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Abstract

The aim of the present study is to build a digital annotated corpus of oral narrations of the Koroshi 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 part of the book begins an overview of the geographical distribution of Koroshi Balochi speakers, situating the Koroshi 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 multilingual.

The second section of the book presents four 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.

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To my dear storytellers and the Koroshi community

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Abbreviations

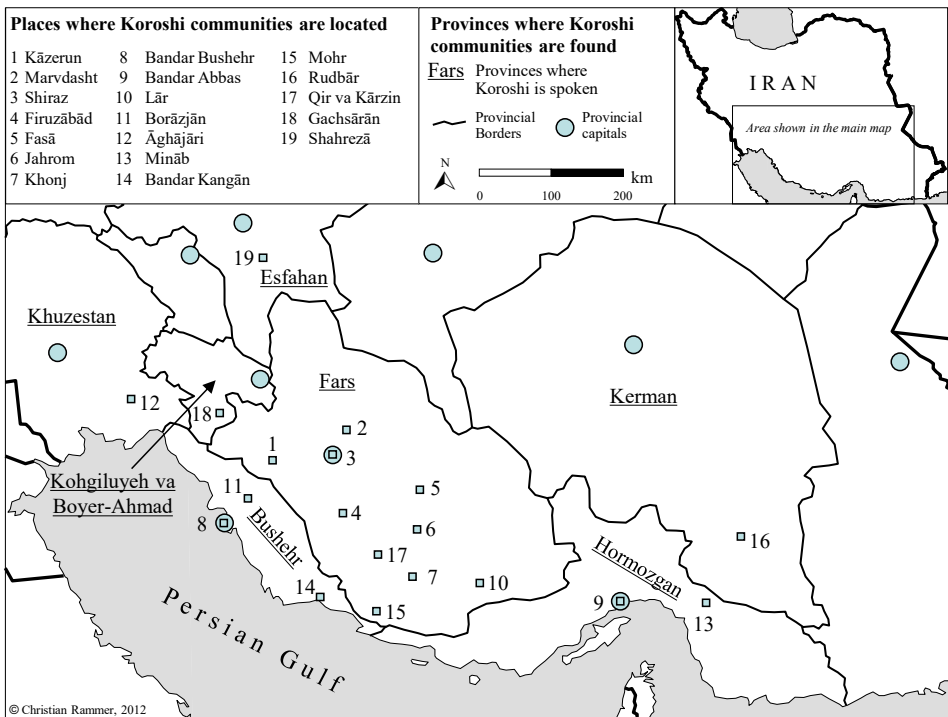
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
[]	additional information to the text
...	incomplete sentence
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
∅	zero morpheme
ADD	additive particle
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADVZ	adverbializer
AK	Akbar
ATTR	attributive
BACKG	backgrounding
C	consonant
CL	classifier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

INF	infinitive
lit.	literal translation
MIR	mirative
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
V	vowel
VCL	verb clitic
vd.	voiced
vl.	voiceless
VOC	vocative
YM	A Young Man

1. Introduction

1.1. Geographical Distribution

Koroshi Balochi is spoken in a large area of south-western Iran, mainly in Hormozgan, Buhshehr, and Fars provinces. In general, Korosh communities are found in villages near large towns and in the suburbs of these towns. Of these three areas, the one with the largest number of Korosh is Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province. A second area with a large number of Korosh is found across the southern part of Fars Province. The third concentration of Korosh, which maintains a close association with the Turkic speaking Qaşqā'i (see also Nourzaei et al. 2015: 21), is centred in the north-western part of Fars Province (see Map 1).



Map 1: Distribution of speakers of Koroshi (taken from Nourzaei 2017: 91)

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.

Koroshi can be described as a separate subgroup within the framework of the Balochi language, but would probably be placed under Southern Balochi in a broad dialect division (see also Nourzaei et al. 2015: 22). The Koroshi Balochi is in contact with standard Persian, and Persian varieties spoken in Fars Province, Lori and Qaşqā`i. The Koroshi speakers are multilingual; they can speak Persian, Koroshi, Qaşqā`i, and Lori.

1.3. Data

1.3.1. Collection: Methods, Timing, and Metadata

For the purposes of this study, linguistic consultants were recorded and filmed during spontaneous narrations. Data were collected in villages near the towns of Marvdasht, the Dehpiyaleh suburb of Shiraz, Kazerun, Lamerd, and Gale-dar in Fars Province; Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province; and Buhshahr in Bushehr Province, during six field trips conducted between February 2008 and April 2018, spanning my Master's, PhD, and postdoctoral programs.

The consultants consisted of 15 males and 15 females, aged between 30 and 85, all of whom were introduced to me by their communities as professional storytellers. With the exception of one female speaker, all participants had received basic formal schooling. All speakers possessed a fundamental knowledge of Arabic, sufficient for reading and reciting the Quran.

The linguistic consultants from Fars Province were multilingual, fluent in Koroshi, Persian, Lori, and Qaşqā`i. The speakers from Hormozgan were fluent in Koroshi, Balochi, and various Persian dialects, such as Bandari. The speakers from Bushehr were fluent in Koroshi and Persian dialects, including Buhsheri.

The texts in this collection were narrated by multilingual storytellers fluent in Koroshi, Persian, and Qaşqā`i.

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

1.3.2. Data Content: Classification of Text Types

For the purposes of this study, I have recorded two types of text. The first is traditional folktales, defined as “stories passed on by word of mouth rather than by writing, and thus partly modified by successive re-tellings before being written down or recorded” (Baldick 2001: 99). The second type is biographical tales, referring to reality-based life stories from either the recent or the more distant past. Some of these 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 third person.

The text entitled “*Goli*” belongs to the category of traditional folktales, while the text “*A Young Man*” falls under the biographical tale category. Within this collection, some texts are narrated by different speakers, offering diverse renditions of the same story.

1.3.3. Previous Studies on Corpus

The first annotated corpus was compiled by Nourzaei et al. (2015), followed by the second annotated corpus 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 trips in 2008–18. (See, for an overview, Nourzaei, forthcoming).

1.3.4. Data Transcription

The sounds found in Koroshi Balochi are presented in Tables (1) and (2). A recent investigation into Koroshi (Nourzaei et al. 2015) found that the Koroshi phoneme inventory has eight vowels: three short ones (*a, e, o*) and five long ones (*ā, ī, ē, ū, ō*), where *ā*, contrary to other Balochi dialects, is a back vowel, as in Persian (Nourzaei et al. 2015: 25–26). The following tables are taken from Nourzaei et al. (ibid.).

Table 1. Koroshi Balochi vowels (taken from Nourzaei et al. 2015: 25)

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

Table 2. Koroshi Balochi consonants (taken from Nourzaei et al. 2015: 26)

	Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveo- lar/ Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/ Af- (vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>(ʔ)</i>
fricates (vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives (vl.)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>		<i>ʁ</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		
Lateral		<i>l</i>					
Flaps		<i>r</i>	<i>(r)</i>				
Approximants	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

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- (forthcoming) *Documenting Orality: Experiences of Collecting Folk Narratives in Iran* [Studia Iranica Upsaliensia].

Interlinearized Koroshi Balochi Texts

I have transcribed and glossed four texts consisting of two folktales, entitled Goli (GL) and Goli and Ahmad (GA), and two biographical tales, entitled The Story of Akbar (AK) and The Story of a Young Man (YM), 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: A Young Man

A Young Man

'ya ʃa'wāne

recounted by Mahtalat Samsaniyan

YM:1

besmel'lāhe rah'māne ra'hīm

besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm

in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful

In the Name of God.

YM:2

ak'bar 'ya ʃa'wāne ra'šīdīya 'xayle ham 'xūba

akbar ya ʃawān=e rašīd=ī=ya xayle ham xūb=a

Akbar one young=EZ tall=IND=COP.PST very ADD good=COP.PST

montā'sī 'wadī 'wadī 'ğadrī 'nazāntī

montāsī wad-ī wad-ī ġadr=ī na-zānt=ī

but REFL-GEN REFL-GEN value=PC.3SG NEG-know.PST=PC.3SG

rafīko'bārī om 'gōlī ʃa be 'ē 'rōče

rafik-obār=ī =om gōl=ī ʃa be ē rōč=e

friend-PL=PC.3SG =ADD deceived=PC.3SG hit.PST in PROX day=IND

ruze'gārā 'ka wāġe'an 'hayfe ak'barā

ruzegār-ā ka wāġean hayf=e akbar-ā

era-OBL fall.PST indeed pity=EZ Akbar-OBL

Akbar was a young tall man; and he was very nice; but he himself did not understand his value; his friends also deceived him [so that] he fell into this misery; it was really a pity for Akbar (lit. really a pity was for Akbar).

A. Text Corpus

YM:3

ak'bar ye mod'datī 'xaylī ḡaneko'bār ā'segī
akbar ye modat=ī xaylī ḡanek-obār āšeg=ī
Akbar one time=IND very daughter-PL in love=PC.3SG

aboda 'āḡa 'iḡa ḡaneko'bār a 'ḡōm o 'xīšā a
a=bod-a āḡa iḡa ḡanek-obār a ḡōm o xīš-ā a
VCL=become.PST-PP there here daughter-PL from relatives-OBL from

tā'jīkā as 'hattā arābo'bār 'hattā ya a'rabe
tā'jīk-ā as hattā arāb-obār hattā ya arab=e
Tajiks-OBL from even Arab-PL even one Arab=IND

gaš'tayadī ḡa'nekam 'byā
gašt-ay=ad=ī ḡanek=am by-ā-Ø
say.PST-GEN=COP.PST=PC.3SG girl=PC.1SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

ta 'bedānet 'byā ta
ta be-d-ān=et by-ā-Ø ta
in order SBJV-give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG in order

'bedānet 'hīčī ham azat
be-d-ān=et hīčī ham az=at
SBJV-give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG nothing ADD from=PC.2SG

'nabokā fā'ḡāt ba 'wadī ḡawā'nīyat
na-bokā fāḡāt ba wad-ī ḡawān-ī=yat
NEG-want.NPST only for REFL-GEN young-ADJZ=PC.2SG

'madīyagom
ma-dī-yag=om
IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

Akbar, for a while, many girls fell in love with him you know; the girls [were] from [his] relatives, from the Tajiks even from the Arabs; an Arab had even [at one point] said to him, “Come, let me give my daughter to you; come let me give her to you; I do not want anything from you; I just give [her] to you because of your youth.”

YM:4

ak'bar ḡaštī ke a'rab en
akbar gašt=ī ke arab =en
Akbar say.PST=PC.3SG CLM Arab =COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'nābokānom</i>	<i>'gaštom</i>	<i>go'nāh en</i>	<i>ī'mīd</i>
nā-bokān=om	gašt=om	gonāh =en	īmīd
NEG-want.NPST=PC.1SG	say.PST=PC.1SG	pitied =COP.NPST.3SG	hope

<i>en</i>	<i>'berra</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>'gaštī</i>	<i>ke</i>
=en	ber-ra-Ø	bahr=ay	gašt=ī	ke
=COP.NPST.3SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	to=PC.3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	CLM

<i>'na 'nābokānom</i>	<i>'delom</i>	<i>'namakaša</i>
na nā-bokān=om	del=om	na-ma-kaš-a
no NEG-want.NPST=PC.1SG	heart=PC.1SG	NEG-IMP-pull.NPST-3SG

Akbar said /that/, “She is an Arab, I do not want [her]”; I said, “Have pity on her (lit. she is to be pitied); she has put her hopes up (lit. she is hope); go [and propose] to her.”; he said, /that/, “No I don’t want [her]; I do not want [her] (lit. my heart does not want).”

YM:5

<i>'xob 'mā</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'gašten</i>	<i>'delay</i>
xob mā	ham	gašt=en	del=ay
well PN.1PL	ADD	say.PST=PC.1PL	heart=PC.3SG

<i>a'nabōrēnen</i>	<i>'bākē</i>	<i>'nē</i>
a=na-bōrēn-en	bāk=ē	nē-Ø
VCL=NEG-break.NPST-1PL	fear=IND	NEG.be.NPST-3SG

Well, so we said, “We won’t break his heart, never mind (lit. there is no fear).”

YM:6

<i>ya a'wale</i>	<i>daye...</i>	<i>dawro'bare</i>	<i>ʔaṇa</i>	<i>'hamī</i>
ya awal=e	daye	dawrobar=e	ʔaṇ=a	ham=ī
one first=EZ	FRAG	around=EZ	war=COP.PST	EMPH=PROX

<i>dawro'bare</i>	<i>ʔaṇ ad</i>	<i>'gaštī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>bah'ram</i>
dawrobar=e	ʔaṇ ad-Ø	gašt=ī	ke	ay	bahr=am
around=EZ	war	COP.PST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	CLM	if for=PC.1SG

<i>mā'šīnā</i>	<i>'begered</i>	<i>har'jā</i>	<i>šo'mā</i>	<i>'gaštō</i>
māšīn-ā	be-ger-ed	har-jā	šomā	gašt=ō
car-OBL	SBJV-take.NPST-2PL	each-place	PN.2PL	say.PST=PC.2PL

A. Text Corpus

'man ar'rān age'rān
 man ar=r-ān a=ger-ān
 PN.1SG VCL=go.NPST-1SG VCL=get.NPST-1SG

Well it was at the begining of... around [the time of] the war; it was around the war (lit. the around the war was); he said /that/, “If you buy a car for me, I will go and propose (lit. take) wherever you tell me.”

YM:7

de'ya 'mā ham ya mā'sīnī... ban'ney xo'dā bo'kānī
 deya mā ham ya māšīn=ī banne=y xodā bokān=ī
 well in ADD one car=IND servant=EZ God want.NPST=PC.3SG

'berra jeb'ha 'mā ya mā'sīnī... hamā'sī
 ber-ra-Ø jebha mā ya māšīn=ī ham=āšī
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG warfront PN.1PL one car=IND EMPH=DIST.OBL

'gaštī 'bayāed 'bebared 'ē
 gašt=ī bay-ā-ed be-bar-ed ē
 say.PST=PC.3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2PL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL PROX

mā'sīnā har 'waxt ham 'pūlay 'dādō
 māšīn-ā har waxt ham pūlay dād=ō
 car-OBL each time ADD money.OBL.PC.3SG give.PST=PC.2PL

'dādāgō
 dād-āg=ō
 give.PST-PP=PC.2PL

You know, we also a car... A [certain] fellow (lit. the servant of God) wanted to go to the warfront; we a car... he said (lit. that one), “Come and take this car and you can pay whenever you want.”

YM:8

'mā 'raften ya mā'sīne ba'hray gī'māten kod o
 mā raft-en ya māšīn=e bahr=ay gīmāt=en kod =o
 PN.1PL go.PST-1PL one car=IND to=PC.3SG price=PC.1PL do.PST =and

e'sān ā za'mān 'gaštī ke mā'sīnā 'sī to'man
 ešān ā zamān gašt=ī ke māšīn-ā sī toman
 like this DIST time say.PST=PC.3SG CLM car-OBL thirty toman

'sī to'manā 'ya 'čī 'mā 'jūren ko 'ya 'čī
 sī toman-ā ya čī mā jūr=en ko ya čī
 thirty toman-OBL one what PN.1PL fixed=PC.1PL do.PST one what

ham bā'bā 'jūrī kod 'dāden 'azī
 ham bābā jūr=ī kod dād=en az=ī
 ADD father fixed=PC.3SG do.PST give.PST=PC.1PL to=PC.3SG

We went [and] found out the price of a car, you know; that time he said /that/,"Thirty toman for that car"; the thirty toman, some of it we fixed and some of it [our] father also fixed, [and] we gave [it] to him.

YM:9

'xo rū māšī'noka 'xūb 'kārī ākoday 'hamī
 xo rū māšīn-ok-a xūb kār=ī ā=kod-ay ham=ī
 well on car-DEF-OBL good work=PC.3SG VCL=do.PST-PP EMPH=PROX

as 'sare ahmadā'bād o as 'sare... akāk
 as sar=e ahmadābād =o as sar=e ak=āk-Ø
 from head=EZ Ahmad Abad =and from head=EZ VCL=come.PST-3SG

as 'sare ko'sent o ahmadā'bād 'xūb ad 'xūb
 as sar=e košent =o ahmadābād xūb ad-Ø xūb
 from head=EZ Koshent =and Ahmad Abad good COP.PST-3SG good

'kārī ākoda
 kār=ī ā=kod-a=Ø
 work=PC.3SG VCL=do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, he worked well with this car; you know, he came from Ahamd Abad and from... he came from Koshent and Ahmadabad; he was well; he worked well.

YM:10

'tā 'ya mod'datī bo 'ya mod'datī 'ya ja'neke
 tā ya modat=ī bo-Ø ya modat=ī ya janek=e
 till one time=IND become.PST-3SG one time=IND one daughter=IND

bo'kānadī ā ja'nekā 'mā 'delayn
 bokān=ad=ī ā janek-ā mā del=ayn
 want.NPST=COP.PST=PC.3SG DIST girl-OBL PN.1PL heart=PC.1PL

A. Text Corpus

'namakašīya

na-ma-kaš-īy=a

NEG-IMP-pull.NPST-INF=COP.NPST

Some time passed (lit. some time was); at a certain time a girl wanted him, [but] we (lit. our heart) did not want that girl.

YM:11

ban'ney xo'dā as na'zare aḡī'da o e'šānā
banne=y xodā as nazar=e aḡīda =o eš-ān-ā
servant=EZ God from point of view=EZ faith =and PROX-PL-OBJ

'xayle 'xob ja'nekea 'walī xo ba ak'barī 'šahnā
xayle xob janek=e=a walī xo ba akbar-ī šahnā
very well girl=IND=COP.PST but well for Akbar-GEN value

'nāmahāga ba ak'barī šah'nā
nā-mah-ā-g=a ba akbar-ī šahnā
NEG-IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST for Akbar-GEN value

'naya be'xātere 'čīyā be'xātere ke 'ē
nay=a-Ø bexāter=e čī-yā bexāter=e ke ē
NEG=COP.NPST-3SG because=EZ thing-OBL because=EZ CLM PROX

ban'ney xo'dāyam 'ya 'kamī 'ḡadī ku'tāda
banne=y xodā=yam ya kam=ī ḡad=ī kutād=a-Ø
servant=EZ God=ADD one little=IND high=PC.3SG short=COP.PST-3SG

'xayle as ak'bar e'šān 'mā 'nābokānaden
xayle as akbar ešān mā nā-bokān=ad-en
very from Akbar like this PN.1PL NEG-want.NPST=COP.PST-1PL

The girl (lit. servant of God) from the point of view of faith and things like that; she was a very nice girl; but she was not suitable for Akbar; she was not suitable for Akbar; Why? because this girl was a bit short, much shorter than Akbar, like this; we did not want [her].

