

Research article

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On orality and the sociolinguistic situation of the Kholosi community

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Abstract: The present paper aims to present a sociolinguistic survey of Kholosi, an Indo-Aryan language that is in the process of being documented. It is spoken mainly in two villages, Gotāv and Kholos, in the Hormozgan province of Iran. It is entirely surrounded by Iranian languages. Data stem from interviews with the Kholosi people and linguistic information obtained by recording spontaneous texts. The results suggest that due to long-term contact with Iranian languages, not only has the Kholosi language been heavily influenced by Iranian features, but also their culture and oral traditions. The paper concludes that the Kholosi speakers have completely forgotten their oral songs and instead have adopted Iranian ones. In this respect they share a common cultural heritage with Iranian. They are narrating the same tales, e.g., Shāh Abbās and, Rostam va Sohrab, and they sing Iranian songs in Persian or Bastaki. The recent tendency toward using Persian and Bastaki with their children at home might accelerate language shift in their communities.

Keywords: Kholosi, orality, Iranian and Indo-Aryan

1 Introduction

The present paper provides a sociolinguistic overview of Kholosi and presents a Kholosi short tale which is transcribed, glossed, and translated into English. Information regarding sociolinguistic features has been obtained from interviews with members of the Kholosi community. I have modified a questionnaire earlier used for Laraki and Koroshi documentation projects (see Nourzaei et al. 2015, Anonby and Yousefian 2011, and Nourzaei and Anonby 2021) and used it with ten males and ten females between the ages of 30 and 88.

The linguistic information comes from two tales. It is of interest that the results from the sociolinguistic questionnaire show very little variation in answers across the speakers. In contrast to this, the observations of linguistic features in recordings of spontaneous speech demonstrate high linguistic variation across the speakers. This may be because the questionnaire is highly structured and tends to produce uniform responses.

Kholosi belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European. It is a verb-final language (for details on post-verbal arguments in Kholosi, see Nourzaei forthcoming), but exhibits mixed adpositional typology (with variation between speakers) and an accusative alignment system in both the present and past domains. Kholosi phonology has been heavily influenced by Iranian, as evidenced in its strong tendency to lose retroflexes, aspiration and vowel nasalization. Similarly to other languages spoken in the regions, Kholosi Intervocalic d/b/ and t are softened to fricatives (called Zagros d). Allophonic softening of intervocalic voiced consonants is an areal phenomenon of the Zagros region. Lenition of /b, d, g/ has already been reported in Southern Luri (Anonby 2003: 51), Kurdish (McCarus 2009: 597) and Bakhtiari (Anonby and Asadi 2014, Anonby and Taheri-Ardali 2019). The Kholosi speakers have borrowed Iranian phonetic features such as the intervocalic softening. The data show a very un-

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stable vowel system with a strong tendency toward losing the long vowels, e.g., *ē*, and *ō* (see Nourzaei forthcoming a).

Similarly, the results suggest that Kholosi has borrowed Iranian morphosyntactic features, e.g., plural markers, the *ezafe* construction, classifiers, the individuation marker, the comparative suffix, prepositions, the numeral system and the reflexive pronoun, as has been mentioned in theories of language contact (Matras 2009) and in studies of other language in contact with Iranian (Khan 2019). Finally, Kholosi shares Iranian syntactic features in the noun phrase, in that adjectives are joined to the preceding nouns either by means of the *ezafe*, e.g., *rōbā-e nāmōratāb* ‘untidy fox’ or without it, e.g., *rōbā nōkō* ‘small fox’. Kholosi also follows the Persian general pattern that possessed precedes possessor, e.g., *kasr-e ferāwn jī* ‘the palace of Pharaoh’, however, the data demonstrates some instances where possessor precedes possessed as well, e.g., *‘hazrat mūsāi māv* ‘the prophet Musa’s mother’. There is grammatical gender in Kholosi, though there is a strong tendency toward losing it (see Nourzaei, forthcoming a and b).

Kholosi was first introduced to the scholarly world in a paper by Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani (2016). The second study was published by Anonby et al. in 2018. In addition, Arora has published an online Kholosi lexicon¹ and an article titled “Historical phonology and other observations on Kholosi”. In addition, Arora et al. are in the process of preparing a paper on Kholosi phonology. Rezai gave an oral conference presentation in 2015 and also published a short article online in 2020.

My documentation project has been underway since 2017. I visited the Kholosi community and involved some community members in the project by training them in documentation skills, e.g., recording, filming and transcribing. So far, we have transcribed two tales titled *Hazrate Mūsā* ‘The prophet Musa’ (18 minutes 47 seconds) and *Rūbā-e nāmōratāb* ‘The untidy fox’ (9 minutes, one second). This is the text that I have transcribed and translated below. So far, I have written on different aspects of Kholosi grammar (Nourzaei forthcoming a and b and under review), and I have also archived Kholosi data in WOVA and ELAR (Nourzaei 2022a and 2022b).

The paper is structured as follows. First, it deals with the geographical distribution of Kholosi speakers. This is followed by an overview of other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Iran. It then studies the Kholosi people’s origin and identity, culture and way of life, traditional crafts, education, language use, vitality, and language contacts. The orality and storytelling traditions are then described, and finally a Kholosi text is transcribed, glossed, and translated into English.

2 Geographical distribution

The Kholosi speakers are scattered across large parts of Hormozgan province in southwestern Iran. In general, Kholosi speakers are found in villages near large towns and cities.

The main group of Kholosi speakers are settled in two large villages called Kholos and Gotāv, both located about 25 miles from the county² seat of Bastak.

The second group of Kholosi are found in a village called Buchir, in the county of Pārsiyān.

Other concentrations of Kholosi speakers in Iran are located around big towns and cities such as Bandar Lenge, Khamir, Jenah, Bastak, Lār, Mināb, Kuhxerd, Bandar Abbas, Shiraz and Kong. Kholosi speakers live dispersed throughout these towns and cities.

Another main group consists of Kholosi speakers living outside of Iran, mainly in the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Dubai, and Bahrain (see Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani 2016). They originally migrated from Kholos or Gotāv to look for better job opportunities. The total number of Kholosi speakers is uncertain. However, in Kholos they number 1,283 (around 325 households), and in Gotāv around 600 (around 144 households). The Kholosi speakers in Qatar amount to around 50 households,

¹ <https://aryamanarora.github.io/kholosi/dictionary.html>

² County is defined here as a provincial subdivision.

and around 20 households live in the United Arab Emirates. Around 30 speakers live in Dubai and Bahrain.

Note that the Kholosi people are in touch with other Kholosi people both in Iran and abroad. The following map shows the location of Kholosi Speakers.



Figure 1: Location of Kholosi speakers

3 Closeness Languages to Kholosi in Iran

So far, two Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Iran have been reported. Baghbidi (2003:34) states that the Romāni dialect Zargari is spoken in some settlements in northern Iran, namely, Qazvin, Khorasan, and Alborz.

