

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS  
*Studia Iranica Upsaliensia*  
44:1

## Abstract

The aim of the present study is to build a digital annotated corpus of oral narrations of the Coastal Balochi dialect. The oral texts that are annotated in this study are of two genres: folktales and biographical tales. The stories that are annotated were recorded during several field trips to Iran. The first section of the book provides an overview of the geographical distribution of Coastal Balochi speakers, situating the Coastal Balochi dialect within the broader Balochi language. This is followed by a brief discussion of the data collected. Of particular note is the fact that the storytellers are typically monolingual, bilingual or multilingual.

The second section of the book presents six texts that have been interlinearized using the FLEx program. This book forms part of a series dedicated to the publication of oral texts from various Balochi dialects.

Maryam Nourzaei, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635,  
Uppsala University,  
SE-75126 Uppsala, Sweden.

© Nourzaei, Maryam 2025

ISSN 1100-326X

ISBN 978-91-513-2393-0

URN <https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-551170>

*To my dear storytellers and the Coastal Balochi community*

# Contents

1. Introduction.....	7
1.1. Geographical Distribution.....	7
1.2. The Balochi Language and its Dialects.....	7
1.3. Data .....	8
1.3.1. Collection: Methods, Timing, and Metadata.....	8
1.3.2. Data Content: Classification of Text Types .....	8
1.3.3. Previous Studies on Corpus studies.....	9
1.3.4. Data Transcription.....	9
References.....	10
Interlinearized Coastal Balochi Texts.....	11

# Abbreviations

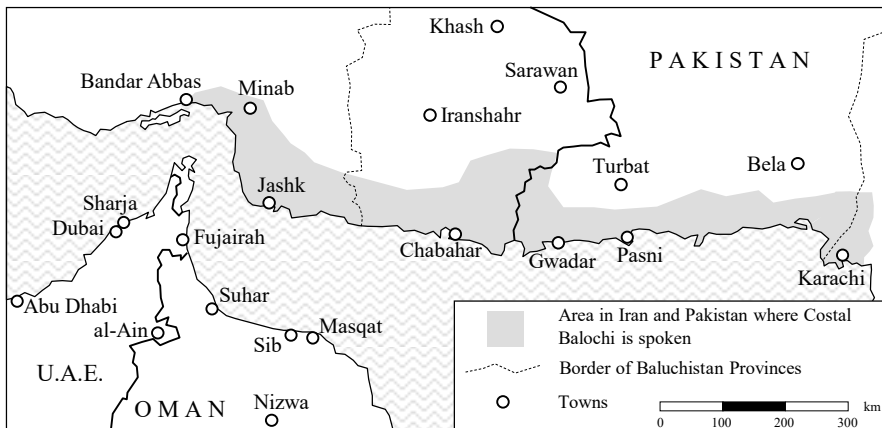
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
[ ]	additional information to the text
...	incomplete sentence
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
∅	zero morpheme
~	nasalization
ADD	additive particle
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADVZ	adverbializer
AK	A King
AM	A Man
ATTR	attributive
C	consonant
CL	classifier
CLM	clause linkage marker
CMP	comparative
COP	copula (present indicative)
DIST	distal demonstrative pronoun
echo	echo word
EMPH	emphasis
EV	evaluative
EZ	ezāfe
FLEx	FieldWorks Language Explorer
forthc.	forthcoming
FRAG	fragmentary utterance
GEN	genitive
HR	Hawrokan
IMP	imperfective
IMP.k	imperfective k-
IMPV	imperative
IND	individuation clitic

INF	infinitive
KD	The King's Daughter
K2	A King 2
lit.	literal translation
NEG	negation
NEG.SBJV	negation of subjunctive
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PC	person-marking enclitic (person clitic)
PL	plural
PN	personal pronoun
PP	past participle
PREV	preverb
PROH	prohibitive prefix
PROX	proximal demonstrative pronoun
PSBJV	past subjunctive
PST	past
REFL	reflexive pronoun
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
TB	Two Brothers
V	vowel
VCL	verb clitic
vd.	voiced
vl.	voiceless
VOC	vocative

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Geographical Distribution

Coastal Balochi is spoken in Iran in a large area along the coast of the Sea of Oman including the regions of Dashtyari, Chabahar, Konarak, Karevan, and all the way to Jashk, Minab, and Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province; in Oman and the United Arab Emirates; and in Pakistan along the coast and up to the Kech Valley, as well as by the majority of the Baloch in Karachi (see Map 1).



Map 1: Distribution of speakers of Coastal Balochi (taken from Nourzaei 2017:90)

## 1.2. The Balochi Language and its Dialects

Balochi is an Iranian language belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family.

Balochi consists of many dialects, and there are differences at all levels of the grammar. According to Jahani and Korn (2009: 636–637), Balochi dialects can broadly be divided into Eastern, Western, and Southern, although some dialects, such as Sarawani and Panjguri, do not fit easily into any of these groups.

The Coastal Balochi dialect belongs to the Southern dialect group. Coastal Balochi is in contact with Persian, Urdu, Jadgali, and Bashkardi.

## 1.3. Data

### 1.3.1. Collection: Methods, Timing, and Metadata

For the purposes of the present study, the linguistic consultants were recorded and filmed during spontaneous narrations, with the exception of some female speakers from higher social groups, who did not permit filming or photography. Data were collected in villages near the towns of Iranshahr, Sarbaz, Rask, Pishin, Bahukalat, Chabahr, Negur, Beris, Dashtiyari, Konarak, Jask, Biyabanak, Ghaleganj, Nikshahr, Fanuj, and Lerdap, during several field trips between March 2009 and November 2018, spanning my Master's, PhD, and postdoctoral programs.

The consultants comprised 30 males and 25 females, aged between 30 and 90, who were introduced to me by their communities as professional storytellers. With the exception of two male speakers who had received basic formal schooling, no participant had any formal education. However, all speakers possessed a basic knowledge of Arabic, sufficient for reading and reciting the Quran.

Some of the linguistic consultants, particularly female speakers, were monolingual, speaking only Balochi. The remaining consultants were multilingual, fluent in Balochi, Persian, and Urdu. Additionally, three of the speakers, who had worked in the United Arab Emirates, were fluent in both Arabic and English.

The texts in this collection were narrated by monolingual storytellers fluent in Balochi and bilingual storytellers fluent in Balochi and Persian or Balochi and Urdu.

The main occupations of the male speakers were laborer, driver, farmer, gardener, shepherd, fisherman, and camel rider, while the primary occupations of the female speakers were homemaker and gardener.

### 1.3.2. Data Content: Classification of Text Types

For the purposes of the present work, I have recorded two types of text. The first is traditional folktales, a term used for “a story passed on by word of mouth rather than by writing, and thus partly modified by successive retellings before being written down or recorded” (Baldick 2001: 99). The second type is biographical tales, a term used for reality-based life stories from the recent or more distant past. Some of these stories may have acquired legendary elements. The text “*Baloch's Son*” in this collection adheres to the structure of traditional folktales, while “*Two Brothers*” is categorized as a biographical tale. Some of these biographical stories may incorporate legendary elements. The first type is consistently narrated in the third person, whereas the second type is narrated in both the first and the third person.



Within this collection, some texts are narrated by different speakers, offering diverse renditions of the same story.

### 1.3.3. Previous Studies on Corpus studies

The first annotated corpus was compiled by Nourzaei (2017). The present corpus builds upon Nourzaei's (2017) work and serves as a continuation, expanding the corpus with additional data collected by Nourzaei on various field trips in 2009–18. (See, for an overview, Nourzaei, forthcoming).

### 1.3.4. Data Transcription

The sounds found in Coastal Balochi are presented in Tables (1) and (2). This transcription follows the transcription of oral vowels for Coastal Balochi of Chabahar suggested by Okati (2012: 212). Okati (ibid. 201) also finds that nasalization is more frequent in the dialect of Chabahar than in the other dialects she investigates. In this study, only the close vowels occur without a nasalized counterpart.

Table 1. Coastal Balochi vowels (taken from Nourzaei 2017: 32)

	front		central		back	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
close	<i>ī</i>				<i>ū</i>	
close-mid	<i>ē, ē̃</i>	<i>e ē̃</i>			<i>ō ṽ</i>	<i>o ṽ</i>
open			<i>ā, ā̃</i>	<i>a ā̃</i>		

Table 2. Coastal Balochi consonants (taken from Nourzaei 2017: 33)

		Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveo- lar/ Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/	(vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>		
Affricates	(vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives	(vl.)	<i>(f)</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i>		<i>(x)</i>	<i>h</i>
	(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>		<i>(g)</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
Lateral			<i>l</i>					
Flaps			<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>				
Approximants		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

## References

- Baldick, Chris (2001). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jahani, Carina, and Agnes Korn (2009). 'Balochi.' In: Windfuhr, Gernot (ed.), *The Iranian Languages*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 634–692.
- Nourzaei, Maryam (2017). *Participant Reference in Three Balochi Dialects: Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia 31]. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1069126>
- (forthcoming) *Documenting Orality: Experiences of Collecting Folk Narratives in Iran* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia].
- Okati, Farideh (2012). *The Vowel Systems of Five Iranian Balochi Dialects* [Studia Linguistica Upsaliensia, 13, and Studia Iranica Upsaliensia, 20]. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Online at: <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A564554>

# Interlinearized Coastal Balochi Texts

I have transcribed and glossed six texts consisting of three folktales, entitled A King (AK), A King 2 (K2) and The King's Daughter (KD), and three biographical tales, entitled The Story of Two Brothers (TB), The Story of Hawrokan (HR) and The Story of a Man (AM), for this collection.

I followed Nourzaei (2017), so that the present verb forms are translated into the past tense, the default tense of narration of past events in English.

# A. Text Corpus

## A.1. Text 1: Two brothers

### Two brothers do brāt

*recounted by Idok Behrooz*

#### TB:1

*'besmelāhe rax'māne ra'xīm*

besmelāheraxmāne raxīm

in the name of God

In the name of God,

#### TB:2

<i>'nī</i>	<i>ha'mēš</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'brāt</i>	<i>atā</i>
nī	ham=ēš	=en	do	brāt	=at-ā
you know	EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	two	brother	=COP.PST-3PL

<i>'nī</i>	<i>hamē</i>	<i>'brāt</i>	<i>'hamīngo</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>	<i>'mandā</i>
nī	ham=ē	brāt	ham=īngo	čōbī	mand-ā
you know	EMPH=PROX	brother	EMPH=here	you know	Mand-OBL

<i>kā'rā</i>	<i>atā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>bandexo'dā</i>	<i>ha'mīngō</i>
kār-ā	=at-ā	ē	bande-xodā	ham=īngō
work-OBL	=COP.PST-3PL	PROX	servent.EZ-God	EMPH=this direction

<i>ē'sā</i>	<i>čaka'rān</i>	<i>bītā</i>	<i>azzī'yat</i>	<i>kota</i>
ēš-ā	čakar-ān	bīt-ā	azzīyat	kot-a
PROX-OBL.PL	travel.NPST-OBL.PL	become.PST-3PL	annoyed	do.PST-PP

<i>balō'čā</i>	<i>'ātkā</i>	<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>daš'tā</i>	<i>daš'tā</i>
balōč-ā	ātk-ā	ham=ēdā	dašt-ā	dašt-ā
Baloch-OBL.PL	come.PST-3PL	EMPH=here	Dasht-OBL	Dasht-OBL

A. Text Corpus

<i>če'sā</i>		<i>'hāl</i>	<i>dā</i>		<i>e'sā</i>		<i>hamī...</i>
češā		hāl	dāt		eš-ā		ham=ī
to.EMPH.PROX.OBL.PL	news	give.PST	PROX-OBL.PL	EMPH=PROX			

<i>e'sī</i>	<i>'māt</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>	<i>pa... ē</i>	<i>kay...</i>	<i>jalā'hī</i>
ešī	māt	čōbī	pa ē	kay	jalāhī-Ø
PROX.GEN	mother	you know	for	PROX	who Jalahi-GEN

<i>go'hāre</i>	<i>he'sāb</i>	<i>bī</i>		<i>trī'zātk</i>	<i>nākō'zātk</i>	<i>he'sāb</i>
gohār=e	hesāb	bī-Ø		trīzātk	nākōzātk	hesāb
sister=PC.3SG	count	become.PST-3SG		cousin	cousin	count

*bītē*  
 bīt-Ø=ē  
 become.PST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

You know, there were two brothers, you know; these brothers worked there (lit. here) in Mand; this fellow was travelling there (lit. this direction); the Baloch annoyed (lit. have annoyed) them; they came here (lit. there) to Dasht; they informed from Dasht, they, you know..., his mother was regarded as you know, this Jalahi's sister; they were cousin.

**TB:3**

<i>e'sān</i>	<i>'hāl</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>byā</i>		<i>ta'ī</i>
eš-ān	hāl	dāt	by-ā-Ø		ta-ī
PROX-OBL.PL	news	give.PST	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		PN.2SG-GEN

<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'ātkā</i>		<i>'sak</i>	<i>tak'līp</i>	<i>ko'tā</i>	<i>balō'čā</i>
mardom	ātk-ā		sak	taklīp	kot-ā	balōč-ā
people	come.PST-3PL	very	trouble	do.PST-3PL	Baloch-OBL.PL	

<i>azzī'yat</i>	<i>kotā</i>	<i>'kāre</i>	<i>banda'gā</i>		<i>del'syāe</i>
azzīyat	kot-ā	kār=e	band-ag-ā		delsyā=e
annoyed	do.PST-3PL	work=PC.3SG	make.NPST-PP-3PL		annoyed=PC.3PL

<i>kota'gā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>šota'gā...</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>'rō...</i>	<i>ya</i>
kot-ag-ā	ē	goṛā	šot-ag=ā		ya	rō	ya
do.PST-PP-3PL	PROX	then	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		one	day	one

<i>mod'datē</i>	<i>'harē</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>bandeho'dā</i>	<i>'šap</i>	<i>'jā</i>	<i>'rō</i>
moddat=ē	har=ē	zīr-ī	bande-hodā	šap	jā	rō
time=IND	donkey=IND	take.NPST-3SG	servent.EZ-God	night	place	day

<i>'jā</i>	<i>'rawtē</i>	<i>daš'tā</i>	<i>jalā'hī</i>
ǰā	raw-t=ē	dašt-ā	ǰalāhī
place	go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	Dasht-OBL	Jalahi

They informed, “Look, your relative (lit. people) came; Baloch annoyed them very much; Baloch (lit. they) annoyed (lit. have annoyed) them very much; they forced (lit. have forced) them to work; they annoyed (lit. have annoyed) them.”; you know, these went (lit. have gone) ... One day... a certain time he, the fellow took a donkey; he went the nights and the days (lit. he was one night in one place and one day in one place); he went to Dasht, Jalahi.

**TB:4**

<i>'rawtē</i>	<i>daš'tā</i>	<i>ha'māngō</i>
raw-t=ē	dašt-ā	ham=āngō
go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	Dasht-OBL	EMPH=that direction

<i>dare</i>	<i>gēj'tē</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
dar=e	gēj-īt=ē	goš-ī
PREV=PC.3PL	find.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'byā</i>	<i>e'dā</i>	<i>'dēm pa</i>	<i>'dēmā</i>	<i>māšo'mārā</i>
by-ā-Ø	edā	dēm pa	dēm-ā	māšomā-rā
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	here	face	for face-OBL	PN.2SG.INC-OBJ

<i>'naylā</i>	<i>rawa'gā</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'čī</i>
nay-el-ā	raw-ag-ā	hanī	mā	ta	čī
NEG-allow.NPST-3PL	go.NPST-PP-OBL	right now	PN.1SG	PN.2SG	what

<i>kan'ēn</i>	<i>polīs'ānī</i>	<i>sa'rā 'ē</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>ka'nā</i>
Ø-kan-ēn	polīs-ānī	sarā ē	habar	kan-ā
SBJV-do.NPST-1PL	police-GEN.PL	on	PROX	word do.NPST-3PL

<i>'mārā</i>	<i>ge'rā</i>	<i>gere'ter</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'taw</i>
mā-rā	ger-ā	gere-ter	=ē	taw
PN.1PL-OBJ	take.NPST-3PL	good-CMP	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG

<i>'boro</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>čo'kã</i>
bo-ro-Ø	mā	wat	otī	čok-ã
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	REFL	REFL.GEN	child-OBL.PL

<i>kār'ō</i>	<i>'ēšī</i>	<i>go'hār</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'to</i>
k-ār-ō	ēšī	gohār	goš-ī	to
IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG	PROX.GEN	sister	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>bo'ro</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>mar'dēnē</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>trā</i>
bo-ro-Ø	ta	mardēn=ē	=ay	trā
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	man=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG.OBJ

<i>'begerā</i>	<i>tarā</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>pōs'tā</i>	<i>kaš'sā</i>
be-ger-ā	ta-rā	tī	pōst-ā	kašš-ā
SBJV-take.NPST-3PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	PN.2SG.GEN	skin-OBL	pull.NPST-3PL

He went to Dasht; he found them there (lit. this direction); she said, “Look, here they do not allow us to go openly; now [if] you [and] me do something; these report to the police; they will seize us; It is a good [solution]; you go; I myself bring the children.”; his sister said, “Go, you are a man, [if] they seize you, they will beat you to death, (lit. remove your skin).”

**TB:5**

<i>jalā'hī</i>	<i>baz'zag</i>	<i>'kaytē</i>
jalāhī	bazzag	k-ay-t=ē
Jalahi	miserable	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'hamīngō</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>mol'kā</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>čīzē</i>	<i>'wakt</i>
ham=īngō	padā	otī	molk-ā	dā	čīz=ē	wakt
EMPH=this direction	again	REFL.GEN	village-OBL	until	thing=IND	time

<i>gwa'zī</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>ša'pa</i>	<i>'kā</i>	<i>zīr'ūt</i>
gwaz-ī	ā	goṛā	šap-a	kā-Ø	zīr-īt
pass.NPST-3SG	DIST	then	night-OBL	do.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>čo'kā</i>	<i>'kaytē</i>
ē	otī	čok-ā	k-ay-t=ē
PROX	REFL.GEN	child-OBL.PL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>bāhūka'lātā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>daš'tā</i>
ham=ēdā	bāhūkalāt-ā	če	dašt-ā
EMPH=here	Bahukalat-OBL	from	Dasht-OBL

Poor Jalahi returned here (lit. this direction), again to his village; you know, it passed a few days then; at the night time (lit. she did night), she took her children [and] came there (lit. here) to Bahuklat from Dasht.

**TB:6**

<i>'kaytē</i>	<i>bāhūka'lātā</i>	<i>bāhūka'lātā</i>
k-ay-t=ē	bāhūkalāt-ā	bāhūkalāt-ā
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	Bahukalat-OBL	Bahukalat-OBL

*če kāyā*                      *jalā'hī*      *ker'rā*    *'hamē*  
*če k-ā-yā*                      *jalāhī-Ø*      *kerrā*    *ham=ē*  
 from IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL Jalahi-GEN beside EMPH=PROX

*haw'roke*      *pe'tegā*  
*hawrok-e*      *pet-e-gā*  
 HawrokanGEN father-GEN-OBL

She came to Bahukalt; from Bahukalat, they came to Jalahi's side, to this Hawrok's father.

**TB:7**

*haw'roke*    *'pete*      *ker'rā*    *kāyā*                      *'hamēdā*  
*hawrok-e*    *pet-e*      *kerrā*    *k-ā-yā*                      *ham=ēdā*  
 Hawrok-GEN father-GEN beside IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL EMPH=here

*'kār*    *ka'nā*              *dēgā'nī*                      *ka'nā*              *balō'čānī*  
*kār*    *kan-ā*              *dēgān-ī*                      *kan-ā*              *balōč-ānī*  
 work do.NPST-3PL agriculture- work-ADJZ do.NPST-3PL Baloch-GEN.PL

*ker'rā*    *ma'sal*              *'watrā*      *'yanī*              *'bāz*    *mon'jōl*  
*kerrā*    *masal*              *wat-rā*      *yanī*              *bāz*    *monjōl*  
 beside for example REFL-OBJ you know many good relationship

*kanā*              *de'ge*      *ze'reng*    *kanā*                      *balō'čān*              *'dōst*  
*kan-ā*              *dege*      *zereng*    *kan-ā*                      *balōč-ān*              *dōst*  
 do.NPST-3PL another clever do.NPST-3PL Baloch-OBL.PL friend

*dāšta*              *ba'lōč*    *'kāre*                      *bītagā*  
*dāšt-a*              *balōč*      *kār=e*                      *bīt-ag=ā*  
 hold.PST-PP Baloch work=PC.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

*'pūlē*              *'čīzē*              *'nalōtetā*                      *'čonḍē*      *'nāē*  
*pūl=ē*              *čīz=ē*              *na-lōtet-ā*                      *čonḍ=ē*      *nā=ē*  
 money=IND thing=PC.3PL NEG-want.PST-3PL slice=IND date=PC.3SG

*na'gan*    *bīta*                                              *aga*  
*nagan*    *bīt-a=Ø*                                              *aga*  
 bread become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG if

*bīta*                                              *'dāta*              *aga*  
*bīt-a=Ø*                                              *dāt-a*              *aga*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG give.PST-PP if



A. Text Corpus

<i>'nabītagante</i>	<i>'wakt ǰa'ta</i>	<i>'laṭ</i>
na-bīṭ-ag=ant=e	wakt ǰat-a	laṭ
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL=PC.3PL	time beat.PST-PP	wood

*wāpēn'tagante*  
wāpēnt-ag=ant=e  
sleep.PST.CAUS-PP=COP.NPST.3PL=PC.3SG

They came to Hawrok's father, there (lit. here); they worked; they did agriculture-work for Baloch; you know, they themselves made a good relationship with them [Baloch]; well, they showed [themselves] as hard-worker; Baloch liked hard-worker people, (lit. It has been only work important for Baloch); they did not ask (lit. want) for money [and] things like that; they had a slice of the bread [and] little the date (lit. there was a slice of the bread [and] little the date for them), if they [Baloch] had (lit. have had) it; [then] they gave (lit. have given) them; If they did not have (lit. have not had) it, that time they beat (lit. have beaten) them [and] made (lit. have made) them sleep.

**TB:8**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>bandehodā'yān</i>	<i>'kār kota</i>	<i>'kār kota</i>	<i>'dā</i>
ē	bande-hodā-yān	kār kot-a	kār kot-a	dā
PROX	servent.EZ-God-OBL.PL	work do.PST-PP	work do.PST-PP	until

<i>e'sīā</i>	<i>dī'ta</i>	<i>'hay ǰalā'hīyā</i>	<i>ǰa'nekē</i>
ešī-ā	dīt-a	hay ǰalāhī-yā	ǰanek=e
PROX.DIR-OBL	see.PST-PP	oh Jalahi-OBL	daughter=IND

<i>hastē</i>	<i>haw'rok ma'zan ē</i>
hast=e	hawrok mazan =ē
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	Hawrok big =COP.NPST.3SG

These fellows worked; they worked; till he saw (lit. has seen), oh, Jalahi has a daughter (lit. there is a daughter for Jalahi), Hawrok is grown-up.

**TB:9**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'goštī</i>	<i>balō'čānī</i>	<i>ker'rā gap ka'nag</i>	<i>ha</i>
nī	gošt=ī	balōč-ānī	kerrā gap kan-ag	ha
now	say.PST=PC.3SG	Baloch-GEN.PL	beside talk do.NPST-INF	ADD

<i>'nabī</i>	<i>'gap kanā</i>	<i>'bārē</i>	<i>'manā</i>
na-b-ī	gap kan-ā	bārē	man-ā
NEG-become.NPST-3SG	talk do.NPST-1SG	question word	PN.1SG-OBL

<i>da'yante</i>		<i>'nadayã</i>		<i>balõ'čãñĩ</i>		<i>'kãr</i>
day-ant=e		na-day-ã		balõč-ãñĩ		kãr
give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG		NEG-give.NPST-3PL		Baloch-GEN.PL		work
<i>ene</i>		<i>'mã</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>'boroã</i>		<i>daštĩyã'rĩã</i>
=en=e		mã	aga	bo-ro-ã		daštĩyãrĩ-ã
=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG		PN.1SG	if	SBJV-go.NPST-1SG		Dashtyari-OBL
<i>'gořãñ</i>	<i>'nadayante</i>			<i>e'šĩ</i>		<i>šo'ta</i>
gořãñ	na-day-ant=e			ešĩ		šot-a=Ø
then	NEG-give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG			PROX.DIR		go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
<i>o'tĩ</i>	<i>nã'kõ</i>	<i>'bãz</i>	<i>sã'at</i>	<i>dã'ta</i>	<i>dõs'tĩ</i>	<i>ko'tagĩ</i>
otĩ	nãkõ	bãz	sãat	dãt-a	dõstĩ	kot-ag=ĩ
REFL.GEN	uncle	many	help	give.PST-PP	friendship	do.PST-PP=PC.3SG
<i>gõ</i>	<i>'kãrĩ</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>nã'kõe</i>	<i>ker'rã</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>nã'kõ</i>
gõ	kãr=ĩ	kot-a	nãkõ-e	kerrã	gošt-a	nãkõ
with	work=PC.3SG	do.PST-PP	uncle-GEN	beside	say.PST-PP	uncle
<i>'byã</i>		<i>'tĩ</i>		<i>'čok</i>	<i>ma'zan</i>	<i>ẽ</i>
by-ã-Ø		tĩ		čok	mazan	=ẽ
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		PN.2SG.GEN		child	big	=COP.NPST.3SG
<i>'to</i>	<i>'čõ</i>	<i>'kã</i>		<i>'manã</i>		<i>'bezĩr</i>
to	čõ	Ø-kã-Ø		man-ã		be-zĩr-Ø
PN.2SG	like	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG-OBJ		SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

You know, he said [to himself] “I am not able to talk to Baloch; If I propose (lit. talk), I am not sure; will they give her to me [or] they will not give her to me?; she is working for the Baloch; if I go to Dashteyari, then they will not give her to me.”; he went (lit. has gone) [and] he helped (lit. has helped) his uncle a lot; he made (lit. has made) a friendship with him; he worked (lit. has worked) with his uncle, he said (lit. has said), “Uncle, look (lit. come), your daughter (lit. child) is grown-up; you know, (lit. what should you do?) accept me.”

**TB:10**

<i>nã'kõã</i>	<i>dĩ'ta</i>	<i>'manã</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>šar'ter</i>
nãkõ-ã	dĩt-a	man-ã	=o	če	šar-ter
uncle-OBL	see.PST-PP	PN.1SG-OBL	=FOC	from	good-CMP

A. Text Corpus

<i>'naē</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'šar ē</i>	<i>'man</i>
na=ē	š-ī	šar =ē	man
NEG=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	fine =COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>zī'rā</i>	<i>'bale e'sen</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'čok</i>
ta-rā	zīr-ā	bale eš=en	ē	čok
PN.2SG-OBJ	take.NPST-1SG	but	PROX=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX child

<i>pelā'nī</i>	<i>ba'lōč</i>	<i>naw'kar ē</i>	<i>'ta</i>
pelānī	balōč-Ø	nawkar =ē	ta
such and such	Baloch-GEN	servant =COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG

<i>'bra</i>	<i>hamā'te</i>	<i>gwa'rā 'gap</i>
b-ra-Ø	ham=āī-e	gwarā gap
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	EMPH=DIST.DIR-GEN	to talk

<i>'kan</i>	<i>en'gōr</i>	<i>ān'gōr kan</i>	<i>'ē</i>
Ø-kan-Ø	engōr	āngōr Ø-kan-Ø	ē
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	that	this IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	PROX

<i>ro</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'sālē</i>	<i>hamā'ī</i>	<i>degā'rā</i>
ro-Ø	dega	sāl=ē	ham=āī	degār-ā
go.NPST-3SG	another	year=IND	EMPH=DIST.GEN	land-OBL.PL

*zī'rī*  
zīr-ī  
take.NPST-3SG

His uncle thought (lit. has seen); there is no body better than him for me; he said, “Alright, I will accept you; but [the problem] is it, this child is servant (lit. slave) of such and such Baloch; go and talk to him; try (lit. do) this and that”; he went [and] next year took his land [to work as worker].

**TB:11**

<i>de'gārā</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>'kār kā</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>'kār</i>
degār-ā	zīr-ī	kār kā-Ø	hančō	kār
land-OBL	take.NPST-3SG	work do.NPST-3SG	like this	work

<i>kā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>mar'dake</i>	<i>de'lā</i>	<i>ka'pīt</i>	<i>'na</i>
kā-Ø	ē	mard-ak-e	del-ā	kap-īt	na
do.NPST-3SG	PROX	man-EV-GEN	heart-OBL	fall.NPST-3SG	right?

He took [his] land; he worked; he worked very hard; he became favourite for

the man (lit. he fell inside the man's heart) right?

**TB:12**

'nī o'sī 'wājā 'mā o ba'zag ā  
 nī oš-ī wājā mā =o bazag =ā  
 you know say.NPST-3SG sir PN.1SG =FOC poor =COP.NPST.1SG

'manā ma'sa 'sāng 'ne 'pet 'manā  
 man-ā masa sāng ne pet man-ā  
 PN.1SG-OBL you know betrothal NEG.COP.NPST.3SG father PN.1SG-OBL

'ne 'manā 'sāngē 'beday  
 ne man-ā sāng=ē be-day-Ø  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ betrothal=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

'ēdā 'manī nā'kōe ja'neke haste  
 ēdā man-ī nākō-e janek-e hast=e  
 here PN.1SG-GEN uncle-GEN girl-GEN be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

'manā 'hamōdā zā'māt kanay  
 man-ā ham=ōdā zāmāt Ø-kan-ay  
 PN.1SG-OBJ EMPH=there engaged SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

You know, he said, “Sir, as for me, I am poor now, you know; I do not have a wife (lit. betrothal); I do not have father (lit. there is no father for me); gave me a wife (lit. betrothal); my uncle has a daughter (lit. there is a daughter for my uncle) there (lit. here); propose for me there.”

**TB:13**

'šī 'kay en 'šī hawrok  
 š-ī kay =en š-ī hawrok  
 say.NPST-3SG who =COP.NPST.3SG say.NPST-3SG Hawrok

en go'sī 'šar en 'ē  
 =en goš-ī šar =en ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG say.NPST-3SG fine =COP.NPST.3SG PROX

'kaytē ša'pā ēdā ha'bar  
 k-ay-t=ē šap-ā ēdā habar  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG night-OBL here word

A. Text Corpus

*ka*            *'ta*        *zā'nay*            *dē'gāne*        *das'tā*  
ka-Ø            ta            zān-ay            dēgān-e        dast-ā  
do.NPST-3SG PN.2SG know.NPST-2SG peasan-GEN hand-OBL

*'ro*            *da'ḏēn*        *dē'gānē*        *bel*            *janek*  
ro-Ø            daḏ-ēn        dēgān=ē        b-el-Ø            janek  
go.NPST-3SG strong-ATTR peasan=IND SBJV-allow.NPST-2SG girl

*'hamedā*    *bī*            *na*        *e'sī*  
ham=edā    bī-Ø            na        ešī  
EMPH=here become.PST-3SG right? PROX.OBL

*day'anten*                            *'ē*        *ja'nēnā*  
day-ant=en                            ē        janēn-ā  
give.NPST-3PL=COP.NPST.3SG PROX girl-OBL

He said, “Who is she?”; he said, “This is Hawrokan”; He said, “Alright”; at night, this one came [and] talk to [himself] “You know, I lose this peasant, he is a strong peasant, let the girl be here, alright?”; he gave this girl to him [Kahir].

**TB:14**

*je'nēn*    *wā'jā*    *haw'rok*    *gō*    *hawro'kān*    *'sāng*  
jenēn    wājā    hawrok    gō    hawrokān    sāng  
woman sir    Hawrok with Hawrokan betrothal

*kanten*                            *'dā*        *'kār*    *kant*            *'ē*        *'molk*  
kan-t=en                            dā        kār    kan-t            ē        molk  
do.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG you know work do.NPST-3SG PROX land

*'padā*    *'tang*        *'kayten*                            *bazza'gī*  
padā    tang        k-ay-t=en                            bazzag-ī  
again poverty IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG poor-ADJZ

*'kayten*                            *'kār*    *'kam*    *en*  
k-ay-t=en                            kār    kam    =en  
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG work little =COP.NPST.3SG

*'hawr*    *'kam*    *bīt*                            *'kār*    *'nabīt*  
hawr    kam    bīt-Ø                            kār    na-b-īt  
rain    little become.PST-3SG work NEG-become.NPST-3SG

The woman you know, sir, Hawokan, ...he married Hawrokan, you know; he

worked [there]; again, this village became dry; the poverty came; it was short of job; it was short of rain; there was no job.

**TB:15**

<i>'nabī</i>	<i>'nī kay</i>
na-b-ī	nī k-ay-Ø
NEG-become.NPST-3SG	now IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>kay</i>	<i>balō'čānī</i>	<i>ker'rā 'byā</i>
k-ay-Ø	balōč-ānī	kerrā by-ā-Ø
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	Baloch-GEN.PL	beside IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

<i>'mā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>mol'kā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'taw</i>
mā	raw-ā	otī	mol-k-ā	=o	goš-ī	taw
PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG	REFL.GEN	land-OBL	=and	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG

<i>ra'way</i>	<i>'boro</i>	<i>'bale 'me</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>
raw-ay	bo-ro-Ø	bale me	če	čōbī
go.NPST-2SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	but PN.1PL.GEN	from	you know

<i>'me</i>	<i>kol'patā</i>	<i>'mabar</i>	<i>'gō</i>
me	kolpat-ā	ma-bar-Ø	gō
PN.1PL.GEN	female servant-OBL	PROH-take.NPST-2SG	with

It was [no job]; you know, Kahir (lit. he) came; he came to the Baloch [he said] “Look, I go to my own village”, and he said (lit. they said), “You like to go, go; but, you know; do not take our female servant with you.”

**TB:16**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'nabarā</i>	<i>'gō</i>
goš-ī	mā	na-bar-ā	gō
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	NEG-take.NPST-1SG	with

He said, “I won’t take her.”

**TB:17**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ša'pā</i>	<i>'kayten</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'watī</i>
ē	šap-ā	k-ay-t=en	gō	wat-ī
PROX	night-OBL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	with	REFL-GEN

<i>haw'rokā</i>	<i>hamšaw'rī</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'četawr</i>
hawrok-ā	hamšawrī	bī-Ø	š-ī	četawr
Hawrok-OBL	consultation	become.PST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG	what

A. Text Corpus

<i>ka'nã</i>	<i>'mã</i>	<i>ra'wã</i>
Ø-kan-ã	mã	raw-ã
SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG

At night, he came; he consulted with her Hawrok; he said, “What should I do? I will go.”

**TB:18**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'raway</i>	<i>'mã</i>	<i>'ēdā</i>	<i>'čī</i>
goš-ī	taw	raw-ay	mã	ēdā	čī
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	go.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	here	what

<i>ka'nã</i>	<i>'mã</i>	<i>kāhã</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'čī</i>
Ø-kan-ã	mã	k-ā-hã	gō	čī
SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	with	what

<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>kāy'ay</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>ba'lōč</i>
wāstā	k-āy-ay	gō	tī	balōč
for the sake of	IMP.k-come.NPST-2SG	with	PN.2SG.GEN	Baloch

<i>'manā</i>	<i>ja'nã</i>	<i>taw</i>	<i>'benen</i>	<i>'mã</i>	<i>'padā</i>
man-ā	jan-ã	taw	be-nen-Ø	mã	padā
PN.1SG-OBJ	hit.NPST-3PL	PN.2SG	IMPV-place.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	again

<i>kešā'rē</i>	<i>ka'nã</i>	<i>'dānē</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>'mã</i>
kešār=e	kan-ã	dān=e	čīz=e	b-ī	mã
farm=IND	do.NPST-1SG	seed=IND	thing=IND	become.PST-3SG	PN.1SG

<i>rāhe</i>	<i>da'yã</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>kā'yã</i>	<i>'tī</i>
rāh=e	day-ã	padā	k-ā-yã	tī
path=PC.3PL	give.NPST-1SG	again	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	PN.2SG.GEN

<i>čāra'gā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'mã</i>	<i>kā'yã</i>
čār-ag-ā	goš-ī	na	mã	k-ā-yã
look.NPST-INF-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.1SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

*gō*  
gō  
with

She said, “[if] you go, what should I do here?; I will come with you”; [he said] how are you coming?; your Baloch will punish me; stay, you know; [if] I will farm; it produces the grain [or] things like this, I will send them; I will

come to visit you again”; she said, “No I come along.”

**TB:19**

*kā'yā*                      *gō*    'šar en  
*k-ā-yā*                      *gō*    šar =en  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG with fine =COP.NPST.3SG

Come along; [he said] “Alright.”

**TB:20**

*šap bī*                      *bāng'wāh bī*                      *'hančō ke*  
*šap b-ī*                      *bāngwāh b-ī*                      *hančō ke*  
 night become.NPST-3SG dawn                      become.NPST-3SG like this CLM

*pesa'rā 'hamē*                      *'kessa bīt*                      *o e'sān*  
*pesarā ham=ē*                      *kessa b-īt*                      =o eš-ān  
 before EMPH=PROX story become.NPST-3SG =and PROX-OBL.PL

*'bezān*                      *'čī ka'nā*                      *pašā'nagā*                      *ban'dā*  
*be-zān-Ø*                      *čī kan-ā*                      *pašānag-ā*                      *band-ā*  
 IMPV-know.NPST-2SG what do.NPST-3PL sleeping tent-OBL sit up-3PL

*'wakte ke 'mā pašā'nagā*                      *'bōjēn*                      *'ā ke*  
*wakteke mā pašānag-ā*                      *bōj-ēn*                      *ā ke*  
 when PN.1PL sleeping tent-OBL open.NPST-1PL DIST CLM

*sa'hīa bā*                      *'ē pašā'nag*  
*sahī=a b-ā*                      *ē pašānag*  
 informed=VCL become.NPST-3PL PROX sleeping tent

*'neste*                      *'zānā*                      *'ē 'me*  
*nest=e zān-ā*                      *ē me*  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG know.NPST-3PL PROX PN.1PL.GEN

*'dombā ka'pā*  
*domb-ā kap-ā*  
 tail-OBL fall.NPST-3PL

It was night, it was dawn, you know; as already this story was told (lit. has been told), and you know, what did they do?; they set up a sleeping tent; [they thought] “[If] we remove the sleeping-tent; they will inform there is no sleeping-tent; they know they will follow us.”



A. Text Corpus

**TB:21**

'hečā 'našā be'bramš ka'nā pašā'nagā  
 heč-ā na-š-ā bebramš kan-ā pašānag-ā  
 no-OBL NEG-say.NPST-3PL peace do.NPST-3PL sleeping tent-OBL

'nabōjā pašā'bandā 'nabōjā  
 na-bōj-ā pašāband-ā na-bōj-ā  
 NEG-open.NPST-3PL sleeping tent-OBL NEG-open.NPST-3PL

'hamē 'hord mor'dān o'tī zīr'ā  
 ham=ē hord mord-ān otī zīr-ā  
 EMPH=PROX personal stuff echo-OBL.PL REFL.GEN take.NPST-3PL

ban'danten 'dōk 'mōke kelā  
 band-ant=en dōk mōk=e k-el-ā  
 pack.NPST-3PL=COP.NPST.3SG stone echo=IND IMP.k-put.NPST-3PL

'ēr kapā  
 ēr kap-ā  
 PREV fall.NPST-3PL

They did not say (lit. they were quite); they did not make sound; they did not remove the sleeping-tent; they did not remove the sleeping-tent; they took [and] packed their personal stuff; they put some stones near to the sleeping-tent [to keep it stand up]; they left (lit. went down.)

**TB:22**

de'ge 'ē 'mard jan'ēn 'ēr kapā ča ōdān  
 dege ē mard janēn ēr kap-ā ča ōdān  
 another PROX man woman PREV fall.NPST-3PL from there

payā'dagā haw'lākē 'nabī  
 payādag-ā hawlāk=ē na-b-ī  
 on foot-OBL transportation means=IND NEG-become.NPST-3SG

You know, this man and woman left on foot from there; there was no transportation means [that time].

**TB:23**

'ē 'čī 'kantē ra'wantē  
 ē čī kan-t=ē raw-ant=ē  
 PROX what do.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG go.NPST-3PL=COP.NPST.3SG

'ēdga takrī'ban takrī'ban 'ēdge 'rōč ra'sī naz'zīk ša'pā  
 ēdga takrīban takrīban ēdge rōč ras-ī nazzīk šap-ā  
 next almost almost next day arrive.NPST-3SG near night-OBL

ra'wā daštīyā'rīyā ra'sā  
 raw-ā daštīyārī-yā ras-ā  
 go.NPST-3PL Dashtiyari-OBL arrive.NPST-3PL

What do they (lit. he/she) do?; they went; almost, almost the next day around the night; they arrived (lit. went and arrived) to Dashtiyari.

**TB:24**

daštīyā'rīā ra'sā e'šānī 'māt haw'roke  
 daštīyārī-ā ras-ā eš-ānī māt hawrok-e  
 Dashtiyari-OBL arrive.NPST-3PL PROX-GEN.PL mother Hawrok-GEN

bezā 'pād kay mar'čī 'rōč 'dar  
 be-zā-Ø pād k-ay-Ø marčī rōč dar  
 SBJV-know.NPST-2SG foot IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG today sun PREV

āhegē haw'rokī jan'ter ta'wār  
 ā-heg=ē hawrok-ī janter-Ø tawār  
 come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG Hawrok-GEN hand mill-GEN sound

'nakā zahī'rīge ta'wār 'ne 'ē  
 na-kā-Ø zahīrīg-e tawār ne ē  
 NEG-do.NPST-3SG sad song-GEN sound NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PROX

'četawrokā ē  
 četawr-ok-ā =ē  
 what-EV-OBL =COP.NPST.3SG

They arrive to Dashteyari; their mother, Hawrok's mother, you know got up; [she talked to herself] "Today the sun is raising; Hawrok's hand mill does not make sound; there is no sad songs; what is happening?"

**TB:25**

'pād kay 'hawrok 'hawrok 'ta pa ka'dē  
 pād k-ay-Ø hawrok hawrok ta pa kadē  
 foot IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG Hawrok Hawrok PN.2SG for how long

A. Text Corpus

*wā'bay*                      *'edā 'kay*                      *'haw 'edā*  
*wāb=ay*                      *edā k-ay-Ø*                      *haw edā*  
 asleep=COP.NPST.2SG here IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG yes here

*'kay*                      *hawro'kayā haw'rok*  
*k-ay-Ø*                      *hawrok-ayā hawrok*  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG Hawrok-LOC Hawrokan

*šo'ta*  
*šot-a=Ø*  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She got up [she said] “Hawrok, Hawrok, Hawrok, how long do you want to sleep”; she came there (lit. here); she came there (lit. here) to hawrok; [she saw] oh, Hawrok has gone.

**TB:26**

*'nī*            *dī'ta*            *aga 'mā*            *ha'bar 'makanā*            *ba'lōč*  
*nī*            *dīt-a*            *aga mā*            *habar ma-kan-ā*            *balōč*  
 you know see.PST-PP if PN.1SG word PROH-do.NPST-1SG Baloch

*'šā*            *'čī*            *'taw*            *'mārā*            *'hāl*            *'nadātay*  
*š-ā*            *čī*            *taw*            *mā-rā*            *hāl*            *na-dāt-ay*  
 say.NPST-3PL what PN.2SG PN.1PL-OBJ news NEG-give.PST-2SG

*'jī*            *'ē*            *sa'rīgā*            *'sarā*            *'ka*            *hooo*  
*j-ī*            *ē*            *sarīg-ā*            *sar-ā*            *ka-Ø*            *hooo*  
 run.NPST-3SG PROX shawl-OBL head-OBL do.NPST-3SG Hy

*'plāna*            *wā'res*            *'byā*                                      *ka'hīrā*            *haw'rok*            *'bo*  
*plāna*            *wāres*            *by-ā-Ø*                                      *kahīr-ā*            *hawrok*            *bo*  
 such and such boss IMPV-come.NPST-2SG Kahir-OBL Hawrok take.PST

You know, she thought (lit. has seen); if I do not speak [to the Baloch]; [then] the Baloch will say, why you did not inform us; she run away; she put on her scarf; she [called and say] “Hy look such and such boss; Kahir took Hawrok.”

**TB:27**

*e'dā* *ba'lōčē*            *'be 'nāme*            *yārma'mad*            *'ē*            *xatar'nāk*  
*edā* *balōč=ē*            *be nām=e*            *yārmamad*            *ē*            *xatarnāk*  
 here Baloch=IND to name=EZ Yar Mammad PROX dangerous

*bī*                                *'ā*    *te'mā*            *'molke*            *'yāne*            *ka'mokē*  
 b-ī                                ā            tem-ā            molk-e            yāne            kam-ok=ē  
 become.NPST-3SG DIST time-OBL land-GEN you know little-EV=IND

*'čo*            *xatar'nāk*    *bī*                                *e'sī*            *ker'rā*  
 čo            xatarnāk    b-ī                                ešī            kerrā  
 like this dangerous become.NPST-3SG PROX.GEN beside

*'kay*                                *'tī*                                *'tīng*  
 k-ay-Ø                                tī                                tīng  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG PN.2SG.GEN female slave

*šo'ta*                                *pe'lāna*                                *'gō*    *'mā*            *ra'wā*  
 šot-a=Ø                                pelān-a                                gō    mā            raw-ā  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG so and so-OBL with PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG

*kā'rānī*  
 k-ār-ān=ī  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

There is a Baloch, [called] Yar Mammad; this was a brave man of the village at that time; you know, he was a bit brave; she came to him; [she said] “Your female slave has gone with such and such”; [he said] “I will go [and] bring her.”

**TB:28**

*'nī*    *to'pang*    *ka'tār*    *bī*                                *'raw*                                *'hamā*  
 nī    topang    katār    b-ī                                raw-Ø                                ham=ā  
 now gun    bullet become.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST

*mol'kā*  
 molk-ā  
 land-OBL

Now he prepared [himself] with gun and bullet; he went to that village.

**TB:29**

*'ā*    *mol'kā*    *'raw*                                *'ā*    *mol'ke*    *tō'kā*    *mar'dom*  
 ā    molk-ā    raw-Ø                                ā    molk-e    tōkā    mardom  
 DIST land-OBL go.NPST-3SG DIST land-GEN in people

A. Text Corpus

<i>hasten</i>	<i>'šarrēn</i>	<i>hamā'hānī</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>
hast=en	šarr-ēn	ham=ā-hān-ī	kerrā
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	fine-ATTR	EMPH=DIST-OBL.PL-GEN	beside

<i>'bā</i>	<i>hamāhānī</i>	<i>ze'mīn</i>	<i>gō</i>
b-ā	ham=ā-hān-ī	zemīn	gō
become.NPST-3PL	EMPH=DIST-OBL.PL-GEN	land	with

<i>bī</i>	<i>ka'hīrā</i>	<i>āī</i>	<i>golām'kār</i>	<i>'nāmēn</i>
b-ī	kahīr-ā	āī	golāmkār	nām-ēn
become.NPST-3SG	Kahir-OBL	DIST.DIR	Golam Kader	name-ATTR

<i>bī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hoš'kā</i>	<i>mol'kānī</i>	<i>sapa'ras</i>
b-ī	ke	hošk-ā	molk-ānī	saparas
become.NPST-3SG	CLM	dry-OBL	land-GEN.PL	chief

<i>bī</i>	<i>ka'māš</i>	<i>kahodā'ī</i>	<i>bī</i>
b-ī	kamāš	kahodā=ī	b-ī
become.NPST-3SG	old	head man=IND	become.NPST-3SG

<i>ham'īšī</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>	<i>bī</i>
ham=īš-ī	kerrā	b-ī
EMPH=PROX-GEN	beside	become.NPST-3SG

He went to that village...; there were nice people in that village; they [Hawrokan and Kahir] were with them; Kahir was on their land (lit. their land was to Kahir), that one called Kolam Kader who was the chief of all villages; he was a chief (lit. old man), a headman; Kahir (lit. he) was with him.

**TB:30**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'eško</i>	<i>pelā'nī</i>	<i>to'pang</i>	<i>ka'tār</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>pa</i>
ē	eško-Ø	pelānī	topang	katār	=ē	pa
PROX	hear.NPST-3SG	such and such	gun	bullet	=COP.NPST.3SG	for

<i>ka'hīr</i>	<i>ja'nagā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>gējī</i>
kahīr	jan-ag-ā	ē	dar	gēj-ī
Kahir	hit.NPST-INF-OBL	PROX	PREV	find.NPST-3SG

<i>kār'īten</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'hōš</i>
k-ār-īt=en	bābā	ta	hōš
IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	father	PN.2SG	wise

<i>'bay</i>	<i>aga haw'rok 'ed en</i>	<i>'hančō</i>
Ø-bay-Ø	aga hawrok ed =en	hančō
IMPV-become.NPST-2SG	if Hawrok here =COP.NPST.3SG	like this

<i>ke hawrok 'ōdā̃ balōčān...</i>	<i>haw'rok 'me</i>	<i>wa'tīg</i>
ke hawrok ōdā̃ balōč-ān	hawrok me	watīg
CLM Hawrok there Baloch-OBL.PL	Hawrok PN.1PL.GEN	own

<i>en</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>'me</i>	<i>čō</i>	<i>ma'sa</i>	<i>naw'kar</i>
=en	hanī	me	čō	masa	nawkar
=COP.NPST.3SG	right now	PN.1PL.GEN	you know	you know	servant

<i>'lōgay</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>haw'rokā</i>	<i>'gō̃</i>	<i>'šomā</i>
lōg=ay	=en	hawrok-ā	gō̃	šomā
house=OBL.PC.3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	Hawrok-OBL	with	PN.2PL

<i>'kāre</i>	<i>'nayen</i>	<i>aga 'pōze</i>	<i>bot'ket</i>
kār=e	nay=en	aga pōz=e	botket
work=PC.3SG	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	if nose=PC.3SG	open.PST

<i>pelā'nīyā</i>	<i>'bogo</i>	<i>ze'māī</i>	<i>'manīg</i>
pelānī-yā	bo-go-Ø	zemā=ī	manīg
such and such-OBL	IMPV-say.NPST-2SG	responsibility=PC.3SG	mine

<i>yě</i>	<i>'may</i>	<i>'molke</i>	<i>tō'kā neš'ta</i>
=yě	may	molke-e	tōkā nešt-a=Ø
=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1PL.GEN	land-GEN	in sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>hawro'kān 'hěč</i>	<i>pare'šān 'mabay</i>	<i>'mā</i>
hawrokān hěč	parešān ma-bay-Ø	mā
Hawrokan nothing sad	PROH-become.NPST-2SG	PN.1PL

<i>hawro'kānā 'čō 'nadayen</i>	<i>to'pang ka'tār 'ēr</i>
hawrokān-ā čō na-day-en	topang katār ēr
Hawrokan-OBL like NEG-give.NPST-1PL	gun bullet PREV

<i>kā</i>	<i>aga na to</i>	<i>dē'gānā</i>	<i>'das</i>
Ø-kā-Ø	aga na to	dēgān-ā	das
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	if no PN.2SG	peasant-OBL	hand

A. Text Corpus

<i>'bejanay</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>janē</i>
be- <i>jan-ay</i>	mā	ta-rā	jan-ē
SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG	PN.1PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	hit.NPST-1PL

This one [Kolam Kader] heard; such and such person prepared [himself] with gun and bullet to beat Kahir; this one found and brought [him and said], “Dear (lit. friend) be wise, if Hawrok is here, the same as Hawrok [was] there with Baloch...; Hawrok is ours; now you know, she married our male slave; (lit. now our male slave is in her house); do not care about Hawrok; if her nose be bleeding, tell such and such person, I am her responsibility; [since] Hawrok has lived (lit. stay) inside our village; do not worry; we do not give Hawrokan, like this; put down your gun (lit. [and] bullet) [otherwise], if you touch the peasant we will beat you.”

**TB:31**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>mar'dakāay</i>	<i>'gapā</i>	<i>ha'lās</i>	<i>ka'nā</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'ē</i>
ē	mard-ak-ā-ay	gap-ā	halās	kan-ā	padā	ē
PROX	man-EV-OBL-GEN	talk-OBL	finish	do.NPST-3PL	again	PROX

<i>'kayten</i>	<i>awā'lā</i>	<i>'kayt</i>
k-ay-t=en	awālā	k-ay-t
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	first	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

<i>šekā'yat</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>ka'mokē</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>
šekāyat	hā	kā-Ø	kam-ok=e	čōbī
complain	ADD	do.NPST-3SG	little-EV=IND	you know

<i>tor'sēne</i>	<i>ka'nā</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>dē'gān</i>	<i>če...</i>
torsēn-Ø=e	kan-ā	to	dēgān	če
scare.NPST.CAUS-3SG=PC.3SG	do.NPST-3PL	PN.2SG	peasant	from

<i>me</i>	<i>'tīngā</i>	<i>'dāre</i>	<i>'mā</i>
me	tīng-ā	Ø-dār-e	mā
PN.1PL.GEN	female slave-OBL	SBJV-hold.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG

<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'čōš</i>	<i>ka'nō</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'jang</i>
ta-rā	čōš	kan-ō	gō	ta	jang
PN.2SG-OBJ	such and such	do.NPST-1SG	with	PN.2SG	fight

<i>ka'nō</i>	<i>ā't</i>	<i>'rāhē</i>	<i>'sōj</i>	<i>dayā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
kan-ō	āī	rāh=e	sōj	day-ā	goš-ī
do.NPST-1SG	DIST.OBL	path=IND	show	give.NPST-3PL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'boro</i>	<i>po'lānā</i>	<i>šekā'yat</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ga'jar</i>
bo-ro-Ø	polān-ā	šekāyat	Ø-kan-Ø	ga'jar
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	Polan-OBL	complain	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	army men

<i>hast</i>	<i>en</i>
hast	=en
be.NPST	=COP.NPST.3SG

You know, they ended up this man's disputation; then Yar Mammad (lit. this one) came [back to his village]; Kolam Kader and his people (lit. they) came [and] complained at the beginning too; they made him a little bit warning, [he said] if you take peasant what... our female slave I do such and such to you; I will fight with you, they taught (lit. showed the way) her; he said, “Go Polan court [and] complain, there are the army men.”

**TB:32**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>šekā'yat</i>	<i>kā</i>
nī	ē	raw-Ø	šekāyat	kā-Ø
you know	PROX	go.NPST-3SG	complain	do.NPST-3SG

<i>'byā</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>dōs</i>
by-ā-Ø	man-ā	otī	mard	dōs
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-OBL	REFL.GEN	man	friend

<i>bīt</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>balō'čā</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'zūr</i>
b-īt	bale	balōč-ā	man-ā	zūr
become.NPST-3SG	but	Baloch-OBL.PL	PN.1SG-OBJ	forced

<i>ka'nā</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>'me</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'taw</i>
kan-ā	by-ā-Ø	me	gwarā	nī	taw
do.NPST-3PL	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.1PL.GEN	to	now	PN.2SG

<i>'bogo...</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>čō</i>
bo-go-Ø	man-ā	čō
IMPV-say.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	you know

<i>tāčēn'tagant</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>enčokēn</i>
tāčēnt-ag=ant	mnā	enčok-ēn
run.PST.CAUS-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	PN.1SG.OBL	this much-ATTR

<i>'čokē</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>lā'pā</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'čok</i>
čok=ē	bīt-a=Ø	lāp-ā	man-ī	čok
child=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	belly-OBL	PN.1SG-GEN	child



A. Text Corpus

<i>kap'ta</i>	<i>nazānā</i>	<i>'četaw</i>	<i>ko'ta</i>	<i>'nī</i>
kap-t-a=Ø	na-zān-ā	četaw	kot-a	nī
fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	NEG-know.NPST-1SG	what	do.PST-PP	now

<i>'zānā</i>	<i>hokūmatī</i>	<i>ka'hodā</i>	<i>bā</i>
zān-ā	hokūmat-ī	kahodā	b-ā
know.NPST-1SG	government-GEN	head man	become.NPST-3PL

<i>mardo'mānā</i>	<i>lōṭāē'nān</i>	<i>e'lat</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>en</i>
mardom-ān=ā	lōṭāēn-an	elat	čī	=en
people-OBL.PL=VCL	call.NPST.CAUS-3PL	reason	what	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'šomā</i>	<i>wām'dāre</i>	<i>'ēna</i>
šomā	wāmdār=e	enna
PN.2PL	debter=COP.NPST.2SG	no

You know, she went [and] complained [she said] “Look, I love my husband (lit. my husband’s love is for me); but the Baloch forced me to come to them; now you tell me... how they made me run; I had this small size baby in my belly; I have dropped my baby; I do not know; what have they done?”; well, you know, they were the chife of tribe who favourt to governmnet; they called the people [the Baloch]; [they said], “What is the reason? are you debter?” Yar Mammad (lit. he) said, “No.”

**TB:33**

<i>'xo</i>	<i>'šar ē</i>	<i>pe'sarā</i>	<i>'kār</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>'hanī</i>
xo	šar =ē	pesarā	kār	kot-a	hanī
you know	fine =COP.NPST.3SG	before	work	do.PST-PP	right now

<i>'nakā</i>	<i>'marde</i>	<i>hast</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>mar'dā</i>
na-kā-Ø	mard=e	hast	otī	mard-ā
NEG-do.NPST-3SG	husband=PC.3SG	be.NPST	REFL.GEN	man-OBL

<i>'raw</i>	<i>ga'pā</i>	<i>ča'mōdā</i>	<i>xa'tam</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>'nī</i>
raw-Ø	gap-ā	čamōdā	xatam	kā-Ø	nī
go.NPST-3SG	talk-OBL	from.EMPH.there	finish	do.NPST-3SG	now

<i>'ē</i>	<i>mar'dekā</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>'kant</i>	<i>'kayt</i>	<i>o'tī</i>
ē	mardekā	čī	kan-t	k-ay-t	otī
PROX	man	what	do.NPST-3SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	REFL.GEN

*mol'kā 'ā ka'hīr 'čīze mod'data 'hamōdā 'nendī*  
 molk-ā ā kahīr čīz=e moddat-a ham=ōdā nend-ī  
 land-OBL DIST Kahir thing=IND time-OBL EMPH=there sit.NPST-3SG

[They said] “You know, it is OK; she has worked before; now she does not work; she has a husband (lit. there is a husband to her); she goes with her husband”; they ended up this disputation (lit. word) at this point, you know, what did this man?; he returned to his village; that Kahir stayed for while there.

**TB:34**

*'tā hamē 'čoke sa'yēn pē'dāg bant 'do*  
 tā ham=e čok=e say-ēn pēdāg b-ant do  
 till EMPH=PROX child=PC.3SG three-CL visible become.NPST-3PL two

*ǰa'nek bante yak ba'čakē 'ē pēdāg*  
 ǰanek b-ant=e yak bačak=e ē pēdāg  
 girl become.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG one son=IND PROX visible

*ban e'šā če 'bādom 'padā*  
 b-an eš-ā če bād-om padā  
 become.NPST-3PL PROX-OBL.PL from after-ADD again

*'kayten 'ē 'molke tō'kā 'padā*  
 k-ay-t=en ē molk-e tōkā padā  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG PROX land-GEN in again

*'raw ha'māngō yak ǰa'nēnē 'bī*  
 raw-Ø ham=āngō yak ǰanēn=e b-ī  
 go.NPST-3SG EMPH=that direction one woman=IND become.NPST-3SG

*be 'nāme bāh'tān*  
 be nām=e bāhtān  
 to name=EZ Bahtan

Till these three children were born; he had two daughters (lit. there was two daughters to him) and one son; those were born; you know, after that he came to this village again; again he went there, there was a woman called Bahtan.

**TB:35**

*'ē bāh'tān 'ōdān o'tī 'molk tō'kā balō'čānī ker'rā*  
 ē bāhtān ōdān o'tī molk-Ø tōkā balōč-ānī kerrā  
 PROX Bahtan there REFL.GEN land-GEN in Baloch-GEN.PL beside

A. Text Corpus

*kā'ra*      *bī*                                      *ā'īā*                                      *e'sī*                                      *'dōs*  
*kār-ā*      *b-ī*                                      *āī-ā*                                      *ešī*                                      *dōs*  
work-OBL    become.NPST-3SG    DIST.DIR-OBL    PROX.DIR    friend

*bī*                                      *e'sīā*                                      *hā*      *dōst*      *bī*                                      *ē*  
*b-ī*                                      *ešī-ā*                                      *hā*      *dōst*      *b-ī*                                      *ē*  
become.NPST-3SG    PROX.DIR-OBL    ADD    friend    become.NPST-3SG    PROX

*'kayt*                                      *ē*                                      *'sī*                                      *'hawrok*  
*k-ay-t*                                      *=ē*                                      *š-ī*                                      *hawrok-Ø*  
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    =COP.NPST.3SG    say.NPST-3SG    Hawrok-VOC.SG

*'mā*      *pelā'nīyā*                                      *gerō*  
*mā*      *pelānī=yā*                                      *ger-ō*  
PN.1SG    such and such=VCL    take.NPST-1SG

This Bahtan was working there in her village for the Baloch; she fell in love with him (lit. he became love to her) [and] he fell in love with her as well (lit. she became love to him); this one [Kahir] came; he said, “Hawrok, I will marry such and such person.”

**TB:36**

*go'sī*                                      *mas'ter*      *'wat*      *ay*                                      *'taw*      *ge'ray*  
*goš-ī*                                      *mas-ter*      *wat*      *=ay*                                      *taw*      *ger-ay*  
say.NPST-3SG    big-CMP    REFL    =COP.NPST.2SG    PN.2SG    take.NPST-2SG

*'ē*      *'lāp*      *'taw*      *'dayay*                                      *'mā*      *o*      *čī*      *'otī*  
*ē*      *lāp*      *taw*      *day-ay*                                      *mā*      *=o*      *čī*      *otī*  
PROX    stomach    PN.2SG    give.NPST-2SG    PN.1SG    =FOC    what    REFL.GEN

*baza'gīyā*                                      *'gō*      *gwā'zēnō*                                      *ge'ray*  
*bazag-ī-yā*                                      *gō*      *gwāz-ēn-ō*                                      *ger-ay*  
poor-ADJZ-OBL.PL    with    spend.NPST-CAUS-1SG    take.NPST-2SG

*'begerī*                                      *'tarā*                                      *'dōs*      *bī*  
*be-ger-ī*                                      *ta-rā*                                      *dōs*      *b-ī*  
SBJV-take.NPST-3SG    PN.2SG-OBJ    friend    become.NPST-3SG

*'begerī*                                      *go'rā*      *ger'īte*  
*be-ger-ī*                                      *gorā*      *ger-īt=e*  
SBJV-take.NPST-3SG    then    take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

She said, “You decide yourself, [if] you marry her, you will support her (lit.

give [her]) food; as for me, I live with my poverty [with Baloch]; [if you] marry, marry her, if you love her marry her”; then he married her.

**TB:37**

<i>ger'ite</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'molke</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>	<i>'sāng</i>	<i>kā</i>
ger-īt=e	ā	molk-e	tōkā	sāng	kā-Ø
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	DIST	land-GEN	in	betrothal	do.NPST-3SG

<i>ger'ite</i>	<i>go'ṛā</i>	<i>'das</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>bah'tānī</i>	<i>'dard</i>
ger-īt=e	goṛā	das	ham=e	bahtān-ī	dard
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	then	hand	EMPH=PROX	Bahtan-GEN	pain

<i>'makan</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>haw'rok</i>	<i>kes'saw</i>	<i>'kā</i>
ma-kan-Ø	ham=e	hawrok	kessaw	kā-Ø
PROH-do.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	Hawrok	story	do.NPST-3SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>	<i>go'hārē</i>
š-ī	man-ī	wāstā	čōbī	gohār=e
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	for the sake of	you know	sister=IND

<i>bīta</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>mehr'bān</i>
bīt-a=Ø	man-ī	sarā	mehrbān
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	on	kindness

<i>bīta</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'dōs</i>
bīt-a=Ø	man-ī	dōs
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	friend

<i>bīta</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'dōs</i>
bīt-a=Ø	ā	man-ā	dōs
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	DIST	PN.1SG-OBL	friend

<i>bīta</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'čok</i>
bīt-a=Ø	man-ā	čok
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBL	child

<i>bīta</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>čō'kã</i>	<i>negāhdā'rī</i>
bīt-a=Ø	man-ī	čok-ã	negāhdārī
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	child-OBL.PL	care

A. Text Corpus

<i>kotagī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'kārēā</i>	<i>'štō</i>	<i>de'gārēā</i>
kot-ag=ī	mā	kār=ē-ā	št-ō	degār=ē-ā
do.PST-PP=PC.3SG	PN.1SG	work=IND-OBL	go.PST-1SG	land=IND-OBL

<i>'padā ā'īā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>čāre'tagā̃</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'šta</i>	<i>'mā</i>	
padā āī-ā	mā	čāret-ag-ā̃	ā	št-a	mā	
again	DIST.DIR-OBL	PN.1SG	look.PST-PP-1SG	DIST	go.PST-PP	PN.1PL

<i>'sak</i>	<i>'dōs</i>	<i>bītagē̃</i>
sak	dōs	bīt-ag=ē̃
very	friend	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

He married her in that village; he married (lit. married and took) her you know; thank of Bahtan (lit. do not pain Bahtani's hand.); Hawrok told, she said, "She was (lit. has been) as a sister for me; she was (lit. has been) kind to me; she was (lit. has been) my friend, I liked her (lit. it was like to me); I had children; she has taken care of my children, [if] I went (lit. have gone) for [doing] a job, on the land, [and] then I did (lit. have done) the same for her [if] she went (lit. has gone) we were (lit. have been) very friends."

**TB:38**

<i>'gorā</i>	<i>'tā</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>ča</i>	<i>ā'īā</i>	<i>hā</i>
gorā	tā	bīt-a=Ø	ča	āī-ā	hā
you know	till	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	from	DIST.DIR-OBL	ADD

<i>bandayho'dāyā</i>	<i>'lātē</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>bītā</i>	<i>mor'tā</i>
banday-hodā-yā	lāt	čok	bīt-ā	mort-ā
servent.EZ-God-OBL	some	child	become.PST-3PL	die.PST-3PL

<i>ā'xerī</i>	<i>čoke</i>	<i>bače'ta</i>	<i>mardēn'čoke</i>	<i>be 'nāme</i>
āxer=ī	čok=e	bačet-a	mardēnčok=e	be nām=e
last=PC.3SG	child=PC.3SG	leave.PST-PP	son=IND	to name=EZ

*allā'hī*  
allāhī  
Allahi

You know, the story goes (lit. has been) like this, she, (lit. servant of God) had some children.(lit. there were some childerent to her) they died; the last one was alive (lit. has been left); a son called Allahi

**TB:39**

'padā 'ča hawro'kān mardēn'čokā če 'ā mas'ter  
 padā ča hawrokān-Ø mardēnčok-ā če ā mas-ter  
 you know from Hawrokan-GEN son-OBL from DIST big-CMP

ẽ

=ẽ

=COP.NPST.3SG

You know, he was older than the Hawrokan's son.

**TB:40**

hawro'kān mardēn'čok 'otī gohā'rānī kaste'rēn  
 hawrokān-Ø mardēnčok otī gohār-ānī kas-ter-ēn  
 Hawrokan-GEN son REFL.GEN sister-GEN.PL young-CMP-ATTR

'brāt ẽ 'ā 'padā 'čōbī 'ča ay'dokā  
 brāt =ẽ ā padā čōbī ča ayd-ok-ā  
 brother =COP.NPST.3SG DIST again you know from Aydu-EV-OBL

'če maste'rēn 'brāt ẽ  
 če mas-ter-ēn brāt =ẽ  
 from old-CMP-ATTR brother =COP.NPST.3SG

Hawrokan's son was the youngest of his sisters, you know; he [Allahi] was older than Aydu.

**TB:41**

'ē 'goṛā kā'yā 'ē 'molke tō'kā 'ē  
 ē goṛā k-ā-yā ē molk-e tōkā ē  
 PROX you know IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX land-GEN in PROX

'molke tō'kā o'tī čokā  
 molk-e tōkā otī čok-ã  
 land-GEN in REFL.GEN child-OBL.PL wedding betrothal

de'yā

dey-ã

give.NPST-3PL

You know, they came to that (lit. this) village; in that (lit. this) village, they proposed for their children.

A. Text Corpus

**TB:42**

'padā 'ā 'kay... 'kī 'hamē al'lāhī 'čokā  
 padā ā kay kī ham=ē allāhī čok-ā  
 you know DIST who FRAG EMPH=PROX Allahi child-OBL

bahtānī bart ě baz'zag 'hamodā  
 bahtān-ī bar-t =ě bazzag ham=odā  
 Bahtan-GEN take.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG poor EMPH=there

bah'tānī gohār'zātkeyā 'dā 'ā sī'rā  
 bahtān-ī gohārzātk=e-yā dā-Ø ā sīr-ā  
 Bahtan-GEN niece=IND-OBL give.NPST-3SG DIST wedding-OBL

ra'wan sī'rā ay'dok ka'sān bī 'ē  
 raw-an sīr-ā ayd-ok kasān b-ī ē  
 go.NPST-3PL wedding-OBL Aydu-EV small become.NPST-3SG PROX

do'ēn go'hār gō ban e'šī master'ēn  
 do-ēn gohār gō b-an ešī mas-ter-ēn  
 two-CL sister with become.NPST-3PL PROX.GEN old-CMP-ATTR

go'hāre 'lāp 'porr bī sā'roke  
 gohār-e lāp porr b-ī sārok-e  
 sister-GEN belly full become.NPST-3SG Sarok-GEN

You know, that who... Kahir (lit. he) the poor fellow married off (lit. took and married) this Allahi, the son of Bahtan, to Bahatan's niece; they went to wedding celebration; Aydu was young; these two sisters were with them; his oldest sister was pregnant, Sarok's.

