adj. groundless, without any basis;
2) adv. for no reason
albata adv. of course
### 5. Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allāho akbar</td>
<td>phr. Allah is greater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alʔān</td>
<td>adv. now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= all</td>
<td>var. of ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amn</td>
<td>adj. secure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amū (āmū)</td>
<td>n. paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amnāza</td>
<td>n. size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>var. of kār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbāb</td>
<td>n. boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arz</td>
<td>n. statement, saying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>var. of az</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asāb</td>
<td>n. nerves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asan</td>
<td>var. of assan</td>
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<tr>
<td>asl</td>
<td>n. basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asli</td>
<td>adj. original</td>
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<tr>
<td>asp</td>
<td>n. horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assan (asan)</td>
<td>adv. 1) actually, as a matter of fact, indeed; 2) at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašäyer</td>
<td>n. nomad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aškon</td>
<td>var. of eškonag</td>
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<tr>
<td>aškont</td>
<td>pst. of eškonag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awāyel</td>
<td>adv. beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awalin</td>
<td>ord. num. first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awlād</td>
<td>n. children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awwal</td>
<td>ord. num. first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axbār</td>
<td>n. news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>interj. 1) hi, hi there, you there (vocative particle); 2) hey (attention-attracting discourse device)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya</td>
<td>var. of āyag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya</td>
<td>var. of aga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az (a, ā, as)</td>
<td>prep. 1) from, out of, of; 2) to, for; 3) than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azīnbū</td>
<td>n. muezzin (the person calling to Islamic ritual prayer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ažiyat (azziyat)</td>
<td>n. trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ažiyat kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to trouble, to annoy, to give someone a hard time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azūn</td>
<td>n. prayer call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azzāb</td>
<td>adj. unmarried, single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azzīyat</td>
<td>var. of ažiyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aždahā</td>
<td>n. dragon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>alt. npst. of bayag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā;</td>
<td>alt. npst. of barag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā</td>
<td>prep. with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bābā</td>
<td>var. of bowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāese</td>
<td>pst. of bāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāg</td>
<td>n. garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāhā, (bahā, bāhād, bāhāt, bāhās, bāyat; pst. bāese)</td>
<td>v. mod. must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāhā</td>
<td>(bahā) n. selling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāhād, bāhās, bāhāt</td>
<td>var. of bāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāk</td>
<td>n. fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bākī</td>
<td>adj. remaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bālād</td>
<td>1) adj. high; 2) adv. up, upwards (location, direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāmard</td>
<td>n. man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bār;</td>
<td>n. load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bār;</td>
<td>n. time, occasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bār;</td>
<td>alt. npst. of barag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bār kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to load something onto something/somebody, to load up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārgāh</td>
<td>n. royal court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārikala</td>
<td>phr. adv. bravo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāšloġ</td>
<td>n. bridal gift, gift from the bridegroom to the bride’s mother (Qashqai term; Persian term: šīrbahā)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Glossary

bāyat var. of bāhā.

bāz. adv. again

bāz; adj. many

bāz ham (bāz = am) phr. adv. again

bāz = am var. of bāz ham

ba var. of be

ba čā var. of ba če

ba če (ba čā) phr. adv. why

babam interj. oh dear (expresses surprise and bewilderment)

bač n. 1) boy; 2) son

bačak n. son

bad; adv. bad

bad az phr. adv. after

badan n. body

badarxor adj. useful

badfūr adv. badly, in a threatening way

bağal n. bosom

bah interj. oh, oh dear, wow (expresses great surprise)

bahā var. of bāhā.

bahā; var. of bāhā.

bahār n. 1) spring (season); 2) greenery, pasture

bahr = e prep. for

bahn n. dispute

balat adj. acquainted with, familiar with

bale prt. yes

ban var. of bann

bann (ban) n. rope, cord, string, band

bannag (pst. bass) v. tr. to tie

banne n. servant, slave

banne xodā phr. person (generally someone one feels sympathy for), poor fellow, poor woman (lit. God’s servant)

barā prep. to, for

barag (alt. npst. bār, bā; pst. bort, būrt) v. tr.

1) to take, take away; 2) to carry

barğ n. flash, lightning, glitter

barğ jānag v. compl. to shine

barra (barre) n. lamb

barradār adj. pregnant (of sheep)

barre var. of barra

bass pst. of bannag

bayag (alt. npst. b, bī; pst. bod, bo) v. tr.

1) to become; 2) to be

bazī adj. some

be (ba) prep. 1) to; 2) for; 3) in; 4) by; 5) as

be dard warag v. compl. to be of use, to be useful

be har sūrat phr. adv. anyway, in any case

be hīč waj phr. adv. not at all, by no means

be jāī ke subord. conj. instead of

beh adj. better

behesāb (besāb) phr. adv. so to speak, well, for instance, actually

bejoz prep. phr. except

belann adj. high

belann kanag v. compl. to lift up, to raise up

belaxara adv. 1) anyway; 2) finally

berād n. brother

berenǰ n. rice

berr prev. preverb denoting sudden downward movement

besāb var. of behesāb

be xāter = e prep. phr. for the sake of

be xāter = e ke subord. conj. 1) in order that; 2) since

bī alt. npst. of bayag

bīčāra adj. poor

bidār n. awake

bis card. num. twenty

bīsān echo word (of felān/folān) (so and so)
5. Glossary

bīsawād adj. illiterate
bīxabar 1) adj. uninformed, not knowing;
2) adv. without notice, without prior notification
bīyābān n. desert
bōǰag (pst. bōtk) v. tr. to open
bōr adj. beige, light brown, blonde
bōrēnag (pst. bōrēnt) v. caus. to break
bōrēnt pst. of bōrēnag
bod, bo pst. of bayag
bogū n. rumor
bokā var. of bokān
bokān (bokā, bokār) v. tr. 1) to want;
2) to need
bokār var. of bokān
bolīz n. sweater
bon n. fire
bored pst of borragborr n. group, division
borr dayag v. compl. to divide, to separate into groups
borrag (pst. bored) v. tr. to cut
bort pst. of barag
bowā var. of bowo
bowo (bowā, bābā) n. father, daddy
boz (bozz) n. goat
bozorg adj. big
bozz var. of boz
brāzāk n. nephew
būn n. roof
būrt pst. of barag