YM:12

'xob ja'nekay do'ī 'āk 'māi lō'gā
xob janek-ay doī āk-Ø mā-ī lōg-ā
well girl-GEN mother come.PST-3SG PN.1PL-GEN house-OBL

'gaštī ke šō'mā ak'barā āmōx'ta kodagen
 gašt=ī ke šōmā akbar-ā āmōxta kod-ag=en
 say.PST=PC.3SG CLM PN.2PL Akbar-OBL teaching do.PST-PP=PC.1PL

o 'man fe'lān o bī'sān 'gašten 'xo mā
 =o man felān =o bīsān gašt=en xo mā
 =and PN.1SG so and so =and so and so say.PST=PC.1PL well PN.1PL

āmōx'tayen 'nākoda 'ya 'kam 'wadet ham 'fekr
 āmōxta=yen nā-kod-a ya kam wad=et ham fekr
 teaching=PC.1PL NEG-do.PST-PP one little REFL=PC.2SG ADD thought

kan ke 'ē ba 'šane ak'bar
 Ø-kan-Ø ke ē ba šan=e akbar
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG CLM PROX for value=EZ Akbar

'nāmahā
 nā-mah-ā-Ø

NEG-IMP-come.NPST-3SG

Well the girl's mother came to our house; she said /that/, "You have influenced (lit. taught) Akbar, and I [will do] this and this."; we said, "Well, we have not influenced him; think a bit for yourself as well [and you will realise] that she is not worthy of Akbar."

YM:13

be har sū'rat ja'nekay doī ak'bara ke 'dedī a
 be-har-sūrat janek-ay doī akbar-a ke ded=ī a
 to-each-form girl-GEN mother Akbar-OBL CLM see.PST=PC.3SG from

'zōrī 'grēdī dā'zan a 'hāl 'raft
 zor-ī grēd=ī dāzan a hāl raft-Ø
 force-ADJZ cry.PST=PC.3SG woman from health go.PST-3SG

Anyway, when the girl's mother saw Akbar, she cried a lot; the woman fainted.

YM:14

a 'hāl 'raft ak'bar 'gaštī go'nāh en
 a hāl raft-Ø akbar gašt=ī gonāh =en
 from health go.PST-3SG Akbar say.PST=PC.3SG pitied =COP.NPST.3SG

A. Text Corpus

hā'lā 'man 'ē ja'nekā age'rān bad ham ġes'mat
hālā man ē janek-ā a=ger-ān bad ham ġesmat
 now PN.1SG PROX girl-OBL VCL=get.NPST-1SG after ADD destiny

bo 'ya 'jane de'ya ham age'rān
bo-Ø ya jan=e deya ham a=ger-ān
 become.PST-3SG one wife=EZ other ADD VCL=get.NPST-1SG

She fainted, [and] Akbar said, “Have pity on her (lit. she is to be pitied), now, let me get married to this girl, and later [if] it is [part of my] destiny, [I] will marry another woman as well.”

YM:15

'mā 'gašten etō'rī de'ye 'xūb
mā gašt=en e-tōr=ī deye xūb
 PN.1PL say.PST=PC.1PL PROX-manner=PC.3SG well good

'nē
nē-Ø
 NEG.be.NPST-3SG

We said, “Well, that is not good.”

YM:16

be har sū'rat de'ye 'e ak'barā 'zortī 'raft
be-har-sūrat deye e akbar-ā zort=ī raft-Ø
 to-each-form well PROX Akbar-OBL take.PST=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG

At any rate, she took Akbar and left.

YM:17

ak'barā 'zortī 'raft o ja'neke am
akbar-ā zort=ī raft-Ø =o janek=e =am
 Akbar-OBL take.PST=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG =and daughter=PC.3SG =ADD

'dādī 'azay
dād=ī az=ay
 give.PST=PC.3SG from=PC.3SG

She took Akbar and left; and gave her daughter to him as well.

YM:18

hā'lā ham as 'ē dā'zanā 'do ja'nek e 'do
hālā ham as ē dāzan-ā do janek =e do
 now ADD from PROX woman-OBL two girl =COP.NPST.3SG two

ham 'bač xo'dārā 'šokr ja... čoko'bāray 'xayle 'xob a
ham bač xodārā-šokr ja čok-obār=ay xayle xob a
 ADD son to God-praise FRAG child-PL=PC.3SG very well from

gaša'ḥiyā o as na'zare jawā'nīyā a
gašaḥ-ī-yā =o as nazar=e jawān-ī-yā a
 beautiful-ADJZ-OBL =and from point of view=EZ young-ADJZ-OBL from

na'zare īmānā as na'zare ham'mo 'čīyā
nazar=e īmān-ā as nazar=e hammo čī-yā
 point of view=EZ faith-OBL from point of view=EZ all thing-OBL

'xūb en
xūb =en
 good =COP.NPST.3SG

So now he has two daughters and two sons from this woman, (lit. there are two daughters and two sons from this woman [for him]), thank God... his children are very good when it comes to (lit. from) beauty, youth and faith, they are good from all points of view.

YM:19

'wale 'ya xor'de 'čīe ke 'hassen ga'pā
wale ya xorde čī=e ke hass=en gap-ā
 but one some what=IND CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG word-OBL

'gōš 'namagera janeko'bārī en fā'gāt
gōš na-ma-ger-a janek-obār=ī =en fāgāt
 ear NEG-IMP-take.NPST-3SG girl-PL=PC.3SG =COP.NPST.3SG only

But there is a little issue; (lit. a little issue is) only /that/ his daughters do not take advice (lit. listen to word).

YM:20

'šokre xo'dā maza'noen 'bače 'xaylī 'xūb en
šokr=e-xodā mazan-o-en bač=e xaylī xūb =en
 praise=EZ-God big-DEF-ATTR son=PC.3SG very good =COP.NPST.3SG

A. Text Corpus

e'lāhī 'šokr be har sū'rat kār'rī kodaī o ē'šān
 elāhī-šokr be-har-sūrat kār=ī kod-a=ī =o ēšān
 God-praise to-each-form work=PC.3SG do.PST-PP=PC.3SG =and like this

'ye 'do kām'bā ham šarē'kī 'geftagī
 ye do kām̄bā ham šarēkī geft-ag=ī
 one two Combin.OBL ADD partnership take.PST-PP=PC.3SG

Thank God, his oldest son is very good; thanks God, anyway; he has done something, and so on; he has bought in partnership one or [two] combines too.

YM:21

'raften 'dēm pe bū'šeher o 'dēm pa āṅar'rān al'ān gan'nomā
 raft-en dēm pe būšeher =o dēm pa āṅar-ān alān gannom-ā
 go.PST-1PL towards Buhsher =and towards there-PL now wheat-OBL

maǰa'nayan jō'ā
 ma-ǰan-ay=an jō-ā
 IMP-hit.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL wheat-OBL

maǰa'nayand 'xūb en ak'barā
 ma-ǰan-ay=and xūb =en akbar-ā
 IMP-hit.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL good =COP.NPST.3SG Akbar-OBL

ham bor'tagī gō 'wadī
 ham bort-ag=ī gō wad=ī
 ADD take.PST-PP=PC.3SG with REFL=PC.3SG

They went to Buhsher, and to other [places] and now they are reaping (lit. cutting) the wheat over there; they are reaping (lit. cutting) the barley/rye; It is good; he has taken Akbar with himself as well.

YM:22

hā ē'sī 'nagaštom ak'bar rafīko'bārī
 hā ēšī na-gašt=om akbar rafīk-obār=ī
 yes PROX.OBL NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG Akbar friend-PL=PC.3SG

god'day ā'sī 'gōle ǰa moh'tād
 godda=y āšī gōl=e ǰa mohtād
 afterwards=EZ DIST.OBL deceived=PC.3SG hit.PST addicted

bo
bo-Ø
become.PST-3SG

Oh, I didn't mention this; afterwards Akbar, his friends deceived him, [and] he became addicted.

YM:23

moh'tād bo ban'nay kod ter'yākā
mohtād bo-Ø banna=y kod teryāk-ā
addicted become.PST-3SG starting=PC.3SG do.PST opium-OBL

'harčī ham 'mā 'gašten 'gašte aga
harčī ham mā gašt=en gašt=e aga
however much ADD PN.1PL say.PST=PC.1PL say.PST=PC.3SG if

'ē bo'kānī 'ē ya za'ra ter'yāk 'manā
ē bokān=ī ē ya zara teryāk man-ā
PROX want.NPST=PC.3SG PROX one little opium PN.1SG-OBJ

moh'tād kan 'manā a 'pād 'dar
mohtād Ø-kan-Ø man-ā a pād dar
addicted SBJV-do.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-OBJ from foot PREV

ārī 'bel ta 'hamī hā'lā a
Ø-ār-ī b-el-Ø ta ham=ī hālā a
SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG SBJV-let.NPST-2SG then EMPH=PROX now from

'pād 'darom gējī
pād dar=om gēj-ī
foot PREV=PC.1SG take.out.NPST-3SG

He became addicted; he started to use opium, and whatever we said,... he said, "If this, this little opium is going to make me addicted and destroy me (lit. bring me from foot), then let it destroy me right now."

YM:24

'mā 'harče 'gašten 'gōšī 'nakešt
mā harče gašt=en gōš=ī na-kešt
PN.1PL whatever say.PST=PC.1PL ear=PC.3SG NEG-pull.PST

Whatever we said; he did not listen [to us].

A. Text Corpus

YM:25

de'ya ya na'far bahe'sāb 'wade pahla'wān
 deya ya nafar bahesāb wad=e pahlawān
 well one person actually REFL=PC.3SG athlete

ā'wāntadī o 'waday ġa'wī
 ā=wānt=ad=ī =o wad=ay ġawī
 VCL=regard.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG =and REFL=PC.3SG strong

ā'wāntadī ak'bar ā'koen 'čo...
 ā=wānt=ad=ī akbar ākoen čo
 VCL=regard.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG Akbar at that time FRAG

hay'wānī ačā'rēntad
 haywān=ī a=čārēnt=ad
 animal=PC.3SG VCL=take grazing.PST=COP.PST

You know, one person, well, he regarded himself as an athlete; and he regarded himself as strong; at that time... Akbar was grazing his animals.

YM:26

ak'bar ā'kayad o gō ak'bar 'jar..
 akbar āk-ay=ad-Ø =o gō akbar jar
 Akbar come.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG =and with Akbar quarrel

Akbar had come and [he had] a fight with Akbar.

YM:27

jarī kod o ē'sān ak'bar jad'ayadī
 jar=ī kod =o ēšān akbar jad-ay=ad=ī
 fight=PC.3SG do.PST =and like this Akbar hit.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG

ġār'de ġeġ'taya ba ak'bar ak'bar ā'sī
 ġārd=e ġeġt-ay=a ba akbar akbar āšī
 attacked=PC.3SG take.PST-PP=COP.PST for Akbar Akbar DIST.OBL

ja'dayadī ak'bar xay...
 jad-ay=ad=ī akbar xay
 hit.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG Akbar FRAG

prēn'tayaday 'čēre hol'lāx 'xaylī
 prēnt-ay=ad=ay čēr=e hollāx xaylī
 throw.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG under=EZ stick very

ǰa'dayadī *ā'sī*
 ǰad-ay=ad=ī āšī
 hit.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG DIST.OBL

He had a fight, and so on; Akbar had beaten him; he had attacked Akbar;
 Akbar had beaten him so.... he (lit. Akbar) had beathen him with a stick (lit.
 thrown him under the stick); he had beaten him a lot.

YM:28

ī'kadda ǰaday'aday *ke de'ya*
 īkadda ǰad-ay=ad=ay ke deya
 so much hit.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG CLM well

namtā'nā *boda...* *bā... 'hamī...*
 na-m-tān-ā bod-a bā ham=ī
 NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP with EMPH=PROX

bā'bāi *ke mamad'alī bī*
 bābā=ī ke mamadalī Ø-b-ī
 father=PC.3SG CLM Mamad Ali SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

a'kay *a das'sā a'gī*
 a=k-ay-Ø a dass-ā a=g-ī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG from hand-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG

a'sī *'welī* *kan* *bā'mardā*
 a=š-ī wel=ī Ø-kan-Ø bāmard-ā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG loose=PC.3SG IMPV-do.NPST-2SG man-OBL

'koštet *ta* *'hōnet* *'prēnt* *mā 'manī*
 košt=et ta hōn=et prēnt mā man-ī
 kill.PST=PC.2SG PN.2SG blood=PC.2SG throw.PST on PN.1SG-GEN

gar'denā 'welay *kan* *bāmar'dā 'swāre*
 garden-ā wel=ay Ø-kan-Ø bāmard-ā swār=e
 neck-OBL loose=PC.3SG IMPV-do.NPST-2SG man-OBL riding=EZ

mā'sīnay a'kant *a'sī* *'berra*
 māšīn=ay a=kan-t a=š-ī ber-ra-Ø
 car=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

He had beaten him so much that he could not longer... With... this... his
 father, that is Mamad Ali, came; and took the man away from him (lit. from

A. Text Corpus

his hand), he said, “Leave the fellow [alone], you [almost] killed him, you made me responsible for his death (lit. you threw his blood on my neck), leave the fellow [alone]”; he put the man in his car [and] said, “Go.”

YM:29

<i>bā'mard</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>fā'mīlay</i>	<i>xa'bar</i>	<i>akant</i>
bāmard	ar=ra-Ø	fāmīl=ay	xabar	a=kan-t
man	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	family=PC.3SG	news	VCL=do.NPST-3SG

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>fe'lān</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>felā'nī</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>ke</i>
a=š-ī	ke	felān	ē	felān-ī	kas	ke
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	so and so	PROX	so and so-NOMZ	person	CLM

<i>ē'dān</i>	<i>čō'bān</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'mana</i>	<i>ē'taw</i>	<i>'jadī</i>
ēdān	čōbān	=en	man-a	ētaw	jad=ī
here	shepherd	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG-OBL	this way	hit.PST=PC.3SG

<i>pa'sīne</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>ke</i>
pasīn=e	bod-a=Ø	eš-ān	ke
in the evening=PC.3SG	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX-PL	CLM

<i>hay'wānā</i>	<i>'mahārēn</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>as</i>
haywān-ā	mah-ār-ēn	bod-a	as
animal-OBL	IMP-bring.NPST-BACKG.3PL	become.PST-PP	from

<i>'sahrā</i>	<i>'bayāran</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>agen'nan</i>
sahrā	bay-ār-an	lōg-ā	a=genn-an
wilderness.OBL	SBJV-bring.NPST-3PL	house-OBL	VCL=see.NPST-3PL

<i>tā</i>	<i>'deh</i>	<i>je'lōhaš</i>	<i>bas'sagī</i>	<i>'deh</i>	<i>'hamī</i>
tā	deh	jelō=haš	bass-ag=ī	deh	ham=ī
MIR	village	front=PC.3PL	tie.PST-PP=PC.3SG	village	EMPH=PROX

<i>šayxībī'dī</i>	<i>be'zāī</i>	<i>šayxībī'dī</i>	<i>ī'dān</i>
šayxībīdī	bezāī	šayxībīdī	īdān
Sheyxibidi	Bezai	Sheyxibidi	here

The man went [and] informed his relatives; he said /that/, “This person so and so who is a shepherd here beat me like this.”; It was in the evening when they were about to bring the animals back home from the wilderness; they saw /that/ [the way to] the village had been blocked for them, this Sheyxibidi Bezai, Sheyxibidi here.

YM:30

'ē 'deh ǰom'la hodū'dan 'čel de'wīs na'far 'sad
 ē deh ǰomla hodūdan čel dewīs nafar sad
 PROX village all about forty two.hundred person hundred

na'far 'gēš kaš'tayadeš 'rūye ī'sān
 nafar gēš kašt-ay=ad=eš rū=ye īš-ān
 person more pull.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3PL on=EZ PROX-PL

This village [was] all in all around forty; two hundred persons, more than one hundred persons had attacked them.

YM:31

ak'bar ham 'wadī ǰa'nay o go'hāray o
 akbar ham wad-ī ǰanay =o gohāray =o
 Akbar ADD REFL-GEN wife.OBL.PC.3SG =and sister.OBL.PC.3SG =and

ī'sānā hām'mo a'kant mā lō'gā da'rā
 īš-ān-ā hāmmo a=kan-t mā lōg-ā dar-ā
 PROX-PL-OBL all VCL=do.NPST-3SG into house-OBL door-OBL

ham a 'rūyeš aban'nī
 ham a rū=yeš a=bann-ī
 ADD from on=PC.3PL VCL=tie.NPST-3SG

So, Akbar put his wife and sister, and all the rest in a room and shut the door behind them (lit. in front of them).

YM:32

ta'farā a'zo aw'walay šeš'barī
 tafar-ā a=zo-Ø awwal=ay šešbar=ī
 axe-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG first=PC.3SG spiked club=PC.3SG

boda šeš'baray ī'dān ke
 bod-a=Ø šešbar=ay īdānke
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG spiked club=PC.3SG when

'maǰanā boda o de'ya 'hamī
 ma-ǰan-ā bod-a =o deya ham=ī
 IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and well EMPH=PROX

A. Text Corpus

<i>'harjāh</i>	<i>maǰa'nā</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>e'sān</i>
harjāh	ma-ǰan-ā	bod-a	ešān
wherever	IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	like this

<i>kaš'tayš</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>rū lō'gā</i>	<i>īšān</i>	<i>dā'rā</i>
kašt-ay=š	bod-a	rū lōg-ā	īš-ān	dār-ā
pull.PST-PP=PC.3PL	become.PST-PP	on house-OBL	PROX-PL	stick-OBL

<i>a'dan</i>	<i>šeš'baray</i>	<i>ǰo'loyaš</i>	<i>šeš'barā</i>
a=d-an	šešbar=ay	ǰolo=yaš	šešbar-ā
VCL=give.NPST-3PL	spiked club=EZ	front=PC.3PL	spiked club-OBL

ābo'rīd
 ā=bor-īd
 VCL=cut.NPST-3SG

He took an axe; at the begining, he had a spiked club (lit. there was a spiked club for him); when he was hitting [them]with his club, you know; he was hitting [them] everywhere, like this; they attacked the house; he hit (lit. give) the club with a wooden stick; he broke the club.

YM:33

<i>šeš'barā</i>	<i>ābo'rīd</i>	<i>de'ya maǰ'bur</i>
šešbar-ā	ā=bor-īd	deya maǰbur
spiked club-OBL	VCL=cut.NPST-3SG	then forced

<i>abī</i>	<i>hamō'dān</i>	<i>ta'farā</i>	<i>ā'zo</i>
a=b-ī	ham=ōdān	tafar-ā	ā=zo-Ø
VCL=become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=there	axe-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3SG

He broke the club; then he had to take the axe right there.

YM:34

<i>šeš'barā</i>	<i>āprē'nī</i>	<i>ta'farā</i>	<i>a'zo</i>
šešbar-ā	ā=prēn-ī	tafar-ā	a=zo-Ø
spiked club-OBL	VCL=throw.NPST-3SG	axe-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3SG

He threw the club [and] took the axe.