**TB:43**

'ē ra'wā mosāpe'rīyā ba'čake sī'rā  
 ē raw-ā mosāper-ī-yā bačak-e sīr-ā  
 PROX go.NPST-3PL travelling person-ADJZ-OBL boy-GEN wedding-OBL

ra'wagā 'sīrā ja'nā  
 raw-ag=ā sīr-ā jan-ā  
 go.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL wedding-OBL hit.NPST-3PL

'čāngō tar... tar'rā 'rāhe 'nemā če... 'ā  
 čāngō tar tarr-ā rāh-e nem-ā če ā  
 from that direction FRAG turn.NPST-3PL path-GEN half-OBL FRAG DIST

*ja'nēn čel'lag bīt*  
 janēn čellag b-īt  
 woman delivery become.NPST-3SG

They went for visiting the marriage of the guy; they were going for wedding celebration; they completed the marriage ceremony; [when] they returned from that direction, on the half of the way...; that woman [Sarok] gave birth to a baby.

**TB:44**

*e'šīā 'čokē bī mardēn'čokē mardēn'čoke*  
 ešī-ā čok=e b-ī mardēnčok=e mardēnčok=e  
 PROX.DIR-OBL child=IND become.NPST-3SG son=IND son=EZ

*'nām bī mosā'per maste'rēn 'čok*  
 nām b-ī mosāper mas-ter-ēn čok  
 name become.NPST-3SG Mosafer old-CMP-ATTR child

*bī e'šīe go'hāre 'hamē sā'roke*  
 b-ī ešī-e gohār-e ham=e sārak-e  
 become.NPST-3SG PROX.DIR-GEN sister-GEN EMPH=PROX Sarok-GEN

She gave birth to a baby; (lit. there was a baby to her); it was a son; the son called Mosafer (lit. the name of the child was Mosafer); he was her oldest son, his sister, this Sarok's.

**TB:45**

*'xayr če 'ōdā če'lag bī 'šaš 'rōčā*  
 xayr če ōdā čelag b-ī šaš rōč-ā  
 you know from there giving birth become.NPST-3SG six day-OBL

*dā'rā šaša'gānā ja'nā 'padā ka'hīr o 'gō*  
 dār-ā šašagān-ā jan-ā padā kahīr =o gō  
 hold.NPST-3PL Shashagan-OBL hit.NPST-3PL then Kahir =FOC with

*o'tī pār'tīyā 'čok mo'kān 'sīrā*  
 otī pārtī-yā čok mok-ān sīr-ā  
 REFL.GEN travel-mat=PC.3SG-OBL child echo-OBL.PL wedding-OBL

*ba'čake ja'tagī 'sīr 'čoke 'kayt*  
 bačak-e jat-ag=ī sīr čok-e k-ay-t  
 boy-GEN hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG wedding child-GEN IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG



A. Text Corpus

'padā bāhūka'lātā kā'hā bāhūka'lātā 'padā  
 padā bāhūkalāt-ā k-ā-hā bāhūkalāt-ā padā  
 again Bahukalat-OBL IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL Bahukalat-OBL then

bāhūka'lāta jāmenend bā  
 bāhūkalāt-a jāmenend b-ā  
 Bahukalat-OBL settled down become.NPST-3PL

You know, she gave birth a baby there; they stayed for six days; they hold his sixth party night; then, Kahir with travel-mats, his children, [who] held (lit. has hold) his son wedding celebration; his son's celebration, again he came to Bahukalat; they came to Bahukalat; then they settled down in Bahukalat.

**TB:46**

ha'mē mardēn'čok hawro'kāne nā'būdī bī  
 ham=ē mardēnčok hawrokān-e nābūd-ī b-ī  
 EMPH=PROX son Hawrokan-GEN lazy-ADJZ become.NPST-3SG

la'ngē bīt o kā'rā 'zabr  
 lang=ē b-īt =o kār-ā zabr  
 limp=IND become.NPST-3SG =and work-OBL good

'nabī aga geš'ter 'hob  
 na-b-ī aga geš-ter hob  
 NEG-become.NPST-3SG if much-CMP wish

bītē 'rawt sīr'ānī sa'rā  
 b-īt=ē raw-t sīr-ānī sarā  
 become.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG go.NPST-3SG wedding-GEN.PL on

'dōl mō'lokē jant o o'tī 'hamē  
 dōl mōl-ok=ē jan-t =o otī ham=ē  
 drum echo-EV=IND hit.NPST-3SG =and REFL.GEN EMPH=PROX

'xarč 'dar gējī 'xarče ha'mā  
 xarč dar gēj-ī xarč=e ham=ā  
 living costs PREV find.NPST-3SG living costs=PC.3SG EMPH=DIST

hawro'kān 'dā bandeho'dā  
 hawrokān dā-Ø bande-hodā  
 Hawrokan give.NPST-3SG servent.EZ-God

This Hawrokan's son was lazy; he was limp and he was not good in working;

if he was interested in [doing some work] he went to the wedding celebration [and] played the drum and provided his living costs; that Hawrokan gave his living costs, poor woman.

**TB:47**

'šar 'dā 'čīze mod'dat gwa'zī 'padā hawro'kānī  
 šar dā čīz=e moddat gwaz-ī padā hawrokān-ī  
 right until thing=IND time pass.NPST-3SG you know Hawrokan-GEN

'čok hā ma'zan bīten mardēn'čok  
 čok hā mazan b-īt=en mardēnčok  
 child ADD big become.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG son

ā'ī ba bāhūka'lātay tō'kā o'tī  
 āī ba-Ø bāhūkalāt-ay tōkā oī  
 DIST.OBL take.NPST-3SG Bahukalat-GEN in REFL.GEN

gohār'zātkēā 'dantē  
 gohārzātk=e-ā dan-t=ē  
 niece=IND-OBL give.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, the story goes like this (lit. till it passed some times) you know, Hawrokan's son grown up too, her son; she married off (lit.took and gave) him to her niece in Bahokalāt

**TB:48**

'bale ā'xerā 'čōbī 'ē gohār'zātkā ke  
 bale āxer-ā čōbī ē gohārzātk-ā ke  
 but end-OBL you know PROX niece-OBL CLM

'dantē gohārzātk 'sak ka'sān bī  
 dan-t=ē gohārzātk sak kasān b-ī  
 give.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG niece very small become.NPST-3SG

mardēn'čok ma'zan bī tagrī'ban hab'dah 'sāl haž'dah  
 mardēnčok mazan b-ī tagrīban habdah sāl haždah  
 son big become.NPST-3SG almost seventeen year eighteen

'sāl mardēn'čokā bī 'hašt 'sāl 'no 'sāl ja'nēn  
 sāl mardēnčok-ā b-ī hašt sāl no sāl janēn  
 year son-OBL become.NPST-3SG eight year nine year woman

A. Text Corpus

*ha'mā ja'nekā bīta ke 'sīr*  
 ham=ā janek-ā bīt-a=Ø ke sīr  
 EMPH=DIST girl-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM wedding

*dayā*  
 day-ā  
 give.NPST-3PL

But, you know, when she married off him to her niece; her niece was very young; [but] the boy was old; the boy was about seventeen, eighteen years old; the girl, that girl was eight [or] nine years old, when they [their parents] married off her.

**TB:49**

*'ē go'rā 'hamē 'sīr tō'kā ba'čakā*  
 ē gorā ham=ē sīr-Ø tōkā bačak-ā  
 PROX you know EMPH=PROX wedding-GEN in boy-OBL

*'zōre sa'rā 'kayten 'sīr*  
 zōr-e sarā k-ay-t=en sīr  
 pressure-GEN on IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG wedding

*bīt 'nazānō če'taw bī 'nī*  
 b-īt na-zān-ō četaw b-ī nī  
 become.NPST-3SG NEG-know.NPST-1SG how become.NPST-3SG now

*'harkas 'pekr 'kan 'šar pe'lānī 'tī 'māt*  
 harkas pekr kan-Ø šar pelānī tī māt  
 everybody thought do.NPST-3SG fine such and such PN.2SG.GEN mother

*aga 'nesta 'ta 'četaw zende'gīa ka'nay*  
 aga nest=a ta četaw zendeḡī=a kan-ay  
 if NEG.be.NPST=COP.PST PN.2SG how life=VCL do.NPST-2SG

*'ta 'četaw 'ē čokān 'to 'četaw 'xarj da'yay*  
 ta četaw ē čok-ān to četaw xarj day-ay  
 PN.2SG how PROX child-OBL.PL PN.2SG how cost give.NPST-2SG

*'sak ka'moke e'sānī zende'gī nāta'wān bī*  
 sak kam-ok=e eš-ānī zendeḡī nātawān b-ī  
 very little-EV=IND PROX-GEN.PL life low become.NPST-3SG

You know, in the wedding celebration, the boy [Aydu] was under pressure

[because of life]; I do not know what happened; you know, every body thought, well, such and such person, if your mother was not [alive] how would you manage your life?; how do you pay for these your children?; their living strandard was low.

**TB:50**

<i>'ta bīt</i>	<i>'čīze</i>	<i>mod'datā</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>pet</i>	<i>bandeho'dā...</i>
ta b-īt	čīz=e	moddat-ā	goṛā	pet	bande-hodā
till	become.NPST-3SG	thing=IND	time-OBL	then	father
					servent.EZ-God

<i>awā'lā 'hamē</i>	<i>mā'tū</i>	<i>mā'tū</i>	<i>ma'rīz bī</i>
awālā ham=ē	mātū	mātū	marīz b-ī
first	EMPH=PROX	step-mother	step-mother
		sick	become.NPST-3SG

<i>ma'rīz bī</i>	<i>'čīze</i>	<i>mod'datā</i>
marīz b-ī	čīz=e	moddat-ā
sick	become.NPST-3SG	thing=IND
		time-OBL

<i>'kaytē</i>	<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>ay'doke</i>
k-ay-t=ē	ham=ēdā	ayd-ok-e
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=here	Aydu-EV-GEN

<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>bah'tān</i>	<i>ay'doke</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'watī</i>	<i>ham</i>
lōg-ā	bahtān	ayd-ok-e	lōg-ā	čok	wat-ī	ham
house-OBL	Bahtan	Aydu-EV-GEN	house-OBL	child	REFL-GEN	ADD

<i>'bīt</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>
b-īt	=ē	bale	nī	gošt-a
become.NPST-3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	but	now	say.PST-PP

<i>nešār'rā</i>	<i>čok'kā</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>xez'matā</i>
nešār-ā	čok-ā	man-ī	xezmat-ā
daughter -in-law-OBL.PL	child-OBL.PL	PN.1SG-GEN	service-OBL

<i>'bāza</i>	<i>'narasā</i>	<i>ay'dokī</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'čō</i>	<i>mehrbān'ter</i>
bāz=a	na-ras-ā	ayd-ok-ī	čok	čō	mehrbān-ter
many=VCL	NEG-arrive.NPST-3PL	Aydu-EV-GEN	child	like	kindness-CMP

<i>bītā</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>mēn'ter</i>	<i>ko'ta</i>	<i>'čīze</i>	<i>mo'datā</i>
bīt-ā	āī	mēn-ter	kot-a	čīz=e	modat-ā
become.PST-3PL	DIST.OBL	kind-CMP	do.PST-PP	thing=IND	time-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'hamēdā bī če'dān beh'ter bī  
 ham=ēdā bī-Ø č-edān beh-ter bī-Ø  
 EMPH=here become.PST-3SG from-here good-CMP become.PST-3SG

'padā 'šo o'tī 'čok ker'rā 'čok ker'rā  
 padā šo-Ø otī čok-Ø kerrā čok-Ø kerrā  
 then go.PST-3SG REFL.GEN child-GEN beside child-GEN beside

bandeho'dā āī 'rōč ta'mām bītā o al'lāh  
 bande-hodā āī rōč tamām bīt-ā =o allāh  
 servant.EZ-God DIST.GEN day finish become.PST-3PL =and God

'otī 'māl 'kot al'lāhī be'heštā na'sībā  
 otī māl kot allāh=ī behešt-ā nasīb-ā  
 REFL.GEN property do.PST God=PC.3SG paradise-OBL grant-OBL

'bekā 'padā 'sar āt'kā hawro'kān o ka'hīr  
 be-kā-Ø padā sar ātk-ā hawrokān =o kahīr  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG then head come.PST-3PL Hawrokan =and Kahir

To make a long story short (lit. it passed sometimes) then the father, poor fellow..., first this step mother, step mother got sick; she got sick; she came there (lit. here) to Aydu's place for a while, Bahtan to Aydu's place; she had her own son, [there was child to herself ]; but you know, she said (lit. has said) the sisters-in-law, the children, you know; they did not take care of her so much; you know, Aydu's wife, (lit. child) was more kind to her; they [Aydu and his family] helped her (lit. have helped ); she stayed for a while there (lit. here); she got better there [from that sickness]; then she went to her son; she died (lit. her days were finished) at her son's place, and she died (lit. God took her as his property); may God give her a place in paradise; then Kahir and Hawrokan left.

**TB:51**

hawro'kān o ka'hīrā hawro'kānā ya ma'sa 'čīze  
 hawrokān =o kahīr-ā hawrokān-ā ya masa čīz=e  
 Hawrokan =and Kahir-OBL Hawrokan-OBL one you know thing=IND

mod'datā bandeho'dā 'kār kota garī'bī 'bāz 'hančo ke  
 moddat-ā bande-hodā kār kot-a garībī bāz hančo-ke  
 time-OBL servant.EZ-God work do.PST-PP work many this much-CLM

A.1. Text 1: Two brothers

*e'šīā*            *'kār kota*            *'har doke'terā*    *ma'sa*            *'čokā*  
 ešī-ā            kār kot-a            har doketer-ā    masa            čok-ā  
 PROX.DIR-OBL work do.PST-PP every doctor-OBL you know child-OBL

*mar'dēnā bandeho'dā*    *'bort*            *go'sī*            *'byā*  
 mardēn-ā bande-hodā    bort            goš-ī            by-ā-∅  
 man-OBL servant.EZ-God take.PST say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

*ta'ī*            *'māt*            *de'ge*            *moš'kelē*            *'heč*  
 ta-ī            māt            dege            moške|=ē            heč  
 PN.2SG-GEN mother another problem=IND nothing

*'nēsten*                                                            *e'šā*            *'kār*            *'čī*  
 nēst=en                                                            eš-ā            kār            čī  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PROX-OBL work what

*bīta*                                                            *e'sīte*            *e'sī*            *'kār*    *na'gān*  
 bīt-a=∅                                                            ešī-e            ešī            kār    nagān  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX.DIR-GEN PROX.GEN work bread

*'pakka*  
 pakk-a  
 bake.PST-PP

Hawrokan and Kahir, you know, Hawrokan, poor lady, worked (lit. has worked) for a long time poorly; she worked (lit. has worked) hard, you know, her son, poor fellow, took her to every doctors; he said, “Look, your mother does not have another problem, what has been her job?” [her son said] “Her job was baker (lit. she has baked bread).”

**TB:52**

*'šī*            *bandeho'dāye*            *sī'nay*            *tō'kā*    *'heč*  
 š-ī            bande-hodā-ye            sīnay            tōkā    heč  
 say.NPST-3SG servant.EZ-God-GEN chast.GEN in    nothing

*'ne*                                    *'mā*            *'wat*            *'nazānē*                                    *'ē*            *'četaw*  
 ne                                    mā            wat            na-zān-ē                                    ē            četaw  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL REFL NEG-know.NPST-1PL PROX how

A. Text Corpus

*zen'dag ē*  
 zendag =ē  
 alive =COP.NPST.3SG

The doctor (lit. he) said, “There is nothing in her chaste poor lady; we, ourselves do not know how is alive.

**TB:53**

*'ē mā al'lāhe kod'ratā e'sī sī'na 'drō*  
 ē m=ā allāh-e kodrat-ā ešī sīna drō  
 PROX EMPH=DIST God-GEN power-OBL PROX.GEN chaste all

*sot'ka 'gō tan'unā*  
 sotk-a gō tanūn-ā  
 burn.PST-PP with Tanur-OBL

This one, by willing of God, all her chaste burnt (lit. has burnt) by the Tanur”

**TB:54**

*bandeho'dā 'ātk hame'dā če 'kamo beh'ter*  
 bande-hodā ātk-Ø ham=edā če kam-o beh-ter  
 servant.EZ-God come.PST-3SG EMPH=here from little-EV good-CMP

*bī 'šar bī beh'ter bī*  
 b-ī šar b-ī beh-ter b-ī  
 become.NPST-3SG fine become.NPST-3SG good-CMP become.NPST-3SG

*'dā na 'getk kol'lagēā*  
 dā na getk kollag=ē-ā  
 until right? catch.PST cough=IND-OBL

The poor woman come [from doctor]; from that time she got well a bit; she got well; she got well, till, you know; she got cough (lit. a cough caught her).

**TB:55**

*ha'mē kol'lagā pā'dā pād 'dast 'pāde 'gwāt*  
 ham=ē kollag-ā pād-ā pād dast pād=e gwāt  
 EMPH=PROX cough-OBL foot-OBL.PL foot hand foot=PC.3SG wind

*bītā 'nī 'wata 'goštī aga mā aga*  
 bīt-ā nī wat-a gošt-ī aga mā aga  
 become.PST-3PL now REFL-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG if PN.1SG if

'hame... 'čokē 'go 'margā ho'dā  
 ham=e čok=e go marg-ā hodā  
 EMPH=PROX child=PC.3SG say.PST death-OBL God

kā'rī bīmāres'tānā mǎ čō bīmāres'tānā  
 k-ār-ī bīmārestān-ā mǎ čō bīmārestān-ā  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG hospital-OBL PN.1SG you know hospital-OBL

mǎ dī'ta 'ōdā me'ran ma'yat baz'zag  
 mǎ dīt-a ōdā mer-an mayat bazzag  
 PN.1SG see.PST-PP there die.NPST-3PL dead bodies miserable

en 'nazānān če'tawr ě aga  
 =en na-zān-ān četawr =ě aga  
 =COP.NPST.3SG NEG-know.NPST-1SG what =COP.NPST.3SG if

'tarā 'manī dōs'tī haste aga  
 ta-rā man-ī dōstī hast=e aga  
 PN.2SG-OBJ PN.1SG-GEN friendship be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG if

lō'tay 'manī hak mečī... o'tī 'čokē  
 lōt-ay man-ī hak meči otī čok=e  
 want.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-GEN right FRAG REFL.GEN child=PC.3SG

'go 'tarā mo'āp 'bebā 'manā  
 go ta-rā moāp be-bā-Ø man-ā  
 say.PST PN.2SG-OBJ forgiveness SBJV-became.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBL

'doktere ko'šeš 'makā  
 doktor-e košeš ma-kā-Ø  
 doctor-GEN try PROH-do.NPST-2SG

You know, through this cough her foot, feet, [and] hand swelled, you know, she herself said, “If I you know... she told her son, God brings the death; the hospital, I... you know, I saw (lit. have seen) the hospital, there [people] died; the dead bodies are very annoying; I do not know; how is happening?; If you like me (lit. there is my friendship to you), if you want my rights you know... she said to her son; [if] I should forgive [my rights] for you; do not try for me with the doctor.”



A. Text Corpus

**TB:56**

'hamēdā dā̃ 'wate das'tāne sa'rā gol'derē  
 ham=ēdā dā̃ wat-e dast-ān-e sarā golder=e  
 EMPH=here until REFL-GEN hand-OBL.PL-GEN on herb=IND

'wārte 'nazānā̃ 'čīyē 'wārte  
 wārt=e na-zān-ā̃ čī=yē wārt=e  
 eat.PST=PC.3SG NEG-know.NPST-1SG what=IND eat.PST=PC.3SG

joḏā'joḏ ate ā'xerā bandeho'dāe 'lāp  
 joḏājoḏ =at=e āxer-ā bande-hodā-e lāp  
 well =COP.PST=PC.3SG end-OBL servent.EZ-God-GEN belly

'hamī 'das pād 'gwāt bītā 'hamēdā  
 ham=ī das pād gwāt bīt-ā ham=ēdā  
 EMPH=PROX hand foot wind become.PST-3PL EMPH=here

'ātk 'manī ker'rā ā'ī 'sāe dā  
 ātk-Ø man-ī kerrā āī sā=e dāt  
 come.PST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN beside DIST.OBL life=PC.3SG give.PST

Till, she ate herb medicine byself (lit.on her hand) there (lit. here); I do not know, what did she eat; she felt well, at the end, the poor lady's belly; these hand [and] feet swelled (lit. has been swelled); she came to me there (lit. here); she died (lit. she gave her breath).

**TB:57**

ā'ī 'sāe dā 'gwast 'čīzē 'sālē  
 āī sā=e dāt gwast-Ø čīz=e sāl=e  
 DIST.OBL life=PC.3SG give.PST pass.PST-3SG thing=IND year=IND

'kapē 'gwast ka'hīr bandeho'dā nā'drā ya  
 kap=e gwast-Ø kahīr bande-hodā nādrā =ya-Ø  
 half=IND pass.PST-3SG Kahir servent.EZ-God sick =COP.PST-3SG

ka'hīrā 'tā 'čīzē mod'datā īn'gō penḏe'ta  
 kahīr-ā tā čīz=e moddat-ā īngō penḏet-a  
 Kahir-OBL till thing=IND time-OBL this direction beg.PST-PP

'čoke o 'xayr beta'wān nāta'wān  
 čok=e =o xayr betawān nātawān  
 child=PC.3SG =FOC well poor low

<i>ūta</i>		<i>'otī</i>	<i>brāzāt'kānī</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>	
ūt-a=Ø		otī	brāzātk-ānī	kerrā	
became.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		REFL.GEN	nephew-GEN.PL	beside	
<i>šo</i>	<i>gohārzāt'kānī</i>	<i>ker'rā</i>	<i>nobandī'yānā</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>'brāt</i>
šo-Ø	gohārzātk-ānī	kerrā	nobandīyān-ā	āī	brāt
go.PST-3SG	niece-GEN.PL	beside	Nobandīyan-OBL	DIST.GEN	brother
<i>atā</i>	<i>'āyān</i>	<i>ko'māk</i>	<i>'ko</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>'mūlē</i>
=at-ā	ā-yān	komāk	ko	pūl	mūl=ē
=COP.PST-3PL	DIST-OBL.PL	help	do.PST	money	echo=PC.3PL
<i>'jam</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>gohār'zātke</i>	<i>hasta</i>		<i>be 'nāme</i>
jam	ko	gohārzātk=e	hast=a-Ø		be nām=e
collected	do.PST	niece=PC.3SG	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG		to name=EZ
<i>mammadra'hīm</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>bandeho'dā</i>	<i>'bo</i>	<i>karā'čīyā</i>	
mammadrahīm	ā	bande-hodā	bo	karāčī-yā	
Mammad Rahim	DIST	servent.EZ-God	take.PST	Karachi-OBL	
<i>karā'čīyā</i>	<i>'če</i>	<i>'šar bī</i>		<i>'bale 'gošte</i>	<i>'taw</i>
karāčī-yā	če	šar bī-Ø		bale gošt=e	taw
Karachi-OBL	from	fine	become.PST-3SG	but	say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG
<i>'čō</i>	<i>'rōče</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>'mabay</i>	<i>gar'mē</i>	<i>'āp</i>
čō	rōč-e	sarā	ma-bay-Ø	garm-ē	āp
like	day-GEN	on	PROH-become.NPST-2SG	warm-ATTR	water
<i>'mawar</i>		<i>čī...</i>	<i>ma'sa</i>	<i>'garm</i>	<i>sa'rā 'bāz ma'sa</i>
ma-wār-Ø		čī	masa	garm-Ø	sarā bāz masa
PROH-eat.NPST-2SG		what	you know	warm-GEN	on many you know
<i>'kār</i>	<i>'makan</i>		<i>'say sī'čen</i>	<i>dā'tagā</i>	<i>'māhe</i>
kār	ma-kan-Ø		say sīčen	dāt-ag-ā	māh=e
work	PROH-do.NPST-2SG		three Ampoules	give.PST-PP-3PL	month=IND
<i>sī'čene</i>		<i>estemāl kan</i>		<i>enšāl'lāh</i>	<i>'taw 'šar</i>
sīčen=e		estemāl Ø-kan-Ø		enšallāh	taw šar
Ampoules=IND	use	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG		by will of God	PN.2SG fine

A. Text Corpus

'bay

b-ay

become.NPST-2SG

She died (lit. she gave her breath); it passed some time; it passed half year, Kahir, poor fellow got sick; for a while, Kahir bagged (lit. has bagged) in his nearby village (lit. in this direction), you know; his son was poor, he went to his nephews and nieces in Nobandiyan; he had brothers (lit. there were borthers to him); they helped him, they collected some money; he had niece (lit. there was a niece to him), called Mammad Rahim, that poor fellow took him to Karachi; he got well after [going] to Karachi; but his doctor (lit. he) said, “Do not be under the sun, do not drink the warm water, what.., you know, do not work under the sun too much”; the doctor (lit. he) gave (lit. has given) him three ampoules; [he said] “Inject an ampoule once a month, by will of God you will be fine.”

**TB:58**

'čāngō	'ātk	al'lāhe	kod'ratā	'šar
čāngō	ātk-Ø	allāh-e	kodrat-ā	šar
from that direction	come.PST-3SG	God-GEN	power-OBL	fine

a	wāge'an	čā'ret	īn'gō	'dīte
=a-Ø	wāgean	čāret	īngō	dīt=e
=COP.PST-3SG	really	look.PST	this direction	see.PST=PC.3SG

'nabī	'šo	'hamīngō	yak	de'gārē
na-bī-Ø	šo-Ø	ham=īngō	yak	degār=e
NEG-become.PST-3SG	go.PST-3SG	EMPH=this direction	one	ground=IND

hasta	'porr	a	če	'hamē
hast=a-Ø	porr	=a-Ø	če	ham=e
be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG	full	=COP.PST-3SG	from	EMPH=PROX

bū'tayā	šoragā	'laš	o	'būša	'wahde	'mā
būta-yā	šorag-ā	laš	=o	būš-a	wahd=e	mā
grass-OBL	wild grass-OBL	dired grass	=and	bush-OBL	time=IND	PN.1SG

čāngū...	ǰā'dahā	'čoke	pē'dāg	en	'haw
čāngū	ǰādah-ā	čok=e	pēdāg	=en	haw
from.that direction	road-OBL	child=PC.3SG	visible	=COP.NPST.3SG	yes

'manī            'pet    en                            ḍa'gārā    'haw   ka'hīr  
 man-ī            pet    =en                            ḍagār-ā    haw   kahīr-Ø  
 PN.1SG-GEN    father   =COP.NPST.3SG    field-OBL    yes    Kahir-VOC.SG

'taw            'kojā    'ēdā    ḍegār'rīge                            taw            'lang  
 taw            kojā    ēdā    ḍegār-īg=e                            taw            lang  
 PN.2SG    where   here   ground-ADJZ=COP.NPST.2SG    PN.2SG    limp

ay...                            tarā                            dok'torā            čī            goš'ta  
 =ay                            ta-rā                            doktor-ā            čī            gošt-a  
 =COP.NPST.2SG    PN.2SG-OBJ    doctor-OBL    what    say.PST-PP

He came from Karachi (lit. from that direction), really; by will of God, he was fine, he thought (lit. looked); I should not sit without working (lit. he saw near place (lit. in this direction) I can do nothing); he went; it was a farmland in that (lit. this) near place (lit. that direction; it is full of the grasses, wild grass, dried grass and bushes; when I came from that direction... his son was coming from the road, [he saw that] oh, my father is on the land; [he said] “Oh Kahir, how can you work on the land?; you are limp...; what did ( lit. has said) say the doctor to you.”

**TB:59**

'šī                            haw   dok'torā            'wayl   'kā                            'ē            de'gār  
 š-ī                            haw   doktor-ā            wayl   Ø-kā-Ø                            ē            degār  
 say.NPST-3SG    yes    doctor-OBL    loose   IMPV-do.NPST-2SG    PROX    land

'čoš            en                            'hanī            'hawr   bī                            'hawr  
 čoš            =en                            hanī            hawr   b-ī                            hawr  
 like this    =COP.NPST.3SG    right now    rain    become.NPST-3SG    rain

bī                            ḍa'gār    keš'sō                            'čoša            ka'nō  
 b-ī                            ḍagār    kešš-ō                            čoš=a            kan-ō  
 become.NPST-3SG    field    plant.NPST-1SG    like this=VCL    do.NPST-1SG

'manī            'gōk    baz'zag    ā                            'manī            'pas    baz'zag  
 man-ī            gōk    bazzag    =ā                            man-ī            pas    bazzag  
 PN.1SG-GEN    cow    poor            =COP.NPST.3PL    PN.1SG-GEN    goat    poor

an                            'šomā    'wat    kā'rī                            'nayet  
 =an                            šomā    wat    kār-ī                            nay=et  
 =COP.NPST.3PL    PN.2PL    REFL    work-ADJZ    NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.2PL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>č'o'kānī</i>	'go	'manā	'belet	šo'ru
čok-ān-ī	go	man-ā	be-el-et	šorū
child-OBL.PL-GEN	say.PST	PN.1SG-OBJ	SBJV-allow.NPST-2PL	start

<i>bī</i>	'hamōd	bandeho'dā	'kārā	'šorū
b-ī	ham=ōd	bande-hodā	kār-ā	šorū
become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=there	servent.EZ-God	work-OBL	start

<i>bī</i>	'padā	'get...	ka'moke	'kande	marī'zī
b-ī	padā	get	kam-ok=e	kand-e	marīzī
become.NPST-3SG	again	find.PST	little-EV=IND	suger-GEN	illness

<i>am</i>	'hastate
=am	hast=at=e
=ADD	be.NPST=COP.PST=PC.3SG

He said, “Oh come on the doctor; this land is like this; you know, [if] it rains, [if] it rains, I will plant this land; I will do such and such; my caws are hunger (lit. poor); my goats are hunger (lit. poor), you yourselves are lazy person”; he said to his sons (lit. children) “Leave me alone”; he started [to work] there; the poor fellow started to work, again he got... he had a bit the blood sugar sickness (lit. there was a bit the blood sugar sickness for him) too.

### TB:60

<i>'hamī</i>	'kand	marī'zīyā	'kand	marī'zīyā	'hančō
ham=ī	kand-Ø	marīzī-yā	kand-Ø	marīzī-yā	hančō
EMPH=PROX	suger-GEN	illness-OBL	suger-GEN	illness-OBL	like this

<i>'kapt</i>	yak	'čīye	'go	e'šā	'go
kapt	yak	čī-ye	go	eš-ā	go
fall.PST	one	thing-GEN	say.PST	PROX-OBL	say.PST

<i>'byā</i>	'to	'bečār	'ē	tar'yāk	yak
by-ā-Ø	to	be-čār-Ø	ē	taryāk	yak
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	SBJV-look.NPST-2SG	PROX	opium	one

<i>'hančēn</i>	'čīze	'ē	marī'zīā	'bā	'īgā
hanč	čīz=e	ē	marīzī-ā	bā-Ø	tīg-ā
such a	thing=IND	PROX	illness-OBL	take.NPST-3SG	yours-OBL

<i>e'šī</i>	'hančō	'bezā	če	'bāzī	'dā	č'o'shēn	č'o'shēn
ešī	hančō	bezā	če	bāzī	dā	čošēn	čošēn
PROX.OBL	like this	you know	from	cheat	give.PST	little	little

tar'yāk 'dar ge čo'kâ hã sa'ī 'nayã  
 taryāk dar ge čok-ã hã saī nayã  
 opium PREV take.PST child-OBL.PL ADD informed NEG.COP.NPST.3PL

This blood sugar sickness, the blood sugar sickness, you know he became weak (lit. fell); someone said, he said, “You know, look, this opium is such a thing, it will cure (lit. take away) your sickness”; you know, he cheated him in this way, [and] he found little little opium; you know, the sons were not informed.

**TB:61**

'dã 'čize mo'geī 'čok 'sī bītan ke 'čiz...  
 dã čiz=e mogeī čok sī b-an ke čiz  
 until thing=IND time child informed become.PST-3PL CLM thing

ha'mē tar'yāk bāhūka'lātā 'kaht bī  
 ham=e taryāk bāhūkalāt-ā kaht b-ī  
 EMPH=PROX opium Bahukalat-OBL shortage become.NPST-3SG

After while, when the son got inform /that/ thing... it was a shortage of this opium in Bahukalat.

**TB:62**

'nī ā'īā 'dard per bī 'nī  
 nī āī-ā dard per b-ī nī  
 then DIST.DIR-OBL pain PREV become.NPST-3SG now

'bezān 'kasā 'čize 'nazāntī  
 be-zān-Ø kas-ā čiz=e na-zānt=ī  
 IMPV-know.NPST-2SG person-OBL thing=IND NEG-know.PT=PC.3SG

'čiz 'kaht a 'har yakā o'ī mo'tādā  
 čiz kaht =a-Ø har yak-ā oī motād-ā  
 thing shortage =COP.PST-3SG every one-OBL REFL.GEN addicted-OBL

'dã 'ē 'šot yā 'na  
 dā-Ø ē šot-Ø yā na  
 give.NPST-3SG PROX go.PST-3SG or no

Then he felt pain, well, you know, no one gave him [opium]; it was a shortage [of opium]; everyone gave opium to themselves, (lit. to his addicted person), there was not enough for themselves [the opium]

A. Text Corpus

**TB:63**

'nī ya 'šapē neš'ta 'goṛā 'mā...  
 nī ya šap=ē nešt-a=Ø goṛā mā  
 you know one night=IND sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG well PN.1SG

'hamē 'čoke mo'tādē a taryā'kīy  
 ham=ē čok=e motād=ē =a-Ø taryākī  
 EMPH=PROX child=PC.3SG addicted=IND =COP.PST-3SG opium-smoker

a 'dā̃ neš'ta 'sak tak'līp  
 =ya-Ø dā̃ nešt-a=Ø sak taklīp  
 =COP.PST-3SG well sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG very trouble

ē 'hā̃ 'taw 'čoš ay 'šī  
 =ē hā̃ taw čoš =ay šī  
 =COP.NPST.3SG yes PN.2SG like this =COP.NPST.2SG say.NPST-3SG

haoo 'mā ma'rīz bīta 'manā 'čō  
 haoo mā marīz bīt-a=Ø man-ā čō  
 yes PN.1SG sick become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ like

'čō goš'ta pe'lānī 'īnčō 'īnčō mo'gā 'mā wār'ta  
 čō gošt-a pelānī īnčō īnčō mogā mā wārt-a  
 like say.PST-PP such and such such such time PN.1SG eat.PST-PP

'hanī aga 'nawarō 'manā 'šap ta 'sabā  
 hanī aga na-wār-ō man-ā šap ta sabā  
 right now if NEG.SBJV-eat.NPST-1SG PN.1SG-OBJ night till morning

'wāb 'nayay  
 wāb nay-ay-Ø  
 asleep NEG-come.NPST-3SG

You know, one night he sat (lit. has sat), well, I...; you know, his son was addicted; he was opium addicted; [he saw] well; he has sat [and] he is much in pain; [he said] “Yes what is going on with you?”; he said, “Yes, I have been sick, such and such person has said like this to me, for such and such time I ate it; now if I do not eat it, I cannot sleep all the night (lit. from night to morning).”

**TB:64**

'nī 'ča ha'mēš enī 'čoke  
 nī ča ham=ēš =en=ī čok=e  
 you know from EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG child=PC.3SG

hamē'dānā a 'dā ā'xerā 'čize  
 ham=ēdān-ā =a-Ø dā āxer-ā čiz=e  
 EMPH=here-OBL =COP.PST-3SG you know end-OBL thing=IND

'hamē 'kand marī'zī bī 'pāde 'gwāt  
 ham=ē kand-Ø marīzī bī-Ø pād=e gwāt  
 EMPH=PROX suger-GEN illness become.PST-3SG foot=PC.3SG wind

bītā  
 bīt-ā  
 become.PST-3PL

You know, after that, his son was there (lit. there) you know, at the end he got a bit the blood sugar sickness; then his feet swelled.

**TB:65**

marī'zīā čō'sēn 'tūle 'nakašše 'čoke  
 marīzī-ā čōšēn tūl=e na-kašš čok=e  
 sickness-OBL such long=PC.3SG NEG-pull.PST child=PC.3SG

'hečkasā azzī'yat 'nako ā'īā 'hančēn  
 hečkas-ā azzīyat na-ko āī-ā hanč-ēn  
 no one-OBL annoyed NEG-do.PST DIST.DIR-OBL such a-ATTR

mar'domē bīta nemāzgo'zārē  
 mardom=ē bīt-a=Ø nemāzgozār=ē  
 people=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG prayer=IND

bīta ā'ī 'kār zende'gī 'drō 'gō  
 bīt-a=Ø āī kār zendegī drō gō  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG DIST.GEN work life all with

ma'sīta bīta zahmat'kašē  
 masīt-a bīt-a=Ø zahmatkaš=ē  
 mosque-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG hard worker=IND



A. Text Corpus

<i>bīta</i>	<i>ma'sīte</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>
bīt-a=Ø	masīt-e	wāstā
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	mosque-GEN	for the sake of

This sickness did not take long; he did not bother his children [and] anyone; he was (lit. has been) such a nice person; he was (lit. has been) a prayer person; most of his life concerned (lit. has concerned) with mosque and prayers; he took (lit. has taken) much labour for the mosque.

**TB:66**

<i>'wakte ke 'hamā</i>	<i>mē</i>	<i>mak'rebe</i>	<i>'temā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>
wakteke ham=ā	mē	makreb-e	tem-ā	otī
when	EMPH=DIST	EMPH.PROX	evening-GEN	time-OBL REFL.GEN

<i>zo'hr a'sore</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'bānge</i>	<i>hā</i>
zohr asor-e	nemāz-ā	ko	bāng=e	hā
noon afternoon-GEN	pray-OBL	do.PST	call for praying=PC.3SG	ADD

<i>'dā</i>	<i>a'sor</i>	<i>ne'māzī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'zohr</i>	<i>ne'māzī</i>
dā	asor	nemāz=ī	ko	zohr-Ø	nemāz=ī
give.PST	afternoon	pray=PC.3SG	do.PST	noon-GEN	pray=PC.3SG

<i>'ko</i>	<i>maġ'reb</i>	<i>'bānge</i>	<i>'nadā</i>	<i>ne'māzī</i>
ko	maġreb-Ø	bāng=e	na-dā	nemāz=ī
do.PST	evening-GEN	call for praying=PC.3SG	NEG-give.PST	pray=PC.3SG

<i>'ko</i>	<i>'ātk</i>	<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>'ḏīkī</i>	<i>kān'ṭā</i>
ko	ātk-Ø	ham=ēdā	ḏīk-ī	kānṭ-ā
do.PST	come.PST-3SG	EMPH=here	clay bench-GEN	corner-OBL

<i>'nešt</i>	<i>'čoke</i>	<i>lō'ṭī</i>	<i>'boro...</i>	<i>'dar</i>
nešt-Ø	čok=e	lōṭ-ī	bo-ro-Ø	dar
sit.PST-3SG	child=PC.3SG	want.NPST-3SG	SBJV-go.NPST-2SG	PREV

<i>kay</i>	<i>'raw</i>	<i>ḏan'nā</i>	<i>ma'sa</i>	<i>tar'yākē</i>
k-ay-Ø	raw-Ø	ḏann-ā	masa	taryāk-ē
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	go.NPST-3SG	out-OBL	you know	opium-GEN

<i>ka'sagā</i>	<i>'neša</i>	<i>'čīyā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'raw</i>
kaš-ag-ā	neša	čī-yā	otī	raw-Ø
pull.NPST-INF-OBL	intoxication	what-OBL	REFL.GEN	go.NPST-3SG

When it [was] the time of the sunset; he prayed his noon [and] afternoon pray;

he did called for evening pray as well; he prayed his noon pray; he prayed his afternoon pray; he did not call for evening pray; [but] he prayed [his evening pray]; he came [and] set on corner of clay bench; his son wanted to go... he went out for instance; for smoking opium, intoxication; he went for his intoxication.

**TB:67**

<i>dar</i>	<i>ā'yagā</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>šī</i>
dar	ā-yag-ā	b-ī	š-ī
PREV	come.NPST-INF-OBL	become.NPST-3SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'manī</i>	<i>'čo</i>	<i>mar'čī</i>	<i>'raway</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>ra'wagā</i>
man-ī	čo	marčī	raw-ay	bale	raw-ag-ā
PN.1SG-GEN	child	today	go.NPST-2SG	but	go.NPST-INF-OBL

<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'āyag</i>	<i>'kā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'go...</i>	<i>'čok</i>
otī	ā-yag	Ø-kā-Ø	mā	go	čok
REFL.GEN	come.NPST-INF	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	say.PST	child

<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>hame'sa</i>	<i>'hamē</i>
goš-ī	man-ī	pet	ta	hameša	ham=e
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	father	PN.2SG	always	EMPH=PROX

<i>ga'pā</i>	<i>jan'ag</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>zāna</i>	<i>'čīyen</i>
gap-ā	jan-ag	=ay	zāna	čī=yen
talk-OBL.PL	hit.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.2SG	well	what=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'mā</i>	<i>ra'wō</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>kā'yō</i>
mā	raw-ō	hanī	k-ā-yō
PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG	right now	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

He was about to go; he said, “Today my son, you are going [out]; but you surely come back soon” I said,... ; the son said, “Father you are always saying this words well; what is going on?; I go; [but] I will come quickly.”

**TB:68**

<i>go'rā</i>	<i>'pet...</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ha'mīngō</i>
gorā	pet	čok	raw-t	=en	ham=īngō
then	father	child	go.NPST-3SG	=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=this direction

<i>'ya</i>	<i>'jāgāē</i>	<i>nen'dī</i>	<i>dīw'anā</i>	<i>'kant</i>	<i>o</i>
ya	jāgā=e	nend-ī	dīwān=ā	kan-t	=o
one	place=IND	place.NPST-3SG	meeting=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	=and

## A. Text Corpus

'otī            tar'yāk o        bā'pūrā            šo'rū bī  
 otī            taryāk =o        bāpūr-ā            šorū b-ī  
 REFL.GEN opium =and opium pipe-OBL start become.NPST-3SG

'dā            'bale 'hamē            țel'pūn        'hanī  
 dā            bale ham=ē            țelpūn        hanī  
 you know but EMPH=PROX telephone right now

hastā                                          go'rā ha'mī            țel'pūn        ja'nā  
 hast=ā                                          goṛā ham=ī            țelpūn        jan-ā  
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3PL then EMPH=PROX telephone hit.NPST-3PL

'byā                                          pelā'nī            'tī            'pet        nātā'rī  
 by-ā-Ø                                          pelānī            tī            pet        nātārī  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG such and such PN.2SG.GEN father sick

ē                                          nātā'rī ē                                          'byā  
 =ē                                          nātārī =ē                                          by-ā-Ø  
 =COP.NPST.3SG sick        =COP.NPST.3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

Then the father..., the son went nearby (lit. in this direction;) he sat [and] chatted in a place, and he started to smoke his opium and opium pipe, you know; but that time was the telephone; then they called, [they said] “Such and such person come; your father is sick, he is sick, come”

### TB:69

'ā            'čokā        'tūl 'nakašta            'hamī            'gap 'ko  
 ā            čok-ā        tūl na-kašt-a            ham=ī            gap ko  
 DIST child-OBL long NEG-pull.PST-PP EMPH=PROX word do.PST

o'tī            wasā'yele        e'law kotā            'dar ātk  
 otī            wasāyel=e        elaw kot-ā            dar ātk-Ø  
 REFL.GEN stuff=PC.3SG leave do.PST-3PL PREV come.PST-3SG

'āt  
 āt-Ø  
 come.PST-3SG

It did not (lit. has not taken) a long time [after receiving] this information (lit. they told this word); that son left his stuff [and] came [home] (lit. he came out and came).

**TB:70**

<i>'kay</i>	<i>'ātkē</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>'dīt</i>
k-ay-Ø	ātk=ē	lōg-ā	dīt
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	come.PST=COP.NPST.3SG	house-OBL	see.PST

<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>haw</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>nātā'hel</i>
=ē	=o	haw	man-ī	pet	sak	nātāhel
=COP.NPST.3SG	=and	yes	PN.1SG-GEN	father	very	impatient

<i>en</i>	<i>'čōn</i>	<i>enī</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
=en	čōn	=en=ī	goš-ī
=COP.NPST.3SG	how	=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'byā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'ḍawl</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ḍawl'ā</i>
by-ā-Ø	ē	ḍawl	ē	ḍawl-ā
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PROX	manner	PROX	manner-OBL

<i>bīta</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'nazānā</i>	<i>ya</i>
bīt-a=Ø	dā	na-zān-ā	ya
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	well	NEG-know.NPST-1SG	one

<i>ka'mokē</i>	<i>moš'kel</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>'mā</i>
kam-ok=ē	moškel	bīt-a=Ø	mā
little-EV=IND	problem	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1PL

<i>e'sā</i>	<i>šošt'a</i>	<i>ta'mīz</i>	<i>ār'ta</i>	<i>e'dā</i>	<i>'hanī</i>
eš-ā	šošt-a	tamīz	ārt-a	edā	hanī
PROX-OBL	wash.PT-PP	clean	bring.PST-PP	here	right now

<i>'hameš</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'hanč'en</i>
ham=eš	=en	hanč=en
EMPH=PROX	=COP.NPST.3SG	like this=COP.NPST.3SG

He came, he came home; he saw, oh my father was very impatient; [he said] “What happened to him?”; he said, “Look, it happened (lit. has happened) like this [and] like this; well, you know he had a little problem; we washed (lit. have washed) him [and] brought (lit. have brought) him clean there, now, well, he is like this.”

**TB:71**

<i>'ātkē</i>	<i>'čokā</i>	<i>sa'lāme</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>pa</i>
ātk=ē	čok-ā	salām=e	dā	pa
come.PST=COP.NPST.3SG	child-OBL	hello=PC.3SG	give.PST	for

A. Text Corpus

<i>o'tī</i>	<i>pe'tā</i>	<i>'hā</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'čī</i>
otī	pet-ā	hā	bābā-Ø	ta-rā	čī
REFL.GEN	father-OBL	yes	father-VOC.SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	what

*en*

=en

=COP.NPST.3SG

They came; the son said hello to his father; [he said] “Yes, how are you, father.”

**TB:72**

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'del</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>'manī</i>
š-ī	man-ī	del	na-b-ī	man-ī
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN	heart	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-GEN

<i>'del</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>ka'mar</i>
del	na-b-ī	bale	man-ī	pād	dā	kamar
heart	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	but	PN.1SG-GEN	foot	up to	waist

<i>'čōbī</i>	<i>mar'dā</i>	<i>bor'tagā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>bečār</i>	<i>ba</i>
čōbī	mard-ā	bort-ag-ā	nī	be-čār-Ø	ba
you know	man-OBL	take.PST-PP-3PL	now	SBJV-look.NPST-2SG	with

<i>'nāme</i>	<i>malka'mūtā</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>mardā</i>
nām=e	malkamūt-ā	hanī	š-ī	mard-ā
name=EZ	Malkamut-OBL	right now	say.NPST-3SG	man-OBL

<i>bor'tagā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>hameša...</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>'petā</i>
bort-ag-ā	mā	go	ta	hameša	čok	pet-ā
take.PST-PP-3PL	PN.1SG	say.PST	PN.2SG	always	child	father-OBL

<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>nād'rā</i>	<i>'bay</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'čoša</i>
goš-ī	ta	nādrā	b-ay	taw	čoš=a
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	sick	become.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	like this=VCL

<i>go'šay</i>	<i>nādrā'iyā</i>	<i>ho'dāe</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'mā</i>
goš-ay	nādrā-ī-yā	hodā=e	dā-Ø	mā
say.NPST-2SG	sick-ADJZ-OBL	God=PC.3SG	give.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG

<i>sak'ter</i>	<i>'ma</i>	<i>'hančēn</i>	<i>sak'tī</i>	<i>gwāz'ēnta</i>	<i>'ta</i>
sak-ter	ma	hanč-ēn	saktī	gwāzēnt-a	ta
very-CMP	PN.1PL	such a-ATTR	problem	spend.PST.CAUS-PP	PN.2SG

<i>'čīyā</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>goša'gā</i>	<i>ay</i>
čī-yā	hančō	goš-ag-ā	=ay
why-OBL	like this	say.NPST-INF-OBL	=COP.NPST.2SG

He said, “My heart is weak; my heart is weak; but you know, the man took (lit. has taken) my foot up to the waist; you know, look, instead of [saying] the name of Malkamut, [the angel of the death]; he said, “The man took (lit. has taken) them”; I said you always...the son said to the father, “[Whenever] you feel sick, you say in this way, God gives the sickness, I problem... we solved (lit. have spent) such problems, why are you saying in this way.”

**TB:73**

<i>dā</i>	<i>'go'ṛā</i>	<i>maste'rēn</i>	<i>'brāt</i>	<i>āt'kaga</i>	<i>'čōbī</i>
dā	goṛā	mas-ter-ēn	brāt	āt-k-ag=a	čōbī
then	you know	old-CMP-ATTR	brother	come.PST-PP=COP.PST	you know

<i>ne'sāre</i>	<i>āt'kaga</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ne'sār</i>
nešār-e	āt-k-ag=a	ē	nešār
sister-in-law-GEN	come.PST-PP=COP.PST	PROX	sister-in-law

<i>'brāte</i>	<i>'pād ātk</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>šo'tā</i>	<i>go'sī</i>
brāt=e	pād ātk-Ø	ē	šot-ā	goš-ī
brother=PC.3SG	foot come.PST-3SG	PROX	go.PST-3PL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ka'mokē</i>	<i>beh'ter</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>
nī	mā	ya	kam-ok=ē	beh-ter	=ō	šomā
now	PN.1SG	one	little-EV=IND	good-CMP	=COP.NPST.1SG	PN.2PL

*'boroēt*  
bo-ro-et  
SBJV-go.NPST-2PL

Then, you know, the oldest brother came (lit. has come); you know, his sister-in-law came (lit. has come) these sister-in-law [and] his brother; these, went (lit. stood up [and] went); he said, “Now I feel a bit better; you should go.

A. Text Corpus

**TB:74**

<i>go'rā</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>ay'dok</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
goṙā	man-ī	čok	ayd-ok	wat	man-ī	sarā
you know	PN.1SG-GEN	child	Aydu-EV	REFL	PN.1SG-GEN	on

<i>neš'ta</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>'šar</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>'dā̃</i>
nešt-a=Ø	mā	hanī	šar	=ō	dā̃
sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG	right now	fine	=COP.NPST.1SG	then

<i>'šomā</i>	<i>'boroe</i>
šomā	bo-ro-e
PN.2PL	SBJV-go.NPST-2PL

You know, my son, Aydu took care (lit. has taken care) of me (lit. he himself has sat on my head); now I feel better; then you should go.”

**TB:75**

<i>'ādī</i>	<i>čī</i>	<i>'čō</i>	<i>wāp'taga</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>ša'rī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>'čō</i>
ā-dī	čī	čō	wapt-ag-a	padā	šar-ī	sarā	čō
DIST-time	FRAG	like	sleep.PST-PP-OBL	then	fine-GEN	on	like

<i>rā'hat</i>	<i>'wāpt</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>ātk</i>	<i>šo'tā</i>
rāhat	wapt-Ø	ā	pād	ātk-Ø	šot-ā
comfortable	sleep.PST-3SG	DIST	foot	come.PST-3SG	go.PST-3PL

<i>maste'rēn</i>	<i>'brāt</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>go'hār</i>	<i>āt'kā</i>	<i>pa</i>
mas-ter-ēn	brāt	ē	gohār	ātk-ā	pa
old-CMP-ATTR	brother	PROX	sister	come.PST-3PL	for

<i>čā'ragā</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>'ātk</i>	<i>šo'tā</i>
čār-ag-ā	ē	pād	ātk-Ø	šot-ā
look.NPST-INF-OBL	PROX	foot	come.PST-3SG	go.PST-3PL

That time he has slept like this, [and] then he slept comfortable like this; those went (lit. stood up [and] went); the oldest brother, this sister came to visit him; these went (lit. stood up [and] went).

**TB:76**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>neš'tagēn</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>geš'ter...</i>
nī	mā	nešt-ag=ēn	mā	bale	geš-ter
now	PN.1PL	sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL	PN.1SG	but	much-CMP

'hamē            mardēn'čoke    ša'pā            'nawaspī  
 ham=ē            mardēnčok=e    šap-ā            na-wasp-ī  
 EMPH=PROX    son=PC.3SG    night-OBL    NEG-sleep.NPST-3SG

'hamē            'taw            zānāy            'kay            'nešā  
 ham=ē            taw            zān-ay            k-ay-Ø            nešā  
 EMPH=PROX    PN.2SG    know.NPST-2SG    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG    drug

'kant            de'ga            'hāle            tō'kā            de'ge            'wābe  
 kan-t            dega            hāl-e            tōkā            dege            wāb=e  
 do.NPST-3SG    another    mood-GEN    in            you know    asleep=PC.3SG

'nayay  
 nay-ay-Ø  
 NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

Now we sat (lit. have sat), but I more... this his son did not sleep during the night; well, you know, he came [and] used drug; he [is] in another mood, you know, he could not sleep (lit. sleep does not come for him).

**TB:77**

e'šī            hame            'jan            bandexo'dā            šar'rēn            mar'dome  
 ešī            ham=e            jan            bande-xodā            šarr-ēn            mardom=e  
 PROX.GEN    EMPH=PROX    wife    servent.EZ-God    fine-ATTR    people=IND

ensāf'dāre    'ešī            'hančō            'wāb            'nayay            ke            nā'kō  
 ensāfdār=e    ešī            hančō            wāb            nay-ay-Ø            ke            nākō  
 fair=IND    PROX.DIR    like this    asleep    NEG-come.NPST-3SG    CLM    uncle

nārā'hat    en  
 nārāhat    =en  
 sick            =COP.NPST.3SG

His wife, poor woman, was a very nice person; she was a fair person; she also could not sleep, since her father-in-law (lit. uncle) was sick.

**TB:78**

'mā            'hamedān            a...            'čok            'čōbī            'pete            ker'rā  
 mā            ham=edān            =a-Ø            čok            čōbī            pet-e            kerrā  
 PN.1PL    EMPH=here    =COP.PST-3SG    child    you know    father-GEN    beside



A. Text Corpus

'nešt ay'd ay'd 'pet ker'rā 'nešt 'hamēdā  
 nešt-Ø ayd ayd pet-Ø kerrā nešt-Ø ham=ēdā  
 sit.PST-3SG Aydu Aydu father-GEN beside sit.PST-3SG EMPH=here

srōš 'jat 'čī 'kot 'tā padī bāng bī  
 srōš jat čī kot tā padī bāng bī-Ø  
 NC hit.PST what do.PST till again call for praying become.PST-3SG

'padā 'bāng bī 'čok 'pād ā  
 padā bāng bī-Ø čok pād ā-Ø  
 again call for praying become.PST-3SG child foot come.PST-3SG

'ātk o'tī xā'nome ker'rā 'šī  
 ātk-Ø otī xānom-e kerrā š-ī  
 come.PST-3SG REFL.GEN wife-GEN beside say.NPST-3SG

'byā 'benēn 'mā 'mēčī... 'tī  
 by-ā-Ø be-nēn-Ø mā mēčī tī  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG SBJV-sit.NPST-2SG PN.1PL FRAG PN.2SG.GEN

'pet 'jāhā ma'sa ba'dal ka'nē 'ē gan'dal  
 pet jāh-ā masa badal Ø-kan-ē ē gandāl  
 father place-OBL you know change SBJV-do.NPST-1PL PROX cover

manda'lān kaš'sēn 'sōb sa'rā 'balke  
 mandal-ān Ø-kašš-ēn sōb-Ø sarā balke  
 echo-OBL.PL SBJV-pull.NPST-1PL morning-GEN on maybe

mar'domē kay't ě čā'ragā  
 mardom=ē k-ay-t =ē čār-ag-ā  
 people=IND IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG look.NPST-INF-OBL

'hanī 'sōb 'sar en masa'la tā'rīk  
 hanī sōb-Ø sar =en masala tārīk  
 right now morning-GEN head =COP.NPST.3SG for example dark

en 'hrčka sa'hī 'nayen  
 =en hrčka sahī nay=-en  
 =COP.NPST.3SG no one informed NEG=COP.NPST.3SG

We were there (lit. here)..., you know the son set by the father, Aydu; Aydu set by the father, he sat on the ground with his hand under his head; you know, till it was time for morning calling pray; you know, it was time for the

morning calling pray; the son came (lit. stood up and came) by his wife; she said, “Come, and sit, you know, we what... should change your father’s bed; we should change (lit. pull out) this blanket; in the morning, it might be a person come to visit him, now, it is early in the morning, you know, it is dark; no one is informed.”

**TB:79**

'mā	'šotẽ	o	'hamē	tā'lī	mo'hālo	'āp	'garm
mā	šot-ẽ	=o	ham=ē	tālī	mohālo	āp	garm
PN.1PL	go.PST-1PL	=and	EMPH=PROX	morning	early	water	warm

'kot	o	'ārt	āmā'de	'kotant...	ay'dok	'šot	'āp
kot	=o	ārt	āmāde	kot-ant	ayd-ok	šot-Ø	āp
do.PST	=and	bring.PST	ready	do.PST-3PL	Aydu-EV	go.PST-3SG	water

'māpe	'drō	'ārt	āmā'de	'kotant	po'tert	lō'gā
māp=e	drō	ārt	āmāde	kot-ant	potert	lōg-ā
echo=PC.3SG	all	bring.PST	ready	do.PST-3PL	inter.PST	house-OBL

čā'retī	go'šī	'bābā	'hanī	'manā
čāret=ī	goš-ī	bābā-Ø	hanī	man-ā
look.PST=PC.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	father-VOC.SG	right now	PN.1SG-OBJ

'tī	čok'kān	šošt'a	ta'ī	'čok	ham'dān
tī	čok-ān	šošt-a	ta-ī	čok	ham=dān
PN.2SG.GEN	child-OBL.PL	wash.PT-PP	PN.2SG-GEN	child	EMPH=here

bīta	'manā	mā'lō	šošt'a
bīt-a=Ø	man-ā	mālō	šošt-a
become.PST-OBL=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	early	wash.PT-PP

ma'nā	'heč	'per	'nē	'manā
man-ā	heč	per	nē	man-ā
PN.1SG-OBJ	nothing	PREV	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ

'mašōd  
ma-šōd-Ø  
PROH-wash.NPST-2SG

We went and early in the morning; I heat some water and brought [and] prepared it... Aydu went [and] brought all the water [and] prepared it; he came inside the room; he looked at him; he said, “Dear (lit. father) now, your wife (lit. your children) washed (lit. has washed) me; your wife was (lit. has

A. Text Corpus

been) there; she washed (lit. has washed) me early; there is nothing on me; do not washed me.

**TB:80**

<i>'bale</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>pā'dā</i>	<i>ha'lās</i>	<i>ko'ta</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>
bale	man-ā	pād-ā	halās	kot-a	mā	ta-rā
but	PN.1SG-OBJ	foot-OBL.PL	finish	do.PST-PP	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ

<i>de'ge</i>	<i>'gape</i>	<i>go'šō</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'čoke</i>	<i>'go</i>
dege	gap=e	goš-ō	otī	čok=e	go
another	word=IND	say.NPST-1SG	REFL.GEN	child=PC.3SG	say.PST

<i>'paka</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>ga'pā</i>	<i>'gōš</i>	<i>'dār</i>	<i>'hanī</i>
paka	man-ī	gap-ā	gōš	Ø-dār-Ø	hanī
only	PN.1SG-GEN	talk-OBL	ear	IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG	now

<i>'bāng</i>	<i>bīta</i>
bāng	bīt-a=Ø
call for praying	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

But I do not have strength in my foot; I tell you other thing (lit. word)”; he said to his son, “Just listen to me, now has it been the calling prayer?”

**TB:81**

<i>'čokā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'hā</i>	<i>'bāng</i>	<i>bīta</i>
čok-ā	go	hā	bāng	bīt-a=Ø
child-OBL	say.PST	yes	call for praying	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'bāng</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>šo'tā</i>
bāng	bīt-a=Ø	mā	šot-ā
call for praying	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG	go.PST-1SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>āmā'da</i>	<i>'kan</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>
š-ī	āmāda	Ø-kan-Ø	mā	raw-ā
say.NPST-3SG	ready	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG

<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>go'šī</i>	<i>ma'sītā</i>	<i>'āp</i>	<i>'mān</i>	<i>'ka</i>
nemāz-ā	goš-ī	masīt-ā	āp	mān	Ø-ka-Ø
pray-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	mosque-OBL	water	filled	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

<i>ma'sītā</i>	<i>'rōp</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'gap</i>	<i>'tī</i>
masīt-ā	Ø-rōp-Ø	man-ī	gap	tī
mosque-OBL	IMPV-sweep.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-GEN	word	PN.2SG.GEN

*ker'rā ha'mēš en*  
 kerrā ham=ēš =en  
 beside EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG

The son said, “Yes, it was (lit. has been) the calling prayer; it was the calling prayer; I went [to the masque]”; he said, “Prepare [me] I will go to pray”; he said, “Put the water in the masque; sweep the masque; this is my word for you.”

**TB:82**

*'man 'čō kamo bagāh bīton e'sī 'šī*  
 man čō kam-o bagāh bīt-on ešī š-ī  
 PN.1SG like little-EV afraid become.PST-1SG PROX.DIR say.NPST-3SG

*'balke 'manī 'pe 'taw nārā'hat ay 'mā*  
 balke man-ī pe taw nārāhat =ay mā  
 maybe PN.1SG-GEN father PN.2SG sick =COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG

*'zang ja'nā 'tī gohārzāt'kā 'tī*  
 zang jan-ā tī gohārzāt-k-ā tī  
 call hit.NPST-1SG PN.2SG.GEN niece-OBL.PL PN.2SG.GEN

*brāzāt'kā lōṭā'ēnō go'sī gē'ter*  
 brāzāt-k-ā lōṭāēn-ō goš-ī gē-ter  
 nephew-OBL.PL call.NPST.CAUS-1SG say.NPST-3SG good-CMP

*ō 'manā zā'na 'čī en 'taw*  
 =ō man-ā zāna čī =en taw  
 =COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG-OBL well what =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG

*gohār'zāt'k mē'če... brāzāt'kā lō'tay 'manā 'heč*  
 gohārzāt'k mēče brāzāt-k-ā lōṭ-ay man-ā heč  
 niece FRAG nephew-OBL.PL call.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-OBJ nothing

*'nayen*  
 nay=en  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

I were afraid; he said, “Maybe my father, you are sick; I will call and ask your nieces, your nephews [to come here]”; he said, “I am well, what is wrong to me [that], you ask my nieces what...my nephews, nothing is wrong with me.”

A. Text Corpus

**TB:83**

<i>'bale</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'gošō</i>	<i>ma'sītā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>
bale	mā	ta-rā	goš-ō	masīt-ā	otī
but	PN.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	say.NPST-1SG	mosque-OBL	REFL.GEN

<i>hamsā'hegā</i>	<i>ma'sītā</i>	<i>'mašamōš</i>	<i>čo'kān</i>
hamsāheg-ā	masīt-ā	ma-šamōš	čok-ān
neighbour-OBL	mosque-OBL	PROH-forget.NPST	child-OBL.PL

<i>'bogo</i>	<i>o'tīgā</i>	<i>ne'māz</i>	<i>'kanet</i>	<i>'hančō</i>
bo-go-Ø	otīg-ā	nemāz	Ø-kan-et	hančō
IMPV-say.NPST-2SG	yours-OBL	pray	SBJV-do.NPST-2PL	like this

<i>rā'hat</i>	<i>kam'bale</i>	<i>hastē</i>	<i>kam'bale</i>	<i>čē'rā</i>
rāhat	kambal=e	hast=ē	kambal=e	čērā
comfortable	blanket=IND	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	blanket=PC.3SG	under

<i>če</i>	<i>'čokā</i>	<i>kaš'se</i>	<i>kam'bal</i>	<i>kaš'se</i>	<i>ča'gale</i>
če	čok-ā	kašš-e	kambal	kašš-e	čagal=e
from	child-OBL	pull.NPST-3SG	blanket	pull.NPST-3SG	throwing=PC.3SG

<i>'dā</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>xā'nome</i>	<i>nēma'gā</i>	<i>e'sā</i>
dā	otī	xānom-e	nēmagā	eš-ā
give.PST	REFL.GEN	wife-GEN	direction	PROX-OBL

<i>'zī</i>	<i>de'ge</i>	<i>kam'balē</i>	<i>'byār</i>
Ø-zī-Ø	dege	kambal=ē	by-ār-Ø
IMPV-take.NPST-2SG	another	blanket=IND	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

But I tell you, do not forget the mosque, your neighbour, the mosque; tell your children to pray”; like this, comfortable, he had a blanket (lit. there was a blanket for him), his son removed it from his under; he removed [it] [and] threw it to his wife’s direction; [he said] “Take this one and bring another blanket.”

**TB:84**

<i>'ā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šo</i>	<i>kam'balē</i>	<i>'byārī</i>	<i>'mā...</i>
ā	ke	šo-Ø	kambal=ē	by-ār=ī	mā
DIST	CLM	go.PST-3SG	blanket=IND	SBJV-bring.NPST=PC.3SG	PN.1SG

<i>me'sle</i>	<i>'čoke</i>	<i>xa'yāl</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>xā'nome</i>	<i>kam'balā</i>
mesle	čok=e	xayāl	ko	ā	xānom=e	kambal-ā
you know	child=PC.3SG	think	do.PST	DIST	wife=PC.3SG	blanket-OBL

*kā'rī*                                 *wa'hde* 'čokā                 'čak ja                 ooh 'pete  
 k-ār-ī                                 wahde čok-ā                 čak ja                 ooh pet-e  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG     when     child-OBL     look hit.PST oh     father-GEN

*gar'den* 'šol bī                                 ooh *ka'hīre*                 *ka'hīre*  
 garden šol bī-Ø                                 ooh kahīr=e                 kahīr=e  
 neck     loose     become.PST-3SG     oh     Kahir=PC.3SG     Kahir=PC.3SG

*gar'den* 'šol bī  
 garden šol bī-Ø  
 neck     loose     become.PST-3SG

When that one went to bring the blanket; I... you know, his son thought his wife brings the blanket; when the son looked; [he saw that] oh, the father's neck became loose; oh, Kahir's neck became loose.

**TB:85**

'nī     'mā     *lag'ge*                                 *čā'ragā*                                 'mā     'go     'bačak  
 nī     mā     lagge-Ø                                 čār-ag-ā                                 mā     go     bačak  
 then     PN.1SG     start.PST-3SG     look.NPST-INF-OBL     PN.1SG     say.PST     boy

'pād ā                                                 'bačak 'pād ā  
 pād Ø-ā-Ø                                                 bačak pād Ø-ā-Ø  
 foot     IMPV-come.NPST-2SG     boy     foot     IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

*mo'ṭerā*                                 'zī                                                 *bo'raw*                                 'edā  
 moṭer-ā                                 Ø-zī-Ø                                                 bo-raw-Ø                                 edā  
 motorcycle-OBL     IMPV-take.NPST-2SG     IMPV-go.NPST-2SG     here

*kompo'ṭerē* *hastē*                                                 *kompo'ṭerā* 'byār  
 kompoṭer=e hast=e                                                 kompoṭer-ā by-ār-Ø  
 nurse=IND     be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG     nurse-OBL     IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

'čokān                                 'go  
 čok-ān                                 go  
 child-OBL.PL     say.PST

Then I started looking; I said, “Guy stand up; guy stand up take the motorcycle [and] go there, there is a nurse; bring the nurse”; he said, “To the guys (lit. children).”

A. Text Corpus

**TB:86**

šo kāmpo'ṭerā 'čāre pa'šārā 'čāre 'šī  
 šo-Ø kāmpoṭer-ā čāre pašārā čāre š-ī  
 go.PST-3SG nurse-OBL look.PST pressure look.PST say.NPST-3SG

'petā 'čōbī panč me'leṭ 'bī 'sāhī  
 pet-ā čōbī panč meleṭ bī-Ø sāh=ī  
 father-OBL you know five minute become.PST-3SG breath=PC.3SG

dā'ta

dāt-a

give.PST-PP

He went; the nurse checked him; he checked [his blood] pressure; he said,  
 “You know, it is five minutes; the father passed away (lit. has passed away).”

**TB:87**

das dard makant haoo ka'hīr 'sā dā ta  
 das dard ma-kan-t haoo kahīr sā dāt ta  
 hand pain PROH-do.NPST-3SG yes Kahir soul give.PST till

me'dā 'me 'kessā a'lās bī 'ča  
 m=edā me kessā alās b-ī ča  
 EMPH=here PN.1PL.GEN story finish become.NPST-3SG from

čoke 'nazānān al'lāh bezān 'čē  
 čok=e na-zān-ān allāh be-zān-Ø čē  
 child=PC.3SG NEG-know.NPST-1SG God SBJV-know.NPST-3SG what

bī 'dawā 'bekanet ke 'šar  
 b-ī dawā be-kan-et ke šar  
 become.NPST-3SG praying IMPV-do.NPST-2PL CLM fine

'bebī

be-b-ī

SBJV-become.PST-3SG

Thanks, yes, Kahir died; till here, my story comes to the end; I do not know  
 what would be happen to his son; God knows what would be happen to him;  
 Pray that he would be fine.

## A.2. Text 2: A King

**A King**  
**bād'sāhē**

*recounted by Ganj khatun Jadgal*

**AK:1**

'rōčē      rōz'gārē    'hasta                              yak bād'sāhē    'na    ē  
rōč=ē      rōzgār=ē    hast=a-Ø                              yak bād'sāh=ē    na    ē  
day=IND    time=IND    be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG    one king=IND    right?    PROX

bād...    bād'sāhā    yak    'čokē                              'hasta                              mar'dē  
bād    bād'sāh-ā    yak    čok=ē                              hast=a-Ø                              mardē  
FRAG    king-OBL    one    child=IND    be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG    man

Once upon a time, (lit. one day, one time) there was a king; this ki... king had a son (lit. there was a son for the king).