č

čāder n. tent
čādorsyāh n. black tent made of goat’s hair
čāh: n. well
čāh: n. tea
čāk adj. fat
čār (čahār) card. num. four
čārēnag (pst. čārēnt) v. caus. to take grazing
čārēnt pst. of čārēnag
čārkoǰī n. weaving frame
čātmā n. stand, a three-legged stand as part of the weaving frame
čahār var. of čār
čamm n. eye
čapp adj. overturned
čapp=o rāss phr. adv. whereabouts, circumstances, situation
čappi adj./adv. upside down
čarag v. itr. to graze
čašm interj. fine, okay, sure, of course
(affirms that the speaker is going to do what (s)he was asked to)
čē (či) 1) n. thing; 2) interr. pn. what
čēr=e prep. under
čē det. what
čed pst. of čenag
čel num. forty
čenag (pst. čed) v. tr. 1) to pick; 2) to shear
četa(h)r. četari var. of četaw
četaw (četawrī, četahr, četar, četari, čitār, četo. čtaw) adv. how
četawrī var. of četaw
četo var. of četaw
či var. of čē
čitār var. of četaw
čiz n. thing
čo (čo) 1) prep. like; 2) adv. like this, so, in this way
| čō | adj. what |
| čōbān (čūbān) | n. shepherd |
| čōčanek | n. dried whey |
| čōgdārī | n. trading |
| čōn | adv. how |
| čo | var. of čō |

| čobān | n. shepherd |
| čok (čokk) | n. child |
| čokk | var. of čok |
| čoxān | n. flattery, exaggeration |
| čtaw | var. of četaw |
| čūbān | var. of čōbān |

| d | alt. npst. of dayag |
| dā | alt. npst. of dayag |
| dā | pst. of dayag |
| dād | pst. of dayag |
| dādobidād | n. turmoil, uproar |
| dār | n. 1) wood; 2) wooden frame (for weaving) |
| dārag (pst. dāšt) | v. tr. to hold, to keep |
| dārga | n. camel herding |
| dāštān | n. story |
| dāst | pst. of dārag |
| dāt | pst. of dayag |
| dāwāzdah | var. of dawāzda |
| dāzan | n. woman |
| da | var. of dayag |
| da | card. num. ten |
| daf | n. mouth |
| dağığ | adv. exactly |
| dahwat | n. invitation |
| dahwat kanag | v. compl. to invite |
| dar | prep. in |
| dar | prev. preverb denoting movement out of |
| dard | n. pain, agony, affliction |
| darmān | n. cure, remedy |
| darmadāgün | adj. shattered |
| darwā | n. deep hole, pit |
| daryā | n. sea |
| das | var. of dass |
| dass (das) | n. hand |
| dawāzda (dawāzdh; dāwāzdah) | card. num. twelve |
| dawāzdah | var. of dawāzda |
| dawr | n. turn |
| dawr gerag | v. compl. to encircle |
| dawr janag | v. compl. to go around, to ride around |
| dawrā | postp. around |
| dawr = e | prep. around |
| dayag (alt. npst. dā, dī, d; pst. dād, dāt, dā) | v. tr. to give |
| dēm | n. face |
| dēm pa | prep. phr. towards |
| dēr | adv. late |
| degār | n. ground |
| dega | var. of dya |
| del | n. heart |
| deraxt | n. tree |
| dewist | card. num. two hundred |
| deya | var. of dya |
| dī | alt. npst. of dayag |
| did | pst. of gennag |
| dīga | var. of dya |
| dōat | n. 1) marriage; 2) wedding |
5. Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>dōat kanag</strong> v. compl. to marry someone off, to conduct a wedding ceremony for someone</td>
<td>دايت كاناج</td>
<td>to marry someone off, to conduct a wedding ceremony for someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dōg</strong> n. buttermilk (a savoury yoghurt-based beverage)</td>
<td>دوج</td>
<td>buttermilk (a savoury yoghurt-based beverage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dōī</strong> var. of <strong>dōi</strong></td>
<td>دوي</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dōss</strong> n. friend</td>
<td>دويس</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dōšag</strong> (pst. <strong>došt</strong>) v. tr. to milk</td>
<td>دوشا</td>
<td>to milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dōšī</strong> adv. last night</td>
<td>دوشا</td>
<td>last night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>do</strong> card. num. two</td>
<td>دو</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dobāra</strong> adv. again</td>
<td>دوبارة</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>doī</strong> (dōī) n. mother</td>
<td>دوي (دوي)</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>doktor</strong> n. doctor</td>
<td>دكتور</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dometrī</strong> adj. two-metre, of two (square) metres</td>
<td>دومتر</td>
<td>two-metre, of two (square) metres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>domī</strong> ord. num. second</td>
<td>دومي</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>donyā</strong> n. world</td>
<td>دنيا</td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dorōg</strong> n. lie</td>
<td>دورج</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dorōg bandag</strong> v. compl. to lie</td>
<td>دورج بنداج</td>
<td>to lie</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>doros</strong> (doross) adj. right</td>
<td>دورس (دوريس)</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>doros hesābī</strong> phr. adj. proper, honest</td>
<td>دورس حسابي</td>
<td>proper, honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>doross</strong> var. of <strong>doros</strong></td>
<td>دوريس</td>
<td>proper, honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>došman</strong> n. enemy</td>
<td>ذوسمان</td>
<td>enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>došt</strong> pst. of <strong>dōšag</strong></td>
<td>ذوش</td>
<td>to milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dozz</strong> n. thief</td>
<td>ذوز</td>
<td>thief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dūd</strong> n. smoke</td>
<td>ذود</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dūd dayag</strong> v. compl. to burn</td>
<td>ذود دياج</td>
<td>to burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dūmād</strong> n. 1) son-in-law; 2) groom</td>
<td>دوماد</td>
<td>son-in-law; groom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dya</strong> (deya: dyar, dega: diga) 1) adj. other; 2) adv. well; 3) adv. then; 4) adv. now; 5) adv. more</td>
<td>ديا</td>
<td>other; well; then; now; more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dyar</strong> var. of <strong>dya</strong></td>
<td>دير</td>
<td>other; well; then; now; more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ē (ɪ) dem. this, these (proximal demonstrative)</strong></td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>this, these (proximal demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēdā</strong> (ēdān, edān, edā, eda, īdān) adv. here (location)</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>here (location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēdān</strong> var. of <strong>ēdā</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>this, these (proximal demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēdānakō</strong> (ēdānakō, ēdānakō, ēdānakō)</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>this, these (proximal demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēdānakō</strong> var. of <strong>ēdānakō</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>this, these (proximal demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēr</strong> prev. preverb denoting downward movement</td>
<td>ēر</td>
<td>downward movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēš</strong> (eš, īš, ʃ) dem. this (proximal demonstrative)</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>this (proximal demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ēšān</strong> (ešān, ṣeša, ʃa) adv. like this, in this way; well, you know</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>like this, in this way; well, you know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ētaw</strong> var. of <strong>ētawr</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>like this, in this way; well, you know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ētawr</strong> (ētaw, ītaw, ṣeṭaw, ʃeṭawr) adv. in this way</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>e</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>edā</strong> var. of <strong>ēdā</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>edān</strong> var. of <strong>ēdā</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>edāra</strong> n. management</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>edāra kanag</strong> v. compl. to manage</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eda</strong> var. of <strong>ēdā</strong></td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>edde</strong> n. group, number</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ehtemāl</strong> n. probability</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ejāra</strong> n. rent</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ekkada</strong> det. so many</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>elāhī</strong> n. God</td>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>in this way</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Glossary