Another Indo-Aryan language is Jadgali. Barjasteh Delforooz (2008:27) mentions that Jadgali is a dialect of Sindhi, while other researchers consider it to be a dialect of Saraiki which belongs to the northwestern group of Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken in Sistan and Balochistan province, in the county seats of Dashtiyāri, Chābahār, Qasr-e Qand and Nikshahr, and even all the way to Shamir, beyond the county seat Jāsk in Hormozgan province. In addition, the main population of Jadgal lives in Pakistan, and many Jadgal people reside in the United Arab Emirates and Oman (ibid. 25). My Jadgal speakers informed me that many Jadgal people live in Bandar Abbas, Minab, Bashgerd, Bastak, Kerman (in the southern part of the town Kerman), Jiroft, Lār, and Būhshehr (e.g., Dashtestan, Dashti). The children have switched to Bandari or Persian, but the parents can still speak Jadgali. Jadgal people in Kerman, Lār and Būhshehr have already lost the Jadgali language, and speak the dominant languages in these regions. The Jadgal people in Kerman, Lār and Būhshehr are in touch with their relatives in Sistan and Balochistan.

3.1 Possible Kholosi contacts with other Indo-Aryan communities

Considering the large distances between the Kholosi and Zargari (another Indo-Aryan language) communities, it is unlikely to be worthwhile to compare them for possible contact. It is also worth noting that the Kholosi speakers are not aware of Zargari communities. Instead, I will examine the potential connections between Kholosi and Jadgali communities, since there are some Jadgal communities in Shamir beyond the county seat of Jāsk in Hormozgan province, as reported by Barjasteh Delforooz (2008:25) and in Bandar Abbas, Bastak and Bashgard in Hormozgan province, as mentioned by my Jadgal informants.

The distance between the Kholosi and Jadgal communities in Sistan and Baluchistan is more than 600 km (see map 2). From a language-contact perspective, it is interesting to determine to what extent these two languages have been in contact. These two communities were not in contact with each other³ until recently. One of my speakers reports that in 2010 one of his relatives “met a Jadgal man in Tehran and later invited him to Kholos. We only understood some of our common words, but we failed to converse in Jadgali or Kholosi. Finally, we had to use Farsi (Persian) for our communication.” Another one of my informants told me that their relatives in the United Arab Emirates met a Jadgal (he pronounced it Jaddal) man from Pakistan who spoke something close to Kholosi, but they failed to communicate in either Kholosi or Jadgali; instead, they switched to Arabic.



Figure 2: Location of Kholosi and Jadgali speakers

This observation suggests that these two languages have potentially been separated from each other for a long time, and due to a lack of contact, each has developed differently. On the one hand, because of Kholosi speakers' long-term contacts with Iranian, Kholosi has almost lost its original features and has adopted Iranian features (for instance, a tendency to lose retroflex consonants, aspirations and vowel nasalization, Nourzaei, forthcoming a; Anonby and Mohebi Bahmani 2016). There is a strong tendency toward losing grammatical gender and genitive case. In a similar way as with Kholosi's phonology, its morphosyntax has been influenced by Iranian. It is adopting light Iranian morphosyntactic features such as plural markers, the *ezafe* construction, indefiniteness strategies, the numeral system, numeral classifiers and the comparative suffix. Note that verb morphology, in particular, tense, aspect and mood, retains more Indo-Aryan features. Excluding the negation suffix, the

3 The information was provided by Hasanniya (p.c. January 2021).

markers such as person, aspect and mood follow the verb stem, e.g., *paz-aya* 'fix.PST.3SG.SUBJV' (see Masica, 1991: 257).

On the other hand, Jadgal communities preserve more Indo-Aryan features, for example, retroflexes, aspiration, and vowel nasalization.⁴ Jadgali also shares Indo-Aryan syntactic features in the noun phrase, in that adjectives are joined to the following nouns and show gender and number agreement with the nouns, e.g., *sōrī kwānkī*, 'beautiful girl', *sōrīō kwānkō* 'beautiful girls'. In Kholosi, adjectives are joined to the preceding nouns either by means of the *ezafe*, e.g., *rōbā-e nāmōratāb* 'untidy fox' or without it, e.g., *rōbā nōkō* 'small fox'. In contrast to Kholosi, Jadgali follows the general Indo-Aryan pattern whereby the possessor precedes possessed nouns, e.g., *ferawn jī kasrā* 'the palace of Pharaoh'; *mūsā jī māt*, 'the mother of Muses', *rōbā jō dom* 'the tail of the fox'. The grammatical gender agrees with possessed nouns. In opposite, Kholosi follows the Persian general pattern that possessed precedes possessor, e.g., *kasr-e ferawn jī* 'the palace of Pharaoh'. In Jadgali plurality of number is marked on the nouns, as in *tre kwānkīō* 'three girls', *heki kwānkī* 'one girl'. Jadgali has preserved the Indo-Aryan numeral system while Kholosi has adopted the Iranian system.

Note that both languages use the same oblique case *-ak* 'kasr-ak' 'the palace' /ke 'kasr-ke' 'the palace', with slight variations. In addition, both use the same genitive case marker *jo/jī*, although in Kholosi this suffix is on its way to be replaced by Iranian *Ezafe* construction.

The main reason why Jadgali speakers are preserving their language could be their ongoing contacts with Sindhi and Urdu speakers in Pakistan via trade and intermarriage, apart from their contacts with Iranian (especially Balochi and Standard Persian in school and on radio and TV, as dominant languages).

4 Origins and identity

The origin of the Kholosi people is uncertain. The participants gave me various accounts of their origin. One account published by Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani (2016:2) states that they came directly from India. Local people from their neighbouring regions mention that they came from India around one hundred years ago.

According to another account that has not been published, the "Kholosi people originated from the capital county of Dashtiyāri in Sistan and Balochistan and moved to their present location. Kholosi people are Jadgal. The Kholosi people believe that because the main occupation of the Jadgal people was agriculture and growing date palms. The fertile soil of this region (Kholos) attracted them to continue pursuing agriculture and growing date palms."

The third account is that the Kholosi people migrated from Sindh in Pakistan, as a separate group via the Makoran Coast, during the Safavid dynasty (17th century), and are not Jadgal. Determining the actual facts regarding their origin is beyond the scope of the present paper; however, it seems that their first settlement was the village of Kholos. Gotāv was established later. The distance between these two villages is almost five kilometres. Note that the Kholosi people living outside of these two villages have either moved away from Kholos or Gotāv to look for work and get access to urban facilities, or in some cases perhaps to avoid social conflicts.

The Kholosi people are tribally organized, the main tribes "*tīreh*" being Alshiri, Mahma Jamāli, Mahjamāl, Mahmadālī, Kahurigal⁵, Malati, Ahmad Ali, Mazājigar, Malāhi, Shenābun, Mamad Nāseri, Mamad, Hamad Hasani, Mundu, Adol Hasani, Mad Abasi, Medāzuli, Ahmad Maleki, Khorshid, Meza-sani, Hosayn Ali, Masudi, and Kahneh. The members of each tribe live near each other, and the part

⁴ I am in the process of documenting the Jadgali language (see Nourzaei 2023a).