**AK:2**

yak    ja'nēnē                              'čōbī                              mam...    ja'nēnī                              'do    atā  
yak    janēn=ē                              čōbī                              mam    janēn=ī                              do    =at-ā  
one    woman=IND    you know    FRAG    wife=PC.3SG    two    =COP.PST-3PL

yak    ba'lōčē                              ja'nēnē                              a                              yak    bād'sāhī  
yak    balōč-ē                              janēn=ē                              =a-Ø                              yak    bād'sāh-ī  
one    Baloch-ATTR    woman=IND    =COP.PST-3SG    one king-ADJZ

a                              balōčē                              ja'nēne                              'čok    'yakē  
=a-Ø                              balōč-ē                              janēn-e                              čok    yak=ē  
=COP.PST-3SG    Baloch-ATTR    woman-GEN    child    one=IND

a                              bād'sāhā    'do    atā  
=a-Ø                              bād'sāh-ā    do    =at-ā  
=COP.PST-3SG    king-OBL    two    =COP.PST-3PL

You know, one of his wives... he had two wives (lit. there were two wives for him); a Baloch wife [and] a royal wife; the Baloch wife had a son (lit. there was a son for the Baloch wife) [and] the royal wife had two sons.

**AK:3**

'ēšīā                              yak    'maččē                              'hasta                              'ē  
ēšī-ā                              yak    mačč=ē                              hast=a-Ø                              ē  
PROX.DIR-OBL    one    date-palm=IND    be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG    PROX



A. Text Corpus

'mačče            'bar āortã            ga'war kīma'tī  
 mačč-e            bar āort-ã            gawar kīmatī  
 date-palm-GEN fruit bring.PST-3PL gem valuable

bītagã                            'na bale 'ham 'sāl čō'bī            de'ga  
 bīt-ag=ã                            na bale ham sāl čōbī            dega  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL right? but ADD year you know another

'yakeyā            borre'tã            bor'tagã  
 yak=e-yā            borret-ã            bort-ag-ã  
 one=IND-OBL cut.PST-3PL take.PST-PP-3PL

He had a date palm, (lit. there was a date palm for him); this date palm of his produced fruit; they were valuable gems, you know; but every year someone else cut them off [and] took them.

**AK:4**

ba'lāhē            bī'ta                            wād'ān            ba'lāh  
 balāh=e            bīt-a=Ø                            wād-ān            balāh  
 ghoul=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG time-OBL.PL ghoul

bī'ta                                    ha'mē            ba'lāhā  
 bīt-a=Ø                                    ham=e            balāh-ā  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX ghoul-OBL

bor'tagã  
 bort-ag-ã  
 take.PST-PP-3PL

It was a ghoul; in the past there were ghouls; this ghoul took [them].

**AK:5**

'ōdī            ke            'čoke            ka'sān 'atã            'randā 'čoke  
 ōdī            ke            čok=e            kasān =at-ã            randā            čok=e  
 that time CLM child=PC.3SG small =COP.PST-3PL after child=PC.3SG

ke            ma'zan bītã                            o'sī            čo'kān            'ā  
 ke            mazan bīt-ã                            oš-ī            čok-ān            ā  
 CLM big            become.PST-3PL say.NPST-3SG child-OBL.PL DIST

'wādī            ke            'mã            'hanī            ka'māš ã            a'wāla  
 wād=ī            ke            mã            hanī            kamāš =ã            awāl-a  
 time=PC.3SG CLM PN.1SG right now old            =COP.NPST.1SG first-OBL

*ke 'mã 'dad 'bītagã 'mã o'tī*  
 ke mã đạđ bīt-ag=ã mã o'tī  
 CLM PN.1SG strong become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG REFL.GEN

*'mačče 'hōš de'garā 'nadātagā 'maččā*  
 mačč-e hōš degar-ā na-dāt-ag-ā mačč-ā  
 date-palm-GEN cluster other-OBL NEG-give.PST-PP-3PL date-palm-OBL

*hã āor'tã... 'say 'hōš gēs'terī 'nayārtā*  
 hã āort-ā say hōš gēs-ter=ī nay-ārt-ā  
 ADD bring.PST-3PL three cluster more-CMP=PC.3SG NEG-bring.PST-3PL

At that time his children were small; then, when they grew up, he said, “Children, that time that... now I am old, that time that I was strong; I didn’t give my date palm clusters to anyone, the date palm produced [date]... it didn’t produce more than three cluster of date.

**AK:6**

*'nī 'boroēt 'šome 'maččā ār'ta*  
 nī bo-ro-et šome mačč-ā ārt-a  
 now IMPV-go.NPST-2PL PN.2PL.GEN date-palm-OBL bring.PST-PP

*'boroē pā'nag 'bayetī 'ē*  
 bo-ro-ē pānag Ø-bay-et=ī ē  
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG watch IMPV-become.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG PROX

*'čenčo 'pūl ba'yantē ga'war kīma'tī*  
 čenčo pūl bay-ant=ē gawar kīmatī  
 so much money become.NPST-3PL=COP.NPST.3SG gem valuable

*kī'mat 'sak 'grān ē*  
 kīmat sak grān =ē  
 price very expensive =COP.NPST.3SG

Go now, your date palm has produced [date], go [and] watch it; they will give (lit. become) so much money; the price of the valuable gems is very high (lit. expensive).”

**AK:7**

*'nī šo'ta master'ēn 'čok 'šo*  
 nī šot-a=Ø mas-ter-ēn čok šo-Ø  
 you know go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG old-CMP-ATTR child go.PST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

'nešt ka'mokeyā 'dānke ha'mōdā 'wāb ka  
 nešt-Ø kam-ok=e-yā dānke ham=ōdā wāb ka-Ø  
 sit.PST-3SG little-EV=IND-OBL till EMPH=there asleep fall.PST-3SG

'āī 'ātk yak 'hōšē 'borret 'šo  
 āī ātk-Ø yak hōš=e borret šo-Ø  
 DIST.OBL come.PST-3SG one cluster=IND cut.PST go.PST-3SG

You know, the oldest son went, he went [and] sat for a short while, till he fell asleep there; it [the ghoul] came; cut one of the clusters, [and] went away.

**AK:8**

'dāke 'bārīg bī dō'mī 'čoke dō'mī 'čokk ke  
 dāke bārīg b-ī dōmī čok=e dōmī čokk ke  
 then turn become.NPST-3SG second child=PC.3SG second child CLM

'šo 'ē 'čokkā ka'moke 'nešt 'zot...  
 šo-Ø ē čokk-ā kam-ok=e nešt-Ø zot  
 go.PST-3SG PROX child-OBL little-EV=IND sit.PST-3SG FRAG

'dītī ya hīž'žābē pay'dāg en  
 dīt=ī ya hīžžāb=e paydāg =en  
 see.PST=PC.3SG one strong sound=IND visible =COP.NPST.3SG

ha'mā wā'dī 'tatk larzē'nānā 'šo  
 ham=ā wād-ī tatk-Ø larzēn-ān-ā šo-Ø  
 EMPH=DIST time-ADVZ run.PST-3SG shake.PR-OBL.PL-OBL go.PST-3SG

mē'tagā 'mātā o'sī 'mā  
 mētag-ā māt-ā oš-ī mā  
 village-OBL mother-OBL say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

torse'tagā 'manā pa'tūē 'per  
 torset-ag=ā man-ā patū=e per  
 scare.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG-OBJ blanket=IND PREV

day 'manā sar'dī kanag en  
 Ø-day-Ø man-ā sardī kan-ag =en  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-OBL cold do.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG

Then it was the second son's turn; when the second son went, he (lit. this child) sat for a short while; he ... he heard (lit. saw) a strong sound coming (lit. appearing); he ran away immediately; he went home trembling; he said to

[his] mother, “I am afraid, cover me with a blanket, I am feeling cold.”

**AK:9**

'šī	'taw	hã	čō'bī	'maččā	pā'nag
š-ī	taw	hã	čōbī	mačč-ā	pānag
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	yes	you know	date-palm-OBL	watch

*bītay*

bīt-ay

become.PST-2SG

She said, “Yes, you know, you watched the date palm.”

**AK:10**

'nī	bā'rīg	bī	ha'mē	balōč'māte
nī	bārīg	b-ī	ham=e	balōčmāt-e
now	turn	become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	Baloch mother-GEN

Now it was this [son of] the Baloch mother's turn.

**AK:11**

'ā	balōč'māt	ke	'šo	dāke	'čārī
ā	balōčmāt	ke	šo-Ø	dāke	čārt=ī
DIST	Baloch mother	CLM	go.PST-3SG	you know	look.PST=PC.3SG

'manā	'wāb	'gerī	'zo	ō'tī	lan'koke
man-ā	wāb	ger-ī	zo	otī	lankok=e
PN.1SG-OBL	asleep	take.NPST-3SG	take.PST	REFL.GEN	finger=PC.3SG

kala'rokē	'čott	dā	tīgā	gō	'nī	'zo	'wād
kalarok=e	čott	dāt	tīg-ā	gō	nī	zo	wād
a bit=IND	cut	give.PST	razor blade-OBL	with	then	take.PST	salt

o	'merčī	'per	ko	'šī	bel
=o	merč=ī	per	ko	š-ī	be-l-Ø
=and	pepper=PC.3SG	PREV	do.PST	say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-allow.NPST-2SG

lan'kok	sō'čī	'balke	'mā	'wāb	'nakapā
lankok	Ø-sōč-ī	balke	mā	wāb	na-kap-ā
finger	SBJV-burn.NPST-3SG	so that	PN.1SG	asleep	NEG-fall.NPST-1SG

When that [son of] the Baloch mother went; you know, he felt (lit. saw) sleepy (lit. sleep catches me); he took [and] cut a bit off his finger with a razor blade; then he took salt and pepper and put on [the wound]; he said,

A. Text Corpus

“Let the finger burn so that I won’t fall asleep.”

**AK:12**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'hamedā</i>	<i>'wāpt</i>	<i>'wāpt</i>	<i>'zahmē</i>	<i>'gōn</i>
nī	ham=edā	wapt-Ø	wapt-Ø	zahm=ē	gōn
now	EMPH=here	sleep.PST-3SG	sleep.PST-3SG	sword=IND	with

<i>ene</i>		<i>'nī</i>	<i>'dītī</i>	<i>hīž'žābē</i>
=en=e		nī	dīt=ī	hīžžāb=ē
=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG	now	see.PST=PC.3SG	strong	sound=IND

<i>'haste</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>čō</i>	<i>'gwam</i>	<i>ko</i>
hast=e	ē	čō	gwam	ko
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	you	know	opportunity
				do.PST

<i>'gwam</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>čō</i>	<i>'zahmī</i>	<i>das'tā</i>	<i>ko</i>
gwam	ko	čō	zahm=ī	dast-ā	ko
opportunity	do.PST	like	this	sword=PC.3SG	hand-OBL
					do.PST

You know, there (lit. here) he kept sleeping (lit. he slept [and] slept); he had a sword, you know, he heard (lit. saw there is) a strong sound; he was looking for an opportunity, like this; he was looking for an opportunity, like this; he took the sword in his hand.

**AK:13**

<i>das'tā</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ā'īā</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'hōš</i>	<i>ke</i>
dast-ā	ko	āīā	čōbī	ham=ē	hōš	ke
hand-OBL	do.PST	DIST.OBL	you	know	EMPH=PROX	cluster
						CLM

<i>bor'ret</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'hōšā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'zīrā</i>
borret	ke	hōš-ā	mā	Ø-zīr-ā̃
cut.PST	CLM	cluster-OBL	PN.1SG	SBJV-seize.NPST-1SG

<i>'boroā̃</i>	<i>ē'sā</i>	<i>'hanga</i>	<i>'nešt</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>
bo-ro-ā̃	ēš-ā	hanga	nešt-Ø	ham=ē
SBJV-go.NPST-1SG	PROX-OBL	still	sit.PST-3SG	EMPH=PROX

<i>'mačče</i>	<i>'čērā... pa</i>	<i>'hōš</i>	<i>'borrī...</i>	<i>ē'sīyā</i>	<i>'padā</i>
mačč-e	čērā	pa	hōš	borrī	ēšī-yā
date-palm-GEN	under	for	cluster	FRAG	PROX.DIR-OBL
					again

'gwam ko 'gwam ko 'jate 'zahme  
 gwam ko gwam ko jat=e zahm=e  
 opportunity do.PST opportunity do.PST hit.PST=PC.3SG sword=IND

'daste 'ede 'daste 'moč 'čedān če je'da  
 dast=e ede dast=e moč čedān če jeda  
 hand=PC.3SG here hand=PC.3SG wrist from.here from separated

bī

b-ī

become.NPST-3SG

He took [it] in his hand, you know, when it cut off this cluster; [it thought] I will take the cluster [and] go; still he [the boy] was sitting under this date palm... for the cluster...; he watched for an opportunity; watched for an opportunity, [and] hit it with the sword its hand here; its hand was cut off from the wrist.

#### AK:14

je'dā bī 'ēdga das'tā 'kotī  
 jedā b-ī ē-dga dast-ā kot=ī  
 separated become.NPST-3SG PROX-other hand-OBL do.PST=PC.3SG

'bale ha'mē 'hōšī 'bo  
 bale ham=ē hōš=ī bo  
 but EMPH=PROX cluster=PC.3SG take.PST

It was cut off, it took [it] in the other hand; so (lit. but) it took this cluster away.

#### AK:15

'šo 'hōn rēčā'nan 'nī ha'mē  
 šo-Ø hōn rēč-ān=an nī ham=ē  
 go.PST-3SG blood pour.NPST-OBL.PL=COP.NPST.3PL now EMPH=PROX

hō'nānī pa'dā 'sobā 'ē ba'čak 'šo  
 hōn-ānī padā sob-ā ē bačak šo-Ø  
 blood-GEN.PL again morning-OBL PROX boy go.PST-3SG

'šī 'man čō'bī ba'lāh... čōš'ēn čōš'ēn 'mā...  
 š-ī man čōbī balāh čōšēn čōšēn mā  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG you know ghoul such such PN.1SG

## A. Text Corpus

'čīzē      'atke                      'hōše                      'borre    'bale  
 čīz=e      atk=e                      hōš=e                      borre    bale  
 thing=IND    come.PST=COP.NPST.3SG    ear of grain=PC.3SG    cut.PST    but

'mā      'daste      ĵa'ta      'daste      yake      če      'mā  
 mā      dast=e      ĵat-a      dast=e      yak=e      če      mā  
 PN.1SG    hand=PC.3SG    beat.PST-PP    hand=PC.3SG    one=IND    from    PN.1SG

'moča      kaš'ta      'hamōdā      'mā...      kap'ta  
 moč-a      kašt-a      ham=ōdā      mā      kapt-a=Ø  
 wrist-OBL    pull.PST-PP    EMPH=there    PN.1SG    fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'mačče      bo'nā    'pada    'mā      'ōtī      'dast    hō'ně  
 mačč-e      bonā    pada    mā      oī      dast    hōn-ě  
 date-palm-GEN    under    then    PN.1SG    REFL.GEN    hand    blood-ATTR

ko'ta      ha'mē      'maččā      ĵa'ta      'hamē  
 kot-a      ham=e      mačč-ā      ĵat-a      ham=e  
 do.PST-PP    EMPH=PROX    date-palm-OBL    beat.PST-PP    EMPH=PROX

lanko'kānī      'pad    hā      hastā  
 lankok-ānī      pad    hā      hast=ā  
 finger-GEN.PL    trace    ADD    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3PL

It went with the blood pouring; then in the morning, this boy followed the trace of this blood; he said, “You know a ghoul... I such and such... a thing came [and] cut off the cluster; but I cut off its hand; I cut off one of its hands from the wrist, I... it fell there under the date palm; then I put (lit. did) my hand in the blood [and] put it on this date palm; so the trace of my (lit. these) fingers are there.”

### AK:16

'nī    'petā      'go      'šarr    ē                      pad'gerē  
 nī    pet-ā      go      šarr    =ē                      padger=e  
 then    father-OBL    say.PST    fine    =COP.NPST.3SG    tracker=IND

'zīret                      'šī                      pad'ger    'nalōī                      'bas  
 Ø-zīr-ēt                      š-ī                      padger    na-lōt-ī                      bas  
 IMPV-seize.NPST-2PL    say.NPST-3SG    tracker    NEG-want.NPST-3SG    well

ha'mē      hō'nānī      'čīyā      'mā      'wat    ra'wā      'bale  
 ham=e      hōn-ānī      čī-yā      mā      wat    raw-ā      bale  
 EMPH=PROX    blood-GEN.PL    why-OBL    PN.1SG    REFL    go.NPST-1SG    but

'manā ham'rāh 'beday  
 man-ā hamrāh be-day-Ø  
 PN.1SG-OBJ companion IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

Then the father said, “Alright, take a tracker”; he said, “Well, no need for a tracker; I myself will follow the tracks (lit. thing) of this blood; but give me companions.”

**AK:17**

'nī ham'rāh gōn ante 'šot  
 nī hamrāh gōn =ant=e šot-Ø  
 you know companion with =COP.NPST.3PL=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG

'šot 'dāke čā'retī yak 'čātē  
 šot-Ø dāke čāret=i yak čāt=e  
 go.PST-3SG then look.PST=PC.3SG one well=IND

'kay ha'mē 'čāte tō'kā 'ē 'hōn 'bas  
 k-ay-Ø ham=e čāt-e tōkā ē hōn bas  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX well-GEN in PROX blood well

'gār bī  
 gār b-i  
 lost become.NPST-3SG

You know, the companions were with him; he kept going (lit. went [and] went); until he saw there was a well, (lit. a well came); you know, inside this well the [traces of] this blood disappeared.

**AK:18**

'nī go'sī... 'nī maste'rē 'brātā 'go 'mā  
 nī goš-i nī mas-ter-ē brāt-ā go mā  
 then say.NPST-3SG then old-CMP-ATTR brother-OBL say.PST PN.1SG

'ēr kapā  
 ēr kap-ā  
 PREV fall.NPST-1SG

Then he said,... then the oldest brother said, “I will go down [inside the well].”



A. Text Corpus

**AK:19**

*kamo'keyā... 'sādē 'bast mardo'mã 'srēnā*  
 kam-ok=e-yā sād=eē bast mardom-ã srēn-ā  
 little-EV=IND-OBL rope=IND bind.PST people-OBL.PL waist-OBL

*kamo'keyā ke 'šo 'čartī 'āngō*  
 kam-ok=e-yā ke šo-Ø čart=ī āngō  
 little-EV=IND-OBL CLM go.PST-3SG look.PST=PC.3SG that direction

*'tār ē 'manā tōr'sagē*  
 tār =ē man-ā tors-ag=ē  
 dark =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-OBL afraid.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

*'sādā sōrē'nī 'ē 'brātā 'kaššā*  
 sād-ā sōrēn-ī ē brāt-ā kašš-ā  
 rope-OBL shake.NPST.CAUS-3SG PROX brother-OBL pull.NPST-3PL

For a short while... the people tied a rope around [his] waist; when he went [down] a bit; he saw /that/ the rest [of the way] was dark; [he said] “I am afraid.”; he shook the rope; they pulled this brother up.

**AK:20**

*'padā dō'mī 'brāte bā'rīg bī*  
 padā dōmī brāt-e bārīg b-ī  
 then second brother-GEN turn become.NPST-3SG

Then it was the second brother's turn.

**AK:21**

*dō'mī 'ēr kapī 'ē 'mnī 'hāla 'sare*  
 dōmī ēr kap-ī ē mnī hāl-a sar=e  
 second PREV fall.NPST-3SG PROX PN.1SG.GEN feeling-OBL head=EZ

*'nēmā 'raw 'naraw 'sādā*  
 nēm-ā raw-Ø na-raw-Ø sād-ā  
 half-OBL go.NPST-3SG NEG-go.NPST-3SG rope-OBL

*sōrē'nī o'šī 'manā 'kašše*  
 sōrēn-ī oš-ī man-ā Ø-kašš-e  
 shake.NPST.CAUS-3SG say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL

'mnī            na'pas   'ḍakk   ě                            'mā   'mortā̃  
 mnī            napas   ḍakk   =ẽ                            mā   mort-ã̃  
 PN.1SG.GEN   breath   stop   =COP.NPST.3SG   PN.1SG   die.PST-1SG

The second brother went down; I believe (lit. to my idea), he went one and a half man's height, or maybe not [that much]; he shook the rope [and] said, "Pull me up; I am short of breathing (lit. my breath stops); I am dying."

**AK:22**

'ē        'hã   'kaššet  
 ē        hã   kaššet  
 PROX   ADD   pull.PST

So, [they] pull this one up as well.

**AK:23**

'nī        ā'xerī            bā'rīg   bī                            ha'mā  
 nī        āxer=ī            bārīg   b-ī                            ham=ā  
 then   last=PC.3SG   turn   become.NPST-3SG   EMPH=DIST

*balōč'māte*

balōčmāt-e

Baloch mother-GEN

Then the last turn was that [son of] the Baloch mother.

**AK:24**

'ā        balōč'māte            'srēnā        'bandā            'sādā        'ē  
 ā        balōčmāt-e            srēn-ā        band-ā            sād-ā        ē  
 DIST   Baloch mother-GEN   waist-OBL   bind.NPST-3PL   rope-OBL   PROX

'rawt            'rawt            'dãke   'hamōdā...   'hapt   'sar  
 raw-t            raw-t            đãke   ham=ōdā        hapt   sar  
 go.NPST-3SG   go.NPST-3SG   until   EMPH=there   seven   head

bīt                            'hamē            'čāt  
 bīt-Ø                        ham=ē            čāt  
 become.PST-3SG   EMPH=PROX   well

They tied the rope around the waist of the [son of] the Baloch mother; he kept going down (lit. went [and] went) until there...; this well was seven men's heights deep (lit. it is seven heads, this well).

A. Text Corpus

**AK:25**

'ēr 'kapta 'čāte tō'kā 'dā čā'retī 'haw 'ēdā  
 ēr kapt-a čāt-e tōkā dā čāret=ī haw ēdā  
 PREV fall.PST-PP well-GEN in until look.PST=PC.3SG yes here

yak 'rošnē zā'her ē 'šo 'dāke  
 yak rošn=ē zāher =ē šo-Ø dāke  
 one light=IND visible =COP.NPST.3SG go.PST-3SG till

čā'retī yak je'nekē 'hančē šarran'gē  
 čāret=ī yak jenek=ē hančē šarrang-ē  
 look.PST=PC.3SG one daughter=IND such.ATTR beautiful-ATTR

xūbsū'ratē neš'ta 'ē lag'gī  
 xūbsūrat=ē nešt-a=Ø ē lagg-ī  
 beautiful=IND sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX start.NPST-3SG

'hamedā ēšī šīš'kār da'yaga  
 ham=edā ēšī šīškār day-ag-a  
 EMPH=here PROX.OBL whistle give.NPST-INF-OBL

He went down into the well; until he saw, yes, there was a light there (lit. here); he went, till he saw a very beautiful [and] good looking girl sitting [there]; he started to whistle for her there (lit. here).

**AK:26**

šīš'kār da o'šī 'byā 'ēdā 'to  
 šīškār da oš-ī by-ā-Ø ēdā to  
 whistle give.PST say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG here PN.2SG

'to če'taw 'ēdā āt'kagay 'ēdā balā'hānī  
 to četaw ēdā ātk-ag=ay ēdā balāh-ānī  
 PN.2SG how here come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG here ghoul-GEN.PL

ǰā'gāh ē 'hānnī 'byān 'trā  
 ǰāgah =ē hānnī by-ā-n trā  
 place =COP.NPST.3SG now SBJV-come.NPST-3PL PN.2SG.OBJ

pe'lekkā 'tī 'hōn 'tramp ka'pagā  
 pelekk-ā tī hōn tramp kap-ag-ā  
 eat.NPST-3PL PN.2SG.GEN blood drop fall.NPST-INF-OBL

'naylā  
 nay-el-ā  
 NEG-allow.NPST-3PL

He whistled; she said, “Come here, how did you, you come here; here is the place of the ghouls, [if] they come now, they will eat you up [and] they will not let even one drop of your blood fall [to the earth].”

**AK:27**

'ē	'borte	'hamōdā	lō'gā	'zo	'gārē
ē	bort=e	ham=ōdā	lōg-ā	zo	gār=ē
PROX	take.PST=PC.3SG	EMPH=there	house-OBL	take.PST	cave=IND

'kōntke	ha'mē	'gāre	tō'kay	'ko
kōntk=e	ham=ē	gār-e	tōkay	ko
dig.PST=PC.3SG	EMPH=PROX	cave-GEN	into.OBL.PC.3SG	do.PST

She took him home there; she dug (lit. took [and] dug) a cave [and] put him into this cave.

**AK:28**

'nī	'čizē	'pāčī	ko	'hamedā	'nešt
nī	čiz=ē	pāč=ī	ko	ham=edā	nešt-Ø
then	thing=IND	open=PC.3SG	do.PST	EMPH=here	sit.PST-3SG

Then he opened something [and] sat down there (lit. here).

**AK:29**

čō'bī	'ē	'lōg	ā'yānī	semeṭ
čōbī	ē	lōg	ā-yānī	semeṭ
you know	PROX	house	DIST-GEN.PL	cement

'nabīta	kōntkage
na-bīt-a=Ø	kōntk-ag=e
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	dig.PST-PP=PC.3SG

kōntkage	ha'menčō	ke	mar'domē	'nešt
kōntk-ag=e	ham=enčō	ke	mardom=ē	nešt-Ø
dig.PST-PP=PC.3SG	EMPH=this much	CLM	people=IND	sit.PST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>beka</i>	<i>ha'mīšī</i>	<i>tō'kāī</i>	<i>'ko</i>	<i>'nešt</i>
be-ka-Ø	ham=īš-ī	tōkā=ī	ko	nešt-Ø
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX-GEN	inside=PC.3SG	do.PST	sit.PST-3SG

You know, their house was not made of cement; she was digging; she was digging; this much that a person would be able to sit inside it; she put him inside it; he sat down.

**AK:30**

<i>'ā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ba'lāh</i>	<i>'ātkā</i>	<i>o'šī</i>	<i>'bōē</i>	<i>'bōē</i>
ā	ke	balāh	ātk-ā	oš-ī	bō=ē	bō=ē
DIST	CLM	ghoul	come.PST-3PL	say.NPST-3SG	smell=IND	smell=IND

<i>āda'mī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'bōē</i>	<i>'šmā</i>
ādam-ī	=ē	š-ī	bō=ē	šmā
human-ADJZ	=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	smell=EZ	PN.2PL

<i>ē</i>	<i>āda'mī</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>'manā</i>
=ē	ādam-ī	man	=ā	man-ā
=COP.NPST.3SG	human-ADJZ	PN.1SG	=COP.NPST.1SG	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'ware</i>	<i>'bore</i>	<i>o'šī</i>	<i>'enna</i>	<i>de'ga</i>
wār-e	b-or-e	oš-ī	enna	dega
eat.NPST-2PL	SBJV-eat.NPST-2PL	say.NPST-3SG	no	another

<i>'bōē</i>	<i>hast</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ba'gar</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>o'šī</i>
bō=ē	hast	=ē	bagar	ta-rā	oš-ī
smell=IND	be.NPST	=COP.NPST.3SG	beside	PN.2SG-OBJ	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'dega</i>	<i>'bō</i>	<i>'heč</i>	<i>'nēste</i>
dega	bō	heč	nēst=e
other	smell	anything	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

When the ghouls came, [one of them] said, “There is a smell, a smell of humans.”; she said, “It is your smell, I am human, [if] you want to eat me, [then] eat [me].”; it said, “No, there is another smell beside yours.”; she said, “There is no other smell.”

**AK:31**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'to</i>	<i>'čīyā</i>
nī	ham=ē	jenek-ā	go	to	čī-yā
then	EMPH=PROX	girl-OBL	say.PST	PN.2SG	why-OBL

*āt'kagay*                      *go'sī*                      *'byā*  
 ātk-ag=ay                      goš-ī                      by-ā-Ø  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG    say.NPST-3SG    IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

*'manī*                      *'ē*                      *'rang*                      *'ē*                      *rangā*                      *'manī*  
 man-ī                      ē                      rang                      ē                      rang-ā                      man-ī  
 PN.1SG-GEN    PROX    manner    PROX    manner-OBL    PN.1SG-3SG

*'maččē*                      *'bīta*                      *'manī*                      *'mačče*                      *'hōš*  
 mačč=ē                      bīt-a                      man-ī                      mačč-e                      hōš  
 date-palm=IND    become.PST-PP    PN.1SG-GEN    date-palm-GEN    cluster

*'ham* *'sāl* *borre'ta*                      *bor'tagante*                      *'manī*                      *'mačč*  
 ham    sāl    borret-a                      bort-ag-ant=e                      man-ī                      mačč  
 ADD    year    cut.PST-PP    take.PST-PP-3PL=PC.3SG    PN.1SG-GEN    date-palm

*'hamē*                      *'čīz*                      *'kojā*                      *'ēr*                      *ā*                      *ja'nekā*                      *'ā*                      *ke*  
 ham=ē                      čīz                      kojā                      ēr                      =ā                      janek-ā                      ā                      ke  
 EMPH=PROX    thing    where    PREV    =COP.NPST.3PL    girl-OBL    DIST    CLM

*šota'gā*                      *de'ga*                      *jā'hā*                      *ta'ragā*                      *'nī*  
 šot-ag=ā                      dega                      jāh-ā                      tarr-ag-ā                      nī  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL    another    place-OBL    walk.NPST-INF-OBL    now

*zor'ta*                      *'pēš*                      *dāšta*                      *o'sī*                      *'ē*                      *pētī'yānā*  
 zort-a                      pēš                      dāšt-a                      oš-ī                      ē                      pētīy-ān=ā  
 take.PST-PP    show    hold.PST-PP    say.NPST-3SG    PROX    trunk-OBL.PL=VCL

*ge'nday*                      *'ē*                      *'drō* *ča*                      *ga'war* *kīma'tīya*                      *'porr*  
 gend-ay                      ē                      drō    ča                      gawar    kīmatī-ya                      porr  
 see.NPST-2SG    PROX    all    from    gem    valuable-OBL    full

*ā*                      *'drō* *hameš*                      *ā*                      *šō'mayg*  
 =ā                      drō    ham=eš                      =ā                      šōmayg  
 =COP.NPST.3PL    all    EMPH=PROX    =COP.NPST.3PL    yours

*ā*                      *'goṛā*  
 =ā                      goṛā  
 =COP.NPST.3PL    well

Then this girl said, “Why did you come?”; he said, “Look, like this, like this, there was a date palm of mine; every year, it has cut my date palm clusters [and] taken them away; where are these things?”; when they went to another

A. Text Corpus

place to spend some time there (lit. for walking); then the girl showed [them to him]; she said, “Do you see these trunks?; all of them are full of valuable gems; well then all of them are yours.”

**AK:32**

'nī o'sī 'ēšā 'mā 'čētō  
 nī oš-ī ēš=ā mā čētō  
 then say.NPST-3SG PROX=COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG how

'bekanā 'čētō mā ko'sāne  
 be-kan-ā čētō mā koš-ān=e  
 SBJV-do.NPST-1SG how PN.1SG kill.NPST-1SG=PC.3PL

Then he said, “How should I deal with them?; how should I kill them?”

**AK:33**

go'sī pe'lān jā'gāhā 'do 'morg ā ya  
 goš-ī pelān jāgah-ā do morg =ā ya  
 say.NPST-3SG so and so place-OBL two chicken =COP.NPST.3PL one

na'rēnē ya ma'dagēnē  
 narēn=e ya madagēn=e  
 male=IND one female=IND

She said, “In a certain place there are two birds; one is male and the other female.

**AK:34**

'ē do'ēn 'morgā agan 'ta 'košay 'gorā  
 ē do-ēn morg-ā agan ta Ø-koš-ay gorā  
 PROX two-CL chicken-OBL.PL if PN.2SG SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG then

ā 'merā  
 ā mer-ā  
 DIST die.NPST-3PL

If you kill these two birds, then they will die.

**AK:35**

aga ē'sān 'taw 'košt 'nakanay...  
 aga ēš-ān taw košt-Ø na-kan-ay  
 if PROX-OBL.PL PN.2SG kill.PST-3SG NEG-do.NPST-2SG

*go'sī*            *ē'sānī*            *ko'sag*            *'čīen*  
 goš-ī            ēš-ānī            koš-ag            čī=en  
 say.NPST-3SG    PROX-GEN.PL    kill.NPST-INF    what=COP.NPST.3SG

*yak'kēn*    *da'mānā*            *ko'sāne*  
 yakk-ēn    dam-ān=ā            koš-ān=e  
 one-ATTR    moment-OBL.PL=VCL    kill.NPST-1SG=PC.3PL

If you are not able to kill them...”; he said, “It takes nothing to kill them (lit. what is their killing); I will kill them in one moment.”

**AK:36**

*'nī*    *'raw*            *'pēš*    *dārīte*            *'hamē*            *'janek*  
 nī    raw-Ø            pēš    dār-īt=e            ham=ē            janek  
 then    go.NPST-3SG    show    hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    EMPH=PROX    girl

*'hamē*            *'morgā*            *zī'rī*            *pē'sarā*    *na'rēne*    *sa'rā*  
 ham=ē            morg-ā            zīr-ī            pēsarā    narēn-e    sar-ā  
 EMPH=PROX    chicken-OBL    take.NPST-3SG    first    male-GEN    head-OBL

*sen'dī*            *'randā*    *mada'gēneā*            *'ē*  
 send-ī            randā    madagēn-e-ā            ē  
 take off. NPST-3SG    after    female-GEN-OBL    PROX

*'kāyā*            *'hamē*            *'nazīke*            *kay*  
 k-āy-ā            ham=ē            nazīk=e            k-ay-Ø  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL    EMPH=PROX    near=PC.3SG    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

*'hamē*            *lō'gānī*            *gwa'rā*    *ke*    *'bepotrā*  
 ham=ē            lōg-ānī            gwarā    ke    be-potr-ā  
 EMPH=PROX    house-GEN.PL    close    CLM    SBJV-enter.NPST-3PL

*'ōtī*            *lō'gā*            *ha'me*            *ǰā'gāh*    *'hančoke*    *mor'gā*  
 otī            lōg-ā            ham=e            ǰāgah    hančoke    morg-ā  
 REFL.GEN    house-OBL    EMPH=PROX    place    as soon as    chicken-OBL.PL

*ke*    *'das*    *'per*    *kanā*            *ā*    *'ōdā*    *ča*    *čen'gēz*  
 ke    das    per    kan-ā            ā    ōdā    ča    čengēz  
 CLM    hand    PREV    do.NPST-3PL    DIST    there    from    resistance



## A. Text Corpus

*kanā pa'me 'sā yā ā'hānī na*  
 kan-ā pame sā =yā ā-hānī na  
 do.NPST-3PL because life =COP.NPST.3PL DIST-GEN.PL right?

*ha'mē mor'gānī sa'rā sen'dī... 'nī*  
 ham=ē morg-ānī sar-ā send-ī nī  
 EMPH=PROX chicken-GEN.PL head-OBL take off. NPST-3SG then

*'hamē čī'zān kaš'sī 'bā ha'mē*  
 ham=ē čīz-ān kašš-ī bā-∅ ham=ē  
 EMPH=PROX thing-OBL.PL pull.NPST-3SG take.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX

*'čāte gwa'rā 'ēr ka*  
 čāt-e gwarā ēr ka-∅  
 well-GEN beside PREV put.NPST-3SG

Then, this girl went and showed him; he caught these birds; first he took off the head of the male one [and] then of the female one; they came close to these houses, up to the houses in order to come inside their house; in this place, as they [the boy and the girl] reached for the birds; there they [the ghouls] resisted for their life, because they were their souls, you know; he took off the head of these birds...; then, he pulled these things out, took [them] and put [them] beside this well.

### AK:37

*'ā mar'dom 'nī ham'ōdā neš'tagā 'čāte*  
 ā mardom nī ham=ōdā nešt-ag=ā čāt-e  
 DIST people now EMPH=there sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL well-GEN

*da'pā 'hamē 'sādeš dāš'ta*  
 dap-ā ham=ē sād=eš dāšt-a  
 lid-OBL EMPH=PROX rope=PC.3PL hold.PST-PP

*neš'tagā*  
 nešt-ag=ā  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

Now, those people were sitting there at the well, [and] they were holding this rope [and] sitting [there].

## AK:38

'ē 'nī ya 'barē kaš'sān ka  
 ē nī ya bar=ē kašš-ān ka-Ø  
 PROX you know one time=IND pull.NPST-OBL.PL do.NPST-3SG

ha'mē pē'tīyā̃ kaš'sāne ka  
 ham=ē pētīy-ā̃ kašš-ān=e ka-Ø  
 EMPH=PROX trunk-OBL.PL pull.NPST-OBL.PL=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG

kaš'sāne ka 'nazānā̃ 'no  
 kašš-ān=e ka-Ø na-zān-ā̃ no  
 pull.NPST-OBL.PL=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG NEG-know.NPST-1SG nine

bītagā 'bārē̃ 'čenčō  
 bīt-ag=ā bārē̃ čenčō  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL question word how many

bītā sa'jēn mod'date 'ēšā̃ kaš'ta  
 bīt-ā sa'j-ēn moddat=e ēš-ā̃ kašt-a  
 become.PST-3PL all-ATTR time=PC.3PL PROX-OBL.PL pull.PST-PP

bor'tā 'ē ba'lāhā̃  
 bort-ā ē balāh-ā̃  
 take.PST-3PL PROX ghoul-OBL.PL

You know, he pulled all [these trunks]; he pulled them; he pulled them; I do not know, were there nine?; I do not know how many there were; during all this time, they had snatched (lit. pulled) [and] taken [them], these ghouls.

## AK:39

'nī 'ā gen'dā 'ē 'čīz ā ke 'mā  
 nī ā gend-ā ē čīz =ā ke mā  
 then DIST see.NPST-3PL PROX thing =COP.NPST.3PL CLM PN.1PL

do'ēn 'brāt ā'ort 'nakotā 'ēšīyā  
 do-ēn brāt āort na-kot-ā ēšī-yā  
 two-CL brother bring.PST NEG-do.PST-3PL PROX.DIR-OBL

ā'ortā 'nī ja'nekā go'sī 'to 'dar  
 āort-ā nī janek-ā goš-ī to dar  
 bring.PST-3PL now girl-OBL say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG PREV

A. Text Corpus

*ā*

Ø-ā-Ø

SBJV-come.NPST-2SG

Then they [his brothers] saw, these are the things that we, the two brothers, were not able to bring; [but] he brought them; then he [the boy in the well] said to the girl, “You get out.”

**AK:40**

<i>je'nek</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>ā</i>
jenek	goš-ī	taw	dar	Ø-ā-Ø
girl	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	PREV	SBJV-come.NPST-2SG

The girl said, “You get out.”

**AK:41**

<i>ja'nekā</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>'ba</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>	<i>gō</i>
janek-ā	hanī	zīr-ī	ba-Ø	gō	jenek-ā	gō
girl-OBL	right now	take.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG	with	girl-OBL	with

<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>čī'zān</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>rō'pag</i>
ham=ē	čīz-ān	gō	rōp-ag
EMPH=PROX	thing-OBL.PL	with	sweep.NPST-INF

*ra'wagē*

raw-ag=ē

go.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

Then he took the girl with himself; he took the girl [and] all these things and went.

**AK:42**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>byāyā</i>
nī	jenek	goš-ī	aga	mā	dar	by-āy-ā
then	girl	say.NPST-3SG	if	PN.1SG	PREV	SBJV-come.NPST-1SG

<i>'taw</i>	<i>'goṛā</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>ātk</i>	<i>'nakanay</i>	<i>'sī</i>	<i>'čētō</i>
taw	goṛā	dar	ātk	na-kan-ay	š-ī	čētō
PN.2SG	then	PREV	come.PST	NEG-do.NPST-2SG	say.NPST-3SG	how

'šī                    'hančō  
 š-ī                    hančō  
 say.NPST-3SG    this way

Then the girl said, “If I get out, then you will not able to get out.”; he said, “How [come]?”; she said, “That’s the way it is (lit. this way).”

**AK:43**

'ōtī                    'daste                    ha'mē                    san'gawā                    kaš'šī  
 otī                    dast=e                    ham=e                    sangaw-ā                    kašš-ī  
 REFL.GEN    hand=PC.3SG    EMPH=PROX    bangle-OBL    pull.NPST-3SG

'dante                    o'šī                    ē'sīyā                    'to  
 dan-t=e                    oš-ī                    ēšī-yā                    to  
 give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    say.NPST-3SG    PROX.DIR-OBL    PN.2SG

'zīr                    gō                    'wat                    'beka  
 Ø-zīr-Ø                    gō                    wat                    be-ka-Ø  
 IMPV-seize.NPST-2SG    with    REFL    IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

She removed this bangle of hers [and] gave [it] to him; she said, “Take this and keep it with yourself.”

**AK:44**

ja'nekā                    ke                    'kašt...                    kaš'sante                    ḍan'nā                    gen'dā  
 janek-ā                    ke                    kašt                    kašš-ant=e                    ḍann-ā                    gend-ā  
 girl-OBL    CLM    pull.PST    pull.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG    out-OBL    see.NPST-3PL

'ā                    'brāt                    'ē                    o'šī                    ma'nīng                    ē                    'ā  
 ā                    brāt                    ē                    oš-ī                    manīng                    =ē                    ā  
 DIST    brother    PROX    say.NPST-3SG    mine                    =COP.NPST.3SG    DIST

o'šī                    ma'nīng                    ē                    'pet                    o'šī                    šo'mā  
 oš-ī                    manīng                    =ē                    pet                    oš-ī                    šomā  
 say.NPST-3SG    mine                    =COP.NPST.3SG    father    say.NPST-3SG    PN.2PL

'ya                    'barē                    'sab                    kāne                    'šomay                    'brāt                    'hanga  
 ya                    bar=e                    sab                    Ø-kan-e                    šomay                    brāt                    hanga  
 one    time=IND    patience    IMPV-do.NPST-2PL    PN.PL.GEN    brother    still

'cāte                    'tōk                    ē                    šo'mā                    'taw                    'šay                    ma'nīng  
 čāt-e                    tōk                    =ē                    šomā                    taw                    š-ay                    manīng  
 well-GEN    in                    =COP.NPST.3SG    PN.2PL    PN.2SG    say.NPST-2SG    mine

A. Text Corpus

*ē*                      *'ā*    *'šī*                      *ma'nīng ē*  
 =ē                      ā    š-ī                      manīng =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG DIST say.NPST-3SG mine =COP.NPST.3SG

*'bele*                      *'ā*    *ya*    *'barē*    *'dar*    *kay*  
 b-el-e                      ā    ya    bar=ē    dar    k-ay-Ø  
 IMPV-allow.NPST-2PL DIST one time=IND PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

When he pulled the girl... they pulled her out, they saw [her], those brothers, this one said, “She is mine”; that one said, “She is mine”; the father said, “Wait for a little while; your bother is still in the well; you, you are saying; she is mine; he says; she is mine; wait till he comes out [of the well].”

**AK:45**

*'ā*    *ke*    *sā'dā*    *gō*    *kaš'šagatantī*  
 ā    ke    sād-ā    gō    kašš-ag=at-ant=ī  
 DIST CLM rope-OBL with pull.NPST-INF=COP.PST-3PL=PC.3SG

*'čātā*    *pad'ānkē*    *wa*    *'per*    *nēsta*                      *ke*  
 čāt-ā    padānk=ē    wa    per    nē=a                      ke  
 well-OBL foot step=IND FOC PREV NEG.COP.NPST.3SG=COP.PST CLM

*'wat*    *'dar*    *byaytē*  
 wat    dar    by-ay-t=ē  
 REFL PREV SBJV-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

When they were pulling him up with the rope; there was no footstep in the well for him to come out himself.

**AK:46**

*'nazānā*                      *čē'tō*    *ē'sān*                      *ja'ta*                      *balā'hā*  
 na-zān-ā                      čētō    ēš-ān                      jat-a                      balāh-ā  
 NEG-know.NPST-1SG how PROX-OBL.PL beat.PST-PP ghoul-OBL.PL

*kambāt*    *ā*  
 kambāt    =ā  
 damned =COP.NPST.3PL

I do not know; how these damned ghouls had dug [it].

**AK:47**

'nī go'sī kaš'sagā ba'yante yak  
 nī goš-ī kašš-ag-ā bay-ant=e yak  
 then say.NPST-3SG pull.NPST-INF-OBL become.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG one

'sarē bač'čī ke 'dar 'beyayte  
 sar=e bačč-ī ke dar bey-ay-t=e  
 head=IND leave.NPST-3SG CLM PREV SBJV-come.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

'petā ōtī ka'mokē del'gōš taga'lēnt  
 pet-ā ōt-ī kam-ok=e delgōš tagalēn-t  
 father-OBL REFL-GEN little-EV=IND attention move.NPST.CAUS-3SG

'čamme 'dega 'nēmagē ko'tagā maste'rēn 'brātā  
 čamm=e dega nēmag=e kot-ag-ā mas-ter-ēn brāt-ā  
 eye=PC.3SG other side=IND do.PST-PP-3PL old-CMP-ATTR brother-OBL

čān'kūē kī'sagā 'zo čān'kū 'čēr dā ha'mē  
 čānkū=e kīsag-ā zo čānkū čēr dāt ham=e  
 knife=IND pocket-OBL take.PST knife down give.PST EMPH=PROX

'sāde bor're 'ā ba'čak 'šo  
 sād=e borre ā bačak šo-Ø  
 rope=PC.3SG cut.PST DIST boy go.PST-3SG

Then, it is said; they were pulling him up; one man's height was left for him to come out; the father didn't pay attention for a little while; he looked in another direction; the oldest brother took out a knife from his pocket; he put it under [the rope and] cut this rope; that boy fell down (lit. went) [inside the well].

**AK:48**

'nī o'sī 'sād 'sest  
 nī oš-ī sād sest  
 then say.NPST-3SG rope break.PST

Then he said, "The rope broke."

**AK:49**

'nī 'ā ba'čak šo pa'dā ha'mā 'čāte tō'kā  
 nī ā bačak šo-Ø padā ham=ā čāt-e tōkā  
 you know DIST boy go.PST-3SG again EMPH=DIST well-GEN in

A. Text Corpus

'ē šotā 'drō mē'tagā  
 ē šot-ā drō mētag-ā  
 PROX go.PST-3PL all home-OBL

You know, that boy fell down (lit. went) into that well again; they all came back home.

**AK:50**

'nī maste'rēn 'brāt go'sī ma'nīng ē  
 nī mas-ter-ē brāt goš-ī manīng =ē  
 now big-CMP-ATTR brother say.NPST-3SG mine =COP.NPST.3SG

kaste'rē go'sī ma'nīng ē  
 kas-ter-ē goš-ī manīng =ē  
 young-CMP-ATTR say.NPST-3SG mine =COP.NPST.3SG

Now the oldest brother said, “She is mine.”; the youngest one said, “She is mine.”

**AK:51**

je'nek o'tī san'gawā 'dā o'sī 'ē  
 jenek otī sangaw-ā dā oš-ī ē  
 girl REFL.GEN bangle-OBL give.PST say.NPST-3SG PROX

'manī san'gawā 'bezīret šo'mā har 'waktēga  
 man-ī sangaw-ā be-zīr-ēt šomā har waktēga  
 PN.1SG-GEN bangle-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-2PL PN.2PL every whenever

'ē s... san'gawe 'maṭṭ 'aḍḍ ko 'gorā 'mā  
 ē s sangaw-e maṭṭ aḍḍ ko gorā mā  
 PROX FRAG bangle-GEN identical copy make do.PST then PN.1SG

ham'āhīyge ā aga 'aḍḍ 'nabī 'gorā  
 ham=āhīyge =ā aga aḍḍ na-b-ī gorā  
 EMPH=his =COP.NPST.1SG if make NEG-become.NPST-3SG then

'bzān ke ha'mā 'wat 'byayt  
 b-zān ke ham=ā wat by-ay-t  
 SBJV-know.NPST CLM EMPH=DIST REFL SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

ē ha'mā xodā'bond ke 'manā  
 =ē ham=ā xodābond ke man-ā  
 =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=DIST master CLM PN.1SG-OBJ

*kašš'tage*  
 kaššt-ag=e  
 pull.PST-PP=PC.3SG

The girl gave her bangle [and] said, “Take this bangle of mine, whenever you make... [if one of you makes] an identical copy of this bangle; then I will be his; if it is not made, then you know, that one himself should come, that master who has pulled me up [from the well].”

**AK:52**

'nī ēšīā... 'dōl 'dōm bī ē'sānī  
 nī ēšī-ā dōl dōm b-ī ēš-ānī  
 now PROX.DIR-OBL drum echo become.NPST-3SG PROX-GEN.PL

sīr ē zarga'rānī 'tōk 'tōk ē  
 sīr =ē zargar-ānī tōktōk =ē  
 wedding =COP.NPST.3SG goldsmith-GEN.PL clunk =COP.NPST.3SG

bor'ta ba... dā'ta 'petā ga'war kīma'tī 'nī o  
 bort-a ba dāt-a pet-ā gawar kīmatī nī =o  
 take.PST-PP FRAG give.PST-PP father-OBL gem valuable now =FOC

močč ā ke ha'mē san'gawe 'tāhe 'aḏḏ  
 močč =ā ke ham=e sangaw-e tāh-e aḏḏ  
 wrist =COP.NPST.3PL CLM EMPH=PROX bangle-GEN single-GEN make

'bekā 'harčī 'jante ē o'sī  
 be-kā-Ø harčī jan-t=e ē oš-ī  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG whatever hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG PROX say.NPST-3SG

'ē o san'gawe 'maṭṭ 'nē 'nī 'šar  
 ē =o sangaw-e maṭṭ nē nī šar  
 PROX =FOC bangle-GEN identical copy NEG.COP.NPST.3SG now fine

ē ē'sīyā 'mazīr de'ge  
 =ē ēšī-yā ma-zīr-Ø dege  
 =COP.NPST.3SG PROX.DIR-OBL PROH-take.NPST-2SG another

'trā po 'do 'aḏḏ kanē o'sī mā  
 trā po do aḏḏ kan-ē oš-ī mā  
 PN.2SG.OBJ for two make do.NPST-1PL say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG



A. Text Corpus

<i>ē'sā</i>	<i>'nazīrā̃</i>	<i>wa'tīgā</i>	<i>'lōtā̃</i>
ēš-ā	na-zīr-ā̃	waṭīg-ā	lōṭ-ā̃

PROX-OBL NEG-take.NPST-OBL.PL own-OBL want.NPST-1SG

Now he... there was drumming; their wedding was upcoming (lit. is); there was the beating of the goldsmiths; he brought... the father had given now there were a lot of valuable gems to make the other bangle in the pair; whatever they made (lit. hit); [but] she said, “This is not the same as the bangle”; [someone said] “Alright, do not take this, we will make another two for you”; she said, “I do not want this, I want mine.”

**AK:53**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>ē'sā̃</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>ran'gā</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>ran'gā</i>
nī	ēš-ā̃	ham=ē	rang-ā	ham=ē	rang-ā

now PROX-OBL.PL EMPH=PROX kind-OBL EMPH=PROX kind-OBL

<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ba'čak</i>	<i>raw</i>	<i>dā̃</i>	<i>čā'rī</i>	<i>yak</i>
dāke	ā	bačak	raw-Ø	dā̃	čār-ī	yak

until DIST boy go.NPST-3SG you know look.NPST-3SG one

<i>sī'morgē</i>	<i>sī'morge</i>	<i>čok'k</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>čō</i>
sīmorg=ē	sīmorg-e	čokk	=ā	čō

fabulous bird=IND fabulous bird-GEN chick =COP.NPST.3PL you know

<i>ǰrende</i>	<i>ē'dā</i>	<i>'nayē</i>	<i>'čokke</i>
ǰrend=e	ēdā	nay-=ē	čokk=e

self=PC.3SG here NEG=COP.NPST.3SG chick=PC.3SG

<i>ḍalen'tagā</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>čok'kānī</i>	<i>wa'ragā</i>	<i>po</i>
ḍalent-ag-ā	ham=ē	čokk-ānī	wār-ag-ā	po

fall down.PST-PP-3PL EMPH=PROX child-GEN.PL eat.NPST-INF-OBL for

<i>'mārē</i>	<i>'kayt</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>
mār=ē	k-ay-t	=ē	ham=ē

snake=IND IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX

<i>čok'kā̃</i>	<i>'wart</i>	<i>raw</i>
čokk-ā̃	wār-t	raw-Ø

chick-OBL.PL eat.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG

Now the story goes on (lit. like this, like this), until that boy went; you know, he saw, there was a fabulous bird, there were the fabulous bird's chicks; you know, it itself was not here; its chick fell down; a snake was coming to eat

these chicks; it ate these chicks [and] went.

**AK:54**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ba'čak</i>	<i>'rawtē</i>		<i>ha'mē</i>
ē	bačak	raw-t=ē		ham=ē
PROX	boy	go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=PROX	

<i>sī'morge</i>	<i>čīpo'kānī</i>	<i>wa'ragā</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>
sīmorg-e	čīpok-ānī	wār-ag-ā	čōbī
fabulous bird-GEN	chick-GEN.PL	eat.NPST-INF-OBL	you know

<i>'naylūtē</i>		<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'mārā</i>
nay-el-īt=ē		ham=ē	mār-ā
NEG-allow.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=PROX	snake-OBL	

<i>'mārā</i>	<i>zī'rī</i>	<i>ǰant</i>	<i>ko'sī</i>
mār-ā	zīr-ī	ǰan-t	koš-ī
snake-OBL	take.NPST-3SG	hit.NPST-3SG	kill.NPST-3SG

This boy went [and] you know, did not allow this snake to eat the fabulous bird's chicks; he took [and] killed the snake (lit. he takes, beats, kills).

**AK:55**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>sī'morg</i>	<i>pē'dāg ē</i>	<i>'hančō</i>	<i>'zār</i>
nī	sīmorg	pēdāg =ē	hančō	zār
then	fabulous bird	visible =COP.NPST.3SG	like this	angry

<i>ē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'ham</i>	<i>'bezã</i>
=ē	ham	sāl	ēšī	ham	be-zã-Ø
=COP.NPST.3SG	ADD	year	PROX.GEN	ADD	SBJV-know.NPST-2SG

<i>čōrokã</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'mār</i>	<i>wa'ragē</i>
čōrok-ã	ham=ē	mār	wār-ag=ē
chick-OBL.PL	EMPH=PROX	snake	eat.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

Then the fabulous bird was coming; it was very angry; you know, every year this snake was eating its chicks.

**AK:56**

<i>yak</i>	<i>čō'rokē</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>'naya</i>
yak	čōrok=ē	ham	pa	ēšī	wāstā	sar	nay=a
one	chick=IND	ADD	for	PROX.GEN	for the sake of	head	NEG=COP.PST

## A. Text Corpus

*ha'me 'nī gen'dī ke ba'čakā 'čō čā'der*  
 ham=e nī gend-ī ke bačak-ā čō čāder  
 EMPH=PROX you know see.NPST-3SG CLM boy-OBL like chador

*dāš'ta o ha'mē čō'rok 'čō ha'mē čā'dere*  
 dāšt-a =o ham=ē čōrok čō ham=ē čāder-e  
 hold.PST-PP =and EMPH=PROX chick like EMPH=PROX chador-GEN

*sāh'egā ko'tagante 'rōče sa'rā ā*  
 sāheg-ā kot-ag-ant=e rōč-e sarā =ā  
 shadow-OBL do.PST-PP-3PL=PC.3SG day-GEN on =COP.NPST.3PL

It did not leave even one for it; you know, it saw /that/, the boy held something like a mantle (lit. chador) and put these chicks like this in the shadow of this mantle; they were [hidden] from the sun (lit. they were under the sun).

### AK:57

*'ē māt gen'dī 'čent balāhē 'dōkē*  
 ē māt gend-ī čen-t balāh-ē dōk=ē  
 PROX mother see.NPST-3SG pick.NPST-3SG big-ATTR stone=IND

*go'sī 'ē 'bzā 'manī čō'rok*  
 goš-ī ē b-zā-Ø man-ī čōrok  
 say.NPST-3SG PROX SBJV-know.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-GEN chick

*hamē'sīyā wār'tagā*  
 ham=ēšī-yā wārt-ag-ā  
 EMPH=PROX.DIR-OBL eat.PST-PP-3PL

This mother saw [this]; it picked up a big stone, you know; it said, “He has eaten my chicks.

### AK:58

*bor'tagantī 'ē čō'rok may'dān kanā*  
 bort-ag-ant=ī ē čōrok maydān kan-ā  
 take.PST-PP-3PL=PC.3SG PROX chick step do.NPST-3PL

*go'sī ē'sīyā 'mārā ne'jāt dāta*  
 goš-ī ēšī-yā mā-rā nejāt dāt-a  
 say.NPST-3SG PROX.DIR-OBL PN.1PL-OBJ save give.PST-PP

'mē            balā'hē̃    'mārē    bīta  
 mē            balāh-ē̃    mār=ē    bīt-a=Ø  
 PN.1PL.GEN big-ATTR snake=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

koš'tagī                    'nī    'māt    'kay                    'mārā  
 košt-ag=ī                    nī    māt    k-ay-Ø                    mār-ā  
 kill.PST-PP=PC.3SG then mother IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG snake-OBL

gen'dī            gen'dī            'nī    o'sī            'arz  
 gend-ī            gend-ī            nī    oš-ī            arz  
 see.NPST-3SG see.NPST-3SG then say.NPST-3SG wish

'beka                    'mā    tī                    ar'zā            pū'ro kanā̃  
 be-ka-Ø                    mā    tī                    arz-ā            pūro kan-ā̃  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN wish-OBL filled do.NPST-1SG

He has taken them”; the chicks came running [and] said, “He has saved us, there was this big snake of us; he has killed it”; then the mother came [and] saw the snake; it saw the dead snake (lit. it); then it said, “Make a wish, I will fulfill your wish.”

**AK:59**

go'sī                    'manā            de'ge    'arzē            'heč  
 goš-ī                    man-ā            dege    arz=ē            heč  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ another wish=IND nothing

'neste                                            'manā            'hapt ta'bakā    'sar  
 nest=e                                            man-ā            hapt tabak-ā    sar  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ seven floor-OBL onto

za'mīnā    b...    'bar                                    'man    'zer    za'mīn  
 zamīn-ā    b            Ø-bar-Ø                                    man    zer    zamīn  
 earth-OBL FRAG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG PN.1SG under earth

ā̃                                    'manā            'sar    za'mīnā    'bebar  
 =ā̃                                    man-ā            sar    zamīn-ā    be-bar-Ø  
 =COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG-OBJ onto earth-OBL IMPV-carry.NPST-2SG

He said, “I do not have any other wish (lit. there is no wish for me) [but] take me seven floors to the ground; I am under the ground; take me onto the ground.”

A. Text Corpus

**AK:60**

'šī	'čō	mā	'trā	'bort	'nakanā
š-ī	čō	mā	trā	bort	na-kan-ā

say.NPST-3SG like PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ take.PST NEG-do.NPST-1SG

'borō	'hapt	'herr...	pe'lān	jā'hā
bo-rō-Ø	hapt	herr	pelān	jāh-ā

SBJV-go.NPST-2SG seven baby camel so and so place-OBL

'bečā	oš'ter	ča'rag	ā	'hapt
be-čā-Ø	ošter	čar-ag	=ā	hapt

IMPV-look.NPST-2SG camel graz.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3PL seven

'herr	'bekoš
herr	be-koš-Ø

baby camel IMPV-kill.NPST-2SG

It said, “I am not able to take you like this; go; seven baby camels... look in a certain place the camels are grazing; kill seven baby camels.”

**AK:61**

'ē	'rawtē	ha'mē	her'rā
ē	raw-t=ē	ham=ē	herr-ā

PROX go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX baby camel-OBL.PL

ge'rī	'hapt	'herr	ko'sī
ger-ī	hapt	herr	koš-ī

take.NPST-3SG seven baby camel kill.NPST-3SG

He went [and] took these baby camels; he killed seven baby camels.

**AK:62**

'nī	o'sī	pōs'tā	'zī	'āp	'mān
nī	oš-ī	pōst-ā	Ø-zī-Ø	āp	mān

then say.NPST-3SG skin-OBL.PL SBJV-seize.NPST-2SG water filled

kā	jō'nā	drōs'tā	'manī	gar'denā
Ø-kā-Ø	jōn-ā	drost-ā	man-ī	garden-ā

IMPV-do.NPST-2SG carcasse-OBL.PL all-OBL.PL PN.1SG-GEN neck-OBL

'laḏḏ

Ø-ladd-Ø

IMPV-move.PR-2SG

Then it said, “Take their skins; fill [them] with water, [and] load all the carcasses on my neck.

**AK:63**

<i>mã</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'sarē</i>	<i>ra'wã</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'jōnē</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'pōstē</i>
mã	ya	sar=ē	raw-ã	ya	jōn=ē	ya	pōst=ē
PN.1SG	one	head=IND	go.NPST-1SG	one	carcasse=IND	one	skin=IND

<i>'manī</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'dawr</i>	<i>beday</i>
man-ī	dap-ā	dawr	be-d-ay
PN.1SG-GEN	mouth-OBL	throwing	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

[When] I go one floor (lit. head) [up]; put one carcass [and] one skin [filled with water] into my mouth.”

**AK:64**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'hančo</i>	<i>'kanã</i>	<i>kantē</i>
nī	hančo	kan-ã	kan-t=ē
you know	like this	do.NPST-OBL.PL	do.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>hap'tē</i>	<i>herrã</i>	<i>ko'sī</i>
ham=ē	hapt-ē	herr-ã	koš-ī
EMPH=PROX	seven-CL	baby camel-OBL.PL	kill.NPST-3SG

<i>pōs'tāne</i>	<i>kaš'sī</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>'čont</i>	<i>'wakt</i>
pōst-ān=e	kašš-ī	nī	čont	wakt
skin-OBL.PL=PC.3PL	pull.NPST-3SG	you know	some	time

<i>lag'gī</i>	<i>na</i>
lagg-ī	na
start.NPST-3SG	right?

You know, he kept doing like this; he killed these seven baby camels, [and] removed their skin; you know, it took some time.

A. Text Corpus

**AK:65**

*ta'yokā bī*  
 tayok-ā b-ī  
 alone-OBL become.NPST-3SG

He was alone.

**AK:66**

*'nī 'ē herr'ã zī'rī pōs'tã 'āp 'mān*  
 nī ē herr-ã zīr-ī pōst-ã āp mān  
 then PROX baby camel-OBL.PL take.NPST-3SG skin-OBL.PL water filled

*ka 'hamē 'jōnã 'hamē pōstã*  
 ka-Ø ham=ē jōn-ã ham=ē pōst-ã  
 do.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX carcasse-OBL.PL EMPH=PROX skin-OBL.PL

*sī'morge gar'denā dā 'wat hã nen'dī*  
 sīmorg-e garden-ā dā-Ø wat hã nendēn-ī  
 fabulous bird-GEN neck-OBL give.NPST-3SG REFL ADD place.NPST-3SG

*ha'mē sī'morge gar'denā 'nī 'ē 'dar*  
 ham=ē sīmorg-e garden-ā nī ē dar  
 EMPH=PROX fabulous bird-GEN neck-OBL you know PROX PREV

*kan'ānī 'ka 'dar ka'nānī*  
 kan-ān=ī ka-Ø dar kan-ān=ī  
 do.NPST-OBL.PL=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG PREV do.NPST-OBL.PL=PC.3SG

*'ka yak 'sarēā 'rawtē yak*  
 ka-Ø yak sar=ē-ā raw-t=ē yak  
 do.NPST-3SG one head=IND-OBL go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG one

*'jōnē yak 'pōstē 'dawr 'dã ha'mē*  
 jōn=ē yak pōst=ē dawr dā-Ø ham=ē  
 carcasse=IND one skin=IND throwing give.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX

*ḍawlā 'dãke āxe'rī bā'rīg bī ha'mē*  
 ḍawl-ā ḍãke āxe=r-ī bārīg b-ī ham=ē  
 manner-OBL until last=PC.3SG turn become.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX

*č'o'bī*      *'gōšt ka'pī*                      *'pōste*      *'āp*      *da'pā*  
 čobī      gōšt kap-ī                      pōst-e      āp      dap-ā  
 you know meat fall.NPST-3SG skin-GEN water mouth-OBL

*'rawtē*  
 raw-t=ē  
 go.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

Then he took these baby camels, [and] filled the skins with water; he put (lit. gave) these carcasses [and] these skins on the neck of the fabulous bird, [and] he himself sat on the neck of the fabulous bird as well; you know, it kept [climbing up to] take him out; it kept [climbing up to] take him out; it went up one man's height; he threw one carcass [and] one skin [into its mouth]; [he did] this way until it was the last turn; you know, this meat fell down [but] the skin of water came into its mouth.

**AK:67**

*'nī*      *'zī...*                      *čā'retī*                      *'gōšt la'košt*  
 nī      zī-Ø                      čāret=ī                      gōšt lakošt  
 then take.NPST-3SG look.PST=PC.3SG meat fall down.PST

*sī'morge*                      *da'pā*                      *'našo*                      *zī'rīt*                      *'ē*  
 sīmorg-e                      dap-ā                      na-šo                      zīr-īt                      ē  
 fabulous bird-GEN mouth-OBL NEG-go.PST take.NPST-3SG PROX

*baz'rāne*      *'gōštē*                      *ga'paṛē*      *bor'rī*                      *zī'rī*  
 bazrān-e      gōšt=ē                      gapaṛ=ē      borr-ī                      zīr-ī  
 thigh-GEN meat=PC.3SG big=IND cut.NPST-3SG take.NPST-3SG

*'dante*                      *'dape*                      *tō'kā*  
 dan-t=e                      dap-e                      tōkā  
 give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG mouth-GEN into

Then he took... he saw /that/, the meat fell down; it did not go into the fabulous bird's mouth; he took [and] cut a big [piece of] meat from this thigh of his; took [and] put it into its mouth.

**AK:68**

*'ā*      *zī'rī*                      *da'pā*                      *dā'rīte*                      *o'sī*  
 ā      zīr-ī                      dap-ā                      dār-īt=e                      oš-ī  
 DIST take.NPST-3SG mouth-OBL hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG say.NPST-3SG



A. Text Corpus

<i>ensā'nī</i>	<i>'gōšt ē</i>	<i>ē'sīyā</i>	<i>'nawa</i>
ensān-ī	gōšt =ē	ēšī-yā	na-wā-Ø
human-GEN	meat =COP.NPST.3SG	PROX.DIR-OBL	NEG-also-3SG

It took [and] kept it in its mouth; It said, “It is human meat”; it didn’t eat [it].

**AK:69**

<i>'nī</i>	<i>'bartī</i>	<i>'dannā</i>	<i>o'sī</i>
nī	bar-t=ī	dann-ā	oš-ī
you know	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	outside-OBL	say.NPST-3SG

<i>bo'raw</i>	<i>o'sī</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>'boro</i>
bo-raw-Ø	oš-ī	na	taw	bo-ro-Ø
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	say.NPST-3SG	no	PN.2SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'narawā</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>ka'dam</i>
š-ī	mā	na-raw-ā	dāke	taw	kadam
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	NEG-go.NPST-1SG	until	PN.2SG	step

*'naĵanay*

na-ĵan-ay

NEG-hit.NPST-2SG

You know, it took [him] outside; it said, “Go.”; he said, “No, you go.”; it said, “I won’t go until you walk [away].”

**AK:70**

<i>'dītī</i>	<i>ra'wag</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'čō</i>	<i>'lang</i>
dīt=ī	raw-ag	=ē	čō	lang
see.PST=PC.3SG	go.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.3SG	like	limp

<i>kanagē</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'gōšt</i>	<i>pa'dā</i>	<i>'kaštī</i>
kan-ag=ē	ham=ē	gōšt	padā	kašt=ī
do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=PROX	meat	again	pull.PST=PC.3SG

<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'če</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'pādā</i>	<i>'ĵate</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'pād</i>
dap-ā	če	ēšī	pād-ā	ĵat=e	ēšī	pād
mouth-OBL	what	PROX.OBL	foot-OBL	hit.PST=PC.3SG	PROX.OBL	foot

<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>'pād</i>	<i>'bī</i>	<i>'lagge</i>	<i>ra'wagā</i>
ham=ā	pād	bī-Ø	lagge	raw-ag-ā
EMPH=DIST	foot	become.PST-3SG	start.PST	go.NPST-INF-OBL

It saw, he was walking [but] he was limping like this; it took out this meat

from its mouth again [and] put it on his leg; his leg became alright [and] he started to walk.

**AK:71**

'šo 'ōdā 'raw zarga'rānī gwa'rā 'nī  
 šo-Ø ōdā raw-Ø zargar-ānī gwarā nī  
 go.PST-3SG there go.NPST-3SG goldsmith-GEN.PL to then

čā'rī 'tōk 'tōk ě zarga'rā s...  
 čār-ī tōktōk =ě zargar-ā s  
 look.NPST-3SG clunk =COP.NPST.3SG goldsmith-OBL FRAG

zarge'rī ka'nag ā 'sor ja'nag  
 zarger-ī kan-ag =ā sor jan-ag  
 goldsmith-ADJZ do.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3PL gold hit.NPST-INF

ā 'āngo dōlā na'zānā 'say  
 =ā āngo dōl-ā na-zān-ā say  
 =COP.NPST.3PL other side drum-OBL.PL NEG-know.NPST-1SG three

'māh ě 'čār māh ě dō'lānī  
 māh =ě čār māh =ě dōl-ānī  
 month =COP.NPST.3SG four month =COP.NPST.3SG drum-GEN.PL

'tawār a'sa 'band 'nabī bād'šāhe 'čoke  
 tawār asa band na-b-ī bādšāh-e čok-e  
 sound never stop NEG-become.NPST-3SG king-GEN child-GEN

'sīr ě 'bale san'gaw 'aḏḏ 'nabī  
 sīr =ě bale sangaw aḏḏ na-b-ī  
 wedding =COP.NPST.3SG but bangle make NEG-become.NPST-3SG

He went there; he went to the goldsmiths; then he looked, there was the goldsmiths' beating...; they were making things (lit. doing goldsmith-work); they were making gold [en things]; they were playing the drums on the other side; I do not know; was it for three months; was it for four months; the sound of drumming never stopped; it was the king's son's wedding; but the bangle could not be (lit. is not) made.

A. Text Corpus

**AK:72**

'šo            'šī            šo'mā    'čē    ka'nēt  
 šo-Ø        š-ī            šomā    čē    kan-et  
 go.PST-3SG   say.NPST-3SG   PN.2PL   what   do.NPST-2PL

He went [there and] said, “What are you doing?”