elag (pst. ešt) v. itr. to let, to allow
emārat n. building
emsīl adv. this year
emšaf adv. tonight
enğelāb n. revolution
en alt. npst. of gennag
ens jens var. of ens = o jens
ens = o jens (ens jens) n. prey
entexāb n. choice
eslāt = e arzī phr. land reform
espēd adj. white
estefāda n. use
eš var. of eš
ešān var. of ešān
ešāra n. sign
eškonag (alt. npst. aškon; pst. eškont, aškont) v. tr. to hear
eškont pst. of eškonag
ešt pst. of elag
eštebāh n. mistake
etefāg n. occurrence, happening

f

fād n. salt
fāmil n. family, extended family
fāyeda (fāyede) n. use, benefit, profit
fāyede var. of fāyeda
fağad var. of fağat
fağat (fağad) adv. only
farāham adj. provided
farāham kanag v. compl. to provide
farğ n. difference
farğ kanag v. compl. to make a difference
fasl n. season
faš adj. 1) happy, content, satisfied; 2) proper, well prepared, ready (to be used)
fekr n. thought, mind
fēlān (folān, felāni) adj. so and so, a certain
fēlāni var. of fēlān
felan adv. at present, for the time being
ferēṣia n. angel
fētna n. conspiracy
fōlān var. of fēlān

g

g alt. npst. of gerag
gāfag (pst. gāft) v. tr. to weave
gāft pst. of gāfag
gāhār n. sister
gālag n. sack (for storing, e.g., wheat)
gār n. lost
ga: alt. npst. of gaṣag
ga: pst. of gaṣag
galen n. bride
gamān n. thought
gamān kanag v. compl. to think
gannom n. wheat
gap n. word
gardag v. itr. to go around
garden n. neck
garm n. warm
5. Glossary

garmaşir n. winter pasture

gašag (alt. npst. goš, ga, ši; pst. gašt, ga) v. tr. to say

gašt pst. of gašag

gawd n. deep hole, pit

gējag (pst. gēk) v. tr. to take out, to remove, to expel

gēk pst. of gējag

gēš adv. more

ge₁ alt. npst. of gerag

ge₂ pst. of gerag

gēh adj. better

gelim n. gelim, kilim, a kind of woven rug

gen alt. npst. of gennag

gennag (alt. npst. gen, en; pst. did) v. tr. to see

gērag (alt. npst. g, ge₁; pst. geft; pst. ge₂) v. tr. 1) to take, to take hold of, to hold on to; 2) to get; 3) to catch

gerag adj. gathered, collected

gerad kanag v. compl. to gather, to collect

gīr n. grip

gābūl var. of gābul

gāfela adj. negligent, unaware, inattentive, careless

gāfela n. caravan

gāli n. carpet

gēpēg (pst. gēpet)v. tr. to catch

gēpet pst. of gēpēg

gābūl (gābūl) n. accepting

gabul kanag v. compl. to accept

gīr āyag v. compl. 1) to be found, to be available; 2) to come into someone’s possession

gō var. of gōn

gōn (gon, gō, go) prep. with
gōš n. ear

gōš gerag v. compl. to listen

gōš kanag v. compl. to listen

gōzd n. meat

go var. of gōn

god (got) adj. big, grown up, adult

goddā adv. then, afterwards

god=e prep. after

gol n. flower

goloynay n. name of a weaving pattern

gom adj. lost

gomān var. of gamān

gon var. of gōn

gonāh n. sin

gōsh alt. npst. of gašag

got var. of god

gūnpūl n. name of a weaving pattern with flowers

gūr n. grave

gābul

gāfel adj. negligent, unaware, inattentive, careless

gāfelā n. caravan

gālī n. carpet

gēpēg (pst. gēpet)v. tr. to catch

gēpet pst. of gēpēg

gābūl (gābūl) n. accepting

gabul kanag v. compl. to accept

gadağan adj. forbidden

galūn adv. in vain, with no use

garār n. agreement, appointment, resolution

garib adj. strange

garibe n. stranger

gars n. palace

gasha 1) adj. beautiful; 2) adv. beautifully

gashaği n. beauty

gatār n. cartridge belt, bandolier
## 5. Glossary

| **gater** | n. mule |
| **gawal** | adj. brown |
| **gayd** | n. thought |
| **gayr az** | prep. except, other than, apart from |
| **gayr e** | prep. except, other than, apart from |
| **germez** | adj. red |
| **gerr** | adj. destroyed |
| **gerr kanag** | v. compl. to destroy |
| **gesmat** | n. part |
| **girat** | n. zeal, bravery, jealousy, strict observation of honour code in social relations and war situations |
| **göl** | n. promise |
| **göl dayag** | v. compl. to promise |
| **gorbun** | n. offering, sacrifice |
| **gorub** | n. sunset |
| **gūš** | n. sheep pen |