⁵ According to information supplied by an anonymous elderly speaker, the tribes Kahurigal/Kahurogal, Khorshid, and Kahneh migrated from the Kang and Risheh, Kore, and Kahneh Evaz regions to Kholos more than one hundred years ago.

of the village where they live is named after the tribe; examples are Mahaleh ('area') Kahurogal, and Mahaleh Jamāli. This village social structure has been attested in other regions, for instance Balochistan (see Nourzaei, in print).⁶

5 Culture and way of life

In the past, the primary source of income of the Kholosi people was agriculture. They had date palms and domestic animals such as cows, sheep, and goats and were economically independent.

Like other nomadic people in Iran, such as the Luri and Qaşqā'i, the Kholosi people had winter and summer quarters. They spent the summer in two areas called *Kohich* and *Sarmozūn* harvesting their date palms and grain (wheat, oats, and corn), and their winter quarters were the villages Kholos and Gotāv, where they live now. The distance between these two areas and Kholos is about 13 kilometres.

Today, the Kholosi people have discontinued the tradition of separate summer and winter quarters. Instead, they use their former winter quarters for recreation and spending time with their family, mainly on the weekends and holidays, and live year-round in what used to be their summer quarters.

Some of the Kholosi men used to look for work outside of Iran, especially in Qatar, Dubai, and Bahrain, as merchants and workers. These men lived apart from their families while working and sent remittances home to cover their family's daily needs. They came to visit their families briefly every six months or once a year, or at even longer intervals.⁷ Today the situation has changed; the Kholosi men who work abroad bring their families with them.

Today, most Kholosi men work in government jobs such as in a bank, at a telegraph office, teaching (at government schools and *maktab-e dini* 'Islamic school'), or are engaged in agriculture or trade. However, a small number of them are continuing the old tradition of working abroad.

Like other regions in Iran, the main occupation of Kholosi women was housekeeping, including doing some work outside of the home such as helping their husbands gather dates and grain during harvest time.

Currently, the majority of the women are still working at home. However, some of them work as schoolteachers or in *Xāne-ye behdāsh* 'local healthcare'. In addition, some women work as Islamic teachers at Islamic schools in the summer and winter seasons, with their salaries paid by local religious organizations.

A typical feature of the Kholosi community used to be their tradition of endogamy. Marriage outside of their community was considered to bring shame upon the family. This may be one of the crucial factors in preserving their language. However, the situation has changed recently (in the last ten years), and marrying an outsider is accepted by families.

Most cases involve Kholosi men marrying a woman from the neighbouring regions (such as Mināb, Qeshm, and Jenāh.). For instance, one of the interviewed study participants married a woman

6 The most common family names are: Sabui, Etebāri, Panereh, Ahmadi, Ahmadzadeh, Jamali, Khoftedel, Pur Pashman, Ali Neshad, Pishkhord, Sedighi, Hanpur, Hasanzadeh, Hansaniya, Pachang, Pahang, Etemadi, Rahmani, Fatehinezhad, Afrari, Jamalpuran, Rasti, Hosayni, Barcham, Hasaniyā, Barding, Badakhsh, Mobini, Alhojat, Heshmatiyān, Bidak, Jamalpuran, Mohamadpur, Mohamadi, Badakhsh, Bichand, Farhbakhsh, Pazhdak, Rasti, Ahmadi, Barhrami, Shraf Doxt, Bornosi, Malahi, Tanoreh, Patereh, Abbasi, Farari, Abdollah Pur. Note that some of the family names are new; for instance, Sabui and Hakiminyā, have been recently registered. In addition, there are some Iranic family names, for example Hoseni and Timuri.

7 This lifestyle was also typical among other ethnic groups in this region, for instance, the Lāri, and Bastaki, and even Balochi. I noticed this in a village in Balochistan where I worked as a teacher; the man of the family worked in the United Arab Emirates and visited his family for two weeks every other year, but sent remittances to support the family.

from Bastak, and another found a wife in Bandar. In addition, one of my speakers married off her daughter to a man from Bastak. The husbands/wives might understand Kholosi, but prefer to speak their own language with the Kholosi speakers outside their own family. Only one case was reported by my informant where the wife learned Kholosi and used it as her children's first language at home and with the other villagers.

The Kholosi ritual religious practices also play an essential role in their decisions about marriage outside the community. Their recent exogamic weddings have only been with families with whom they share a common religion (Sunni).

As in other ethnic groups in Iran and Balochistan, such as the Baloch and Jadgal, polygamy is common among the Kholosi men. Formerly, a man could have up to four wives. All his wives lived around the same courtyard and helped each other with cooking, cleaning, and helping the men in the fields. Today, a man can have one or two wives, and the wives live separately.

Divorce is considered shameful, and the divorce rate is low.

The Kholosi community adheres to the Sunni branch of Islam. Each village has its own mosque and Imam/Mullah; they perform their Friday and Ids prayers in their villages. Note that in Kholos there are three mosques, and the people do their Friday and Ids prayers in the largest one.

Kholosi wedding and funeral ceremonies (which last up to three nights) are the same as with other Iranic groups for instance, their Bastaki neighbours.

Kholosi men and women do not wear distinct regional clothing. However, there is a significant distinction in the dress style of the older and younger generations, typically among men. The old men dress like Arab men in a long robe with trousers, and wear a shawl around their head called an *agāl*. The young men wear shirts and trousers. The women wear long dresses and *chador*, which are decorated with beautiful needlework.

Traditional crafts are (a) *xos-e dūzi*, "Kholosi women decorate their clothes (typically on the surface of their trousers and dresses) and their Chadors (e.g., bride's chador) with patterns or pictures consisting of stitches that are made directly into the material with a needle."

b) Making things from date palm fronds such as a *gēr* 'bed', *tag/tak* 'rug', *gērō* 'basket', etc. These crafts can be found in other regions as well, e.g., in Bastak.

The Kholosi communities do not have regionally distinct food traditions. There are no differences in culture and traditions between the Kholosi and their Iranic neighbours such as the Bastaki. I have observed the same thing with the Jadgali and Brahui⁸ communities in Sistan and Balochistan.

6 Education

It was not so common to send children to school in the past, because there was no school in the village. However, if it was possible, a family's boys had a good chance of attending school in a larger village nearby. When the school came to the village, the girls had an opportunity to be educated up to grade six but were forbidden by their families to continue their education at a higher level outside their village due to their culture restrictions. This tradition stopped around thirty years ago, and now both boys and girls have the same right to attend school and even university.

At present, Kholosi students are educated until grade nine in their village and then continue their education at higher levels in neighbouring counties, e.g., Bastak, and attend university in larger cities, e.g., Tehran.⁹ Unlike the older generation, all members of the younger generation have at least a grade-school education e.g., through grade six. Among the older generation, the number of men with

⁸ I am in the process of documenting the Brahui language (Nourzaei 2023b).