**AK:73**

o'sī            bād'sāhe...   san'gawē    ār'ta            o'sī  
 oš-ī            bādšāh-e    sangaw=ē    ārt-a            oš-ī  
 say.NPST-3SG   king-GEN    bangle=IND   bring.PST-PP   say.NPST-3SG

'ē            san'gawe    'maṭṭā            'bejanet            'nī    'mā  
 ē            sangaw-e    maṭṭ-ā            be-ḵan-ēt            nī    mā  
 PROX   bangle-GEN   identical copy-OBL   SBJV-hit.NPST-2PL   now   PN.1PL

'harčī        ka'nē  
 harčī        kan-ē  
 whatever   do.NPST-1PL

[One of them] said, “The king... he has brought a bangle and he says; make an identical copy of this bangle; now whatever we are doing...”

**AK:74**

ā'hān            nī        čošē    delē'kīnant            ke    ā        'enčō  
 ā-hān            nī        čošē    delēkīn-ant            ke    ā        enčō  
 DIST-OBL.PL   now   such   believe.NPST-3PL   CLM   DIST   this much

'rāhā            kap'ta            'bas            mor'ta            na  
 rāh-ā            kapt-a=Ø            bas            mort-a            na  
 way-OBL   fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG   you know   die.PST-PP   right?

They believed /that/, [when] he had fallen down from such a distance; you know, [he] would have died.

**AK:75**

'nī    'ē        san'gaw    'mārā            gō    aḍḍ    'nabayag  
 nī    ē        sangaw    mā-rā            gō    aḍḍ    na-bay-ag  
 now   PROX   bangle   PN.1PL-OBJ   with   make   NEG-become.NPST-INF

ē                            go'sī                            'byā                            'ē        sangawā  
 =ē                            goš-ī                            by-ā-Ø                            ē        sangaw-ā  
 =COP.NPST.3SG   say.NPST-3SG   IMPV-come.NPST-2SG   PROX   bangle-OBL

'man 'aḏḏ kanã  
 man aḏḏ kan-ã  
 PN.1SG make do.NPST-1SG

Now we are not able to make this bangle (lit. this bangle is not being made with us”); he said, “Look, I will make this bangle.

**AK:76**

'byārē 'manā 'bedayet hã kī'lōē  
 by-ār-ē man-ā be-day-ēt hã kīlō=ē  
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-give.NPST-2PL ADD kilo=IND

'pestā kī'lōē bā'dām mǎ kam kamā ša'pā  
 pestā kīlō=ē bādām mǎ kam kam-ā šap-ā  
 pistachios kilo=IND almond PN.1SG little little-OBL night-OBL

zī'rǎ ē'sǎ koroṭ'tǎ čō'pǎ  
 zīr-ǎ ēš-ǎ koroṭṭ-ǎ čōp-ǎ  
 take.NPST-1SG PROX-OBL.PL break.NPST-1SG crush.NPST-1SG

wa'rǎ īngo zarge'rī kanã  
 wār-ǎ īngo zarger-ī kan-ǎ  
 eat.NPST-1SG here goldsmith-ADJZ do.NPST-1SG

Give me one kilo of pistachios, one kilo of almonds, little by little I will take [and] break (lit. break, crush) them during the night [and] eat them and I will make the bangle (lit. do goldsmith-work) here.”

**AK:77**

ē'sǎ ha'mē ran'gā 'ko 'dātante  
 ēš-ǎ ham=ē rang-ā ko dāt-ant=e  
 PROX-OBL.PL EMPH=PROX kind-OBL do.PST give.PST-3PL=PC.3SG

'ēš... ha'mē 'pōst čōp'ta 'wārtā ā'hǎ  
 ēš ham=ē pōst čōpt-a wārt-ā ā-hǎ  
 PROX EMPH=PROX skin crush.PST-PP eat.PST-3PL DIST-OBL.PL

goš'ta... čōp'ta 'majge kaš'ta 'wārtante  
 gošt-a čōpt-a majg=e kašt-a wārt-ant=e  
 say.PST-PP crush.PST-PP brain=PC.3SG pull.PST-PP eat.PST-3PL=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>ā'hā</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'balke</i>	<i>'sor</i>	<i>jan'ag</i>	<i>ē</i>
ā-hā	gošt-a	balke	sor	jan-ag	=ē
DIST-OBL.PL	say.PST-PP	maybe	gold	hit.NPST-INF	=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'mārā</i>	<i>po</i>
mā-rā	po
PN.1PL-OBJ	for

They did like this; they gave them to him, he... peeling these skins [and] ate them; they said... he crushed [and] took their nuts [and] ate them; they said, “Maybe he is making gold for us.”

**AK:78**

<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'wakte</i>	<i>'rōč</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>do'ēn</i>	<i>sangaw</i>	<i>'šošt</i>	<i>ta'mīz</i>
dāke	wakte	rōč	b-ī	do-ēn	sangaw	šošt	tamīz
then	when	day	become.NPST-3SG	two-CL	bangle	wash.PT	clean

<i>ko</i>	<i>dā'tantī</i>	<i>bor'tantī</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>
ko	dāt-ant=ī	bort-ant=ī	jenek-ā
do.PST	give.PST-3PL=PC.3SG	take.PST-3PL=PC.3SG	girl-OBL

<i>dā'tantī</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>san'gawe</i>	<i>ke</i>
dāt-ant=ī	jenek-ā	go	ham=ē	sangaw-e	ke
give.PST-3PL=PC.3SG	girl-OBL	say.PST	EMPH=PROX	bangle-GEN	CLM

<i>'harčīyā</i>	<i>'aḍḍ</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>san'gawe</i>	<i>xodā'bondā</i>
harčī-yā	aḍḍ	kot-a	ham=ē	sangaw-e	xodābond-ā
whoever-OBL	make	do.PST-PP	EMPH=PROX	bangle-GEN	owner-OBL

<i>'byāre</i>	<i>'šī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ārtage</i>
by-ār-e	š-ī	mā	ārt-ag=e
IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	bring.PST-PP=PC.3SG

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'šomay</i>	<i>'kār</i>	<i>'nē</i>	<i>'šomā</i>	<i>'say</i>
š-ī	šomay	kār	nē	šomā	say
say.NPST-3SG	PN.PL.GEN	work	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2PL	three

<i>'māh</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>šo'mārā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'aḍḍ</i>
māh	=ē	na-b-ī	šomā-rā	gō	aḍḍ
month	=COP.NPST.3SG	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	PN.2PL-OBJ	with	make

'nabī                      yak'kēn    ša'pā    šo'mā    'aḏḏ   ko  
na-b-ī                      yakk-ēn    šap-ā    šomā    aḏḏ   ko  
NEG-become.NPST-3SG   one-ATTR   night-OBL   PN.2PL   make   do.PST

In the morning (lit. then, when it was day) he cleaned (lit. washes, cleans) both bangles [and] gave them [to one of the goldsmiths]; they took them [and] gave them to the girl; the girl said, “Whoever has made this bangle, bring the maker (lit. owner) of this bangle”; he said, “We have brought it”; she said, “No, it is not your work, for three months you have not been able to make it (lit. it is not made by you); [how] did you make it in one night?”

**AK:79**

go'šī                      'enna   'ē            sangawā    'mā            'wat   'aḏḏ   kota  
goš-ī                      enna   ē            sangaw-ā    mā            wat   aḏḏ   kot-a  
say.NPST-3SG   no        PROX   bangle-OBL   PN.1PL   REFL   make   do.PST-PP

'harčī    ko'te                      ĵe'nekā    ka'būl            'nako  
harčī    kot=e                      ĵenek-ā    kabūl            na-ko  
whatever   do.PST=PC.3PL   girl-OBL   acceptance   NEG-do.PST

'gošī                      'bore                      'byāretī  
goš-ī                      b-or-e                      by-ār-ēt=ī  
say.NPST-3SG   IMPV-eat.NPST-2PL   IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

He said, “No [that is not true]; we ourselves have made this bangle.”; however much they insisted (lit. whatever they did); the girl did not accept [what they said]; she said, “Go and bring him.”

**AK:80**

'šot                      ā'orte                      ĵe'nekā    o            paĵ'jā            āwo  
šot-Ø                      āort=e                      ĵenek-ā    =o            paĵjā            āwo  
go.PST-3SG   bring.PST=PC.3SG   girl-OBL   =FOC   recognition   bring.PST

They went [and] brought him; the girl recognized him.

**AK:81**

'nī    'hameš                      ē                      ĵe'nekā    'ā    brā'tā  
nī    ham=eš                      =ē                      ĵenek-ā    ā    brāt-ā  
then   EMPH=PROX   =COP.NPST.3SG   girl-OBL   DIST   brother-OBL.PL

go'šī                      ō'tī                      'kīnnā    bo'nā    'kanē                      ĵa'neke  
goš-ī                      oṭī                      kīnn-ā    bonā    Ø-kan-ē                      ĵanek-e  
say.NPST-3SG   REFL.GEN   anus-OBL   down   IMPV-do.NPST-2PL   girl-GEN

## A. Text Corpus

*xodā'bond 'wat 'ātkā*  
 xodābond wat ātk-a  
 master REFL come.PST-PP

Then you know the girl said to those brothers, “Sit down (lit. do your anus down); the owner of the girl himself has come.”

### AK:82

*'nī hame'sī 'sīr bī 'dōl 'dōm*  
 nī ham=ešī sīr b-ī dōl dōm  
 now EMPH=PROX.GEN wedding become.NPST-3SG drum echo

*bīt wa'rag ča'rag bīt 'kōš 'prōš*  
 bīt-Ø warag čarag bīt-Ø kōš prōš  
 become.PST-3SG food echo become.PST-3SG slaughtering echo

*bīt 'man 'taw 'har kasā ē'sīyā 'baṭṭ*  
 bīt-Ø man taw harkas-ā ēšī-yā baṭṭ  
 become.PST-3SG PN.1SG PN.2SG everybody-OBL PROX.DIR-OBL rice

*o 'gōštē 'čet 'wārt 'sīr a'lās bī*  
 =o gōšt=ē čet wārt sīr alās b-ī  
 =and meat=PC.3SG pick.PST eat.PST wedding finish become.NPST-3SG

Then it was her wedding party; there was drumming; there was food; there was slaughtering, I, you, everybody, he took [and] ate rice and meat; the wedding party finished.

### AK:83

*'dāte 'manā 'zarrē 'zarr mā ko*  
 dāt=e man-ā zarr=ē zarr mā ko  
 give.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ gold=IND gold PN.1SG do.PST

*'herrē 'herr 'ka 'čātā 'mo*  
 herr=ē herr ka-Ø čāt-ā mo  
 baby camel=IND baby camel fall.PST-3SG well-OBL die.PST

I got (lit. he gave me) some money; I bought a baby camel with that money (lit. I made the money a baby camel); the baby camel fell down into the well and died.

## A.3. Text 3: A King 2

**A King 2****bād'sāh***recounted by Rahim Bakhsh Jadgal***K2:1**

'hastā yak 'rōčē yak rōze'gārē yak bād'sāhē  
 hast=a-Ø yak rōč=ē yak rōzegār=ē yak bād'sāh=ē  
 be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG one day=IND one time=IND one king=IND

Once upon a time (lit. one day, one time); there was a king.

**K2:2**

'ē bād'sāh... al'lāh o ta'alā 'wata sarza'mīne bād'sāhē  
 ē bād'sāh allāh =o taalā wat-a sarzamīn=e bād'sāh=ē  
 PROX king God =and great REFL-OBL world=EZ king=IND

a 'ē bād'sāhā 'gepta yak je'nēnē bād'sāhe  
 =a-Ø ē bād'sāh-ā gept-a yak jenēn=ē bād'sāh-e  
 =COP.PST-3SG PROX king-OBL take.PST-PP one wife=IND king-GEN

janēn bād'sāhe 'čokī a  
 janēn bād'sāh-e čok=ī =a-Ø  
 woman king-GEN child=IND =COP.PST-3SG

This king..., the great God himself was the king (lit. a king) of this world;  
 this king took a wife; the king's wife was the daughter of a king.

**K2:3**

'ē bād'sāhā 'do 'čok 'mardēn hastat o  
 ē bād'sāh-ā do čok mardēn hast=at =o  
 PROX king-OBL two child son be.NPST=COP.PST =and

'dawrī ko 'daya yak ja'nenē 'geptī 'bale  
 dawr=ī ko daya yak janen=ē gept=ī bale  
 move=PC.3SG do.PST another one woman=IND take.PST=PC.3SG but

'čonke yak balō'čēn je'nēnē 'geptī bād'sāhe  
 čonke yak balōč-ēn jenēn=ē gept=ī bād'sāh-e  
 you know one Baloch-ATTR wife=IND take.PST=PC.3SG king-GEN



## A. Text Corpus

'naya 'ē ja'nen  
 nay=-a ē janen  
 NEG=COP.PST PROX woman

This king had two sons (lit. there are two sons for this king); and [then] he went (lit. went around), [and] married another woman; but you know, he took a Baloch wife; this woman was not a king's [daughter].

### K2:4

bād'sāhā 'dōs bīt o bād'sāh 'ē je'nēn hã  
 bādšāh-ā dōs bīt-Ø =o bādšāh ē jenēn hã  
 king-OBL love become.PST-3SG =and king PROX woman ADD

'sāng ko  
 sāng ko  
 betrothal do.PST

The king fell in love (lit. to the king was love) [with her]; and the king got married to this woman as well.

### K2:5

yak ba'lōčē 'sānge ko yak bād'sāhī  
 yak balōč=ē sāng=e ko yak bādšāh-ī  
 one Baloch=IND engaged=PC.3SG do.PST one king-ADJZ

'sānge ko  
 sāng=e ko  
 engaged=PC.3SG do.PST

He got married to a Baloch [girl and] a king's [daughter].

### K2:6

bād'sāhe ja'nēn 'do atā  
 bādšāh-e janēn do =at-ā  
 king-GEN woman two =COP.PST-3PL

The king's wives were two.

### K2:7

'čand mo'datā če wā 'bād xodā'wande āla'mīnā 'čok  
 čand modat-ā če wā bād xodāwand=e ālamīn-ā čok  
 after time-OBL from and after God=EZ universe-OBL child

*dātā* 'do 'čok *bād'sāhā* *bī* *bādšāhzāda'gē*  
*dāt-ā* do čok *bādšāh-ā* *b-ī* *bādšāhzādag-ē*  
 give.PST-3PL two child king-OBL become.NPST-3SG royal-ATTR

*je'nēnā* *bīt* *o* *yak* 'čokē *ba'lōčā*  
*jenēn-ā* *bīt-Ø* =o *yak* čok=e *balōč-ā*  
 wife-OBL become.PST-3SG =and one child=IND Baloch-OBL

*bī*  
*b-ī*  
 become.NPST-3SG

After a while, the Lord of the universe gave [to him] children; the royal wife got two sons (lit. there are two sons for the royal wife); and the Baloch got one son (lit. there is one son for the Baloch).

**K2:8**

*'nī* 'harjāgāh *ke* 'ē *bād'sāhe* 'čok  
*nī* harjāgāh *ke* ē *bādšāh-e* čok  
 you know wherever CLM PROX king-GEN child

*ra'wantē* 'ē *ba'lōče* *ran'dā*  
*raw-ant=e* ē *balōč-e* *randā*  
 go.NPST-3PL=COP.NPST.3SG PROX Baloch-GEN after

*kap'ta* *tā'bīle* 'nagerā  
*kapt-a=Ø* *tābīl=e* *na-ger-ā*  
 fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG attention=PC.3SG NEG-take.NPST-3PL

You know, wherever the king's sons went, the Baloch [son] followed them; [but] they did not pay attention to him.

**K2:9**

*tā'bīl* 'nagerā 'rūy 'nadayante  
*tābīl* *na-ger-ā* *rūy* *na-day-ant=e*  
 attention NEG-take.NPST-3PL attention NEG-give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

*bečā'ragā* 'hančō *sargar'dān* ē  
*bečārag-ā* *hančō* *sargardān* =ē  
 poor-OBL like this confusion =COP.NPST.3SG

They did not pay attention to him; they ignored him, the poor one; he was really confused.

A. Text Corpus

**K2:10**

'čizzē mod'datā čē 'bād 'ē bād'sāhā yak 'maččē  
 čizz=ē moddat-ā čē bād ē bādšāh-ā yak mačč=ē  
 some=IND time-OBL from after PROX king-OBL one date-palm=IND

hasta 'ē 'mačče 'sāle sa'rā ke  
 hast=a-Ø ē mačč=e sāl-e sarā ke  
 be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG PROX date-palm=PC.3SG year-GEN on CLM

'bar kā 'say 'hōš kā'rī sa'yē  
 bar kā-Ø say hōš k-ār-ī say-ē  
 fruit do.NPST-3SG three cluster IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG three-ATTR

'hōš ga'war kīma'tī ā  
 hōš gawar kīmatī =ā  
 cluster gem valuable =COP.NPST.3PL

After some time, the king had a date-palm (lit. there was a date-palm for this king); this date-palm of his, when it once a year brought [fruit] it brought three clusters; the three clusters were valuable gems.

**K2:11**

yak 'rōčē bī... 'ē wā'dī ke ga'war  
 yak rōč=ē b-ī ē wād-ī ke gawar  
 one day=IND become.NPST-3SG PROX time-ADVZ CLM gem

kīma'tī kā'yant o kā'yant pox'ta  
 kīmatī k-āy-ant =o k-āy-ant poxta  
 valuable IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL =and IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL ripe

ba'yant 'ē 'čōbī hā'mēnā ke kā'yant  
 bay-ant ē čōbī hāmēn-ā ke k-āy-ant  
 become.NPST-3PL PROX you know fall-OBL CLM IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

ra'santē yak ba'lāhē 'kay  
 ras-ant=ē yak balāh=ē k-ay-Ø  
 arrive.NPST-3PL=COP.NPST.3SG one ghoul=IND IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

bor'rīte zī'rīte 'raw  
 borr-īt=e zīr-īt=e raw-Ø  
 cut.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG go.NPST-3SG

One day (lit. it was a day)... when these valuable gems became ripe (lit. they

came and came, they became cooked); you know, when the fall arrived; they became ripe; a ghoulish came; cut them off; took them, and went away.

**K2:12**

*aw'lī ran'dā aw'lī sāl'ā 'bortante do'mī*  
 awl-ī randā awl-ī sāl-ā bort-ant=e do-mī  
 first-ORD after first-ORD year-OBL take.PST-3PL=PC.3SG two-ORD

*sāl'ā 'bortante say'mī 'sāla 'nī dē'lī*  
 sāl-ā bort-ant=e say-mī sāl-a nī dēlī  
 year-OBL take.PST-3PL=PC.3SG three-ORD year-OBL you know daily

*'ēšī 'kār 'hamē rang ē*  
 ēšī kār ham=e rang =ē  
 PROX.GEN work EMPH=PROX kind =COP.NPST.3SG

The first time, the first year it took them; it took them the second year, the third year...; you know, it was its daily job.

**K2:13**

*ya 'rōčē 'bīt o bād'sāh lag'ge gō*  
 ya rōč=e bīt-Ø =o bādšāh lagge-Ø gō  
 one day=IND become.PST-3SG =and king start.PST-3SG with

*č'o'kān 'gapā ke 'mā yak 'maččē keš'ta*  
 čok-ān gap-ā ke mā yak mačč=e kešt-a  
 child-OBL.PL talk-OBL CLM PN.1SG one date-palm=IND plant.PST-PP

*ha'mē 'mačče 'bar ga'war kīma'tī ā yak*  
 ham=e mačč-e bar gawar kīmatī =ā yak  
 EMPH=PROX date-palm-GEN fruit gem valuable =COP.NPST.3PL one

*ba'lāhē 'kay bor'rīt o*  
 balāh=e k-ay-Ø bor-rīt =o  
 ghoulish=IND IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG cut.NPST-3SG =and

*'bartē*  
 bar-t=e  
 take.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL

One day, (lit. it was a day), the king started to talk with the children; [he said] /that/, “I have planted a date-palm, this date-palm’s fruit are valuable gems; a ghoulish comes, [and] cuts them off, and takes them away.”

A. Text Corpus

**K2:14**

*yak čo'kīyā 'go ke 'ay 'manī 'pet 'manā*  
*yak čok=ī-yā go ke ay man-ī pet man-ā*  
 one child=IND-OBL say.PST CLM VOC PN.1SG-GEN father PN.1SG-OBL

*yak 'zahmē 'beday 'mā 'ē 'šapī*  
*yak zahm=ē be-day-Ø mā ē šap-ī*  
 one sword=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG PROX night-ADJZ

*ra'wā čā'rāne 'bārēn 'čōn čōno'kāī*  
*raw-ā čār-ān=e bārēn čōn čōnokāī*  
 go.NPST-1SG look.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG you know how how

*'kayt bor'rīte*  
*k-ay-t borr-īt=e*  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG cut.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL

One of the sons said /that/, “My father, give me a sword; I will go tonight [and] guard it; you know how, how does it come [and] cut them off.”

**K2:15**

*yak 'zahmē maste'rēn 'brātā 'zort o 'šot*  
*yak zahm=ē mas-ter-ēn brāt-ā zort =o šot-Ø*  
 one sword=IND old-CMP-ATTR brother-OBL take.PST =and go.PST-3SG

*'hamē 'rāhe sa'rā 'nešt 'mačče gwa'rā*  
*ham=ē rāh-e sarā nešt-Ø mačč-e gwarā*  
 EMPH=PROX way-GEN on sit.PST-3SG date-palm-GEN by

The oldest brother took a sword and went, [and] sat on the road, by the date-palm.

**K2:16**

*'hančōke hīžā'bage ta'wār bīt o zrombeš'teg*  
*hančōke hīžābag-e tawār bīt-Ø =o zrombešteg*  
 as soon as loud sound-GEN sound become.PST-3SG =and strong shaking

*o dah'šate ta'wār bī 'ēšīā*  
*=o dahšat-e tawār bī-Ø ēšī-ā*  
 =and terrifying sound-GEN sound become.PST-3SG PROX.DIR-OBL

'otī        'zahm 'dawr    dā        may'dāne    zor'tā  
 otī        zahm    dawr    dāt        maydān=e    zort-ã  
 REFL.GEN sword throwing give.PST step=PC.3SG take.PST-3PL

'ātk            lō'gā  
 ātk-Ø        lōg-ā  
 come.PST-3SG house-OBL

As soon as there came a loud sound, there was a strong shaking [of the ground] (lit. movement) and a terrifying sound; he threw away his sword (lit. took the steps), ran away [and] came home.

**K2:17**

pe'tā        'jos        ko        hã        'to        'šotay        go'sī  
 pet-ā        jos        ko        hã        to        šot-ay        goš-ī  
 father-OBL question do.PST ADD PN.2SG go.PST-2SG say.NPST-3SG

'manā        'sak    torse'ta  
 man-ā        sak    torset-a  
 PN.1SG-OBL very scare.PST-PP

The father asked, “Did you go?”; he said, “I was very scared.”

**K2:18**

do'mī        'čokā        'go        ke        'mā        ra'wã        do'mī  
 do-mī        čok-ā        go        ke        mā        raw-ã        do-mī  
 two-ORD child-OBL say.PST CLM PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG two-ORD

bād'sāhe    'čok    'šot        do'mī        ša'pā        'wakteke    'šot  
 bādšāh-e    čok    šot-Ø        do-mī        šap-ā        wakteke    šot-Ø  
 king-GEN child go.PST-3SG two-ORD night-OBL when go.PST-3SG

o        'ōdā    'nešt        o        lag'ge        pa    'gāḍ  
 =o        ōdā    nešt-Ø        =o        lagge-Ø        pa    gāḍ  
 =and there sit.PST-3SG =and start.PST-3SG for guard

da'yagā            'hančo    ke    zrom'bešt        o        ā'wāz  
 day-ag-ā            hančo    ke    zrombešt        =o        āwāz  
 give.NPST-INF-OBL like this CLM strong shaking =and sound

bī                'ēšīā                hã        'otī        'zahmē  
 bī-Ø                ēšī-ā                hã        otī        zahm=ē  
 become.PST-3SG PROX.DIR-OBL ADD REFL.GEN sword=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

'dawr dāt o 'ē hã ĵeg'ret o 'ātk  
 dawr dāt =o ē hã ĵegret =o ātk-Ø  
 throwing give.PST =and PROX ADD flee.PST =and come.PST-3SG

The second son said /that/ “I will go”; the second king’s son went the second night; when he went, sat down and started to guard [the tree], as soon as there was a shaking and sound, he threw away his sword, too, and he also fled and came [home].

**K2:19**

say'mī 'šap bād'sāhe balōč'māte bīt  
 say-mī šap bādšāh-e balōčmāt-e bīt-Ø  
 three-ORD night king-GEN Baloch mother-GEN become.PST-3SG

bād'sāhe 'čoke 'hamā balōč'čē 'māte 'čoke  
 bādšāh-e čok-e ham=ā balōč-ē māt-e čok-e  
 king-GEN child-GEN EMPH=DIST Baloch-ATTR mother-GEN child-GEN

bī  
 bī-Ø  
 become.PST-3SG

The third night was for the king’ [son] of the Baloch mother’s [turn], the king’s son; it was for the Baloch mother’s son.

**K2:20**

'ēšīā 'go 'abbā yak 'zahmē 'manā  
 ēšī-ā go abbā yak zahm=ē man-ā  
 PROX.DIR-OBL say.PST father one sword=IND PN.1SG-OBJ

'day 'mā hã ra'wã 'ē 'šapī  
 Ø-day-Ø mā hã raw-ã ē šap-ī  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG ADD go.NPST-1SG PROX night-ADJZ

'gāđ dayã go'sī 'belī 'ā  
 gāđ day-ã goš-ī be-el-Ø=ī ā  
 guard give.NPST-1SG say.NPST-3SG IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG DIST

bādšā'hē čo'kān 'zahm ĵa'ta 'taw yak balōčī  
 bādšāh-ē čok-ān zahm ĵat-a taw yak balōč-ī  
 king-ATTR child-OBL.PL sword beat.PST-PP PN.2SG one Baloch-GEN

'čok ē 'taw 'zahma ja'nay  
 čok =ē taw zahm-a jan-ay  
 child =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG sword-OBL hit.NPST-2SG

'maraw 'taw  
 ma-raw-Ø taw  
 PROH-go.NPST-2SG PN.2SG

He said, “Father, give me a sword, me too, I will go to watch tonight.”; he said, “Forget it, have they, the royal sons, done anything (lit. drawn the sword); you are the son of a Baloch; can you do anything?; don’t go.”

**K2:21**

ē'sī tā'bīl 'nage bād'sāhā 'ē 'ātk  
 ēšī tābīl na-ge bādšāh-ā ē ātk-Ø  
 PROX.DIR attention NEG-take.PST king-OBL PROX come.PST-3SG

'māte gwa'rā 'mātā 'go ē 'zahmā  
 māt-e gwarā māt-ā go ē zahm-ā  
 mother-GEN to mother-OBL say.PST PROX sword-OBL

'bezīr 'boro 'benend 'balke  
 be-zīr-Ø bo-ro-Ø be-nendēn-Ø balke  
 IMPV-take.NPST-2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG IMPV-place.NPST-2SG maybe

xo'dā 'tarā waš'nām 'bekā  
 xodā ta-rā wašnām be-kā-Ø  
 God PN.2SG-OBJ success SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

The king did not [pay] attention to him; he came to his mother; the mother said, “Take this sword, go [and] sit down [by the tree]; maybe God will give you success.”

**K2:22**

ē'sīā hā 'zo yak 'zahmē 'ātk  
 ēšī-ā hā zo yak zahm=ē ātk-Ø  
 PROX.DIR-OBL ADD take.PST one sword=IND come.PST-3SG

'nešt 'rāhe sa'rā 'dā hīžā'bage ā'wāzā 'ē  
 nešt-Ø rāh-e sarā dā hīžābag-e āwāz-ā ē  
 sit.PST-3SG way-GEN on until loud sound-GEN sound-OBL PROX



A. Text Corpus

'naǰerge

na-ǰerge-Ø

NEG-flee.PST-3SG

So he took a sword; came [and] sat on the road, until [there was] a horrible sound; he did not flee.

**K2:23**

'naǰerget

o

'ātk

'ātk

'ātk

na-ǰerget-Ø

=o

ātk-Ø

ātk-Ø

ātk-Ø

NEG-flee.PST-3SG

=and

come.PST-3SG

come.PST-3SG

come.PST-3SG

dā

ba'lāhā

das'sā

'ko

pa

'mačče

'hōš

dā

balāh-ā

dass-ā

ko

pa

mačč-e

hōš

until ghouL-OBL hand-OBL do.PST for date-palm-GEN cluster

bor'ragā

'ēšī

'zahm

'bort

la'geī

'ēdā

borr-ag-ā

ēšī

zahm

bort

laget=ī

ēdā

cut.NPST-INF-OBL

PROX.DIR

sword

take.PST

beat.PT=PC.3SG

here

'dastā

'dast

'sest

o

ba'lāh ǰeg'ret

dast-ā

dast

sest

=o

balāh ǰegret-Ø

hand-OBL

hand

break.PST

=but

ghoul

flee.PST-3SG

He did not flee, and [the ghouL] came [and] came [and] came, till the ghouL put its hand to cut the cluster of the date-palm; he drew the sword; it hit [the ghouL here] on the hand; he cut off the hand but the ghouL fled.

**K2:24**

'hamē

'dast kapt

'ēšīā

pan'ǰag

'porr ko

ham=ē

dast kapt

ēšī-ā

panǰag

porr ko

EMPH=PROX

hand

fall.PST

PROX.DIR-OBL

five fingers

full

do.PST

'ča

hō'nā

'ǰat

'hamē

'maččā

'balāh o

ča

hōn-ā

ǰat

ham=ē

mačč-ā

balāh =o

from blood-OBL

put.PST

EMPH=PROX

date-palm-OBL

ghoul

=FOC

'ǰegre

ǰegre-Ø

flee.PST-3SG

This hand fell down; he put [his] five fingers into the blood [and] put [them] on this date palm; as for the ghouL, it fled.

**K2:25**

'sobe sa'rā 'ātk 'otī 'petī 'hāl  
 sob-e sarā ātk-Ø otī pet=ī hāl  
 morning-GEN on come.PST-3SG REFL.GEN father=PC.3SG news

dā go'sī 'abbā ba'lāh 'mā ĵa'ta ba'lāhe  
 dāt goš-ī abbā balāh mā ĵat-a balāh-e  
 give.PST say.NPST-3SG father ghoul PN.1SG beat.PST-PP ghoul-GEN

dast 'mā borre'ta 'ē 'hōn ā  
 dast mā borret-a ē hōn =ā  
 hand PN.1SG cut.PST-PP PROX blood =COP.NPST.3PL

rētkā'gantī  
 rētk-ag-ant=ī  
 pour.PT-PP-3PL=PC.3SG

Early in the morning, he came [and] informed his father; he said, “Father, I have beaten the ghoul, I have cut off its hand; this is the blood, it run out.”

**K2:26**

wā'zīr bī ka'zīr bī 'brāt  
 wāzīr bī-Ø kazīr bī-Ø brāt  
 minister become.PST-3SG judge become.PST-3SG brother

bītā mar'dom bītā go'sī  
 bīt-ā mardom bīt-ā goš-ī  
 become.PST-3PL people become.PST-3PL say.NPST-3SG

'beret 'čāret  
 be-r-ēt Ø-čār-ēt  
 IMPV-go.NPST-2PL IMPV-look.NPST-2PL

There was the minister; there was the judge; there were the brothers; there were the people; [the king] said, “Go [and] look.”

**K2:27**

'ātkā 'dā 'hōne 'paday 'gept o 'ārt  
 ātk-ā dā hōn-e pad=ay gept =o ārt  
 come.PST-3PL until blood-GEN trace=PC.3PL take.PST =and bring.PST

## A. Text Corpus

'ārt hō'nānī 'hamē jā'gah ke 'pade  
 ārt hōn-ānī ham=ē jāgah ke pad=e  
 bring.PST blood-GEN.PL EMPH=PROX place CLM trace=PC.3SG

ge'rā ko'tant o hō'nānī jā'gahā  
 ger-ā kot-ant =o hōn-ānī jāgah-ā  
 take.NPST-OBL.PL do.PST-3PL =and blood-GEN.PL place-OBL

'ātkā 'dāke 'čātē 'čātā 'ēr kapta ba'lāh  
 ātk-ā dāke čāt=ē čāt-ā ēr kapt-a balāh  
 come.PST-3PL until well=IND well-OBL PREV fall.PST-PP ghoul

They came [to the tree], then (lit. until) they followed the track of the blood, and they followed [and] followed [the track of] the blood; from that place where they followed the tracks; they came where there was blood (lit. to the place of the blood), until there was a well; the ghoul had gone down into the well.

### K2:28

ba'lāh čā'tā 'ēr kapta go'sī 'byāet  
 balāh čāt-ā ēr kapt-a goš-ī by-ā-ēt  
 ghoul well-OBL PREV fall.PST-PP say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2PL

ba'lāh o čā'tā 'ēr kapta  
 balāh =o čāt-ā ēr kapt-a  
 ghoul =FOC well-OBL PREV fall.PST-PP

The ghoul had gone down into the well; he said, “Look, the ghoul has gone into the well.”

### K2:29

master'ēn 'brātā bād'sāhe 'čokā 'go ke  
 mas-ter-ēn brāt-ā bādšāh-e čok-ā go ke  
 old-CMP-ATTR brother-OBL king-GEN child-OBL say.PST CLM

'manā 'sādē 'srēnā 'bande 'manā  
 man-ā sād=ē srēn-ā Ø-band-e man-ā  
 PN.1SG-OBJ rope=IND waist-OBL IMPV-bind.NPST-2PL PN.1SG-OBJ

'ēr dayet  
 ēr Ø-day-ēt  
 PREV IMPV-give.NPST-2PL

The oldest brother, the king's son said, /that/, “Fix a rope around my waist

[and] send me [inside the well].”

**K2:30**

'sādē 'srēnē 'bast o 'ēr dā bād'šāhe čok  
 sād=e srēn=e bast =o ēr dāt bādšāh-e čok  
 rope=IND waist=PC.3SG bind.PST =and PREV give.PST king-GEN child

'hančo ke 'nēme ān'dāza 'rase go'sī  
 hančo ke nēm=e āndāza rase-Ø goš-ī  
 like this CLM half=EZ size arrive.PST-3SG say.NPST-3SG

'manā 'kašše ke 'manā 'garm  
 man-ā Ø-kašš-e ke man-ā garm  
 PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL CLM PN.1SG-OBL heat

ē  
 =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG

They tied the rope around his waist and sent him [inside the well]; you know, when the king's son went (lit. arrived) half way (lit. half man's height); he said, “Pull me up; I am hot (lit. there is heat to me).”

**K2:31**

ē'sī 'kašše  
 ēšī kašše  
 PROX.DIR pull.PST

[They] pulled him up.

**K2:32**

do'mī 'čokā 'go 'manā 'ēr daye  
 do-mī čok-ā go man-ā ēr Ø-day-e  
 two-ORD child-OBL say.PST PN.1SG-OBJ PREV IMPV-give.NPST-2PL

do'mī 'čoke bād'šāh bādšāhzā'dag ke 'ēr kapt 'dā  
 do-mī čok=e bādšāh bādšāhzādag ke ēr kapt dā  
 two-ORD child=PC.3SG king royal CLM PREV fall.PST till

'nēm rā'hā 'rase ē'sīā hā 'go  
 nēm rāh-ā rase-Ø ēšī-ā hā go  
 half way-OBL arrive.PST-3SG PROX.DIR-OBL ADD say.PST

A. Text Corpus

'manā            'kašše                            ta'hār ē  
 man-ā            Ø-kašš-e                            tahār =ē  
 PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL dark =COP.NPST.3SG

The second child said, “Send me down [inside the well]; when the king’s second son, the one of royal blood, went down till had gone half way; he also said, “Pull me out; it is dark.”

**K2:33**

say'mī            'čokā            'go            'bande                            'srēnā            ma'nīngā  
 say-mī            čok-ā            go            Ø-band-e                            srēn-ā            manīng-ā  
 three-ORD child-OBL say.PST IMPV-bind.NPST-2PL waist-OBL mine-OBL

'sādā  
 sād-ā  
 rope-OBL

The third son said, “Tie the rope around my waist.”

**K2:34**

'hamā            balōč'mātā                            ke            'zahmī  
 ham=ā            balōčmāt-ā                            ke            zahm=ī  
 EMPH=DIST Baloch mother-OBL CLM sword=PC.3SG

zorta'gat                                    o            'hamā            ba'lāhī  
 zort-ag=at                                    =o            ham=ā            balāh=ī  
 take.PST-PP=COP.PST =and EMPH=DIST ghoul=PC.3SG

ja'taga                                    hamē'sīā                                    'sādē            'srēnā  
 jat-ag=a                                    ham=ēšī-ā                                    sād=ē            srēn-ā  
 hit.PST-PP=COP.PST EMPH=PROX.OBL-OBL rope=IND waist-OBL

'bast            o            ēre                                    'dā            ba            'čātā  
 bast            =o            ēr=e                                    dā            ba            čāt-ā  
 bind.PST =and PREV=PC.3PL give.PST inside well-OBL

That Baloch mother [’son] who had taken the sword and beaten the ghoul; they tied a rope around his waist and sent him inside the well.

**K2:35**

'hančo            ke            'čātā            'ēre                                    dā            'ē            ē'sīā  
 hančo            ke            čāt-ā            ēr=e                                    dāt            ē            ēšī-ā  
 like this CLM well-OBL down=PC.3PL give.PST PROX PROX.DIR-OBL

'go... 'nago ke 'manā 'bekaše 'ārt  
 go na-go ke man-ā be-kaš-e ārt  
 say.PST NEG-say.PST CLM PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL bring.PST

'ārt 'dāke 'čāte tō'kā 'mard 'ēr kap  
 ārt dāke čāt-e tōkā mard ēr kap  
 bring.PST till well-GEN down man PREV fall.PST

When they sent him down [inside the well], he said... he did not say /that/,  
 “Pull me out”; they lowered [and] lowered (lit. brought, brought) till the man  
 came down to [the bottom of] the well.

**K2:36**

'čamme 'ka šame'dā xūbsū'ratě  
 čamm=e ka-Ø šam=edā xūbsūrat-ě  
 eye=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG from-EMPH=here beautiful-ATTR

ja'nekē nešta  
 janek=e nešt-a=Ø  
 daughter=IND sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He saw (lit. his eyes fell down) [that] a beautiful girl was sitting there (lit.  
 here).

**K2:37**

han'čě ja'nekē 'čammē wa'tīg ā 'dega 'say  
 hančě janek=e čamm=e watīg =ā dega say  
 such.ATTR girl=IND eye=PC.3SG own =COP.NPST.3PL another three

'čamm 'kerē kā 'bečārī  
 čamm kerē Ø-kā-Ø be-čār-Ø=ī  
 eye rent SBJV-do.NPST-2SG SBJV-look.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

She [was] such a beautiful girl, [if] your own eyes [were two], [you would]  
 rent three [more] eyes to look at her.

**K2:38**

bād's... 'bačak hay'rā bī ba'čakā ta'wār ko  
 bādš bačak hayrā bī-Ø bačak-ā tawār ko  
 FRAG boy confused become.PST-3SG boy-OBL sound do.PST

A. Text Corpus

*je'nek je'nek 'ātk jō'dī da'dī ko*  
 jenek jenek ātk-Ø jōd=ī dađ=ī ko  
 girl girl come.PST-3SG greeting=PC.3SG greeting=PC.3SG do.PST

*'āpī dā 'goštī 'hayr ent*  
 āp=ī dāt gošt=ī hayr =ent  
 water=PC.3SG give.PST say.PST=PC.3SG alright =COP.NPST.3SG

*tarā 'taw 'ātkay 'goštī 'hā 'manā*  
 ta-rā taw ātk-ay gošt=ī hā man-ā  
 PN.2SG-OBJ PN.2SG come.PST-2SG say.PST=PC.3SG yes PN.1SG-OBL

*'hayr ē 'mā 'ātkā 'ērang*  
 hayr =ē mā ātk-ā ē-rang  
 alright =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG come.PST-1SG PROX-colour

*'ērang 'ērangēn jar'yānē hastē*  
 ē-rang ē-rang-ēn jaryān=ē hast=ē  
 PROX-colour PROX-colour-ATTR issue=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

*'manā yak 'maččē bīta*  
 man-ā yak mačč=ē bīt-a=Ø  
 PN.1SG-OBL one date-palm=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'manī pe'tā 'manī 'pete 'mačče 'bar*  
 man-ī pet-ā man-ī pet-e mačč-e bar  
 PN.1SG-GEN father-OBL PN.1SG-GEN father-GEN date-palm-GEN fruit

*ga'war kīma'tī bītagā yak ba'lāhē*  
 gawar kīmatī bīt-ag=ā yak balāh=ē  
 gem valuable become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL one ghoul=IND

*'kayt 'har wah'dā bor'rīte*  
 k-ay-t har wahd-ā borr-īt=e  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG every time-OBL cut.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

*'raw 'mā ha'mē ba'lāhe ran'dā*  
 raw-Ø mā ham=ē balāh-e randā  
 go.NPST-3SG PN.1SG EMPH=PROX ghoul-GEN after

<i>kap'tagã</i>		'šī		<i>ba'lāh ja'ta</i>		<i>ba'lāhe</i>
kapt-ag=ã		š-ī		balāh jat-a		balāh-e
fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG		say.NPST-3SG		ghoul beat.PST-PP		ghoul-GEN

<i>dast prō'sta</i>		'bale 'byā		'mā		'tarā
dast prōšt-a		bale by-ā-Ø		mā		ta-rā
hand break.NPSTPP		but IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG		PN.2SG-OBJ

<i>yak ma'datē</i>	'kanã		gō	<i>ba'rã</i>		'otī		<i>lō'gā</i>
yak madat=e	kan-ã		gō	bar-ã		otī		lōg-ā
one help=IND	do.NPST-1SG		with	take.NPST-1SG		REFL.GEN		house-OBL

<i>yak 'kallē</i>		<i>ja'nã</i>		'hamē		'kalle		<i>tō'kā 'tarā</i>
yak kall=e		jan-ã		ham=e		kall-e		tōkā ta-rā
one cave=IND		dig.NPST-1SG		EMPH=PROX		cave-GEN		in PN.2SG-OBJ

<i>wa'pēnã</i>		'mā		'ēšānī		<i>hākī'katā</i>		'dar
wap-ēn-ã		mā		ēš-ānī		hākīkat-ā		dar
sleep.NPST-CAUS-1SG		PN.1SG		PROX-GEN.PL		truth-OBL		PREV

<i>gējã</i>		'nī		'tarā		<i>ka'sã</i>		ē'sīā		'go
gēj-ã		nī		ta-rā		kaš-ã		ēšī-ā		go
find.NPST-1SG		then		PN.2SG-OBJ		pull.NPST-1SG		PROX.DIR-OBL		say.PST

'šarē

šar=e

fine=COP.NPST.3SG

The kin... the boy was amazed; the boy called the girl; the girl came [and] greeted [him]; she gave him water; she said, “Is everything alright, you have come [here]?”; he said, “Yes, I am alright (lit. it is alright for me) I have come [because] there is such and such an issue; I had a date-palm, [or rather] my father, the fruit of my father’s date palm were valuable gems; a ghou comes; each year (lit. time) it cuts them off [and] takes them away; I have followed this ghou; she said, “You have struck the ghou; you have broken its hand; but look, I can help you; I will take you to my home; I will dig a cave; [then] I will hide you (lit. make you sleep) in this cave; I will look for the truth about them, then I will take you out.”; he said, “Alright.”

### K2:39

<i>ba'čak ja'nekā</i>		'ārt		'otī		<i>lō'gā</i>		<i>yak 'kallē</i>
bačak	janek-ā	ārt		otī		lōg-ā		yak kall=e
boy	girl-OBL	bring.PST		REFL.GEN		house-OBL		one cave=IND



A. Text Corpus

<i>ʃatī</i>	<i>ba'čakī</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>'kalle</i>	<i>tō'kā</i>
ʃat=ī	bačak=ī	ham=ē	kall-e	tōkā
hit.PST=PC.3SG	son=PC.3SG	EMPH=PROX	cave-GEN	inside

<i>wā'pēnt</i>	<i>ta'gerdē</i>	<i>ča'kay</i>	<i>dā</i>
wāpēnt	tagerd=ē	čak=ay	dāt
sleep.PST.CAUS	mat=IND	side=PC.3SG	give.PST

The girl took the boy in her house; she dug a cave [and] made him lie down inside the cave; she covered him with a mat.

**K2:40**

<i>ba'lāh</i>	<i>'ātkā</i>	<i>'bōē</i>	<i>'bōē</i>	<i>āda'mī</i>
balāh	ātk-ā	bō=ē	bō=ē	ādam-ī
ghoul	come.PST-3PL	smell=IND	smell=EZ	human-ADJZ

<i>ē</i>	<i>ēn'sāne</i>	<i>'bō</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'gošte</i>
=ē	ēnsān-e	bō	=ē	gošt=e
=COP.NPST.3SG	human-GEN	smell	=COP.NPST.3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG

<i>ā'damē</i>	<i>'nesten</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>aga šo'mā</i>
ādam=ē	nest=en	man-ā	aga šomā
human=IND	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBL	if PN.2PL

<i>'bale...</i>	<i>wa'ray</i>	<i>'bale</i>
bale	wār-ay	bale
yes	eat.NPST-2SG	well

The ghouls came, [they said], “A smell, the smell of a human, it is the smell of a human.”; she said, “There is no human, yes if you... [want t]) eat me, well.

**K2:41**

<i>'otī</i>	<i>'dast prōš'ta</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>šota'gay</i>
otī	dast prōšt-a	taw	šot-ag=ay
REFL.GEN	hand break.PST-PP	PN.2SG	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

<i>đan'nā</i>	<i>'yakēā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>ja'ta</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'dast</i>
đann-ā	yak=ē-ā	ta-rā	jat-a	tī	dast
out-OBL	one=IND-OBL	PN.2SG-OBJ	beat.PST-PP	PN.2SG.GEN	hand

<i>prōš'ta</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>aga yakē</i>	<i>'tarā</i>
prōšt-a	ta-rā	aga yak=ē	ta-rā
break.PST-PP	PN.2SG-OBJ	if	one=IND PN.2SG-OBJ

'bokošīt                    o        'dawr    bedã                    ha'mā  
 bo-koš-īt                    =o      dawr      be-dã-Ø                    ham=ā  
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG =and    throwing    SBJV-give.NPST-3SG    EMPH=DIST

je'nekā    'go        'man    parē'sāna    bã                    go'sī  
 jenek-ā    go        man    parēšān=a    b-ã                    goš-ī  
 girl-OBL    say.PST    PN.1SG    worry=VCL    become.NPST-1SG    say.NPST-3SG

'manā                    'kasa                    nakošī                    'ē        do'ēn  
 man-ā                    kas=a                    na-koš-ī                    ē        do-ēn  
 PN.1SG-OBJ    person=VCL    NEG-kill.NPST-3SG    PROX    two-CL

mor'gã                    gen'day                    tar'rag                    ã                    'ē  
 morg-ã                    gend-ay                    tarr-ag                    =ã                    ē  
 chicken-OBL.PL    see.NPST-2SG    turn.NPST-INF    =COP.NPST.3PL    PROX

do'ē                    'mnī                    'sā    yã  
 do-ē                    mnī                    sā    =yã  
 two-ATTR    PN.1SG.GEN    soul    =COP.NPST.3PL

You have broken your hand, have you gone out, has someone beaten you?  
 [and] broken your hand; the girl said, If some one kills and throws you away,  
 [then] I will be devastated.”; It said, “No one will kill me; do you see these  
 two hens; they are walking around [here]; these two are my soul.

**K2:42**

'ē        'wakteke...    'mnī                    'sā    yã                    'ēšã  
 ē        wakteke    mnī                    sā    =yã                    ēš-ã  
 PROX    when                    PN.1SG.GEN    soul    =COP.NPST.3PL    PROX-OBL.PL

'wakteke    yakē...    mar'dom...    mar'domē    'bokošīte  
 wakteke    yak=ē    mardom    mardom=ē    bo-koš-īt=e  
 when    one=IND    people    people=IND    SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

'mã        'merã  
 mã        mer-ã  
 PN.1SG    die.NPST-1SG

These when...these are my soul, whenever a person... someone kills them, I  
 will die.”

A. Text Corpus

**K2:43**

go'sī                'na 'taw        'tarā                ho'dā 'makošī  
 goš-ī                na    taw            ta-rā                hodā    ma-koš-ī  
 say.NPST-3SG    no    PN.2SG    PN.2SG-OBJ    God    PROH-kill.NPST-3SG

'taw        'boro                    'bas  
 taw        bo-ro-Ø                    bas  
 PN.2SG    IMPV-go.NPST-2SG    just

She said, “No, may God protect you (lit. may God not kill you) just go.”

**K2:44**

ba'lāh 'šo                lag'ge                tar'ragā                o        ba'čakā  
 balāh    šo-Ø                lagge-Ø                tarr-ag-ā                =o    bačak-ā  
 ghoul    go.PST-3SG    start.PST-3SG    turn.NPST-INF-OBL    =but    boy-OBL

o        ja'nekā        'dawr kot        do'ēn        mor'gānī        'sar 'sest  
 =o        janek-ā        dawr kot        do-ēn        morg-ānī        sar    sest  
 =and    girl-OBL    move    do.PST    two-CL    hen-GEN.PL    head    break.PST

The ghoul went [and] started to walk around but the boy and the girl went ahead [and] cut off the heads of two hens.

**K2:45**

mor'gānī        'sare                ke        'sest        ba'lāh 'hamōdā        'mo  
 morg-ānī        sar=e                ke        sest        balāh    ham=ōdā        mo  
 hen-GEN.PL    head=PC.3PL    CLM    break.PST    ghoul    EMPH=there    die.PST

When they cut the heads of the hens off, the ghoul died there.

**K2:46**

'nī        je'nekā        'go        čē        kaně                    go'sī  
 nī        jenek-ā        go        čē        Ø-kan-ě                goš-ī  
 then    girl-OBL    say.PST    what    SBJV-do.NPST-1PL    say.NPST-3SG

ra'hě  
 Ø-ra-hě  
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

Then the girl said, “What should we do?”; he said, “We are going.”

**K2:47**

'berẽ

be-r-ẽ

SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

Let's go."

**K2:48**

'ē doēn ham'rāh bītant o āt'kā

ē do-ēn hamrāh bīt-ant =o ātk-ā

PROX two-CL companion become.PST-3PL =and come.PST-3PL

'hamē 'čāte bo'nā 'hamā ga'war kīma'tī ke

ham=ē čāt-e bonā ham=ā gawar kīmatī ke

EMPH=PROX well-GEN under EMPH=DIST gem valuable CLM

ka'tal 'porr atā kom'bā 'porr atant o 'čī

katal porr =at-ā kombā porr =at-ant =o čī

basket full =COP.PST-3PL barrel full =COP.PST-3PL =and thing

'porr atant o gōnī'yānī tō'kā atant 'ē

porr =at-ant =o gōnī-yān-ī tōkā =at-ant ē

full =COP.PST-3PL =and sack-OBL.PL-GEN in =COP.PST-3PL PROX

'ārtantē o 'bastantē o brā'tā

ārt-ant=ē =o bast-ant=ē =o brāt-ā

bring.PST-3PL=PC.3PL =and bind.PST-3PL=PC.3PL =and brother-OBL.PL

ka'šetā 'borzā

kašet-ā borz-ā

pull.PST-3PL up-OBL

The two went [on] together and came to the well, [where] baskets were full of those valuable gems, barrels were full, you know (lit. things were full); they were in sacks; they brought them and tied them [to ropes] and then the brothers pulled them up.

**K2:49**

'nī ba'čakā je'nekā 'sād bast ke 'taw 'dar

nī bačak-ā jenek-ā sād bast ke taw dar

you know boy-OBL girl-OBL rope bind.PST CLM PN.2SG PREV

A. Text Corpus

<i>ā</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>monde'rik...</i>	<i>'hamē</i>
Ø-ā-Ø	jenek-ā	otī	monderik	ham=ē
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	girl-OBL	REFL.GEN	ring	EMPH=PROX

<i>čī</i>	<i>manga'līk</i>	<i>'čes ko</i>	<i>ba'čakā</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>manga'līkā</i>
čī	mangalīk	čes ko	bačak-ā	dāt	ke	ē	mangalīk-ā
what	bangle	up do.PST	boy-OBL	give.PST	CLM	PROX	bangle-OBL

<i>gō</i>	<i>'wata</i>	<i>'kā</i>
gō	wat-a	Ø-kā-Ø
with	REFL-OBL	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

You know, the boy tied the rope [around] the girl, [he said] /that/, “Go out”; the girl took off and gave her ring this what... her bangle to the boy; [she said] /that/, “Keep this bangle.”

**K2:50**

<i>je'nek</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'kaše</i>	<i>bor'zagā...</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'hančo ke</i>	<i>'šo</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>
jenek	ke	kaše	borzag-ā	jenek	hančo ke	šo-Ø	ōdā
girl	CLM	pull.PST	up-OBL	girl	when	go.PST-3SG	there

<i>bor'zā</i>	<i>doēn</i>	<i>brā'tā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dī</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'go</i>
borz-ā	do-ēn	brāt-ā	ke	dī	ēši-ā	go
up-OBL	two-CL	brother-OBL.PL	CLM	see.PST	PROX.DIR-OBL	say.PST

<i>'manī</i>	<i>ge'rā</i>	<i>'āīyā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'manī</i>
man=ī	ger-ā	āī-yā	go	man=ī
PN.1SG=PC.3SG	take.NPST-1SG	DIST.DIR-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG=PC.3SG

<i>ge'rā</i>	<i>'ēšīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>manī</i>	<i>ge'rā</i>
ger-ā	ēši-ā	go	man=ī	ger-ā
take.NPST-1SG	PROX.DIR-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG=PC.3SG	take.NPST-1SG

<i>'āīyā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>ge'rā</i>
āī-yā	go	man=ī	ger-ā
DIST.DIR-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG=PC.3SG	take.NPST-1SG

When they pulled her up...;you know, when the girl went up there; when the two brothers saw [her], this one said, “I will marry her.”; that one said, “I will marry her.”; this one said, “I will marry her.”; that one said, “I will marry her.”

**K2:51**

je'nekā 'go 'šomā ya 'barē 'sabr 'kane  
 jenek-ā go šomā ya bar=ē sabr Ø-kan-e  
 girl-OBL say.PST PN.2PL one time=IND patience IMPV-do.NPST-2PL

'ē 'mardā 'čāte 'tōkā če 'kaše  
 ē mard-ā čāt-e tōkā če Ø-kašš-e  
 PROX man-OBL well-GEN inside from IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL

The girl said, “Wait for a little while; pull the man up from inside the well.”

**K2:52**

e'sān 'gept yak 'sādē 'baste 'srēnā  
 eš-ān gept yak sād=ē bast=e srēn-ā  
 PROX-OBL.PL take.PST one rope=IND bind.PST=PC.3PL waist-OBL

o 'sādē ke 'dawr dā ba'čakā 'bas  
 =o sād=ē ke dawr dāt bačak-ā bas  
 =and rope=PC.3PL CLM throwing give.PST boy-OBL bind.PST

'otī 'srēnā o 'kašete 'dā 'nēm 'rāhā  
 otī srēn-ā =o kašet=e dā nēm rāh-ā  
 REFL.GEN waist-OBL =and pull.PST=PC.3PL till half way-OBL

They took a rope [and] tied around the waist and when they threw it [down]; the boy tied it around his waist and they pulled him up till the middle of the way.

**K2:53**

'nēm 'rāhā ke 'kašete e'sānī 'del tō'kā  
 nēm rāh-ā ke kašet=e eš-ānī del tōkā  
 half way-OBL CLM pull.PST=PC.3PL PROX-GEN.PL heart in

gī'batē 'pēdā bītaga yak... 'del  
 gībat=ē pēdā bīt-ag=a yak del-Ø  
 evil thought=IND visible become.PST-PP=COP.PST one heart-GEN

tō'kā ya 'paylē hasta 'sādē 'bore  
 tōkā ya payl=ē hast=a-Ø sād=ē bore  
 in one jealousy=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG rope=PC.3PL cut.PST

A. Text Corpus

*ba'čak 'ka 'čāte tō'kā*  
 bačak ka-Ø čāt-e tōkā  
 boy fall.PST-3SG well-GEN into

They pulled him up on the middle of the way; they got an evil thought... there was jealousy in their heart; they cut the rope [and] the boy fell down into the well.

**K2:54**

*'hančō ke 'čātā 'ka ba'čak 'šo zīrza'mīnā*  
 hančō ke čāt-ā ka bačak šo-Ø zīrzamīn-ā  
 when well-OBL fall.PST boy go.PST-3SG under the ground-OBL

*'dega 'hap ta'bakā*  
 dega hap tabak-ā  
 other seven floor-OBL

When he fell down into the well, the boy went under the earth, even seven more floors [stairs] down.

**K2:55**

*'hap ta'bakā če 'jāhlā 'šo ba'čakā 'čāre 'nī*  
 hap tabak-ā če jāhl-ā šo-Ø bačak-ā čāre nī  
 seven floor-OBL from down-OBL go.PST-3SG boy-OBL look.PST now

*'mā kapta'gā*  
 mā kap-ag=ā  
 PN.1SG fall.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

He went seven floors down under the earth; the boy realized (lit. looked), “Now I have fallen down.”

**K2:56**

*maste'rēn 'brātā 'go 'mā 'tī 'sāngā*  
 mas-ter-ēn brāt-ā go mā tī sāng-ā  
 old-CMP-ATTR brother-OBL say.PST PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN engaged-OBL

*ka'nā kaste'rēn 'go 'mā 'tī*  
 kan-ā kas-ter-ēn go mā tī  
 do.NPST-1SG young-CMP-ATTR say.PST PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN

'sāngā ka'nā̃ ja'nekā go ke 'manī 'ē  
 sāng-ā kan-ā̃ janek-ā go ke man-ī ē  
 engaged-OBL do.NPST-1SG girl-OBL then CLM PN.1SG-GEN PROX

manga'līke ba'dalā 'harče mar'domē 'bejant  
 mangalīk-e badal-ā harče mardom=ē be-ḡan-t  
 bangle-GEN identical copy-OBL whoever people=IND SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG

o čōṛī'kā 'mā ha'māī 'sānga ka'nā̃  
 =o čōṛīk-ā mā ham=āī sāng-a kan-ā̃  
 =and bangle-OBL PN.1SG EMPH=DIST.GEN betrothal-OBL do.NPST-1SG

The oldest brother said, “I will marry you.”; the youngest one said, “I will marry you.”; the girl said /that/, “Anyone who can make an identical copy of my bangle, I will marry him.”

**K2:57**

ē'sīā 'go 'mā 'hanī ja'nēne  
 ēṣī-ā go mā hanī jan-ēn=e  
 PROX.DIR-OBL say.PST PN.1PL right now make.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

[One of them] said, “We will make it right now.”

**K2:58**

parmā'tante o'stā zar'gar 'har yakē kī'lūe  
 parmāt-ant=e ostā zargar har yak=ē kīlū=e  
 order.PST-3PL=PC.3PL goldsmith goldsmith each one=PC.3SG kilo=IND

kī'lūe telāh 'dā 'har yakē kī'lūe tel'āhā  
 kīlū=e telāh dā har yak=ē kīlū=e telāh-ā  
 kilo=IND gold give.PST each one=PC.3SG kilo=IND gold-OBL

'bezīr o 'beṭap 'āī 'ḡawlā  
 be-zīr-Ø =o be-ṭap-Ø āī ḡawl-ā  
 SBJV-seize.NPST-3SG =and SBJV-beat.NPST-3SG DIST.GEN manner-OBL

'nabī ja'nekā 'dōs 'nabī  
 na-b-ī janek-ā dōs na-b-ī  
 NEG-become.NPST-3SG girl-OBL friend NEG-become.NPST-3SG

'hamē so'rā̃ ba'rā̃ ba'hā̃ kanā̃  
 ham=ē sor-ā̃ bar-ā̃ bahā̃ kan-ā̃  
 EMPH=PROX gold-OBL.PL take.NPST-3PL price do.NPST-3PL



A. Text Corpus

'wate zī'rã  
 wat=e zīr-ã  
 REFL=PC.3PL take.NPST-3PL

They ordered the goldsmith, the goldsmith; he gave each one a kilo of gold; each one should take a kilo gold and beat it; it didn't turn out like that one; the girl did not like it; they took this gold and sold it [and] took [the money] for themselves.

**K2:59**

'bel ā'hã o 'beger ba'čakã  
 b-el-Ø ā-hã =o be-ger-Ø bačak-ã  
 IMPV-allow.NPST-2SG DIST-OBL.PL =and IMPV-take.NPST-2SG boy-OBL

ba'čak 'čāte 'tōkā ē  
 bačak čāt-e tōkā =ē  
 boy well-GEN inside =COP.NPST.3SG

[Let's] leave them and get back to (lit. take) the boy; the boy was inside the well.

**K2:60**

ba'čakã sã'heg nē 'dã ha'nāgã yak sã'hegē  
 bačak-ã sãheg nē dã hanāgã yak sãheg-ē  
 boy-OBL shadow NEG.COP.NPST.3SG until suddenly one shadow-GEN

tō'kā 'ātk 'dã čārī yak 'dračkē ē  
 tōkā ātk-Ø dã čār-ī yak dračk=e =ē  
 into come.PST-3SG then look.NPST-3SG one tree=IND =COP.NPST.3SG

'hamē 'dračke čērã ba'čak 'wāpt 'dã  
 ham=e dračk-e čērã bačak wapt-Ø dã  
 EMPH=PROX tree-GEN under boy sleep.PST-3SG until

'čāretī yak ba'lāhē hãždīyāē 'mārē 'ē  
 čāret-ī yak balāh-ē hãždīyā=e mār=e ē  
 look.PST=PC.3SG one big-ATTR dragon=IND snake=IND PROX

sī'morgī 'čok ã sī'morgī  
 sīmorg-ī čok =ã sīmorg-ī  
 fabulous bird-GEN child =COP.NPST.3PL fabulous bird-GEN

*č'o'kānī wa'ragā pē'dāg ē*  
 čok-ānī wār-ag-ā pēdāg =ē  
 child-GEN.PL eat.NPST-INF-OBL visible =COP.NPST.3SG

There was no shadow for the boy; until suddenly he came into a shadow; then he saw; there was a tree; the boy fell asleep under this tree; until he saw there was a big dragon, a snake [there]; the fabulous bird's children were there [too]; It was coming to eat the fabulous bird's children.

**K2:61**

*ē'sīā 'kaše 'zahm o ha'mē syāh'mār 'košt*  
 ēšī-ā kašše zahm =o ham=ē syāhmār košt  
 PROX.DIR-OBL pull.PST sword =and EMPH=PROX black snake kill.PST

*hāždī'yā hāždī'yāe 'sar o 'dombī bor'retā o te'kā*  
 hāždīyā hāždīyā-e sar =o domb=ī borret-ā =o tekā  
 dragon dragon-GEN head =and tail=PC.3SG cut.PST-3PL =and piece

*te'kāī 'kot o mor'gānī 'dēmī 'dāt*  
 tekā=ī kot =o morg-ānī dēm=ī dāt  
 piece=PC.3SG do.PST =and chicken-GEN.PL front=PC.3SG give.PST

*o 'morg lag'getā wa'ragā č'e'rī č'e'rīā atan*  
 =o morg lagget-ā war-ag-ā čerī čerī-ā =at-an  
 =and bird start.PT-3PL eat.NPST-INF-OBL chirrup-OBL =COP.PST-3PL

*o 'morg 'hančo xoš'hāl atā*  
 =o morg hančo xošhāl =at-ā  
 =and bird very happy =COP.PST-3PL

He drew his sword and killed this black snake, the dragon; he cut the dragon's neck and tail off and cut them into small pieces and put in front of the birds; the birds started to eat; the birds were chattering; they were very happy.

**K2:62**

*'morg 'hančo xoš'hāl atant o 'čerī 'čerīā atant*  
 morg hančo xošhāl =at-ant =o čerī čerī-ā =at-ant  
 bird very happy =COP.PST-3PL =and chirrup-OBL =COP.PST-3PL

*o sī'morg 'hamā maza'nēn mor'gā 'čet yak*  
 =o sīmorg ham=ā mazan-ēn morg-ā čet yak  
 =and fabulous bird EMPH=DIST big-ATTR bird-OBL pick.PST one

## A. Text Corpus

'dōkē 'kade 'ē kā'līye ka'dēnea ke  
 dōk=ē kad=e ē kālī-ye kad-ēn=e-a ke  
 stone=IND size=EZ PROX carpet-GEN size-ATTR=IND-OBL CLM

lō'tī 'byay ē'sānī sa'rī  
 lōt-ī by-ay-Ø ēš-ānī sar=ī  
 want.NPST-3SG SBJV-come.NPST-3SG PROX-GEN.PL head=PC.3SG

'bejan 'hamā mor'gān 'bāl 'kot o  
 be-ĵan-Ø ham=ā morg-ān bāl kot =o  
 SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST bird-OBL.PL wing do.PST =and

'māte 'dēmā 'šotā ke 'ammā 'majānī  
 māt-e dēmā šot-ā ke ammā ma-ĵan=ī  
 mother-GEN to go.PST-3PL CLM mother PROH-hit.NPST=PC.3SG

ke ē'sīā 'may wās'tā nē'kī kota  
 ke ēši-ā may wāstā nēkī kot-a  
 CLM PROX.DIR-OBL PN.1PL.GEN for the sake of good deed do.PST-PP

ē'sīā may doš'men 'košta o pa'dā  
 ēši-ā may došmen košt-a =o padā  
 PROX.DIR-OBL PN.1PL.GEN enemy kill.PST-PP =and after that

'gōštī te'ka te'ka 'kota o 'mārā 'dātā  
 gōšt=ī teka teka kot-a =o mā-rā dāt-ā  
 meat=PC.3SG piece piece do.PST-PP =and PN.1PL-OBJ give.PST-3PL

The birds were so happy and were chattering and the fabulous bird; that big bird took a stone; the same size as the size of this carpet, when it wanted to come and throw it on his head (lit. on them, which must be a mistake by the narrator); those birds flew and went to their mother [they said], “Do not beat him mom since he has done a good deed for us; he killed our enemy and after that he cut its meat into pieces and gave it to us.”

### K2:63

'mātā 'zo yak gwātge'čenē ba'čake 'gwāt  
 māt-ā zo yak gwātgečen=ē bačak-e gwāt  
 mother-OBL take.PST one fan=IND boy-GEN wind

*gē'čagā*                    *'lage*  
*gēc-ag-ā*                    *lage*  
 fan.NPST-INF-OBL start.PT

The mother took a fan and started to fan the boy.

**K2:64**

*'hã* *'arz* *'bekā*                    *ta*                    *'otī*                    *ar'zā*  
*hã* *arz* *be-kā-Ø*                    *ta*                    *otī*                    *arz-ā*  
 yes wish SBJV-do.NPST-2SG PN.2SG REFL.GEN wish-OBL

*'bekā*                    *če* *tak'līp* *ẽ*                    *'tarā*  
*be-kā-Ø*                    *če* *taklīp* =*ẽ*                    *ta-rā*  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG from trouble =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG-OBJ

*go'sī*                    *'mā*                    *bor'zā* *ba'ragā*                    *lō'ṭā*  
*goš-ī*                    *mā*                    *borz-ā* *bar-ag-ā*                    *lōṭ-ā*  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG up-OBL carry.NPST-INF-OBL want.NPST-1SG

*sarza'mīnā*  
*sarzamīn-ā*  
 earth-OBL

[It said], “Yes, wish, tell me your wish, what is your problem.”; he said, “I want to go up onto the earth.”

**K2:65**

*go'sī*                    *'boro*                    *'čār...* *'hap* *'pas*  
*goš-ī*                    *bo-ro-Ø*                    *čār* *hap* *pas*  
 say.NPST-3SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG four seven goat

*'bezīr*                    *hap'tēn* *pa'sānī*                    *pō'stā*                    *'porr*  
*be-zīr-Ø*                    *hapt-ēn* *pas-ānī*                    *pōst-ā*                    *porr*  
 SBJV-take.NPST-2SG seven-CL goat-GEN.PL skin-OBL.PL full

*kā*                    *'če* *'āpā*                    *'maškā*                    *'āp*  
*Ø-kā-Ø*                    *če* *āp-ā*                    *mašk-ā*                    *āp*  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG what water-OBL goat skin-OBL water

*bekā*                    *o* *'gōštā*                    *'manā*  
*be-kā-Ø*                    =*o* *gōšt-ā*                    *man-ā*  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG =and meat-OBL.PL PN.1SG-OBJ

A. Text Corpus

'laḏḏ                      'manā              ke      'borzā      ka'sān  
 Ø-ladd-Ø                  man-ā              ke      borz-ā      kaš-ān  
 IMPV-load.NPST-2SG    PN.1SG-OBJ    CLM    up-OBL    pull.NPST-OBL.PL

'kanay              'man              'tarā              'dayā...              'manā  
 kan-ay              man              ta-rā              day-ā              man-ā  
 do.NPST-2SG    PN.1SG    PN.2SG-OBJ    give.NPST-1SG    PN.1SG-OBJ

'beday  
 be-day-Ø  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

It said, “Go, get four... seven goats, fill these seven goat skins with the water; fill the goat skin with the water and load the meat onto me, when you are pulling me up, I give you.. give [them to] me.

**K2:66**

ba'čak    'ātk                      o              'dīte                      yak    ša'pānkē  
 bačak    ātk-Ø                      =o              dīt=e                      yak    šapānk=e  
 boy      come.PST-3SG    =and    see.PST=PC.3SG    one    shepherd=IND

ba'čakā    'lāhtē              'pūl              'čes ko              'hamē              ša'pānkā  
 bačak-ā    lāht=e              pūl              čes ko              ham=e              šapānk-ā  
 boy-OBL    some=IND    money    up    do.PST    EMPH=PROX    shepherd-OBL

'dā              ke    'manā              'hap    'dānā    'pas    'beday  
 dā              ke    man-ā              hap    dānā    pas    be-day-Ø  
 give.PST    CLM    PN.1SG-OBJ    seven    CL    goat    IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

The boy came and saw a shepherd; he took some money and gave [it] to this shepherd; [he said] /that/; “Give me seven goats.”