### h

| **hā** (haw2) | prt. yes (affirmative particle) |
| **hāfīt** | n. Haji (a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca) |
| **hāl** | n. 1) health; 2) memory |
| **hālā (hāla)** | adv. now |
| **hālākō** | adv. right now |
| **hāla** | var. of hālā |
| **hāmīmo** | indef. pn. all |
| **hārr** | n. hee haw (the sound made by a donkey) |
| **hārr dayag** | v. compl. to hee haw |
| **had** | n. extent, limit, boundary |
| **had=e** | prep. 1) by, with, at the side of; 2) to |
| **haft** | var. of haft |
| **haft (haft)** | card. num. seven |
| **hafta** | n. week |
| **hağ** | n. right |
| **hağīgat** | adv. in fact, actually |
| **hağla** | n. bridal chamber |
| **halğa** | n. circle |
| **halğa ǰanag** | v. compl. to encircle, to make a circle around |
| **ham** (=am) | 1) prt. so, then, well, also, too, as well (additive particle); 2) adv. both |
| **ham** | recip. pn. each other |
| **hamdegar** | recip. pn. each other |
| **hamē ke** (hamī ke) | subord. conj. as soon as |
| **hamēša** | adv. always |
| **hamī ke** | var. of hamē ke |
| **hamītawr** (hamītu) | adv. like this |
| **hamītu** | var. of hamītawr |
| **hammiša** | var. of hamēša |
| **hamriš** | n. brother-in-law (one of a group of men whose wives are sisters) |
| **hančo** | adv. like this |
| **har det.** | each, every |
| **harakat** | n. movement |
| **harakat kanag** | v. compl. to move |
| **harče** (harči) | 1) indef. pn. whatever; 2) adv. however much, however many |
| **harči** | var. of harče |
| **harif** | n. opponent |
| **harfāh** | adv. wherever |
| **harka** | var. of harkas |
| **harkas (harka)** | indef. pn. whoever |
| **haš** | var. of hašt |
5. Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥašsad</td>
<td>card. num. eight hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥašt</td>
<td>(haš) card. num. eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥatta</td>
<td>adv. even</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaw</td>
<td>n. a game played with sticks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawlaki</td>
<td>adj. panicking, alarmed, agitated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawr</td>
<td>n. rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawr janag</td>
<td>v. compl. to rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥawz</td>
<td>n. name of a weaving pattern (lit. water-basin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥay</td>
<td>n. urging an animal on (by making a certain sound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥay</td>
<td>adv. continuously (iterative aspect marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥay kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to urge (an animal) on, to spur (an animal) on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥayf</td>
<td>adv. alas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaywān</td>
<td>n. animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥažda, ḥīzda</td>
<td>card. num. eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥeč</td>
<td>var. of ḥīč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥečī</td>
<td>var. of ḥīčī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥeška</td>
<td>var. of ḥīška</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaw</td>
<td>n. swing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥilō</td>
<td>n. swing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥilō kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to swing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥiška, ḥiške</td>
<td>var. of ḥička</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥīzak</td>
<td>n. goatskin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥīždah</td>
<td>var. of hažda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōn</td>
<td>n. blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōš</td>
<td>n. intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>(o) prt. topicalising particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodūd=e</td>
<td>prep. about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodūt=e</td>
<td>var. of hodūd=e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoğe</td>
<td>n. trick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoğūğ</td>
<td>n. salary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoǰūm</td>
<td>n. attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokāyat</td>
<td>n. story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokm</td>
<td>n. order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ̄ | var. of ̄
| ʾida | var. of ʾēdā
| ʾidān ke subord. conf. when ʾidānakō, ʾidānékō | var. of ʾēdānakō
| ʾimīd | n. hope |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ʾī</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ʾī | var. of ʾē
| ʾīdān | var. of ʾēdā
| ʾīdān | subord. conf. when ʾīdānakō, ʾīdānékō
| ʾīmīd | n. hope |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ġ</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ġ</td>
<td>n. place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ġā</td>
<td>var. of Ġā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jā, Jāh</td>
<td>n. place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāh</td>
<td>var. of Jā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ḥājim     | n. jajim, a kind of woven rug |
| ḥājād | var. of ḥahlād |
5. Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Žān n.</th>
<th>body</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jād</td>
<td>pst. of Žān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žahl</td>
<td>adv. down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žahlād (Jālād)</td>
<td>adv. down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žam adj.</td>
<td>gathered, collected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žan n.</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žanag (alt. npst. Žan; pst. Jād, Jat)</td>
<td>v. tr. 1) to hit; 2) to play (an instrument); 3) to pretend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žanēn n.</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žanek n.</td>
<td>1) girl; 2) daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žan n.</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žan kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to fight, to make war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jār n.</td>
<td>quarrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaryān n.</td>
<td>issue, problem, matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaš n.</td>
<td>celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaš gerag</td>
<td>v. compl. to celebrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>pst. of Jān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jebha n.</td>
<td>warfront</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jedā adj.</td>
<td>separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jelo</td>
<td>postp. in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenāza n.</td>
<td>corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jens n.</td>
<td>stuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jergag</td>
<td>(pst. Jerged) v. itr. to flee, to run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerged</td>
<td>pst. of Jergag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žīb n.</td>
<td>pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jožia n.</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jož n.</td>
<td>part</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**k**

| kāhī adj. | straw coloured |
| kāhom adj. | 1) buried; 2) hidden |
| kāhom kanag | v. compl. to bury |
| kām det. | which |
| kār n. | 1) work, job; 2) deed, act |
| kār kanag | v. compl. to work |
| kāregar n. | worker, hired labourer |
| kačal adj. | bald |
| kad n. | height |
| kadxodā n. | village elder |
| kafag (pst. kaft) | v. itr. to fall |
| kaft | pst. of kafag |
| kaftār n. | hyena |
| kalām n. | word |
| kalam n. | flute |
| kalla n. | head |
| kallapāča n. | a dish cooked with the head and trotters of lambs (usually served for breakfast) |
| kalleaspī n. | name of a weaving pattern (lit. horse-head) |
| kallešīrī n. | name of a weaving pattern (lit. lion-head) |
| kam adj./adv. | little |
| kam kam adv. | little by little, gradually |
| kanag (pst. kod, ko, ke) | v. tr. to do |
| kanek n. | side |
| kaniz n. | maidservant |
| kannag (pst. kanned) | v. itr. to laugh |
| kanned | pst. of kannag |
| kar, (ar) n. | donkey |
| kar adj. | deaf |
| kas n. | person |
| kasān (kassān) adj. | small |
| kassān | var. of kasān |
| kašag (alt. npst. keš; pst. kašt) | v. tr. 1) to pull; 2) to draw; 3) to rub |
| kašk n. | dried whey |
5. Glossary

kašt pst. of kašag
kay interr. pn. who
kayf n. pleasure, enjoyment, thrill
ke; 1) conj. that, so that, when, who, in order to, where; 2) prt. topic particle
ke; pst. of kanag
keš alt. npst. of kašag
kešna n. neighing
kilü n. kilo
kilümetr n. kilometre
köbin n. combine harvester
kōh (kūh) n. 1) mountain; 2) stone
kör adj. blind
ko; pst. of kanag
ko; adv. where
kod pst. of kanag
kodom indef. pn. which
kohihilanki n. rocky landscape, mountainous region
koji var. of kojī
kojīn (kojī) n. beam
koll det. all
kollan adv. generally, on the whole, actually
koma n. stomach, rumen
komak n. help
komak kanag v. compl. to help
konj n. corner
kop adj. gathered, collected, together, in one place, piled up
kop kanag v. compl. to pile up
korosh n. prop. Korosh (a person belonging to the Koroshi ethnic group)
korrang n. foal
korzaī var. of korzakorzī
korzakorzī (korzaī) n. name of a weaving pattern
košag (pst. košt) v. tr. to kill
košt pst. of košag
kott n. lap
kūh var. of kōh

lāgar adj. thin, slim, skinny
lāš n. carcass, dead body (of animal)
lahza n. moment
laŋ adj. lame
larzag v. itr. to shake
layb n. game, play
layt n. game, play
layt kanag v. compl. to play
lebās n. clothes
lōg (log) n. house
log var. of lōg
loh n. pushing, push
loh dayag v. compl. to push
lonk n. piece
lott n. piece