YM:35

<i>'ya na'farī...</i>	<i>āšān</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ham'mo</i>	<i>ta'fareš</i>	<i>boda</i>
ya nafar=ī	āšān	ham	hammo	tafar=eš	bod-a
one person=IND	DIST.PL	ADD	all	axe=PC.3PL	become.PST-PP

o šeš'bareš boda o de'ya be har sū'rat hā
 =o šešbar=eš bod-a =o deya be-har-sūrat hā
 =and spiked club=PC.3PL become.PST-PP =and well to-each-form yes

to'faṇeš ham 'hattā boda be'rādem 'yake am
 tofaṇ=eš ham hattā bod-a berād=em yak=e =am
 gun=PC.3PL ADD even become.PST-PP brother=PC.1SG one=IND =ADD

jān'bāze 'yake ham ka'sān en
 jānbāz=e yak=e ham kasān =en
 war veteran=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND ADD small =COP.NPST.3SG

'ḡat o ḡawār'raš 'nessa fā'ḡād ak'bar boda o'dān
 ḡat o ḡawār=aš n-ess=a fāḡād akbar bod-a o'dān
 stature=PC.3PL NEGbe=COP.NPST only Akbar become.PST-PP there

One person... you know, they all had axes (lit. there were axes for them), and they had club, (lit. there were clubs for them) and, you know, at any rate, yes; they even had guns (lit. there were guns for them); my brothers, one [of them] was a war veteran; the other one was young; they didn't have any stature [for fighting] (lit. there was not structure to them); only Akbar was there.

YM:36

'ašī edāna'kō de'ga... 'ya na'far 'hamītō ke
 a=š-ī edānakō dega ya nafar hamītō ke
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG right here well one person like this CLM

ta'farā āprē'nī ba bābā'ī sa'rā ak'bar
 tafar-ā ā=prēn-ī ba bābāī sar-ā akbar
 axe-OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG for father.OBL.GEN head-OBL Akbar

ta'farā a'dā jō'loay
 tafar-ā a=dā-Ø jōloay
 axe-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG front.OBL.PC.3SG

It is said, there (lit. here) you know...when one person threw the axe on [our] father's head; Akbar threw his axe in front of it.

YM:37

ta'far a'nagī a bā'bā
 tafar a=na-g-ī a bābā
 axe VCL=NEG-get.NPST-3SG from father.OBL

The axe did not hit [our] father.

A. Text Corpus

YM:38

dobā'ra go ta'far 'lāh akant ba bā'mardā bā'mard
 dobāra go tafar lāh a=kan-t ba bāmard-ā bāmard
 again with axe attacked VCL=do.NPST-3SG for man-OBL man

aĵer'gī go ta'farā a'naĵant bā'mardā
 a=ĵerg-ī go tafar-ā a=na-ĵan-t bāmard-ā
 VCL=flee.NPST-3SG with axe-OBL VCL=NEG-hit.NPST-3SG man-OBL

dobā'ra
 dobāra
 again

Again he attacked the man with the axe; the man ran away; he did not beat the man with the axe again.

YM:39

hamīdānā'kō gā'hāray ā yakk'en da'rā
 ham=īdānākō gāhār=ay ā yakk-en dar-ā
 EMPH=right here sister=PC.3SG DIST one-ATTR door-OBL

abō'jī čō'mākā arasā'nī
 a=bōĵ-ī čōmāk-ā a=rasān-ī
 VCL=open.NPST-3SG wooden club-OBL VCL=send.NPST-3SG

ba'hray zaraf'sān
 bahray zarafšān
 to.OBL.PC.3SG Zarafshan

At this time (lit. here), his sister, that one, Zarafshan, opened that door, [and] gave him the wooden club.

YM:40

zaraf'sān čō'mākā arasā'nī bah'ray dobā'ra
 zarafšān čōmāk-ā a=rasān-ī bahray dobāra
 Zarafshan wooden club-OBL VCL=send.NPST-3SG to.OBL.PC.3SG again

ham 'sar akan gō čō'mākā 'māneš
 ham sar a=kan-Ø gō čōmāk-ā mān=eš
 ADD head VCL=do.NPST-3SG with wooden club-OBL into=PC.3PL

Zarafshan gave him the wooden club; so again he attacked them with the club.

YM:41

be har sū'rat 'ē tā sā'hāte 'čāre 'sob 'hamī
 be-har-sūrat ē tā sāhāt=e čār=e sob ham=ī
 to-each-form PROX until hour=EZ four=EZ morning EMPH=PROX

ā'damā maǰa'nā boda
 ādam-ā ma-ǰan-ā bod-a
 human being-OBL IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

Anyway, he was beating these people until four o'clock in the morning.

YM:42

ē'sān ar'ran šekā'yat akanan ba
 ēš-ān ar=r-an šekāyat a=kan-an ba
 PROX-PL VCL=go.NPST-3PL complaint VCL=do.NPST-3PL for

pas'gāh o 'āṇa 'īṇa pas'gāh a'sī xo
 pasgāh =o āṇa īṇa pasgāh a=š-ī xo
 police station =and there here police station VCL=say.NPST-3SG well

'ē 'ye na'far en 'ē 'ye xūna'wāda
 ē ye nafar =en ē ye xūnawāda
 PROX one person =COP.NPST.3SG PROX one family

en 'ā ha 'do 'čok en ē ham ye
 =en ā ha do čok =en ē ham ye
 =COP.NPST.3SG DIST ADD two child =COP.NPST.3SG PROX ADD one

pīramar'dī en 'ē 'ya na'far yā'nī 'ē
 pīramard=ī =en ē ya nafar yānī ē
 old man=IND =COP.NPST.3SG PROX one person that is PROX

dī'wīs na'farā... 'hamī šo'mā 'wad 'wadō
 dīwīs nafar-ā ham=ī šomā wad wad=ō
 two.hundred person-OBL EMPH=PROX PN.2PL REFL REFL=PC.2PL

'jadāgō
 jad-āg=ō
 hit.PST-PP=PC.2PL

They went, [and] complained to the police station and you know; the police (lit. police station) said, “Well he is alone (lit. one person), this is one family and they are two children and this is an old man you mean to say (lit. that is)

A. Text Corpus

that this one person, these two hundred people... you yourselves have beaten each other.

YM:43

'man a'san gā'būl anakanān ke 'ē
 man asan gābūl a=na-kan-ān ke ē
 PN.1SG actually accepting VCL=NEG-do.NPST-1SG CLM PROX

'yake šō'mārā 'jadagī
 yak=e šōmā-rā jad-ag=ī
 one=IND PN.2PL-OBJ hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG

I don't at all accept that this one [person] has beaten you.”

YM:44

'harčī ē'šān a'sant ke wā'lā 'hamī
 harčī ēš-ān a=š-ant ke wāllā ham=ī
 however much PROX-PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM by God EMPH=PROX

'yakī 'mārā hām'mo 'jadī a'sī
 yak=ī mā-rā hāmmo jad=ī a=š-ī
 one=IND PN.1PL-OBJ all hit.PST=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

pās'gāh a'sī ke 'na ī'taw ke
 pāsgāh a=š-ī ke na ītaw ke
 police VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM no this way CLM

a'nabī 'ya na'far de'mīs na'farā
 a=na-b-ī ya nafar demīs nafar-ā
 VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG one person two.hundred person-OBL

'bejan šo'mā 'wadō 'wadō
 be-ĵan-Ø šomā wad=ō wad=ō
 SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG PN.2PL REFL=PC.2PL REFL=PC.2PL

'jadagō
 jad-ag=ō
 hit.PST-INF=PC.2PL

However much they said /that/, “By God, this one beat all of us”; it is said; the police (lit. police station) said /that/, “No, this is not possible /that/, one person can beat two hundred persons; you yourselves have beaten each other.”

YM:45

pās'gāh ham be har sū'rat gā'būl a'nakant ke
pāsgāh ham be-har-sūrat gābūl a=na-kan-t ke
 police ADD to-each-form accepting VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG CLM

ī'sān 'ē 'ya na'far ē'sī... ē'sānā
īš-ān ē ya nafar ēšī ēš-ān-ā
 PROX-PL PROX one person PROX.OBL PROX-PL-OBJ

'jadagī

jad-ag=ī

hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG

So, anyway, the police (lit. police station) did not accept that this one person had beaten this... them.

YM:46

'ē de'ye ma'jbūr abī as ōdā'nā as
ē deye ma'jbūr a=b-ī as ōdān-ā as
 PROX you know forced VCL=become.NPST-3SG from there-OBL from

'ā do'hā 'dar akaftī xūna'wāday
ā dohā dar a=kaf-ī xūnawāday
 DIST village.OBL PREV VCL=fall.NPST-3SG family.OBL.PC.3SG

a'zo 'dar akaftī
a=zo-Ø dar a=kaf-ī
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG PREV VCL=fall.NPST-3SG

You know, he had to move from there, from that village; he took his family [and] moved.

YM:47

'dar akaftī ē'sān god'day ā'sī ak'bar
dar a=kaf-ī ēšān godda=y āšī akbar
 PREV VCL=fall.NPST-3SG like this afterwards=EZ DIST.OBL Akbar

moh'tād bo

mohtād bo-Ø

addicted become.PST-3SG

He moved, you know; after that Akbar became an addict.

A. Text Corpus

YM:48

dī'ya god'day ā ja'rā 'kaftan 'paykay
dīya godda=y ā jar-ā kaft-an paykay
 well afterwards=EZ DIST quarrel-OBL fall.PST-3PL back.OBL.PC.3SG

moh'tādeš ko ak'barā
mohtād=eš ko akbar-ā
 addicted=PC.3PL do.PST Akbar-OBL

Well, after that fight, they went for him [made evil plans against him]; and made him addicted, Akbar.

YM:49

de'ya moh'tādeš ko bīčā'ra bo ke a'san
deya mohtād=eš ko bīčāra bo-Ø ke asan
 well addicted=PC.3PL do.PST destitute become.PST-3SG CLM actually

bā'war kan 'ye bozčā'derī 'hassadī
bāwar Ø-kan-Ø ye bozčāder=ī hass=ad=ī
 believed SBJV-do.NPST-2SG one goat hair tent=IND be=COP.PST=PC.3SG

'ye 'faršī 'kohnay
ye farš=ī kohna=y
 one carpet=EZ old=IND

Well, they made him addicted; he became destitute; actually, believe [me], he had a goat hair tent [and] an old carpet (lit.a goat hair tent [and] an old carpet were for him).

YM:50

pošāno'bāray ham hām'mo ba'hāī ko to'faṇī ba'hā
pošān-obār=ay ham hāmmo bahā=ī ko tofaṇ=ī bahā
 stuff-PL=PC.3SG ADD all sell=PC.3SG do.PST gun=PC.3SG sell

ko yax'čāl hām'mo 'čī ba'hāī ko ke de'ya
ko yaxčāl hāmmo čī bahā=ī ko ke deya
 do.PST refrigerator all what sell=PC.3SG do.PST CLM well

bo'dayad 'ya 'farše 'kohnay o ak'bar o
bod-ay=ad ya farš=e kohna=y =o akbar =o
 become.PST-PP=COP.PST one carpet=EZ old=IND =and Akbar =and

ya dā'zanay o 'do 'say 'čokī ka'sān
 ya dāzan=ay =o do say čok=ī kasān
 one woman=PC.3SG =and two three child=PC.3SG small

He sold even all his stuff; he sold his gun; he sold his refrigerator and all of his stuff; and now there was [only] an old carpet and Akbar and that one wife of his and two [or] three little children.

YM:51

'hečī dobā'ra 'māī gahāro'bār be har sū'rat
 hečī dobāra mā-ī gahār-obār be-har-sūrat
 nothing again PN.1PL-GEN sister-PL to-each-form

šū'bāren am 'namayla 'berren
 šū-bār=en =am na-may-l-a ber-r-en
 husband-PL=PC.1PL =ADD NEG-IMP-let.NPST-3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

a'gaštadī ar'ra čoko'bāren
 a=gašt=ad=ī ar=ra-Ø čok-obār=en
 VCL=say.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG child-PL=PC.1PL

ō'dān moh'tād abī
 ōdān mohtād a=b-ī
 there addicted VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'nabokānenī fe'lān be har sū'rat
 na-bokān=en=ī felān be-har-sūrat
 NEG-want.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG so and so to-each-form

'māī gahāro'bār be'har dar'dī ad 'raften
 mā-ī gahār-obār be-har dard=ī ad-Ø raft-en
 PN.1PL-GEN sister-PL to-each pain=IND COP.PST-3SG go.PST-1PL

Well, again we, his sisters, anyway, even our husbands did not allow us to go [home to Akbar]; they (lit. he) said, “[If] you go, our children will become addicted there; I do not want this, like this.”; anyway, we, the sisters went [there] in spite of all the prohibitions (lit. with every pain there was).

YM:52

'raften be har sū'rat ko'maken dā ē'sān
 raft-en be-har-sūrat komak=en dā ēšān
 go.PST-1PL to-each-form help=PC.1PL give.PST you know

A. Text Corpus

'gašten 'dada 'čō 'makan ā'orten
 gašt=en dada čō ma-kan-Ø āort=en
 say.PST=PC.1PL sister like this PROH-do.NPST-2SG bring.PST=PC.1PL

'yāne 'tarken dā xo'lās 'wadom 'raftān
 yāne tark=en dā xolās wad=om raft-ān
 that is leave=PC.1PL give.PST in short REFL=PC.1SG go.PST-1SG

ā'ortān
 āort-ān
 bring.PST-1SG

We went, anyway, we helped [him], you know; we said, “Brother (lit. sister), don’t do like this”; we brought him; that is, we had him detoxified; in short, I myself went [and] brought [him].

YM:53

'raftān a bā'bā ham 'gaštom ko'makom
 raft-ān a bābā ham gašt=om komak=om
 go.PST-1SG from father ADD say.PST=PC.1SG help=PC.1SG

'day 'xode 'šād ham 'gaštom ko'makom
 Ø-d-ay xod=e šād ham gašt=om komak=om
 SBJV-give.NPST-2SG self=EZ Shad ADD say.PST=PC.1SG help=PC.1SG

'day ke ak'barā 'tark dān
 Ø-d-ay ke akbar-ā tark Ø-d-ān
 SBJV-give.NPST-2SG CLM Akbar-OBL leave SBJV-give.NPST-1SG

I went to [our] father as well; [and] said, “Help me”; I even said to Shad, “Help me to have Akbar detoxified.”

YM:54

'borten ī'dān 'ya dok'ter asī yen 'hade do'tor
 bort=en īdān ya dokter asī =yen had=e dotor
 take.PST=PC.1PL here one doctor Asī =COP.NPST.3SG to=EZ doctor

asī 'zan o ba'čay ham ā'orton.
 asī zan =o bač=ay ham āorton
 Asī wife =and son=PC.3SG ADD bring.PSTPC.1SG

We brought him here; there is a doctor Asī, to doctor Asī; I brought his wife and children as well.

YM:55

a 'šūam am 'gaštom 'šūam am
a šū=am =am gašt=om šū=am =am
 from husband=PC.1SG =ADD say.PST=PC.1SG husband=PC.1SG =ADD

pesar'āmū enī 'gaštom
pesarāmū =en=ī gašt=om
 cousin =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG say.PST=PC.1SG

bā'hāt en ko'mak day ak'barā 'tark
bāhāt=en komak Ø-d-ay akbar-ā tark
 must=COP.NPST.3SG help SBJV-give.NPST-2SG Akbar-OBL leave

dayen ak'bar 'dīdō 'čekada jawan'mard
Ø-day-en akbar dīd=ō čekada jawnmard
 SBJV-give.NPST-1PL Akbar see.PST=PC.2PL how much generous

a 'čekada ko'makī a'dā 'čekada bā
=a čekada komak=ī a=dā čekada bā
 =COP.PST how much help=PC.3SG VCL=give.PST how much with

fā'milā sarfe'rāzī akā'orta 'gaštī
fāmīl-ā sarferāz-ī ak=āort-a gašt=ī
 family-OBL honour-ADJZ VCL=bring.PST-PP say.PST=PC.3SG

'bebī aya 'wade gā'būl kan
be-b-ī aya wad=e gābūl Ø-kan-Ø
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG if REFL=PC.3SG accepting SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

'man gā'būl ān akā'rānī
man gābūl =ān a=ār-ān=ī
 PN.1SG accepting =COP.NPST.1SG VCL=bring.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

I told my husband as well [my husband is his cousin]; I said, “You must help, we should have Akbar detoxified; you saw how generous he was; how much he helped, how much honour he has brought to [his] relatives”; he said, “Ok; if he himself accepts, I will accept [and] bring him”.

YM:56

ā'orten ī'dān tā 'yak 'māh 'mā ak'barā
āort=en īdān tā yak māh mā akbar-ā
 bring.PST=PC.1PL here until one month PN.1PL Akbar-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'borten dok'terā ā'orten 'xaylī ham
 bort=en dokter-ā āort=en xaylī ham
 take.PST=PC.1PL doctor-OBL bring.PST=PC.1PL very ADD

'šarmī āko'dad de'ya āxe'rī
 šarm=ī ā=kod=ad deya āxer=ī
 shame=PC.3SG VCL=do.PST=COP.PST well end=PC.3SG

We brought [him] here [and] for one month; we took Akbar to the doctor [and] brought [him back]; well, he was feeling very ashamed at the end.

YM:57

'ya 'rōčē 'xayle go ja'nay 'nazānān
 ya rōč=e xayle go janay Ø=na-zān-ān
 one day=IND very with wife.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG

'bahsī ko 'četaw bo 'ya na'far ter'yākī
 bahs=ī ko četaw bo-Ø ya nafar teryāk=ī
 dispute=PC.3SG do.PST how become.PST-3SG one person opium=IND

ra'sānte a'zay 'gaštī bo'kānom
 rasānt=e az=ay gašt=ī bokān=om
 arrive.PST=PC.3SG to=PC.3SG say.PST=PC.3SG want.NPST=PC.1SG

'berān ha'mūmā 'gaštom 'maraway
 be-r-ān hamūm-ā gašt=om ma-raw-ay
 SBJV-go.NPST-1SG bathroom-OBL say.PST=PC.1SG IMP-go.NPST-2SG

ha'mūmā 'alamdār 'ta zoh'rī 'raftay
 hamūm-ā akbar ta zohr=ī raft-ay
 bathroom-OBL Akbar PN.2SG noon=PC.3SG go.PST-2SG

ha'mūmā hā'lā ke 'nabāhā 'beray ha'mūmā
 hamūm-ā hālā ke na-bāhā be-r-ay hamūm-ā
 bathroom-OBL now CLM NEG-must SBJV-go.NPST-2SG bathroom-OBL

'gaštī 'na ar'rān ha'mūmā 'zūdī
 gašt=ī na ar=r-ān hamūm-ā zūd-ī
 say.PST=PC.3SG no VCL=go.NPST-1SG bathroom-OBL quick-ADVZ

ākā'yān

ā=k-ā-yān

VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

One day, he quarrelled a lot with his wife; I don't know what happened; one person brought opium for him; he said, "I want to go and take a shower (lit.bathroom)"; I said, "Are you going to take a shower (lit. bathroom), Akbar?; you had a shower in the afternoon (lit. bathroom); now you should not take a shower (lit. bathroom)"; he said, "No, I am taking a shower, (lit. bathroom) I'll be back quickly."