**K2:67**

ba'čakā    hap'tēn    'pas    'zortā              'pasī              'koštant              o  
 bačak-ā    hapt-ēn    pas    zort-ā              pas=ī              košt-ant              =o  
 boy-OBL    seven-CL    goat    buy.PST-3PL    goat=PC.3SG    kill.PST-3PL    =and

pa'sānī              'pōstī              'āp              'mān    kotant              o              'gōštī  
 pas-ānī              pōst=ī              āp              mān    kot-ant              =o              gōšt=ī  
 goat-GEN.PL    skin=PC.3SG    water    filled    do.PST-3PL    =and    meat=PC.3SG

<i>zor'tā</i>	<i>sī'morgā</i>	<i>laḡ'detant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sī'morg</i>	<i>bāl</i>
zort-ā	sīmorg-ā	laḡdet-ant	=o	sīmorg	bāl
take.PST-3PL	fabulous bird-OBL	load.PST-3PL	=and	fabulous bird	wing

<i>ka'nagā</i>	<i>lag'ge</i>
kan-ag-ā	lagge-Ø
do.NPST-INF-OBL	start.PST-3SG

The boy bought the seven goats [and] slaughtered the goats, and filled the goat skins with water, and took their meat; put them on the back of the fabulous bird; the fabulous bird started to fly.

**K2:68**

<i>aw'lī</i>	<i>pa'dānkā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>kapt</i>	<i>'goštī</i>	<i>'gōšt</i>
awl-ī	padānk-ā	ke	sar	kapt	gošt=ī	gōšt
first-ORD	foot step-OBL	CLM	head	fall.PST	say.PST=PC.3SG	meat

<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>'gōštē</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'dāt</i>
ēšī-ā	yak	gōšt=e	dap-ā	dāt
PROX.DIR-OBL	one	meat=PC.3SG	mouth-OBL	give.PST

When it climbed up the first step, it said, “Meat.”; he put a piece of the meat into its mouth.

**K2:69**

<i>do'mī</i>	<i>pa'dānkā</i>	<i>'sar</i>	<i>kapt</i>	<i>pa'dā</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'gōštī</i>
do-mī	padānk-ā	sar	kapt	padā	dega	gōšt=ī
two-ORD	foot step-OBL	head	fall.PST	again	another	meat=PC.3SG

<i>'dapī</i>	<i>'dāt</i>	<i>'ham</i>	<i>'gōšte</i>
dap=ī	dāt	ham	gōšt=e
mouth=PC.3SG	give.PST	ADD	meat=PC.3SG

<i>da'yagen</i>	<i>'ham</i>	<i>'āpī</i>
day-ag=en	ham	āp=ī
give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	ADD	water=PC.3SG

<i>da'yagen</i>
day-ag=en
give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

[When] it climbed up the second step; again he put the meat into its mouth; he was giving it both meat and water

A. Text Corpus

**K2:70**

*dāke āxe'rīyā 'sar kaptant o āxe'rī*  
*dāke āxer=ī-yā sar kapt-ant =o āxer=ī*  
 when finally=PC.3SG-OBL head fall.PST-3PL =and last=PC.3SG

*'gōštā lō'ī 'bekašīt o 'morge*  
*gōšt-ā lōṭ-ī be-kaš-īt =o morg-e*  
 meat-OBL want.NPST-3SG SBJV-pull.PST-3SG =and bird-GEN

*da'pā 'bedā ča 'morge da'pā*  
*dap-ā be-dā-Ø ča morg-e dap-ā*  
 mouth-OBL SBJV.give.NPST-3SG from bird-GEN mouth-OBL

*'naraset o pē'sarā za'mīnā 'kapt*  
*na-raset =o pēsarā zamīn-ā kapt*  
 NEG-arrive.PST =and first earth-OBL fall.PST

When they climbed up the last step, and he wanted to take the last piece of meat and put it inside the bird's mouth; it didn't reach the bird's mouth; it fell down onto the ground.

**K2:71**

*pa'dā 'goštī 'manā 'gōšt 'beday ba'čakā*  
*padā gošt=ī man-ā gōšt be-day-Ø bačak-ā*  
 again say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ meat IMPV.give.NPST-2SG boy-OBL

*ka'šet 'zahm o 'otī 'pāday 'rānī 'borret o*  
*kašet zahm =o oṭī pād-ay rān=ī borret =o*  
 pull.PST sword =and REFL.GEN foot-GEN thigh=PC.3SG cut.PST =and

*'morge 'dapā dā*  
*morg-e dap-ā dāt*  
 bird-GEN mouth-OBL give.PST

Again it said, “Give me meat”; the boy drew his sword and cut his thigh and put it into the bird's mouth.

**K2:72**

*'morge 'dapī 'dā mor'gā 'kašt*  
*morg-e dap=ī dā morg-ā kašt*  
 bird-GEN mouth=PC.3SG give.PST bird-OBL pull.PST

He put it into the bird's mouth; [but] the bird put it out.

**K2:73**

*mor'gā 'hamī 'gōšt 'dāšt 'otī 'dapā*  
 morg-ā ham=ī gōšt dāšt otī dap-ā  
 bird-OBL EMPH=PROX meat keep.PST REFL.GEN mouth-OBL

*'nawārtī*

na-wārt=ī

NEG-eat.PST=PC.3SG

The bird kept this meat in its mouth; it did not eat it.

**K2:74**

*mor'gā 'gōšt 'dāšt 'otī 'dapā 'dāke ḡan'nā 'dar*  
 morg-ā gōšt dāšt otī dap-ā dāke ḡann-ā dar  
 bird-OBL meat keep.PST REFL.GEN mouth-OBL till out-OBL PREV

*'ātkā ba'čakā go'sī taw 'boro*  
 ātk-ā bačak-ā goš-ī taw bo-ro-Ø  
 come.PST-3PL boy-OBL say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

*'tarā hejā'zat ē ba'čakā he'jāza ko*  
 ta-rā hejāzat =ē bačak-ā hejāza ko  
 PN.2SG-OBJ permission =COP.NPST.3SG boy-OBL permission do.PST

*ba'čak 'lagge ra'wagā lang ka'nagā 'lagge*  
 bačak lagge raw-ag-ā lang kan-ag-ā lagge  
 boy start.PST go.NPST-INF-OBL limp do.NPST-INF-OBL start.PST

The bird kept the meat in its mouth; till they came out [of the well]; It said to the boy, “Go, you are allowed to go.”; the boy [said], “Good bye”; the boy started to walk [but] he started limping.

**K2:75**

*'morgā ta'wār ko 'byā*  
 morg-ā tawār ko by-ā-Ø  
 bird-OBL sound do.PST IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

The bird called [him], “Come.”

**K2:76**

*mor'gā ha'mā 'dape 'gōšt 'kašt ba'čake 'pādā*  
 morg-ā ham=ā dap-e gōšt kašt bačak-e pād-ā  
 bird-OBL EMPH=DIST mouth-GEN meat pull.PST boy-GEN foot-OBL



A. Text Corpus

*pa'dā jat ba'čake 'pāda 'hamā 'drāh... 'drāh*  
 paḏā jat bačak-e pād-a ham=ā drāh drāh  
 again put.PST boy-GEN foot-OBL EMPH=DIST healed healed

*bīt o salā'mat bī 'morg 'ēr kapt*  
 bīt-Ø =o salāmat bī-Ø morg ēr kapt  
 become.PST-3SG =and healthy become.PST-3SG bird PREV fall.PST

*'padā 'čātā o 'lagge pa 'otī č'o'kānī nē'magā*  
 paḏā čāt-ā =o lagge pa otī čok-ānī nēmagā  
 again well-OBL =and start.PST for REFL.GEN child-GEN.PL to

*čōrī'gānī nē'magā ra'wagā*  
 čōrīg-ānī nēmagā raw-ag-ā  
 chick-GEN.PL to go.NPST-INF-OBL

Again the bird put out that meat, and put it on the boy's leg; again the boy's leg healed..., it turned well and healthy; again the bird went into the well, and started to return to its children, to its chicks.

**K2:77**

*'paš kapt ba'čak ba'čak 'ātk 'čāretī*  
 paš kapt bačak bačak ātk-Ø čāret=ī  
 behind fall.PST boy boy come.PST-3SG look.PST=PC.3SG

*'dā zār'gar kā'rā yā 'ē dēm o 'ā*  
 ḏā zargar kār-ā =yā ē dēm =o ā  
 you know goldsmith work-OBL =COP.NPST.3PL PROX side =and DIST

*dēmā 'toko 'tāk ene 'hā 'āre*  
 dēm-ā tokotāk =en=e hā āre  
 side-OBL Tokotak =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG yes oh friend

*'zargarā 'šomā čē kana'gā e*  
 zargar-ā šomā čē kan-ag-ā =e  
 goldsmith-OBL.PL PN.2PL what do.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.2PL

The boy was left [all alone]; the boy came, [and] looked, you know, the goldsmiths were working; they were making noise all over (lit. on this side and that side), [he said] “Hey there, goldsmiths, what are you doing?”

**K2:78**

*go'sī* 'mā čō'ṛīkē jana'gā ē  
 goš-ī mā čōṛīk=ē jan-ag-ā =ē  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1PL bangle=PC.3SG hit.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.1PL

*'čōnēn čō'ṛīkē 'ē daw'lēnē bād'sāhe*  
 čōnēn čōṛīk=ē ē dawl-ēn=ē bādšāh-e  
 what kind bangle=COP.NPST.3SG PROX manner-ATTR=IND king-GEN

*je'neke... bād'sāhe ne'sāre 'sīr ē*  
 jenek-e bādšāh-e nešār-e sīr =ē  
 girl-GEN king-GEN daughter -in-law-GEN wedding =COP.NPST.3SG

One of them (lit. he) said, “We are making a bangle?”; [he said], “What kind of a bangle is it?”; [he said], “Like this, it is the king’s daughter’s... It is the king’s daughter-in-law’s wedding.”

**K2:79**

*bād'sāhe ne'sāre 'sīr ē 'mā 'ē*  
 bādšāh-e nešār-e sīr =ē mā ē  
 king-GEN daughter -in-law-GEN wedding =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL PROX

*čō'ṛīkā jana'gā ē go'sī 'šar*  
 čōṛīk-ā jan-ag-ā =ē goš-ī šar  
 bangle-OBL hit.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.1PL say.NPST-3SG fine

*ē čō'ṛīkē... ba'čakā 'kaše 'otī čō'ṛīk 'čes*  
 =ē čōṛīk=ē bačak-ā kašše otī čōṛīk čes  
 =COP.NPST.3SG bangle=IND boy-OBL pull.PST REFL.GEN bangle up

*ko zar'garā 'dāt o zar'garā 'zort*  
 ko zargar-ā dāt =o zargar-ā zort  
 do.PST goldsmith-OBL give.PST =and goldsmith-OBL take.PST

*'hamī čō'ṛīk 'bortay pa bād'sāhe je'nek... jan...*  
 ham=ī čōṛīk bort=ay pa bādšāh-e jenek jan  
 EMPH=PROX bangle take.PST=PC.3SG for king-GEN girl woman

*bā'nūre nē'magā bān'ūrā 'go 'hamē čō'ṛīkā*  
 bānōr-e nēmagā bānōr-ā go ham=ē čōṛīk-ā  
 bride-GEN to bride-OBL say.PST EMPH=PROX bangle-OBL

A. Text Corpus

<i>hamā'ī</i>	<i>'jata</i>	<i>hamā'īyā</i>	<i>'byāret</i>
ham=āī	ĵat-a	ham=āī-yā	by-ār-ēt
EMPH=DIST.OBL	hit.PST-PP	EMPH=DIST.DIR-OBL	IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

It is the king's daughter-in-law's wedding; we are making this bangle"; he said, "Alright."; the bangle...; the boy took out his bangle [and] gave to the goldsmith and the goldsmith took this bangle, [and] took it to the king's daughter...wife... daughter-in-law; the daughter-in-law said, "Bring the person who made this bangle."

**K2:80**

<i>ba'čakā</i>	<i>'hančō ke...</i>	<i>bačā zā'her</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>	<i>go'lāyeš</i>
bačak-ā	hančō ke	bačā zāher	bī-Ø	janek-ā	golāyeš
boy-OBL	when	son	visible	become.PST-3SG	girl-OBL hug

<i>ko</i>	<i>'dast ka'lay</i>	<i>bīṭā</i>	<i>'dastī</i>	<i>čoke'tā</i>
ko	dast kalay	bīt-ā	dast=ī	čoket-ā
do.PST	shaking hands	become.PST-3PL	hand=PC.3SG	kiss.PST-3PL

<i>'rūī</i>	<i>bo'set</i>
rū=ī	boset
face=PC.3SG	kiss.PST

When the boy... the boy appeared; the daughter hugged him and shook his hand; she kissed his hands and his face.

**K2:81**

<i>'goštī</i>	<i>'bādešāh</i>	<i>'goštī</i>	<i>'hā</i>	<i>'goštī</i>
gošt=ī	bādešāh	gošt=ī	hā	gošt=ī
say.PST=PC.3SG	king	say.PST=PC.3SG	yes	say.PST=PC.3SG

<i>'manā</i>	<i>'kašta</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>ča</i>	<i>'čātā</i>	<i>'mā</i>
man-ā	kašt-a	ēšī-ā	ča	čāt-ā	mā
PN.1SG-OBJ	pull.PST-PP	PROX.DIR-OBL	from	well-OBL	PN.1SG

<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>ge'rā</i>	<i>ā'hā</i>	<i>'mā</i>
ēšī-ā	ger-ā	ā-hā	mā
PROX.DIR-OBL	take.NPST-1SG	DIST-OBL.PL	PN.1SG

<i>'nagerā</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'sīr</i>	<i>bā'yed</i>	<i>gō</i>
na-ger-ā	man-ī	sīr	bāyed	gō
NEG-take.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG-GEN	wedding	must	with

*hame'sīyā*                      *'bebī*  
 ham=ešī-yā                      be-b-ī  
 EMPH=PROX.DIR-OBL    SBJV-become.PST-3SG

She said, “Your majesty”; he said, “Yes.”; she said, “He pulled me up from the well; I will marry him; I won’t marry them; I must marry him.”

**K2:82**

*je'nek bād'sāhā 'ko jol'lā šo'rū bītā 'dōl*  
 jenek bādšāh-ā ko joll-ā šorū bīt-ā dōl  
 girl king-OBL do.PST wedding tent-OBL start become.PST-3PL drum

*šo'rū bītā 'nāč nā'zēnk 'šayr saman'darī ba'čake*  
 šorū bīt-ā nāč nāzēnk šayr samandarī bačak-e  
 start become.PST-3PL dance song poetry joyous song boy-GEN

*'sare j'āne 'šoštant o gō ja'nekā*  
 sar-e jān=e šošt-ant =o gō jānek-ā  
 head-GEN body=PC.3PL wash.PT-3PL =and with girl-OBL

*nē'kāē dāt o sālōk o bā'nūre*  
 nēkā=e dāt =o sālōk =o bānōr=e  
 betrothal=PC.3SG give.PST =and bridegroom =and bride=PC.3SG

*'kotā*  
 kot-ā  
 do.PST-3PL

The king put the girl into the wedding tent; the drums started [playing]; the dance, songs, poetry [and] joyous songs started; they washed the boy’s head and body and he [the king] declared the marriage with the girl and declared them bride and bridegroom.

**K2:83**

*bād'sāh 'otī 'tāj ka'šet o ba'čake 'sarā 'dāt*  
 bādšāh otī tāj kašet =o bačak-e sar-ā dāt  
 king REFL.GEN crown pull.PST =and boy-GEN head-OBL give.PST

*o o ba'čak 'ko 'molke bād'sāh balōč'māt ā*  
 =o =o bačak ko molk-e bādšāh balōčmāt ā  
 =and =and boy do.PST land-GEN king Baloch mother DIST

## A. Text Corpus

*bād'sāh bīt* *o 'mā 'padā tar'ret o*  
bādšāh bīt-Ø =o mā padā tarret =o  
king become.PST-3SG =and PN.1PL back return.PST =and

*'ātkē*  
ātk-ē  
come.PST-1PL

The king took off his crown and put it on the boy's head and declared him king of the land, the Baloch's son; he became a king and we came back.

### K2:84

*'ē 'taī kes'sa bīt xo'dāyen ke*  
ē ta-ī kessa bīt-Ø xodā=yen ke  
PROX PN.2SG-GEN story become.PST-3SG God=COP.NPST.3SG CLM

*šar bebī ke čār randā mā ĵata šar*  
šar be-b-ī ke čār randā mā ĵat-a šar  
fine SBJV-become.NPST-3SG CLM four time PN.1PL hit.PST-PP fine

*nabī goṛā...*  
na-b-ī goṛā  
NEG-become.NPST-3SG then

This is your story hope it be fine because I have said (lit. hit) it four times then...

## A.4. Text 4: A Man

### A Man yak 'mardē

*recounted by Asmah Osta*

#### AM:1

*yak 'mardē hasta ē'sīe 'nām a*  
yak mard=ē hast=a-Ø ēšīe nām =a-Ø  
one man=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG PROX.GEN name =COP.PST-3SG

*rahīm'bakš*  
rahīmbakš  
Rahimbaksh

There was a man; called Rahimbakhsh (lit. his name was)

**AM:2**

*ē'sīe* 'pete 'nām a āh'mad  
 ēšīe pet-e nām =a-Ø āh'mad  
 PROX.GEN father-GEN name =COP.PST-3SG Ahmad

His father name was Ahmad

**AM:3**

*go'rā 'ē rahīm'bakš ma'zan ka'sān a ma'zan ka'sān*  
 goṛā ē rahīmbakš mazan kasān =a-Ø mazan kasān  
 then PROX Rahimbaksh big small =COP.PST-3SG big small

*a 'dāke 'hančō čō'bī ja'wān bī*  
 =a-Ø dāke hančō čōbī jawān bī-Ø  
 =COP.PST-3SG till like this you know young become.PST-3SG

You know, this Rahim Bakhsh was growing (lit. he was big and small); he was growing (lit. he was big and small), till you know like this, he became grown up.

**AM:4**

*ja'wān bī 'nī go'rā 'ē de'ge 'brātē*  
 jawān bī-Ø nī goṛā ē dege brāt=ē  
 young become.PST-3SG well you know PROX another brother=IND

*hastatī kaster'ēn 'ē do'ē*  
 hast=at=ī kas-ter-ēn ē do-ē  
 be.NPST=COP.PST=PC.3SG young-CMP-ATTR PROX two-ATTR

*ham'rā bītā šo'tā yak jā'gāē kā'rā*  
 hamrā bīt-ā šot-ā yak jāgā=ē kār-ā  
 companion become.PST-3PL go.PST-3PL one place=IND work-OBL

*lag'getā ē'sān 'kār ko 'dā 'čizē mod'datā*  
 lagget-ā ēš-ān kār ko dā čiz=ē moddat-ā  
 beat.PT-3PL PROX-OBL.PL work do.PST until thing=IND time-OBL

*go'rā ē'sān 'čizē 'pūl 'jam ko 'dāke*  
 goṛā ēš-ān čiz=ē pūl jam ko dāke  
 you know PROX-OBL.PL thing=IND money collected do.PST then

A. Text Corpus

'ē	pūle	ō'tī	das'tā	ār'tā	šo'tā
ē	pūl=e	otī	dast-ā	ārt-ā	šot-ā
PROX	money=PC.3PL	REFL.GEN	hand-OBL	bring.PST-3PL	go.PST-3PL

He grew up; well, you know, he had a younger brother (lit. there was another bother to him); they went together in a certain place [and] started to work; for a short while, they worked; you know they saved (lit. collected) some money; they saved (lit. earned) some money, (lit. till they brought the money into their hands) when they got (lit. they brought this money in their hand) this money, went [and].

**AM:5**

ka'mokē	te'lāhe	'zo	o'tī	wās'ta	go'rā
kam-ok=ē	telāh=e	zo	otī	wāsta	gorā
little-EV=IND	gold=PC.3SG	buy.PST	REFL.GEN	for the sake of	you know

'ē	'čīze	'otī	das'tā	ār'tā	'nī	ē'sī
ē	čīz=e	otī	dast-ā	ārt-ā	nī	ēšī
PROX	thing=IND	REFL.GEN	hand-OBL	bring.PST-3PL	then	PROX.DIR

'šot	'pete	gwa'rā	ke	'manī	pet	'manā
šot-Ø	pet-e	gwarā	ke	man-ī	pet	man-ā
go.PST-3SG	father-GEN	to	CLM	PN.1SG-GEN	father	PN.1SG-OBJ

za'māt	'bekā
zāmāt	be-kā-Ø
bridegroom	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

Rahim Bakhsh (lit. he) bought some gold for himself; you know, he saved (lit. earned) some money; (lit. he brought those things in their hand); then he went to his father; [he said] /that/, “My father, propose for me.”

**AM:6**

'petā	'go	ke	'to	'boro	'kār
pet-ā	go	ke	to	bo-ro-Ø	kār
father-OBL	say.PST	CLM	PN.2SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	work

'bekā	'taw	o'tī	wās'ta	'čīzē	'dar
be-kā-Ø	taw	otī	wāsta	čīz=ē	dar
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	PN.2SG	REFL.GEN	for the sake of	thing=IND	PREV

*gěj*                      *'pūlē*                      *'dar*    *gěj*  
 Ø-gěj-Ø                      pūl=ē                      dar    Ø-gěj-Ø  
 SBJV-find.NPST-2SG    money=PC.3PL    PREV    SBJV-find.NPST-2SG

*'goštī*                      *'mā*                      *'kār*    *ko'ta*                      *'manā*                      *'īnčō*                      *'pūl*  
 gošt=ī                      mā                      kār    kot-a                      man-ā                      īnčō                      pūl  
 say.PST=PC.3SG    PN.1SG    work    do.PST-PP    PN.1SG-OBJ    this much    money

*'hastē*                      *'petā*                      *'go*                      *'ē*                      *'pūl*                      *ka'mok*  
 hast=ē                      pet-ā                      go                      ē                      pūl                      kam-ok  
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    father-OBL    say.PST    PROX    money    little-EV

*ā*                      *'boro*                      *pa'dā*    *'kār*                      *'bekā*  
 =ā                      bo-ro-Ø                      padā    kār                      be-kā-Ø  
 =COP.NPST.3PL    IMPV-go.NPST-2SG    again    work    IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

The father said /that/, “Go and work, you should earn something, you should earn some money for yourself”; he said, “I have worked, I had this much money (lit. this much money is for me)”; the father said, “This money is little, again go [and] work.”

**AM:7**

*pa'dā*    *go'rā*    *'šot*                      *o'tī*                      *kā'rā*                      *lag'get*                      *'dā*                      *'čīzē*  
 padā    goṛā    šot-Ø                      oṭī                      kā-rā                      lagget                      dā                      čīz=ē  
 again    well    go.PST-3SG    REFL.GEN    work-OBL    start.PST    until    thing=IND

*mod'datā*    *pa'dā*    *'kāre*                      *'kot*                      *pa'dā*    *ha'mā*                      *'brāt*  
 moddat-ā    padā    kār=e                      kot                      padā    ham=ā                      brāt  
 time-OBL    again    work=PC.3SG    do.PST    again    EMPH=DIST    brother

*ā'īe*                      *čō'bī*                      *ko'mak*    *bīt*                      *o*                      *'gō*                      *'ē*                      *do'ēn*  
 āīe                      čōbī                      komak    bīt-Ø                      =o                      gō                      ē                      do-ēn  
 DIST.GEN    you know    help                      become.PST-3SG    =and    with    PROX    two-CL

*'hōr*                      *bītā*                      *go'rā*    *'čīzē*                      *'pūle*                      *'dar*  
 hōr                      bīt-ā                      goṛā    čīz=ē                      pūl=e                      dar  
 together    become.PST-3PL    then    thing=IND    money=PC.3PL    PREV

*getk*  
 getk  
 find.PST

Well, again he went [and] started to work for a while, again he worked; you



## A. Text Corpus

know, again that his brother helped him and these two brothers joined together; then they saved (lit. found) some money.

### AM:8

'dar getke 'nī 'āt 'pete gwa'rā  
 dar getk=e nī āt-Ø pet-e gwarā  
 PREV find.PST=PC.3PL now come.PST-3SG father-GEN to

'goštī 'nī 'manī 'pūl 'bāz ā 'nī  
 gošt=ī nī man-ī pūl bāz =ā nī  
 say.PST=PC.3SG now PN.1SG-GEN money many =COP.NPST.3PL now

'manā zā'māt 'bekā  
 man-ā zāmāt be-kā-Ø  
 PN.1SG-OBJ bridegroom SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

They saved (lit. found) [some money]; after that (lit. now) he came to his father, he said, “Now I have a lot of money (lit. my money is a lot), now propose for me.”

### AM:9

'petā 'go 'šar ē go'rā 'mā 'tarā  
 pet-ā go šar =ē goṛā mā ta-rā  
 father-OBL say.PST fine =COP.NPST.3SG well PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ

zā'māt ka'nā go'rā 'ē rahīm'bakš oṭī  
 zāmāt kan-ā goṛā ē rahimbakš oṭī  
 bridegroom do.NPST-1SG then PROX Rahimbaksh REFL-GEN

'trīe zā'māt bī  
 trī-e zāmāt bī-Ø  
 aunt-GEN bridegroom become.PST-3SG

The father said, “Alright, well, I will propose for you”; then this Rahimbakhsh became his aunt’s bridegroom (lit. son-in-law).

### AM:10

zā'māt bī 'bale 'ē 'trīe 'molk čō'bī  
 zāmāt bī-Ø bale ē trī-e molk čōbī  
 bridegroom become.PST-3SG but PROX aunt-GEN land you know

'edā 'neya 'ā pākes'tānay nen'dōk  
 ēdā ne-=ya-Ø ā pākestān-ay nendēn-ok  
 here NEG=COP.PST-3SG DIST Pakistan-GEN place.NPST-PPR

a 'ē me'sāle ke čō'bī ī'rānā  
 =a-Ø ē mesāl=e ke čōbī īrān-ā  
 =COP.PST-3SG PROX example=EZ CLM you know Iran-OBL

neš'taga  
 nešt-ag=a-Ø  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG

He became bridegroom; but, you know, this his aunt's country was not there (lit. here); for instance, she lived in Pakistan, Rahimbakhsh (lit. he) you know, lived (lit. has sat) in Iran.

**AM:11**

neš'taga go'ṛā 'šotā 'ē čō'bī ha'bar  
 nešt-ag=a-Ø goṛā šot-ā ē čōbī habar  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG then go.PST-3PL PROX you know word

bīt marda'kāe zā'māt kot 'dā zā'māt  
 bīt-Ø mardakā=e zāmāt kot dā zāmāt  
 become.PST-3SG man=PC.3PL engaged do.PST until bridegroom

bī 'dā 'čīze mod'dat čō'bī 'hamē  
 bī-Ø dā čīz=e moddat čōbī ham=e  
 become.PST-3SG until thing=IND time you know EMPH=PROX

zāmā'tīā 'gwast 'dāke pa'dā ē'sīā  
 zāmāt-ī-ā gwast-Ø dāke padā ēšīā  
 bridegroom-ADJZ-OBL pass.PST-3SG you know again PROX.OBL

'šot 'kār ko go'ṛā o'tī wās'ta  
 šot-Ø kār ko goṛā o'tī wāsta  
 go.PST-3SG work do.PST then REFL.GEN for the sake of

'pūle 'jam kot 'dā 'otī 'sīre  
 pūl=e jam kot dā o'tī sīr-e  
 money=PC.3PL collected do.PST you know REFL.GEN wedding-GEN

A. Text Corpus

*wās'ta*      'čīzē      'zort      čō'bī      *bān'ūre*  
*wāsta*      čīz=ē      zort      čōbī      *bānōr-e*  
 for the sake of thing=PC.3SG buy.PST you know bride-GEN

*wās'ta*      'čīzē      'zo      'god      *o*      *le'bāsī*      'zo  
*wāsta*      čīz=ē      zo      god      =o      *lebās=ī*      zo  
 for the sake of thing=PC.3SG buy.PST fabric =and cloth=PC.3SG buy.PST

*o'tī*      *wās'ta*      'zortī      'dāke      *go'ṛā*      'ešīe  
*otī*      *wāsta*      zort=ī      dāke      *goṛā*      ešīe  
 REFL.GEN for the sake of take.PST=PC.3SG you know then PROX.GEN

'māt      *o*      'petā      'get      *yak mā'sīnē*      'dāke  
*māt*      =o      *pet-ā*      get      *yak māšīn=ē*      dāke  
 mother =and father-OBL.PL find.PST one car=IND you know

*ē'sī*      *go'hār*      'dā      'ešīe      *kān'dā*      'ē  
*ēšī*      *gohār*      dā      ešīe      *kānd-ā*      ē  
 PROX.GEN sister you know PROX.GEN relative-OBL.PL PROX

*dros'tā*      *ham'rā*      *bītā*      *go'ṛā*      'ā      'molke      'nām  
*drost-ā*      *hamrā*      *bīt-ā*      *goṛā*      ā      *molk-e*      *nām*  
 all-OBL.PL companion become.PST-3PL you know DIST land-GEN name

*a*      'dašt      *pāke'stān*  
 =a-Ø      *dašt*      *pākeštān*  
 =COP.PST-3SG Dasht Pakistan

He lived (lit. has sat); then, you know, they went and proposed (lit. it was a word); they accepted the man; he got engaged; you know, a short while passed from this engagement; you know, again he went [and] worked; then he saved (lit. collected) some money for himself; you know, he bought some stuff for himself [his wedding celebration]; you know, he bought some stuff for the bride; he bought fabric and cloth; he bought for himself; you know after that, his mother and father hire (lit. took) a car; you know, his sister, you know, his relatives, [his family] all accompanied him; you know, that village called Dasht of Pakistan.

AM:12

*čō'bī*      'ē      'šotā      *daš'tā*      *pa sī'rā*      'ē  
*čōbī*      ē      šot-ā      *dašt-ā*      *pa sīr-ā*      ē  
 you know PROX go.PST-3PL Dasht-OBL for wedding-OBL PROX

'šotā      'ōdā ra'setā      'dāke      hap'tagē      'do hap'tagā  
 šot-ā      ōdā raset-ā      dāke      haptag=e      do haptag-ā  
 go.PST-3PL there arrive.PST-3PL you know week=IND two week-OBL

ha'māngor      atā      'dā      'sīr      bī      'dā  
 ham=āngor      =at-ā      dā      sīr      bī-Ø      dā  
 EMPH=there =COP.PST-3PL then wedding become.PST-3SG till

'sīr      hal'let      go'ṛā 'māt      o      'petā      pa'dā čō'bī  
 sīr      hallet      goṛā māt      =o      pet-ā      padā čōbī  
 wedding finish.PST then mother =and father-OBL.PL again you know

wā'tarr ko      'ātkā  
 wātarr ko      ātk-ā  
 return do.PST come.PST-3PL

You know, they went for wedding celebration to Dasht; they arrived (lit. went and arrived); you know, for one week and two weeks they were there; then it was the wedding celebration, till [then] the wedding celebration finished; then you know, the father and the mother again came back (lit. return and came).

**AM:13**

'ātkā      go'ṛā 'ē      marde'kā      čō'bī      ha'mōdān  
 ātk-ā      goṛā ē      mard-ek-ā      čōbī      ham=ōdān  
 come.PST-3PL then PROX man-EV-OBL you know EMPH=there

a      go'ṛā ha'mōdā      'kāre      kot      ha'mōdā  
 =a-Ø      goṛā ham=ōdā      kār=e      kot      ham=ōdā  
 =COP.PST-3SG then EMPH=there work=PC.3SG do.PST EMPH=there

rōz'gāre      kot      'barē      gēl'kārīe      kot      'barē      yak  
 rōzgār=e      kot      bar=e      gēlkārī=e      kot      bar=e      yak  
 time=PC.3SG do.PST time=IND clay=PC.3SG do.PST time=IND one

'kārē      'kotī      'dāke      'čīze      mod'dat      'gwast  
 kār=e      kot=i      dāke      čīz=e      moddat      gwast-Ø  
 work=IND do.PST=PC.3SG then thing=IND time      pass.PST-3SG

They came back; then, you know, this man [Rahimbakhsh] stayed (lit. was) there; you know, he worked there; he was employment; sometimes he worked with clay [to build houses]; sometimes he did other jobs; you know, it passed a short time.

A. Text Corpus

**AM:14**

'gwast go'rā ē'sīa bīte yak 'čokē  
 gwast-Ø goṛā ēšī-a bīt=e yak čok=e  
 pass.PST-3SG then PROX.DIR-OBL become.PST=PC.3SG one child=IND

ē'sīe aw'lī 'čok janēn'čokē a  
 ēšī-e awl-ī čok janēnčok=e =a-Ø  
 PROX.DIR-GEN first-ORD child daughter=IND =COP.PST-3SG

It passed; then he got a child (lit. it was a child for him); his first child was a daughter.

**AM:15**

'čār o 'panč 'sāl 'sīrā če 'gwast čō'bī  
 čār =o panč sāl sīr-ā če gwast-Ø čōbī  
 four =and five year wedding-OBL from pass.PST-3SG you know

'čokē bīt go'rā 'mard 'gō o'tī 'čokā  
 čok=e bīt-Ø goṛā mard gō otī čok-ā  
 child=IND become.PST-3SG you know man with REFL.GEN child-OBL

čō'bī nadel'gōš bī ē'sīā 'otī 'čok  
 čōbī nadelgōš bī-Ø ēšī-ā otī čok  
 you know busy become.PST-3SG PROX.DIR-OBL REFL.GEN child

'bale 'ančō 'dōst bītagā me'sāle  
 bale ančō dōst bīt-ag=ā mesāl=e  
 you know very much friend become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL example=EZ

ke andā'zae pa 'dar 'sak 'dōst bītagā  
 ke andāza=e pa dar sak dōst bīt-ag=ā  
 CLM size=PC.3SG for PREV very friend become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

or'dēn 'čoke o 'sak 'dōst bītā  
 ord-ēn čok=e =o sak dōst bīt-ā  
 small-ATTR child=PC.3SG =FOC very friend become.PST-3PL

It passed four and five years after [his] wedding; you know, he got a child (lit. it was an another child); you know, the man [Rahimbakhsh] got busy with his child; you know, he liked (lit. has been) his children very much, (lit. his child's love was very much to him); he liked (lit. has been) them very much, (lit. there is no limit for it); he liked the little child very much (lit. the little child's love was very much to him).

**AM:16**

*go'ra ē'sīa o'tī 'čokā gō čō'bī 'gap kod*  
 goṛā ēšīa oṭī čok-ā gō čōbī gap kod  
 you know PROX.OBL REFL.GEN child-OBL with you know talk do.PST

*maska'ra kot dī'wān kot 'dāke 'čize mod'dat*  
 maskarā kot dīwān kot dāke čiz=e moddat  
 laugh do.PST meeting do.PST till thing=IND time

*'gwast do'mī do'mī 'čoke bī*  
 gwast-Ø do-mī do-mī čok=e bī-Ø  
 pass.PST-3SG two-ORD two-ORD child=PC.3SG become.PST-3SG

*do'mī 'čoke mar'dēnē a*  
 do-mī čok=e mardēn=e =a-Ø  
 two-ORD child=PC.3SG son=IND =COP.PST-3SG

You know, he talked to his child [and] made her laugh; he talked to her; till it passed a short time; he got the second; the second child, his second child was a son.

**AM:17**

*mar'dēnē a 'ā 'wādī čō'bī*  
 mardēn=e =a-Ø ā wād=ī čōbī  
 son=IND =COP.PST-3SG DIST time=PC.3SG you know

*tangdas'tīya 'kārē hez'matē 'nesta*  
 tangdast-ī=ya kār=e hezmat=e nest=a  
 poverty-ADJZ=COP.PST work=IND job=IND NEG.be.NPST=COP.PST

*'bare gēlkārī ko'tage 'bare āsenkā'rī*  
 bar=e gēlkārī kot-ag=e bar=e āsenkārī  
 time=IND clay do.PST-PP=PC.3SG time=IND ironsmith

*ko'tage ē'sān 'otī čō'bī zende'gī*  
 kot-ag=e ēš-ān oṭī čōbī zendegī  
 do.PST-PP=PC.3SG PROX-OBL.PL REFL.GEN you know life

*'ančō čalā'ēnta*  
 ančō čalāēnt-a  
 very much spend.PST-PP

He was a son; you know, it was a time of poverty (lit. it was poverty times);

## A. Text Corpus

there was no job [and] serving; sometimes he worked (lit. has worked) with clay; sometimes he worked (lit. has worked) as ironsmith; you know, he spent (lit. has spent) his life like this, [in this way].

### AM:18

<i>an'čēn</i>	<i>'ṭēme</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>na'ganē</i>	<i>bītage</i>
ančēn	ṭēm=e	čōbī	nagan=e	bīt-ag=e
a certain	time=IND	you know	bread=IND	become.PST-PP=PC.3PL

<i>šā'mē</i>	<i>sōbā'ragē</i>	<i>an'čēn</i>	<i>'ṭēmē...</i>	<i>ē'sānī</i>	<i>zende'gī</i>
šām=e	sōbārag=e	ančēn	ṭēm=e	ēs-ānī	zendegī
dinner=IND	breakfast=IND	a certain	time=IND	PROX-GEN.PL	life

<i>'ančō</i>	<i>sā'daēn</i>	<i>zende'gīē</i>	<i>bīta</i>
ančō	sāda-ēn	zendegī=e	bīt-a=Ø
very much	simple-ATTR	life=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>gwas'ta</i>
čōbī	gwast-a
you know	pass.PST-PP

You know, for a certain time, they had (lit. have been) bread, the dinner meal [and] the breakfast meal; for a certain time,... their life was (lit. has been) such a simple life, you know, they have lived (lit. it passed).

### AM:19

<i>go'ṛā</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>mod'data</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>neš'tā</i>
goṛā	dāke	čīz=e	moddat-a	čōbī	ōdā	nešt-ā
well	you know	thing=IND	time-OBL	you know	there	sit.PST-3PL

<i>'ōde</i>	<i>dōs'tīe</i>	<i>'sēr</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>pa'dā</i>	<i>go'ṛā</i>	<i>'ātkā</i>
ōd-e	dōstī=e	sēr	ko	padā	goṛā	ātk-ā
there-GEN	friendship=PC.3PL	filled	do.PST	again	then	come.PST-3PL

<i>ē'rānā</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>pākes'tānī</i>	<i>dōs'tīe</i>	<i>'sēr</i>	<i>ko</i>
ērān-ā	čōbī	pākestān-ī	dōstī=e	sēr	ko
Iran-OBL	you know	Pakistan-GEN	friendship=PC.3PL	filled	do.PST

<i>pa'dā</i>	<i>'ātk</i>	<i>rahīm'bakš</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>'māt</i>	<i>o</i>
padā	ātk-Ø	rahīmbakš	otī	māt	=o
again	come.PST-3SG	Rahimbaksh	REFL.GEN	mother	=and

*pe'tānī*      *gwa'ra*  
 pet-ānī      gwarā  
 father-GEN.PL to

Well, you know, for a short time, they lived (lit. sat) there; he got fad up with his life there, (lit. he became full of loving this land); then again they came to Iran; you know, he faded up with his life in Pakistan again; Rahimbakhsh came to his father and mother [in Iran].

**AM:20**

*wa'tī*      *'māt*      *o*      *pe'tānī*      *gwa'ra*      *'hamēdā*      *'nešt*  
 wat-ī      māt      =o      pet-ānī      gwara      ham=ēdā      nešt-Ø  
 REFL-GEN mother =and father-GEN.PL near      EMPH=here      sit.PST-3SG

*'čīzē*      *mod'datā*      *go'ṛā*      *ē'sīa*      *o'tī*      *'pete*      *gwa'ra*  
 čīz=ē      moddat-ā      goṛā      ēšī-a      o'tī      pet-e      gwara  
 thing=IND time-OBL then      PROX.DIR-OBL REFL.GEN father-GEN near

*'ančēn*      *'tēmē*      *'kār*      *ko'ta*      *an'čēn*      *'tēmē*      *šo'ta*  
 ančēn      tēm=ē      kār      kot-a      ančēn      tēm=ē      šot-a  
 a certain time=IND work do.PST-PP a certain time=IND go.PST-PP

*bīta*      *de'ga*      *jā'gā*      *'kārī*      *kota*  
 bīt-a=Ø      dega      jāgā      kār=ī      kot-a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG another place work=PC.3SG do.PST-PP

*'dā*      *'čīze*      *sā'lā*      *čō'bī*      *hamē'dā*      *'neštā*  
 dā      čīz=e      sāl-ā      čōbī      ham=ēdā      nešt-ā  
 you know thing=IND year-OBL you know EMPH=here sit.PST-3PL

He settled down near to his mother and father ['s place] for a short time; then, he sometimes worked (lit. has worked) with his father; sometimes he went (lit. had gone) to another place [and] worked (lit. has worked); you know for some years they lived (lit. sat) there (lit. here).

**AM:21**

*'neštā*      *pa'dā*      *e'sānī*      *čō'bī*      *'ede*      *dōs'tīe*  
 nešt-ā      padā      eš-ānī      čōbī      ede      dōstī=e  
 sit.PST-3PL again PROX-GEN.PL you know here friendship=PC.3PL

*'sēr*      *ko*      *pa'dā*      *šo'tā*      *ha'māngō*      *pa'dā*      *de'ge*      *'do*  
 sēr      ko      padā      šot-ā      ham=āngō      padā      dege      do  
 filled do.PST again go.PST-3PL EMPH=that direction again another two



A. Text Corpus

'čok 'say 'čoke bī 'dāke yak 'rōčē  
 čok say čok=e bī-Ø dāke yak rōč=e  
 child three child=PC.3SG become.PST-3SG till one day=IND

go'rā ha'māngō neš'taga 'ātk  
 goṛā ham=āngō nešt-ag=a-Ø ātk-Ø  
 you know EMPH=that direction sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG come.PST-3SG

yak pa'kīrē  
 yak pakīr=e  
 one fakir=IND

They lived; again, he faded up with his life there; (lit. he became full of loving this land); again they moved to there [Dasht], again he got two and three children; till one day, you know, he was sitting there; a fakir came.

**AM:22**

pa'kīrē 'ātk 'ē pa'kīrā e'sīe 'baht čā'ret  
 pakīr=e ātk-Ø ē pakīr-ā ešīe baht čāret  
 fakir=IND come.PST-3SG PROX fakir-OBL PROX.GEN fortune look.PST

'dātī yak moh'ragē 'goštī 'tarā 'panč  
 dāt=ī yak mohrag=e gošt=ī ta-rā panč  
 give.PST=PC.3SG one marbel=IND say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG-OBJ five

mardēn'čok bī  
 mardēnčok bī-Ø  
 son become.PST-3SG

A fakir came, this fakir told his fortune (lit. looked his fate); [then] gave him a marble; he said, “You will get five sons, (lit. there will be five sons for you).”

**AM:23**

ē'sīa pa'kīre 'dastā če moh'rag 'gept  
 ēšī-a pakīr-e dast-ā če mohrag gept  
 PROX.DIR-OBL fakir-GEN hand-OBL from marbel take.PST

'ārtī lō'gā 'dātī ja'nēnā  
 ārt=ī lōg-ā dāt=ī janēn-ā  
 bring.PST=PC.3SG house-OBL give.PST=PC.3SG wife-OBL

'byā ke mar'čī pa'kīrēā gō̄ 'manā  
 by-ā-Ø ke marčī pakīr=ē-ā gō̄ man-ā  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM today fakir=IND-OBL with PN.1SG-OBL

'ḍīk wār'ta pa'kīrā 'manī 'baht čār'ta  
 ḍīk wārt-a pakīr-ā man-ī baht čārt-a  
 touch eat.PST-PP fakir-OBL PN.1SG-GEN fortune look.PST-PP

goš'tagī 'tarā 'panč mardēn'čok bī  
 gošt-ag=ī ta-rā panč mardēnčok bī-Ø  
 say.PST-PP=PC.3SG PN.2SG-OBJ five son become.PST-3SG

'ē moh'ragī 'manā dā'ta go'ṛā ē'sī  
 ē mohrag=ī man-ā dāt-a goṛā ēšī  
 PROX marbel=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ give.PST-PP then PROX.GEN

lō'gīgā 'ē moh'rag 'gept čō'bī 'ēr kot 'dā ke  
 lōgīg-ā ē mohrag gept čōbī ēr kot dā ke  
 wife-OBL PROX marbel take.PST you know PREV do.PST till CLM

xo'dāe ko'dratā ē'sīā bīt 'panč mardēn'čok  
 xodā-e kodrat-ā ēšī-ā bīt-Ø panč mardēnčok  
 God-GEN power-OBL PROX.DIR-OBL become.PST-3SG five son

He took this marble from the fakir's hand [and] brought it at home; he gave [it] to his wife; [he said] /that/,"Look, today I met (lit. have met) a fakir, the fakir told (lit. has told) my fortune (lit. he has looked my fate); he said (lit. has said), you will get five sons; he gave (lit. has given me) this marble"; then his wife (lit. his house) took this marble; you know, she saved it, till by power of God; she got five sons.

**AM:24**

janēn'čoke yakē a aw'lī 'čoke  
 janēnčok=e yak=ē =a-Ø awl-ī čok=e  
 daughter=PC.3SG one=IND =COP.PST-3SG first-ORD child=PC.3SG

čō'bī janēn'čokē a ē'sīe ran'dī 'čok  
 čōbī janēnčok=ē =a-Ø ēšī-e rand-ī čok  
 you know daughter=IND =COP.PST-3SG PROX.DIR-GEN after-GEN child

A. Text Corpus

'drost mardē atā                      'panč mardēn'čoke bī  
drost mardē =at-ā                      panč mardēnčok=e bī-Ø  
all man =COP.PST-3PL five son=IND become.PST-3SG

His daughter was one, you know; his first child was a daughter, after her all [his] children were sons; he got five sons.

**AM:25**

go'rā 'čize mod'datā 'dāke hamō'dān atan  
goṛā čiz=e moddat-ā dāke ham=ōdān =at-an  
then thing=IND time-OBL you know EMPH=there =COP.PST-3PL

ē'sīe 'trī o nā'kō go'rā 'bārē 'dah 'sāl  
ēšī-e trī =o nākō goṛā bārē dah sāl  
PROX.DIR-GEN aunt =and uncle well question word ten year

'gwast all'lāh 'bezānt panz'dāh 'sāl 'gwast  
gwast-Ø allāh be-zānt-Ø panzdāh sāl gwast-Ø  
pass.PST-3SG God SBJV-know.PT-3SG fifteen year pass.PST-3SG

go'rā 'āōdā če pa'dā laḍ'det 'ātkā ē'rānā  
goṛā ā-ōdā če padā laḍdet ātk-ā ērān-ā  
then from-there from again load.PST come.PST-3PL Iran-OBL

Then, for a certain time, you know they were there with his mother-in-law (lit. aunt) and father-in-law (lit. uncle); well, I do not know ten years passed, God knows, fifteen years passed; then again they moved from there [and] came to Iran.

**AM:26**

ē'rānā 'ātkā go'rā 'ē 'hamedā 'neštā  
ērān-ā ātk-ā goṛā ē ham=edā nešt-ā  
Iran-OBL come.PST-3PL then PROX EMPH=here sit.PST-3PL

'šotā 'īngō de'ga jā'gāē ze'mīnnē 'zortē  
šot-ā īngō dega jāgā=ē zemīnn=ē zort=ē  
go.PST-3PL this direction another place=IND land=IND buy.PST=PC.3SG

ha'mōdā neštā 'čize mod'datā 'dāke 'hamōdā  
ham=ōdā nešt-ā čiz=e moddat-ā dāke ham=ōdā  
EMPH=there sit.PST-3PL thing=IND time-OBL you know EMPH=there

*atā*                      *go'rā 'ē*                      *marda'kā*                      *yakkō*                      *čō'bī*  
 =at-ā                      goṛā ē                      mard-ak-ā                      yakkō                      čōbī  
 =COP.PST-3PL well PROX man-EV-OBL always you know

*tar'ragā*                      *bīta*                                              *'barē*                      *ē'rānā*  
 tarr-ag-ā                      bīt-a=Ø                                              bar=ē                      ērān-ā  
 turn.NPST-INF-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG time=IND Iran-OBL

*bīta*                                              *'barē*                      *pākestā'nā*  
 bīt-a=Ø                                              bar=ē                      pākeštān-ā  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG time=IND Pakistan-OBL

*bīta*                                              *pāḏīwā'lāēn*                      *mar'domē*  
 bīt-a=Ø                                              pāḏīwālā-ēn                      mardom=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG social man-ATTR people=IND

*bīta*                                              *me'sāle*                      *ke*                      *ē'sīā*                      *dā'stā*  
 bīt-a=Ø                                              mesāl=e                      ke                      ēšī-ā                      dāstā  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG example=EZ CLM PROX.DIR-OBL story

*zān'ta*                      *ē'sīā*                                              *kes'sa zān'ta*                      *ē'sīā*                      *akā'yat*  
 zānt-a                      ēšī-ā                                              kessa zānt-a                      ēšī-ā                      akāyat  
 know.PT-PP PROX.DIR-OBL story know.PT-PP PROX.DIR-OBL anecdote

*zān'ta*                      *har*                      *ǰāgā*                      *maza'nē*                      *mar'domē*  
 zānt-a                      har                      ǰāga-ā                      mazan-ē                      mardom=ē  
 know.PT-PP every place-OBL big-ATTR people=IND

*bīta*                                              *'ē*                      *hamā'hānī*                                              *gwa'rā*  
 bīt-a=Ø                                              ē                      ham=ā-hān-ī                                              gwarā  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX EMPH=DIST-OBL.PL-GEN to

*čō'bī*                      *ē'sīā*                                              *'nend o na'yād*                      *kota*  
 čōbī                      ēšī-ā                                              nend o nayād                      kot-a  
 you know PROX.DIR-OBL social relationship do.PST-PP

they came to Iran; then, these settled [down] there; they went there, in a certain place; he bought a land; they lived there; you know, for a while they were there; well, this man [Rahimbakhsh] was (lit. has been) used to travel; sometimes he was (lit. has been) in Iran; sometimes he was (lit. has been) in Pakistan; he was (lit. has been) a social man (lit. he had a lot of friends); for instance, he knew the story; he knew the story; he knew (lit. has known) the anecdote; wherever, there was (lit. has been) a famous person; you know, he

A. Text Corpus

had (lit. has had) a social relationship with them.

AM:27

*e'šīa*                      *me'sāle*              *ke*              *'har kasā*              *dī'ta*  
 ešī-a                      mesāl=e              ke              harkas-ā              dīt-a  
 PROX.DIR-OBL      example=EZ      CLM      everybody-OBL      see.PST-PP

*e'šīā*                      *ta'wār jāta*              *'byā*                                      *rahīm'bakš*  
 ešī-ā                      tawār      jat-a              by-ā-Ø                                      rahīmbakš  
 PROX.DIR-OBL      sound      hit.PST-PP      IMPV-come.NPST-2SG      Rahimbaksh

*'me*                      *gwa'rā 'nend*                                      *'byā*  
 me                      gwarā      Ø-nendēn-Ø                                      by-ā-Ø  
 PN.1PL.GEN      to                      IMPV-place.NPST-2SG      IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

*rahīm'bakš*      *'me*                      *gwa'rā 'nend*                                      *me'sāle*  
 rahīmbakš      me                      gwarā      Ø-nendēn-Ø                                      mesāl=e  
 Rahimbaksh      PN.1PL.GEN      to                      IMPV-place.NPST-2SG      example=EZ

*'har kasā*              *lōṭā'ēnta*                                      *bor'ta*              *go'rā 'ē*              *hame'sa*  
 harkas-ā              lōṭāēnt-a                                      bort-a              goṛā      ē              hameša  
 everybody-OBL      invite.PST.CAUS-PP      take.PST-PP      then      PROX      always

*mā'el*              *bīta*                                                              *mardo'mānī*              *gwa'rā 'dāke*  
 māel              bīt-a=Ø                                                              mardom-ānī              gwarā      dāke  
 interested      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      people-GEN.PL      to              until

*'čīze*              *mod'dat 'gwast*                      *o*              *čō'bī*              *tangdas'tē*  
 čīz=e              moddat      gwast-Ø                      =o              čōbī              tangdast-ē  
 thing=IND      time              pass.PST-3SG      =and      you know      poor-ATTR

*mar'domē*              *bīta*                                                              *'īnčo*              *'kār o*  
 mardom=ē              bīt-a=Ø                                                              īnčo              kār      =o  
 people=IND      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      like this      work      =and

*rōz'gārē*              *'nabīta*                                                              *'nī*              *'dāke*  
 rōzgar=ē              na-bīt-a=Ø                                                              nī              dāke  
 time=PC.3SG      NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      well      you know

*'čīze*              *mod'dat 'dawr 'gwast*                      *'ē*              *'bezā*              *'šot*  
 čīz=e              moddat      dawr      gwast-Ø                      ē              bezā              šot-Ø  
 thing=IND      time              time              pass.PST-3SG      PROX      you know      go.PST-3SG

'īngō	'šāhre	nēma'gā
īngō	šāhr-e	nēmagā
this direction	Shar-GEN	direction

You know, for instance, every one saw (lit. has seen) him; he called (lit. has called) him, [he said] “Come Rahimbakhsh, [and] sit with us; come Rahimbakhsh [and] sit with us.”; well every one invited (lit. has invited and taken) him; then he always was interested in people; until, it passed a short time, and you know, he was (lit. has been) a poor person; he did not have (lit. has not had) like this a job; well, it passed a short of time; you know, he went to that (lit. this) direction, [which called] Shar.

**AM:28**

'šāhre	nēma'gā	'šot	'hamīngō	'lātē
šāhr-e	nēmagā	šot-Ø	ham=īngō	lāt
Shar-GEN	direction	go.PST-3SG	EMPH=this direction	some

'syādē	hasta	'rapt o ā'mad	'dāke	'ā
syād=e	hast=a-Ø	rapt o āmad	dāke	ā
relative=PC.3SG	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG	relationship	till	DIST

mardo'mā	go'sī	'mā	'tarā	čō'bī
mardom-ā	goš-ī	mā	ta-rā	čōbī
people-OBL.PL	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	you know

'zīrē	'to	'byā	'me	zā'māt
zīr-ē	to	by-ā-Ø	me	zāmāt
take.NPST-1PL	PN.2SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PN.1PL.GEN	bridegroom

'bay

Ø-bay-Ø

IMPV-become.NPST-2SG

He went to Shar; he had some relatives there; he [had] relationship with them; till those people said, “You know, we will accept you [for a marriage relation]; come and be our son-in-law.”

**AM:29**

ē'sīā	'go	'manā	'heč
ēšī-ā	go	man-ā	heč
PROX.DIR-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG-OBL	anything

A. Text Corpus

'nesten 'mã 'hančō čaka'ragā  
 nest=en mǎ hančō čakar-ag-ā  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG like this travel.NPST-INF-OBL

ã 'na me'sāle ke 'zarrē a  
 =ã na mesāl=e ke zarr=e =a-Ø  
 =COP.NPST.1SG no example=EZ CLM money=PC.3SG =COP.PST-3SG

'na 'sōrē a 'šomā aga 'hančō 'manā  
 na sōr=e =a-Ø šomā aga hančō man-ā  
 no gold=PC.3SG =COP.PST-3SG PN.2PL if like this PN.1SG-OBJ

zī'ret 'mã 'šomay zā'māt bayã  
 zīr-et mǎ šomay zāmāt bay-ã  
 take.NPST-2PL PN.1SG PN.PL.GEN bridegroom become.NPST-1SG

He said, “I have nothing (lit. there is nothing for me); I am just visiting like this; you know, I do not have neither money nor gold, (lit. there is no money and gold for me) if you accept me like this [without demanding anything from me], I will be your son-in-law.”

**AM:30**

'bezā 'nakanay ke ja'nekā pē'sarā 'če deš'tārē  
 bezā na-kan-ay ke janek-ā pēsarā če deštār=e  
 you know NEG-do.NPST-2SG CLM girl-OBL already from fiancé=IND

a hā hā hā  
 =a-Ø hā hā hā  
 =COP.PST-3SG Ha Ha Ha

Look, you know, this girl had alreadya fiancés (lit. there was a fiancés for the girl), hā hā hā ...

**AM:31**

je'nekā deš'tārē hastē go'rā 'ā deš'tārā  
 jenek-ā deštār=e hast=e gorā ā deštār-ā  
 girl-OBL fiancé=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG then DIST fiancé(e)-OBL

'āi 'hamē ha'bar ēš'kō ke 'manī  
 āi ham=e habar ēškō ke man-ī  
 DIST.GEN EMPH=PROX word hear.PST CLM PN.1SG-GEN

*deš'tāre*      *wās'tā*      *de'ge*      *čō'bī*      *deš'tārē*  
 deštār-e      wāstā      dege      čōbī      deštār=e  
 fiancé(e)-GEN for the sake of another you know fiancé=IND

*zor'tage*                      *go'rā 'ā*      *'mard 'ātk*  
 zort-ag=e                      goṛā ā      mard ātk-Ø  
 take.PST-PP=PC.3PL then DIST man come.PST-3SG

The girl had a fiancé (lit. there was a fiancés for the girl); then that her fiancée heard the word /that/, they chose (lit. have chosen) another fiancés for my fiancée; then that man came.

**AM:32**

*'ātk*                      *'goštī*                      *ē'sīe*                      *wās'tā*                      *'šomā*  
 ātk-Ø                      gošt=ī                      ēšī-e                      wāstā                      šomā  
 come.PST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG PROX.DIR-GEN for the sake of PN.2PL

*de'gē zā'mātē*                      *zīra'gā*                      *ēt*                      *'ē*  
 degē zāmāt=e                      zīr-ag-ā                      =ēt                      ē  
 other bridegroom=IND take.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.2PL PROX

*ja'neke*      *wās'tā*                      *'šomā 'manī*                      *'sōr o*      *'mālom*  
 janek-e      wāstā                      šomā man-ī                      sōr =o      māl-om  
 girl-GEN for the sake of PN.2PL PN.1SG-GEN gold =and money-ADD

*zor'tagā*                      *'šomā 'nabāad*                      *'čō 'bekaṇēt*                      *ā*  
 zort-ag-ā                      šomā na-bāad                      čō be-kan-ēt                      ā  
 take.PST-PP-3PL PN.2PL NEG-should like SBJV-do.NPST-2PL Question

*'šomā 'ā zā'mātā*                      *poš'tā*                      *'rāh 'dayēt*  
 šomā ā zāmāt-ā                      pošt-ā                      rāh Ø-day-ēt  
 PN.2PL DIST bridegroom-OBL back-OBL way SBJV-give.NPST-2PL

*en*                      *ke*      *'šomā 'manā*                      *pē'sarā zor'ta*                      *'ē*  
 =en                      ke      šomā man-ā                      pēsarā zort-a                      ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.2PL PN.1SG-OBJ earlier take.PST-PP PROX

*mardo'mā*                      *go'sī*                      *'na*  
 mardom-ā                      goš-ī                      na  
 people-OBL.PL say.NPST-3SG no

He came; he said “You are choosing another fiancé for this girl; you have taken (lit. ate) my gold and money; you should not do like this, should you?;



A. Text Corpus

you should reject this man (lit. you should put him [this bride groom] on your back), since you accepted (lit. have accepted) me earlier.”; these people said, “No

**AM:33**

<i>'taw</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>'me</i>	<i>dī'rē</i>	<i>ma'domē</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>'ā</i>
taw	čōbī	me	dīr-ē	madom=ē	=e	ā
PN.2SG	well	PN.1PL.GEN	far-ATTR	people=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG	DIST

<i>'me</i>	<i>o'tī</i>	<i>'syādē</i>	<i>'me</i>	<i>wa'tīg</i>
me	oī	syād=ē	me	waīg
PN.1PL.GEN	REFL.GEN	relative=IND	PN.1PL.GEN	own

<i>ē</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'nazīrē</i>
=ē	mā	ta-rā	na-zīr-ē
=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1PL	PN.2SG-OBJ	NEG-take.NPST-1PL

Well, you are our distant relative; [but] that one is from our own relative [family]; he is our close relative, [so that] we do not accept you.”

**AM:34**

<i>'šī</i>	<i>'šarē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'mana</i>
š-ī	šar=ē	ke	šomā	ke	man-a
say.NPST-3SG	fine=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM	PN.2PL	CLM	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'nazīrētā</i>	<i>go'ṛā</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>šo'marā</i>	<i>ke</i>
na-zīr-ēt=ā	goṛā	mā	šoma-rā	ke
NEG-seize.NPST-2PL=COP.NPST.3PL	then	PN.1SG	PN.2PL-OBJ	CLM

<i>'har</i>	<i>čīz</i>	<i>dā'ta</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'bedīēte</i>
har	čīz	dāt-a	man-ā	be-dī-ēt=e
every	thing	give.PST-PP	PN.1SG-OBJ	SBJV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3PL

<i>me'sāle</i>	<i>mar'domā</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'barē</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>'aḏī</i>
mesāl=e	mardom-ā	ya	bar=ē	čōbī	aḏ=ī
example=EZ	people-OBL.PL	one	time=IND	you know	make=PC.3SG

<i>o</i>	<i>'poḏī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'randā</i>	<i>go'ṛā</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'dar</i>
=o	poḏ=ī	ko	randā	goṛā	ēšī-ā	mardom	dar
=and	echo=PC.3SG	do.PST	after	then	PROX.DIR-OBL	people	PREV

*getk 'dāke mar'dom āt'kā 'ē dēm o 'ā*  
*getk dāke mardom ātk-ā ē dēm =o ā*  
 find.PST then people come.PST-3PL PROX face =and DIST

*'dēmē 'ko čō'bī ātī 'hakē 'gept o*  
*dēm=ē ko čōbī āī hak=ē gept =o*  
 face=PC.3PL do.PST you know DIST.GEN right=PC.3PL take.PST =and

*'dāt*  
*dāt*  
 give.PST

He said, “Alright, when you do not accept me, then you should return me whatever I gave (lit. have given) to you.”; you know, according to the people, for a little while, they quarreled; after that, he found some people; then the people came; they tried to solved the problem (lit. they did this face and that face) you know, they took his right and gave [it to him].

**AM:35**

*'gept o 'dāt be'zā 'ē rahīm'bakš 'nī zā'māt*  
*gept =o dāt bezā ē rahīmbakš nī zāmāt*  
 take.PST =and give.PST you know PROX Rahimbaksh now engaged

*ē 'bale ē'sīe gē'gā 'ger ke*  
*=ē bale ēšī-e gēgā Ø-ger-Ø ke*  
 =COP.NPST.3SG but PROX.DIR-GEN know SBJV-take.NPST-2SG CLM

*mar'dom 'nī 'kas 'namannagē ke*  
*mardom nī kas na-mann-ag=ē ke*  
 people now person NEG-accept.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG CLM

*do'mī ja'nēnā 'mager tī ja'nēn*  
*do-mī janēn-ā ma-ger-Ø tī janēn*  
 two-ORD wife-OBL PROH-take.NPST-2SG PN.2SG.GEN wife

*'tī wa'tī mar'dom ē me'sāle*  
*tī wat-ī mardom =ē mesāl=e*  
 PN.2SG.GEN REFL-GEN people =COP.NPST.3SG example=EZ

*'tī trī'zātk ē 'tarā tīnčō 'čok*  
*tī trīzātk =ē ta-rā tīnčō čok*  
 PN.2SG.GEN cousin =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG-OBJ these many child

A. Text Corpus

*hastē*                      'taw      čō'bī      do'mī      sān'gā  
 hast=ē                      taw      čōbī      do-mī      sāngā  
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    PN.2SG    you know    two-ORD    marriage

'makā  
 ma-kā-Ø  
 PROH-do.NPST-2SG

They took [his right] and gave it [to him]; you know, this Rahimbakksh was engaged now; but you should know, no one is happy that you should not take the second wife, [since] your wife is your own relative; for instance, she is your cousin; you have these many children (lit. there are these many children for you); you know, you should not marry the second wife.

**AM:36**

'na 'ē      'māte                      rā'zīg      ē                      'na 'ē  
 na ē      māt=e                      rāzīg      =ē                      na ē  
 no    PROX    mother=PC.3SG    satisfied    =COP.NPST.3SG    no    PROX

go'hāre                      rā'zīg      ē                      'na 'ē      'brāte  
 gohār=e                      rāzīg      =ē                      na ē      brāt=e  
 sister=PC.3SG    satisfied    =COP.NPST.3SG    no    PROX    brother=PC.3SG

rā'zīg      ā                      čō'bī      'kas      rā'zīg      'naē  
 rāzīg      =ā                      čōbī      kas      rāzīg      na=ē  
 satisfied    =COP.NPST.3PL    you know    person    satisfied    NEG=COP.NPST.3SG

'ē      'nī      cēro'kānī                      'rot                      o      'kay  
 ē      nī      cēr-ok-ānī                      ro-t                      =o      k-ay-Ø  
 PROX    now    under-EV-GEN.PL    go.NPST-3SG    =and    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

o'tī                      'gapē                      čō'bī      'saḍ      kota  
 o'tī                      gap=ē                      čōbī      saḍ      kot-a  
 REFL.GEN    talk=PC.3SG    you know    fixed    do.PST-PP

No this his mother is happy; no his sister is happy; no his brother is happy; you know, no one is happy [for this]; now he went and came [to the bride's place] without letting inform any one (lit. stealthy); you know, he made his mind (lit. has fixed his word).

**AM:37**

go'rā 'dāke 'ā mardo'mā 'go 'mā 'tarā  
 goṛā dāke ā mardom-ā̃ go mā ta-rā  
 then you know DIST people-OBL.PL say.PST PN.1PL PN.2SG-OBJ

'zīrē̃

zīr-ē̃

take.NPST-1PL

Then, you know, those people said, “We will accept you.”

**AM:38**

'nī 'āhā̃ zor'ta 'bale e'sīā 'hečē  
 nī ā-hā̃ zort-a bale ešī-ā hečē  
 now DIST-OBL.PL take.PST-PP but PROX.DIR-OBL nothing

'nestē̃

nest=ē̃

ke

ke

'borot

bo-ro-t

ē̃

=ē̃

NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG CLM SBJV-go.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG

'sīre

sīr-e

'sānge

sāng=e

'bekā

be-kā-Ø

wedding-GEN betrothal=PC.3SG SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

Now they have accepted him; but he have nothing (lit. there was nothing for him) in order to go [and] married.

**AM:39**

'nī ē'sīā 'lātē san'gat hasta ba'čak  
 nī ešī-ā lāt sangat hast=a-Ø bačak  
 you know PROX.DIR-OBL some friend be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG boy

ma'čak

mačak

go'rā

goṛā

'ātk

ātk-Ø

hame'sānī

ham=eš-ānī

gwa'rā

gwarā

echo then come.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX-GEN.PL to

'nāmē̃

nām=ē̃

'ge...

ge

ē'sā̃

eš-ā̃

'go

go

'aṛay

aṛay

ho'dā

hodā

'heyṛ

heyṛ

name=PC.3SG take.PST PROX-OBL.PL say.PST oh friend God help

'kante

Ø-kan-t=en

'mā

mā

'tarā

ta-rā

'čārē̃

čār-ē̃

SBJV-do.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL PN.2SG-OBJ look.NPST-1PL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>day'ē</i>	<i>'čizē</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>ē'sā</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>yakē</i>
day-ē	čiz=e	pūl	ěš-ā	šot-Ø	yak=e
give.NPST-1PL	thing=IND	money	PROX-OBL.PL	go.PST-3SG	one=IND

<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>nāmnebī'sīe</i>	<i>koto</i>	<i>'bānkā</i>	<i>'lātē</i>	<i>'zarr</i>
čōbī	nāmnebīsī=e	kot=o	bānk-ā	lāt	zarr
you know	application=IND	do.PST=and	bank-OBL	some	money

<i>'marrē</i>	<i>'bārē</i>	<i>čōno'kāi</i>	<i>'čōnēn</i>	<i>bahā'naye</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>
marr=e	bārē	čōnokāi	čōn-ēn	bahāna-ye	sarā
echo=IND	question word	how	what-ATTR	reason-GEN	on

<i>'kašto</i>	<i>'dāt</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>
kašt=o	dāt	ěši-ā
pull.PST=and	give.PST	PROX.DIR-OBL

You know, he had some friends (lit. there were some friends to him), young fellow; then, he came to them, he told... they said, “Oh friend, it would be fine, (lit. with help of God) we figer out (lit. look) [and] give you something, money”; they went; you know, they applied [for a loan] and I do not know how, [and] for what reason, they took money from the bank and gave to him.

### AM:40

<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>zor'ta</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>'zarr</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>pa'dā</i>
ěši-ā	zort-a	ham=ī	zarr	šot-Ø	padā
PROX.DIR-OBL	take.PST-PP	EMPH=PROX	money	go.PST-3SG	again

<i>'otī</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>sāngban'dānī</i>	<i>mol'kā</i>	<i>ben'tā</i>
otī	ham=ā	sāngband-ānī	mol-k-ā	bent-ā
REFL.GEN	EMPH=DIST	marriage relative-GEN.PL	land-OBL	Bent-OBL

This one took (lit. has taken) this money; again he went to his marriage relative's place, Bent.