mā; pers. pn. we
mā; (ma) prep. 1) in, at; 2) into, to; 3) on
mādar n. mother
māh n. month
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māhīdarham</td>
<td>n. name of a weaving pattern (lit. fish in each other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māl</td>
<td>n. livestock (particularly sheep and goats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māli</td>
<td>adj. financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānag (pst. mānt)</td>
<td>v. itr. to remain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānt</td>
<td>pst. of mānag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māst</td>
<td>n. yogurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māya</td>
<td>n. leavener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>var. of mā, madrasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mage</td>
<td>adv. indeed, really (negative interrogative adverb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahal</td>
<td>n. place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahesk</td>
<td>n. fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahlūm</td>
<td>adj. clear, obvious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majbūr</td>
<td>adj. forced, obliged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafles</td>
<td>n. court, meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mallapāča</td>
<td>echo word (of kallapāča) head and trotters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>pers. pn. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mann</td>
<td>n. mann (weight measuring unit of about 6 kilos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantag (pst. manted)</td>
<td>v. tr. to churn milk into butter using a goatskin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manted</td>
<td>pst. of mantag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mardēn</td>
<td>n. man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mardom</td>
<td>n. people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marg</td>
<td>n. death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marīz</td>
<td>adj. ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marīzi</td>
<td>n. illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marō</td>
<td>adv. today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masalan (masan)</td>
<td>adv. 1) for example; 2) in fact, actually, as a matter of fact, you know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masan</td>
<td>var. of masalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masir</td>
<td>n. way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašadi</td>
<td>(mašī, mašāi) n. Mashhadi (a person who has been to pilgrimage in Mashhad, where the 8th Shiite Imam is buried)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašāi</td>
<td>var. of mašadi</td>
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<tr>
<td>mašī</td>
<td>var. of mašadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawge (moğa, moğe)</td>
<td>1) n. time, moment 2) subord. conj. when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawgü (ke)</td>
<td>subord. conj. when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawred</td>
<td>n. issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maydān</td>
<td>n. town square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazāg</td>
<td>n. joke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazon</td>
<td>var. of mazan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazzan</td>
<td>var. of mazan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēčēnag (pst. mēčēnt)</td>
<td>v. caus. to breastfeed (a child), to help (e.g., a lamb) suckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēčēnt</td>
<td>pst. of mēčēnag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēdag</td>
<td>n. encampment, camp, village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēš</td>
<td>n. ewe (female sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merag (pst. mord, mort)</td>
<td>v. itr. to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meški</td>
<td>adj. black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meškiraŋ</td>
<td>adj. black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīš</td>
<td>n. sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīyān</td>
<td>prep. between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moalem</td>
<td>n. teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modat</td>
<td>n. time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moğa, moğe</td>
<td>var. of mawge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mohr</td>
<td>n. mark, stamp, seal, tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mojett</td>
<td>adj. insisting, persistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mojett bayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to insist, to be persistent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 5. Glossary

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mord, mort</td>
<td>pst. of <a href="#">merag</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moškel</td>
<td>1) adj. difficult; 2) n. problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mošt</td>
<td>n. handful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mot</td>
<td>n. jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mot kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motaasefāna</td>
<td>adv. unfortunately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moxālef</td>
<td>n. disagreeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mozz</td>
<td>n. wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müd</td>
<td>n. hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>n. date (fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nābūd</td>
<td>adj. annihilated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nābūd kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to annihilate, to destroy utterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nām</td>
<td>n. name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nārāhat</td>
<td>adj. troubled, disturbed, bothered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāranjī</td>
<td>adj. orange (colour) (lit. tangerine coloured)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāzok</td>
<td>adj. thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>1) prt. no; 2) adv. well, actually, in fact, since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafar</td>
<td>n. person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafarēšt</td>
<td>n. stew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagan</td>
<td>(nayan, nīyan) n. bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgša</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">naxša</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namak</td>
<td>n. salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namakdūn</td>
<td>n. saltbox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana</td>
<td>n. mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>n. disgrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawbat</td>
<td>n. turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawešt</td>
<td>pst. of <a href="#">nawīsag</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawīsag</td>
<td>(pst. nawešt) v. <em>tr.</em> to write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawkar</td>
<td>n. male servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nax</td>
<td>n. 1) thread; 2) hair (a single hair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxča</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">naxša</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>naxše</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">naxša</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>naxša</td>
<td>(naxče, naxča, naxše, nāgša) n. 1) plan 2) pattern</td>
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<tr>
<td>naxša rēčag</td>
<td>v. compl. to plan, to make plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxše</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">naxša</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayan</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">nagan</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayza</td>
<td>n. spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nazar</td>
<td>n. attention, opinion</td>
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<tr>
<td>nazzik = e</td>
<td>1) adv. nearly, almost; 2) prep. close to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negah</td>
<td>n. keeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negahbānī</td>
<td>n. guarding</td>
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<tr>
<td>nemešk</td>
<td>n. butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen</td>
<td>alt. npst. of <a href="#">nennag</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>nennag</td>
<td>(alt. npst. nen, nn; pst. nešt) v. <em>itr.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>nennēnag</td>
<td>(pst. nennēnt) v. <em>caus.</em> to place, to show where to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nennēnt</td>
<td>pst. of <a href="#">nennēnag</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nešān</td>
<td>(nošen) n. mark, sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nešān dayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to show, to make known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nešt</td>
<td>pst. of <a href="#">nennag</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīyan</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">nagan</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>alt. npst. of <a href="#">nennag</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noġl</td>
<td>n. sweets, sugar-coated almonds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noh</td>
<td>card. num. nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nošen</td>
<td>var. of <a href="#">nešān</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū</td>
<td>adv. now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūmzād</td>
<td>adj. engaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūr</td>
<td>n. light</td>
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## 5. Glossary