YM:58*'mā hamī'dān pā'yešten ākodad*

mā ham=īdān pāyešt=en ā=kod=ad-Ø

PN.1PL EMPH=here watching=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST-3SG

'dīdom ya na'far pīk'nīke ham 'dā

dīd=om ya nafar pīknīk=e ham dā

see.PST=PC.1SG one person camp kitchen=IND ADD give.PST

'ra mā ha'mūmā

ra-Ø mā hamūm-ā

go.NPST-3SG into bathroom-OBL

We were watching from here, [and] I saw someone give him a camp kitchen, [and] he went to the shower-room [bathroom].

YM:59*ā'kān 'gaštom 'kākām 'ta ke*

āk-ān gašt=om kākā=m ta ke

come.PST-1SG say.PST=PC.1SG brother=PC.1SG PN.2SG CLM

ǰawān'mard aday haǰī'ǰat bačī'yā 'čo

ǰawānmard =ad-ay haǰīǰat bačī-yā čo

generous =COP.PST-2SG in fact why-OBL like this

maka'nagay 'man ya... agen'nay ke

ma-kan-ag=ay man ya a=genn-ay ke

IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG one VCL=see.NPST-2SG CLM

gō 'če rūze'gārī bo'kānom 'tarā 'tark

gō če rūzegār-ī bokān=om ta-rā tark

with what time-ADJZ want.NPST=PC.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ leave

A. Text Corpus

<i>dān</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ā'sī</i>	<i>ko'mak</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ī'sī</i>	<i>ko'mak</i>
Ø-d-ān	as	āšī	komak	a	īšī	komak
SBJV-give.NPST-1SG	from	DIST.OBL	help	from	PROX.OBL	help

<i>bo'kānom</i>	<i>'tarā</i>	<i>'tark</i>	<i>dān</i>
bokān=om	ta-rā	tark	Ø-d-ān
want.NPST=PC.1SG	PN.2SG-OBJ	leave	SBJV-give.NPST-1SG

I came and said, “My brother, you /that/, were a really generous person; honestly, why are you doing like this?; I ... You see with what kind of hardship I want to have you detoxicated, [with] help from here and there (lit. this one, that one) I want to have you detoxicated.”

YM:60

<i>'gaštī</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>'ye</i>	<i>dā'fā</i>	<i>'xaylī</i>	<i>a'sābam</i>
gašt=ī	ham=ī	ye	dāfā	xaylī	asāb=am
say.PST=PC.3SG	EMPH=PROX	one	time	very	nerve.PL=PC.1SG

<i>'xord</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>'ye</i>	<i>dā'fā</i>	<i>be har sū'rat</i>	<i>'zōr</i>
xord	=en	ham=ī	ye	dāfā	be-har-sūrat	zor
shattered	=COP.NPST.3SG	EMPH=PROX	one	time	to-each-form	force

<i>bo</i>	<i>'kaštī</i>	<i>'ye</i>	<i>dā'fā</i>	<i>'kaštī</i>
bo-Ø	kašt=ī	ye	dāfā	kašt=ī
become.PST-3SG	pull.PST=PC.3SG	one	time	pull.PST=PC.3SG

He said, “Only this time I am really upset, only this time”; anyway, he won [over me] and smoked; he smoked one time.

YM:61

<i>'kaštī</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>'gawle</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>
kašt=ī	deya	gawl=e	ham	dā	ke
pull.PST=PC.3SG	then	promis=PC.3SG	ADD	give.PST	CLM

<i>'nakašī</i>	<i>'walī</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>'bāz</i>	<i>ham</i>
na-kaš-ī	walī	xo	bāz	ham
NEG-pull.NPST-3SG	but	you know	again	ADD

<i>'natāntī</i>	<i>'rū</i>	<i>'pāday</i>
Ø=na-tānt-Ø=ī	rū	pāday
VCL=NEG-be.able.to.PST-3SG=PC.3SG	on	foot.OBL.PC.3SG

'boštī de'ya hā'lā ba'sāb 'xūb bod
 b-ošt-ī deya hālā basāb xūb bod-Ø
 SBJV-stand up.NPST-3SG you know now actually good become.PST-3SG

ē'shān 'ra garmā'bād
 ēshān ra-Ø garmābād
 like this go.PST-3SG Garm Abad

He smoked; [but] then he promised not to smoke; but you know, again he could not get his life together (lit. stand on his feet); you know, now he was actually OK, like this [and] went to Garm Abad.

YM:62

'ra garmā'bād 'mā 'raften ya 'yak 'māhī
 ra-Ø garmābād mā raft-en ya yak māh=ī
 go.PST-3SG Garm Abad PN.1PL go.PST-1PL one one month=IND

bo 'mā 'raften dīda'nī čoko'bāram
 bo-Ø mā raft-en dīdan=ī čok-obār=am
 become.PST-3SG PN.1PL go.PST-1PL visiting=PC.3SG child-PL=PC.1SG

madra'sa ad 'namatānīyadān
 madrasa ad-Ø na-ma-tān-īy=ad-ān
 school COP.PST-3SG NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-INF=COP.PST-1SG

'berān
 be-r-ān
 SBJV-go.NPST-1SG

He went to Garm Abad; we went [as well]; we went to visit [him] after a month (lit. a month was); my children were at school; I could not go [more often].

YM:63

'raften dīda'nī 'dīden tā ak'bar as 'ā
 raft-en dīdan=ī dīd=en tā akbar as ā
 go.PST-1PL visiting=PC.3SG see.PST=PC.1PL MIR Akbar from DIST

'wazī ke 'hassadī bat'ter
 waz-ī ke hass=ad=ī bat-ter
 situation-ADJZ CLM be=COP.PST=PC.3SG bad-CMP

A. Text Corpus

boda

bod-a=Ø

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

We went to visit [him and]; we saw that Akbar was worse than he used to be (lit. from that situation which was to him).

YM:64

'walī wasā'yelay ba'hā 'namkana o 'āḡa...
walī wasāyel=ay bahā na-m-kan-a =o āḡa
but stuff=PC.3SG must NEG-IMP-do.NPST-3SG =and there

īšī ba'hā 'namakana
īšī bahā na-ma-kan-a
PROX.OBL must NEG-IMP-do.NPST-3SG

But he didn't sell his stuff, and like this; he did not sell it.

YM:65

'ya na'far ham a'zay gašt'ayadī ḡ Janet
ya nafar ham az=ay gašt-ay=ad=ī jan=et
one person ADD to=PC.3SG say.PST-PP=COP.PST=PC.3SG wife=PC.2SG

pah'lūe 'dard en o 'īkadda 'gōnet ḡ Jar
pahlū=e dard =en =o īkadda gōn=et ḡ jar
side=PC.3SG pain =COP.NPST.3SG =and so much with=PC.2SG quarrel

makana 'byā moh'tādī
ma-kan-a by-ā-Ø mohtād=ī
IMP-do.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG addicted=PC.3SG

kan 'tā de'ya 'gonet ḡ Jar
Ø-kan-Ø tā deya gon=et ḡ jar
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG so that well with=PC.2SG quarrel

'nakant

na-kan-t

NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

Someone said (lit. had also said) to him, “Your wife has pain in her side, and she [also] quarrels with you so much; come and make her addicted in order for her not to quarrel with you.”

A. Text Corpus

'zorrī ge 'bayay dok'ter o 'āḡā 'īḡa
 zorr=ī ge bay-ay-Ø doktor =o āḡā īḡa
 turning=PC.3SG take.PST SBJV-come.NPST-3SG doctor =and there here

'tark kan ba'če ham hā'lā nomzā'dī
 tark Ø-kan-Ø bač=e ham hālā nomzādī
 leave SBJV-do.NPST-2SG boy=PC.3SG ADD now engaged

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

He has taken a decision to go to a doctor to quit when he has returned from [working on the] combine, like this; now his son is engaged as well.

YM:69

alba'ta ḡaneko'bārī 'gapī 'gōš 'nagī
 albata ḡanek-obār=ī gap=ī gōš na-g-ī
 of course girl-PL=PC.3SG word=PC.3SG ear NEG-take.NPST-3SG

'yake 'bahtī 'syā boda bad'baxt
 yak=e baht=ī syā bod-a badbaxt
 one=IND fortune=PC.3SG black become.PST-PP poor

Of course, his daughters don't listen to his advice; one of them has ill-fated (lit. her fortune has become black), poor one.

YM:70

'walī a na'zare ḡawā'nī o ḡaša'ḡiyā
 walī a nazar=e ḡawān-ī =o ḡašaḡ-ī-yā
 but from point of view=EZ young-ADJZ =and beautiful-ADJZ-OBL

'xayle ḡa'šaḡ en
 xayle ḡašaḡ =en
 very beautiful =COP.NPST.3SG

But when it comes to youth and beauty; she is very beautiful.

YM:71

hā'lā xo'dārā 'šokr 'do 'bačī 'xaylī 'xūb en
 hālā xodā-rā šokr do bač=ī xaylī xūb =en
 now God-OBJ thank two son=PC.3SG very good =COP.NPST.3SG

bačo'barī 'xaylī 'xūb en
 bač-obār=ī xaylī xūb =en
 boy-PL=PC.3SG very good =COP.NPST.3SG

Now, thank God; his two sons are very good; his sons are very good.

YM:72

'xo īmīd'wār om xo'dā ke hām'mo ka'sā xo'dā
 xo īmīdwār =om xodā ke hāmmo kasā xodā
 well hoping =ADD God CLM all everybody.OBL God

'begennī ak'barā ham 'begennī ak'bar ham
 be-genn-ī akbar-ā ham be-genn-ī akbar ham
 SBJV-see.NPST-3SG Akbar-OBL ADD SBJV-see.NPST-3SG Akbar ADD

'zor gī ak'bar ham 'bebī
 zor Ø-g-ī akbar ham be-b-ī
 turning SBJV-take.NPST-3SG Akbar ADD SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

ha'mā pēšter'īn ak'bar
 ham=ā pēšter-īn akbar
 EMPH=DIST beforehand-ATTR Akbar

Well, I hope that God may see [to] everybody and may see [to] Akbar as well [and] Akbar will turn back [from his addiction] [and] Akbar will became that previous Akbar again.

A.2. Text 2: Akbar

Akbar
ak'bar

recounted by Noshad Samsaniyan

AK:1

ak'bar ya 'fardīen ra'sīd 'xob ja'golī
 akbar ya fard=ī=en rašīd xob jaḡol=ī
 Akbar one person=IND=COP.NPST.3SG tall well youth=PC.3SG

alba'ta kasa'nīay jaḡe'līay 'mā ham
 albata kasan-ī=ay jaḡel-ī=ay mā ham
 of course young-ADJZ=PC.3SG youth-ADJZ=PC.3SG PN.1PL ADD

A. Text Corpus

'dīden ze'rej ad 'xayle 'xob ad ze'rej
 dīd=en zerej ad-Ø xayle xob ad-Ø zerej
 see.PST=PC.1PL clever COP.PST-3SG very good COP.PST-3SG clever

ad 'harčī 'begašay ze'rej ad
 ad-Ø harčī be-gaš-ay zerej ad-Ø
 COP.PST-3SG however much SBJV-say.NPST-2SG clever COP.PST-3SG

har'jā ham ā'šoğ abodad
 harjā ham āšoğ a=bod=ad-Ø
 every where ADD in love VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG

Akbar is a tall, nice person; well in his youth of course, his youth, his youth, we saw /that/, he was clever; he was very good; he was clever from every point of view (lit. whatever you say); he was clever and he fell in love everywhere.

AK:2

har'jā ham ā'šoğ abodad
 harjā ham āšoğ a=bod=ad-Ø
 every where ADD in love VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG

a'gašteš 'alamdār 'berra doxtarā'mūyat
 a=gašt=eš akbar ber-ra-Ø doxtarāmū=yat
 VCL=say.PST=PC.3PL Akbar IMPV-go.NPST-2SG cousin=PC.2SG

'bege a'gaštadī na
 be-ge-Ø a=gašt=ad=ī na
 SBJV-take.NPST-2SG VCL=say.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG no

'magašā boda na 'nābokānom
 ma-gaš-ā bod-a na nā-bokān=om
 IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP no NEG-want.NPST=PC.1SG

'ē ba 'man 'xob 'nahen
 ē ba man xob nahen
 PROX for PN.1SG good NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

So he fell in love everywhere; they said, “Akbar, go and marry (lit. take) your cousin”; he said, “No”, he said, “No I do not want [her]; she is not good for me.”

AK:3

ġa'būl 'namakanā *boda* *doxtarā'mūay*
 ġabūl na-ma-kan-ā bod-a doxtarāmū=ay
 accepting NEG-IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP cousin=PC.3SG

pesarā'mūay... *doxtar'dātīay* *ġa'būl* 'namakanā
 pesarāmū=ay doxtardātī=ay ġabūl na-ma-kan-ā
 cousin=PC.3SG cousin=PC.3SG accepting NEG-IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda 'āṇa 'īṇa *ba'sāb* *daw'rān* 'zor *agī*
 bod-a āṇa īṇa basāb dawr-ān zor a=g-ī
 become.PST-PP there here well time-1SG turning VCL=take.NPST-3SG

ke 'ye 'waxtī *ar'ra* 'ya *jā* *xāsse'gāre* *ya*
 ke ye waxt=ī ar=ra-Ø ya jā xāssegār=e ya
 CLM one time=IND VCL=go.NPST-3SG one place proposed=EZ one

ja'nekeyā *abī* *dō'ī* *bō'āī*
 janek=e-yā a=b-ī dōī bowā=ī
 girl=IND-OBL VCL=become.NPST-3SG mother father=PC.3SG

a'šī 'alamdār 'ē 'taī *šah'nā*
 a=š-ī akbar ē ta-ī šahnā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Akbar PROX PN.2SG-GEN value

'naen 'ē *ja'nekā* 'begeray *ba*
 na-=en ē janek-ā be-ger-ay ba
 NEG=COP.NPST.3SG PROX girl-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-2SG for

'may *šah'nā* 'naen *ē'šānā* 'mā
 may šahnā na-=en ēš-ān-ā mā
 PN.1PL.GEN value NEG=COP.NPST.3SG PROX-PL-OBJ PN.1PL

pa'jā 'nāmahāragen *'xob*
 paĵā nā-mah-ār-ag=en *xob*
 recognizing NEG-IMP-bring.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG well

'begeray
 be-ger-ay
 SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

He did not accept his cousin (lit. daughter of paternal uncle), his cousin (lit. son of paternal uncle)...; his cousin (lit. daughter of maternal uncle); he did

A. Text Corpus

not accept [any one of them]; you know, well, the time passed, and at a [certain] time he went to a place [and] proposed to a girl; his mother and his father said, “Akbar she is not worthy you to marry this girl; she is not worthy for us; we don’t know these [people], well, for you to marry (lit. take) [her].

AK:4

<i>gō'sā</i>	<i>a'nakašī</i>	<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ja'nekā</i>
gōš-ā	a=na-kaš-ī	basāb	ē	janek-ā
ear-OBL	VCL=NEG-pull.NPST-3SG	you know	PROX	girl-OBL

a'gī

a=g-ī

VCL=take.NPST-3SG

He did not listen, you know; he married (lit. takes) this girl.

AK:5

<i>ja'nekā</i>	<i>a'gī</i>	<i>taḡre'ba</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'do</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>'māhī</i>
janek-ā	a=g-ī	taḡreba	ya	do	say	māh=ī
girl-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	around	one	two	three	month=IND

abī

a=b-ī

VCL=become.NPST-3SG

He married (lit. takes) this girl; around one, two, three months passed (lit. becomes).

AK:6

<i>'do</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>'māhī</i>	<i>abīd</i>	<i>'mē'dageš</i>
do	say	māh=ī	a=b-īd	mēdag=eš
two	three	month=IND	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	encampment=PC.3PL

<i>as</i>	<i>ō'dān</i>	<i>'bār</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>'jāī</i>	<i>de'ga</i>
as	ōdān	bār	a=kan-t	ar=ra-Ø	jā=ī	dega
from	there	load	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	place=IND	other

Around two, three months passed (lit. becomes) [and] their encampment moved from there [and] went to another place.

AK:7

<i>mē'dageš</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ō'dān</i>	<i>'bār</i>	<i>akant</i>
mēdag=eš	as	ōdān	bār	a=kan-t
encampment=PC.3PL	from	there	load	VCL=do.NPST-3SG

ar'ra *'jāī* *de'ga* *čō'bān* *abant*
 ar=ra-Ø *jā=ī* *dega* *čōbān* a=b-ant
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG place=IND other shepherd VCL=become.NPST-3PL

Their encampment moved from there [and] went to another place [and] they became shepherd [for some others].

AK:8

čō'bān *abant* *o* *ak'bar* *ar'ra* *ru*
 čōbān a=b-ant =o akbar ar=ra-Ø ru
 shepherd VCL=become.NPST-3PL =and Akbar VCL=go.NPST-3SG on

'hamā *ar'bābay* *tolom'may* *ba'sāb*
 ham=ā arbāb-ay tolommay basāb
 EMPH=DIST landlord-GEN waterpump.OBL.PC.3SG you know

tarak'tolā *'mašōrēnā* *boda* *rēya'tī*
 taraktol-ā ma-šōrēn-ā bod-a rēya'tī
 tractor-OBL IMP-move.NPST-OBL become.PST-PP agriculture

makanā *bodā* *ak'bar* *go* *'hamā*
 ma-kan-ā bod-ā akbar go ham=ā
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP Akbar with EMPH=DIST

ar'bābe *ke* *čō'bān* *bodagant* *bō'āī*
 arbāb=e ke čōbān bod-ag=ant bōā=ī
 boss=IND CLM shepherd become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL father=PC.3SG

am *hay'wānā* *'mačarēnā* *boda*
 =am haywān-ā ma-čarēn-ā bod-a
 =ADD animal-OBL IMP-graze.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

'wadī *'ham* *'rū* *tarak'tolā* *'kār* *makanā*
 wad=ī ham rū taraktol-ā kār ma-kan-ā
 REFL=PC.3SG ADD on tractor-OBL work IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda *'šoxm* *majanā* *bodā*
 bod-a šoxm ma-ĵan-ā bod-ā
 become.PST-PP ploughing IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

They became shepherds [for some others], and Akbar went on that landlord's waterpump, you know; he used to drive a tractor; he used to do agriculture; Akbar with that landlord who they were shepherd for, and his father used to

A. Text Corpus

graze the animals, and he himself used to work on the tractor, he used to plough [the land].