### AM:41

<i>go'rā</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>mardo'mānī</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>'čizē</i>
goṙā	šot-Ø	ham=ā	mardom-ānī	dā	čiz=e
then	go.PST-3SG	EMPH=DIST	people-GEN.PL	give.PST	thing=IND

<i>'zarr</i>	<i>'āi</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>ham'rāh</i>	<i>kotā</i>
zarr	āi	otī	hamrāh	kot-ā
money	DIST.GEN	REFL.GEN	companion	do.PST-3PL

'ārtantī                      čaba'hārā              me'sāle              ē'sīā  
 ārt-ant=ī                      čabahār-ā              mesāl=e              ēšī-ā  
 bring.PST-3PL=PC.3SG Chahbahar-OBL example=EZ PROX.DIR-OBL

bā'nūre      wās'tā              'čize              'zo              'otī              wās'tā  
 bānōr-e      wāstā              čīz=e              zo              otī              wāstā  
 bride-GEN for the sake of thing=IND buy.PST REFL.GEN for the sake of

'čize              'zo              ē'sīā                      le'bās 'zo              ē'sīā  
 čīz=e              zo              ēšī-ā                      lebās zo              ēšī-ā  
 thing=IND buy.PST PROX.DIR-OBL cloth buy.PST PROX.DIR-OBL

čam'pal 'zo              ē'sīā                      čā'der 'zo              ē'sīā  
 čampal zo              ēšī-ā                      čāder zo              ēšī-ā  
 sandle buy.PST PROX.DIR-OBL chador buy.PST PROX.DIR-OBL

bā'zēn              'čiz 'mīze              'zort              čō'bī              bā'nūre  
 bāz-ēn              čīz mīz=e              zort              čōbī              bānōr-e  
 many-ATTR thing echo=IND buy.PST you know bride-GEN

wās'tā              'bort              'ōdā ta'bīle              'dātā  
 wāstā              bort              ōdā tabīl=e              dāt-ā  
 for the sake of take.PST there hand=PC.3SG give.PST-3PL

Then he went [and] gave some money to this people; he took them with himself; he brought them to Chahbahar; you know, he bought stuff for the bride, he bought stuff for himself; for instance, he bought the cloth; he bought candle; he bought Chador; you know, he bought so many different things for the bride; he brought there [and] handed to them.

**AM:42**

ā              'ōdā ke              ē'sī                      ha'bar pak'kā bīt                      'otī  
 ā              ōdā ke              ēšī                      habar pakkā bīt-Ø                      otī  
 DIST there CLM PROX.GEN word fixed become.PST-3SG REFL.GEN

ha'barī              pak'kā kot              'nī 'ātk                      'otī  
 habar=ī              pakkā kot              nī              ātk-Ø                      otī  
 word=PC.3SG fixed do.PST then come.PST-3SG REFL.GEN

pēsari'gē              čo'kānī              gwa'rā maste'rē              jane'negā  
 pēsariḡ-ē              čok-ānī              gwarā mas-ter-ē              janen-eg-ā  
 previous-ATTR child-GEN.PL to old-CMP-1PL wife-PRED.GEN-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'ē ja'nēne gwa'rā ke 'nām ge ja'nēnā 'go  
 ē janēn-e gwarā ke nām ge janēn-ā go  
 PROX wife-GEN to CLM name take.PST wife-OBL say.PST

'tarā 'kayā goš'ta 'boraw zā'māt  
 ta-rā kay-ā gošt-a bo-raw-Ø zāmāt  
 PN.2SG-OBJ who-OBL say.PST-PP SBJV-go.NPST-2SG engaged

'bebay 'taw be'čīyā 'manī ējā'zeā  
 be-b-ay taw bečīyā man-ī ējāze-ā  
 SBJV-become.PST-2SG PN.2SG without PN.1SG-GEN premission-OBL

šo'ta zā'māt bītagay  
 šot-a=Ø zāmāt bīt-ag=ay  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG engaged become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

'to 'nabāed zā'māt bītente 'nī  
 to na-bāed zāmāt bīt=ent=e nī  
 PN.2SG NEG-must engaged become.PST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG then

ē'sīā goš'ta 'mā zā'māt  
 ēšī-ā gošt-a mā zāmāt  
 PROX.DIR-OBL say.PST-PP PN.1SG engaged

bītagō 'šī zā'māt  
 bīt-ag=ō š-ī zāmāt  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG say.NPST-3SG engaged

'mabay 'boro 'otī ga'pā pa'dā  
 ma-bay-Ø bo-ro-Ø otī gap-ā padā  
 PROH-become.NPST-2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG REFL.GEN talk-OBL again

čō'bī betar'rē 'nī ē'sīā goš'ta 'na  
 čōbī be-tarrē-Ø nī ēšī-ā gošt-a na  
 you know IMPV-return.NPST-2SG then PROX.DIR-OBL say.PST-PP no

'nī 'man zā'mātā 'nī 'manī 'gap  
 nī man zāmāt=ā nī man-ī gap  
 now PN.1SG engagment=COP.NPST.1SG now PN.1SG-GEN talk

<i>tar'rēnag</i>	<i>'nabī</i>	<i>go'rā</i>	<i>maste'rēn</i>	<i>ja'nē</i>
tarrēn-ag	na-b-ī	goṛā	mas-ter-ēn	janē
return.NPST-INF	NEG-become.NPST-3SG	then	old-CMP-ATTR	woman

<i>'zāhr</i>	<i>gepta</i>	<i>maste'rēn</i>	<i>brās</i>	<i>'zāhr</i>	<i>gepta</i>
zāhr	gept-a	mas-ter-ēn	brās	zāhr	gept-a
angry	take.PST-PP	old-CMP-ATTR	brother	angry	take.PST-PP

<i>maste'rēn</i>	<i>gohār</i>	<i>'zāhr</i>	<i>gepta</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>'drost</i>	<i>'zāhr</i>
mas-ter-ēn	gohār	zāhr	gept-a	mardom	drost	zāhr
old-CMP-ATTR	sister	angry	take.PST-PP	people	all	angry

<i>bītagā</i>	<i>ē'sīā</i>	<i>'hamī</i>
bīt-ag=ā	ēšī-ā	ham=ī
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	PROX.DIR-OBL	EMPH=PROX

<i>nā'delkašo'kānī</i>	<i>bār'ē</i>	<i>čōnō'kāi</i>	<i>šo'ta</i>
nādelkašokānī	bārē	čōnōkāi	šot-a=Ø
without informing	question word	how	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'sāng</i>	<i>ko'ta</i>
ē	sāng	kot-a
PROX	betrothal	do.PST-PP

When his word was fixed, he fixed his word; then he came to his first children [the previous wife], his old wife, when he said to his wife, his wife (lit. the woman) said, “Who did tell (lit. has told) you that go and get engaged; why did you go (lit. have you gone) without my permission got engaged; you should not have been engaged”; then he said (lit has said), “I got engaged”; she said, do not engaged go and you know, take your marriage proposal back”; then he said (lit. has said), “No now I got engaged; now it is impossible to take my marriage proposal back.”; then the oldest wife was angry; the oldest sister was (lit. has been) angry; the oldest brother was (lit. has been) angry; the oldest sister was (lit. has been) angry, all the relative were (lit. have been) angry, you know, I do not know, how he went (lit. has gone) without informing anyone; he got (lit. has gotten) married [to her].

**AM:43**

<i>'sānge</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>go'rā</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>mod'datā</i>
sāng=e	kot-a	goṛā	dāke	čīz=ē	moddat-ā
engaged=PC.3SG	do.PST-PP	well	you know	thing=IND	time-OBL



A. Text Corpus

'hamōdā bīta 'dāke 'marde  
 ham=ōdā bīt-a=Ø dāke mard-e  
 EMPH=there become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG till husband-GEN

'sīr bīta čō'bī 'do 'say rō'čā  
 sīr bīt-a=Ø čōbī do say rōč-ā  
 wedding become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG you know two three day-OBL

'dāke 'sīr bīta 'sīrā 'če  
 dāke sīr bīt-a=Ø sīr-ā če  
 you know wedding become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG wedding-OBL from

'rand 'hamōdā neš'ta bīta čō'bī  
 rand ham=ōdā nešt-a bīt-a=Ø čōbī  
 after EMPH=there sit.PST-PP become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG you know

hap'tagē 'do hap'tagē 'hamōdā neš'ta pa'dā  
 haptag=ē do haptag=ē ham=ōdā nešt-a=Ø padā  
 week=IND two week=IND EMPH=there sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG again

āt'ka 'ē mardo'mānī gwa'rā 'ē  
 ātk-a=Ø ē mardom-ānī gwarā ē  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX people-GEN.PL to PROX

mardom'ānī gwar'ā nāme gep'ta 'nī mado'mā  
 mardom-ānī gwarā nām=e gept-a nī madom-ā  
 people-GEN.PL by name=PC.3SG take.PST-PP then people-OBL.PL

goš'ta 'ēdgarā 'ādgarā 'tae rahīm'bakš 'taw go'rā  
 gošt-a ēdgarā ādgarā ta=e rahīmbakš taw goṛā  
 say.PST-PP this that PN.2SG=EZ Rahimbaksh PN.2SG well

'otī ja'nēnā 'byār ke 'mā ā'ī  
 otī janēn-ā by-ār-Ø ke mā āī  
 REFL.GEN wife-OBL IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG CLM PN.1PL DIST.OBL

čā'rē no'kē ja'nēnā  
 Ø-čār-ē nok-ē janēn-ā  
 SBJV-look.NPST-1PL new-ATTR wife-OBL

He got (lit. has gotten) married [to her]; you know, well, he was (lit. has been) there for a while; you know, it was (lit. has been) the man's wedding celebration; you know, the wedding celebration was hold for two, three days;

after the wedding celebration, he stayed (lit. had stayed) there, you know, he stayed (lit. have stayed) for one week [and] two weeks; again he came (lit. has come) to these people; he said (lit. has said) to these people, then the people said (lit. have said), “This and that, you, Rahimbakhsh well, bring your wife, the new wife we should visit her.”

**AM:44**

*go'ra rahīm'bakš... yak 'rōčē 'hāl 'prōšt 'ke*  
 goṛā rahīmbakš yak rōč=ē hāl prōšt ke  
 well Rahimbaksh one day=IND news break.NPST CLM

*'beger ke rahīm'bāxš 'gō no'kē ja'nēnā*  
 be-ger-Ø ke rahīmbakš gō nok-ē janēn-ā  
 IMPV-take.NPST-2SG CLM Rahimbaksh with new-ATTR wife-OBL

*'ātk*  
 ātk-Ø  
 come.PST-3SG

Well Rahimbakhsh... one day, the news came (lit. the news broke); [they said] /that/, “Look, Rahimbakhsh came with his new wife.”

**AM:45**

*rahīm'bāxš 'ātk go'ra mar'domā ēz'zat ēte'rām*  
 rahīmbakš ātk-Ø goṛā mardom-ā ēzzat ēterām  
 Rahimbaksh come.PST-3SG then people-OBL.PL respectful respectful

*ko nī āt'ka 'me lō'gā*  
 ko nī ātk-a=Ø me lōg-ā  
 do.PST now come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL.GEN house-OBL

*poter'ta 'ā wā'dī 'zār atē 'na*  
 potert-a ā wād-ī zār =at-ē na  
 inter.PST-PP DIST time-ADVZ angry =COP.PST-1PL right?

Rahimbakhsh came; then the people treated him in a nice and respectful manner; after that (lit. now) we forgave him (lit. he has come [and] has entered in our house); that time we were angry, were not you?

**AM:46**

*ran'dā ke 'ātk lō'gā 'potert 'nī mardo'mā*  
 randā ke ātk-Ø lōg-ā potert nī mardom-ā  
 later CLM come.PST-3SG house-OBL inter.PST now people-OBL.PL

A. Text Corpus

*ēz'zat o ēte'rām ko mēmā'nīē kot o*  
*ēzzat =o ēterām ko mēmān-ī=ē kot =o*  
 respectful =and respectful do.PST guest-ADJZ=PC.3PL do.PST =and

*ē'dēm o ā'dēmē ko*  
*ē-dēm =o ā-dēm=ē ko*  
 PROX-face =and DIST-face=PC.3PL do.PST

Later when we forgave him (lit. he come [and] entered in our house); then, the people treated him in a nice and respectful manner; they invited him and they treated him in a respectful manner (lit. did this and that).

**AM:47**

*go'rā de'ga ya go'hārē kas'terē*  
*goṛā dega ya gohār=ē kas-ter-ē*  
 you know another one sister=IND young-CMP-ATTR

*hastate halekdā'rīā ha'māī on*  
*hast=at=e halekdārī-ā ham=āī =on*  
 be.NPST=COP.PST=PC.3SG Alekdari-OBL EMPH=DIST.DIR =ADD

*da'watē dā*  
*dawat=ē dāt*  
 invitation=PC.3SG give.PST

You know, he had (lit. there was an older sister to him) an older sister in Alekdārī; as for her, she invited him,

**AM:48**

*āī hā 'ārt 'otī lō'gā da'wate*  
*āī hā ārt otī lōg-ā dawat=e*  
 DIST.DIR ADD bring.PST REFL.GEN house-OBL invitation=PC.3SG

*'dāte 'ā wā'dī o nā'rāz atā ke*  
*dāt=e ā wād-ī =o nārāz =at-ā ke*  
 give.PST=PC.3SG DIST time-ADVZ =FOC unhappy =COP.PST-3PL CLM

*'to 'me trī'zātke poš'tā čō'bī ja'nēn ge'pta*  
 to me trīzātk-e poštā čōbī janēn gept-a  
 PN.2SG PN.1PL.GEN cousin-GEN after you know wife take.PST-PP

'bale 'nī ke ja'nēnī 'gept 'nī ran'dā maj'būr  
 bale nī ke janēn=ī gept nī randā majbūr  
 but you know CLM wife=PC.3SG take.PST now after forced

bītā wa'tīg atā go'rā marda'kāe  
 bīt-ā watīg =at-ā goṛā mard-ak-ā=e  
 become.PST-3PL relative =COP.PST-3PL then man-EV-OBL=PC.3SG

lōṭā'ēnt 'dāke ē'sī gō ēz'zat o  
 lōṭāēnt-Ø dāke ēšī gō ēzzat =o  
 invite.PST.CAUS-3SG then PROX.OBL with respectful =and

ēte'rāme kot ē'sī mē'mānī kot 'čīzē  
 ēterām=e kot ēšī mēmān-ī kot čīz=e  
 respectful=PC.3SG do.PST PROX.OBL guest-ADJZ do.PST thing=IND

mod'datā 'hamēdā 'nešt  
 moddat-ā ham=ēdā nešt-Ø  
 time-OBL EMPH=here sit.PST-3SG

She brought him to her place as well; she invited him, that time they were unhappy, since you know, you [Rahimbakhsh] took (lit. has taken) another wife after (lit. back) our cousin, but after that, he got married, then they had to [accept] [since] they were relative, then she invited the man, [Rahimbakhsh] you know, she treated him in a nice and respectful manner; she invited him, for some days he stayed there (lit. here).

**AM:49**

'nešt mardo'mānī gwa'rā pa'dā go'rā ē'sīā  
 nešt-Ø mardom-ānī gwarā padā goṛā ēšī-ā  
 sit.PST-3SG people-GEN.PL with again then PROX.DIR-OBL

wa'tī 'otī no'kēn ja'nēn 'zorto 'bortī  
 wat-ī otī nok-ēn janēn zort=o bort=ī  
 REFL-GEN REFL.GEN new-ATTR woman take.PST=and take.PST=PC.3SG

pa'dā 'otī mardom'ānī gwa'rā ra'sēntī  
 padā otī mardom-ānī gwarā rasēnt=ī  
 again REFL.GEN people-GEN.PL to take.PST.CAUS=PC.3SG

He stayed with his relatives (lit. people); after that, again, he sent (lit. took [and] brought) his new wife again to her relatives (lit. his relatives).

A. Text Corpus

**AM:50**

*ra'sēntī*                      *'ātk*                      *do'mī*                      *ja'nēne*                      *gwa'rā*  
 rasēnt=ī                      ātk-Ø                      do-mī                      janēn-e                      gwarā  
 take.PST.CAUS=PC.3SG    come.PST-3SG    two-ORD    woman-GEN    to

*'nī*    *'ē*                      *ja'nēne*                      *'neylī*                      *'lōge*  
 nī    ē                      janēn-e                      ney-l-ī                      lōg-e  
 now    PROX    wife-GEN    NEG-allow.NPST-3SG    house-GEN

*pot'ragā*                      *na'zīkā*                      *'neylīte*                      *ke*  
 potr-ag-ā                      nazīk-ā                      ney-l-īt=e                      ke  
 enter.NPST-INF-OBL    near-OBL    NEG-allow.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG    CLM

*'taw*                      *šo'ta*                      *ja'nēn*                      *gep'ta*                      *taw*  
 taw                      šot-a=Ø                      janēn                      gept-a                      taw  
 PN.2SG    go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    wife    take.PST-PP    PN.2SG

*me'sāle*                      *'mārā*                      *'heč*                      *'nadāta*                      *'manā*  
 mesāl=e                      mā-rā                      heč                      na-dāt-a                      man-ā  
 example=EZ    PN.1PL-OBJ    anything    NEG-give.PST-PP    PN.1SG-OBL

*'ēnčo*                      *'čok*                      *has*                      *ě*                      *'manā*                      *na 'lōg*  
 ēnčo                      čok    has                      =ě                      man-ā                      na    lōg  
 this many    child    be.NPST    =COP.NPST.3SG    PN.1SG-OBL    no    house

*a*                      *'na*                      *ĵāgāh*                      *a*                      *'ta*                      *'manī*  
 =a-Ø                      na    ĵāgah    =a-Ø                      ta                      man-ī  
 =be.NPST-3SG    no    place    =be.NPST-3SG    PN.2SG    PN.1SG-GEN

*wās'tā*                      *'lōgē*                      *'bebastě*                      *masalā*  
 wāstā                      lōg=e                      be-bast-ě                      masalā  
 for the sake of    house=IND    SBJV-build.PST-PSBJV    for example

*daz'gāhē*                      *'lōg*                      *'to*                      *'manī*                      *wās'tā*  
 dazgāh=e                      lōg    to                      man-ī                      wāstā  
 building=EZ    house    PN.2SG    PN.1SG-GEN    for the sake of

*'bebastě*                      *'manī*                      *čo'kānī*                      *'hak*    *o*                      *'mozz*  
 be-bast-ě                      man-ī                      čok-ānī                      hak    =o                      mozz  
 SBJV-bind.PST-PSBJV    PN.1SG-GEN    child-GEN.PL    right    =and    right

'begišēntē                      'nī            'to            'bošotē  
 be-gīšēt-ē                      nī            to            bo-šot-ē  
 SBJV-divid.PST-PSBJV    after that    PN.2SG    SBJV-go.PST-PSBJV

me'sāle            de'ga            ja'nēn            'begeptē  
 mesāl=e            dega            janēn            be-gept-ē  
 example=EZ    another    woman    SBJV-take.PST-PSBJV

He sent her; he came to his first wife; now, she did not allow him to enter to the room; she did not allow him to come near [she said] /that/, “You went and took (lit. have gone [and] taken) another wife, for example, you did not give (lit. have not given) us nothing; I have this many children, I do not have neither a house, nor a place; you should have built a house for me; for instance, you should have built a building for me; you should have given (lit. divided) my children’s right, you know after that, you should (lit. could) have gone and taken another wife.”

**AM:51**

go'ṛā    marda'kāe            'čāret            rahīm'bakša            ke            'ē            'manī  
 goṛā    mardakā=e            čāret            rahīmbakš-a            ke            ē            man-ī  
 well    man=PC.3SG    look.PST    Rahimbaksh-OBL    CLM    PROX    PN.1SG-GEN

aw'lī            ja'nē            nā'rāz            ē                                                                    nā'rāz            ē  
 awl-ī            janē            nārāz            =ē                                                                    nārāz            =ē  
 first-ORD    wife    unhappy    =COP.NPST.3SG    unhappy    =COP.NPST.3SG

'ē            pa'dā            'ātk                                                                    o'tī            'brāt            gohā'rāne  
 ē            padā            ātk-Ø                                                                    otī            brāt            gohār-ān-e  
 PROX    again    come.PST-3SG    REFL.GEN    brother    sister-OBL.PL-GEN

gwa'rā            'byāēt                                                                    'nī            'mārā            te'pāk  
 gwarā            by-ā-ēt                                                                    nī            mā-rā            tepāk  
 to            SBJV-come.NPST-2PL    now    PN.1PL-OBJ    peace

kanēt                                                                    'nī            'mārā  
 Ø-kan-ēt                                                                    nī            mā-rā  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2PL    now    PN.1PL-OBJ

'barētā...                                                                    go'ṛā    maste'rē                                                                    go'hārā  
 Ø-bar-ēt=ā                                                                    goṛā    mas-ter-ē                                                                    gohār-ā  
 IMPV-carry.NPST-2PL=COP.NPST.3PL    then    old-CMP-ATTR    sister-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'brāte           'das   gept           yak   'rōčē           mā'sīnīyā           bītā  
brāt-e           das   gept           yak   rōč=ē           māšīn=ī-yā           bīt-ā  
brother-GEN hand take.PST one day=IND car=IND-OBL become.PST-3PL

'šotā           pa   rahīm'bakše           maste'rē           ja'nēne           lō'gā  
šot-ā           pa   rahīmbakš-e           mas-ter-ē           janēn-e           lōg-ā  
go.PST-3PL for Rahimbaksh-GEN old-CMP-ATTR wife-GEN house-OBL

Well, the man, Rahimbakhsh, thought (lit. look) /that/, this my first wife is unhappy; she is unhappy; again he came to his brother, sisters, [he said] “Come and make a peace among us you know, take us...”; after that, one day, his oldest sister with his brother (lit. took his brother’s hand) took a car [and] went to Rahimbakhsh’s first wife’s place.

**AM:52**

'šotā           ha'mōdā           go'rā   ē'sā           balō'čī           dī'wānē  
šot-ā           ham=ōdā           goṛā   ēš-ā           balōč-ī           dīwān=ē  
go.PST-3PL EMPH=there then PROX-OBL.PL Baloch-GEN meeting=IND

bīt                   e'sā                   ha'bar   kot           e'sā                   čō'bī  
bīt-Ø                   eš-ā                   habar   kot           eš-ā                   čōbī  
become.PST-3SG PROX-OBL.PL word do.PST PROX-OBL.PL you know

'ē           'gap   pa'dā   saran'jām   koto                   'ē           te'pāk   kotā  
ē           gap   padā   saranjām   kot=o                   ē           tepāk   kot-ā  
PROX talk again end do.PST=and PROX peace do.PST-3PL

They went there; then they arranged a Balochi’s meeting (lit. there was a Balochi’s meeting for them); they talked; you know, they solved the problem and they became happy.

**AM:53**

te'pāk   kotā           ē'sīā                   'čīzē                   'pūl           'dā  
tepāk   kot-ā           ēšī-ā                   čīz=ē                   pūl           dā  
peace do.PST-3PL PROX.DIR-OBL thing=IND money give.PST

čō'bī           'čīzē                   'sōrē                   par'māt...   ke   'mā           'trā  
čōbī           čīz=ē                   sōr=ē                   parmāt           ke   mā           trā  
you know thing=IND gold=PC.3SG order.PST CLM PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ

'enčō           wa'ktā           če           'rand   'tarā           'ēnčo           'sōr  
enčō           wakt-ā           če           rand   ta-rā           ēnčo           sōr  
this much time-OBL from after PN.2SG-OBJ this many gold

*da'yā*            *'dah mes'kāl te'lāh 'tarā*            *da'yā*  
 day-ā            dah meskāl telāh ta-rā            day-ā  
 give.NPST-1SG ten meskal gold PN.2SG-OBJ give.NPST-1SG

*mīl'yūne to'mō 'tarā da'yā go'rā 'ē te'pāk*  
 mīlyūn=e tomō ta-rā day-ā gorā ē tepāk  
 million=IND toman PN.2SG-OBJ give.NPST-1SG then PROX peace

*bītā čō'bī 'čīzē rō'čā 'neštā 'ē pa'dā*  
 bīt-ā čōbī čīz=ē rōč-ā nešt-ā ē padā  
 become.PST-3PL you know thing=IND day-OBL sit.PST-3PL PROX again

*a o'dā če 'dar ātk pa'dā 'šot o*  
 a o'dā če dar ātk-Ø padā šot-Ø =o  
 from there from PREV come.PST-3SG again go.PST-3SG =and

*o'tī 'ā do'mī je'nēne mēta'gā 'čīzē mod'datā*  
 otī ā do-mī jenēn-e mētag-ā čīz=ē moddat-ā  
 REFL.GEN DIST two-ORD woman-GEN home-OBL thing=IND time-OBL

*ā o'dā 'nešt 'ā ja'nēne gwa'rā go'rā 'āīā*  
 ā o'dā nešt-Ø ā janēn-e gwarā gorā āī-ā  
 DIST there sit.PST-3SG DIST woman-GEN to then DIST.DIR-OBL

*'go ke 'taw 'manī wās'tā čō'bī jā'gāē*  
 go ke taw man-ī wāstā čōbī jāgā=e  
 say.PST CLM PN.2SG PN.1SG-GEN for the sake of you know place=IND

*'nazorta 'to 'mnī wās'tā 'lōg*  
 na-zort-a to mnī wāstā lōg  
 NEG-buy.PST-PP PN.2SG PN.1SG-GEN for the sake of house

*'nabasta ē'sīā 'go 'bale 'mā ra'wā*  
 na-bast-a ēšī-ā go bale mā raw-ā  
 NEG-build.PST-PP PROX.DIR-OBL say.PST well PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG

*īn'gō mas'katā daba'te nē'magā 'hamīngō*  
 īngō maskat-ā dabaī-e nēmagā ham=īngō  
 this direction Muscat-OBL Dobie-GEN to EMPH=this direction



A. Text Corpus

'mā ra'wā̃ 'yak mas'lān 'kārē rōz'gārē  
 mā raw-ā̃ yak maslān kār=ē rōzgar=ē  
 PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG one for example work=IND time=IND

'manā ra'sī 'manā 'čizē 'pūl  
 man-ā ras-ī man-ā čiz=ē pūl  
 PN.1SG-OBJ arrive.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ thing=IND money

ra'sī 'mā kā'yā̃ go'rā 'tī  
 ras-ī mā k-ā-yā̃ goṛā tī  
 arrive.NPST-3SG PN.1SG IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG then PN.2SG.GEN

wās'tā hā̃ daz'gāē 'lōg ban'dā̃ 'āīe  
 wāstā hā̃ dazgā=ē lōg band-ā̃ āīe  
 for the sake of ADD building=EZ house make.NPST-1SG DIST.GEN

wās'tā om daz'gāē 'lōg ban'dā̃  
 wāstā =om dazgā=ē lōg band-ā̃  
 for the sake of =ADD building=EZ house make.NPST-1SG

They became happy; he gave some money to her [first wife] you know; the first wife (lit. she) ordered some gold, [he said] /that/, “After a short time, I will give you this much gold; I will give you ten mesxāl gold; I will give you one million toman.”; then they became happy; you know, they stayed here for some days; again he left from there; again he went to his second wife’s house; for some days he stayed here (lit. there), with his second wife (lit. that wife); then she said /that/, “Well, you did not buy (lit. have not bought) a land for me; you did not build (lit. have not built) a house for me.”; he said, “Well, I go (lit. there) to Muscat, Dobie, I go there, you know, [If] I find a job (lit. a work and job employment arrive to me), [and] earn some money [lit. some money arrive to me]; then I will come [and] will build a building for you; I will build a building for her [his first wife] as well.”

**AM:54**

'ē me'sāle 'mard čō'bī 'nī 'hamē ča'kare  
 ē mesāl=e mard čōbī nī ham=ē čakar-e  
 PROX example=EZ man you know now EMPH=PROX thought-GEN

tō'kā ē ke ē'sīa wī'zāē  
 tōkā =ē ke ēšī-a wīzā=ē  
 in =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PROX.DIR-OBL visa=IND

<i>'berasīt</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'borot</i>		
be-ras-īt	=ē	ke	bo-ro-t		
SBJV-arrive.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG CLM SBJV-go.NPST-3SG					
<i>ē</i>	<i>'hamā</i>	<i>'molkā</i>	<i>'čizē</i>	<i>'pūl</i>	<i>das'tā</i>
=ē	ham=ā	molk-ā	čiz=ē	pūl	dast-ā
=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=DIST land-OBL thing=IND money hand-OBL					
<i>'begerī</i>	<i>byārīt</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'ē</i>		
be-ger-ī	by-ār-īt	=ē	ē		
SBJV-take.NPST-3SG SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG PROX					
<i>ja'nēnā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>rā'zīg</i>	<i>'bekā</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ja'nēnā</i>
janēn-ā	=o	rāzīg	be-kā-Ø	ā	janēn-ā
wife-OBL	=FOC	satisfied	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	DIST	wife-OBL =FOC
<i>rā'zīg</i>	<i>'bekā</i>	<i>'nī</i>	<i>mar'dakā</i>	<i>čō'bī</i>	<i>'hamī</i>
rāzīg	be-kā-Ø	nī	mardakā	čōbī	ham=ī
satisfied	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	now	man	you know	EMPH=PROX
<i>ča'kare</i>	<i>tō'kā ē</i>	<i>'dāke</i>	<i>'borot</i>	<i>o</i>	
čakar-e	tōkā =ē	dāke	bo-ro-t	=o	
thought-GEN	in =COP.NPST.3SG	till	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG	=and	
<i>'byat</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'čok</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ja'ne'nā</i>	
by-a-t	=ē	čok	=o	janen-ā	
SBJV-come.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG child =and wife-OBL.PL					
<i>o'tīgā</i>	<i>rā'zīg</i>	<i>'bekā</i>	<i>ē'sīe</i>	<i>dā'stā</i>	<i>'nī</i>
otīg-ā	rāzīg	be-kā-Ø	ēšī-e	dāstā	nī
yours-OBL	satisfied	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG	PROX.DIR-GEN	story	now
<i>'hamedā</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>ta'mām</i>	<i>en</i>		
ham=edā	če	tamām	=en		
EMPH=here from finish =COP.NPST.3SG					

You know, now the man is thinking, if he got a visa; then he would go to these countries [and] would earn some money, and bring them, make happy [both wives], the first and the second one; now the man is thinking of it till he would go and come [and] make happy his children and his wives; his life story finished here now.

A.5. Text 5: Hawrokan

**Hawrokan**  
**hawrokān**

*recounted by Sarok Behrooz*

**HR:1**

<i>'čārī</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'hanī</i>	<i>ga'pā</i>
Ø-čār-Ø=ī	na	mā	hanī	gap-ā
SBJV-look.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG	right?	PN.1SG	right now	talk-OBL

<i>ā</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'gōš</i>	<i>dār</i>	<i>'manī</i>
=ā	na	gōš	Ø-dār-Ø	man-ī
=COP.NPST.1SG	right?	ear	IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-GEN

*ga'pā*  
*gap-ā*  
talk-OBL.PL

Look, do you follow me (lit. right)?; now I am speaking; do you follow me (lit. right)?; listen to my word.

**HR:2**

<i>'hasta</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'mardē</i>	<i>'janē</i>
hast=a-Ø	ya	mard=ē	jan=ē
be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG	one	man=IND	wife=IND

There were one man [and] one woman.

**HR:3**

<i>mard</i>	<i>ja'nēn</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ja'nēn...</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>hawro'kān</i>	<i>'mātā</i>	<i>'mā</i>
mard	janēn	ya	janēn	ā	hawrokān-Ø	māt-ā	mā
man	woman	one	woman	DIST	Hawrokan-GEN	mother-OBL	PN.1SG

<i>goša'gā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>sa'rūā</i>
goš-ag-ā	=ā	sarū-ā
say.NPST-INF-OBL	=COP.NPST.1SG	Saru-OBL

The man [and] the woman, a woman... I am talking on that Hawrokan's mother, Saru.

**HR:4**

*sa'rū bīta* *dar ha'wālā sa'rūā 'mard*  
 sarū bīt-a=∅ dar hawāl-ā sarū-ā mard-∅  
 Saru become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG at first-OBL Saru-OBL man-GEN

*'nām bīta* *jalā'ī hawro'kāne pe'tay*  
 nām bīt-a=∅ jalāī hawrokān-e pet-ay  
 name become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Jalahi Hawrokan-GEN father-GEN

*sam'jay na hawro'kāne 'pete nām*  
 samj-ay na hawrokān-e pet-e nām  
 understand.NPST.-2SG right? Hawrokan-GEN father-GEN name

At the beginning, it was (lit. has been) Saru; Saru's husband called (lit. has been) Jalahi, Hawrokan's father; do you understand me, Hawrokan's father's name.

**HR:5**

*'ē ka'sān bītagan hawro'kān*  
 ē kasān bīt-ag=an hawrokān  
 PROX small become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL Hawrokan

*bīta sa'rūā bīta*  
 bīt-a=∅ sarū-ā bīt-a=∅  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Saru-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'šaš janēn'čok 'šaš 'čok*  
 šaš janēnčok šaš čok  
 six daughter six child

They were (lit. have been) small; it was Hawrokan; Saru had six daughters, six children (lit. it was six daughters for Saru).

**HR:6**

*'yakē bīta hawro'kān 'yakē*  
 yak=ē bīt-a=∅ hawrokān yak=ē  
 one=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Hawrokan one=IND

*bīta zay'nok 'yakē*  
 bīt-a=∅ zaynok yak=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Zaynok one=IND

A. Text Corpus

*bīta* *sō'rečċ* 'yakē  
 bīt-a=Ø *sōrečċ* yak=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Sorechċ one=IND

*bīta* *mah'nāz* yakē  
 bīt-a=Ø *mahnāz* yak=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Mahnaz one=IND

*bīta* *be'gam* 'yakē  
 bīt-a=Ø *begam* yak=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Begam one=IND

*bīta* *pa'nēr*  
 bīt-a=Ø *panēr*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Paner

One called (lit. has been) Hawrokan; one called (lit. has been) Zenok; one called (lit. has been) Zorechċ; one called (lit. has been) Mahnaz; one called (lit. has been) Begam; one called (lit. has been) Paner.

**HR:7**

'ē *ka'sān* *bītagan* 'ē *šō'dīg*  
 ē *kasān* bīt-ag=an ē *šōdīg*  
 PROX small become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL PROX hungry

*bītagā* *baz'zag* *bītagā*  
 bīt-ag=ā *bazzag* bīt-ag=ā  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL miserable become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

'heč *'nabīta* 'molk *ḏok'kāl*  
 heč *na-bīt-a=Ø* molk *ḏokkāl*  
 nothing NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG land drought

*bīta* *ha'mē* *sab'zī* *zor'ta* 'kāh  
 bīt-a=Ø *ham=ē* *sabzī* *zort-a* *kāh*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX green take.PST-PP grass

*zor'ta* *kakar'ta* *čop'ta* *na'gan* *ko'ta* *o*  
 zort-a *kakart-a* *čopt-a* *nagan* *kot-a* =o  
 take.PST-PP divide.PST-PP crush.PST-PP bread do.PST-PP =and

*wār'ta*  
wārt-a  
eat.PST-PP

They were (lit. have been) small; they were (lit. have been) hungry; they were (lit. have been) miserable; it was (lit. has been) nothing; the land was (lit. has been) drought; they took this [bush] green; they took grass; they divided the leaf from the branch and crushed them; they made bread [of them], and ate [it].

**HR:8**

<i>'ēšān</i>	<i>'šap</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>bī'ta</i>		<i>ē'shān</i>
ēš-ān	šap	ke	bīt-a=Ø		ēš-ān
PROX-OBL.PL	night	CLM	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		PROX-OBL.PL

<i>zor'ta</i>	<i>'tāmbē</i>	<i>lagge'tagā</i>	<i>'hamēdā</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>ga'dīm</i>
zort-a	tāmb=ē	lagget-ag-ā	ham=ēdā	wat	gaḏīm
take.PST-PP	can=IND	beat.PT-PP-3PL	EMPH=here	REFL	drum

<i>ga'dīmbe</i>	<i>ko'ta</i>	<i>hawro'kānā</i>	<i>sō'rečkā</i>	<i>mah'nāzā</i>
gaḏimb=e	kot-a	hawrokān-ā	sōrečk-ā	mahnāz-ā
drum=PC.3PL	do.PST-PP	Hawrokan-OBL	Sorechk-OBL	Mahnaz-OBL

<i>zay'nokā</i>	<i>sa'rū</i>	<i>čokā</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>sa'rūā</i>	<i>'nī</i>
zaynok-ā	sarū-Ø	čok-ā	na	sarū-ā	nī
Zaynok-OBL	Saru-GEN	child-OBL.PL	right?	Saru-OBL	you know

<i>ja'tage</i>	<i>ja'tage</i>	<i>ja'tage</i>	<i>mado'mān</i>
jat-ag=e	jat-ag=e	jat-ag=e	madom-ān
hit.PST-PP=PC.3PL	hit.PST-PP=PC.3PL	hit.PST-PP=PC.3PL	people-OBL.PL

<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>pelā'nī</i>	<i>ša'pā</i>	<i>'naĵanet</i>	<i>'ē</i>
gošt-a	pelānī	šap-ā	na-ĵan-et	ē
say.PST-PP	such and such	night-OBL	NEG.SBJV-hit.NPST-2PL	PROX

<i>wap'sagā</i>	<i>'naylan</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'ē</i>
waps-ag-ā	nay-el-an	goš-ī	mā	ē
sleep.NPST-INF-OBL	NEG-allow.NPST-3PL	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	PROX

<i>'čīyā</i>	<i>'beĵanen</i>	<i>hō'tān</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>šo'dīg</i>
čī-yā	be-ĵan-en	hōt-ān	gošt-a	ē	šoḏīg
why-OBL	SBJV-hit.NPST-1PL	Hot-OBL.PL	say.PST-PP	PROX	hungry

A. Text Corpus

*ã*                      *baz'zag*    *ã*                      *'mārā*            *xo'rāk*  
 =ã                      bazzag    =ã                      mā-rā            xorāk  
 =COP.NPST.3PL miserable =COP.NPST.3PL PN.1PL-OBJ food

*'nēstē*                                      *'mārā*            *'nān*  
 nēst=ē                                      mā-rā            nān  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL-OBJ bread

*'nēstē*                                      *'māe*                      *'nadaen*  
 nēst=ē                                      mā=e                      na-da-en  
 NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL=PC.3SG NEG-give.NPST-1PL

*'bele*                                      *'wate*                      *ja'nan*                      *del'hōš*  
 b-el-e                                      wat=e                      Ø-ja-nan                      delhōš  
 IMPV-allow.NPST-2PL REFL=PC.3PL SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL busy

*an*                      *'dã*    *'wāb*    *'bekapã*                      *ē'sān*  
 =an                      dã    wāb    be-kap-ã                      ēš-ān  
 =COP.NPST.3PL until asleep SBJV-fall.NPST-3PL PROX-OBL.PL

*ja'ta*                      *ga'dīm* *ga'rā* *ga'dīm* *ga'rā* *hame'dā*            *bo'nā*  
 jat-a                      gađim gařā gađim gařā ham=edā            bonā  
 beat.PST-PP drum drum drum drum EMPH=here under

*hā'kānī*                      *tō'kā*    *'wāb*    *kap'tagã*                      *'dã*    *zay'nokā*            *'dã*  
 hāk-ānī                      tōkā    wāb    kapt-ag-ã                      dã    zaynok-ā            dã  
 ground-GEN.PL in asleep fall.PST-PP-3PL until Zaynok-OBL until

*sō'rečkā*                      *baz'zag*            *bītagã*                                      *'har*    *'yakē*  
 sōrečk-ā                      bazzag            bīt-ag=ã                                      har    yak=ē  
 Sorechk-OBL miserable become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL every one=IND

*dā'tagã*                      *wāja'hānī*            *dā'tagã*                      *'har*    *'yakē*  
 dāt-ag-ã                      wājah-ānī            dāt-ag-ã                      har    yak=ē  
 give.PST-PP-3PL cheif-GEN.PL give.PST-PP-3PL every one=IND

*'kāre*                      *'banday*                      *na'gānē*            *'beday*  
 kār=e                      Ø-band-ay                      nagān=ē            be-d-ay  
 work=PC.3PL SBJV-bind.NPST-2SG bread=IND SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

They, when it was (lit. has been) night; they took (lit. have taken) a can; they themselves, Hawrokan, Sorech, Mahnaz, Zenok, Saru's children started (lit. have started) beating the drum there (lit. here); do you follow me?; Saru, you

know, they kept (lit. have kept) beating, (lit. they have beat, have beat, have beat); the people said (lit. have said), “Such and such person, do not beat at the night; they do not allow [us] to sleep; one of the Huts (lit. he) said, “Why should we beat [them]”; the Huts said, “They are hunger; they are miserable; we do not have food (lit. there is no food for us); we do not have bread (lit. there is no bread for us); we do not give them; let them they, themselves, beat [drum]; they are happy and busy [with themselves] till they fall asleep”; they made (lit. have made) sound there (lit. here); [then] they slept (lit. have slept) on the ground, you know, Zenok, Sorechk; they were (lit. have been) miserable; [their parents] gave (lit. have given) each of them to their chief, [and said to the chief,] “Employed them and gave them bread.”

**HR:9**

'nī 'yakē ya 'hōtē 'kārā bīta  
 nī yak=ē ya hōt=ē kār-ā bīt-a=Ø  
 now one=IND one Hot=IND work-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'yakē 'āī 'kārā bīta o'dā  
 yak=ē āī kār-ā bīt-a=Ø o'dā  
 one=IND DIST.GEN work-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG there

'kāre ko'ta man'jalē 'āpē dā'tagā  
 kār=e kot-a manjal-ē āp=ē dāt-ag-ā  
 work=PC.3PL do.PST-PP pot-GEN water=IND give.PST-PP-3PL

na'gane čon'dokē dā'tagā kam'mokē 'nāē  
 nagan-e čonđ=ē dāt-ag-ā kamm-ok=ē nā=ē  
 bread-GEN slice=IND give.PST-PP-3PL little-EV=IND date=PC.3SG

dā'tagā ē'sān wār'tagā ē'sān 'otī  
 dāt-ag-ā ēš-ān wārt-ag-ā ēš-ān otī  
 give.PST-PP-3PL PROX-OBL.PL eat.PST-PP-3PL PROX-OBL.PL REFL.GEN

'wakt hamē'rangā gwāzēn'ta  
 wakt ham=ē-rang-ā gwāzēnt-a  
 time EMPH=PROX-kind-OBL spend.PST.CAUS-PP

You know, one of them was (lit. has been) working for a Hot; one of them was (lit. has been) working for that [Hot]; they worked (lit. have worked) there; she gave (lit. has given) a pot of the water [to the Hots]; they (lit. Hots) gave (lit. have given) them a [small] slice of the bread; they gave (lit. have given) them some date; they ate (lit. have eaten) them; they spent (lit. have spent) their life (lit. time) like this.



A. Text Corpus

**HR:10**

'ān go'rān yakē aga 'sīreša ko awa'lī  
 ān goṛān yak=ē aga sīr=eš=a ko awal-ī  
 well you know one=IND if wedding=PC.3PL=VCL do.PST first-ORD

sa'rū 'čok awa'lī hawro'kān bīta  
 sarū-Ø čok awal-ī hawrokān bīt-a=Ø  
 Saru-GEN child first-ORD Hawrokan become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

mas'ter maste'rē hawro'kān bīta 'ā  
 mas-ter mas-ter-ē hawrokān bīt-a=Ø ā  
 old-CMP old-CMP-ATTR Hawrokan become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG DIST

'drō bēgwa'rī bītagā  
 drō bēgwarī bīt-ag=ā  
 all young become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

Well, you know, if one of them got married, the first Saru's child, the first one was (lit. has been) Hawrokan; the oldest one was Hawrokan, those the rest, all were (lit. have been) younger.

**HR:11**

hawro'kān neš'ta... ka'hīr dašt'yārī mar'domē 'ede  
 hawrokān nešt-a=Ø kahīr daštyārī mardom=ē ede  
 Hawrokan sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Kahir Dashtyari people=IND here

mar'dom 'nabīta  
 mardom na-bīt-a=Ø  
 people NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

āt'ka 'bale čō wā'rese  
 ātk-a=Ø bale čō wāres=e  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG but you know relative=PC.3SG

bīta 'syādē  
 bīt-a=Ø syād=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG relative=PC.3SG

bīta ke... ha'mē sa'rū 'marday  
 bīt-a=Ø ke ham=ē sarū-Ø mard-ay  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM EMPH=PROX Saru-GEN man-GEN

<i>'syād</i>	<i>bīta</i>		<i>ka'hīr</i>	<i>jalā'hī</i>	<i>'syād</i>
syād	bīt-a=Ø		kahīr	jalāhī	syād
relative	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		Kahir	Jalahi	relative

<i>bīta</i>		<i>trī'zāt</i>	<i>bīta</i>
bīt-a=Ø		trīzāt	bīt-a=Ø
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		cousin	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>nākō'zāt</i>	<i>bīta</i>		<i>'nī</i>
nākōzāt	bīt-a=Ø		nī
cousin	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		now

<i>āt'ka</i>		<i>ha'mē</i>		<i>mol'kā</i>
ātka-a=Ø		ham=e		molka-ā
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		EMPH=PROX		land-OBL.PL

Hawrokan was (lit. has sat) a single girl ...; Kahir was from Dashteyari; he was (lit. has been) not from there (lit. here); he came (lit. he came); but you know, he was (lit. has been) his relative; he was (lit. has been) his family; you know... he was (lit. has been) Saru's husband's relative; Kahir was (lit. has been) Jalahi's relative; he was (lit. has been) his cousin; he was (lit. has been) his cousin, you know; he came (lit. has come) to that (lit. this) village.

**HR:12**

<i>āt'kagō</i>		<i>'mā</i>	<i>ga'rībē</i>	<i>ō</i>
ātka-ag=ō		mā	garīb=e	=ō
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG		PN.1SG	poor=IND	=COP.NPST.1SG

<i>ka'hīrā</i>	<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>'bezīr</i>	<i>pa</i>
kahīr-ā	gošt-a	man-ā	be-zīr-Ø	pa
Kahir-OBL	say.PST-PP	PN.1SG-OBJ	IMPV-take.NPST-2SG	for

<i>hawro'kānā</i>	<i>'manā</i>	<i>zā'māt</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>manā</i>
hawrokān-ā	man-ā	zāmāt	Ø-kan-Ø	man-ā
Hawrokan-OBL	PN.1SG-OBJ	engaged	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'sīr</i>	<i>'day</i>	<i>'heč</i>
sīr	Ø-day-Ø	heč
wedding	IMPV-give.NPST-3SG	nothing

<i>'nabīta</i>		<i>aga</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>
na-bīt-a=Ø		aga	mā	tī	gwarā
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		if	PN.1SG	PN.2SG.GEN	to

A. Text Corpus

'kāra kanān gō 'mā 'tī 'čok  
 kār=a kan-ān gō mā tī čok  
 work=VCL do.NPST-1SG with PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN child

boā 'kāra kanān 'gō hawro'kān...  
 bo-ā kār=a kan-ān gō hawrokān  
 become.NPST-1SG work=VCL do.NPST-1SG with Hawrokan

ka'hīrā goš'ta 'nī e'sī šota'gā  
 kahīr-ā gošt-a nī ešī šot-ag=ā  
 Kahir-OBL say.PST-PP now PROX.DIR go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

zēmī'nā 'kāre kota ḍa'gārā 'gōkē  
 zēmīn-ā kār=e kot-a ḍagār-ā gōk=e  
 land-OBL.PL work=PC.3SG do.PST-PP field-OBL cow=IND

bīta kārī'garē 'gō  
 bīt-a=Ø kārīgar=e gō  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG oxen=IND with

bīta so'rūe keš'ta  
 bīt-a=Ø sorū=e kešt-a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG red corn=PC.3SG plant.PST-PP

'māše keš'ta ha'mā jan'galā  
 māš=e kešt-a ham=ā jangal-ā  
 grass pea=PC.3SG plant.PST-PP EMPH=DIST forest-OBL

bītagā hawro'kānī gep'ta  
 bīt-ag=ā hawrokān=ī gept-a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL Hawrokan=PC.3SG take.PST-PP

hawro'kān bīta hō'tānī 'kāra  
 hawrokān bīt-a=Ø hōt-ānī kār-ā  
 Hawrokan become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Hot-GEN.PL work-OBL

bīta ka'sān bīta  
 bīt-a=Ø kasān bīt-a=Ø  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG young become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*hō'tān goš'ta 'mā 'wat agā 'mardē*  
 hōt-ān gošt-a mā wat agā mard=e  
 Hot-OBL.PL say.PST-PP PN.1PL REFL if man=IND

*'dayēnī agā 'mā 'sīr ka'nēn ē*  
 day-ēn=i agā mā sīr kan-ēn ē  
 give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG if PN.1PL wedding do.NPST-1PL PROX

*hawro'kāna 'mā 'wate da'yēn 'mā*  
 hawrokān-a mā wat=e day-ēn mā  
 Hawrokan-OBL PN.1PL REFL=PC.3SG give.NPST-1PL PN.1PL

*daštīyā'rīā 'nadayēne*  
 daštīyārī-ā na-day-ēn=e  
 Dashteyari-OBL NEG-give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

I came (lit. have come); I am poor, Kahir said (lit. has said), “Accept (lit. take) me for Hawrokan; engage me; marry me; there was nothing; then I will work for you; I will be your child; I will work with Hawrok...”; Kahir said (lit. has said); you know, he went (lit. has gone) [and] worked (lit. has worked) on the land, on the field; he had cows (lit. there were cows for him); he had oxen (lit. there were oxen for him); he grew (lit. has grown) red corn; he grew (lit. has grown) the green seed; he was (lit. has been) on the land (lit. forest); he got (lit. has gotten) married to Hawrok; hawrokan worked (lit. has been worked) for Hots; she was (lit. has been) young; the Hots said (lit. have said), “If we ourselves marry off her (lit. give her a husband); if we marry off this Hawrokan; we ourselves, marry off her, we won let her to go to Dashteyari (lit. we do not marry off her to some one from Dashteyari).”

**HR:13**

*'nī 'ēdga šap šo'ta 'sīr ko'ta*  
 nī ē-dga šap šot-a=Ø sīr kot-a  
 now PROX-other night go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG wedding do.PST-PP

*'nī goš'tagī... 'nī ka'hīrā 'ē molk o 'hob*  
 nī gošt-ag=i nī kahīr-ā ē molk =o hob  
 now say.PST-PP=PC.3SG now Kahir-OBL PROX land =FOC interested

*'waš 'sēr kota go'sī 'padā ra'wān*  
 waš sēr kot-a goš-i padā raw-ān  
 happy filled do.PST-PP say.NPST-3SG again go.NPST-1SG

A. Text Corpus

*daštīyā'rīā*  
 daštīyārī-ā  
 Dashteyari-OBL

You know, next night, he went (lit. has gone) [and] got marry, you know; he said (lit. has said)..., you know, Kahir got fad up (lit. has gotten fad up) with this village; he said, “I will go to Dashteyari again.”

**HR:14**

'nī hawro'kānā goš'ta 'mā kā'yā̃ gō̃  
 nī hawrokān-ā gošt-a mā k-ā-yā̃ gō̃  
 now Hawrokan-OBL say.PST-PP PN.1SG IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG with

You know, Hawrokan said (lit. has said), “I will come along you.”

**HR:15**

ka'hīrā goš'ta 'mayā 'gō̃ ke 'taī  
 kahīr-ā gošt-a may-ā-Ø gō̃ ke ta-ī  
 Kahir-OBL say.PST-PP PROH-come.NPST-2SG with CLM PN.2SG-GEN

'hōt 'manā ĵa'nā 'manā  
 hōt man-ā ĵan-ā man-ā  
 Hot PN.1SG-OBJ hit.NPST-3PL PN.1SG-OBL

'torsītē 'mā ra'wā̃ 'sālē  
 torsēn-īt=ē mā raw-ā̃ sāl=ē  
 scare.NPST.CAUS-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG year=IND

agā 'čār 'māh 'nendō aga 'do māh nen'dō  
 agā čār māh nendēn-ō aga do māh nendēn-ō  
 if four month place.NPST-1SG if two month place.NPST-1SG

'māhē nen'dō man 'padā kā'yō̃  
 māh=ē nendēn-ō man padā k-ā-yō̃  
 month=IND place.NPST-1SG PN.1SG again IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

go'sī 'na 'mā kā'yā̃ gō̃ 'harkasī  
 goš-ī na mā k-ā-yā̃ gō̃ harkas-ī  
 say.NPST-3SG no PN.1SG IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG with everybody-GEN

'dā bītagan balō'čānī  
 dā bīt-ag=an balōč-ānī  
 grain become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL Baloch-GEN.PL

<i>āt'kagã</i>	<i>'lātē 'do kī'lū</i>
ātk-ag=ã	lāt do kīlū
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	some two kilo

<i>bīt-agã</i>	<i>'lātē 'say kī'lū</i>
bīt-ag=ã	lāt say kīlū
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	some three kilo

<i>bītagã</i>	<i>'lātē 'čār kī'lū</i>
bīt-ag=ã	lāt čār kīlū
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	some four kilo

<i>bītagã</i>	<i>sō'rū bītagã</i>
bīt-ag=ã	sōrū bīt-ag=ã
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	corn become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

Kahir said (lit. has said), “Do not come along me; your Hot will punish me; I am afraid; I go, if I stay one year [or] four months, if I stay two months, [if] I stay one month again, I will come”; she said, “No, I come along you”; there was (lit. has been) every body’s grain; the Baloch’s, they came (lit. have come); some had (lit. has been), two Kilos (lit. there was two Kilos for some); some had (lit. has been), three Kilos (lit. there was three Kilos for some); some had (lit. has been), (lit. there was four Kilos for some) four Kilos; it was (lit. has been), red corn.

**HR:16**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'drō</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>bītagã</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>sōb</i>	<i>sōb</i>
ē	drō	ēr	bīt-ag=ã		ke	sōb	sōb
PROX	all	PREV	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL		CLM	morning	morning

<i>sā'hate</i>	<i>'sayā</i>	<i>bā'hed</i>	<i>jen'terā</i>	<i>'dān</i>	<i>'bedrošī</i>
sāhat=e	say-ā	bāhed	jenter-ā	dān	be-droš-ī
clock=EZ	three-OBL	must	hand mill-OBL	grain	SBJV-grind.NPST-3SG

All was (lit. has been), there /that/, in the morning, in the morning, at three o'clock; she must mill the grain with the hand mill.

**HR:17**

<i>agã</i>	<i>'madrošī</i>	<i>'hōt</i>	<i>ha'bar</i>	<i>kanan</i>	<i>ja'nant</i>
agã	ma-droš-ī	hōt	habar	kan-an	jan-ant
if	PROH-grind.NPST-3SG	Hot	word	do.NPST-3PL	hit.NPST-3PL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>ta'yār ā</i>	<i>'daḍ ā</i>	<i>ǰa'nante</i>
tayār =ā	daḍ =ā	ǰan-ant=e
strong =COP.NPST.3PL	strong =COP.NPST.3PL	hit.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

*ha'bar kanan*  
 habar kan-an  
 word do.NPST-3PL

If she does not mill it, the Hot will fight her, they will beat [her]; they are strong; they are powerful; they beat her [and] they argue (lit. word) her.

### HR:18

<i>ka'hīrā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>hawro'kānā</i>	<i>'go</i>
kahīr-ā	go	mā	raw-ā	hawrokān-ā	go
Kahir-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG	Hawrokan-OBL	say.PST

<i>'mā</i>	<i>kā'yā</i>	<i>'gō</i>
mā	k-ā-yā	gō
PN.1SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	with

Khahir said, “I go”; Hawrokan said “I come alone.”

### HR:19

<i>bašā'nagī</i>	<i>'bast</i>	<i>ǰā'gaī</i>	<i>'pak</i>	<i>kotā</i>	<i>bāng'wā</i>
bašānag=ī	bast	ǰāga=ī	pak	kot-ā	bāngwā
sleeping tent=PC.3SG	sit up.PST	bed=PC.3SG	spread	do.PST-3PL	morning

<i>ha'mā</i>	<i>sā'hate</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>har'kat</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ka'hīrā</i>
ham=ā	sāhat=e	say	bī-Ø	harkat	ko	kahīr-ā
EMPH=DIST	clock=EZ	three	become.PST-3SG	move	do.PST	Kahir-OBL

She set up the sleeping tent; she spread her bed; early in the morning, it was at three o'clock; Kahir started (lit. moved) [his journey].

### HR:20

<i>ka'hīrā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>ra'wā</i>	<i>hawro'kān</i>	<i>'ēr</i>	<i>kapt</i>	<i>yak</i>
kahīr-ā	go	mā	raw-ā	hawrokān	ēr	kapt	yak
Kahir-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG	Hawrokan	PREV	fall.PST	one

<i>kam'moke</i>	<i>če...</i>	<i>kamba'lokē</i>	<i>ne'pāde</i>	<i>ke</i>
kamm-ok=e	če	kambal-ok=e	nepād=e	ke
little-EV=IND	from	blanket-EV=IND	bedding=PC.3SG	CLM

*hasta*                      *e'šā*              *pē'tk*      *o*      *'sādē*      *'zo*  
 hast=a-Ø                      eš-ā              pētk      =o      sād=ē      zo  
 be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG PROX-OBL roll.PST =and rope=IND take.PST

*'baste*                      *'baḏḏay*              *ko*      *ba'ḏḏā*      *ko*      *ka'hīr*  
 bast=e                      baḏḏ=ay              ko      baḏḏ-ā      ko      kahīr  
 fix.PST=PC.3SG back=PC.3SG do.PST back-OBL do.PST Kahir

*'šo*                      *hawro'kān*      *ran'dā*      *'kapt*      *'mayā*                      *gō̄*  
 šo-Ø                      hawrokān      randā      kapt      may-ā-Ø                      gō̄  
 go.PST-3SG Hawrokan after fall.PST PROH-come.NPST-2SG with

*ta'ī*                      *'hōt*      *'mana*                      *ja'nā*                      *go'šī*                      *'mā*  
 ta-ī                      hōt      man-a                      jan-ā                      goš-ī                      mā  
 PN.2SG-GEN Hot PN.1SG-OBJ hit.NPST-3PL say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

*kā'yā*                                              *gō̄*  
 k-ā-yā                                              gō̄  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG with

Kahir said, “I go”; Hawrokan came down [from the bed], a little... she had a blanket, beds spreads; she rolled it, and she fixed with a rope (lit. took a rope and fixed it); she loaded on her back; she loaded on her back; Kahir went; Hawrokan followed him; [he said] “Do not come along me; your Hot will punish me.”; she said, “I will come along you.”

**HR:21**

*'dā*                      *'sohb*      *bī*                                              *sa'rū*      *'pāda*  
 dā                      sohb      bī-Ø                                              sarū      pād=a  
 you know morning become.PST-3SG Saru foot=VCL

*kay*                                              *sa'rū*      *hawro'kān*      *hawro'kān*      *ta'ī*                      *'dān*  
 k-ay-Ø                                              sarū      hawrokān      hawrokān      ta-ī                      dān  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG Saru Hawrokan Hawrokan PN.2SG-GEN grain

*'ēr*      *ā*                                              *'ta*                      *dānīn'gā*      *'wāb*      *ay*                                              *'dā*  
 ēr      =ā                                              ta                      dānīngā      wāb      =ay                                              dā  
 PREV =COP.NPST.3PL PN.2SG still asleep =COP.NPST.2SG grain

*'nadrošay*                                              *'pād*      *ā*                                              *hawro'kān*      *'pād*  
 na-droš-ay                                              pād      Ø-ā-Ø                                              hawrokān      pād  
 NEG-grind.NPST-2SG foot IMPV-come.NPST-2SG Hawrokan foot



A. Text Corpus

*ā* *bašā'nagā* *kaš'sī* *hawro'kān e'dā*  
 Ø-ā-Ø *bašānag-ā* *kašš-ī* *hawrokān edā*  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG sleeping tent-OBL pull.NPST-3SG Hawrokan here

*'ne* *'nī* *'goštī* *hō'tā* *'baba*  
 ne *nī* *gošt=ī* *hōt-ā* *baba*  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG now say.PST=PC.3SG Hot-OBL.PL father

*'šme* *'dān* *'ēr* *ā* *hawro'kān*  
 šme *dān* *ēr* *=ā* *hawrokān*  
 PN.2PL.GEN grain PREV =COP.NPST.3PL Hawrokan

*šo'ta* *ka'hīrā* *bor'ta* *gō* *e'dā*  
 šot-a=Ø *kahīr-ā* *bort-a* *gō* *edā*  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Kahir-OBL take.PST-PP with here

*'nayē* *šo'mā* *o'tī* *mas'ter* *'wat* *ay*  
 nay=ē *šomā* *otī* *mas-ter* *wat* *=ay*  
 NEG=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2PL REFL.GEN big-CMP REFL =COP.NPST.2SG

*'na*  
 na  
 right?

You know, in the morning (lit. it was the day), Saru got up; Saru, [called her and said], “Howrokan, Hawrokan, your grain are [here] still you are asleep; you do not mill the grain; get up Hawrokan; get up Hawrokan; she pulled out the sleepingtent.” [she saw] Hawrokan is not there (lit. here); you know, she said, “Hots, dear (lit. father); your grain are here, [but] Hawrokan has gone; Kahir has taken her; she is not here; whatever do you decide.” right?

**HR:22**

*'nī* *sa'hī* *bī* *yārmah'mad* *maza'nēn* *yārmah'mad*  
*nī* *sahī* *bī-Ø* *yārmahmad* *mazan-ēn* *yārmahmad*  
 now informed become.PST-3SG Yar Mammad big-ATTR Yar Mammad

*bī* *yārmah'mad* *sa'hī* *bī* *go'sī*  
*bī-Ø* *yārmahmad* *sahī* *bī-Ø* *goš-ī*  
 become.PST-3SG Yar Mammad informed become.PST-3SG say.NPST-3SG

*'manī* *'tēng* *hawro'kān* *ka'hīrā* *bor'ta* *'gō*  
 man-ī *tēng* *hawrokān* *kahīr-ā* *bort-a* *gō*  
 PN.1SG-GEN female slave Hawrokan Kahir-OBL take.PST-PP with

'mã      ra'wã      kã'rãnĩ  
 mã      raw-ã      k-ãr-ãn=ĩ  
 PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

You know, it was informed Yar Mammad; it was chief Yar Mammad; Yar Mammad was informed, he said, “Kahir took (lit. has taken) my female slave, Hawrokan, I will go [and] bring her.”

**HR:23**

to'pang    bađ'đã      ko      go'sĩ      'mã      'harjãgãh  
 topang    bađđ-ã      ko      goš-ĩ      mã      harjãgãh  
 gun      shoulder-OBL do.PST say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG wherever

'begendã      ka'hĩrã      ka'hĩrã      ko'sã      hawro'kãnã  
 be-gend-ã      kahĩr-ã      kahĩr-ã      koš-ã      hawrokãn-ã  
 SBJV-see.NPST-1SG Kahir-OBL Kahir-OBL kill.NPST-1SG Hawrokan-OBL

'zĩrõ      kã'yõ  
 zĩr-õ      k-ã-yõ  
 take.NPST-1SG IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

He took the gun (lit. he put the gun on his shoulder); he said, “Wherever I see Kahir, I will kill Kahir [and] bring back (lit. take and bring) Hawrokan.”

**HR:24**

'edã 'nĩ    ta'mãm    de'lãp    bĩtã      ka'hĩrã      ko'sĩ  
 edã nĩ    tamãm    delãp    bĩt-ã      kahĩr-ã      koš-ĩ  
 here now finish scared become.PST-3PL Kahir-OBL kill.NPST-3SG

'na    'ẽšã      ja'nen    sã'ate    'sayã    ke    'ẽr  
 na    ẽš-ã      janen    sãat=e    say-ã    ke    ẽr  
 right? PROX-OBL.PL woman clock=EZ three-OBL CLM PREV

kaptã      ne'mãzã    'çe    hawro'kãn    daštĩyã'rĩã    šo'tã  
 kapt-ã      nemãz-ã    çe    hawrokãn    daštĩyãrĩ-ã    šot-ã  
 fall.PST-3PL pray-OBL from Hawrokan Dashtyari-OBL go.PST-3PL

There (lit. here) all became (lit. have been) scared; [they thought] he will kill Kahir, right?; they, the woman, left at three o'clock; Hawrokan arrived (lit.went) to Dashtyari in [the morning] pray.

A. Text Corpus

**HR:25**

'ē      šo              ha'mōdā      'jos      'pors ko      'šī  
 ē      šo-Ø              ham=ōdā      jos      pors ko      š-ī  
 PROX go.PST-3SG EMPH=there question echo do.PST say.NPST-3SG

hawro'kān      āt'ka                                      ka'hīr  
 hawrokān      ātk-a=Ø                                      kahīr  
 Hawrokan come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Kahir

āt'ka                                      'nī      'bare      'edā san'gara  
 ātk-a=Ø                                      nī      bar=e      edā sangar-a  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG now time=IND here rifle pit-OBL

ban'dī                      'bare      'raw                      ō'dā san'gara  
 band-ī                      bar=e      raw-Ø                      ōdā sangar-a  
 make.NPST-3SG time=IND go.NPST-3SG there rifle pit-OBL

ba'ndī                      ke      ka'hīrāe                      ko'šā  
 band-ī                      ke      kahīr-ā=e                      koš-ā  
 make.NPST-3SG CLM Kahir-OBL=PC.3SG kill.NPST-1SG

This one [Yar Mammad] went there [and] asked, he said, “Did (lit. has) Hawrokan came (lit. come)?; Did (lit. has) Kahir came (lit. come)?”; you know, some times he entrenched there; sometimes he went [and] entrenched there; [he said] /that/, “I will kill Kahir.”

**HR:26**

'dar      ātk                      e...      golām'kāder      'hōte      golām'kāder  
 dar      ātk-Ø                      e      golāmkāder      hōt=e      golāmkāder  
 PREV come.PST-3SG PROX Gholam Kader Hot=IND Gholam Kader

'dar      ā                      go'šī                      'hā      'taw      sār  
 dar      ā-Ø                      goš-ī                      hā      taw      sār  
 PREV come.PST-3SG say.NPST-3SG yes PN.2SG in sense

ay                      ga'nok ay  
 =ay                      ganok =ay  
 =COP.NPST.2SG crazy =COP.NPST.2SG

He appeared, this...Gholam Kader[who] he was a Hot; Gholam Kader appeared; he said, “Yes, are you in sense or non-sense (lit. crazy)

**HR:27**

*ka'hīrā ko'jā ko'say ka'hīr 'tī gwa'rā 'janē*  
*kahīr-ā kojā koš-ay kahīr tī gwarā jan=ē*  
 Kahir-OBL why kill.NPST-2SG Kahir PN.2SG.GEN to wife=IND

*gep'tage 'na hawro'kānī gep'ta*  
*gept-ag=e na hawrokān=ī gept-a*  
 take.PST-PP=PC.3SG right? Hawrokan=PC.3SG take.PST-PP

*hawro'kānī ār'ta hawro'kānā 'hob šo'may*  
*hawrokān=ī ārt-a hawrokān-ā hob šomay*  
 Hawrokan=PC.3SG bring.PST-PP Hawrokan-OBL wish PN.PL.GEN

*bīt pa'dā 'kaytē 'hanī*  
*bīt-Ø padā k-ay-t=ē hanī*  
 become.PST-3SG again IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG now

*ke ka'hīr gep'ta ka'hīrī 'gwarā ē*  
*ke kahīr gept-a kahīr-ī gwarā =ē*  
 CLM Kahir take.PST-PP Kahir-GEN by =COP.NPST.3SG

Why you kill Kahir, Kahir took (lit. has taken) a wife from you right?; he married (lit. has married) Hawrokan; he brought (lit. has brought) Hawrokan; if Hawrokan wish you, she will come [to you] again; now /that/, Kahir has married her; she is with Kahir.”

**HR:28**

*'nī šekā'hatī ko pol'lānā pol'lānā šekā'hatī*  
*nī šekāhat=ī ko pollān-ā pollān-ā šekāhat=ī*  
 now complain=PC.3SG do.PST Pollan-OBL Pollan-OBL complain=PC.3SG

*ko hawro'kānā 'goštī 'manā 'say 'māh*  
*ko hawrokān-ā gošt=ī man-ā say māh*  
 do.PST Hawrokan-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBL three month

*bīta 'manā 'čok*  
*bīt-a=Ø man-ā čok*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-OBL child

*bīta 'bārē 'hamē ra'wag*  
*bīt-a=Ø bārē ham=ē raw-ag*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG question word EMPH=PROX go.NPST-INF

A. Text Corpus

<i>āha'gān</i>	<i>'hamē</i>	<i>gar'mēn</i>	<i>lah'ṛē</i>
ā-hag-ān	ham=ē	garm-ēn	lahr=ē
come.NPST-INF-OBL.PL	EMPH=PROX	warm-ATTR	boil=COP.NPST.1PL

<i>ā'pān</i>	<i>'manī</i>	<i>'čoke</i>	<i>ka'pta</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'man</i>
āp-ān	man-ī	čok=e	kapt-a	man	man
water-OBL.PL	PN.1SG-GEN	child=PC.3SG	fall.PST-PP	PN.1SG	PN.1SG

<i>'če</i>	<i>ja'wāb</i>	<i>'bedā</i>	<i>yārma'madī</i>	<i>'gwa</i>
če	jawāb	be-d-ā	yārmamad	gwa
what	answer	SBJV-give.NPST-1SG	Yar Mammad	say.PT

You know, she complained to Polan's [court]; she complained to Polan's [court], Hawrokan said, she said to Yar Mammad, "I was pregnant for three months, I had (lit. has been) a baby; I am not sure during these goings and comings this hot [and] boiled water, my baby dropped (lit. has dropped); what should I, I answer [to my husband]."