⁹ There are two schools in Kholos (elementary and secondary) and one in *Gotāv* (elementary). Boys and girls are both taught in the same classroom. The teachers speak both Kholosi and Iranic. In addition, each village also has an Islamic school.

a grade-school education is higher than the number of women. Nearly all members of the older generation, both men and women, have Islamic school education for their religious practices, such as reading the Koran and praying.

7 Language use and vitality

Kholosi is used as the first language in the Kholosi community (for similar information, see Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani 2016). Parents speak Kholosi with their children to a large extent. In Gotāv village, however, there is a tendency for the Kholosi residents to use Bastaki among themselves and with their children. In Kholos, there is a tendency among parents to speak with their children in Persian to prepare them for school. A similar observation has been made for other ethnic groups, such as the Lori, Balochi, and Bastaki. Outside these two villages, it is found that Kholosi speakers have lost their language and have switched to Bastaki/Lārestāni (known as Achomi, Khodemuni), which are the vernacular languages in these regions.

In Kholosi families with an exogamic marriage pattern, the Kholosi parents do not use Kholosi as their first language. Instead, the common language among parents and children at home is Bastaki, Lārestāni, or even Persian.

Among Kholosi speakers living abroad, e.g. in the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Dubai, and Bahrain, a tendency to use Arabic at home is reported. Note that some of the Kholosi speakers have even forgotten their language and switched to Arabic.

Kholosi is not a written language, and it does not have a writing system. Instead, speakers use standard Persian when texting each other via cell phone or writing letters. There are no TV or Radio programmes in Kholosi either. The language of teaching is Persian, however if the teacher is a Kholosi speaker, Kholosi can be used in the classroom. For religious instruction, Arabic and Persian are used. In the past, Kholosi served as a language of religious instruction in Islamic schools; however today, only Persian is used. Their priests (Mullah) use Persian for their sermons after Friday and Ids (festival) prayers.¹⁰

7.1 Language contact

Kholosi speakers are multilingual. Kholosi speakers in Iran are in direct contact with Bastaki and Lārestāni as local vernaculars, and Persian as an official language of Iran via TV, radio, and education, and Arabic as a liturgical language via reading the Koran and Islamic books. Likewise, Kholosi speakers outside of Iran, e.g. in the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Dubai, and Bahrain, are in contact with Arabic as an official language (for similar information, see Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani 2016: 2).

8 Orality and storytelling traditions

Before presenting the Kholosi text, it is necessary to give some background on the status of the storytelling and orality tradition.

In the past, the telling of stories, *gap rād jī* ‘night story’, was common in the Kholosi community. Some prominent tales were called Amīre-Arsalān-e Nāmdar/Rumi, Rostam and Sohrāb’, Amīr Hamze, Salmān-e Frasi, Hazrat-e Khezr, Shirin va Farhard, Layli va Majnun, Kachlak, Fāez va Pari, Pachākash, Khorshid o Falak Nāz, Allah Gholi, Gol Chaman, Pādoshāh ‘king’, Shāh Abbas, ‘King Abbas’, *Petros* ‘boy’, Haft Khāhar ‘seven sisters’, etc. The famous fables are, *Parandeh*, ‘bird’, *Xoros*, ‘rooster’, *Sag* ‘dog’, etc.

¹⁰ The two most important festivals in the Islamic calendar are *Id-ul-Adba* and *Id-ul-Fitr*.

There was also a large number of Islamic stories such as Khezr va elyās, Hazrat-e Yusef, Hazrat-e Davud, Hazrate Musa, Belāl-Habashi and Ghārūn, and stories regarding the Prophet Muhammad and his followers, Hazrate Ali, Kholafaye Rāshedin, Emām Hasan, and Hosyen. Moreover, there are some stories that do not have a name. It is of interest that all of these tales were mentioned by my Bastaki speakers, and some of them are common to other Iranic cultures such Koroshi and Balochi. This observation confirms that these ethnic groups share common stories.

There was no gender requirement for being a storyteller. Older men and women both recited their tales for family members and public audiences in Kholosi. In addition, some professional storytellers amused their audiences by telling stories at night. Some tales continued for several nights. The best setting for storytelling was during the long winter nights and in harvest time. Storytelling was forbidden in daytime.¹¹

Like other Iranic cultures (e.g., Bastaki), storytelling no longer figures as prominently as it used to do in society, and has mainly been replaced by reading various kinds of books and Islamic literature and watching TV. People are no longer interested in listening to older people's tales. My fieldwork observations confirm this. When I was recording the older people, they said they have forgotten the stories because they have not practised them for so long, and asked me to give them extra time beforehand to remember their tales. Even during their recording, some of them interrupted the story several times or switched to Iranic (Lārestāni, Bastaki or even Persian). Some of them just left their story incomplete, and apologized for not remembering the rest of it.

Similar to my findings in the Koroshi community, it seems that the Kholosi speakers share the same tales with their Iranic neighbours. They are able to tell the tales in Kholosi, Persian and Bastaki. I have noticed this in the Jadgal communities, where they narrated the same Balochi tales that I have already recorded in the nearby Baloch villages. It is of interest that my storytellers opened their stories in Balochi, and quickly switched to Balochi while telling them. When I asked one storyteller to please speak in Jadgali, she smiled and replied, "I learned them in Balochi."

The tradition of telling biographical tales or memories remains common among the Kholosi community. People are interested in listening to their older relatives' memories and legends. The main audience is adults, but children also listen to some extent. The primary language of narration is Kholosi.

The Kholosi younger generation's narrations are based on Islamic stories from the Koran or Persian written tales (see the following story). Note that, during their narration, most of the speakers use Kholosi and Iranic interchangeably, as can be seen in the following story, which uses *goft* (he said, Persian), *vetāi* (he said, Kholosi), *rūbā kočūlū*, (small fox, Persian) and *rūbā nōkō* (small fox, Kholosi). This can be observed in the older generations' tales as well.

In the Islamic stories, they use Arabic phrases (Musa's story) and translate them into both Kholosi and Persian, for example (*halān āyeh gorān jo e 'enahū belvādel moğadasetovā' yanī attū dar sarzamīne moğadase tovā maye*) 'Here is the verse of the Koran; it means that you are in the land of Tova.'

8.1 Narrative Techniques

Opening the tales

In my data, the Kholosi storyteller has three options for opening a tale:

(a) *hokō hū*, *hokō nū* (with slight variation in pronunciation among the speakers) 'There was one, there was no one.' Some speakers give a title to their tale first and then use this formulaic phrase (see the following story).

This formulaic phrase is commonly used in Persian fairy tales and is common in Arabic, Turkish, Georgian and Koroshi (in each respective language).

¹¹ One of the interviewees noted that around a hundred years ago, old Iranic men who were storytellers came to their village and recited their tales in Iranic.

(b) *Besmillāh-e rahmāne-rahīm* ‘in the name of God’ followed by saying “the story that I want to tell you is about X.”

(c) *hekō/yek/ya X hū*, e.g. *hekō pādešāh šāh abās hū* ‘there was a king Shāh Abās’, *ya pačākaš-e hū*

(d) The Persian phrase *befarmā zamāne xayle kadīm* ‘well, in the past...’