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<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>ō</td>
<td>alt. npst. of warag</td>
<td>warag, alt. npst. of warag</td>
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<tr>
<td>ōdān</td>
<td>var. of odān</td>
<td>odān, var. of odān</td>
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<tr>
<td>ōdānakō</td>
<td>adv. right there</td>
<td>ōdānakō, adv. right there</td>
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<tr>
<td>ōštād</td>
<td>pst. of ōštāgh</td>
<td>ōštād, pst. of ōštāgh (pst. ōštād) v. itr. 1) to stand up; 2) to stop</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>var. of ho</td>
<td>o, var. of ho</td>
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<tr>
<td>o = o</td>
<td>coord. conj. 1) and; 2) but</td>
<td>o = o, coord. conj. 1) and; 2) but</td>
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<tr>
<td>odān (ōdān)</td>
<td>adv. there</td>
<td>odān, adv. there</td>
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<tr>
<td>omr</td>
<td>n. 1) life</td>
<td>omr, n. 1) life</td>
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<tr>
<td>ord</td>
<td>n. camp</td>
<td>ord, n. camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orosī</td>
<td>n. shoe</td>
<td>orosī, n. shoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>ošter</td>
<td>var. of oštor</td>
<td>ošter, var. of oštor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oštor (ōštor)</td>
<td>n. camel</td>
<td>oštor, n. camel</td>
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<tr>
<td>otāğ</td>
<td>n. room</td>
<td>otāğ, n. room</td>
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<tr>
<td>owakēn (owakī)</td>
<td>adv. at that time</td>
<td>owakēn, adv. at that time</td>
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<tr>
<td>owakī</td>
<td>var. of owakēn</td>
<td>owakī, var. of owakēn</td>
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<tr>
<td>pād</td>
<td>n. foot, leg (from knee and down)</td>
<td>pād, n. foot, leg (from knee and down)</td>
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<td>pād āyag</td>
<td>v. compl. to get up</td>
<td>pād āyag, v. compl. to get up</td>
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<td>pāīz</td>
<td>n. autumn</td>
<td>pāīz, n. autumn</td>
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<tr>
<td>pākan</td>
<td>n. cleaning out, removing vegetation</td>
<td>pākan, n. cleaning out, removing vegetation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pākan kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to dig and clean up around trees (in order to make them grow better)</td>
<td>pākan kanag, v. compl. to dig and clean up around trees (in order to make them grow better)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pāmāl</td>
<td>adj. trampled</td>
<td>pāmāl, adj. trampled</td>
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<tr>
<td>pāmāl bayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to be trampled</td>
<td>pāmāl bayag, v. compl. to be trampled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāre</td>
<td>n. piece</td>
<td>pāre, n. piece</td>
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<tr>
<td>pāwākonī</td>
<td>n. welcoming party (given by the bride’s family after the wedding to welcome the bridegroom into their family)</td>
<td>pāwākonī, n. welcoming party (given by the bride’s family after the wedding to welcome the bridegroom into their family)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>prep. to, for</td>
<td>pa, prep. to, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pačag</td>
<td>(pst. pakk) v. tr. to cook</td>
<td>pačag, (pst. pakk) v. tr. to cook</td>
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<tr>
<td>pad</td>
<td>n. trace</td>
<td>pad, n. trace</td>
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<tr>
<td>padā</td>
<td>postp. after</td>
<td>padā, postp. after</td>
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<tr>
<td>pafā</td>
<td>var. of pafāh</td>
<td>pafā, var. of pafāh</td>
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<tr>
<td>pafāh</td>
<td>(pafā) adj. recognizing</td>
<td>pafāh, (pafā) adj. recognizing</td>
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<td>pafāh ārag</td>
<td>v. compl. to recognize</td>
<td>pafāh ārag, v. compl. to recognize</td>
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<td>pakk</td>
<td>pst. of pačag</td>
<td>pakk, pst. of pačag</td>
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<td>pan</td>
<td>var. of panj</td>
<td>pan, var. of panj</td>
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<tr>
<td>panā</td>
<td>n. refuge</td>
<td>panā, n. refuge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panā war xodā</td>
<td>phr. dear Lord, oh dear, goodness gracious (lit. refuge with God)</td>
<td>panā war xodā, phr. dear Lord, oh dear, goodness gracious (lit. refuge with God)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panj (pan, panš)</td>
<td>card. num. five</td>
<td>panj, (pan, panš) card. num. five</td>
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<td>panjā</td>
<td>var. of panjāh</td>
<td>panjā, var. of panjāh</td>
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<tr>
<td>panjāh (panjā)</td>
<td>card. num. fifty</td>
<td>panjāh, (panjā) card. num. fifty</td>
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<td>panš</td>
<td>var. of panj</td>
<td>panš, var. of panj</td>
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<tr>
<td>pardāxt</td>
<td>n. payment</td>
<td>pardāxt, n. payment</td>
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<tr>
<td>pas a</td>
<td>var. of pas az</td>
<td>pas a, var. of pas az</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas az (pas a)</td>
<td>prep. phr. after (temporal sequence)</td>
<td>pas az, (pas a) prep. phr. after (temporal sequence)</td>
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<td>pašm</td>
<td>n. wool</td>
<td>pašm, n. wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pašōl</td>
<td>n. separated, dispersed, spread out</td>
<td>pašōl, n. separated, dispersed, spread out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patī</td>
<td>adj. to unveil, to uncover (one’s hair)</td>
<td>patī, adj. to unveil, to uncover (one’s hair)</td>
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5. Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patī kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to unveil, to uncover one’s hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paygīr</td>
<td>adj. persistent, incessant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paygīr bayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to persist, to investigate thoroughly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paygām</td>
<td>n. message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēcag</td>
<td>(pst. pēk; pst. pīk) v. tr. to twist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēdā</td>
<td>adj. visible, apparent, obvious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēdā kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēk</td>
<td>pst. of pēcag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēšā</td>
<td>adv. before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēšter</td>
<td>adv. before, in advance, formerly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedarsûxta</td>
<td>n. brat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedarzan</td>
<td>n. father-in-law (i.e., father of one’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perd (pert)</td>
<td>adj. thrown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pert</td>
<td>var. of perd</td>
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<tr>
<td>perx</td>
<td>n. throwing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pešār</td>
<td>n. pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pešk</td>
<td>n. throwing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pešk dayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīk</td>
<td>pst. of pēcag</td>
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<tr>
<td>pīlawar</td>
<td>n. pedlar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piremard</td>
<td>n. old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirezan</td>
<td>n. old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīš</td>
<td>prev. preverb denoting face to face encounter</td>
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<tr>
<td>piyāda</td>
<td>adj. on foot, dismounted</td>
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<tr>
<td>piyāda bayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to dismount, to get off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōst</td>
<td>n. skin</td>
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<tr>
<td>por (porr)</td>
<td>adj. full</td>
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<tr>
<td>por</td>
<td>n. ashes</td>
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<td>porr</td>
<td>var. of por</td>
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<tr>
<td>portegālī</td>
<td>adj. orange (colour) (lit. orange (fruit) coloured)</td>
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<td>pošt</td>
<td>n. back</td>
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<tr>
<td>pošt=e</td>
<td>prep. behind</td>
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<tr>
<td>prēnag</td>
<td>(pst. prēnt) v. tr. to throw</td>
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<td>prēnt</td>
<td>pst. of prēnag</td>
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<td>pūl</td>
<td>n. money</td>
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<tr>
<td>pūldār</td>
<td>adj. rich</td>
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<td>pūnzda</td>
<td>card. num. fifteen</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>alt. npst. of rawag</td>
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<td>rāfe</td>
<td>n. mediator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāh</td>
<td>n. way, road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāhat</td>
<td>adj. comfortable, at ease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāss</td>
<td>adv. right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāzī</td>
<td>adj. satisfied</td>
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<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>pst. of rawag</td>
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<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>alt. npst. of rawag</td>
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<tr>
<td>rad</td>
<td>n. trace</td>
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<tr>
<td>rad bayag</td>
<td>v. itr. to pass by</td>
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<tr>
<td>raf</td>
<td>alt. npst. of rawag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raft</td>
<td>pst. of rawag</td>
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<tr>
<td>rahmat</td>
<td>n. mercy</td>
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<tr>
<td>rannā</td>
<td>1) postp. behind; 2) adv. after, afterwards 3) adv. behind</td>
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<td>raŋ</td>
<td>n. colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rap</td>
<td>alt. npst. of rawag</td>
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<td>rapt</td>
<td>pst. of rawag</td>
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<td>rasag</td>
<td>(pst. rased) v. itr. to arrive</td>
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<tr>
<td>rased</td>
<td>pst. of rasag</td>
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<tr>
<td>rasm</td>
<td>n. custom</td>
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<tr>
<td>rass</td>
<td>pst. of rēsag</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
rašīd adj. tall
rawag (alt. npst. r. ra., ro., raf. rap. ray. pst. ra., raft. rapt) v. itr. to go
rawšen adj. light, bright
rawšenī n. light, brightness
rart x n. clothes
raxtexāb n. bedding
ray alt. npst. of rawag
rēčag (pst. rētk) v. tr. to pour, to make
rēsag (pst. rass, ress) v. tr. to spin
rētk pst. of rēčag
rečag (pst. rekk) v. itr. to pour
rekk pst. of rečag
ress pst. of rēsag
rešk n. warp (weaving)
rešxan n. laughing, ridiculing, teasing
rešxan kanag v. compl. to laugh at, to make fun of
rezāyat n. approval
rīše n. base
rō var. of rōč
rōč (ro, rō) n. 1) day; 2) sun
rōgan var. of rōgen
rōgen (rōgan) n. oil, tallow, lard, ghee
rōm n. evening grazing, taking the animals out grazing before sunset
rōxāna n. river
ro1 alt. npst. of rawag
ro2 var. of rōč
rū prep. on
rūstā n. village
rūz n. day (see also rōč)
rūzegār n. time
sāda 1) adj. easy; 2) adj./adv. simple, simply, in a simple way (without a pattern)
sāf adj. smooth
sāhat n. hour
sāheg n. shadow
sāl n. year
sāxt pst. of sāzag
sāz n. clarinet
sāzag (pst. sāxt) v. tr: to make, to construct
sab var. of sabr
sabr (sab) n. patience
sabr kanag v. compl. to wait
sabz var. of sawz
sahar n. dawn
sahra 1) n. wilderness, field, desert; 2) n. ground 3) adv. outdoors
sak = o so n. offspring
sannog n. box
sajin adj. heavy
sar n. head
sarā postp. on
sarabālā n. steep uphill
sarāsar n. quarrel
sargarm n. amused
sargozašt n. narrative, account, story
sarkāši n. visiting
sarkoft n. taunt
sarkūb adj. suppressed
sarkūb kanag v. compl. to suppress, to repress
sarparass n. supervisor, person in charge
sar = e prep. on
5. Glossary