**HR:29**

<i>yārmah'mad</i>	<i>ga'jarā</i>	<i>lō'te</i>	<i>ʃos</i>	<i>'pors</i>	<i>ko</i>
yārmahmad	gajar-ā	lōte	ʃos	pors	ko
Yar Mammad	army men-OBL	want.PST	question	echo	do.PST

<i>e'šīā</i>	<i>'lōte</i>	<i>bāz'jū'ī</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>go'šī</i>	<i>'čī</i>
ešī-ā	lōte	bāzjūī	ko	goš-ī	čī
PROX.DIR-OBL	call.PST	interrogation	do.PST	say.NPST-3SG	what

<i>wās'tā</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>āt'kagay</i>	<i>go'šī</i>
wāstā	taw	ātk-ag=ay	goš-ī
for the sake of	PN.2SG	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG	say.NPST-3SG

<i>'manā</i>	<i>ka'hīrā</i>	<i>gep'ta</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ka'hīr...</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>
man-ā	kahīr-ā	gept-a	mardom	ke	kahīr	mardom
PN.1SG-OBL	Kahir-OBL	take.PST-PP	people	CLM	Kahir	people

<i>ke</i>	<i>'mard</i>	<i>ge'rī</i>	<i>go'rā</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>bā'hed</i>	<i>'boraw</i>
ke	mard	ger-ī	goṛā	mardom	bāhed	bo-raw-Ø
CLM	man	take.NPST-3SG	then	people	must	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

<i>'mā</i>	<i>āwā'dī</i>	<i>'kār</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>balō'čānī</i>
mā	ā-wād=ī	kār	kot-a	balōč-ānī
PN.1SG	DIST-time=PC.3SG	work	do.PST-PP	Baloch-GEN.PL

*wās'tā*      'nī    *ka'hīrā*      'manā      *gep'ta*      'mā      'edā  
 wāstā      nī      kahīr-ā      man-ā      gept-a      mā      edā  
 for the sake of    now    Kahir-OBL    PN.1SG-OBJ    take.PST-PP    PN.1SG    here

*āt'kō*      'gōk    *hasten*           'manā      *gō'kã*  
 ātk-ō      gōk    hast=en           man-ā      gōk-ã  
 come.PST-1SG    cow    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    PN.1SG-OBL    cow-OBL.PL

'mā      'kāh    *dayã*           *o'tī*      *gō'kã...*      *ḍa'gār*  
 mā      kāh    day-ã           otī      gōk-ã      ḍagār  
 PN.1SG    grass    give.NPST-1SG    REFL.GEN    cow-OBL.PL    field

*keš'ta*      *ze'mīn*    *hasten*           'māš  
 kešt-a      zemīn    hast=en           māš  
 plant.PST-PP    land    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    grass pea

*hasten*           *gal'la*    *hasten*           'mā  
 hast=en           galla    hast=en           mā  
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    wheat    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    PN.1SG

*hame'dān*    *ã*           'hanī    'ē      'harwādī      *ha'lās*  
 ham=edān    =ã           hanī    ē      har-wād=ī      halās  
 EMPH=here    =COP.NPST.1SG    now    PROX    every-time=IND    finish

*bī*           'mā      'padā    *kā'yã*           *gō*  
 bī-Ø           mā      padā    k-ā-yã           gō  
 become.PST-3SG    PN.1SG    again    IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG    with

The army men called Yar Mammad; they interrogated him; they called her; they interrogated her; he said, “For what did you come (lit. have you come)?”; she said, “Kahir married (lit. has married) me, a person who Kahir... a person who get marry; then, the person must go [with her husband]; I worked (lit. have worked) for Baloch at that time; now Kahir got marry (lit. has gotten marry) to me; I come here; I have cow (lit. there is a cow for me); I give the grass to the cows, to my cows ...; I farmed the land, (lit. have grown the grass); I have land (lit. there is a land for me); I have green seed (lit. there is green seed for me); I have wheat (lit. there is wheat for me); now I am there (lit. here), you know, whenever those work be finished, I will come back again.”

A. Text Corpus

**HR:30**

'nī ga'jarā 'poštī ko go'ṛā 'hātk  
 nī gajar-ā pošt=ī ko goṛā hātk-Ø  
 now army men-OBL back=PC.3SG do.PST then come.PST-3SG

yārmah'mad ke 'hātk hawro'kān ka'hīrī gwa'rā  
 yārmahmad ke hātk-Ø hawrokān kahīr-ī gwarā  
 Yar Mammad CLM come.PST-3SG Hawrokan Kahir-GEN to

neš'ta

nešt-a=Ø

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

You know, the army men supported [Hawrokan], then he came back; when Yar Mammad came back, Hawrokan stayed (lit has sitten) with Kahir [here].

**HR:31**

go'ṛā 'čok o 'do 'čok 'say 'čoke 'hamōdā  
 goṛā čok =o do čok say čok=e ham=ōdā  
 then child =FOC two child three child=PC.3SG EMPH=there

bī go'ṛā 'ā 'čok 'pay 'nakaptā  
 bī-Ø goṛā ā čok pay na-kapt-ā  
 become.PST-3SG you know DIST child alive NEG-fall.PST-3PL

Then she gave birth to two and three children there; you know, those children did not survive.

**HR:32**

'dā ā'xerā 'dēr gwast 'nī sa'rūā 'gwašt go'sī  
 dā āxer-ā dēr gwast nī sarū-ā gwašt goš-ī  
 you know end-OBL late pass.PST now Saru-OBL say.PT say.NPST-3SG

'tī pe... jālā'hī bī'mār ě 'āī 'pet  
 tī pe jālāhī bīmār =ě āī pet  
 PN.2SG.GEN FRAG Jalahi sick =COP.NPST.3SG DIST.GEN father

hawro'kāne

hawrokān-e

Hawrokan-GEN

You know, it passed a long time, you know; Saru said, she said, “Your fa... Jalahi is sick, her father, Hawrokan’s.

## HR:33

*ja'lāhī ma'rīz ẽ sa'rū ma'rīz ẽ*  
 jalāhī marīz =ẽ sarū marīz =ẽ  
 Jalahi sick =COP.NPST.3SG Saru sick =COP.NPST.3SG

*'tī go'hār ma'rīz ẽ zay'nok sō'rečk ma'rīz*  
 tī gohār marīz =ã zaynok sōrečk marīz  
 PN.2SG.GEN sister sick =COP.NPST.3PL Zaynok Sorechk sick

*ã 'nī hawro'kān 'padā 'hātk go'rā ka'hīrā*  
 =ã nī hawrokān padā hātk-Ø goṛā kahīr-ā  
 =COP.NPST.3PL now Hawrokan again come.PST-3SG then Kahir-OBL

*'ārt go'rā ka'hīr 'padā 'našo*  
 ārt goṛā kahīr padā na-šo-Ø  
 bring.PST you know Kahir again NEG-go.PST-3SG

Jalahi is sick; Saru is sick; your sisters are sick; Zenok [and] Sorechk are sick"; you know, again Hawrokan came, then Kahir brought her; you know, again Kahir did not go back.

## HR:34

*'nešt 'nešt 'nešt 'dā 'wakte 'do 'māh 'say*  
 nešt-Ø nešt-Ø nešt-Ø dā wakt=e do māh say  
 sit.PST-3SG sit.PST-3SG sit.PST-3SG till time=IND two month three

*'māh 'gwast 'nī 'padā 'šot hawro'kān 'šo*  
 māh gwast-Ø nī padā šot-Ø hawrokān šo-Ø  
 month pass.PST-3SG now again go.PST-3SG Hawrokan go.PST-3SG

*gō 'nī 'mā 'čok andā'zah ẽ... hawro'kān sārōk*  
 gō nī mā čok andāzah =ẽ hawrokān sārok  
 with now PN.1PL child size =COP.NPST.3SG Hawrokan Sarok

*'dapā 'kay sārōk 'nī ma'zan ẽ*  
 dap-ā k-ay-Ø sārok nī mazan =ẽ  
 mouth-OBL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG Sarok now big =COP.NPST.3SG

He kept staying (lit. stayed, stayed, stayed); [there] till two or three months passed; you know, again he went; Hawrokan went along him; you know, we were little child... Hawrokan, Sarok, it comes to my mouth, you know, Sarok is young.



A. Text Corpus

**HR:35**

'nī 'šot 'ā mol'kān ka'hīr pa'dā 'ē de'ga  
 nī šot-Ø ā molk-ān kahīr padā ē dega  
 now go.PST-3SG DIST land-OBL.PL Kahir again PROX another

bah'tānī 'gept  
 bahtān=ī gept  
 Bahtan=PC.3SG take.PST

Then, he went to that village, you know, again Kahir married this Bahatan.

**HR:36**

'nī 'janī 'gept bah'tānī 'gept 'odā  
 nī jan=ī gept bahtān=ī gept odā  
 you know wife=PC.3SG take.PST Bahtan=PC.3SG take.PST there

'nī bah'tānā 'do 'čok 'say 'čok bī  
 nī bahtān-ā do čok say čok bī-Ø  
 you know Bahtan-OBL two child three child become.PST-3SG

ha'mōdān 'ā 'čoke ham 'paš 'nakaptā ya  
 ham=ōdān ā čok=e ham paš na-kapt-ā ya  
 EMPH=there DIST child=PC.3SG ADD behind NEG-fall.PST-3PL one

'čokē bītē 'nāme al'lāhī  
 čok=e bīt=ē nām=e allāhī  
 child=IND become.PST=COP.NPST.3SG name=PC.3SG Allahi

ē  
 =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG

You know, he re- married another woman; he married Bahtan there you know; Bahatan gave birth two and three children there; those children did not survive too; she gave birth to a baby; he called Allahi.

**HR:37**

'hamī al'lāhī 'do 'čok 'say 'čoke bī  
 ham=ī allāhī do čok say čok=e bī-Ø  
 EMPH=PROX Allahi two child three child=PC.3SG become.PST-3SG

'hamedān mor'tā 'bale al'lāhī 'jend yake 'hamī yak  
 ham=edān mort-ā bale allāhī jend yak=e ham=ī yak  
 EMPH=here die.PST-3PL but Allahi self one=IND EMPH=PROX one

bač'čī  
 bačč-ī  
 leave.NPST-3SG

This Allahi, she gave birth to two and three children there (lit. here); they passed away, but Allahi himself, only this one, survived (lit. left).

**HR:38**

go'rā bah'tān pa'dā 'hātk 'hamī mol'kā ka'hīr  
 goṛā bahtān padā hātk-Ø ham=ī molk-ā kahīr  
 you know Bahtan again come.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX village-OBL Kahir

bah'tān hawro'kān go'rā 'ē 'drō 'hamedā 'ātkā  
 bahtān hawrokān goṛā ē drō ham=edā ātk-ā  
 Bahtan Hawrokan you know PROX all EMPH=here come.PST-3PL

'edā 'ātkā go'rā bah'tān hā 'hamedā wa'pāt  
 edā ātk-ā goṛā bahtān hā ham=edā wapāt  
 here come.PST-3PL you know Bahtan ADD EMPH=here death

bī ma'rīz bī baz'zag bī'mār  
 bī-Ø marīz bī-Ø bazzag bīmār  
 become.PST-3SG sick become.PST-3SG miserable sick

bī 'dast o pā'dānī 'dard ko 'pāde  
 bī-Ø dast =o pād-ānī dard ko pād=e  
 become.PST-3SG hand =and foot-GEN.PL pain do.PST foot=PC.3SG

daras bītā 'gwāt bītā bah'tān ha... bah'tān  
 daras bīt-ā gwāt bīt-ā bahtān ha bahtān  
 swelling become.PST-3PL wind become.PST-3PL Bahtan FRAG Bahtan

ča ka'hīrā pē'sar 'mo ča hawro'kānā hā pē'sar  
 ča kahīr-ā pēsar mo ča hawrokān-ā hā pēsar  
 from Kahir-OBL before die.PST from Hawrokan-OBL ADD before

A. Text Corpus

'mo hawro'kān ran'dā 'mo hawro'kān pē'sar 'mo  
 mo hawro'kān randā mo hawro'kān pēsar mo  
 die.PST Hawrokan after die.PST Hawrokan before die.PST

You know, again, Bahtan came to this village, Kahir, Bahtan, Hawrokan, you know; all of them came back there (lit. here); they came there, then, as for Bahtan, she passed away there (lit. here); she got sick the poor woman; she got sick; she had pain in her hands and feet (lit. her hand and feet got pain); her feet swelled; they swelled; Bahtan, als... Bahtan passed away before Kahir; she passed away before Hawrokan as well; Hawrokan passed away latter; she passed away before Hawrokan.

**HR:39**

hawro'kān čet'aw bo  
 hawro'kān četaw bo-Ø  
 Hawrokan what became.PST-3SG

What happened to Hawrokan.

**HR:40**

hawro'kān hā ma'rīz bī ma'rīz bī ē  
 hawro'kān hā marīz bī-Ø marīz bī-Ø ē  
 Hawrokan ADD sick become.PST-3SG sick become.PST-3SG PROX

pās'gāh bīta 'rōčē 'say kī'sag 'nān  
 pāsgāh bīt-a=Ø rōč=ē say kīsag nān  
 army station become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG day=IND three bag bread

pak'ka e'šīā  
 pakk-a ešī-ā  
 cook.PST-PP PROX.DIR-OBL

As for Hawrokan, she got sick; she got sick; It was (lit. has been) this army station; she baked (lit. has baked) three bags of flour for bread.

**HR:41**

'say 'say 'čār 'čār kī'sag 'nān pak'ka ē ga'jar  
 say say čār čār kīsag nān pakk-a ē ga'jar  
 three three four four bag bread cook.PST-PP PROX army men

ta'mām 'ē ga'jar 'ē to'mām... e'šānā  
 tamām ē ga'jar ē tomām eš-ān-ā  
 all PROX army men PROX all PROX-OBL.PL-OBL

*tan'dūrē*      *bīta*                                    *'ā*      *'āpe*      *ker'rā*  
 tandūr=ē      bīt-a=Ø                                    ā      āp-e      kerrā  
 Tandoor=IND      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      DIST      water-GEN      beside

*rō'de*      *ke'rā*      *an'gat*      *ha*                     *'ē*      *ta'nū*  
 rōd-e      kerā      angat      ha=Ø                     ē      tanū  
 river-GEN      by      still      be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG      PROX      Tandoor

*e'stā*      *na'gān*      *'pak*      *'pak*      *e'sī*      *'del*      *'sotk*  
 ešī-ā      naḡān      pak      pak      ešī      del      sotk  
 PROX.DIR-OBL      bread      bake.PST      bake.PST      PROX.GEN      heart      burn.PST

She baked (lit. has baked) three, three, four, four bags of flour for bread; these army men, all these army men, all of them... they had a Tandoor (lit. there was a Tandoor for them) near that water, near the river; still this Tandoor is [there]; she kept backing bread (lit. baked, baked.); her chest burnt.

**HR:42**

*'nī*      *ke*      *dok'torā*      *'šo*      *do'ktorā*      *'go*  
 nī      ke      doktor-ā      šo-Ø      doktor-ā      go  
 you know      CLM      doctor-OBL      go.PST-3SG      doctor-OBL      say.PST

*'tī*      *'del*      *sot'ka*      *mes'le*      *'por*      *ē*  
 tī      del      sotk-a      mesle      por      =ē  
 PN.2SG.GEN      heart      burn.PST-PP      like      ash      =COP.NPST.3SG

*'tī*      *'del*      *'taw*      *'hanī*      *bā'yed*      *'ās*      *sa'rā*  
 tī      del      taw      hanī      bāyed      ās-Ø      sarā  
 PN.2SG.GEN      heart      PN.2SG      right now      must      fire-GEN      on

*'manend*           *'dānze*      *tō'kā*      *'mabay*           *'nī*  
 ma-nendēn-Ø           dānz-e      tōkā      ma-bay-Ø           nī  
 PROH-place.NPST-2SG      dust-GEN      in      PROH-become.NPST-2SG      now

*'hamē*      *rangā*      *šar'bat*      *'hamē*      *šarba'tānī*      *sa'rā*  
 ham=ē      rang-ā      šarbat      ham=ē      šarbat-ānī      sarā  
 EMPH=PROX      manner-OBL      liquid      EMPH=PROX      liquid-GEN.PL      on

*a*      *go'lī*      *sa'rā*      *e'dā*      *'ōdā*      *e'dā*      *'ōdā*      *ran'dā*  
 =a-Ø      goḡī-Ø      sarā      edā      ōdā      edā      ōdā      randā  
 =COP.PST-3SG      medicine-GEN      on      here      there      here      there      after

A. Text Corpus

*ā'xerā hawro'kān 'kapt*  
*āxer-ā hawrokān kapt-Ø*  
 end-OBL Hawrokan fall.PST-3SG

You know, when she went to the doctor; the doctor said, “Your chest (lit. heart) burnt, it looks like ash, your chest; now you must not sit by the fire; you must not be in the dust”; you know, like this, liquid medicine..., she dependent on this liquid and medicine; here [and] there, here [and] there, after, finally [at the end] Hawrokan became weak (lit. fell down).

**HR:43**

*'nī ke ma'rīz bī ha'mē 'nānē ke*  
*nī ke marīz bī-Ø ham=ē nān=ē ke*  
 you know CLM sick become.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX bread=IND CLM

*mardo'mān dā'tagatā 'hamē 'nān 'drō*  
*mardom-ān dāt-ag=at-ā ham=ē nān drō*  
 people-OBL.PL give.PST-PP=COP.PST-3PL EMPH=PROX bread all

*yā'dā 'hātkā*  
*yād-ā hātk-ā*  
 imagination-OBL come.PST-3PL

You know, when she got sick; this bread that the people gave (lit. have given) her; all these bread came (lit. has come) to [her] imagination.

**HR:44**

*'hamē čam'mānī 'ātkā go'sī 'ē 'nān*  
*ham=ē čamm-ānī ātk-ā goš-ī ē nān*  
 EMPH=PROX eye-GEN.PL come.PST-3PL say.NPST-3SG PROX bread

*ā 'man 'drō neštaā sā'rok ta*  
*=ā man drō nešt-a=ā sārok ta*  
 =COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG all sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG Sarok PN.2SG

*'ē nā'nā pa 'naropay 'čēste*  
*ē nān-ā pa na-rop=ay čēst=e*  
 PROX bread-OBL.PL for NEG-sweep.NPST=COP.NPST.2SG lift=PC.3PL

*'nakanay hawro'kān e'dā 'nān 'nē*  
*na-kan-ay hawrokān edā nān nē*  
 NEG-do.NPST-2SG Hawrokan here bread NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

This came to her eyes; she said, “These are all the bread /that/ I have sitted;

Sarok do not sweep this bread; [why] do not take it?"; [she said] "Hawrokan, there is no bread here."

**HR:45**

*go'sī 'man porta'kāl wara'gā ã*  
 goš-ī man portakāl wār-ag-ā =ã  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG orange eat.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.1SG

*'to porta'kāl wa'ray go'sī 'sāro 'mā 'go*  
 to portakāl wār-ay goš-ī sāro mā go  
 PN.2SG orange eat.NPST-2SG say.NPST-3SG Sarok PN.1SG say.PST

*ko 'amma porta'kāl 'koj ã go'sī 'hã*  
 ko amma portakāl koj =ã goš-ī hã  
 where mother orange where =COP.NPST.3PL say.NPST-3SG ADD

*õ'dā 'ēr ã oš'kā 'dast o'tī da'pā*  
 õdā ēr =ã ošk-ā dast otī dap-ā  
 there PREV =COP.NPST.3PL dry-OBL hand REFL.GEN mouth-OBL

*'ko*  
 ko  
 do.PST

She said, "I am eating orange, would you like to eat orange?"; she said, "Sarok"; I said, "Mother, where is the orange"; she said, "Look, they are over there"; she put her empty hand in her mouth.

**HR:46**

*al'lāhā 'pēš dāš'ta oš'kā 'dēmī āt'kā*  
 allāh-ā pēš dāšt-a ošk-ā dēm=ī ātk-ā  
 God-OBL show hold.PST-PP dry-OBL face=PC.3SG come.PST-3PL

*'čārom 'pančomī 'rōčā šašo'mīgā haptomīgā hawro'kān*  
 čār-om panč-omī rōč-ā šaš-omī-gā hapt-omī-gā hawrokān  
 four-ORD five-ORD day-OBL six-ORD-OBL seven-ORD-OBL Hawrokan

*wapāt bī*  
 wapāt bī-Ø  
 death become.PST-3SG

God showed them to her; all came to her imagination (lit. in front of her); in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh days Hawrokan passed away.

A. Text Corpus

HR:47

'dā go'rā 'māhe 'kape 'gwast ka'hīr ma'rīz  
 dā goṛā māh-e kap=e gwast-Ø kahīr marīz  
 you know then month-GEN half=IND pass.PST-3SG Kahir sick

bī bad'baht ma'rīz bī pā'dānī 'dard  
 bī-Ø badbaht marīz bī-Ø pād-ānī dard  
 become.PST-3SG poor sick become.PST-3SG foot-GEN.PL pain

ko 'pāde 'gwāt bītā ya 'barē pē'sarā  
 ko pād=e gwāt bīt-ā ya bar=e pēsarā  
 do.PST foot=PC.3SG wind become.PST-3PL one time=IND first

ha'mā 'wādī hawro'kān 'hasta ka'hīr  
 ham=ā wād=ī hawrokān hast=a-Ø kahīr  
 EMPH=DIST time=PC.3SG Hawrokan be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG Kahir

'hančo bī'mār a 'bale 'ā bīmār'īyā 'kamo  
 hančo bīmār =a-Ø bale ā bīmār-ī-yā kam-o  
 like this sick =COP.PST-3SG but DIST sick-ADJZ-OBL little-EV

beh'ter bī 'barē beh'ter a  
 beh-ter bī-Ø bar=e beh-ter =a-Ø  
 good-CMP become.PST-3SG time=IND good-CMP =COP.PST-3SG

'barē nād'rā bo 'bo dok'torā  
 bar=e nādrā bo-Ø bo doktor-ā  
 time=IND sick became.PST-3SG take.PST doctor-OBL.PL

nobandī'yāne dok'torā čahba'hār dok'torā dā'xel ko  
 nobandīyān-e doktor-ā čahbahār-Ø doktor-ā dāxel ko  
 Nobandīyan-GEN doctor-OBL Chabahaar-GEN doctor-OBL inside do.PST

beh'ter 'nabī  
 beh-ter na-bī-Ø  
 good-CMP NEG-become.PST-3SG

You know, till it passed half of a month; Kahir got sick; the poor one got sick; he had pain in his feet (lit. his feet pained); his feet swelled, once, before, that time, [when] Hawrokan was alive; Kahir got sick like this; but he released a bit from that sickness; sometimes he was well, sometimes he was sick; they took him to the doctors, the doctor of Nobandīyan [and] the doctor of Chabahaar; confined [him in the hospital but] he did not get well.

**HR:48**

'nī 'pāde 'gwāt bītā pā'dānī 'dard ko  
 nī pād=e gwāt bīt-ā pād-ānī dard ko  
 then foot=PC.3SG wind become.PST-3PL foot-GEN.PL pain do.PST

'dā 'sōhbe 'sōhb bī ay'dūā na'par  
 dā sōhb=e sōhb bī-Ø aydū-ā napar  
 you know morning=IND morning become.PST-3SG Aydu-OBL person

'rāh dā 'beyā ke 'tarā ka'hīr  
 rāh dāt bey-ā-Ø ke ta-rā kahīr  
 path give.PST SBJV-come.NPST-2SG CLM PN.2SG-OBJ Kahir

lō'fī

lōt-ī

want.NPST-3SG

Then his feet swelled; his feet pained; till in a morning, in the morning, (lit. it was in the morning), Aydu sent a person; [he said] “Come since Kahir wants (lit. calls) [to see] you.”

**HR:49**

'man šotō ka'hīr 'nī ma'nīngī 'nahē ka'hīr  
 man šot-ō kahīr nī manīng-ī nahē kahīr  
 PN.1SG go.PST-1SG Kahir now mine-GEN NEG.COP.NPST.3SG Kahir

'nī xa'lās ē xa'tam ē mā  
 nī xalās =ē xatam =ē mā  
 now finish =COP.NPST.3SG finish =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG

'hamōdā 'neštō 'dā ka'hīra hā wa'pāt ko  
 ham=ōdā nešt-ō dā kahīr-a hā wapāt ko  
 EMPH=there sit.PST-1SG until Kahir-OBL ADD death do.PST

I went; you know Kahir was unable to care about me (lit. he is not mine); you know, Kahir, is in his last stage of life (lit. in his end); he is in his last stage of life (lit.in his end)... I sat there untill Kahir passed away.

**HR:50**

'nī 'hamē 'kawl ma'nīgā 'ē 'čok  
 nī ham=e kawl manīg-ā ē čok  
 well EMPH=PROX according mine-OBL PROX child



A. Text Corpus

<i>bīt-ag=ã</i>	<i>ra'gān...</i>	<i>ay'dū</i>
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	Ragan	Aydu

<i>bīta</i>	<i>sā'rok</i>	<i>bīta</i>
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	Sarok	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>xodāī</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>'čok</i>
Khodai	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1PL	three	child

<i>bīt-ag=ẽ</i>	<i>'bas</i>
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL	all

Well, you know, according to me, these children were (lit. have been), Ragam... it was (lit. has been) Aydu; it was (lit. has been) Sarok, it was (lit. has been) Khodai, we were (lit. have been) three children that's all.

**HR:51**

<i>'do</i>	<i>go'hār</i>	<i>bīt-ag=ẽ</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>'brātē</i>	<i>ay'dū</i>
two	sister	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL	one	brother=IND	Aydu

<i>xodāī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sā'rok</i>	<i>go'ṛā</i>	<i>hawro'kānī</i>	<i>'jend</i>	<i>wa'pāt</i>
Khodai	=and	Sarok	you know	Hawrokan-GEN	self	death

*bī*  
bī-Ø  
become.PST-3SG

We were (lit. have been) two sisters and one brother, Aydu, Khodai and Sarok; you know, Hawrokan, herself passed away.

**HR:52**

<i>'pan</i>	<i>da'kīka</i>	<i>dāš'tagī</i>	<i>'nadāštagī</i>
five	minute-OBL	hold.PST-PP=PC.3SG	NEG-hold.PST-PP=PC.3SG

'manī            'gapa  
man-ī            gap-a  
PN.1SG-GEN talk-OBL

It took (lit. has hold) five minutes [or] it did not (lit. has not hold) take my words.

## A.6. Text 6: The King's Daughter

### The King's Daughter bādšāhay jānek

*recounted by Rahim bakhsh Jadgal*

#### KD:1

'hasta                            'rōčē      rōze'gārē yak bād'sāhē bād'sāh  
hast=a-Ø                        rōč=ē      rōzegār=ē yak bādšāh=ē bādšāh  
be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG day=IND time=IND one king=IND king

al'lāh taā'lā 'wata            sarza'mīne bāde'sāhe a  
allāh taālā wat-a            sarzamīn=e bādešāh=e =a-Ø  
God great REFL-OBL world=EZ king=IND =COP.PST-3SG

Once upon time (lit. there was a day); there was a king; the great Allah himself was the king of the earth.

#### KD:2

'ē      bāde'sāhā 'hapt mar'dēnčok 'hasta                            ya  
ē      bādešāh-ā hapt mardēnčok hast=a-Ø                            ya  
PROX king-OBL seven son                            be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG one

ja'nēnčok atī  
janēnčok =at=ī  
daughter =COP.PST=PC.3SG

This king had (lit. there were seven sons for him) seven sons and one daughter.

#### KD:3

'ē      ja'nēnčok hã      āxe'rā      bītagatī                            o  
ē      janēnčok hã      āxer-ā      bīt-ag=at=ī                            =o  
PROX girl                    ADD last-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG =and

A. Text Corpus

'sak 'dōst atī o sak'kēn jāle'bēn  
 sak dōst =at=ī =o sakk-ēn jāleb-ēn  
 very friend =COP.PST=PC.3SG =and very-ATTR interesting-ATTR

'čokē at o ha'sīn o xūb'sūrat o  
 čok=ē =at-Ø =o hasīn =o xūbsūrat =o  
 child=IND =COP.PST-3SG =and interesting =and good looking =and

ba ehtera'mēn o ba ēzzatē 'čokē kasā'nē  
 ba ehteram-ēn =o ba ēzzat-ē čok=ē kasān=ē  
 with respectful-ATTR =and with respectful-ATTR child=IND small=IND

That girl had been [born] to him at the end and he loved her very much; she was an very interesting child; she was a goodlooking and respectful little child.

**KD:4**

'gorā ya 'rōčē 'brātān 'go ke 'manī 'pet  
 goṛā ya rōč=ē brāt-ān go ke man-ī pet  
 then one day=IND brother-OBL.PL say.PST CLM PN.1SG-GEN father

'goštī 'hā  
 gošt=ī hā  
 say.PST=PC.3SG yes

Then one day the brothers said /that/, “My father.”; he said; “Yes.”

**KD:5**

'mē gohā'rā 'čīyā 'to 'naroay  
 mē gohār-ā čī-yā to na-ro-ay  
 PN.1PL.GEN sister-OBL why-OBL PN.2SG NEG-go.NPST-2SG

'nawānēne masa'la 'eš ē ke  
 na-wān-ēn-e masala eš =ē ke  
 NEG-read.NPST-CAUS-GEN issue PROX =COP.NPST.3SG CLM

'bwānī 'yak tā'līmī 'yād begerī  
 b-wān-ī yak tālīm=ī yād be-ger-ī  
 SBJV-read.NPST-3SG one education=IND know SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

'ya 'gappē 'yād begerī masa'la 'eš  
 ya gapp=ē yād be-ger-ī masala eš  
 one talk=IND know SBJV-take.NPST-3SG issue PROX

*ě*                    *ke*    *ǰa'nēn ādam*    *yā 'dōčē*            *'yād*  
 =ě                    *ke*    *ǰanēn ādam*    *yā dōč=ē*            *yād*  
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM woman            or sewing=IND know

*begerī*                    *yā hã*    *tā'līm*            *'yād begerī*  
*be-ger-ī*                    *yā hã*    *tālīm*            *yād be-ger-ī*  
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG or ADD education know SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

[They said] “Why don’t you send our sister to study; the idea is that she should read, get (lit. learn) education, learn how to speak; the idea is that, a woman should either learn sewing or [get] education.”

**KD:6**

*'māt*    *o*    *'peta*            *'šan*                    *zarū'rat 'nahē*  
*māt*    =o    *pet-a*            *š-an*                    *zarūrat nahē*  
 mother =and father-OBL say.NPST-3PL need        NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

*masa'la 'ešī*            *ě*                                    *ke*    *e'sīe*            *'heč*  
*masala ešī*            =ě                                    *ke*    *ešīe*            *heč*  
 issue        PROX.DIR =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PROX.GEN anything

*'čīze*            *mā'rā*            *zarū'rat 'nahē*                    *'ē*  
*čīz=e*            *mā-rā*            *zarūrat nahē*                    *ē*  
 thing=IND PN.1PL-OBJ need        NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PROX

*ha'mē*            *mā'rā*            *ne'yāz hastē*                                    *ke*  
*ham=ē*            *mā-rā*            *neyāz hast=ē*                                    *ke*  
 EMPH=PROX PN.1PL-OBJ need    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG CLM

*'hamē*            *'me*            *lō'ge*            *tō'kā 'betarrī*                    *'dega*  
*ham=ē*            *me*            *lōg-e*            *tōkā be-tarr-ī*                    *dega*  
 EMPH=PROX PN.1PL.GEN house-GEN in        SBJV-turn.NPST-3SG other

*'mē*                    *xāhe'sāt pū'ra ě*  
*mē*                    *xāhešāt pūra =ě*  
 PN.1PL.GEN wish        filled =COP.NPST.3SG

The father and the mother said, “There is no need, you know, we don’t need (lit. there is no need for us) [her to do]anything else; we just need her to be present (lit. to walk) in our house, in this way our desires are fulfilled.”

A. Text Corpus

**KD:7**

*brā'tā* 'go 'na bāy'ad 'eša  
brāt-ā go na bāyad eš-a  
brother-OBL.PL say.PST no must PROX-OBL

*wānē'nagā* 'beday  
wān-ēn-ag-ā be-day-Ø  
read.NPST-CAUS-INF-OBL SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

The brothers said, “No you should send her to study.”

**KD:8**

*go'rā* 'xayr 'pet maj'būr bī pe'tā 'yak  
goṛā xayr pet majbūr bī-Ø pet-ā yak  
then well father forced become.PST-3SG father-OBL one

*mol'lāē* 'dar gētk mol'lāya tā'leb 'hastat  
mollā=ē dar gētk mollā-ya tāleb hast=at  
Mullah=IND PREV find.PST Mullah-OBL student be.NPST=COP.PST

*'goštī* ke mol'lā ma'nī čo'kā  
gošt=ī ke mollā man-ī čok-ā  
say.PST=PC.3SG CLM Mullah PN.1SG-GEN child-OBL

*'bwānē* 'bale bean'dāza ča 'watī čam'mān ča  
b-wānē-Ø bale beandāza ča wat-ī čamm-ān ča  
IMPV-read.NPST-2SG but endless from REFL-GEN eye-OBL.PL from

*gēš'ter* ešī'a negādā'rī 'bekā  
gēš-ter ešīa negādārī be-kā-Ø  
much-CMP PROX.OBL care IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

Well, you know, the father had to; the father found a Mullah; the Mullah had students (li. There were the students for the Mullah); [The king] said /that/, “Mullah, teach my child; but you should take very good care of her (lit. more than your eyes).”

**KD:9**

*mol'lā* 'go 'šarr en 'šarr en 'wāja  
mollā go šarr =en šarr =en wāja  
Mullah say.PST fine =COP.NPST.3SG fine =COP.NPST.3SG sir

The Mullah said, “Alright, alright, majesty.”

**KD:10**

*bāde'šāhe 'čok moll'āe gwa'rā 'āt lag'ge*  
*bādešāh-e čok mollā-e gwarā āt-Ø lagge-Ø*  
 king-GEN child Mullah-GEN to come.PST-3SG start.PST-3SG

*wāna'gā*  
*wān-ag-ā*  
 read.NPST-INF-OBL

The king's daughter (lit. child) came to the Mullah [and] started studying.

**KD:11**

*mol'lāe gwa'rā 'ātk o lag'ge*  
*mollā-e gwarā ātk-Ø =o lagge-Ø*  
 Mullah-GEN to come.PST-3SG =and start.PST-3SG

*wāna'gā moll'lāyā 'ē bāde'šāhe je'nek 'dīt*  
*wān-ag-ā mollā-yā ē bādešāh-e jenek dīt*  
 read.NPST-INF-OBL Mullah-OBL PROX king-GEN girl see.PST

*'ēšī ran'ge 'dīt o hos'nī 'dīt o*  
*ēšī rang=e dīt =o hosn=ī dīt =o*  
 PROX.GEN kind=PC.3SG see.PST =and beauty=PC.3SG see.PST =and

*ĵamā'le 'dī mol'lāe de'lā 'ya ka'mokē*  
*ĵamāl=e dī mollā-e del-ā ya kam-ok=ē*  
 attractiveness=PC.3SG see.PST Mullah-GEN heart-OBL one little-EV=IND

*xarā'bī pē'dā bī*  
*xarāb-ī pēdā bī-Ø*  
 wrong-ADJZ visible become.PST-3SG

She came to the Mullah and started studying; when the Mullah saw the king's daughter, he saw her face, her beauty, her attractiveness, the Mullah started to think of her in a wrong way.

**KD:12**

*'do 'rō 'say rō'čā ke 'wāntī čār'omī*  
*do rō say rōč-ā ke wān-t=ī čār-omī*  
 two day three day-OBL CLM read.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG four-ORD

A. Text Corpus

'rōče bārī'gā 'čok 'drō 'dars dātā o jane'lokā  
 rōč-e bārīg-ā čok drō dars dāt-ā =o jane-lok-ā  
 day-GEN turn-OBL child all lesson give.PST-3PL =and girl-EV-OBL

'go ke 'wāja ma'nā 'dars day mol'lā  
 go ke wāja man-ā dars Ø-day-Ø mollā  
 say.PST CLM sir PN.1SG-OBJ lesson IMPV-give.NPST-2SG Mullah

'goštī 'to 'ya 'barē 'sabr kā  
 gošt-ī to ya bar=e sabr Ø-kā-Ø  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG one time=IND patience IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

She studied for two or three days; on the forth day, he taught all the children, and the girl said, [that] “Sir, teach me”; the Mullah said, “Wait a little.”

**KD:13**

'ē 'drōstē 'dars dātant o ta'tīle  
 ē drost-ē dars dāt-ant =o tātil=e  
 PROX all-ATTR lesson give.PST-3PL =and dismissal=PC.3SG

dātant o 'rāhe dātant no'bat je'neke  
 dāt-ant =o rāh=e dāt-ant nobat jenek-e  
 give.PST-3PL =and way=PC.3SG give.PST-3PL turn girl-GEN

'ātk ke 'dars day'age tē'mā mol'lāyā  
 ātk-Ø ke dars day-ag-e tēm-ā mollā-yā  
 come.PST-3SG CLM lesson give.NPST-INF-GEN time-OBL Mullah-OBL

'dast ja 'dastā  
 dast ja dast-ā  
 hand touch.PST hand-OBL

He taught all the children; dismissed them, and sent them [home]; it was the girl's turn; during his teaching, the Mullah touched her hand.

**KD:14**

e'sīā 'dast mol'lāe čan'det o may'dānī  
 ešī-ā dast mollā-e čandet =o maydān-ī  
 PROX.DIR-OBL hand Mullah-GEN remove.PST =and step=PC.3SG

zortant o je'gre mol'lāyā 'dastī 'nadāt  
 zort-ant =o jegre mollā-yā dast-ī na-dāt  
 buy.PST-3PL =and flee.PST Mullah-OBL hand=PC.3SG NEG-give.PST

o    *je'nek je...*    *'dar*    *ātk*                    *lō'gā*        *ba'le lō'gā*  
 =o    *jenek je*        *dar*        *ātk-Ø*                    *lōg-ā*        *bale lōg-ā*  
 =and girl    FRAG PREV come.PST-3SG house-OBL but house-OBL

*'watī*        *mā'te*        *gō̄*    *pe'te*        *gō̄*    *brā'tānī*        *gwa'rā*  
 wat-ī        māt-e        gō̄    pet-e        gō̄    brāt-ānī        gwarā  
 REFL-GEN mother-GEN with father-GEN with brother-GEN.PL to

*'kase*        *gwa'rā*    *'nāme*        *'nage*  
 kas-e        gwarā    nām=e        na-ge  
 person-GEN to        name=PC.3SG NEG-take.PST

She removed the Mullah's hand and escaped and ran away; she did not allow the Mullah to touch her (lit. give hand to the Mullah), and the girl ran... came home; but at home she did not tell anyone, not her father, not her mother and not her brothers.

**KD:15**

*'xayr*    *'ā*        *'rōč*    *'gwast*        *ja'nek*    *'našo*        *wāna'gā*  
 xayr    ā        rōč    gwast-Ø        janek    na-šo        wān-ag-ā  
 well    DIST day    pass.PST-3SG girl    NEG-go.PST read.NPST-INF-OBL

*'ēdga*        *'rōč*    *ja'nek*    *'našo*                    *wāna'gā*        *pa'dā*  
 ē-dga        rōč    janek    na-šo-Ø                    wān-ag-ā        padā  
 PROX-other day    girl    NEG-go.PST-3SG read.NPST-INF-OBL again

*'petā*        *'go*        *'mnī*        *'čo*    *'to*        *'čīyā*  
 pet-ā        go        mnī        čo    to        čī-yā  
 father-OBL say.PST PN.1SG.GEN child PN.2SG why-OBL

*wāna'gā*                    *'naraway*  
 wān-ag-ā                    na-raw-ay  
 read.NPST-INF-OBL NEG-go.NPST-2SG

You know, that day passed, the girl did not go studying; the next day, she did not go studying, then her father said, "My daughter (lit. child), why you do not go studying?"

**KD:16**

*go'sī*        *'man*        *bī'mār*    *bītagā̃*                    *'taw*  
 goš-ī        man        bīmār    bīt-ag=ā̃                    taw  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG sick    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG PN.2SG



A. Text Corpus

*zā'nay*                      *čo'ke*                      *da'līl*                      *'yak* *da'līrē*                      *'ē*                      *'dēm* *'ā*  
*zān-ay*                      *čok-e*                      *dalīl*                      *yak* *dalīr=ē*                      *ē*                      *dēm* *ā*  
 know.NPST-2SG    child-GEN    pretext    one    pretext=IND    PROX    face    DIST

*'dēm* *'kotī*                      *say'mī*                      *čār'mī*                      *rō'čā*                      *pa'dā* *'petā*  
*dēm* *kot=ī*                      *say-mī*                      *čār-mī*                      *rōč-ā*                      *padā* *pet-ā*  
 face    do.PST=PC.3SG    three-ORD    four-ORD    day-OBL    again    father-OBL

*'gept*                      *o*                      *'rā*                      *'dā*                      *dabestā'nā*                      *pa'dā*  
*gept*                      =o                      *rā*                      *dā*                      *dabestān-ā*                      *padā*  
 take.PST    =and    way    give.PST    primary school-OBL    again

*wānēna'gā*                      *mol'lāe*                      *gwa'rā*  
*wān-ēn-ag-ā*                      *mollā-e*                      *gwarā*  
 read.NPST-CAUS-PP-OBL    Mullah-GEN    with

She said, “I have been sick.”; you know, the child’s pretext, she made an excuse of some kind (lit. from this side and that side); on the third day, again the father sent (lit. took and sent) her to the school, to study with the Mullah.

**KD:17**

*mol'lāyā*                      *pa'dā* *'ya* *'rōčē*                      *'do* *'rōčē*                      *wā'nēnt*  
*mollā-yā*                      *padā* *ya* *rōč=ē*                      *do* *rōč=ē*                      *wān-ēn-t*  
 Mullah-OBL    again    one    day=IND    two    day=IND    read.NPST-CAUS-3SG

*'dā* *ke* *say'mī*                      *rō'čā*                      *pa'dā* *ād'garī*                      *'dars* *dātant*  
*dā* *ke* *say-mī*                      *rōč-ā*                      *padā* *ādgar=ī*                      *dars* *dāt-ant*  
 until    CLM    three-ORD    day-OBL    again    other=PC.3SG    lesson    give.PST-3PL

*o*                      *'ēšī*                      *'dars* *'nadāt*                      *'gošt*                      *'tī*                      *dar'se*  
 =o                      *ēšī*                      *dars* *na-dāt*                      *gošt*                      *tī*                      *dars-e*  
 =and    PROX.GEN    lesson    NEG-give.PST    say.PST    PN.2SG.GEN    lesson-GEN

*'tēm* *'hastē*  
*tēm* *hast=ē*  
 time    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

So the Mullah taught her for one or two days; until on the third day, again he taught the others but he did not teach her; he said, “There is still time for your lesson.”

**KD:18**

'ā čok'ān ke ta'tīl ko 'ēšīe 'dars  
 ā čok-ān ke tātil ko ēšīe dars  
 DIST child-OBL.PL CLM dismissal do.PST PROX.GEN lesson

da'yage bā'rīgā ke mol'lā 'ēšī sa'rā 'hamle  
 day-ag-e bārīg-ā ke mollā ēšī sarā hamle  
 give.NPST-INF-GEN turn-OBL CLM Mullah PROX.GEN on attack

ko je'nek 'jerge je'neke kaw'se 'tāī 'kapt  
 ko jenek jerge jenek-e kawš-e tā=ī kapt  
 do.PST girl escape.PST girl-GEN shoes-GEN match=PC.3SG fall.PST

When he dismissed the [other] children; when her turn to be taught came, the Mullah attacked her, the girl ran away; one of the girl's shoes fell [off].

**KD:19**

čam'palī 'tāe je'neke 'kapt  
 čampal-ī tā=e jenek-e kapt  
 sandle-GEN match=PC.3SG girl-GEN fall.PST

One of the girl's sandals fell [off].

**KD:20**

ja'nekā 'otī na'pas ārt pa lō'gā ra'sēnt  
 janek-ā otī napas ārt pa lōg-ā rasēnt-Ø  
 girl-OBL REFL.GEN breath bring.PST for house-OBL take.PST.CAUS-3SG

The girl arrived home half dead (lit. brought her breath home).

**KD:21**

mol'lāyā čā'ret ke 'ē ja'neke 'kawš te'lāh  
 mollā-yā čāret ke ē jenek-e kawš telāh  
 Mullah-OBL look.PST CLM PROX girl-GEN shoes gold

ā 'yak 'kawšē 'pād enī 'yakē  
 =ā yak kawš=ē pād =en=ī yak=ē  
 =COP.NPST.3PL one shoes=IND foot =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG one=IND

ēr enī 'ē je'nek aga 'boraw  
 ēr =en=ī ē jenek aga bo-raw-Ø  
 PREV =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG PROX girl if SBJV-go.NPST-2SG

A. Text Corpus

'pete gwa'rā 'watī 'nām 'begerī 'pet  
 pet-e gwarā wat-ī nām be-ger-ī pet  
 father-GEN to REFL-GEN name SBJV-take.NPST-3SG father

'manī gar'dena ka'lam kã  
 man-ī garden-a kalam kã-Ø  
 PN.1SG-GEN neck-OBL cut do.NPST-3SG

The Mullah saw /that/, the girl's shoes is [made of] gold; one shoe is on her foot; the other one is left [here]; if she goes [and] tells her father, the father will cut off my neck.

**KD:22**

'gorā mol'lāyā pēsa'rā 'hamē 'kawš 'zort o  
 goṛā mollā-yā pēsarā ham=ē kawš zort =o  
 you know Mullah-OBL earlier EMPH=PROX shoes take.PST =and

'ārtī mol'lā ra'sēntī pa bād'sāhā  
 ārt=ī mollā rasēnt=ī pa bād'sāh-ā  
 bring.PST=PC.3SG Mullah take.PST.CAUS=PC.3SG for king-OBL

'goštī 'bādšā sāheb 'ē 'tī 'čoke har'kat  
 gošt=ī bādšā sāheb ē tī čok=e harkat  
 say.PST=PC.3SG king sir PROX PN.2SG.GEN child=PC.3SG deed

ā ke 'to 'rā dāta 'manī gwa'rā  
 =ā ke to rā dāt-a man-ī gwarā  
 =COP.NPST.3PL CLM PN.2SG way give.PST-PP PN.1SG-GEN to

wā'nagā 'taī 'čok 'ē 'rang 'ē ran'gēn  
 wān-ag-ā ta-ī čok ē rang ē rang-ēn  
 read.NPST-INF-OBL PN.2SG-GEN child PROX kind PROX kind-ATTR

'čokē bīta 'mā  
 čok=ē bīt-a=Ø mā  
 child=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG

kapt'agānī pa sa'rā 'tī ja'nekā  
 kapt-ag=ān=ī pa sarā tī janek-ā  
 fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG=PC.3SG for on PN.2SG.GEN girl-OBL

'manā            'dast 'nadāta            'dāragā  
 man-ā            dast na-dāt-a            dārag-ā  
 PN.1SG-OBJ hand NEG-give.PST-PP again-OBL

šo'ta                                            de'ge    jā'gahē    'ē    čam'pal  
 šot-a=Ø                                            dege    jāgah=e    ē    čampal  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG another place=IND PROX sandle

ē                                            ke    'tī                                            'čoke                                            'čobī  
 =ē                                            ke    tī                                            čok=e                                            čobī  
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.2SG.GEN child=PC.3SG you know

mošake'sāt    mālū'sāt            'ē    čam'pal    ē                                            'taw  
 mošakesāt    mālūsāt            ē    čampal    =ē                                            taw  
 identification identification PROX sandle =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG

o            zā'nay                                            'tī                                            'čok    'zānt                                            'manī  
 =o            zān-ay                                            tī                                            čok    zān-t                                            man-ī  
 =FOC know.NPST-2SG PN.2SG.GEN child know.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN

gwa'rā    'rāī                                            'maday                                            wā'nagā  
 gwarā    rā=ī                                            ma-day-Ø                                            wān-ag-ā  
 to            path=PC.3SG PROH-give.NPST-2SG read.NPST-INF-OBL

You know, in advance the Mullah took (lit. took and brought) that shoe and gave it to the king; he said, “Your majesty, these are your daughter’s deeds who, you have sent her to me to study; your daughter has become such and such a person; I have followed her; but your daughter has not listened to me; again she has gone to another place; here is her sandle, your daughter’s (lit. child), you know, identification, is this shoe; you and your daughter are responsible (lit. know); do not send her to me for studying.”

**KD:23**

bad'šāhā    gō    'otī                                            čo'kã                                            'go    ke    'čokã  
 badšāh-ā    gō    otī                                            čok-ã                                            go    ke    čok-ã  
 king-OBL with REFL.GEN child-OBL.PL say.PST CLM child-OBL.PL

'goštī                                            'hā    'goštī                                            'ēšīa                                            'bebare  
 gošt=ī                                            hā    gošt=ī                                            ēšīa                                            be-bar-e  
 say.PST=PC.3SG yes say.PST=PC.3SG PROX.OBL IMPV-carry.NPST-2PL

A. Text Corpus

'ē ja'nekā 'bebare 'bekošetī o  
 ē janek-ā be-bar-e be-koš-ēt=ī =o  
 PROX girl-OBL IMPV-carry.NPST-2PL SBJV-kill.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG =and

'ēšīe čam'mā̃ o hō'nā̃ 'byāre  
 ēšīe čamm-ā̃ =o hōn-ā̃ by-ār-e  
 PROX.GEN eye-OBL.PL =and blood-OBL.PL IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

'manā 'dayete 'manā wa'rā  
 man-ā Ø-day-ēt=e man-ā wār-ā  
 PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ eat.NPST-1SG

'ēšīā 'ērangē̃ har'katī kota  
 ēšīā ē-rang-ē̃ harkat=ī kot-a  
 PROX.OBL PROX-kind-ATTR deed=PC.3SG do.PST-PP

The king told his children /that/, “(Hey) children!”; one of them (lit. he) said, “What do you want (lit. yes)”; he said, “Take her; take this girl; kill [her] and bring her eyes and her blood [and] give me to eat [since] she has done such a deed (lit. movement).”

**KD:24**

brā'tā̃ 'zo go'hār 'ārt 'ārt jan'gale tō'kā  
 brāt-ā̃ zo gohār ārt ārt jaṅgal-e tōkā  
 brother-OBL.PL buy.PST sister bring.PST bring.PST forest-GEN in

The brothers brought the sister (lit. took and brought); they brought [her] into the forest.

**KD:25**

kō'nerē 'yak 'dračkē 'hasta 'hamē  
 kōner=ē yak dračk=ē hast=a-Ø ham=ē  
 Jujube=IND one tree=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX

'dračke čē'ra nen'dēnte  
 dračk-e čēra nend-ēn-t=e  
 tree-GEN under place.NPST-CAUS-3SG=PC.3SG

There was a Jujube-tree; there was a tree; they made her sit under this tree.

**KD:26**

'brāt 'wat šo'tā jęgre'tā  
 brāt wat šot-ā jęgret-ā  
 brother REFL go.PST-3PL escape.PST-3PL

They, themselves, went; they ran away.

**KD:27**

'gošte 'wat 'bemerī hame'dā  
 gošt=e wat be-mer-ī ham=edā  
 say.PST=PC.3SG REFL SBJV-die.NPST-3SG EMPH=here

'bemerī 'mārā 'šāt 'nabī  
 be-mer-ī mā-rā šāt na-b-ī  
 SBJV-die.NPST-3SG PN.1PL-OBJ happy NEG-become.NPST-3SG

'otī 'gwār ke 'mā 'āīā 'bekošē  
 otī gwār ke mā āī-ā be-koš-ē  
 REFL.GEN sister CLM PN.1PL DIST.DIR-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL

čōke 'āī har'kate lay'āze wāst'a 'āī  
 čōke āī harkat-e layāz-e wāsta āī  
 because DIST.GEN deed-GEN sake-GEN for the sake of DIST.GEN

se'zā ham'eš ě ke 'mā ya'law  
 sezā ham=eš =ě ke mā yalaw  
 punishment EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.1PL loose

'bedē 'berē  
 be-d-ě be-r-ě  
 SBJV-give.NPST-1PL SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

One of them (lit. he) said, “[Let] her die herself there (lit. here); die; we do not wish to kill our sister because of her deed; her punishment is that we leave her [and] go.”

**KD:28**

go'hār bečā'rag ham'edā ya'law dayag bī  
 gohār bečārag ham=edā yalaw day-ag b-ī  
 sister poor EMPH=here loose give.NPST-INF become.NPST-3SG

The poor sister was left there (lit. here).

A. Text Corpus

**KD:29**

'brāt 'har yakē šo'tā 'otī mē'taga  
brāt har yak=ē šot-ā otī mētag-a  
brother each one=PC.3SG go.PST-3PL REFL.GEN village-OBL

tar'rā bītā 'šot 'yak 'āskē  
tarr-ā bīt-ā šot-Ø yak āsk=ē  
turn.NPST-OBL.PL become.PST-3PL go.PST-3SG one deer=IND

'gepte 'āskē 'košt 'gōštē 'pakk 'wärt  
gept=e āsk=ē košt gōšt=ē pakk wärt  
take.PST=PC.3PL deer=PC.3PL kill.PST meat=PC.3SG cook.PST eat.PST

o 'čamm o 'hōne 'petā 'dātā  
=o čamm =o hōn=e pet-ā dāt-ā  
=and eye =and blood=PC.3PL father-OBL give.PST-3PL

The brothers, each of them, returned to their village; they went away; one of them (lit. he) went [and] caught a deer; he killed the deer; cooked and ate its meat and gave its eyes and blood to the father.

**KD:30**

'petā 'hamē 'čamm o 'hōn wār'tant o  
pet-ā ham=ē čamm =o hōn wärt-ant =o  
father-OBL EMPH=PROX eye =and blood eat.PST-3PL =and

'nešt  
nešt-Ø  
sit.PST-3SG

The father ate these eyes and [drank] the blood and sat.

**KD:31**

'paš 'kapt 'je'nek kes'sa 'nī 'jene'kaygen  
paš kapt jenek kessa nī jenek-ay=gen  
behind fall.PST girl story now daughter-GEN=COP.NPST.3SG

The girl was left; now it is the girl's story.

**KD:32**

je'nek bečā'ra 'dāke na'pasī hastatī 'dāke  
jenek bečāra dāke napas=ī hast=at=ī dāke  
girl poor until breath=PC.3SG be.NPST=COP.PST=PC.3SG until

*kō'nerē hasta 'dāke kō'nerē*  
 kōner=ē hast=a-Ø dāke kōner=ē  
 Jujube=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG until Jujube=IND

*hasta 'dāke 'dāzē hastat*  
 hast=a-Ø dāke dāz=ē hast=at  
 be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG until dwarf-palm tree=IND be.NPST=COP.PST

*'ē bīčā'rag 'čet o wār'tant 'otī zen'degī 'ko*  
 ē bīčārag čet =o wārt-ant otī zendegī ko  
 PROX poor pick.PST =and eat.PST-3PL REFL.GEN life do.PST

The poor girl as much as she had strength; as long as there was Jujube-fruit; as long as there was Jujube-fruit; as long as there was a dwarf-palm tree [with dates]; the poor girl picked them up and ate and lived [there].

**KD:33**

*ā'ker 'ē ja'neke 'god hā der'tā*  
 āker ē janek-e god hā dert-ā  
 at last PROX girl-GEN cloth ADD tear.PST-3PL

At last, the girl's clothes were all torn.

**KD:34**

*je'neke 'god ke der'tā 'nī je'nekā 'čāre 'dega*  
 jenek-e god ke dert-ā nī jenek-ā čāre dega  
 girl-GEN cloth CLM tear.PST-3PL now girl-OBL look.PST other

*'heč 'rāhe 'nē jenek nī ha'mē*  
 heč rāh=e nē jenek nī ham=ē  
 anything path=IND NEG.COP.NPST.3SG girl now EMPH=PROX

*ās'kānī... 'ā zamā'naga 'āsk o ā'hū 'bāz*  
 āsk-ānī ā zamānag-a āsk =o āhū bāz  
 deer-GEN.PL DIST time-OBL deer =and deer many

*bīta wa'kšī ha'mē ās'kānī*  
 bīt-a=Ø wakš-ī ham=ē āsk-ānī  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG wild-ADJZ EMPH=PROX deer-GEN.PL



A. Text Corpus

*o āhū'gānī tō'kā je'nek ta'rag ě*  
 =o āhūg-ānī tōkā ĵenek tarr-ag =ě  
 =and deer-GEN.PL in girl walk.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG

When the girl's clothes were all torn, now the girl thought (lit. saw), there was nothing to do (lit. no way) now the girl these deer...you know, that time there were so many wild deer; the girl was spending her life (lit. walking around) with these deer.

**KD:35**

*ās'kānī gwa'rā 'āp wa'rag ě ās'kānī*  
 āsk-ānī gwarā āp war-ag =ě āsk-ānī  
 deer-GEN.PL to water eat.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG deer-GEN.PL

*gwa'rā ta'rag ě ās'kānī hōn'dānī*  
 gwarā tarr-ag =ě āsk-ānī hōnḍ-ānī  
 to walk.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG deer-GEN.PL hole-GEN.PL

*da'pā 'kay wap'sī 'akl o*  
 dap-ā k-ay-Ø waps-ī akl =o  
 mouth-OBL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG sleep.NPST-3SG intellect =FOC

*ensā'nīgen bal... 'čōn ke le'bāsē 'per*  
 ensān-ī=gen bal čon ke lebās=e per  
 human-NMLZ=COP.NPST.3SG but because cloth=IND PREV

*'nē mes'le hay'wāne 'ḍawl ě*  
 nē mesle haywān-e ḍawl =ě  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG like animal-GEN manner =COP.NPST.3SG

The girl was drinking water with the deer; she was walking around with the deer; she came and slept in front of the deers' dens (lit. holes); her intellect was of a human, but... because she did not have any clothes; you know, she was like an animal.

**KD:36**

*'do 'māh 'say 'māh 'šaš 'māh....*  
 do māh say māh šaš māh  
 two month three month six month

Two, three, six months....

**KD:37**

'gorā 'ē 'gō̄ 'mē ās'kānī o āhū'gānī tō'kā  
 goṛā ē gō̄ mē āsk-ānī =o āhūg-ānī tōkā  
 then PROX with PN.1PL.GEN deer-GEN.PL =and deer-GEN.PL in

tar'rag ē 'āp wa'rag ē  
 tarr-ag =ē āp war-ag =ē  
 turn.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG water eat.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG

Then, she was living (lit. walking about) among the deer; she was drinking water.

**KD:38**

'do 'māh 'say 'māh 'šaš 'māh 'sāle ko'drat allā'he 'yak  
 do māh say māh šaš māh sāl=e kodrat allāh-e yak  
 two month three month six month year=IND power God-GEN one

bād'sāhē 'bīyā bīyā ha'mē  
 bādšāh=e bīy-ā-Ø bīy-ā-Ø ham=e  
 king=IND SBJV-come.NPST-3SG SBJV-come.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX

jan'gale tō'kā 'bedār  
 jaṅgal-e tōkā be-dār-Ø  
 forest-GEN in SBJV-hold.NPST-3SG

[After] two months, three months, six months, one year, by power of God, a king came; he came [and] stopped in that forest.

**KD:39**

pa šekā'rīyā pa 'yak garde'sīyā  
 pa šekār=i-yā pa yak gardeš=i-yā  
 for hunt=IND-OBL for one pleasure time=IND-OBL

ātka'gatan 'dāke bād'sāh 'ya jā'gahē  
 ātk-ag=at-an dāke bādšāh ya jāgah=e  
 come.PST-PP=COP.PST-3PL then king one place=IND

neš'taga 'āpīe sa'rā ke lō'ṭī  
 nešt-ag=a-Ø āp=i-e sarā ke lōṭ-i  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG water=IND-GEN on CLM want.NPST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

'lāhte wak'sī 'beĵant o ā'hūg  
 lāht=e wakš-ī be-ĵan-t =o āhūg  
 some=IND wild-ADJZ SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG =and deer

'beĵā 'dā dī'tī ke ās'kānī tō'kā 'yak  
 be-ĵā-Ø dā dīt=ī ke āsk-ānī tōkā yak  
 SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG until see.PST=PC.3SG CLM deer-GEN.PL in one

a'jīb o garī'bēn' čīzzē  
 aĵīb =o garīb-ēn čīzz=e  
 strang =and strang-ATTR thing=IND

The king and his men (lit. they) had come for hunting; for [spending] pleasure time; you know, the king was sitting in a certain place; at the waterside, since he wanted to hunt some wild animals and some deer, when he saw /that/, there was a strang thing among the deer.

**KD:40**

'āskē ke 'āskē 'nē 'morgē ke 'morgē  
 āsk=e ke āsk=e nē morg=e ke morg=e  
 deer=IND CLM deer=IND NEG.COP.NPST.3SG bird=IND CLM bird=IND

'nē en'sānē ke en'sānē 'nē  
 nē ensān=e ke ensān=e nē  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG human=IND CLM human=IND NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

'čōke le'bāse gwa'rā 'nē  
 čōke lebās=e gwarā nē  
 because cloth=IND to NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

A deer that is not a deer; a bird that is not a bird; a human that is not a human, because she was not dressed.

**KD:41**

e'sīa 'hančo ham'le ko ād'gar 'čōke 'ā 'āsk  
 ešī-a hančo hamle ko ādgar čōke ā āsk  
 PROX.DIR-OBL like this attack do.PST other you know DIST deer

ĵegre'tant o šo'tant 'ē 'nī ĵeg'reg  
 ĵĕgret-ant =o šot-ant ē nī ĵĕgr-eg  
 escape.PST-3PL =and go.PST-3PL PROX now escape.NPST-INF

*kota* 'nakā ke ha'nāga je'nekā 'otārā  
 kot-a na-kā-Ø ke hanāga jenek-ā ot-ārā  
 do.PST-PP NEG-do.NPST-3SG CLM suddenly girl-OBL REFL-OBJ

'dawr dāt o 'goštī 'yak 'čāderē 'dawr  
 dawr dāt =o gošt=ī yak čāder=ē dawr  
 throwing give.PST =and say.PST=PC.3SG one chador=IND throwing

*day*

Ø-day-Ø

IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

When the king (lit. he) attacked, you know, the others, the deer ran away and went [off]; she was not able to flee; suddenly the girl threw herself, and said, “Throw a chador [to me].”

**KD:42**

*bād'sāhā čā'derē 'dawr 'dā*  
 bādšāh-ā čāder=ē dawr dā  
 king-OBL chador=IND throwing give.PST

The king threw a chador.

**KD:43**

'čōnēne ay 'goštī 'man en'sānē  
 čōn-ēn=e =ay gošt=ī man ensān=ē  
 what-ATTR=IND =COP.NPST.2SG say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG human=IND

*ā*

=ā

=COP.NPST.1SG

[He said], “What kind [of a creature] are you?”; she said, “I am a human.”

**KD:44**

'to en'sāne ay 'ē jā'gāh ay  
 to ensān=e =ay ē jāgah =ay  
 PN.2SG human=IND =COP.NPST.2SG PROX place =COP.NPST.2SG

go'sī 'haw 'manā majbū'riyā gep'ta 'to  
 goš-ī haw man-ā majbūrī-yā gept-a to  
 say.NPST-3SG yes PN.1SG-OBJ trouble-OBL take.PST-PP PN.2SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>'kay</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>'čok</i>
k-ay-Ø	=ay	k-ay-Ø	čok
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	=COP.NPST.2SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	child

<i>ay</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'čokī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'petī</i>	<i>'kārā</i>	<i>'kār</i>
=ay	gō	čok-ī	=o	pet-ī	kār-ā	kār
=COP.NPST.2SG	with	child-GEN	=and	father-GEN	work-OBL	work

*'madār*  
ma-dār-Ø  
PROH-hold.NPST-3SG

[He said], “Are you a human in this place?”; she said, “Yes, [but] I am in trouble.”; [he said], “Who are you?; Whose daughter are you?”; [she said], “Do not ask me whose child I am.”

**KD:45**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>go'rā</i>	<i>'čōke</i>	<i>'taw</i>	<i>ēn'sānē</i>	<i>ay</i>
goš-ī	gorā	čōke	taw	ēnsān=ē	=ay
say.NPST-3SG	then	because	PN.2SG	human=IND	=COP.NPST.2SG

<i>'mā</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>ēn'sānē</i>	<i>yã</i>	<i>'bīyā</i>
mā	hã	ēnsān=ē	=yã	bīy-ā-Ø
PN.1SG	ADD	human=IND	=COP.NPST.1SG	SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

<i>'trā</i>	<i>'gō</i>	<i>'otī</i>	<i>hamrā'hīyā</i>	<i>ba'rā</i>	<i>gō</i>
trā	gō	otī	hamrāhī-yā	bar-ã	gō
PN.2SG.OBJ	with	REFL.GEN	companionship-OBL	take.NPST-1SG	with

He said, “You know, because, you are a human, and me too; come; I will take you with myself.”

**KD:46**

<i>'ē</i>	<i>'jotke</i>	<i>le'bāsē</i>	<i>'ārt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ja'neke</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>
ē	jotk=e	lebās=ē	ārt	=o	janek-e	gwarā
PROX	set=EZ	cloth=IND	bring.PST	=and	girl-GEN	on

<i>dā'tantī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ja'nekī</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'otārā</i>
dāt-ant=ī	=o	janek=ī	zort	gō	ot-ārā
give.PST-3PL=PC.3SG	=and	girl=PC.3SG	take.PST	with	REFL-OBJ

'ārtī                      'otī                      mē'tagā                      o                      ja'neke                      ne'kā  
 ārt=ī                      otī                      mētag-ā                      =o                      janek-e                      nekā  
 bring.PST=PC.3SG REFL.GEN village-OBL =and girl-GEN betrothal

ko  
 ko  
 do.PST

He brought a set of cloth; made the girl put them on, and took the girl with himself to his village, and he got married to the girl.

**KD:47**  
 je'nekī                      'sīr                      ko  
 jenek=ī                      sīr                      ko  
 girl=PC.3SG wedding do.PST

He married the girl.

**KD:48**  
 je'nek 'otī                      'lōgī                      ko  
 jenek otī                      lōg=ī                      ko  
 girl REFL.GEN house=PC.3SG do.PST

He made the girl his wife (lit. he put the girl at his house).

**KD:49**  
 'māhē                      'do 'māh 'sālē                      je'nek čel'lag bīt  
 māh=ē                      do māh sāl=ē                      jenek čellag bīt-Ø  
 month=IND two month year=IND girl delivery become.PST-3SG

o                      je'nekā                      'ārt                      'ya mar'den'čokē  
 =o                      jenek-ā                      ārt                      ya mardenčok=ē  
 =and girl-OBL bring.PST one son=IND

A month, two months, one year [passed]; the girl delivered and she gave birth to a son.

**KD:50**  
 'ēdga                      sālā                      'padā je'nēn                      čel'lag                      bīt                      de'ga  
 ē-dga                      sāl-ā                      padā                      jenēn                      čellag                      bīt-Ø                      dega  
 PROX-other year-OBL again woman delivery become.PST-3SG another

A. Text Corpus

'čokē        'say 'čok 'dâke 'ē        ĵa'nekā    ārt'ā  
 čok=ē       say    čok    dâke    ē        ĵanek-ā    ārt-ā  
 child=IND three child then    PROX girl-OBL bring.PST-3PL

Again in the next year, she delivered and [gave birth] to another son; so the woman gave birth to three sons.

**KD:51**

'say 'čok ke 'ē        ĵa'nekā    ārt'ā                    'ya 'rōčē        ĵe'nek  
 say    čok ke    ē        ĵanek-ā    ārt-ā                    ya    rōč=ē        ĵenek  
 three child CLM PROX girl-OBL bring.PST-3PL one day=IND girl

lag'ge                čo'kānī                nāzē'nagā                'gorā 'gō        'yak  
 lagge-Ø                čok-ānī                nāzēn-ag-ā                gorā    gō        yak  
 start.PST-3SG child-GEN.PL lull.NPST-INF-OBL then    with one

'dardē        'gō 'mā 'yak 'sōzē        o        ā'wāzē        'gō 'mā ke  
 dard=ē        gō    mā    yak    sōz=ē        =o        āwāz=ē        gō    mā    ke  
 pain=IND with in    one sad=IND =and sound=IND with in    CLM

hast        ē                        nā'zēke                ĵa'nagā                lag'ge  
 hast        =ē                        nāzēk-e                ĵan-ag-ā                lagge-Ø  
 be.NPST    =COP.NPST.3SG sad song-GEN hit.NPST-INF-OBL start.PST-3SG

'gorā bād'šāhā 'jos        ko        ke        'to        'yak sōzē        o  
 gorā    bādšāh-ā    ĵos        ko        ke        to        yak    sōz=ē        =o  
 then king-OBL question do.PST CLM PN.2SG one sad=IND =and

ā'hengē        'ē        nā'zēnkā    ĵa'nagā                ay  
 āheng=ē        ē        nāzēnk-ā    ĵan-ag-ā                =ay  
 voice=IND PROX song-OBL hit.NPST-INF-OBL =COP.NPST.2SG

When this woman had given (lit. gave) birth to three sons; one day, she (lit. the girl) started to lull the children; then, she started to lull in a painful, sad, sorrowful voice; then, the king asked that, “[Why] are you lulling in a painful, sad voice?”

**KD:52**

'to        'bogoš                        'tī                        'dard 'darde        'del 'čī  
 to        bo-goš-Ø                        tī                        dard    dard=e        del    čī  
 PN.2SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG PN.2SG.GEN pain pain=EZ heart what

ē

=ē

=COP.NPST.3SG

Tell me what your problem is?"

**KD:53**

'goštī                 'manī                 'darde     'del     'čī     yen                 ke  
 gošt=ī                 man-ī                 dard=e     del     čī     =yen                 ke  
 say.PST=PC.3SG     PN.1SG-GEN     pain=EZ     heart     what     =COP.NPST.3SG     CLM

'manī                 'darde     'del     'hameš                 ē                 ke     'man  
 man-ī                 dard=e     del     ham=eš                 =ē                 ke     man  
 PN.1SG-GEN     pain=EZ     heart     EMPH=PROX     =COP.NPST.3SG     CLM     PN.1SG

ča     'otī                 'petā                 ča     'otī                 'mātā                 ča  
 ča     otī                 pet-ā                 ča     otī                 māt-ā                 ča  
 from     REFL.GEN     father-OBL     from     REFL.GEN     mother-OBL     from

'otī                 brā'tā                 ke     'manā                 'hapt     'brāt  
 otī                 brāt-ā                 ke     man-ā                 hapt     brāt  
 REFL.GEN     brother-OBL.PL     CLM     PN.1SG-OBL     seven     brother

bīta                                                                 'man     'ē                 'dawl     'ē                 'dawl  
 bīt-a=Ø                                                                 man     ē                 dawl     ē                 dawl  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG     PN.1SG     PROX     manner     PROX     manner

'ē                 'dawlā                 ča     'āhān                 'dar     'dast     ā  
 ē                 dawl-ā                 ča     ā-hān                 dar     dast     =ā  
 PROX     manner-OBL     from     DIST-OBL.PL     PREV     hand     =COP.NPST.1SG

'manī                 kes'matā                 'manā                 'ē                 'jāgā                 ā'rta  
 man-ī                 kesmat-ā                 man-ā                 ē                 jāga-ā                 ārt-a  
 PN.1SG-GEN     destiny-OBL     PN.1SG-OBJ     PROX     place-OBL     bring.PST-PP

*ra'sēnta*

rasēnt-a

take.PST.CAUS-PP

She said, “What my problem is?; my problem is that I am far away from my father, mother and brothers /that/, I had seven brothers, (lit. there were seven brothers for me); [It happened] in this, this, this way, my destiny has brought me to this place.”