AK:9

hame'dā ke 'šoxm maĵanā boda
 ham=edā ke šoxm ma-ĵan-ā bod-a
 EMPH=here CLM ploughing IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

agen'nī 'yak 'do 'say na'far as 'āŋa do'hod
 a=genn-ī yak do say nafar as āŋa dohod-Ø
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG one two three person from there run.PST-3SG

'āk a'šant ak'bar a'šī 'bale
 āk-Ø a=š-ant akbar a=š-ī bale
 come.PST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL Akbar VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes

a'šīt šo'mā ġašġā'ī et 'mā ham ġašġā'ī
 a=š-īt šomā ġašġā'ī =et mā ham ġašġā'ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2PL Qashqa'i =PC.2SG PN.1PL ADD Qashqa'i

en 'wale 'xo šo'mā do'ros en ko'roš
 =en wale xo šomā doros =en koroš
 =COP.NPST.3SG but well PN.2PL right =COP.NPST.3SG Korosh

et 'mā 'hamī 'īl o 'kōč makanen 'bār
 =et mā ham=ī īl o kōč ma-kan-en bār
 =PC.2SG PN.1PL EMPH=PROX migration IMP-do.NPST-1PL load

makanagen maprē'nagen
 ma-kan-ag=en ma-prēn-ag=en
 IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG IMP-throw.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

'ē kalon'tar bare 'mā 'zolmī koda
 ē kalontar bar=e mā zolm=ī kod-a
 PROX headman to=EZ PN.1PL cruel=PC.3SG do.PST-PP

maĵa'nagenen ba'čam
 ma-ĵan-ag=en=en bač=am
 IMP-hit.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1PL boy=PC.1SG

ʔadagī *ʔwadam* *ʔadagī* *ʔmā* *ho*
 ʔad-ag=ī wad=am ʔad-ag=ī mā =ho
 hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG REFL=PC.1SG hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG PN.1PL =FOC

pa'nāhen *āworta* *ba* *'ta* *e'šānā* *'ta*
 panāh=en āwort-a ba ta eš-ān-ā ta
 refuge=PC.1PL bring.PST-PP for PN.2SG PROX-PL-OBJ PN.2SG

atā'nay *'beʔanay* *moʔjāb* *kanay*
 a=tān-ay be-ʔan-ay moʔjāb Ø-kan-ay
 VCL=be able.NPST-2SG SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG refute SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

At that very place where he was ploughing; he saw /that/, one, two, three people were coming running from somewhere (lit. there), and said, “Akbar”, he said, “Yes”; he [i.e. one of the fellows who came running said], “You are Qashqa’i [and] we are also Qashqa’i but, well, it is true that you are Korosh; we are making this migration; we are loading up and loading off [together]; this headman was cruel to us; he was beating us; he beat my son; he beat me myself; well, we have sought refuge to you; you can beat them you can refute them.”

AK:10

ak'bar *ham* *a'šī* *wā'lā* *'man* *go* *ē'šān* *'xaylī*
 akbar ham a=š-ī wāllā man go eš-ān xaylī
 Akbar ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG by God PN.1SG with PROX-PL very

če... *'nayān* *'man* *'nabokānom* *ʔjar*
 če nayān man na-bokān=om ʔjar
 FRAG NEG.COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG NEG-want.NPST=PC.1SG quarrel

kanān *ʔjar* *ham* *'xob* *naen*
 Ø-kan-ān ʔjar ham xob na-=en
 SBJV-do.NPST-1SG quarrel ADD well NEG=COP.NPST.3SG

'ela *'bela*
 ela bela
 so on and so forth

So Akbar said, “Actually (lit. by God) I am not very..., you know with them; and I do not want to fight and fighting is not good either [and] so on and so forth.”

A. Text Corpus

AK:11

agen'nī 'na 'xayr 'xān do'bāra sō'bēne
 a=genn-ī na xayr xān dobāra sōb-ēn=e
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG no no khan again morning-ATTR=PC.3SG

hamā'sāna ġo'roġ *makana* 'maġana
 ham=āšān-a ġoroġ ma-kan-a ma-ġan-a
 EMPH=DIST.PL-OBJ hindering IMP-do.NPST-3SG IMP-play.NPST-3SG

He saw, in fact (lit. oh no) the Khan was hindering, [and] beating these [people] again in the morning.

AK:12

ak'bar 'ya 'rō 'sayl *akant* 'tā 'xān 'hamā
 akbar ya rō sayl a=kan-t tā xān ham=ā
 Akbar one day looking VCL=do.NPST-3SG MIR khan EMPH=DIST

kalān'tar 'raft 'dēm pa šah'rā
 kalāntar raft-Ø dēm pa šahr-ā
 elder go.PST-3SG towards city-OBL

One day Akbar saw /that/, the Khan, that headman, went to (lit. in the direction of) the city.

AK:13

ar'ra 'dēm pa šah'rā 'ē a'kay
 ar=ra-Ø dēm pa šahr-ā ē a=k-ay-Ø
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG towards city-OBL PROX VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

'rāhē *aban'nī* *pasē'nī*
 rāh=ē a=bann-ī pasēn=ī
 way=PC.3SG VCL=tie.NPST-3SG in the evening=PC.3SG

He went to (lit. in the direction of) the city; Akbar (lit. this [one]) came, [and] blocked his way [of return] in the evening.

AK:14

ak'bar a'kay *kalān'tarī* *rā'hā* a
 akbar a=k-ay-Ø kalāntar-ī rāh-ā a
 Akbar VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG headman-GEN way-OBL in

pasē'nī *aban'nī* 'ta *kalān'tar*
 pasēn=ī a=bann-ī ta kalāntar
 in the evening=PC.3SG VCL=tie.NPST-3SG MIR elder

wa'denī o 'bačī o *ja'nekī*
 wad=en=ī =o bač=ī =o janek=ī
 REFL=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG =and son=PC.3SG =and daughter=PC.3SG

Akbar came [and] blocked the headman's way in the evening; it was the headman himself, and his son and his daughter.

AK:15

to'faṇā *āka'sī* 'rūī
 tofaṇ-ā ā=kaš-ī rū=ī
 gun-OBL VCL=draw.NPST-3SG at=PC.3SG

He pointed the gun at him.

AK:16

to'faṇe *ham bo'dagī* *ak'bar*
 tofaṇ=e ham bod-ag=ī akbar
 gun=PC.3SG ADD become.PST-PP=PC.3SG Akbar

a'kay a *bō'āī* as... *bō'āī*
 a=k-ay-Ø a bowā=ī as bowā=ī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG from father=PC.3SG from father=PC.3SG

lō'gay *to'faṇā* *ham a'zo* *to'faṇe* *ham*
 lōgay tofaṇ-ā ham a=zo-Ø tofaṇ=e ham
 house.OBL.PC.3SG gun-OBL ADD VCL=take.NPST-3SG gun=PC.3SG ADD

boda

bod-a

become.PST-PP

He had a gun; (lit. there was a gun for him) you know; Akbar came from his father from... well, he took the gun from his father's house; he had a gun, (lit. there was a gun for him) you know.

AK:17

a'kay *aka'sī* 'rūī
 a=k-ay-Ø a=kaš-ī rū=ī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG VCL=pull.NPST-3SG at=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

a'sī 'yālā 'bīyā jah'lā ta
a=š-ī yālā bīy-ā-Ø jah-l-ā ta
VCL=say.NPST-3SG hurry up IMPV-come.NPST-2SG down-OBL PN.2SG

'če bodagay ke mar'domā 'majanay
če bod-ag=ay ke mardom-ā ma-ʃan-ay
what become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG CLM people-OBL IMP-hit.NPST-2SG

mar'domā go'roḡ makanay 'bīyā 'ē
mardom-ā ḡoroḡ ma-kan-ay bīy-ā-Ø ē
people-OBL hindering IMP-do.NPST-2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PROX

do tū ha'mī taī'en 'hāmmo
do tū ham=ī ta-ī=en hāmmo
two FRAG EMPH=PROX PN.2SG-GEN=COP.NPST.3SG all

'gefteš 'dādeš taī das'sa
geft=eš dād=eš ta-ī dass-a
take.PST=PC.3PL give.PST=PC.3PL PN.2SG-GEN hand-OBL

'bīyā sa'nadeš koda 'dādeš
bīy-ā-Ø sanad=eš kod-a dād=eš
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG document=PC.3PL do.PST-PP give.PST=PC.3PL

ta ke mar'domā 'majanagay o
ta ke mardom-ā ma-ʃan-ag=ay =o
PN.2SG CLM people-OBL IMP-hit.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG =and

'xār o 'kūr makanay 'namaylagay
xār o kūr ma-kan-ay na-may-l-ag=ay
harassing IMP-do.NPST-2SG NEG-IMP-let.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG

hay'wānay 'zennay 'bečārenī
haywān=ay zenn=ay be-čāren-ī
animal=EZ alive=PC.3SG SBJV-graze.NPST-3SG

He came [and] pointed [the gun] at him [and] said, “Hurry up, come down, what’s up with you that you beat people, that you hinder people; look, they have taken all this [land] and given to you; look they have registered and given to you, who are beating the people and harassing them and not letting them graze their animals in peace (lit. alive).

AK:18

a'sī *če'taw kanay* *das'say* *ba'ǵalī*
 a=š-ī četaw kan-ay dass-ay baǵal=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG how do.NPST-2SG hand-GEN beside=PC.3SG

aban'nī *ham 'bačay* *'dass ba'ǵalī* *ham*
 a=bann-ī ham bač=ay dass baǵal=ī ham
 VCL=tie.NPST-3SG ADD boy=PC.3SG hand beside=PC.3SG ADD

wa'dī *dass ba'ǵalī* *aban'nī* *mā'sīn ham*
 wad-ī dass baǵal=ī a=bann-ī māšīn ham
 REFL-GEN hand beside=PC.3SG VCL=tie.NPST-3SG car ADD

adan *'dasse* *ǵa'nekay* *a'sī* *as*
 a=dan-Ø dass=e ǵanekay a=š-ī as
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG hand=EZ girl.OBL=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG from

ǵa'neke *a'sī* *'ta* *'bera*
 ǵaneke a=š-ī ta be--Ø
 girl.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG SBJVgo.NPST2SG

lō'gā *'bega* *bō'āem* *o* *be'rādam*
 lōg-ā be-ga-Ø bōā=em =o berād=am
 house-OBL IMPV-say.NPST-2SG father=PC.1SG =and brother=PC.1SG

ak'bar 'bortī *korošo'bār 'yake* *as* *korošo'bārā*
 akbar bort=ī koroš-obār yak=e as koroš-obār-ā
 Akbar take.PST=PC.3SG Korosh-PL one=IND from Korosh-PL-OBL

'bortī
 bort=ī
 take.PST=PC.3SG

[The headman] said, “What are you doing?” [Akbar] pinioned him, he both pinioned his son and [the headman] himself, and gave the car into his daughter’s hand [and] he said, [and] he said to his daughter, “Go home and tell them /that/, Akbar took your (lit. my) father and your (lit. my) brother, the Korosh, one of the Korosh took [them].”

AK:19

de'ya a'sī *'kō* *'bortay*
 deya a=š-ī kō bort=ay
 then VCL=say.NPST-3SG where take.PST=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

a'našī *'bega* *'kō* *'bortī*
a=na-š-ī be-ga-Ø kō bort=ī
VCL=NEG-say.NPST-3SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG where take.PST=PC.3SG

fa'gad a'šī *'bortī*
faḡad a=š-ī bort=ī
only VCL=say.NPST-3SG take.PST=PC.3SG

Then she said, “Where did you take them?” (lit. where shall I tell that you have taken them); he didn't say, tell [the people] where he took [them], he only said, he took [them].”

AK:20

ā'bā *'šām* *ko'hā* *'ē* *do'enā*
ā=bā-Ø šām koh-ā ē do-en-ā
VCL=take.NPST-3SG in the evening mountain-OBL PROX two-ATTR-OBL

ja'nek ham ar'ra *lō'gaš*
janek ham ar=ra-Ø lōgaš
girl ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG house.OBL.PC.3SG

In the evening, he took both of them into the mountain; as for the girl, she went to her home.

AK:21

ja'nek am ar'ra *lō'gaš* *a'šī*
janek =am ar=ra-Ø lōgaš a=š-ī
girl =ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG house.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'yak na'fare ba 'nāme ak'bar ko'roš en
yak nafar=e ba nām=e akbar koroš =en
one person=IND for name=EZ Akbar Korosh =COP.NPST.3SG

bō'āay jo'loam 'geftī *o* *be'rādam* *o*
bōā-ay jolo=am geft=ī =o berād=am =o
father-GEN front=PC.1SG take.PST=PC.3SG =and brother=PC.1SG =and

bō'āem 'zortī *'ra*
bōā=em zort=ī ra-Ø
father=PC.1SG take.PST=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG

As for the girl, she went to her home [and] said, “One person by the name of Akbar; [who] is a Korosh, blocked my father's way and took my brother and father and went away (lit. took and went).”

AK:22

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'kāmāṇa</i>	<i>'bortī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
a=š-ī	kāmāṇa	bort=ī	a=š-ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	where	take.PST=PC.3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>wāl'lā</i>	<i>'nazānān</i>	<i>'nagaštī</i>	<i>'kāmāṇa</i>
wāllā	Ø=na-zān-ān	na-gašt=ī	kāmāṇa
by.God	VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG	NEG-say.PST=PC.3SG	where

maba'ra

ma-bar-a

IMP-take.NPST-3SG

He (lit. some one) said, “Where did he take [them]?”; she said, “I don’t know actually; he didn’t say where he was taking [them].”

AK:23

<i>de'ya</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>de'ya</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>a'nazānan</i>
deya	ēš-ān	ham	deya	ēš-ān	a=na-zān-an
you know	PROX-PL	ADD	well	PROX-PL	VCL=NEG-know.NPST-3PL

<i>ke</i>	<i>ak'bar</i>	<i>'kō</i>	<i>'bortage</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bīyānt</i>
ke	akbar	kō	bort-ag=e	ke	bīy-ā-nt
CLM	Akbar	where	take.PST-PP=PC.3SG	CLM	SBJV-come.NPST-3PL

<i>ak'barā</i>	<i>'begerant</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ak'barī</i>	<i>bō'āyā</i>
akbar-ā	be-ger-ant	yā	akbar-ī	bowā-yā
Akbar-OBL	SBJV-take.NPST-3PL	or	Akbar-GEN	father-OBL

<i>'begeran</i>	<i>e'sān</i>	<i>'āṇa</i>	<i>'īṇa</i>
be-ger-an	ešān	āṇa	īṇa
SBJV-take.NPST-3PL	like this	there	here

You know, so this people [the family of the headman and other people who may want to look for him] did not know where Akbar had taken [them] to come and take Akbar or Akbar’s father and things like that.

AK:24

<i>ak'bar</i>	<i>'šāmī</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>ā'bā</i>	<i>kō'hā</i>
akbar	šām-ī	ēš-ān	ā=bā-Ø	kōh-ā
Akbar	supper-ADVZ	PROX-PL	VCL=take.NPST-3SG	mountain-OBL

In the evening, Akbar took them to the mountain.

A. Text Corpus

AK:25

ā'bā *hā'mā* *kō'ha* *bīyā'bānā*
 ā=bā-Ø hām=ā kōh-a bīyābān-ā
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST mountain-OBL desert-OBL

a'sī *kalon'tarī* *ba wa'det*
 a=š-ī kalontar=ī ba wad=et
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG headman=IND for REFL=PC.2SG

kalon'taray *'xān ay* *om ba wa'det*
 kalontar=ay xān =ay =om ba wad=et
 headman=COP.NPST.2SG khan =COP.NPST.2SG =ADD for REFL=PC.2SG

ka... 'xān ay
 ka xān =ay
 FRGM khan =COP.NPST.2SG

He took them to that mountain, to the wilderness; he said, if you are a headman; you are it [only] for yourself; and if you are a Khan; you are it only for yourself.

AK:26

'mā ham 'ya ā'dame *dār'ge yen* *ko'roš*
 mā ham ya ādam=e dār'ge =yen koroš
 PN.1PL ADD one human being=EZ Dargha =COP.NPST.3SG Korosh

en *'mā* *'ākken* *e'dān čō'bānī*
 =en mā ākk-en edān čōbān-ī
 =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL come.PST-1PL here shepherd-ADJZ

makanen *'nayākken* *ī'dā* *zol'mā*
 ma-kan-en nay-ākk-en ī-dā zolm-ā
 IMP-do.NPST-1PL NEG-come.PST-1PL PROX-here cruel-OBL

'begennen
 be-genn-en
 SBJV-see.NPST-1PL

Well, I am (lit. us, we are) a Dargha; I am a Korosh [and] we (lit. I and my people) came here to be sheperds; we did not come here to put up with (lit. see) cruelty.

AK:27

'mā 'harka bīgā'nūn bah'ren raftār ko bīgā'nūn
 mā harka bīgānūn bahr=en raftār ko-Ø bīgānūn
 PN.1PL every one lawless for=PC.1PL behave do.PST-3SG lawless

raftār akanen hā'lā ham 'tarā ā'worta
 raftār a=kan-en hālā ham ta-rā āwort-a
 behave VCL=do.NPST-1PL now ADD PN.2SG-OBJ bring.PST-PP

ha'me kō'hā e 'har ba'lāhī a
 ham=e kōh-ā e har balāh=ī a
 EMPH=PROX mountain-OBL PROX each misfortune=IND from

'sarat bo'kārom 'bīyārom mā
 sar=at bokār=om bīy-ār=om mā
 head=PC.2SG want.PST=PC.1SG SBJV-bring.NPST=PC.1SG into

'dassaynom a'tānon wa'lī dā'fāī
 dassayn=om a=tān-on walī dāfā=ī
 hand.OBL.COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG VCL=be able.NPST-1SG but time=EZ

de'ga 'ē kā'rā 'nakanay hā'lā ham 'ratet
 dega ē kār-ā na-kan-ay hālā ham rat=et
 other PROX work-OBL NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-2SG now ADD free=PC.2SG

akanān 'berra lō'gat dā'fāī de'ga
 a=kan-ān ber-ra-Ø lōg=at dāfā=ī dega
 VCL=do.NPST-1SG SBJV-go.NPST-2SG house=COP.PST time=EZ other

go 'ē a'šāyer o go 'ē korošo'bārā 'jar
 go ē ašāyer =o go ē koroš-obār-ā jar
 with PROX nomad =and with PROX Korosh-PL-OBL quarrel

ma-kan
 ma-kan-Ø
 IMP-do.NPST-2SG

Every one who treats us contrary to the law (lit. lawless); we will treat contrary to the law; so now I have brought you to this mountain; I can inflict whatever misfortune I want on you; I can do it; but don't do this next time; now I let you go home [but] next time do not fight with these nomads and these Korosh."