Some storytellers do not use an opening phrase.

Closing the tales

The storytellers use:

a) Arabic phrases, the most common ones being *asalāmoalekva rahmatollāh* ‘peace be upon you and may God have mercy on you’ and *bar Mohammad salavāt* ‘peace be upon prophet Muhammad’.

b) Persian phrases, *in ham dāstāne man būd* ‘this was my story’ and *tamām* ‘finished’.

Some storytellers do not use a closing phrase (see the following tale).

The Kholosi do not have their own oral songs. Instead, they sing Iranian songs and lullabies, mainly in Bastaki or Persian. A similar observation can be made for other cultures; for instance, the Koroshi speakers sing their songs and lullabies in Persian or Qašqā’i (Nourzai 2017). Another example is the Jadgal community; they sing their songs for a new mother-to-be only in Balochi (Nourzai in print) and sing other songs in both Balochi and Jadgali. Barjasteh Delforooz (2008:33) states that Jadgal people use Balochi for singing ballads and reciting epic poems of Balochi origin in special ceremonies with musical instruments.

Singing in Kholosi is relatively new; currently, three men have sung their songs in Kholosi. I have not noticed any Kholosi poets. In their daily life, Kholosi people use proverbs which are either in Iranian (Persian and Lārestāni) or Kholosi. The same is found in Baloch communities in Sistan, where people use Balochi and Sistani Persian proverbs in their daily speech (Nourzai 2017).

8.2 Musical instruments

Kholosi people do not have unique musical instruments. Instead, they use common musical instruments of the region, e.g., *dol* ‘drum’, *sornā* ‘woodwind instrument’, *gayčak* ‘bowed lute’, *nay* ‘end-blown flute’, and *nağāra* ‘drum’, among others. Today, people prefer to invite Iranian singers and their accompanying bands, or even just have recorded music at their wedding ceremonies, rather than playing a traditional musical instrument themselves. Kholosi folk dance is similar to other Iranian types, for instance, Bastaki. The men and women dance separately.

9 Some thoughts and reflections

To sum up, due to long-term contacts with Iranian peoples, the language of Kholosi speakers has been influenced not only by their languages, but also their culture and oral traditions. They share a common cultural heritage with their Iranian neighbours. A similar observation has been made for another Indo-Aryan language (Jadgali), and a Dravidian language (Brahui). The primary language of narration is Kholosi, and Iranian is used for singing songs and reciting poems. Only their language distinguishes speakers of Kholosi from their Iranian neighbours.

The Kholosi phonology, syntactic features within noun phrases, and numeral system have all been highly affected by Iranian languages, although the tense, mood and aspect systems still display very archaic Indo-Aryan features.

The paper concludes that three main factors are accelerating language shift among Kholosi speakers: (a) their present exogamous marriages with non-Kholosi people, such as other ethnically Iranian people, and use of Iranian within the family at home, and (b) and their recent tendency to speak Persian with their children and also amongst themselves. Their main motivation for this is to prepare

their children for school. A similar motivation can be observed among other ethnic groups such as Balochi and Lori. Finally, (c) education and TV play an important role. The language shift has already occurred for the Kholosi speakers in the village of Buchir. They shifted to the local vernacular languages of the region, and no longer remembered their former language. However, they have preserved their Kholosi ethnicity.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
(...)	omission of text from FLEx in a glossed example
[]	additional information to the text
...	incomplete sentence
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
/	alternative forms
OBL	oblique
CLM	clause linkage marker
COP	copula (present indicative)
DIST	distal demonstrative pronoun
EMPH	emphasis
EZ	ezāfe
FLEX	Field Works Language Explorer
FRAG	fragmentary utterance
IMP	imperfective
IMPV	imperative
IDV	Individuation clitic
INF	infinitive
lit.	literal translation
NEG	negation
PRS	Present
PC	person-marking enclitic (person clitic)
PL	plural

PN	personal pronoun
PREV	preverb
PROX	proximal demonstrative pronoun
PST	past
REFL	reflexive pronoun
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular

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Appendix

In the following, I will present a Kholosi tale. A female speaker, 32 years old, narrated the tale titled “An Untidy Fox” (9: minutes), in Kholos in October, 2020. The speaker has a Bachelor’s degree in economics and is fluent in Persian and vernacular languages, e.g., Bastaki and Lārestani. In addition, she is an Arabic teacher at an Islamic school in Kholosi.

After the text was recorded, it was fed into ELAN software¹² and transcribed phonemically. Clitics such as the enclitic pronouns, the *ezafe*, and the specificity marker are attached to the preceding words by a hyphen. The copula is written as a separate word (without a hyphen) unless it is part of a verb form (such as in the perfect) or an adjective.

The entire transcription was double-checked with the same speaker. The text was then divided into intonation units and numbered. The end of each intonation unit is defined by a strongly falling intonation contour. After that, a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing was carried out using FLEX software.¹³ Finally, a free translation of the texts was produced, unit-by-unit.

Note that the present data demonstrates that, in Kholosi, numbers, some verb endings – in particular the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular – adjectives, the genitive case marker and the comparative suffix distinguish masculine and feminine gender. Masculine adjectives are marked with (*o/ō*) and feminine adjectives with (*ī*). It is not marked in the glossing (see Nourzai forthcoming a and under-reviewing). This text gives us a picture of what is going on in Kholosi from the perspective of language contact, which is underway.

Robā=e Nāmoratab

The Untidy Fox

- 1 *ye* *rūbā=e* *nāmoratab*
 one fox=EZ untidy
 An untidy fox.
- 2 *hōkō* *hū* *hōkō* *nū*
 one COP.PRS.3SG one NEG.COP.PRS.3SG
 Once upon a time (lit. there was, there was not)
- 3 *dar* *hōkō* *jaṅgal=e* *xayle* *sāī* *mā* *hōkō* *xānavāda* *hīnkī sānda*
 in one forest =EZ very green in one family each other
zendegī *kar-da=yaū*
 life do.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3PL
 In a very green forest, a family used to live with each other.
- 4 *hē* *xānavāda* *kēn* *jo* *xānavāda* *hōkō* *rōbā* *jo*
 PROX family who GEN family one fox GEN
 Who [is] this family? A fox’s family.
- 5 *rōbā* *kočūlū* *yā* *rōbā* *nōkō* *dar* *he* *sere* *mā* *vađo*
 fox small or fox small in PROX house in big
 t^ho
 become.PST.3SG
 The small fox or the small fox, grew up in this house.