A. Text Corpus

**KD:54**

'gošī                      pooo go'rā 'to              par'čē pē'sarā 'nām  
 gošt=ī                      pooo gorā to              parčē pēsarā nām  
 say.PST=PC.3SG oh then PN.2SG why first name

'nagepta                      'gošī                      'man              'čē              'begošā  
 na-gept-a                      goš-ī                      man              čē              be-goš-ā  
 NEG-take.PST-PP say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG what SBJV-say.NPST-1SG

'man              'hanī              'tī                      'dastā              kap'ta  
 man              hanī              tī                      dast-ā              kapt-a=Ø  
 PN.1SG right now PN.2SG.GEN hand-OBL fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

bītagā                                                              'agar              'waktē              'man              'har  
 bīt-ag=ā                                                              agar wakt=ē              man              har  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG if time=IND PN.1SG every

ḍaw'lē                      'gapē                      'bekotā                      'tarā                      'bāwār  
 ḍawl-ē                      gap=ē                      be-kot-ā                      ta-rā                      bāwar  
 manner-ATTR talk=PC.3SG SBJV-do.PST-1SG PN.2SG-OBJ belief

'nabīta                                                              'dāke ma'rčī 'manī  
 na-bīt-a=Ø                                                              dāke marčī man-ī  
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG till today PN.1SG-GEN

'dele              ā'wāza              'to              eško'nagay  
 del-e              āwāz-a              to              eškon-ag=ay  
 heart-GEN sound-OBL PN.2SG hear.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG

'taī                      'dele                      tō'kā ha'sar pē'dāg ē                                      ta  
 ta-ī                      del-e                      tōkā hasar pēdāg =ē                                      ta  
 PN.2SG-GEN heart-GEN in effect visible =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG

ke              'manī...                      go'sī                      'man              'tarā                      ba'rā  
 ke              man-ī                      goš-ī                      man              ta-rā                      bar-ā  
 CLM PN.1SG-GEN say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ take.NPST-1SG

He said, “Oh... then, why haven’t you told me earlier?”; she said, “What should I tell?; now I had come (lit. fallen) into your hands; if I said any kinds of words to you, you would not believe it; till, today, you are hearing my heart’s voice; you are feeling sorry for me; you who are my...”; he said, “I will take you.

**KD:55**

'tī	'petā	'tī	'mātā	'tī
tī	pet-ā	tī	māt-ā	tī
PN.2SG.GEN	father-OBL	PN.2SG.GEN	mother-OBL	PN.2SG.GEN

brā'tā	'tī	gohā'rā	dros'tā	'tī
brāt-ā	tī	gohār-ā	drost-ā	tī
brother-OBL.PL	PN.2SG.GEN	sister-OBL.PL	all-OBL.PL	PN.2SG.GEN

mardo'mā	'trā	'pēš	dār'ā
mardom-ā	trā	pēš	dār-ā
people-OBL.PL	PN.2SG.OBJ	show	hold.NPST-1SG

I will show you your father, mother, brothers, sisters, all your relatives (lit. people).”

**KD:56**

'ē	hā	'tī	mehrabā'nī
ē	hā	tī	mehrabānī
PROX	ADD	PN.2SG.GEN	kindness

[She said] “This is very kind of you.”

**KD:57**

bāde'sāh	sa'pare	ta'yārī	ko
bāde'sāh	sapar-e	tayār=ī	ko
king	trip-GEN	prepare=PC.3SG	do.PST

The king arranged the trip.

**KD:58**

ja'nenī...	oš'terē	'yārt	oš'tere	tō'kā	'yak
janen=ī	ošter=ē	yārt	ošter-e	tōkā	yak
wife=PC.3SG	camel=PC.3SG	bring.PST	camel-GEN	in	one

kajā'bāye	hasta	bā'noke	kajā'bayā	'kot
kajāba=ye	hast=a-Ø	bānok=e	kajāba-yā	kot
pannier=IND	be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG	lady=PC.3SG	pannier-OBL	do.PST

o	'čoke	zor'tant
=o	čok=e	zort-ant
=and	child=PC.3SG	take.PST-3PL

His wife.. he brought a camel; there was a pannier on (lit. in) the camel; he

A. Text Corpus

put his wife in it, and took his children.

**KD:59**

*aw'lī men'zela ke 'ātk o 'dāštī*  
 awl-ī menzel-a ke ātk-Ø =o dāšt=ī  
 first-ORD stop-OBL CLM come.PST-3SG =and hold.PST=PC.3SG

*ya'kēā 'hāl dā ke 'byā bāde'sāh*  
 yak=ē-ā hāl dāt ke by-ā-Ø bādešāh  
 one=IND-OBL news give.PST CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG king

*t'āī lō'gā 'jalab bīta*  
 ta-ī lōg-ā jalab bīt-a=Ø  
 PN.2SG-GEN house-OBL burglary become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'tī 'lōg rō'pag bīta*  
 tī lōg rōp-ag bīt-a=Ø  
 PN.2SG.GEN house sweep.NPST-INF become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

When they arrived (lit. came and held) at their first stop, someone informed [them] /that/, “Look, your majesty, there was a burglary in your house; [everything in] your house was carried away.”

**KD:60**

*wā'zīr kā'zī o 'yak šar'rēn motabe'rēn mar'domē*  
 wāzīr kāzī =o yak šarr-ēn motaber-ēn mardom=ē  
 minister judge =and one fine-ATTR respectful-ATTR people=IND

*'ē sayē'nā 'goštī šo'mā 'manī ja'nene*  
 ē say-ēn-ā gošt=ī šomā man-ī janen-e  
 PROX three-CL-OBL.PL say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2PL PN.1SG-GEN wife-GEN

*ham'rā be ja'nene mol'kā ja'nenā*  
 hamrā Ø-b-e janen-e molk-ā janen-ā  
 companion IMPV-become.PST-2PL wife-GEN land-OBL wife-OBL

*'bare ra'sene o šo'mā... 'man 'gō*  
 Ø-bar-e Ø-rasen-e =o šomā man gō  
 IMPV-carry.NPST-2PL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL =and PN.2PL PN.1SG with

*'otī laš'karā ra'wā o'tī mē'tage lō'ge*  
 otī laškar-ā raw-ā otī mētag-e lōg-e  
 REFL.GEN army-OBL go.NPST-1SG REFL.GEN home-GEN house-GEN

*hā'lā ge'rā̃ o 'man šo'me bāde'sāh*  
 hāl-ā ger-ā̃ =o man šome bādešāh  
 news-OBL take.NPST-1SG =and PN.1SG PN.2PL.GEN king

*ā̃ šo'mā bī'bīya ba're*  
 =ā̃ šomā bībī-ya Ø-bar-e  
 =COP.NPST.1SG PN.2PL lady-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL

*rase'ne*  
 Ø-rasen-e  
 IMPV-take.NPST-2PL

He said to three of them, the minister, the judge and a good [and] respectful man, “Accompany my wife, [and] take her to her country and you...; I will go with my army to my village to see what happened in my house; I am your king, take the queen [to her country].”

**KD:61**

*bāde'sāhe ja'nēn 'gō̃ 'ēšān ham'rāh bīt*  
 bādešāh-e janēn gō̃ ēš-ān hamrāh bīt-Ø  
 king-GEN wife with PROX-OBL.PL companion become.PST-3SG

*'bale ha'mā 'wādī ke mol'lā ke ham'rā*  
 bale ham=ā wād=ī ke mollā ke hamrā  
 you know EMPH=DIST time=PC.3SG CLM Mullah CLM companion

*a ēšīa 'go ke mol'lāe... mol'lāe*  
 =a-Ø ēšī-a go ke mollā-e mollā-e  
 =COP.PST-3SG PROX.DIR-OBL say.PST CLM Mullah-GEN Mullah-GEN

*o kā'zīe šaytā'niyā če 'man 'ē jā'gā*  
 =o kāzī-e šaytān-ī-yā če man ē jāgā  
 =and judge-GEN devilish-ADJZ-OBL from PN.1SG PROX place

*'dar pa 'dar ā̃ o 'padā 'ē mol'lā 'mnī*  
 dar pa dar =ā̃ =o padā ē mollā mnī  
 miserable =COP.NPST.1SG =and again PROX Mullah PN.1SG.GEN

*ham'rā ko'ta 'bale 'xayr par'wā 'nē*  
 hamrā kot-a bale xayr parwā nē  
 companion do.PST-PP but well fear NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

The king's wife accompanied them; you know, from the beginning that the

## A. Text Corpus

Mullah was with [them]; she said [to herself] /that/, “Because of the Mullah’s and judge’s bad deeds I am in this miserable position and still (lit. again) he made this Mullah my company; but OK, it does not matter.”

### KD:62

<i>ham'rā</i>	<i>bītā</i>	<i>aw'lī</i>	<i>ša'pā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'atk</i>
hamrā	bīt-ā	awl-ī	šap-ā	ke	atk-Ø
companion	become.PST-3PL	first-ORD	night-OBL	CLM	come.PST-3SG

<i>o</i>	<i>rāse'tā</i>	<i>mol'lāyā</i>	<i>'dawr kot</i>	<i>'e</i>	<i>'dro 'yak</i>
=o	raset-ā	mollā-yā	dawr kot	e	dro yak
=and	arrive.PST-3PL	Mullah-OBL	move do.PST	PROX	all one

<i>'damē</i>	<i>'wānt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ēšīā</i>	<i>wāb'band</i>	<i>kot'ant</i>
dam=e	wānt	=o	ēšī-ā	wābband	kot-ant
prayer=PC.3SG	read.PST	=and	PROX.DIR-OBL	put to sleep	do.PST-3PL

<i>o</i>	<i>'dēm pa</i>	<i>je'neke</i>	<i>nē'magā</i>	<i>'šo</i>
=o	dēm pa	jenek-e	nēmagā	šo-Ø
=and	face for	girl-GEN	to	go.PST-3SG

They accompanied her; when they arrived [at their night quarters] on the first night, the Mullah made a move [and] said a prayer and made them go to sleep and went in the direction of the woman (lit. the girl).

### KD:63

<i>'ēšīā</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>čo'kānī</i>	<i>kad'dēn</i>
ēšī-ā	go	man	tī	čok-ānī	kadd-ēn
PROX.DIR-OBL	say.PST	PN.1SG	PN.2SG.GEN	child-GEN.PL	size-ATTR

<i>yā</i>	<i>do'mī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hast</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>'taw</i>
=yā	do-mī	ke	hast	=ē	taw
=COP.NPST.1SG	two-ORD	CLM	be.NPST	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG

<i>'mnī</i>	<i>ham'rāh</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>say'mī</i>	<i>'man</i>
mnī	hamrāh	=ay	say-mī	man
PN.1SG.GEN	companion	=COP.NPST.2SG	three-ORD	PN.1SG

<i>'tī</i>	<i>bāde'sāhe</i>	<i>ja'nen</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'šome</i>
tī	bādešāh-e	janen	=ā	=o	šome
PN.2SG.GEN	king-GEN	wife	=COP.NPST.1SG	=and	PN.2PL.GEN

*ma'yār ā̃*  
 mayār =ā̃  
 honour =COP.NPST.1SG

She said, “I am as old as your children; the second [point] is that you are my travel mate; the third I am your king’s wife and I am under your protection (lit. I am your honour).”

**KD:64**

*go'sī be'čā ma'yār o pa 'āī*  
 goš-ī be-čā-Ø mayār =o pa āī  
 say.NPST-3SG SBJV-look.NPST-2SG honour =FOC for DIST.OBL

*'nest ē 'bas 'man at'kā̃ o 'padā*  
 nest =ē bas man atk-ā̃ =o padā  
 NEG.be.NPST =COP.NPST.3SG well PN.1SG come.PST-1SG =and again

*xā'līka 'narawā̃*  
 xālīk=a na-raw-ā̃  
 empty=VCL NEG-go.NPST-1SG

He said, “Look, there is no honour for him; well, I came and I will not go back again with empty hands.

**KD:65**

*'agar wa'kteke 'to 'manī a'mala a'njām 'day*  
 agar wakteke to man-ī amal-a anjām d-ay  
 if when PN.2SG PN.1SG-GEN wish-OBL make give.NPST-2SG

*'beday 'nadīay 'man 'tī*  
 be-day-Ø na-dī-ay man tī  
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG NEG-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN

*'čoka koš'ā̃*  
 čok-a koš-ā̃  
 child-OBL kill.NPST-1SG

If you do what I wish; then do it, if you don’t, I will kill your son.”

A. Text Corpus

**KD:66**

'goštī                    'koštī  
gošt=ī                    Ø-koš-Ø=ī  
say.PST=PC.3SG SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

she said, “Kill [him].”

**KD:67**

*mol'lāya      kaš'se      'zahm o      aw'lī      'čok ē'sīā*  
mollā-ya      kašše      zahm =o      awl-ī      čok      ēši-ā  
Mullah-OBL pull.PST sword =and first-ORD child PROX.DIR-OBL

'košt  
košt  
kill.PST

The Mullah drew the sword and killed [her] first son.

**KD:68**

'xayr mar'dom 'pād atkā                    'dāke 'haw 'haw go'sī...  
xayr mardom pād atk-ā                    dāke haw haw goš-ī  
well people foot come.PST-3PL then yes yes say.NPST-3SG

*ja'nekā      'nām 'nage                    'āhā                    'čok 'dapn ko*  
janek-ā      nām na-ge                    ā-hā                    čok      dapn ko  
girl-OBL name NEG-take.PST DIST-OBL.PL child burial do.PST

Well, the people got up; they cried (lit. said haw, haw)...; the woman (lit. the girl) did not tell [anything]; they buried the child.

**KD:69**

'padā do'mī      'šape      jā'gā 'atk                    o      ras'tā  
padā do-mī      šap-e      jāgā atk-Ø                    =o      rast-ā  
again two-ORD night-GEN place come.PST-3SG =and arrive.PST-3PL

*hā      mol'lāyā      'hamē                    har'kat kot      'padā 'hamē*  
hā      mollā-yā      ham=e                    harkat kot      padā ham=e  
ADD Mullah-OBL EMPH=PROX deed do.PST again EMPH=PROX

'rangā      'padā do'mī      'čoke                    'katl ko  
rang-ā      padā do-mī      čok=e                    katl ko  
colour-OBL again two-ORD child=PC.3SG killing do.PST

When they arrived at the place for the second night; you know, the Mullah did

the same thing, in the same way; then he killed the second child.

**KD:70**

*say'mī ša'pā 'atk o ras'tā hã*  
 say-mī šap-ā atk-Ø =o rast-ã hã  
 three-ORD night-OBL come.PST-3SG =and arrive.PST-3PL ADD

*mol'lāe hā'lat 'hamē bīt o 'padā 'ē*  
 mollā-e hālat ham=ē bīt-Ø =o padā ē  
 Mullah-GEN act EMPH=PROX become.PST-3SG =and then PROX

*say'mī 'čoke 'katl ko*  
 say-mī čok=e katl ko  
 three-ORD child=PC.3SG killing do.PST

On the third night, they arrived [at the third place]; you know, the Mullah did the same thing and then he killed the third child.

**KD:71**

*čāro'mī ša'pā da'nīngā 'čōn ke men'zel da'nīngā 'dīr*  
 čār-omī šap-ā danīngā čon ke menzel danīngā dīr  
 four-ORD night-OBL still you know stop still far

*atant o 'nī na'zīk pa na'zīk ba'yān*  
 =at-ant =o nī nazīk pa nazīk bay-ān  
 =COP.PST-3PL =and now near for near become.NPST-OBL.PL

*ant o mol'lā 'padā 'atk*  
 =ant =o mollā padā atk-Ø  
 =COP.NPST.3PL =and Mullah then come.PST-3SG

On the fourth night, you know, the resting places [for the night] were far way; but now they were approaching [the father's kingdom]; then the Mullah came.

**KD:72**

*'padā ē'šīā wāb'band kotant o 'padā*  
 padā ēšī-ā wābband kot-ant =o padā  
 again PROX.DIR-OBL put to sleep do.PST-3PL =and again

*'ātk 'ēšī gwa'rā*  
 ātk-Ø ēšī gwarā  
 come.PST-3SG PROX.GEN to

Again, he put them to sleep [magically], and then came to her.



A. Text Corpus

**KD:73**

'goštī                    šar... gošī                    mol'lā pa xo'dā 'čā  
 gošt=ī                    šar goš-ī                    mollā pa xodā čā-Ø  
 say.PST=PC.3SG fine say.NPST-3SG Mullah for God look.NPST-3SG

'manī                    'say 'čok 'to                    koš'tā                    'manī                    sa'rā  
 man-ī                    say čok to                    košt-ā                    man-ī                    sarā  
 PN.1SG-GEN three child PN.2SG kill.PST-3PL PN.1SG-GEN on

'bekap                    'goštī                    'manī                    'zed  
 be-kap-Ø                    gošt=ī                    man-ī                    zed  
 SBJV-fall.NPST-2SG say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-GEN insistence

'hameš                    ě  
 ham=eš                    =ě  
 EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Well...”; she said, “The Mullah, by God, you have killed my three children; leave me alone.”; he said, “But I insist.”

**KD:74**

'goštī                    'tī                    'zed                    'hamēš                    ě  
 gošt=ī                    tī                    zed                    ham=eš                    =ě  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG.GEN insistence EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG

'nī wa 'manī                    koš'aga                    'čē 'to 'mnī  
 nī wa man-ī                    koš-ag-a                    čē to mnī  
 now FOC PN.1SG-GEN kill.NPST-INF-OBL what PN.2SG PN.1SG.GEN

besta'rānī sa'rā 'bwaps                    'mā ra'wān  
 bestar-ānī sarā b-waps-Ø                    mā raw-ān  
 bed-GEN.PL on SBJV-sleep.NPST-2SG PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG

pa'sīla                    'dast 'dēmī                    šō'dā                    wo'zūē  
 pasīl-a                    dast dēm=ī                    šōd-ā                    wozū=e  
 bathroom-OBL hand face=PC.3SG wash.NPST-1SG ablution=PC.3SG

ka'nā                    kā'yā  
 kan-ā                    k-ā-yā  
 do.NPST-1SG IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

she said, “[If] you insist, now instead of killing me, lie down in my bed, I will go to the bathroom, [and] wash my hands and face, do my ablution; [then] I

will come.”

**KD:75**

*mol'lā 'wāpt ja'nek jeg're*  
 mollā wapt-Ø janek jegre-Ø  
 Mullah sleep.PST-3SG girl escape.PST-3SG

The Mullah lay down; the woman (lit. girl) ran away.

**KD:76**

*ja'nek jeg're 'ē pa'ṭā lū'ṭā bar'rā*  
 janek jegre-Ø ē paṭ-ā lūṭ-ā barr-ā  
 girl escape.PST-3SG PROX desert-OBL wilderness-OBL desert-OBL

*bē'dā 'yak 'čātē hasta 'hamē*  
 bēd-ā yak čāt=ē hast=a-Ø ham=ē  
 desert area-OBL one well=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX

*čā'tā 'ēr kapt 'hamē 'čāte tō'kā*  
 čāt-ā ēr kapt ham=ē čāt-e tōkā  
 well-OBL PREV fall.PST EMPH=PROX well-GEN in

The women ran away, in this desert, wilderness, desert area; there was a well; she went down into this well, inside this well.

**KD:77**

*'hamē 'čāte tō'kā 'ēr kapt o 'āp war'ag*  
 ham=ē čāt-e tōkā ēr kapt =o āp wār-ag  
 EMPH=PROX well-GEN in PREV fall.PST =and water eat.NPST-INF

*en o gar'mī 'ja dan'nā 'dar*  
 =en =o garm=ī ja ḍann-ā dar  
 =COP.NPST.3SG =and warm=PC.3SG beat.PST out-OBL PREV

*kay 'čo sa'rok kã*  
 k-ay-Ø čo sar-ok kã-Ø  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG like this head-EV do.NPST-3SG

She went down into this well and was drinking water; when she got hot, she came out; she looked out [of the well] like this.

A. Text Corpus

**KD:78**

'nī mol'lāyā 'hamē sa'yēn mar'dom šā'hed o  
 nī mollā-yā ham=ē say-ēn mardom šāhed =o  
 now Mullah-OBL EMPH=PROX three-CL people witnesses =and

ga'wā ko'tā 'goštī be'čā šo'mā  
 gawā kot-ā gošt=ī be-čā-Ø šomā  
 witnesses do.PST-3PL say.PST=PC.3SG SBJV-look.NPST-2SG PN.2PL

šā'hed o ga'wāh e pa 'ē 'čīze  
 šāhed =o gawāh =e pa ē čīz-e  
 witnesses =and witnesses =COP.NPST.2SG for PROX thing-GEN

wās'ta ke 'mā... mā'rā bāde'sāh 'rāh dāta  
 wāsta ke mā mā-rā bādešāh rāh dāt-a  
 for the sake of CLM PN.1PL PN.1PL-OBJ king path give.PST-PP

'ē ja'nekā 'otī 'yak 'čokē 'košt de'ga pa'dā  
 ē janek-ā otī yak čok=ē košt-Ø dega padā  
 PROX girl-OBL REFL.GEN one child=IND kill.PST-3SG another then

'yak 'čokē 'koštī de'ya 'ya 'čokē 'koštī  
 yak čok=ē košt=ī deya ya čok=ē košt=ī  
 one child=IND kill.PST=PC.3SG then one child=IND kill.PST=PC.3SG

'ē ja'nek 'ya wak'sīye bīta  
 ē janek ya wakš-ī=ye bīt-a=Ø  
 PROX girl one wild-ADJZ=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'bārē kojī'gī bīta 'ē  
 bārē koj-īg-ī bīt-a=Ø ē  
 question word where-ADJZ-GEN become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX

mar'dom 'nī at'ka 'me bāde'sāhe  
 mardom nī atk-a=Ø me bādešāh-e  
 people now come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL.GEN king-GEN

'dasta ka'pta bā'dšā 'mārā ham'rā kota 'goṛā  
 dast-a kapt-a bādšā mā-rā hamrā kot-a goṛā  
 hand-OBL fall.PST-PP king PN.1PL-OBJ companion do.PST-PP then

*je'neke 'jend hã 'gār ě*  
 ĵenek-e ĵend hã gār =ě  
 girl-GEN self ADD lost =COP.NPST.3SG

Now the Mullah took these three people as witnesses; he said, “Look, you are witnesses to this event that, we... ;the king sent us; this woman killed one of her children; then she killed another one, [and] then she killed the other one; this woman was a beast, no one knows, from where this person has come; now she has come and fallen into our king’s hand; the king made us [her] company; then the woman herself has disappeared as well.

**KD:79**

*'bārě 'jennē bīta 'bārě*  
 bārě ĵenn=ē bīt-a=Ø bārě  
 question word genie=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG question word

*'čē bīta ē 'čedā čē pa'rārī*  
 čē bīt-a=Ø ē če-dā čē parār=ī  
 what become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX from-here from run=PC.3SG

*kota o parā'rīě mar'domē*  
 kot-a =o parārī-ě mardom=ē  
 do.PST-PP =and runaway-ATTR people=IND

*bīta*  
 bīt-a=Ø  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Maybe she was a genie; maybe she was something else (lit. what); she has run away from here, and it seems that she was a runaway person.”

**KD:80**

*mol'lāyā o šā'hed hasta je'nek o*  
 mollā-yā =o šāhed hast=a-Ø ĵenek =o  
 Mullah-OBL =FOC witnesses be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG girl =FOC

*'čāte tō'kā ya še'pānkē čamān'go če*  
 čāt-e tōkā =ya šapānk=ē čamāngo če  
 well-GEN in =COP.PST shepherd=IND another direction from

A. Text Corpus

'bīyā

bīy-ā-Ø

SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

The Mullah had witnesses; you know, the woman, you know, was inside the well; a shepherd came from another direction.

**KD:81**

še'pānk kay'ten čā'ta ča 'āp  
 šepānk k-ay-t=en čāt-a ča āp  
 shepherd IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG well-OBL from water

kaš'sī pa'sān 'dante  
 Ø-kašš-ī pas-ān Ø-dan-t=e  
 SBJV-pull.NPST-3SG sheep-OBL.PL SBJV-give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

ka'mīṭē ke 'ēr da pa 'čāte 'kašš... 'āp  
 kamīṭ=e ke ēr da pa čāt-e kašš āp  
 bucket=PC.3SG CLM PREV give.PST for well-GEN FRAG water

kaš'sage wās'tā 'dāke 'ḏīk 'dā gō  
 kašš-ag-e wāstā dāke ḏīk dā gō  
 pull.NPST-INF-GEN for the sake of then touch give.PST with

The shepherd came to pull out some water from the well in order to give the sheep; when he threw a bucket down to pull out water [and] noticed that it touched something.

**KD:82**

ja'nekā 'ge ka'mīṭ o 'dar atk ḏan'nā  
 janek-ā ge kamīṭ =o dar atk-Ø ḏann-ā  
 girl-OBL take.PST bucket =and PREV come.PST-3SG out-OBL

The woman took the bucket, and came out.

**KD:83**

'hā 'to ko'jīg e go'sī 'man  
 hā to koj-īg =e goš-ī man  
 yes PN.2SG where-ADJZ =COP.NPST.2SG say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

*mosā'perē*                      *ã*  
 mosāper=e                      =ã  
 travelling person=IND =COP.NPST.1SG

[He said] “Well, where are you from?”; she said, “I am a stranger (lit. travelling person).”

**KD:84**

*go'sī*                      'to                      *mosā'pere*                      *ay*  
 goš-ī                      to                      mosāper=e                      =ay  
 say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG travelling person=IND =COP.NPST.2SG

*'tarā*                      'edā 'māt                      *ha*                      'ta                      *ta*  
 ta-rā                      edā māt                      ha=Ø                      ta                      ta  
 PN.2SG-OBJ here mother be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG PN.2SG

*'ta*                      *īn...*                      *ja'nek* 'to                      'aga *mosā'perē*  
 ta                      īn                      janek to                      aga mosāper=e  
 PN.2SG FRAG girl PN.2SG if travelling person=IND

*ay*                      'goṛā 'bīyā                      'berē                      'mā  
 =ay                      goṛā bīy-ā-Ø                      be-r-ē                      mā  
 =COP.NPST.2SG then SBJV-come.NPST-2SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL PN.1SG

*'tarā*                      *ba'rā*                      'otī                      *mē'tag*  
 ta-rā                      bar-ā                      otī                      mētag  
 PN.2SG-OBJ take.NPST-1SG REFL.GEN home

He said, “[If] you are a stranger, do have any mother here, you, you, you... girl, if you are a stranger; then let’s go; I will take you to my place.”

**KD:85**

*'goštī*                      'tarā                      'māt                      *ha*  
 gošt=ī                      ta-rā                      māt                      ha=Ø  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG-OBJ mother be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

She said, “Do you have a mother?”

**KD:86**

*go'sī*                      'haw *go'hār* *ha*                      *go'sī*                      'haw  
 goš-ī                      haw gohār                      ha=Ø                      goš-ī                      haw  
 say.NPST-3SG yes sister be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG say.NPST-3SG yes

A. Text Corpus

<i>bal'lok</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'dro</i>	<i>'manā</i>
ballok	ha=Ø	goš-ī	dro	man-ā
grandmother	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	say.NPST-3SG	all	PN.1SG-OBL

*ha*  
ha=Ø  
be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “Yes.”; [she said] “Do you have sisters?”; he said, “Yes.”; [she said] “Do you have a grandmother?”; he said, “Yes, I have all [those] (lit. there is for me).”

**KD:87**

<i>go'sī</i>	<i>'šarr ē</i>	<i>'borrē</i>
goš-ī	šarr =ē	bo-rr-ē
say.NPST-3SG	fine =COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

she said, “Alright, let’s go.”

**KD:88**

<i>'borrē</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>ba'rā</i>	<i>'hamā'hānī</i>
bo-rr-ē	trā	bar-ā	ham=ā-hān-ī
SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	PN.2SG.OBJ	take.NPST-1SG	EMPH=DIST-OBL.PL-GEN

*gwa'rā*  
gwarā  
to

[he said], “Let’s go, I will take you to them”.

**KD:89**

<i>je'nekī</i>	<i>'zort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'ārtī</i>	<i>'otī</i>
jenek=ī	zort	=o	jenek	ārt=ī	otī
girl=PC.3SG	take.PST	=and	girl	bring.PST=PC.3SG	REFL.GEN

*bal'loke*                      *gwa'rā*  
ballok-e                      gwarā  
grandmother-GEN      to

He took the woman (lit. girl) [with him] to his grandmother.

**KD:90**

*je'nekī*      *ke*    *'ārt*      *bal'loke*      *gwa'rā* *bal'lok*      *'nī*  
 jenek=ī      ke    ārt      ballok-e      gwarā    ballok      nī  
 girl=PC.3SG CLM bring.PST grandmother-GEN to      grandmother now

*'sarī*      *šō'dī*      *'jānī*      *šō'dī*  
 sar=ī      šōd-ī      jān=ī      šōd-ī  
 head=PC.3SG wash.NPST-3SG body=PC.3SG wash.NPST-3SG

*wa'ragī*      *'dā*      *'āpī*      *'dā*      *'tāmī*  
 warag=ī      dā-Ø      āp=ī      dā-Ø      tām=ī  
 food=PC.3SG give.NPST-3SG water=PC.3SG give.NPST-3SG food=PC.3SG

*'dā*      *'bāz* *ke*    *hasten*      *je'nekā*    *ēz'zat*  
 dā-Ø      bāz    ke    hast=en      jenek-ā    ēzzat  
 give.NPST-3SG many CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG girl-OBL respectful

*ē'trān*      *'kā*      *'bale* *'čōke*    *'hamē*      *'molk* *bād'šāhe*  
 ētrān      kā-Ø      bale    čōke    ham=ē      molk    bādšāh-e  
 respectful do.NPST-3SG but    because EMPH=PROX land    king-GEN

*'molk* *ē*      *'hamēšī*      *'pete*      *'molk*  
 molk =ē      ham=ēšī      pet-e      molk  
 land =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX.GEN father-GEN land

*ē*      *je'neke*    *'pete*      *'molk* *ē*  
 =ē      jenek-e    pet-e      molk =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG girl-GEN father-GEN land =COP.NPST.3SG

When he brought the woman to his grandmother, the grandmother washed her hair, her body; she gave her some food [and] water; well, she treated the woman in a high respectful manner; you know, because this country is the king's country; it is her father's country; it is the woman's [girl's] father's country.

**KD:91**

*je'nek* *o*      *pa'jāī*      *kā'rī*      *ke*    *'ē*  
 jenek =o      pa jā=ī      k-ār-ī      ke    ē  
 girl =FOC recognition=PC.3SG IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG CLM PROX

*'kay* *pelā'nī*      *ē*      *pelā'nī*      *ē*  
 kay    pelānī      =ē      pelānī      =ē  
 who    such and such =COP.NPST.3SG    such and such =COP.NPST.3SG



A. Text Corpus

*pelā'nī*      *ē*                      *'bale je'nekā pa'jā*  
*pelānī*      =ē                      bale    ĵenek-ā    paĵā  
 such and such =COP.NPST.3SG but    girl-OBL recognition

*'nayāran*  
*nay-ār-an*  
 NEG-bring.NPST-3PL

As for the woman, she recognized /that/, who this [is], this is so-and-so; this is so-and-so; this is so-and-so; but they didn't recognize the woman.

**KD:92**

*'xayr bād'sāh 'nī wa'tī*      *'hamē*      *'čoke*  
*xayr bādšāh nī wat-ī*      ham=e      čok=e  
 well king    now REFL-GEN EMPH=PROX child=PC.3SG

*ga'mā*      *'hamē*      *dar'dā*      *'hamē*      *taklī'pā*  
*gam-ā*      ham=e      dard-ā      ham=e      taklīp-ā  
 sorrow-OBL.PL EMPH=PROX pain-OBL.PL EMPH=PROX trouble-OBL.PL

*'hamē*      *parēšā'nīyā*      *ke*      *hastē*                      *bād'sāhā*  
 ham=e      parēšan-ī-yā      ke      hast=e                      bādšāh-ā  
 EMPH=PROX worry-ADJZ-OBL CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG king-OBL

*'nī 'wāb 'nē*  
*nī wāb nē*  
 now asleep NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

Well, now the king could not sleep because of the sorrow, pain, trouble, worries, which he had (lit. there were) for his daughter (lit. child).

**KD:93**

*'har 'yakē 'kay*                      *parmā'īt*      *ga'pā*  
*har yak=e*      k-ay-Ø                      parmā-īt      gap-ā  
 every one=IND IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG ask.NPST-3SG talk-OBL

*dīwā'nā*      *kes'sayā*      *haba'rā*      *hā'lā*      *'har 'yakē*  
*dīwān-ā*      kessa-yā      habar-ā      hāl-ā      har yak=e  
 meeting-OBL story-OBL speech-OBL news-OBL every one=IND

'gapē            'kantī  
 gap=ē            kan-t=ī  
 talk=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Everybody, who came [to him], he asked to tell something (lit. a speech), something entertaining, a talking, meeting, story, news; everybody told something.

**KD:94**

'nī   'ē   rō'čī   bād'sāh   mar'dom   'drō   dī'wān   ant  
 nī   ē   rōč-ī   bādšāh   mardom   drō   dīwān   =ant  
 now PROX day-ADJZ king people all meeting =COP.NPST.3PL

ša'pā   ke   dī'wān   'kā   'har   'yakē   bā'yad  
 šap-ā   ke   dīwān   kā-Ø   har   yak=ē   bāyad  
 night-OBL CLM meeting do.NPST-3SG every one=IND must

kes'saē   kes'saē   'bejant  
 kessa=ē   kessa=ē   be-ĵan-t  
 story=PC.3PL story=PC.3PL SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG

You know, this day, the king, [and] all the people were in [the king's] court; during the night when they had their gathering; each one should tell a story, a story.

**KD:95**

go'rā   ja'nekā   'jos   ko   ke   'ballo   go'sī   'hā  
 goṛā   ĵanek-ā   jos   ko   ke   ballo   goš-ī   hā  
 then girl-OBL question do.PST CLM grandmother say.NPST-3SG yes

'goštī   'šarr   en   'ē   bād'sāh   ke  
 gošt=ī   šarr   =en   ē   bādšāh   ke  
 say.PST=PC.3SG fine =COP.NPST.3SG PROX king CLM

mardo'mā   parmā't   kes'sae   ĵana'gā  
 mardom-ā   parmā-ī   kessa-e   ĵan-ag-ā  
 people-OBL.PL ask.NPST-3SG story-GEN hit.NPST-INF-OBL

'ešā   'čīzē   'dā  
 eš-ā   čīz=ē   dā-Ø  
 PROX-OBL.PL thing=IND give.NPST-3SG

You know, the girl asked /that/, the grandmother; she said, “Yes.”; the woman (lit. she) said, “It is true that this king, who asks the people to tell a story,

A. Text Corpus

[also] gives something to them?”

**KD:96**

*go'sī*                    *'haw kes'saē*                    *'dōs*    *'ban*  
 goš-ī                    haw    kessa=ē                    dōs    Ø-b-an  
 say.NPST-3SG    yes    story=PC.3PL    friend    SBJV-become.PST-3PL

*'zarrē*                    *'dā*  
 zarr=ē                    dā-Ø  
 money=PC.3PL    give.NPST-3SG

she said, “Yes, if he likes their story he will give them money.”

**KD:97**

*go'sī*                    *go'rā*    *'to*                    *'bra*                    *'manā*  
 goš-ī                    goṛā    to                    b-ra-Ø                    man-ā  
 say.NPST-3SG    then    PN.2SG    SBJV-go.NPST-2SG    PN.1SG-OBJ

*'bebar*                    *'man*    *kes'saē*                    *ja'nān*                    *'har*  
 be-bar-Ø                    man    kessa=ē                    jaṅ-ān                    har  
 IMPV-take.NPST-2SG    PN.1SG    story=PC.3PL    hit.NPST-1SG    every

*'čize*                    *ke*    *'manā*                    *ra'sī*                    *'goṛā*    *'man*  
 čiz=e                    ke    man-ā                    ras-ī                    goṛā    man  
 thing=IND    CLM    PN.1SG-OBJ    arrive.NPST-3SG    then    PN.1SG

*'tara*                    *da'yā*  
 ta-ra                    day-ā  
 PN.2SG-OBJ    give.NPST-1SG

the woman said, “Well, go and take me with yourself; I will tell a story; whatever he gives me (lit. reaches me) I will share with you.”

**KD:98**

*bal'lokā*                    *'go*                    *'berrē*  
 ballok-ā                    go                    be-rr-ē  
 grandmother-OBL    say.PST    SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

The grandmother said, “Let’s go.”

**KD:99**

*bal'lok o ja'nek ham'rā bī'tā at'kā*  
 ballok =o janek hamrā bīt-ā atk-ā  
 grandmother =and girl companion become.PST-3PL come.PST-3PL

*dī'wāne tō'kā 'dā čā'rī 'hamē moll'ā*  
 dīwān-e tōkā dā čār-ī ham=e mollā  
 meeting-GEN in you know look.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX Mullah

*ē ke 'mnī 'čokē koš'tagā*  
 =ē ke mnī čok=e košt-ag-ā  
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.1SG.GEN child=PC.3SG kill.PST-PP-3PL

*'hamā... 'marde wā'zīre 'ā hā 'gōn*  
 ham=ā mard-e wāzīr=e ā hā gōn  
 EMPH=DIST husband-GEN minister=PC.3SG DIST ADD with

*ē gō 'hamā wa'kīl hā 'gōn ē*  
 =ē gō ham=ā wakīl hā gōn =ē  
 =COP.NPST.3SG with EMPH=DIST lawyer ADD with =COP.NPST.3SG

*gō 'drō bād'sāhe gwa'rā ne'sta o dī'wān ā*  
 gō drō bādšāh-e gwarā nešt-a =o dīwān =ā  
 with all king-GEN to sit.PST-PP =and meeting =COP.NPST.3PL

The grandmother and the woman came to the meeting place; you know, she saw it was the Mullah who had killed her children, he...; her husband's minister with the lawyer, all are sitting with him next to the king, and they are talking.

**KD:100**

*'nī ča šohra'tiyā šarmenda'hīyā 'ōdā bād'sāhe gwa'rā*  
 nī ča šohrat-ī-yā šarmendah-ī-yā ōdā bādšāh-e gwarā  
 now from shame-ADJZ-OBL shame-ADJZ-OBL there king-GEN to

*'šot 'kot 'nakanā na 'nī ko'law o*  
 šot-Ø kot na-kan-ā na nī kolaw =o  
 go.PST-3SG do.PST NEG-do.NPST-3PL right? now message =and

*'hālē kota 'bale 'nī 'ē bād'sāhe gwa'rā*  
 hāl=e kota bale nī ē bādšāh-e gwarā  
 informed=PC.3PL do.PST-PP but now PROX king-GEN to

## A. Text Corpus

*neš'tagā*                      *je'neke*    *petay'gā*  
nešt-ag=ā                      ĵenek-e    petayg-ā  
sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL    girl-GEN    her father-OBL

Now they were not able to go to the king [the woman's husband] because of shame; now, they have sent a message and informed [that king]; but now they were sitting at the side of this king, the father of this woman.

### KD:101

*je'nek*    *'ātk*                      *o*        *'nešt*                      *o*        *bal'lokā*                      *'go*  
ĵenek    ātk-Ø                      =o        nešt-Ø                      =o        ballok-ā                      go  
girl      come.PST-3SG    =and    sit.PST-3SG    =and    grandmother-OBL    say.PST

*'manā*                      *'ya*    *nomāsa'gokē*                      *hasten*                      *'bādešāh*  
man-ā                      ya    nomāsa-ag-ok=ē                      hast=en                      bādešāh  
PN.1SG-OBL    one    grandchild-EV=IND    be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG    king

*sāheb*    *kes'sayā*        *'aga*    *'to*                      *ejā'zate*                      *de'yay*  
sāheb    kessa-yā        aga    to                      eĵāzat=e                      Ø-dey-ay  
sir      story-OBL    if      PN.2SG    permission=PC.3SG    SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

*'goṛā*    *kes'sae*                      *ĵā*  
goṛā    kessa=e                      ĵā  
then    story=PC.3SG    hit.NPST

The woman came and sat down, and the grandmother said, “Our majesty, I have a grandchild, if you allow her then she will tell a story.”

### KD:102

*gō'šī*                      *eĵā'zat*                      *enī*  
goš-ī                      eĵāzat                      =en=ī  
say.NPST-3SG    permission    =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

*'belī*                                              *ĵā*  
be-el-Ø=ī                                              ĵā  
SBJV-allow.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG    hit.NPST

the king said, “She is allowed, let her tell [her story].”

### KD:103

*gō'šī*                      *ja'nekā*        *'go*        *'man*        *kes'sa*    *ĵan'ān*                      *'heč*  
goš-ī                      ĵanek-ā        go        man        kessa    ĵan-ān                      heč  
say.NPST-3SG    girl-OBL    say.PST    PN.1SG    story    hit.NPST-1SG    anything

*kas 'pād 'maytē* *'aga 'harče*  
 kas pād m-ay-t=ē aga harče  
 person foot PROH-come.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG if anything

*raw'gīg ē 'kārē ha*  
 raw-g-īg =ē kār=ē ha=Ø  
 go.NPST-INF-ADJZ =COP.NPST.3SG work=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

*'boroā 'aga 'kārē 'nest en 'goṛā*  
 bo-ro-ā aga kār=ē nest =en goṛā  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3PL if work=IND NEG.be.NPST =COP.NPST.3SG then

*'mā 'otī 'kessa 'dā po'rū kanānī 'nī*  
 mā otī kessa dā porū Ø-kan-ān=ī nī  
 PN.1SG REFL.GEN story until finish SBJV-do.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG now

*'boro*  
 bo-ro-Ø  
 SBJV-go.NPST-2SG

It was said, the woman said, “[While] I am telling the story, no one is allowed to leave, if anyone wants to leave [or] has something to do (lit. a job) let them go, if they don’t, only when I finish my story they can go.”

**KD:104**

*'šarr ē je'nekā šo'rū bī 'hamā*  
 šarr =ē jenek-ā šorū bī-Ø ham=ā  
 fine =COP.NPST.3SG girl-OBL start become.PST-3SG EMPH=DIST

*aw'lī eštū'rīyā*  
 awl-ī eštūrī-yā  
 first-ORD story-OBL

[He said], “Alright”; the woman started to tell the story from the beginning.

**KD:105**

*yak bād'sāhē bīta*  
 yak bādšāh=ē bīt-a=Ø  
 one king=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

There was a king.

A. Text Corpus

**KD:106**

*bād'sāhā 'hapt mar'den'čok bīta* 'yak  
*bādšāh-ā hapt mardenčok bīt-a=Ø* yak  
 king-OBL seven son become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one

*ja'nen 'čoke bītage*  
*janenčok=e bīt-ag=e*  
 daughter=IND become.PST-PP=PC.3SG

The king had seven sons (lit. there were seven sons for the king) [and] one daughter (lit. there was a daughter for him).

**KD:107**

*yak'kēn ja'nen'čok kaste'rēn* 'čok  
*yakk-ēn janenčok kas-ter-ēn* čok  
 one-ATTR daughter young-CMP-ATTR child

*bīta bād'sāhā 'sak 'dōs*  
*bīt-a=Ø bādšāh-ā sak dōs*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG king-OBL very friend

*bīta*  
*bīt-a=Ø*  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The only daughter was the youngest child; the king loved her very much.

**KD:108**

*bād'sāh bor'ta mol'lāe gwa'rā wānēna'gā*  
*bādšāh bort-a mollā-e gwarā wānēn-ag-ā*  
 king take.PST-PP Mullah-GEN to read.NPST-INF-OBL

The king sent her to a Mullah to study.

**KD:109**

*mol'lāyā ke hastē...* 'yak 'rōčē wā'nēnta  
*mollā-yā ke hast=ē yak rōč=ē wānēnt-a*  
 Mullah-OBL CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG one day=IND teach.PST-PP

*'ēdga rō'čā ke hastē* mol'lāe 'del  
*ē-dga rōč-ā ke hast=ē* mollā-e del  
 PROX-other day-OBL CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG Mullah-GEN heart

*pa kīūr'rī*                      *bīta*                                      *mol'lāyā*  
 pa kīūrr-ī                      bīt-a=Ø                                      mollā-yā  
 for bad attention-ADJZ become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Mullah-OBL

*'hamē*                      *je'nek* *'nawānēnta*                      *'āī*                      *wānēn'tagant*  
 ham=ē                      ĵenek na-wānēnt-a                      āī                      wānēnt-ag-ant  
 EMPH=PROX girl NEG-teach.PST-PP DIST.DIR teach.PST-PP-3PL

*o*                      *'ē*                      *je'nekī*                      *dāš'ta*                      *'dāke* *'āhānī*                      *'dars*  
 =o ē                      ĵenek=ī                      dāšt-a                      dāke ā-hān-ī                      dars  
 =and PROX girl=PC.3SG hold.PST-PP till DIST-OBL.PL-GEN lesson

*o*                      *tā'līm*                      *po'rū* *kotagant*                      *o*                      *'nī* *ja'neke*  
 =o tālīm                      porū kot-ag-ant                      =o nī                      ĵanek-e  
 =and education finish do.PST-PP-3PL =and now girl-GEN

*wānē'nage*                                      *bā'rīgā*                      *'āī*                      *ējā'zat*  
 wān-ēn-ag-e                                      bārīg-ā                      āī                      ējāzat  
 read.NPST-CAUS-INF-GEN turn-OBL DIST.DIR permission

*dāta'gant*                      *o*                      *ta'tīlī*                                      *dāta'gant*                      *o*  
 dāt-ag-ant                      =o tātīl=ī                                      dāt-ag-ant                      =o  
 give.PST-PP-3PL =and dismissal=PC.3SG give.PST-PP-3PL =and

*čoṭṭī*                                      *dāta'gant*                      *o*                      *'nī*                      *'ē*                      *ja'nek* *bā'rīgā*  
 čoṭṭī=ī                                      dāt-ag-ant                      =o nī                      ē                      ĵanek bārīg-ā  
 dismissal=PC.3SG give.PST-PP-3PL =and now PROX girl turn-OBL

*'ēšī*                      *sa'rā* *ham'laī*                      *kota*                      *je'nek* *jegre'ta*  
 ēšī                      sarā hamla=ī                      kot-a                      ĵenek ĵegret-a  
 PROX.GEN on attack=PC.3SG do.PST-PP girl escape.PST-PP

This Mullah, who was... one day he has taught her; when it was the following day, the Mullah had a bad intention about the girl; the Mullah didn't teach this girl; he taught the others; but he has kept this girl waiting, till he had finished teaching the lesson to the others, and then (lit. now) when it [was] the girl's turn to be taught; he gave them free time; he dismissed [the others]; gave them a break, and now on her turn; he attacked her; the girl ran away.

**KD:110**

*do'hmī*                      *rō'čā*                      *do'mī*                      *ran'dā* *ja'nekā*                      *goš'ta*                      *ke*                      *'man*  
 doh-mī                      rōč-ā                      do-mī                      randā                      ĵanek-ā                      gošt-a                      ke                      man  
 two-ORD day-OBL two-ORD after girl-OBL say.PST-PP CLM PN.1SG



A. Text Corpus

<i>'nāyāyā</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>'pet</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mā'tā</i>	<i>'rāh</i>
nay-āy-ā	padā	pet	=o	māt-ā	rāh
NEG-come.NPST-1SG	again	father	=and	mother-OBL.PL	path

<i>dāta</i>	<i>mollāe</i>	<i>gwa'rā</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>wānē'nagā</i>	<i>'padā</i>
dāt-a	mollā-e	gwarā	pa	wān-ēn-ag-ā	padā
give.PST-PP	Mullah-GEN	to	for	read.NPST-CAUS-PP-OBL	again

<i>mollāyā</i>	<i>'ham</i>	<i>ja'lab</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>'ēšī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>ham'le</i>
mollā-yā	ham	jalab	kot-a	ēšī	sarā	hamle
Mullah-OBL	ADD	insistence	do.PST-PP	PROX.GEN	on	attack

<i>kota</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>jegre'ta</i>	<i>je'neke</i>	<i>'kawše</i>	<i>'tāī</i>
kot-a	jenek	jegret-a	jenek-e	kawš-e	tā=ī
do.PST-PP	girl	escape.PST-PP	girl-GEN	shoes-GEN	match=PC.3SG

<i>'paš</i>	<i>kapta</i>
paš	kapt-a
behind	fall.PST-PP

On the second day, on the second occasion, the girl said /that/, “I am not coming”; but (lit. again) her father and mother sent her [back] to the Mullah to study; again the Mullah insisted; he attacked her; the girl ran away; the girl’s shoe was left behind.

**KD:111**

<i>'kawše</i>	<i>'tā</i>	<i>mollāyā</i>	<i>bor'ta</i>	<i>bād'sāhā</i>	<i>dā'ta</i>	<i>ke</i>
kawš-e	tā	mollā-yā	bort-a	bādšāh-ā	dāt-a	ke
shoes-GEN	match	Mullah-OBL	take.PST-PP	king-OBL	give.PST-PP	CLM

<i>'tī</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>syākār'ī</i>	<i>bīta</i>
tī	janek	syākār-ī	bīt-a=Ø
PN.2SG.GEN	girl	whore-ADJZ	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'tī</i>	<i>ja'nek</i>	<i>šar'rēn</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>
tī	janek	šarr-ēn	mardom=ē
PN.2SG.GEN	girl	fine-ATTR	people=IND

<i>'nabīta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'kawš</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ke</i>
na-bīt-a=Ø	ē	kawš	=ē	ke
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	shoes	=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM

'man 'pač gepta  
 man pač gept-a  
 PN.1SG PREV take.PST-PP

The Mullah took her shoe; he gave it to the king /that/ [and said], “Your daughter has been a whore; your daughter has not been a nice person; here is [her] shoe that I have taken.”

**KD:112**

go'rā bād'sāhā 'otī 'čok parmā'tagā ke 'ē ja'nekā  
 goṛā bādšāh-ā otī čok parmāt-ag-ā ke ē janek-ā  
 then king-OBL REFL.GEN child order.PST-PP-3PL CLM PROX girl-OBL

'bebarē 'bekošē go'rā ja'nek ār'ta  
 be-bar-ē be-koš-ē goṛā janek ārt-a  
 IMPV-take.NPST-2SG IMPV-kill.NPST-2SG then girl bring.PST-PP

jan'gale tō'kā brā'tā 'alo dāta je'nek gō  
 jangal-e tōkā brāt-ā alo dāt-a jenek gō  
 forest-GEN in brother-OBL.PL leave give.PST-PP girl with

wakš'īyān ham'rāh bīta gō  
 wakš-ī-yān hamrāh bīt-a=Ø gō  
 wild-ADJZ-OBL.PL companion become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG with

āhū'gān o say'dān o kargōš'kā ham'rāh  
 āhūg-ān =o sayd-ān =o kargōšk-ā hamrāh  
 deer-OBL.PL =and deer-OBL.PL =and rabbit-OBL.PL companion

bīta 'dega 'ya bād'sāhē a'tka  
 bīt-a=Ø dega ya bādšāh=ē atk-a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG other one king=IND come.PST-PP

'hamā bād'sāhā bor'ta 'otī gwa'rā 'sāng  
 ham=ā bādšāh-ā bort-a otī gwarā sāng  
 EMPH=DIST king-OBL take.PST-PP REFL.GEN to betrothal

kota  
 kot-a  
 do.PST-PP

Then the king ordered his sons /that/ to take this girl [and] kill [her]; well, the brothers took the girl to the forest, [and] left [her]; the girl was together with

## A. Text Corpus

the wild animals, together with the deer, the deer and with the rabbits; a another king came; that king took her to his place; he got married to [this girl].

### KD:113

'hamē            *je'neke*   'sāng   *dāta*            *ja'nekā*   'say   'čok  
 ham=ē            *jenek-e*   sāng   *dāt-a*            *janek-ā*   say   čok  
 EMPH=PROX girl-GEN betrothal give.PST-PP girl-OBL three child

*bīta*                                            *je'nek*   'yak   'rōčē            *lagge'ta*   'yak  
 bīt-a=Ø                                            *jenek*   yak   rōč=ē            *lagget-a*   yak  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG girl   one   day=IND start.PT-PP one

*ā'wāzē*   *gō*   'mā   'yak   'šerī            *goša'gā*            *ya*   'ya  
 āwāz=ē   *gō*   mā   yak   šer=ī            *goš-ag-ā*            ya   ya  
 sound=IND with PN.1PL one poem=IND say.NPST-INF-OBL one one

'gapī            *kana'gā*                    *bād'sāh*   *goš'ta*            *ke*   'tarā            'če  
 gap-ī            *kan-ag-ā*                    *bādšāh*   *gošt-a*            *ke*   *ta-rā*            če  
 talk-GEN do.NPST-INF-OBL king   say.PST-PP CLM PN.2SG-OBJ what

*tak'līp*   *en*                                    *goš'ta*            'mā   'otī            'pet   *o*  
 taklīp   =en                                    *gošt-a*            mā   oī            pet   =o  
 trouble   =COP.NPST.3SG say.PST-PP PN.1SG REFL.GEN father   =and

'māt   *o*   'brāt   *o*   *gwā'rā*            *je'dā*            *yān*  
 māt   =o   brāt   =o   *gwār-ā*            *jedā*            =yān  
 mother   =and brother   =and sister-OBL.PL separated   =COP.NPST.1SG

He got married to this girl; the girl had three children; one day, she started to sing a poem; she was reciting a poem; she was saying something; the king said, /that/ “What is up with you?”; she said, “I am away from my father, mother, brothers and sisters.”

### KD:114

*go'rā*   *ja'neka*   'goštī                    *ke*   'man   'tarā  
 goṙā   *janek-a*   *gošt=ī*                    *ke*   *man*   *ta-rā*  
 then   girl-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG CLM PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ

*ba'rā*                                            'tī                                    'petā            *ra'senā*            'ta            *pa'ka*  
 baṙ-ā                                            tī                                    pet-ā            *rasen-ā*            ta            *paka*  
 take.NPST-1SG PN.2SG.GEN father-OBL take.NPST-1SG PN.2SG only

'otī	'pete	'nāmā	'beger	'goštī
otī	pet-e	nām-ā	be-ger-Ø	gošt=ī
REFL.GEN	father-GEN	name-OBL	SBJV-take.NPST-2SG	say.PST=PC.3SG

'molke	'nāmī	zā'nay	'goštī	'haw
molk-e	nām=ī	zān-ay	gošt=ī	haw
land-GEN	name=PC.3SG	know.NPST-2SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	yes

Then he said to the girl /that/, “I will take you to your father, just tell [me] your father’s name”; he said, “Do you know the name of his country? ”; she said, “Yes.”

**KD:115**

bād'sāhā	'otī	ja'nen	'zorta	'otī	'say	'čokī
bādšāh-ā	otī	janen	zort-a	otī	say	čok=ī
king-OBL	REFL.GEN	woman	take.PST-PP	REFL.GEN	three	child=PC.3SG

'zortā	'atkā	aw'lī	men'zelā	bād'sāhe	'lōg
zort-ā	atk-ā	awl-ī	menzel-ā	bādšāh-e	lōg
take.PST-3PL	come.PST-3PL	first-ORD	stop-OBL	king-GEN	house

po'lag	bīta	bād'sāhā	wā'zīr	o
pol-ag	bīt-a=Ø	bādšāh-ā	wāzīr	=o
steal.NPST-INF	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	king-OBL	minister	=and

mol'lā	o	kā'zī	ham'rāh	kota'gā
mollā	=o	kāzī	hamrāh	kot-ag-ā
Mullah	=and	judge	companion	do.PST-PP-3PL

The king took his wife [and] he took his three children; when they arrived at the first stop, there was a burglary in the king’s house; the king sent [her] with the minister, the Mullah, and the judge.

**KD:116**

bād'sāh	'wat	tare'ta	šo'ta	'otī
bādšāh	wat	taret-a	šot-a=Ø	otī
king	REFL	return.PST-PP	go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	REFL.GEN

'lōge	'hāl	ge'ragā
lōg-e	hāl	ger-ag-ā
house-GEN	news	take.NPST-INF-OBL

The king, himself, returned back (lit. returned, [and] went) to check on his house [back home].

A. Text Corpus

**KD:117**

'dāke mol'lāyā 'dawr ko'ta aw'lī ša'pa mar'dom  
 dāke mollā-yā dawr kot-a awl-ī šap-a mardom  
 then Mullah-OBL throwing do.PST-PP first-ORD night-OBL people

'wāb 'gētkā o ham'laī kota ja'neke sa'rā  
 wāb gētk-ā =o hamla=ī kot-a janek-e sarā  
 asleep find.PST-3PL =and attack=PC.3SG do.PST-PP girl-GEN on

Then, the Mullah made a move; at the first night, he made the people go to sleep, and attacked the girl.

**KD:118**

je'nek... je'nekā 'ēšīā 'dast nadāta o go'rā  
 jenek jenek-ā ēši-ā dast na-dāt-a =o gorā  
 girl girl-OBL PROX.DIR-OBL hand NEG-give.PST-PP =and then

mol'lāyā kaš'ta 'kārč o mol'lāyā 'ya 'čokē  
 mollā-yā kašt-a kārč =o mollā-yā ya čok=e  
 Mullah-OBL pull.PST-PP knife =and Mullah-OBL one child=IND

koš'ta 'ēdga ša'pā 'dege 'čoke  
 košt-a ē-dga šap-ā dege čok=e  
 kill.PST-PP PROX-other night-OBL another child=PC.3SG

koš'tagī say'mī ša'pā 'dege 'čoke  
 košt-ag=ī say-mī šap-ā dege čok=e  
 kill.PST-PP=PC.3SG three-ORD night-OBL another child=PC.3SG

koš'tagī mol'lāyā čāro'mī ša'pā ja'neke sa'rā  
 košt-ag=ī mollā-yā čār-omī šap-ā janek-e sarā  
 kill.PST-PP=PC.3SG Mullah-OBL four-ORD night-OBL girl-GEN on

ha'mle kota je'nekā mol'lā 'rad dāta o je'nek  
 hamle kot-a jenek-ā mollā rad dāt-a =o jenek  
 attack do.PST-PP girl-OBL Mullah fraud give.PST-PP =and girl

jegre'ta o mol'lāī 'otī besta'rānī sa'rā  
 jegret-a =o mollā=ī otī bestar-ānī sarā  
 escape.PST-PP =and Mullah=PC.3SG REFL.GEN bed-GEN.PL on

*wāp'ēnta*                      *o*     *je'nek* *jegre'ta*  
 wāpēnt-a                      =o     jenek   jegret-a  
 sleep.PST.CAUS-PP =and girl     escape.PST-PP

The girl...the girl didn't allow him; then the Mullah drew a knife, and he (lit. the Mullah) killed one of her children (lit. a child); on the next night, he killed another child; on the third night, he killed the other child; on the fourth night, the Mullah attacked the woman; the woman cheated the Mullah [and] ran away; she made the Mullah lie down on her bed and ran away.

**KD:119**

*je'nek* *jegre'ta*                      *je'nek* *šo'ta*                                      *'yak*  
 jenek   jegret-a                      jenek   šot-a=Ø                                      yak  
 girl     escape.PST-PP     girl     go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG     one

*čā'tēe*                      *tō'kā* *ča'medā*                      *če*     *'yak* *še'pānkē*  
 čāt=ē-e                      tōkā   čam=edā                      če     yak   šapānk=ē  
 well=IND-GEN     in     from-EMPH=here     from     one     shepherd=IND

*at'ka*                                              *lagge'ta*                      *'āpe*                      *kaš'sagā*  
 atk-a=Ø                                              lagget-a                      āp-e                      kašš-ag-ā  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG     start.PT-PP     water-GEN     pull.NPST-INF-OBL

*še'pānkā*                      *'hamē*                      *je'nek* *kaš'ta*                      *ča*     *'čāta*                      *o*  
 šepānk-ā                      ham=ē                      jenek   kašt-a                      ča     čāt-a                      =o  
 shepherd-OBL     EMPH=PROX     girl     pull.PST-PP     from     well-OBL     =and

*ār'ta*                      *'otī*                      *bal'loke*                      *'dastā*                      *dā'ta*  
 ārt-a                      otī                      ballok-e                      dast-ā                      dāt-a  
 bring.PST-PP     REFL.GEN     grandmother-GEN     hand-OBL     give.PST-PP

The girl ran away; she (lit. the girl) went into a well; a shepherd came from another direction (lit. here) [and] started to pull out water; the shepherd pulled out this girl from the well and brought [her], and gave her to his grandmother.

**KD:120**

*bal'loke*                      *'dastā*                      *dā'ta*                      *'ā*                      *'hamē*  
 ballok-e                      dast-ā                      dāt-a                      ā                      ham=ē  
 grandmother-GEN     hand-OBL     give.PST-PP     DIST     EMPH=PROX

*bal'loke*                      *gwa'rā* *zende'gī* *kana'gā*  
 ballok-e                      gwarā     zendegī     kan-ag-ā  
 grandmother-GEN     to                      life                      do.NPST-INF-OBL

A. Text Corpus

*bīta* *neš'tag* *o* *'pād atka*  
 bīt-a=Ø nešt-ag =o pād atk-a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG sit.PST-PP =and foot come.PST-PP

*'bezā* *'hamē* *'molke* *bād'sāh mar'domā*  
 be-zā-Ø ham=ē molk-e bādšāh mardom-a  
 SBJV-know.NPST-2SG EMPH=PROX land-GEN king people-OBL

*lōṭā'ēnī* *kes'saē* *ja'nage* *wās'tā*  
 lōṭāēn-ī kessa=ē jan-ag-e wāstā  
 call.NPST.CAUS-3SG story=IND hit.NPST-INF-GEN for the sake of

He gave her to his grandmother; she was living with his grandmother; she stayed there (lit. was sitting and standing); you know, the king of this country called the people to tell a story.

**KD:121**

*kes'saē* *ja'nage* *wās'tā* *go'rā nawā'sag...*  
 kessa=ē jan-ag-e wāstā goṛā nawā'sag  
 story=IND hit.NPST-INF-GEN for the sake of then grandchild

*'hamē* *ja'nekā* *goš'ta* *ke* *'ballo* *'berrē*  
 ham=ē janek-ā gošt-a ke ballo be-rr-ē  
 EMPH=PROX girl-OBL say.PST-PP CLM grandmother SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

*bād'sāhe* *gwa'rā* *kes'saē* *ja'nē* *bād'sāh 'harcī*  
 bādšāh-e gwarā kessa=ē Ø-jan-ē bādšāh harcī  
 king-GEN to story=IND SBJV-hit.NPST-1PL king whatever

*'manā* *'dantē* *'nēm 'to* *'nēm 'mā*  
 man-ā dan=ē nēm to nēm mā  
 PN.1SG-OBJ give.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG half PN.2SG half PN.1SG

to tell a story; then grandchild... this girl said /that/, “Grandmother let’s go to the king to tell a story; whatever the king gives me, half is mine half yours.”

**KD:122**

*go'rā* *je'nek* *'ātkā* *lage'ta* *kes'saē* *ja'nagā*  
 goṛā jenek ātk-a laget-a kessa-ē jan-ag-ā  
 then girl come.PST-PP start.PST-PP story-GEN hit.NPST-INF-OBL

Then the girl came [and] started to tell a story.

**KD:123**

*bād'sāhe gwa'rā 'wakte ke kes'saī ja'ta kes'saī*  
*bādšāh-e gwarā wakteke kessa=ī jat-a kessa=ī*  
 king-GEN to when story=PC.3SG beat.PST-PP story=PC.3SG

*ta'mām kota bād'sāhā 'dawr ko go'sī*  
*tamām kot-a bādšāh-ā dawr ko goš-ī*  
 finish do.PST-PP king-OBL throwing do.PST say.NPST-3SG

*'hamē ja'nek 'kay en go'sī 'ā ja'nek*  
*ham=ē janek kay =en goš-ī ā janek*  
 EMPH=PROX girl who =COP.NPST.3SG say.NPST-3SG DIST girl

*'man ā*  
*man =ā*  
 PN.1SG =COP.NPST.1SG

When she had told her story [and] finished it at the king's court; the king made a move [and] he said, "Who is this girl?"; she said, "I am that girl."

**KD:124**

*'ē ja'nek 'taw ay go'sī 'haw*  
*ē janek taw =ay goš-ī haw*  
 PROX girl PN.2SG =COP.NPST.2SG say.NPST-3SG yes

[he said] "Are you this girl?"; she said, "Yes."

**KD:125**

*sa'rīgī ke 'dēmā če 'dīr ko o'tīgā šap*  
*sarīg=ī ke dēmā če dīr ko o'īg-ā šap*  
 shawl=PC.3SG CLM in front of from far do.PST yours-OBL night

*a 'čon ke ta'hār a 'ya bā'kasē*  
*=a-Ø čonke tahār =a-Ø ya bākas=ē*  
 =COP.PST-3SG because dark =COP.PST-3SG one match=IND

*'jatī 'dā je'nekā čā'rī go'sī pu'ro*  
*jat=ī dā jenek-ā čār-ī goš-ī puro*  
 hit.PST=PC.3SG until girl-OBL look.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG exactly



A. Text Corpus

'manī            'čok    ě  
 man-ī            čok    =ě  
 PN.1SG-GEN child =COP.NPST.3SG

When she removed her shawl from her face, it was night, since it was dark, he lit a match; when he looked at the girl, he said, “She looks exactly like my daughter (lit. child).”

**KD:126**

'šo            golā'yeš ko            'daste            gep'tā            go'sī  
 šo-Ø            golāyeš ko            dast=e            gept-ā            goš-ī  
 go.PST-3SG hug do.PST hand=PC.3SG take.PST-3PL say.NPST-3SG

'begere                            mol'lāyā  
 be-ger-e                            mollā-yā  
 IMPV-arrest.NPST-2PL Mullah-OBL

He went, hugged [her and] took her hand; he said, “Arrest the Mullah.”

**KD:127**

'gept            wā'ja mol'lā    'jat            'ya    'zahmē            mol'lāī            'košt  
 gept            wāja mollā    jat            ya    zahm=ē            mollā=ī            košt  
 take.PST sir Mullah put.PST one sword=IND Mullah=PC.3SG kill.PST

Sir they arrested the Mullah [and] drew a sword [and] killed the Mullah.

**KD:128**

'nī    na'parē            'rāh dā            ke    'byā                            ke  
 nī    napar=ē            rāh dāt            ke    by-ā-Ø                            ke  
 now person=PC.3SG path give.PST CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM

'manī            'čok    'manā            ras'ta  
 man-ī            čok    man-ā            rast-a=Ø  
 PN.1SG-GEN child PN.1SG-OBJ arrive.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'tae            wā'zīr    'boro                            bāde'sāhā  
 ta=e            wāzīr    bo-ro-Ø                            bādešāh-ā  
 PN.2SG=EZ minister IMPV-go.NPST-2SG king-OBL

'byār  
 by-ār-Ø  
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

You know, he sent a certain person [to other king] [and said] /that/, “Come, I

have found my daughter (lit. child), you as the minister go and bring the king.”

**KD:129**

'hamē wā'zīr 'šot 'otī bād'sāhī 'ārt  
ham=ē wāzīr šot-Ø otī bād'sāh-ī ārt  
EMPH=PROX minister go.PST-3SG REFL.GEN king-ADJZ bring.PST

ja'nek 'padā do'bāra 'sare 'naw 'sīr dāt 'gōk o gō'nī  
janek padā dobāra sar=e naw sīr dāt gōk =o gōnī  
girl again again head=EZ new wedding give.PST cow =and sack

bīt o 'dōl o dō'kol bīt he'sāb  
bīt-Ø =o dōl =o dōkol bīt-Ø hesāb  
become.PST-3SG =and drum =and drum become.PST-3SG calculation

ke'tāb bīt 'padā bāde'sāhā 'gept mol'lāyā... 'ge  
ketāb bīt-Ø padā bāde'sāh-ā gept mollā-yā ge  
book become.PST-3SG then king-OBL take.PST Mullah-OBL take.PST

'otī 'hamē bāde'sāhe 'dast o 'padā gō 'otī  
otī ham=ē bāde'sāh-e dast =o padā gō otī  
REFL.GEN EMPH=PROX king-GEN hand =and again with REFL.GEN

zā'mātā čī... gō 'otī ja'nekā nē'kāhī kot  
zāmāt-ā čī gō otī janek-ā nēkāh=ī kot  
son-in-law-OBL what with REFL.GEN girl-OBL betrothal=PC.3SG do.PST

o 'otī zā'mātī kot o 'watī  
=o otī zāmāt=ī kot =o wat-ī  
=and REFL.GEN son-in-law=PC.3SG do.PST =and REFL-GEN

ja'nekī ba'kšet ke 'taw 'boro 'otī  
janek=ī bakšet ke taw bo-ro-Ø otī  
girl=PC.3SG give.PST CLM PN.2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG REFL.GEN

'molke tō'kā bāde'sāhī 'kā  
molk-e tōkā bāde'sāhī Ø-kā-Ø  
land-GEN in kingship IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

The minister went [and] brought his king; he married off the girl once again, with a feast (lit. cows and sacks (of rice/flour)), and music (lit. drums), all in good order; then the king took the Mullah ... took that king's hand and again

## A. Text Corpus

with his son-in-law... you know, he married off his daughter to him and he declared him his son-in-law, and he gave [him] her daughter [and said] /that/, “Go and reign in your country.”

### KD:130

'ā    'āngū   šo'tant    o    'mā    'padā   tar'ret    o  
ā    āngū   šot-ant    =o    mā    padā   tarret    =o  
DIST   there   go.PST-3PL   =and   PN.1PL   again   return.PST   =and

at'kẽ

atk-ẽ

come.PST-1PL

They went from there and we came back.

### KD:131

'nī    'mā    ne'māz   kanẽ  
nī    mā    nemāz   kan-ẽ  
now   PN.1PL   pray   do.NPST-1PL

now I am going to say the pray.