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<tr>
<td>sawgāt</td>
<td>n. gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawz (sabz, sos)</td>
<td>adj. green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawza</td>
<td>n. herb, greenery, fresh vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxt</td>
<td>adj. difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say, card. num.</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say2</td>
<td>var. of sayl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayl (sayy)</td>
<td>n. looking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayl kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semetri</td>
<td>adj. three-metre, of three (square) metres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepāye</td>
<td>n. three-legged stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serwat</td>
<td>n. wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sewomī</td>
<td>ord. num. third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīb</td>
<td>n. apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīna</td>
<td>n. chest</td>
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<tr>
<td>sīsad</td>
<td>card. num. three hundred</td>
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<td>sizda</td>
<td>card. num. thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōb (sob)</td>
<td>n. morning</td>
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<td>sōbigāh</td>
<td>adv. morning time, in the morning</td>
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<tr>
<td>sōčēnag</td>
<td>(pst. sōčēnt) v. caus. to burn</td>
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<td>sōčēnt</td>
<td>pst. of sōčēnag</td>
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<td>so, see sak = o so</td>
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<td>sōb</td>
<td>var. of sōb</td>
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<td>sočag</td>
<td>(pst. sokk) v. itr. to burn</td>
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<td>sohl</td>
<td>n. peace</td>
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<td>pst. of sočag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sos</td>
<td>var. of sawz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soss</td>
<td>adj. loose, slow, weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soss kanag</td>
<td>v. compl. to slow down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūrat</td>
<td>n. form, face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swār 1</td>
<td>n. riding, tour (on horseback);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swār 2</td>
<td>adj. riding 3 n. rider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swār bayag</td>
<td>v. compl. to ride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syāh</td>
<td>adj. black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>š, alt. npst. of gašag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š2</td>
<td>var. of ĕš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāh</td>
<td>n. king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šām</td>
<td>n. supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šān var. of ĕšān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šānag</td>
<td>n. shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāya</td>
<td>adv. maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šab var. of šaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaf (šab)</td>
<td>n. night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šahr</td>
<td>n. town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šal (šall)</td>
<td>adj. lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šall var. of šal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamār alt. npst. of šomārag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamšīr</td>
<td>n. sword</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šanek</td>
<td>n. goat kid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šanekdār</td>
<td>adj. pregnant (of goats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šarmanda</td>
<td>adj. ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šart</td>
<td>n. condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šas</td>
<td>card. num. sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaštād</td>
<td>pst. of šaštāg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaštāg</td>
<td>(pst. šaštād) v. tr. 1) to send;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šawkan</td>
<td>n. night grazing, taking the animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šawr</td>
<td>n. consultation, counsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šawr rēčag</td>
<td>v. compl. to take counsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šay</td>
<td>n. slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēr</td>
<td>n. poetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēr gašag</td>
<td>v. compl. to recite poetry, to compose (oral) poetry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Glossary

šērmohr n. name of a weaving pattern (lit. lion-stamp)
šekāl n. 1) hunt; 2) prey
šekl n. form, shape
šerkat n. company
šerr adj. overturned
šēš (šīš) šīr n. milk
šīrbahā n. gift from the bridegroom to the bride’s mother (Persian term; Qashqai term: bāšloġ)
šīš var. of šēš
šōdag (pst. šošt) v. tr. to wash
šogī n. occupation, job
šohla n. flame