¹² <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan>

¹³ <http://fieldwork.sil.org>

- 6 *ho sagān-d=ū adad-en-ke be tartīb*
 PROX can.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG number-PL-OBL with order
šomār-aya
 count.PRS-3SG.SBJV
 He could count the numbers in order.
- 7 *ho sagān-d=ū pān gazzī joti=es.jo*
 PROX can.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG REFL band shoes=PC.3SG.GEN
paz-aya
 fix.PRS-3SG.SBJV
 He could tie his shoelaces by himself.
- 8 *valī rōbā hōkō moškel=e hosū hē jo ke*
 but fox one problem= IDV has.PST-3SG PROX CLM CLM
xayle nāmoratab= ū
 very untidy= COP.PST.3SG
 But the fox had a problem; it was that he was very untidy.
- 9 *har vaġt hōkō kām konjān-do=sū hon-ke saxtī*
 each time one thing want.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG DIST-OBL difficult
gor-d=ū
 find.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG
 Every time, he wanted [to find] a thing, he used to find that one with [some] difficulty.
- 10 *hattā čiz-hā... hattā gām-hā=ye ke ham xaylī xāter-ān*
 even thing-PL... even thing-PL=EZ CLM you know very love-PL
konjān-do=sū jā ponjī-te
 want.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG place REFL-GEN.in
na-līn-d=ū
 NEG-put.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG
 Even things... even things that he liked very much; he did not put [them] in their place.
- 11 *barāye ham=īn hamešā por-d=ū pal=e*
 for EMPH=PROX always search.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG PREV=PC.3PL
 Because of this, he was always looking for [them].
- 12 *hōkō rōz rōbā rōbā šamšer=es pal=e*
 one day fox fox sword=PC.3SG PREV= PC.3PL
por-d=ū
 search.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG
 One day, the fox, the fox was searching for his sword.
- 13 *ho šamšīr... šamšer=es xayle konjān-do=sū*
 PN.3SG sword... sword=PC.3SG very want.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG
 He liked (lit. wanted) the sword... his sword very much.

- 14 *barāye ham=īn čon pān hon-ke bā korton-te=o*
 for EMPH=PROX because REFL DIST-OBL with box-with=and
lat-te=o gazzī-te deres kaī=ū
 wood-with=and band-with make do.PST.3SG=COP.PST.3SG
 For this, because, he himself had made it from [a] box and, [a] stick and [a] rope.
- 15 *ho konjān-dosū ven-ava rafik-en=des*
 PN.3SG want.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG go.PST-3SG.SBJV friend-PL=PC.3SG
akaya īnkī sānda ray-ēnīa
 front each other play.PST-3PL.SBJV
 He wanted to go to his friends to play together.
- 16 *sebīnī por-o pal=es*
 every where search.PST-3SG PREV=PC.3SG
 He searched for it everywhere.
- 17 *kifā... kifās hev-en-ke fekr*
 bag=PC.3SG... bag=PC.3SG... PEOX-PL-OBL though
kaī=ū bennyān=ū gorr-ī=yān
 do.PST.3SG=COP.PST.3SG lose.PST.3PL=COP.PST.3SG find.PST.3SG=PC.3PL
 His bag... his bag [and] the things [that] he thought he had lost, [he] found them.
- 18 *sīb=ī ke ġablan xāva=yū ham*
 apple= IDV CLM before eat.PST.3SG= COP.PST.3SG also
gorrī=yās
 find.PST-3SG=PC.3SG
 He also found [the remains of] an apple that he had already eaten.
- 19 *hattā talpak=ās ham talpak=ās ham gorra-ī*
 even hat=PC.3SG also hat=PC.3SG also find.PST-3SG
 Even his hat, he also found his hat.
- 20 *ammā šamšīr=os nū ke nū*
 but sword=PC.3SG NEG.COP.PST.3SG CLM NEG.COP.PST.3SG
 But his sword was not [there] (lit. there was not that, there was not).
- 21 *az mān=ās tāv soāl ka-ī*
 from mother=PC.3SG from question do.PST-3SG
 He asked his mother.
- 22 *ambe šamšīr=oy na-tt^ho*
 mother sword=PC.1SG NEG-see.PST.2SG
 Mother, have you not seen my sword?
- 23 *mov=ās gen=ās mā pērī...*
 mother=PC.3SG room=PC.3SG in look.PST.3SG...
 His mother looked inside his room.

- 24 *ho* *dīya* *yak* *kallo=e* *takān* *da-ī=o*
 PN.3SG you know one head= IDV move give.PST-3SG=and
veta-ī
 say.PST-3SG
 You know, she nodded (lit. she moved a head) and said.
- 25 *tanhā* *kām=e* *ke* *māe* *pes-emaī* *nāmoratabī=o*
 only thing= IDV CLM PN.1SG see.PRS-IMP.1SG untidy=and
šologī=e
 crowded=COP.PRS.3SG
 The only thing that I see is [an] untidy and cluttered [room].
- 26 *lotfan* *ğabal* *az* *īn* *ke* *dar* *otāğ* *tāv*
 please before from PROX CLM door room from
van-eya *hon-ke* *moratab* *ka*
 go.PRS-2SG.SBJV DIST-OBL tidy do.PRS.IMP.2SG
 Before going out of the room (lit. from the room door) tidy [it] up, please.
- 27 *rūbā* *zīr* *lab=es-te* *yak* *kām=ē* *veta-ī*
 fox under lip.PC.3SG-with one thing= IDV say.PST-3SG
 The fox said something (lit. one thing) under his lip.
- 28 *āxe* *gehmojo* *kēt=ios* *ke* *nāmoratab=e*
 well room.mine where=PC.3SG CLM untidy=COP.PRS.3SG
 Oh, which part (lit. where) of my room is untidy?
- 29 *čahaw* *movā=ye* *ē* *kadda* *vađo* *ker-emaē*
 why mother=PC.1SG PROX size big do.PRS-IMP.3SG
 Why [does] my mother make this so big.
- 30 *māe* *mošel=e* *vađo* *hat-ī* *agar* *šamšīr=oye*
 PN.1SG problem=EZ big have.PRS-3SG if sword=PC.1SG
na-goro-e *ne-sağ-ī* *van-o* *bā*
 NEG-find.PRS.1SG NEG-can.PRS-1SG go.PRS-1SG.SBJV with
vīāv-kā *ray-a*
 friend-PL play.PRS-1SG. SBJV
 I have a big problem; if I do not find my sword, I cannot go to play with [my] friends.
- 31 *rōbā* *kočolū* *yā* *ham=e* *rōbā* *sarī* *komod=os* *vāz*
 fox small or EMPH=PROX fox quickly commode=PC.3SG open
ka-ī
 do.PST-3SG
 The small fox or this fox quickly opened his drawer.
- 32 *va* *he...* *hekkada* *čantā* *ketāb* *pāra-ī=o* *hīnke mate* *yak*
 and PROX... some some book take.PST-3SG=and pile one
taraf *otāğ* *jo* *la-ī= o*
 side room GEN put.PST-3SG= and
 And he ... took some books, and he put [them] in pile at one side of the room and,