A. Text Corpus

AK:28

'xob ak'bar īšānā ham akā'rī do'bara
 xob akbar īš-ān-ā ham a=k-ār-ī dobara
 well Akbar PROX-PL-OBJ ADD VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG again

ham ham'šī akant... go wa'dī
 ham ham=šī a=kan-t go wad-ī
 ADD EMPH=what VCL=do.NPST-3SG with REFL-GEN

a'kay jah'lād aprē'nī rā'ha
 a=k-ay-Ø jah'lād a=prēn-ī rāh-a
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG down VCL=throw.NPST-3SG way-OBL

o a'kay lō'gaš ak'bar ham
 =o a=k-ay-Ø lōg=aš akbar ham
 =and VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG house=PC.3PL Akbar ADD

a'kay lō'gay
 a=k-ay-Ø lōgay
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG house.OBL.PC.3SG

Well, so Akbar brought them back; again he did this...; he came down with that man (lit. himself) [and] he sent [him] off and the man (lit. he) came home; Akbar came back to his house as well.

AK:29

agen'nan 'tā ak'bar 'xaylī ā'dame ze'reṇe
 a=genn-an tā akbar xaylī ādam=e zereṇ=e
 VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR Akbar very human being=EZ strong=IND

en 'xaylī ā'dame be'zanbahā'dorī
 =en xaylī ādam=e bezanbahādorī
 =COP.NPST.3SG very human being=EZ brave in fighting

en 'kāre 'bekanan ke 'ē ak'barā
 =en kār=e be-kan-an ke ē akbar-ā
 =COP.NPST.3SG work=IND SBJV-do.NPST-3PL CLM PROX Akbar-OBL

'bākā as 'pā 'prēnant
 bākā as pā Ø-prēn-ant
 should from foot SBJV-throw.NPST-3PL

They saw /that/, Akbar was a very strong person; a person very brave in

fighting; they should do something to try to destroy Akbar (lit. they throw him off foot).”

AK:30

'ē zere'ḡī a'zay 'begerant
 ē zereḡ-ī az=ay be-ger-ant
 PROX strong-ADJZ from=PC.3SG SBJV-take.NPST-3PL

They should take away this strength from him.

AK:31

'xān a'sī če'taw 'kanen a
 xān a=š-ī četaw Ø-kan-en a
 khan VCL=say.NPST-3SG how SBJV-do.NPST-1PL from

'bačay a'sī ak'bar kōh'gard en
 bačay a=š-ī akbar kōhgard =en
 boy.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG Akbar mountaineer =COP.NPST.3SG

ak'bara ham go 'waden 'bebaren
 akbar-a ham go wad=en be-bar-en
 Akbar-OBL ADD with REFL=PC.1PL SBJV-take.NPST-1PL

dos'sīyā 'prēnen 'gonī rafī'kiyā
 doss-ī-yā Ø-prēn-en gon=ī rafīk-ī-yā
 friend-ADJZ-OBL SBJV-throw.NPST-1PL with=PC.3SG friend-ADJZ-OBL

'prēnen 'gonī 'berren ko'hā
 Ø-prēn-en gon=ī ber-r-en koh-ā
 SBJV-throw.NPST-1PL with=PC.3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL mountain-OBL

'berren ko'hā še'kālā 'bejanen
 ber-r-en koh-ā šekāl-ā be-ḡan-en
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL mountain-OBL hunt-OBL SBJV-hit.NPST-1PL

a'raḡā 'bedenī tūr'yākā
 araḡ-ā be-d-en=ī tūryāk-ā
 alcohol-OBL SBJV-give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG opium-OBL

'bedenī ma'wādā 'bedenī
 be-d-en=ī mawād-ā be-d-en=ī
 SBJV-give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG narcotics-OBL SBJV-give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

'tā 'bākā 'ē ham as 'kon 'bekafī
 tā bākā ē ham as kon be-kaf-ī
 in order should PROX ADD from knee SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG

The khan said, “What should we do?”; he said to his son, “Akbar is a mountaineer; so let’s take Akbar with ourselves [to the mountain] [and] make (lit. throw) friendship with him; make friendship with him; go to the mountain; go to the mountain [and] hunt; [and] give him alcohol; give him opium; give him narcotics in order for him to be destroyed (lit. fall down from knee), maybe.”

AK:32

ba'sāb 'hamī kā'rā ham aka'nan alba'ta
 basāb ham=ī kār-ā ham a=kan-an albata
 well EMPH=PROX work-OBL ADD VCL=do.NPST-3PL of course

ak'bar ham a'walay 'nāmahā
 akbar ham awal=ay nā-mah-ā-Ø
 Akbar ADD first=PC.3SG NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda 'namawarā boda
 bod-a na-ma-war-ā bod-a
 become.PST-PP NEG-IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

'namakašā boda a'ragā ke
 na-ma-kaš-ā bod-a araġ-ā ke
 NEG-IMP-smoke.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP alcohol-OBL CLM

'hēč a'nawā 'walī tūr'yāka 'ē ka es...
 hēč a=na-wā-Ø walī tūr'yāk-a ē ka es
 no VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG but opium-OBL PROX FRGM FRAG

agen'nī 'bale 'ē 'xānen
 a=genn-ī bale ē xān=en
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes PROX khan=COP.NPST.3SG

maka'sa hā'lā a'sī 'man ham 'ya
 ma-kaš-a hālā a=š-ī man ham ya
 IMP-smoke.NPST-3SG now VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG ADD one

'poke 'bekašān 'hay ya'wāš ya'wāš 'hay
 pok=e be-kaš-ān hay yawāš yawāš hay
 inhaling=IND SBJV-smoke.NPST-1SG ITER slowly ITER

ya'wāš ya'wāš ba'sāb ak'barā gereftār akanant
yawāš yawāš basāb akbar-ā gereftār a=kan-ant
 slowly you know Akbar-OBL entangled VCL=do.NPST-3PL

Well, so they did this too; of course, from the beginning Akbar did not come; he did not drink; he did not smoke [opium]; he did not drink alcohol at all, but for the opium, this... he saw, well, the Khan was smoking; then (lit. now) he said, “Let me try inhaling it too”; slowly, slowly, slowly, slowly, you know, they made Akbar addicted (lit. they entangled Alamdar).

AK:33

gereftār akanant tā ī ke 'ya 'rō
gereftār a=kan-ant tā ī ke ya rō
 entangled VCL=do.NPST-3PL then PROX CLM one day

agen'nan ja... ak'barī 'jan ma'rīz bo
a=genn-an ja akbar-ī jan marīz bo-Ø
 VCL=see.NPST-3PL FRAG Akbar-GEN wife ill become.PST-3SG

ak'bar 'janay akā'rī dok'terā 'āḡa 'īḡa
akbar jan=ay a=k-ār-ī dokter-ā āḡa īḡa
 Akbar wife=PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG doctor-OBL there here

āzamā'yeš a'sant 'bale 'ta safar'ī
āzamāyeš a=š-ant bale ta safar=ī
 test VCL=say.NPST-3PL yes PN.2SG journey=PC.3SG

'assen 'čoket... 'janet safar'ī
ass=en čok=et jan=et safar=ī
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG child=PC.2SG wife=PC.2SG journey=PC.3SG

'assen
ass=en
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

They made him addicted; then, one day they found that Akbar's wife was “Ill”; Akbar took his wife to the doctor here and there, for test; they said, “Well, you are expecting a child (lit. you are on a journey)... your wife is expecting [a child] (lit.your wife is on a journey).”

A. Text Corpus

AK:34

'xob 'māh a'bī o 'sāl a'bīd
 xob māh a=b-ī =o sāl a=b-īd
 well month VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and year VCL=become.NPST-3SG

o ak'bar 'janay de'ya morāga'bat
 =o akbar janay deya morāgabat
 =and Akbar wife.OBL.PC.3SG well care of

makanā boda etī'yat
 ma-kan-ā bod-a etīyat
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP care of

makanā boda o ba'sāb
 ma-kan-ā bod-a =o basāb
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and you know

hamza'mān 'kār makanā boda
 hamzamān kār ma-kan-ā bod-a
 at the same time work IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

'janī ba'sāb 'ya ja'neke ākā'rī
 jan=ī basāb ya janek=e ā=k-ār-ī
 wife=PC.3SG well one daughter=IND VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

Well, a month passed (lit. become) and a year passed (lit. become), and Akbar looked after his wife you know; took care of her, and you know, at the same time he was working; well, his wife gave a birth to a daughter.

AK:35

ja'neke akā'rī ja'nek ham be'rāday
 janek=e a=k-ār-ī janek ham berād-ay
 daughter=IND VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG girl ADD brother-GEN

'bačī xāsse'gār abī ke 'šādī 'bač
 bač=ī xāssegār a=b-ī ke šād-ī bač
 son=PC.3SG proposed VCL=become.NPST-3SG CLM Shad-GEN son

abī
 a=b-ī
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG

She gave a birth to a daughter; so the daughter, [Alamdār's] brother's son who

was Shad's son became betrothed to her.

AK:36

<i>'šādī</i>	<i>'bač</i>	<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>be'rādī</i>	<i>'bačī</i>	<i>xāsse'gār</i>
šād-ī	bač	basāb	berād-ī	bač=ī	xāssegār
Shad-GEN	son	you know	brother-GEN	son=PC.3SG	proposed

abīd

a=b-īd

VCL=become.NPST-3SG

You know, Shad's son who was Akbar's (lit. his) brother's son became betrothed to [her].

AK:37

<i>ar'ra...</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>do'en</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>do'ēn</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>'got</i>
ar=ra-Ø	ē	do-en	har	do-ēn	ham	got
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	PROX	two-ATTR	each	two-ATTR	ADD	big

<i>abī</i>	<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>arra'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>
a=b-ī	basāb	tā	ar=ras-ī	ke
VCL=become.NPST-3SG	you know	until	VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG	CLM

<i>la'bāsa</i>	<i>age'ran</i>	<i>bah'ray</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'šādī</i>	<i>'bač</i>
labās-a	a=ger-an	bahr=ay	=o	šād-ī	bač
dress-OBL	VCL=take.NPST-3PL	to=PC.3SG	=and	Shad-GEN	son

<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>ak'barī</i>	<i>lō'gā</i>	<i>la'bāsā</i>
ar=ra-Ø	akbar-ī	lōg-ā	labās-ā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	Akbar-GEN	house-OBL	dress-OBL

<i>a'dā</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ja'nekay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>alam...</i>	<i>'šādī</i>	<i>'bač</i>
a=dā-Ø	ba	janekay	=o	alam	šād-ī	bač
VCL=give.NPST-3SG	for	girl.OBL=PC.3SG	=and	FRAG	Shad-GEN	son

<i>'ya</i>	<i>'rō</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>ā'mūay</i>
ya	rō	ar=ra-Ø	had=e	āmūay
one	day	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	by=EZ	uncle.OBL.PC.3SG

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>'āmū</i>	<i>'mā</i>	<i>bo'kānen</i>
a=š-ī	āmū	mā	bokān=en
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	uncle	PN.1PL	want.NPST=COP.NPST.1PL

A. Text Corpus

'aydī 'bīyāen 'kāren 'rō
 ayd-ī bīy-ā-en kār=en rō
 festival-ADJZ SBJV-come.NPST-1PL work=PC.1PL fix

dayen ā'mūay ham a'sī
 Ø-day-en āmū=ay ham a=š-ī
 SBJV-give.NPST-1PL uncle=PC.3SG ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'babam 'xaylī ham 'xob 'faš ākkay 'xob
 bab=m xaylī ham xob faš ākk-ay xob
 father=PC.1SG very ADD well happy come.PST-2SG you know

a'kāyan ī'dān ak'bar hām'mā ala... 'šādī
 a=k-ā-yan īdān akbar hāmm=ā ala šād-ī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL here Akbar EMPH=DIST FRAG Shad-GEN

'bač 'ya 'rō la'bāsā a'gī a'bārt ba
 bač ya rō labās-ā a=g-ī a=bār-t ba
 son one day dress-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG VCL=take.NPST-3SG for

doxtarā'mūay ke ba'sāb ha'mā ak'barī ja'nek
 doxtarāmūay ke basāb ham=ā akbar-ī janek
 cousin.OBL.PC.3SG CLM you know EMPH=DIST Akbar-GEN girl

'bebī agen'nī 'tā 'haday 'ya
 be-b-ī a=genn-ī tā had=ay ya
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR by=EZ one

na'fare day'arā 'nešta
 nafar=e dayar-ā nešt-a=Ø
 person=IND another-OBL sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He went... so these two, both of them grew up; you know, till [the time] arrived when they bought the dress for her and Shad's son went to Akbar's house [and] gave the dress to the girl and Akb... one day, Shad's son went to his uncle [and] said, "Uncle, we want to come here during the festival to arrange our business"; so his uncle said, "My dear (lit. father), it's OK; you are most welcome"; you know, they came here; Akbar, that Akb... one day, Shad's son bought the dress [and] brought it for his cousin you know, who was Akbar's daughter; he saw /that/, she was sitting beside another person.

AK:38

'ya jã'gole da'yarā 'nešta 'ē de'ya
 ya jãgol=e dayar-ā nešt-a=Ø ē deya
 one boy=EZ another-OBL sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX well

nārā'hat abī ja'nekā 'wel adā ba
 nārāhat a=b-ī janek-ā wel a=dā-Ø ba
 troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG girl-OBL loose VCL=give.NPST-3SG to

a'mīay a'sī
 amīay a=š-ī
 uncle.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

she was sitting beside another boy; well, he became sad [and] dumped the girl [and] told his uncle.

AK:39

a'mīay ham a'kay 'janay o
 amī=ay ham a=k-ay-Ø jan=ay =o
 uncle=PC.3SG ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG wife=PC.3SG =and

ja'nekay 'xaylī a'jant 'tā 'hattā ja'nekā
 janek=ay xaylī a=jan-t tā hattā janek-ā
 girl=PC.3SG very VCL=hit.NPST-3SG that even girl-OBL

bo'kārī bodā 'bokošī xa'fa
 bokār=ī bod-ā bo-koš-ī xafa
 want.PST=PC.3SG become.PST-PP SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG strangling

kant a 'dassay age'rant
 Ø-kan-t a dassay a=ger-ant
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG from hand.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL

So his uncle came [home] and beat his wife and his daughter so much that he was even about to kill the daughter to strangle her [but] they stopped him (lit. they took away [her] from his hand).

AK:40

xa'fe akant a 'dassay
 xaf=e a=kan-t a dassay
 strangling=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG from hand.OBL.PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

age'ran *hā'mā* *ja'nay* *fā'mīlī...*
a=ger-an hām=ā janay fāmīl=ī
VCL=take.NPST-3PL EMPH=DIST wife.OBL.PC.3SG family=PC.3SG

hā'mā *ak'barī* *ja'nay* *fā'mīl* *agen'nan* *ak'bar*
hām=ā akbar-ī jan-ay fāmīl a=genn-an akbar
EMPH=DIST Akbar-GEN wife-GEN family VCL=see.NPST-3PL Akbar

dobā'ra *bo'kā* 'ē čoko'bāra 'bokošī *ak'barā*
dobāra bokā ē čok-obār-a bo-koš-ī akbar-ā
again want.NPST PROX child-PL-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG Akbar-OBL

dobā'ra *'zorr* *adant* 'āṇa 'īṇa *gar'tā*
dobāra zorr a=dan-t āṇa īṇa gart-ā
again turning VCL=give.NPST-3SG there here powder-OBL

a'dantī *a'sānt* 'ē *a'sābat*
a=dan-t=ī a=š-ānt ē asāb=at
VCL=give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL PROX nerve.PL=PC.2SG

ākā'rī *jā'hay*
ā=k-ār-ī jāhay
VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG place.OBL.PC.3SG

He strangled [her but] they stopped him those relatives of his wife's... those relatives of Akbar's wife's saw /that/, Akbar again wanted to kill these children; again they pushed him away, you know, and [someone] gave him powder (lit. drugs, narcotics); they said, "This will make you relax (lit. it put your nerves in place)."

AK:41

'ē *a'sābat* *ākā'rī* *jā'hay*
ē asāb=at a=k-ār-ī jāhay
PROX nerve.PL=PC.2SG VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG place.OBL.PC.3SG

'ta *asa'bī* *ay* *hā'lā* *ges'mat*
ta asabī =ay hālā gesmat
PN.2SG upset =COP.NPST.2SG now destiny

'nāboda ē'taw *boda* *fe'lān*
nā-bod-a=Ø ētaw bod-a felān
NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG this way become.PST-PP so and so

bī'sān *ġes'mat* 'nāboda 'ta *hā'lā*
bīsān *ġesmat* nā-bod-a=∅ ta hālā
 so and so destiny NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG now

'*ē* *ba 'če ja'neket* *bo'kā* '*bokošay* *ba 'ča*
ē *ba če ja'nek=et* *bokā* *bo-koš-ay* *ba ča*
 PROX why daughter=PC.2SG want.NPST SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG why

'*ē* *kā'rā* *āka'nay* *dobā'ra be'sāt*
ē *kār-ā* *ā=kan-ay* *dobāra besāt*
 PROX work-OBL VCL=do.NPST-2SG again equipment

ākā'rant *o* '*gart* *o* *hērō'in o* *ak'bar*
ā=k-ār-ant =o *gart* =o *hērōin* =o *akbar*
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL =and powder =and heroin =and Akbar

'*ya za'raī* *hērō'in aka'sī* *agen'nī* *ta*
ya zara=ī *hērōin a=kaš-ī* *a=genn-ī* *ta*
 one little=IND heroin VCL=smoke.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR

'*bale a'ḡār a'sābī* '*xob 'mahā* '*jāhe*
bale aḡār asāb=ī *xob mah-ā-∅* *jāh=e*
 yes well nerve.PL=PC.3SG well IMP-come.NPST-3SG place=PC.3SG

ge'ter *mabī'ya*
 ge-ter ma-bī-a
 good-CMP IMP-become.NPST-3SG

It makes you relax; you are upset now; it was not [in their] destiny; it turned out like this (lit. it was in this way, such and such; it was not [in their] destiny; why do you want to kill your daughter now?; why do you do this?; again they brought drugs (lit. equipment) and narcotics and heroin; and Akbar smoked a little heroin and he saw /that/, indeed (lit. yes), it seemed that he became relaxed (lit. his nerves return in place well) [and] he was getting better.

AK:42

ak'bar gereftār abī
akbar gereftār a=b-ī
 Akbar entangled VCL=become.NPST-3SG

Akbar became addicted (lit. entangled).

A. Text Corpus

AK:43

gereftār abī tā mod'datī
 gereftār a=b-ī tā modat=ī
 entangled VCL=become.NPST-3SG until time=IND

abīt agen'nan 'ta 'janī ma'rīz
 a=b-īt a=genn-an ta jan=ī marīz
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR wife=PC.3SG ill

en 'janī ma'rīz en dobā'ra ham
 =en jan=ī marīz =en dobāra ham
 =COP.NPST.3SG wife=PC.3SG ill =COP.NPST.3SG again ADD

a'bārt āzamā'yeš o a'šant 'bale
 a=bār-t āzamāyeš =o a=š-ant bale
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG test =and VCL=say.NPST-3PL yes

'janet hāme'le yen o 'bač
 jan=et hāmele =yen =o bač
 wife=PC.2SG pregnant =COP.NPST.3SG =and son

ene
 =en=e
 =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

He became addicted (lit. entangled); until some time passed; they saw /that/, his wife was ill; his wife was ill, [and] again he took [her to take] a test and they said, “Yes, your wife is pregnant; she is expecting (lit. has) a boy (lit. there is a boy for her).”