šokāl n. 1) deer; 2) name of a weaving pattern (lit. deer)
šokr n. praise God, thank God
šoloğ adj. agitated, noisy, loud, busy
šoloğ kanag v. compl. to cause commotion, to make a big fuss
šomā pers. pn. you (pl.)
šomārag (alt. npst. šamār; pst. šomārt) v. tr. to count
šomārt pst. of šomārag
šorū n. beginning
šošt pst. of šōdag
šū n. husband
šūēnag (pst. šūēnt) v. caus. to trace someone, to follow someone’s footsteps (in order to find him/her)
šūēnt pst. of šūēnag

tā (ta) 1) prep. until, till; 2) subord. conj. until; 3) subord. conj. in order that, so that; 4) subord. conj. that; 5) adv. then, so

tā ōdān ke subord. conj. as much as

tāg n. rattling noise, sound of knocking, sound of teeth hitting each other

tākk n. single

tānag (alt. npst. twān; pst. tānt) v. mod. to be able

tānt pst. of tānag

tārik n. dark
tārof n. politeness
tāyeфа n. tribe
ta, pers. pn. you (sg.)
ta:prt. mirative particle
ta: var. of tā

tabag n. storey, floor

tafrī n. leisure
tafrī kanag v. compl. to enjoy oneself
tağriban adv. 1) around, approximately; 2) almost

tağsīr n. fault
tahamol n. patience
tahmonna adj. leftover
tahr n. pattern
tahrīf n. 1) praise; 2) account
taht = e prep. under
takān n. movement
takān warag v. compl. to move
talab n. claim, sum outstanding to a person’s credit
tamām 1) indef. pn. all; 2) adj. finished

tamām bayag v. compl. to end, to finish

tamīs adv. nicely
5. Glossary

tamīs kanag v. compl. to clean
tan var. of tānag
tarās var. of tarāz
tarāz (tarās) n. scales
tarāz dayag v. compl. to weigh
tark n. leave
tasallox n. mercy
tasallox kanag v. compl. to have mercy
tašt n. basin, often brass, used, e.g., for washing clothes and dishes
tawār n. sound
tawa n. batch (unit for measuring wool)
tawr n. manner
tawsan n. summer
tebg = e prep. according to
tehmā adj. alone
telā n. gold
tenā adj. alone
tenag (pst. tenjet) v. itr. to sway
tenjet pst. of tenag

tīr n. bullet
tīr kanag v. compl. to shoot
tīra n. clan
tōx var. of tōxā
tōxā (tōx) postp. in
tofan n. gun
tofančī (tofanī) n. gunman
tofanī var. of tofančī
tolomma n. pump
toman n. toman
tork n. prop. Turk (a person belonging to a Turkic speaking group)
torsag (pst. torsed) v. itr. to fear
torsēnag (pst. torsēnt) v. caus. to scare
torsēnt pst. of torsēnag
torsed pst. of torsag
tū prep. in
tūl n. length
twān alt. npst. of tānag

W

wā alt. npst. of warag,
wābasta adj. dependent
wāgean adv. indeed
wāllā phr. adv. by God
wār alt. npst. of warag;
wārt pst. of warag;
wa conj. and
wā alt. npst. of warag;
wad refl. pn. self, oneself
wada n. promise
wad = e prep. with
waft pst. of waspag
wale var. of wali

walli (wale) conj. but
walm adj. much, many, numerous
war prev. preverb denoting upward movement
war ārag v. prev. to dig, to dig up, to dig out
warag, (alt. npst. ā, wā, wa, wār; pst. wārt) v. tr. 1) to eat 2) to drink
warag, n. food
wasāel n. equipment.PL
waspag (pst. waft) v. itr. to sleep
waxt n. time
waxti (ke) subord. conj. when
waz n. situation
wazīr n. vizier
5. Glossary

wel adj. loose, free, released
wel dayag v. compl. to leave, to forget about, to let go
wel kanag v. compl. to let go, to drop the issue, to forget about something

xāl n. thought
xālī adv. all over, covered with
xālū n. maternal uncle
xāma n. woof (weaving)
xān n. khan (title of a tribal chief)
xāsegārī n. marriage proposal
xāter n. mind
xāterāt n. memories
xabar n. 1) news, recent happening; 2) information
xarāb adj. thin, meagre, skinny
xarag n. buying
xarj n. expense
xarrag (pst. xarred) v. tr. to buy
xarred pst. of xarrag
xatarnāk adj. dangerous
xayle var. of xaylī
xayle xob phr. adv. very well
xaylī (xayle) 1) adv. very; 2) adj. much
xedmat n. service
xesārat n. loss, injury, damage
xesārat n. loss, injury, damage

xo var. of xob
xob (xo) adv. well
xod ba xod phr. adv. spontaneously, automatically, by itself
xodā n. God
xodārš šokr phr. praise God
xolāsa adv. brief, in short, briefly, well, actually
xonawād n. family
xorāk n. food
xorānj n. food
xord adj. shattered
xorfin n. saddlebag
xormā n. date (fruit)
xorrān adj. refreshed
xoš adj. happy
xoš kanag v. compl. to enjoy oneself, to have a good time
xošhāl adj. happy
xošk n. dry
xošmaza adj. delicious
xtīb adj. good

ya coord. conj. or
yād n. memory
yāl n. mane
yānī var. of yani
yāzdah card. num. eleven

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5. Glossary

yawāš yawāš phr. adv. slowly, gradually, little by little
ye var. of yak

yehaw (yeho) adv. suddenly
yeho var. of yehaw
yek var. of yak

zād pst. of zāyag
zāi adj. having recently given birth
zānāg (pst. zānt) v. tr. to know
zānt pst. of zānāg
zār n. rial (monetary unit in Iran) (lit. hazār ‘a thousand’)
zāyag (alt. npst. zay; pst. zād) v. tr. to give birth
zahmat n. trouble, pain, hard work
zahmat kašag v. compl. to take trouble, to work hard
zāhr n. poison
zal n. gall bladder
zamān n. time
zamāna n. fate
zamīn n. ground
zan n. wife
zaneczol n. womenfolk
zankākā n. sister-in-law
zanxāssī n. proposal
zarar n. harm, loss
zard adj. yellow
zardačūa n. turmeric
zarǰ n. pain, agony, hard labour
zay alt. npst. of zāyag
zehn n. mind
zekk n. goatskin bag for storing liquids
zemestān n. winter
zennegī n. life
zennegī kanag v. itr. to live
zereŋ adj. smart, quick, clever, agile
zežt adj. ugly
ziyād adj. many
zōr n. force
zo alt. npst. of zorag
zobān n. tongue
zohr n. noon
zolf n. lock of hair, ringlet
zorag (alt. npst. zo; pst. zort) v. tr. 1) to take; 2) to buy
zorr n. turning
zorr gerag v. compl. to turn around
zorr warag v. compl. to move around
zort pst. of zorag

žan alt. npst. of janag
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