- 33 *čan-tā ham tābok vasat otāg mā la-ī*
 some-CL you know block middle room in put.PST-3SG
 he also put some blocks in the middle of the room.
- 34 *talpak=ās yak... hekke.. yak taraf parat ka-ī va*
 hat=PC.3SG one FRAG one side throwing do.PST-3SG and
sīb-en... a bāgīmāndeh sīb jo ham dar kešo=e
 apple-PL from remain apple GEN also in drawer=EZ
komod=as mā la-ī
 commode=PC.3SG in put.PST-3SG
 He threw his hat [to] one ... one... one side, and the apples... He also put the remains of the apple in the drawer of his commode.
- 35 *bad veta-ī xob hālā xo... sokom moratab t^ho*
 then say.PST-3SG good now go... thing tidy become.PST.3SG
 Then he said, well, now the thing [has] become in order.
- 36 *valī bāz ham šamšīr=oī kēt=e*
 but you know sword=PC.1SG where=COP.PRS.3SG
 But, you know, where is my sword?
- 37 *rōbā kočolū yā ham=e rōbā nōkō yavāš yavāš*
 fox small or EMPH=PROX fox small slowly slowly
sere xers-te vī-o
 house bear-to go.PST-3SG
 The small fox or this small fox slowly [and] slowly went to the bear's house.
- 38 *rafīk=ās āmātayaw hēnkīsānda ray-ēniya*
 friend=PL.PC.3SG ready.be.PST.3PL each other play.PRS-3PL.SBJV
 His friends got ready to play with each other.
- 39 *xers bā šamšīr=os be havā-te be zarba*
 bear with sword=PC.3SG with hair-into with beat
čin-d-ū
 hit. PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG
 The bear was striking with his sword into air.
- 40 *samūre ābī va šetanat-hā=ye xiyāl ponj=os*
 otter and demon-PL=EZ imagination REFL.GEN=PC.3SG
jangān-d-ū
 fight.PRS-IMP=COP.PST.3SG
 The otter was fighting in her demon imaginations with [her sword].
- 41 *xers faryād xeta-ī čere kī-yās zūd zūd*
 bear shout call.PST-3SG call hit.PST-3SG fast fast
a-e rōbā zūd a-e
 come.PRS-IMPV.2SG fox fast come.PRS-IMPV.2SG
 The bear shouted, called, come fast, fast, fox come fast.

- 42 *rōbā kočūlū yā ham=ē rōbā nōkō havālo veta-ī*
fox small or EMPH=PROX fox small slowly say.PST-3SG
māe ne-sag-ī
PN.1SG NEG-can.PRS-1SG
The small fox or this small fox said slowly, I cannot.
- 43 *xers=o sagāro... xers=o samūre ābī a ray-ēn-tāv hat*
bear=and FRAG... bear=and otter from play.PRS-INF-from hand
kadda-vān va soāl ka-vān čerā č^haw
pull.PST-3PL and question do.PST-3PL why why
The bear and ... the bear and the otter gave up on playing (lit. they pulled their hands from the playing)
and they asked why, why?
- 44 *rōbā kočūlū veta-ī ne-sag-ī šamšīr=oe*
fox small say.PST-3SG NEG-can.PRS-3SG sword=PC.1SG
gor-īa
find.PRS-1SG. SBJV
The small fox said, I cannot find my sword.
- 45 *xers bā nārāhatī soāl ka-ī ... kezā hīnkī sānda*
bear with sad question do.PST-3SG... how each other
ray-ā
play.PRS-1PL. SBJV
The bear asked sadly, how should we play with each other?
- 46 *rūbā kočūlū hīnā negāh ka-ī hīnav āxāt*
fox small this.direction look do.PST-3SG this.direction look
ka-ī hōkō teka teka lat jo gorra-ī
do.PST-3SG one piece piece wood GEN find.PST-3SG
The small fox looked in that direction, (lit. this direction) looked in that direction (lit. this direction)
[and] found a piece... piece of wood.
- 47 *hon-ke pāra-ī=o veta-ī xob hē ham*
DIST-OBL take.PST-3SG=and say.PST-3SG good PROX well
šamšer mōjo
sword mine
He took it [and] he said, well this [is] my sword.
- 48 *ač-e hīnkī sānda ray-āya*
come.PRS-IMPV.2PL each other play.PRS-1PL.IMPV
Come, [let's] play with each other.
- 49 *rōbā kočūlū yā ham=e rōbā nōkō veta-ī sabā*
fox small or EMPH=PROX fox small say.PST-3SG tomorrow
šamšīr=oī gor-ī
sword=PC.1SG find.PRS-1SG
The small fox or this small fox said, tomorrow I will find my sword.

- 50 *bad sag-ā xānom samūr yā zayfā samūr ābī-ke az hat*
 then can.PRS.1PL Miss otter or Miss otter-OBL from hand
heždehāi-tāv nejāt dī-yāia
 dragon-from save give.PRS.1PL.SBJV
 Then we can save Miss Sam... or Miss Otter from the dragon (lit. from the hand of dragon).
- 51 *māe=o xers ham nağšah bahrā šoğālī-hā kārēn jo*
 PN.1SG=and bear well plan two knight-PL black GEN
kadd-ā ke ray-āya valī sabā čon
 draw.PRS-1PL CLM play.PRS-1PL.SBJV but tomorrow because
alān šamsīr=oī bennoe
 now sword=PC.1SG lose.PST-1SG
 I and bear plan to play [as] two black knights... but tomorrow, because now, I have lost my sword.
- 52 *samūr ābī p^hačv=os pī-te xeta-ī va veta-ī māe*
 otter tail=PC.3SG ground-on beat.PST-3SG and say.PST-3SG PN.1SG
na-konj-ī mā-ke nejāt dī-ysīya
 NEG-want.PRS-1SG PN.1SG- OBL save give.PRS-2PL. SBJV
 The otter beat her tail on the ground, and she said (lit. she called and said), I do not want you to save me.
- 53 *māe konj-ī hōkō az hoven t^hr-ya ke*
 PN.1SG want.PRS-1SG one from PN.3PL become.PRS-1SG.SBJV CLM
šamsīr hat=es maya
 sword hand=PC.3SG in.be.PRS-3SG
 I want to be one of them with a sword in her hand.
- 54 *rūbā kočūlū veta-ī baša attū ham sag-e šamsīr*
 fox small say.PST-3SG ok PN.2SG also can.PRS-2SG sword
hat-mā gon-ū
 hand-in hold.PRS-2SG. SBJV
 The small fox said, alright, you can also hold a sword in [your] hand.
- 55 *bad ham sāf hīnkī sānda van-ā hākem-ke nejāt dī-yā*
 then well all each other go.PRS-1PL ruler- OBL save give.PRS-1PL
 Then we will go all together [and] save the ruler.
- 56 *xers veta-ī ammā attū bāyad šamsīr=ov*
 bear say.PST-3SG but PN.2SG must sword=PC.2SG
gor-eya rōbā kočūlū veta-ī bale māe
 find.PRS-2SG. SBJV fox small say.PST-3SG yes PN.1SG
hon-ke gor-ī fardā hatman gor-īs
 DIST- OBL find.PRS-1SG tomorrow for sure find.PRS-1SG.PC.3SG
sabā hatman gor-ī=s
 tomorrow for sure find.PRS-1SG.PC.3SG
 The bear said, but you must find your sword. The small fox said, sure, I will find it, tomorrow, for sure, I will find it.