AK:44

'xayle ham xoš'hāl abīd ak'bar 'xayle ham xoš'hāl
 xayle ham xošhāl a=b-īd akbar xayle ham xošhāl
 very ADD happy VCL=become.NPST-3SG Akbar very ADD happy

abī ke 'bač en wa'le 'xob
 a=b-ī ke bač =en wale xob
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG CLM son =COP.NPST.3SG but you know

bedeh'kār am abī ak'bar hesā'bī bedeh'kār
 bedehkār =am a=b-ī akbar hesābī bedehkār
 indebted =ADD VCL=become.NPST-3SG Akbar deeply indebted

abī

a=b-ī

VCL=become.NPST-3SG

So Akbar became very happy; he became very happy since it was a boy; but, you know, he became indebted as well; Akbar became deeply indebted.

AK:45

<i>mē'dageš</i>	<i>'bār akant</i>	<i>ha'lā 'janī</i>
mēdag=eš	bār a=kan-t	halā jan=ī
encampment=PC.3PL	load VCL=do.NPST-3SG	now wife=PC.3SG

<i>hāme'la en</i>	<i>be 'ya 'bačeyā</i>	<i>mē'dageš</i>
hāmela =en	be ya bač=e-yā	mēdag=eš
pregnant =COP.NPST.3SG	to one son=IND-OBL	encampment=PC.3PL

<i>'bār akant</i>	<i>a'kay</i>	<i>'ye... tā 'ya</i>
bār a=kan-t	a=k-ay-Ø	ye tā ya
load VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	one till one

<i>'jāhe</i>	<i>dī'ya 'assen</i>	<i>be 'nāme</i>	<i>bay'zā šexe'bīd</i>
jāh=e	dīya ass=en	be nām=e	bayzā šexebīd
place=IND	well be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	to name=EZ	Beyza šexebīd

Their encampment moved; at this time his wife was pregnant with a boy; their encampment moved [and] came to a... there is another place by the name of Beyza šexebīd.

AK:46

<i>ā'kayt</i>	<i>ī'dān</i>
ā=k-ay-t	īdān
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	here

He went there (lit. came here)

AK:47

<i>īdāna'ko</i>	<i>ak'bar</i>	<i>be'rādī</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>hay'wānā</i>	<i>boda</i>
īdānako	akbar	berād=ī	had=e	haywān-ā	bod-a
right here	Akbar	brother=PC.3SG	by=EZ	animal-OBL	become.PST-PP

There (lit. here) Akbar's brother was taking care of the animals (lit. was with the animals)

A. Text Corpus

AK:48

'yak na'farī ba'sāb ren'jer boda ren'jer ke
 yak nafar=ī basāb renjer bod-a renjer ke
 one person=IND actually sportsman become.PST-PP sportsman CLM

a'zānāy 'čī en šo'mā
 a=zān-ay čī =en šomā
 VCL=know.NPST-2SG what =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2PL

Actually, there was a sportsman (lit. one person was a sportsman); you know what a sportsman is, don't you?

AK:49

agen'nī ā'damī en 'swāre
 a=genn-ī ādam=ī =en swār=e
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG human being=IND =COP.NPST.3SG riding=EZ

sek'letā bodā 'swāre mā'sīnā ha'mī
 seklet-ā bod-ā swār=e māšīn-ā ham=ī
 motorbike-OBL become.PST-PP riding=EZ car-OBL EMPH=PROX

'boḡ ma'ja'na mā ha'mī hay'wānā 'boḡ
 boḡ ma-ĵan-a mā ham=ī haywān-ā boḡ
 honking IMP-hit.NPST-3SG into EMPH=PROX animal-OBL honking

maĵana hay'wān ham ā'pos
 ma-ĵan-a haywān ham āpos
 IMP-hit.NPST-3SG animal ADD pregnant

boda ak'barī be'rād ke no'zar
 bod-a=Ø akbar-ī berād ke nozar
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Akbar-GEN brother CLM Nozar

boda a'sīt
 bod-a=Ø a=š-īt
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

a'kay ĵo'loye a'sīt 'kākā
 a=k-ay-Ø ĵolo=ye a=š-īt kākā
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG front=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG friend

ba 'čā 'boğ aǰa'nay 'xob hay'wān ā'ğoss
 ba čā boğ a=ǰan-ay xob haywān āğoss
 why honking VCL=hit.NPST-2SG well animal pregnant

en hay'wān bar'rā ārē'čī hām'mo ma'rīz
 =en haywān barrā ā=rēč-ī hāmmo marīz
 =COP.NPST.3SG animal lamb.OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG all ill

abī a'kay 'ya šāpā'lake
 a=b-ī a=k-ay-Ø ya šāpālak=e
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG one slapping=IND

aǰan ba ak'barī be...
 a=ǰan-Ø ba akbar-ī be
 VCL=pretend-3SG for Akbar-GEN FRAG

He saw /that/, there was a person there who was driving a motorbike [or maybe] a car [and] he was honking among the animals; he was honking, and the animals were pregnant; Akbar's brother, that is (lit. who was) Nozar, it is said... he came up to him [and] said, “[My] friend, why are you honking?”; you know, the animals are pregnant; the animals will have a miscarriage (lit. drop their lambs) [and] they all will get sick”; [that fellow] came [and] slapped Akbar's bro...[in the face].

AK:50

a'kay 'ya šāpā'lake aǰant
 a=k-ay-Ø ya šāpālak=e a=ǰan-t
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG one slapping=IND VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

ha'mī ā'dam ba ak'barī be'rādā ak'barī
 ham=ī ādam ba akbar-ī berād-ā akbar-ī
 EMPH=PROX human being for Akbar-GEN brother-OBL Akbar-GEN

be'rād ham a'kay ba be'rāday
 berād ham a=k-ay-Ø ba berād=ay
 brother ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG for brother=PC.3SG

a'šī ke 'kākā ma'rōčī 'yek na'far 'manā
 a=š-ī ke kākā marōčī yek nafar man-ā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM brother today one person PN.1SG-OBJ

A. Text Corpus

'jadī

jad=ī

hit.PST=PC.3SG

He came, [and] that fellow (lit. person) slapped Akbar's brother [in the face]; so Akbar's brother came home and said to his brother /that/, "Brother, today a person beat me."

AK:51

ba 'čā 'jadī

ba čā jad=ī

why hit.PST=PC.3SG

[Akbar said] "Why did he beat you?"

AK:52

hā hay'wān ā'mahāgen

'boḡ

hā haywān ā=mah-ā-g=en

boḡ

yes animal VCL=IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG honking

aḡadad

mā'sīn 'boḡe

ḡa

a=jad=ad-Ø

māšīn boḡ=e

ḡa

VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST-3SG car honking=PC.3SG hit.PST

'gaštom

'boḡ

'maḡa

hay'wān ā'ḡos

gašt=om

boḡ

ma-ḡa-Ø

haywān āḡos

say.PST=PC.1SG honking IMP-hit.PST-2SG animal pregnant

en

kor'pā

arē'čīd

'lah

=en

corpā

a=rēč-īd

lah

=COP.NPST.3SG foetus.OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG afriad

makan

'jadānī

ma-kan-Ø

jad-ān=ī

IMP-do.NPST-3SG hit.PST-1SG=PC.3SG

[He said] "Well, the animals were coming he was honking; he was honking in the car (lit. the car was honking); I said, "Don't honk, the animals are pregnant and will have a miscarriage (lit. drop the foetus); they got scared"; he beat me.

AK:53

'xo ak'bar ham a'sī 'har 'rō
 xo akbar ham a=š-ī har rō
 well Akbar ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG each day

mā'hāgen 'ē am 'ašī
 māh-ā-g=en ē =am a=š-ī
 IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG PROX =ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'har 'rō mā'hā az ī'dān mara'wa
 har rō māh-ā-Ø az īdān ma-raw-a
 each day IMP-come.NPST-3SG from here IMP-go.NPST-3SG

Well, so Akbar said, “Is he coming every day?”; then he said, “He comes and passes by here every day.”

AK:54

ak'bar a'sī 'sobī 'man bo'kā
 akbar a=š-ī sob=ī man bokā
 Akbar VCL=say.NPST-3SG morning=PC.3SG PN.1SG want.NPST

'gōnet 'bīyān
 gōn=et bīy-ā-n
 with=PC.2SG SBJV-come.NPST-1SG

Akbar said, “Tomorrow morning (lit. in the morning), I want to come with you.”

AK:55

a'sī na 'hamī pasī'nī
 a=š-ī na ham=ī pasīn=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG no EMPH=PROX in thte evening=PC.3SG

'byā a'sī 'xob 'ta
 by-ā-Ø a=š-ī xob ta
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG OK PN.2SG

pasī'nī hay'wānā 'bebar ka'fās 'āḡa
 pasīn=ī haywān-ā be-bar-Ø kafās āḡa
 in thte evening=PC.3SG animal-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2SG meadow there

A. Text Corpus

ke mā'hāgay 'man
 ke mäh-ā-g=ay man
 CLM IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG

mā'hāgān
 mäh-ā-g=ān
 IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

He said, “No, come this evening”; he said, “OK, you take the animals to the meadow, when you get there, I will come [too].”

AK:56

ak'bar ham ar'ra hay'wānay jo'lo 'ta ba'le
 akbar ham ar=ra-Ø haywān=ay jolo ta bale
 Akbar ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG animal=EZ front PN.2SG yes

ha'mā ā'damī ke be'rāday jadagī
 ham=ā ādam=ī ke berād=ay jad-ag=ī
 EMPH=DIST human being=IND CLM brother=PC.3SG hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG

hā'lā mā'hā
 hālā mäh-ā-Ø
 now IMP-come.NPST-3SG

So Akbar, went before the animals [and] saw /that/ indeed that person who has beaten his brother was coming right then (lit. now).

AK:57

dobā'ra ha'mā 'boḡ o a'zābī ke ba hay'wānā
 dobāra ham=ā boḡ =o azāb-ī ke ba haywān-ā
 again EMPH=DIST honking =and bother-ADJZ CLM for animal-OBL

madī'yā boda a'dād dobā'ra
 ma-dīy-ā bod-a a=dā-d dobāra
 IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP VCL=give.NPST-3SG again

a'kay 'hade ak'barī be'rādā
 =ak-ay-Ø had=e akbar-ī berād-ā
 =VCL-IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to=EZ Akbar-GEN brother-OBL

a'šī 'xo ba 'če 'čo maka'nay
 a=š-ī xo ba če čo ma-kan-ay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well why like this IMP-do.NPST-2SG

a'sī *'delam* *kaštī*
 a=š-ī del=am kašt=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG heart=PC.1SG pull.PST=PC.3SG

Again, he honked and bothered the animals like he had done [before]; again, he came to Akbar's brother; Akbar (lit. he) said, "Well, why are doing like this?"; he said, "I (lit. my heart) wanted to."

AK:58

'delam *kaštī* *'zorom* *'marasa*
 del=am kašt=ī zor=om ma-ras-a
 heart=PC.1SG pull.PST=PC.3SG power=PC.1SG IMP-arrive.NPST-3SG

I wanted to [and] I am able (lit. my power reaches) [to do so].

AK:59

ak'bar *a'sī* *'zoret* *mara'sa*
 akbar a=š-ī zor=et ma-ras-a
 Akbar VCL=say.NPST-3SG power=PC.2SG IMP-arrive.NPST-3SG

a'sī *hā* *a'sī* *'šayed* *'zoret*
 a=š-ī hā a=š-ī šayed zor=et
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes VCL=say.NPST-3SG if power=PC.2SG

'narasīt *a'sī* *ak'bar* *'ya* *'dāre*
 Ø=na-ras-īt a=š-ī akbar ya dār=e
 VCL=NEG-arrive.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG Akbar one wood=EZ

aprē'nī *ba'hray* *'mot* *akant* *bā'lād*
 a=prēn-ī bahr=ay mot a=kan-t bālād
 VCL=throw.NPST-3SG to=PC.3SG jump VCL=do.NPST-3SG up

'dār *a'nagī* *ak'bar* *a'zānt*
 dār a=na-g-ī akbar a=zān-t
 wooden frame VCL=NEG-get.NPST-3SG Akbar VCL=know.NPST-3SG

ke *ī* *rēn'jel* *en* *a'nabī*
 ke ī rēnjel =en a=na-b-ī
 CLM PROX athlete =COP.NPST.3SG VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

ī'taw *'bejanay*
ītaw be-ĵan-ay
this way SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG

Akbar said, “Are you able to?”; he said, “Yes.” Akbar (lit. he) said, “If you can’t (lit. if your power does not reach)?”; it is said Akbar threw a stick towards him, [but] he jumped up [and] the stick did not touch him; Akbar realised /that/, this is an athlete; one (lit. you) cannot beat him in this way.

AK:60

dā'rā *hāvā'lā* *dā* *bah'ray* *mo'geē ke* *ar'ra*
dār-ā hāvālā dā-Ø bahr=ay moġe ī ke ar=ra-Ø
stick-OBL aiming give.PST-3SG to=PC.3SG when VCL=go.NPST-3SG

bā'lād *ha'mā* *āse'mānā* *a'ĵantī*
bālād ham=ā āsemān-ā a=ĵan-t=ī
up EMPH=DIST sky-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

He aimed at him [without throwing] [and] when he jumped up (lit. went), he hit him in the air (lit. sky) [instead].

AK:61

ha'mā *bā'lād* *ke* *boda* *ak'bar*
ham=ā bālād ke bod-a=Ø akbar
EMPH=DIST up CLM become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Akbar

a'ĵant *'mā* *tax'tay*
a=ĵan-t mā taxtay
VCL=hit.NPST-3SG in neck.OBL.PC

When he was up [there] Akbar hit him in the neck.

AK:62

a'ĵant *arom'mī*
a=ĵan-t a=romm-ī
VCL=hit.NPST-3SG VCL=fall.NPST-3SG

He hit [him and] he fell down.

AK:63

a'ĵant *arom'mī* *a'ĵantī*
a=ĵan-t a=romm-ī a=ĵan-t=ī
VCL=hit.NPST-3SG VCL=fall.NPST-3SG VCL=hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

ba'sāb dan'nay abor'rīd o 'āḡa 'īḡa 'waxtī
 basāb dann=ay a=borr-īd =o āḡa īḡa waxtī
 you know rib=PC.3SG VCL=cut.NPST-3SG =and there here when

a'kay mā de'hā agen'nant ta
 a=k-ay-Ø mā dehā a=genn-ant ta
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to village.OBL VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR

ī ā'dame ke 'dah na'far 'bīs na'farā
 ī ādam=e ke dah nafar bīs nafar-ā
 PROX human being=EZ CLM ten person twenty person-OBL

maja'na 'ya na'far ja'dagī e'šī
 ma-ḡan-a ya nafar ḡad-ag=ī ešī
 IMP-hit.NPST-3SG one person hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG PROX.OBL

He hit [him and] he fell down; he hit him; you know, he broke his ribs, and like that; when he came to the village they saw /that/ one person has beaten this man who can beat (lit. is beating) ten persons, twenty persons.

AK:64

de'hā xa'bar akanant ha'mī šayxī'bīdā
 dehā xabar a=kan-ant ham=ī šayxībīdā
 village.OBL news VCL=do.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX Sheyxibid

They informed [people in] the village, this [village called] Sheyxibid.

AK:65

xa'bar akanant de'hā ē'sān ham 'lōgeš
 xabar a=kan-ant dehā ēš-ān ham lōg=eš
 news VCL=do.NPST-3PL village.OBL PROX-PL ADD house=PC.3PL

'tāk mā 'ya ḡa'layā boda...
 tāk mā ya ḡala-yā bod-a
 single into one stronghold-OBL become.PST-PP

They informed the village; well, their family's house was alone surrounded by walls (lit. in a stronghold)...

AK:66

fa'ḡat ak'bar 'wadī 'ya xor'day 'god
 faḡat akbar wad=ī ya xord=ay god
 only Akbar REFL=PC.3SG one a bit=EZ big

A. Text Corpus

boda *bā'kī* *ka'sān*
 bod-a=Ø *bākī* *kasān*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG remaining small

boda *bāk'en* *berādo'bār* *ke* *'god*
 bod-a=Ø *bāk=en* *berād-obār* *ke* *god*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG rest=PC.1PL brother-PL CLM big

boda *'āḡa* *'īḡa*
 bod-a=Ø *āḡa* *īḡa*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG there here

boda *'yakī* *mā* *ja'hādā*
 bod-a=Ø *yak=ī* *mā* *jahād-ā*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND into Jihad-OBL

boda *'yekī* *sarbā'zīyā*
 bod-a=Ø *yek=ī* *sarbāzī-yā*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND military service-OBL

boda *'say* *'čār* *'dīga* *'āḡa* *'īḡa*
 bod-a=Ø *say* *čār* *dīga* *āḡa* *īḡa*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG three four other there here

boda *'hīška*
 bod-a=Ø *hīška*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG nobody

'nāboda *fa'ḡat* *ak'bar*
 nā-bod-a=Ø *faḡat* *akbar*
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG only Akbar

boda *o* *naw'zar* *o* *ka'ram* *ka'ram*
 bod-a=Ø *=o* *nawzar* *=o* *karam* *karam*
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and Nawzar =and Karam Karam

'xaylī *kas'sān* *boda*
xaylī *kassān* *bod-a=Ø*
 very small become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Only Akbar himself was a bit older (lit. big); the rest were young; the rest of his brothers who were older were here and there; one was in the Jihad one was in the military service, three [or] four were here and there, no one was

[there], only Akbar was there and Nowzar and Karam; Karam was very small.

AK:67

naw'zar ham ke masa'lan ī'taw ḡes'seī
 nawzar ham ke masalan ītaw ḡesse=ī
 Nawzar ADD CLM for example such a body=IND

'nābodagī ke dā'rā 'bozo o
 nā-bod-ag=ī ke dār-ā bo-zo-Ø =o
 NEG-become.PST-PP=PC.3SG CLM stick-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-2SG =and

hara'kat kan
 harakat Ø-kan-Ø
 movement SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

Well, Nowzar did not have such a [strong] body, (lit. such a [strong] body was not for him) for example, you know that he could take a stick and make a move.