- 57 *vaḡtī rūbā kočūlū be sere=ves-te vī-yo po=vos*
 when fox small to home=PC.3SG-to go.PST-3SG father=PC.3SG
xayle nārāhat=ū hame sīb....
 very sad=COP.PST.3SG EMPH=PROX apple...
 When the small fox went to his house, his father was very sad, this apple...
- 58 *sīb-ke rūbā nešān dī-yās veta-ī māe hen-ke*
 apple- OBL fox show give.PST-3SG say.PST-3SG PN.1SG PROX- OBL
tū kešo komod=ū-tāv gorr-oe
 in drawer commode=PC.2SG-in find.PST.1SG
 He showed the apple to the fox [and] said I have found this in your commode drawer.
- 59 *vīv... vīyāv jān kešo ke jā=e āšgāl jo*
 FRAG child dear drawer CLM place=EZ trash GEN
na.ye he talpak=āv ham kaf otāḡ mā
 NEG.COP.PRS.3SG PROX hat=PC.2SG also on room on
pī=ū
 fall.PST=COP.PST-3SG
 My dear child, the drawer is not place for trash; this your hat also had fallen in the room.
- 60 *rūbā kočūlū ss ... tāfe-ke az hat pon=ās-tāv*
 fox small... apple- OBL from hand father=PC.3SG-from
gena-ī va tū=ye satl=e āšgāl mā lāra-ī
 take.PST.3SG and in=EZ bin=EZ trash in put.PST-3SG
 The small fox... he took the apple from his father's hand and put it in the trash bin.
- 61 *kolāh=ās ham gena-ī tāv=es va jā*
 hat=PC.3SG also take.PST-3SG from=PC.3SG and place
pon-jīte āvīzān kī-yās va zīr=e lab
 REFL-GEN-with hang do.PST-3SG=PC.3SG and under=EZ lip
veta-ī
 say.PST-3SG
 He took his hat [from his father] and hung [it] in its place, and he said under his lip:
- 62 *gēh mōjo ye kam nāmoratab=e čerā pov=oy*
 room mine one little untidy=COP.PRS.3SG why father=PC.1SG
hekkeza vaḡo keremae
 this much big do.PRS-IMP-3SG
 My room is a little untidy, why [does] my father make it so big?
- 63 *zahīfā ḡāze ā-ī tā ketāb-ās ke be rūbā*
 Miss goose come.PST-3SG in order to book-PL.PC.3SG CLM to fox
amānat ke day=ū pas gen-ava
 lend CLM give.PST.3SG=COP.PST.3SG return take.PST-3SG.SBJV
 Miss Goose came to get the books that she had lent to the fox.

- 64 *ham=e zahifā ġāza gof-t ... veta-ī ketāb-āī*
 EMPH=PROX Miss goose say.PST-3SG say.PST.3SG book.PL.PC.1SG
da-ī
 give.PRS-3IMPV.2SG=PC1SG
 This Miss Goose said, she said, give me back my books.
- 65 *gēh rūbā kočūlū ĵo xayle nāmoratab=ū va*
 room fox small GEN very untidy=COP.PST.3SG and
ne-sega-ī hon-ke gora-vīya
 NEG-can.PST-3SG PROX- OBL find.PRS-3SG. SBJV
 The room of the little fox was very untidy and he could not find them.
- 66 *veta-ī xob pass tū=ye kom... veta-ī xob gof-t*
 say.PST-3SG good well in=EZ FRAG say.PST-3SG good say.PST-3SG
xo... pass šāyd komod... tū komod=ī-mā hat-īa
 FRAG well maybe commode... in commode=PC.3SG-in be.PRS-3PL
 He said, alright, well inside comm... he said alright, he said alright... maybe they are in my commode.
- 67 *vī-yo va dar komod=es ĵo vāz ka-ī*
 go.PST-3SG and door commode=PC.3SG GEN open go.PST-3SG
ye dafa tamām vasāel komod ĵo pī mate xer-ā
 suddenly all stuff commode GEN ground on fall.PST-3PL
 He came and opened the door of his commode, suddenly all the stuff in the commode fell down on the ground,
- 68 *va šamšīr ĵo pahn=ū gorr-ī-yās*
 and sword CLM break.PST=COP.PST.3SG find.PST-3SG=PC.3SG
 and he found that broken sword, he found it.
- 69 *pū māv... pū=vos va mā=vās ham vī-yā*
 father mother... father=PC.3SG and mother=PC.3SG also go.PST-3PL
zīr zamīn mā va ketenā ĵaba āna-vān
 basement in and some box bring.PST-3PL
 Father, mother..., his father and his mother also came into the basement, they brought some boxes.
- 70 *ke har... har hov-en mate nemīsū har*
 CLM each each PROX-PL on write.PST=COP.PST.3SG each
ĵaba mate nemīs=ū ĵab=e asbāb bāzī hōkō
 box on write.PST=COP.PST.3SG box=EZ toy one
ĵabe lebās hōkō... hōkō ham ĵabe... ġayr
 box cloth one... one you know box other
 that each ... was written on them, was written on each box, the box of toys, one box of clothes, one ...
 you know, one box... and extra.

- 71 *bad ham vī-ā dar=e otāġ mate hōkō ġolāb*
 then you know go.PST-3PL door=EZ room on one hook
xeta-vān va be rūbā-ke veta-vān tā šamšīr=os
 hit.PST-3PL and with fox-OBL say.PST-3PL in order to sword=PC.3SG
o-te āvīzān ker-ava moratab ka...
 there-to direction hang do.PRS-3SG.SBJV tidy do.PRS.IMPV.2SG
 Then you know they came [and] hung a hook on the door of the room, and they said to the fox that
 hung his sword in other direction [and] tidy...
- 72 *moratab kar-ēn ġēh jo xayle vax na-ī*
 tidy do.PRS-INF room GEN very time take.PST-3SG
ammā ketāb zahīfā ġāz jo gorra-vān
 but book Miss goose GEN find.PST-3PL
 Tidying up the room took a lot of time, but they found Miss Goose's book.
- 73 *rōz=e bad=os rūbā kočūlū lebās šovāl-ēn jo*
 day=EZ next=PC.3SG fox small cloth knight-PL GEN
gale ka-ī az sere tāv oḡol-o
 PREV do.PST-3SG from house from go.out.PST-3SG
 The next day, the small fox dressed up [as] knight, he went out of [his] house.
- 74 *ho az ī ke šamšīr=o separ=e jadīdī ke*
 PN.3SG from PROX CLM sword=and shield=EZ new CLM
gorra-ī=ū xošhāl=ū
 find.PST-3SG=COP.PST.3SG happy=COP.PST.3SG
 He was so happy because he had found a new sword and shield.
- 75 *māv rūbā kočūlū jo rū=ye separ=es mate nevesa-ī*
 mother fox small GEN on=EZ shield=PC.3SG on write.PST-3SG
rūbā kočūlū=e šovālī=e šojā=e moratab
 fox small=EZ knight=EZ brave=EZ tidy
 The mother of the small fox wrote on his shield, a small brave tidy fox knight.