AK:68

bō'āī am 'delay 'namakašā
 bōā=ī =am del=ay na-ma-kaš-ā
 father=PC.3SG =ADD heart=PC.3SG NEG-IMP-pull.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda ḡar 'bebī bō'āī ham
 bod-a ḡar be-b-ī bowā=ī ham
 become.PST-PP quarrel SBJV-become.NPST-3SG father=PC.3SG ADD

'hamī ze'reḡ boda bō'āī
 ham=ī zereḡ bod-a=Ø bōā=ī
 EMPH=PROX brave become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG father=PC.3SG

'xayle ze'reḡ boda monte'hā bō'āī
 xayle zereḡ bod-a=Ø montehā bōā=ī
 very brave become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG but father=PC.3SG

'nabokārī boda ḡar
 na-bokār=ī bod-a=Ø ḡar
 NEG-want.PST=PC.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG quarrel

A. Text Corpus

kant

Ø-kan-t

SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

You know, his father (lit. his heart) didn't want to fight; his father was also strong; he was very strong, but he did not want to fight.

AK:69

bō'āī ham mīyān'zī makanā

bōā=ī ham mīyānzī ma-kan-ā

father=PC.3SG ADD intervened IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda aw'wale

bod-a awwal=e

become.PST-PP first=PC.3SG

Well, at the beginning his father had intervened.

AK:70

naz'zīke 'do ha'zār na'far ba 'say na'farā

nazzīk=e do hazār nafar ba say nafar-ā

near=EZ two thousand person for three person-OBL

are'čant e'shānī sa'rā ī'shān ham 'kākā

a=reč-ant eš-ān-ī sar-ā īš-ān ham kākā

VCL=pour.NPST-3PL PROX-PL-GEN head-OBL PROX-PL ADD friend

'hamītaw a da'rāzenay agar'dan mā

ham=ītaw a darāzen=ay a=gard-an mā

EMPH=this way from NC=PC.3SG VCL=go around.NPST-3PL into

ī'sī 'yakī 'yakī ī deho'bārā 'hay

īšī yak=ī yak=ī ī deh-obār-ā hay

PROX.OBL one=IND one=IND PROX village.OBL-PL-OBL ITER

aĵa'nant

a=ĵan-ant

VCL=hit.NPST-3PL

Nearly two thousand persons against three persons; they attacked them; so, my friend, they (lit. Akbar and the few people around him), look [for fighters] among them; they hit these villagers one by one.

AK:71

aġa'nant 'ya *na'fare* *a'kay* *ba*
 a=ġan-ant ya nafar=e a=k-ay-Ø ba
 VCL=hit.NPST-3PL one person=IND VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG for

naw'zar 'ya *ta'fare* *aprē'nī* *ba* *naw'zarī* *sa'rā*
 nawzar ya tafar=e a=prēn-ī ba nawzar-ī sar-ā
 Nawzar one axe=IND VCL=throw.NPST-3SG for Nawzar-GEN head-OBL

ak'bar *hara'kat* *akant* *as* 'āġa 'mot
 akbar harakat a=kan-t as āġa mot
 Akbar movement VCL=do.NPST-3SG from there jump

akant *ta'farā* *a'gī*
 a=kan-t tafar-ā a=g-ī
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG axe-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG

They beat [them]; one person came and threw an axe at Nowzar's head;
 Akbar moved from there; he jumped up [and] caught the axe.

AK:72

ta'farā *a'gī* 'walī *ta'faray* 'nok 'kame 'gīr
 tafar-ā a=g-ī walī tafar-ay nok kam=e gīr
 axe-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG but axe-GEN corner little=IND grip

akant *naw'zarī* *sa'rā*
 a=kan-t nawzar-ī sar-ā
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG Nawzar-GEN head-OBL

He caught the axe; but the corner of the axe hit Nowzar's head just a little.

AK:73

naw'zar *aka'fī*
 nawzar a=kaf-ī
 Nawzar VCL=fall.NPST-3SG

Nowzar fell down.

AK:74

naw'zar *aka'fī* *ak'bar...* *hā* *bow'āī* *bow'āī*
 nawzar a=kaf-ī akbar hā bowā=ī bowā=ī
 Nawzar VCL=fall.NPST-3SG Akbar yes father=PC.3SG father=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

naw'zarā be'lan akant ha'mā ak'barī bow'ā
 nawzar-ā belann a=kan-t ham=ā akbar-ī bowā
 Nawzar-OBL high VCL=do.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST Akbar-GEN father

Nowzar fell down, Akbar..., well his father, his father lifted up Nowzar, that father of Akbar's.

AK:75

'yak na'far ara'sī bō... ak'barī bō'āyā
 yak nafar a=ras-ī bō akbar-ī bōā-yā
 one person VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG FRAG Akbar-GEN father-OBL

'bejant ak'bar a'jant 'ē 'gōšī de'līg
 be-ĵan-t akbar a=ĵan-t ē gōš-ī delīg
 SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG Akbar VCL=hit.NPST-3SG PROX ear=PC.3SG broken

āwā
 ā=wā-Ø
 VCL=eat.NPST-3SG

A person arrived... to beat Akbar's father; Akbar beat him [and] his ear was cut up.

AK:76

'gōšī de'līg awā ba'sāb šakā'yat
 gōš-ī delīg a=wā-Ø basāb šakāyat
 ear=PC.3SG broken VCL=eat.NPST-3SG you know complaint

šakāyatka'šī abīd šekā'yat akanan
 šakāyatkašī a=b-īd šekāyat a=kan-an
 complaint VCL=become.NPST-3SG complaint VCL=do.NPST-3PL

še'kast abant de'hā še'kast adant
 šekast a=b-ant dehā šekast a=dan-t
 losing VCL=become.NPST-3PL village.OBL losing VCL=give.NPST-3SG

His ear was cut up, you know; there was a complaint [to the police], they complained; they lost [the fight]; he overcame the village.

AK:77

de'hay 'nespī ar'ra pās'gāh pās'gāh
 deh=ay nesp-ī ar=ra-Ø pāsgāh pāsgāh
 village=EZ half=PC.3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG police station police station

xa'bar akant ke 'bale 'jar boda o
 xabar a=kan-t ke bale jar bod-a =o
 news VCL=do.NPST-3SG CLM yes quarrel become.PST-PP =and

ē'taw 'majanan ē'taw 'majanan
 ētaw ma-ʃan-an ētaw ma-ʃan-an
 this way IMP-hit.NPST-3PL this way IMP-hit.NPST-3PL

ākā'yant ta 'bale na'zīke 'čel pan'jāh
 ā=k-ā-yant ta bale nazīk=e čel panjāh
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL MIR yes about=EZ forty fifty

ā'dam 'rekka 'sar 'boreda ba'ǧal 'boreda dan'na
 ādam rekk-a sar bored-a baǧal bored-a danna
 human being pour.PST-PP head cut.PST-PP beside cut.PST-PP chest

'boreda a'šant 'kay 'jadagī
 bored-a a=š-ant kay ʃad-ag=ī
 cut.PST-PP VCL=say.NPST-3PL who hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG

a'šī ī xona'wādaī ke mā ī ǧahla'ok
 a=š-ī ī xonawāda=ī ke mā ī ǧahla-ok
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PROX family=EZ CLM in PROX stronghold-DEF

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

Half of this village went to the police station; they report to the police station that actually there had been a fight [and] that they were beating [each other], like this; they came, [and saw] lo and behold, almost forty, fifty people were lying [there], their heads were wounded, their chests were wounded, [the skin over their] ribs was wounded; [the police] said, “Who has beaten them.”; [someone said], “That family who are in this house (lit. stronghold).”

AK:78

'xob ī xona'wāda 'kay en
 xob ī xonawāda kay =en
 well PROX family who =COP.NPST.3SG

[the police said], “Well who is this family?”

A. Text Corpus

AK:79

mahmad'alī en
mahmadalī =en
Mohammad.Ali =COP.NPST.3SG

[some one said], “It is Mahammad’ Ali [’s family].”

AK:80

'bačī 'kay en
bač=ī kay =en
son=PC.3SG who =COP.NPST.3SG

[the police said], “Who is his son?”

AK:81

ak'bar en
akbar =en
Akbar =COP.NPST.3SG

[some one said], “It is Akbar.”

AK:82

ak'bar īšānā 'jadagī 'hā
akbar īš-ān-ā jad-ag=ī hā
Akbar PROX-PL-OBJ hit.PST-PP=PC.3SG yes

[the police said] “So Akbar has beaten all of them?”

AK:83

ākā'yant aba'rantī pās'gāh
ā=k-ā-yant a=bar-ant=ī pāsgāh
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL VCL=carry.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG police station

pās'gāh a'šīt ak'bar a'šīt na bō'ā
pāsgāh a=š-īt akbar a=š-īt na bōā
police station VCL=say.NPST-3SG Akbar VCL=say.NPST-3SG no father

'ma 'ya na'far on īšān hām'mo 'sareš
ma ya nafar =on īš-ān hāmmo sar=eš
PN.1SG one person =COP.NPST.1SG PROX-PL all head=PC.3PL

koda *'manā* *'bejanant* *'hay* *'wadeš*
 kod-a man-ā be-ĵan-ant hay wad=eš
 do.PST-PP PN.1SG-OBJ SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL ITER REFL=PC.3PL

ĵadageš *bo'kāreš* *boda*
 ĵad-ag=eš bokār=eš bod-a=Ø
 hit.PST-PP=PC.3PL want.PST=PC.3PL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'manā *'bejanant* *īšānī* *'dār*
 man-ā be-ĵan-ant īš-ān-ī dār
 PN.1SG-OBJ SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL PROX-PL-GEN wooden frame

'geftagī *a* *'wadeš* *'man* *'ya* *na'far* *četaw'rī*
 geft-ag=ī a wad=eš man ya nafar četaw'rī
 take.PST-PP=PC.3SG from REFL=PC.3PL PN.1SG one person how

īšānā *hām'mo* *aĵa'nān*
 īš-ān-ā hāmmo a=ĵan-ān
 PROX-PL-OBJ all VCL=hit.NPST-1SG

They came [and] brought him to the police station; it is said Akbar said, “Oh no (lit. no daddy), I am one person; all of them wanted to beat me, [but] they have been beating each other; they wanted to beat me [but] their sticks [for beating up people with] have turned on themselves; how [can] I, one person, beat all of them?”

AK:84

īšān *'wadeš* *'wadeš* *ĵadageš* *tasa'lōg*
 īš-ān wad=eš wad=eš ĵad-ag=eš tasalōg
 PROX-PL REFL=PC.3PL REFL=PC.3PL hit.PST-INF=PC.3PL mercy

kan *'raīse* *pāsgāh* *īšān* *'wadeš*
 Ø-kan-Ø raīs=e pāsgāh īš-ān wad=eš
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG chife=EZ police station PROX-PL REFL=PC.3PL

'wadeš *ĵadageš* *'manī* *be'rāday* *'sarā*
 wad=eš ĵad-ag=eš man-ī berād-ay sar-ā
 REFL=PC.3PL hit.PST-PP=PC.3PL PN.1SG-GEN brother-GEN head-OBL

am *bore'da*
 =am bored-a
 =ADD cut.PST-PP

They themselves have beaten each other; please show mercy, superintendent;

A. Text Corpus

they themselves have beaten each other; they have wounded my brother's head as well.”

AK:85

ak'bar 'ī 'wadī... ī be'rāday 'sarī ke
 akbar ī wad-ī ī berād-ay sar=ī ke
 Akbar PROX REFL-GEN PROX brother-GEN head=PC.3SG CLM

abo'rī 'hōn arē'čī 'rū ak'bar 'wadī
 a=bor-ī hōn a=rēč-ī rū akbar wad=ī
 VCL=cut.NPST-3SG blood VCL=pour.NPST-3SG on Akbar REFL=PC.3SG

ak'bar 'wadī ham 'ī 'hōnā dāl... bālā'sege
 akbar wad=ī ham ī hōn-ā dāl bālāšeg=e
 Akbar REFL=PC.3SG ADD PROX blood-OBL FRAG rubbing=EZ

'wadī a'kant
 wad=ī a=kan-t
 REFL=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG

Akbar this his ... when Akbar's brother's head was cut; the blood poured on Akbar himself; so, Akbar rubbed the blood onto himself.

AK:86

a'šīt tasa'loğ kan 'man 'wadam
 a=š-īt tasaloğ Ø-kan-Ø man wad=am
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG mercy IMPV-do.NPST-2SG PN.1SG REFL=PC.1SG

am ja'dageš īšān 'wadeš 'wadeš
 =am jad-ag=eš īš-ān wad=eš wad=eš
 =ADD make.PST-PP=PC.3PL PROX-PL REFL=PC.3PL REFL=PC.3PL

'ja 'man če'tawr ī 'čel pan'jāh ā'dam
 ja man četawr ī čel panjāh ādam
 hit.PST PN.1SG how PROX forty fifty human being

ja'dagom
 jad-ag=om
 hit.PST-PP=PC.1SG

He said, “Have mercy they have beaten me myself as well; they themselves have beaten each other; how [can] I have beaten these forty fifty people?”

AK:87

de'hā yā'nī hām'mo 'man ja'da ʔ 'wadeš
 dehā yānī hāmmo man jad-a ī wad=eš
 village.OBL that is all PN.1SG hit.PST-PP PROX REFL=PC.3PL

bo'kāreš boda 'manā 'bejanan
 bokār=eš bod-a man-ā be-ĵan-an
 want.PST=PC.3PL become.PST-PP PN.1SG-OBJ SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL

'dāreš 'prēnta 'kōheš 'prēnta 'hay
 dār=eš prēnt-a kōh=eš prēnt-a hay
 stick=PC.3PL throw.PST-PP stone=PC.3PL throw.PST-PP ITER

geftaʔ a 'wadeš 'man
 geft-a=ī a wad=eš man
 take.PST-PP=PC.3SG from REFL=PC.3PL PN.1SG

'nābodagon
 nā-bod-ag=on
 NEG-become.PST-PP=PC.1SG

The village, do you mean (lit. it means) that I have beat all of them?; they themselves wanted to beat me [but] they threw sticks, they threw stones, but they kept coming back on themselves; it was not me.

AK:88

'xob ʔdān de'ya ak'bar ʔšān agen'nant ʔdāne
 xob ʔdān deya akbar ʔš-ān a=genn-ant ʔdān=e
 well here well Akbar PROX-PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL here=EZ

ōštā'dag de'ya bah'raš do'ros 'nahan
 ōštād-ag deya bahr=aš doros nahan
 stay.NPST.pst-INF well for=PC.3PL good NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

Well, then (lit. here), you know, Akbar and his family saw /that/, it would not be safe (lit. good) for them to stay there (lit. here).

AK:89

ar'rant ar'bābeš a'sant 'āgā may
 ar=r-ant arbāb=eš a=š-ant āgā may
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL boss=PC.3PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL sir PN.1PL.GEN

A. Text Corpus

he'sābā 'bekan 'mā bā'hā 'berren ī'dān
 hesāb-ā be-kan-Ø mā bāhā ber-r-en īdān
 money-OBL IMPV-do.NPST-2SG PN.1PL must SBJV-go.NPST-1PL here

de'ga 'mā dōš'manen 'xaylī en
 dega mā dōšman=en xaylī =en
 other PN.1PL enemy=PC.1PL very =COP.NPST.3SG

They went and said to their employer, “Sir, give [us] our salary we must move; we have so many enemies (lit. there are so many enemies for us) here, you know.

AK:90

aga 'do 'dōssen en he'zārtā
 aga do dōss=en =en hezār-tā
 if two friend=PC.1PL =COP.NPST.3SG thousand-CL

dōš'manenen a'natānen
 dōšman=en=en a=na-tān-en
 enemy=PC.1PL=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-1PL

'bōšten 'zan o 'bačeyn 'assen
 b-ōšt-en zan =o bač=eyn ass=en
 SBJV-stay.NPST-1PL wife =and boy=PC.1PL be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

ga'hāren 'assen īdānā'ko
 gahār=en ass=en īdānākō
 sister=PC.1PL be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG right here

a'natānen 'bōšten
 a=na-tān-en b-ōšt-en
 VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-1PL SBJV-stand up.NPST-1PL

If we have two friends, we have one thousands enemies; we cannot stay; we have wives and children; we have sisters (lit. there are wives and children for us, there are sisters for us) we cannot stay here.”

AK:91

bar'sāb ar'bābe a'šīt a'natānant
 barsāb arbāb=e a=š-īt a=na-tān-ant
 you know boss=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3PL

o 'man a'naylān 'ī kā'rā
 =o man a=nay-l-ān ī kār-ā
 =and PN.1SG VCL=NEG-let.NPST-1SG PROX work-OBL

'bekanant o ar... ak'bar 'xob... ar'bāb ham gō
 be-kan-ant =o ar= akbar xob arbāb ham gō
 SBJV-do.NPST-3PL =and FRAG= Akbar well landlord ADD with

hā'mā de'hā tāye'fāī an fā'mīl
 hām=ā dehā tāyefa-ī =an fāmīl
 EMPH=DIST village.OBL tribe-ADJZ =COP.NPST.3PL family

an ak'bar a'šī 'ta aya
 =an akbar a=š-ī ta aya
 =COP.NPST.3PL Akbar VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG if

bo'kāraday 'naylay ha'mā a'walay
 bokār=ad-ay nay-l-ay ham=ā awal=ay
 want.PST=COP.PST-2SG NEG-let.NPST-2SG EMPH=DIST first=PC.3SG

'naheštaday 'jar bī 'ta ba
 na-hešt=ad-ay jar bī ta ba
 NEG-let.PST=COP.PST-2SG quarrel SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PN.2SG for

'xyālat 'mā ham 'dassen ku'tād en 'hēč
 xyāl=at mā ham dass=en kutād =en hēč
 opinion=PC.2SG PN.1PL ADD hand=PC.1PL short =COP.NPST.3SG no

'zoren a'narasī bo'kāret mn...
 zor=en a=na-ras-ī bokār=et mn
 power=PC.1PL VCL=NEG-arrive.NPST-3SG want.PST=PC.2SG FRAG

'manā a'ja'nan yā 'na
 man-ā a=jan-an yā na
 PN.1SG-OBJ VCL=hit.NPST-3PL or no

You know, their landlord said, “They cannot [do you any harm] and I won’t allow them to do so ...”, and the landl... Akbar, well, the landlord was a relative of [the people in] that village, they were relatives; Akbar said, “If you had wanted not to allow [such fights], you should not have allowed [there] to be a fight from the beginning; in your opinion, we are weak (lit. our hand is short) we do not have any power; you wanted to [see if] they [could] beat me or not.

A. Text Corpus

AK:92

hā'lā ke agen'ay 'mā matā'nen
hālā ke a=gen-ay mā ma-tān-en
 now CLM VCL=see.NPST-2SG PN.1PL IMP-be able.NPST-1PL

'bejanen hā'lā 'čō a'say ke
be-ĵan-en hālā čō a=š-ay ke
 SBJV-hit.NPST-1PL now like this VCL=say.NPST-2SG CLM

'sobī 'mārā 'xeft 'gīr kanant
sob=ī mā-rā xeft gīr Ø-kan-ant
 morning=PC.3SG PN.1PL-OBJ attacked SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

'bejananten
be-ĵan-ant=en
 SBJV-hit.NPST-3PL=PC.1PL

Now that you see/that/, we can beat [them] now you say like in order for them to attack and beat us in the morning.

AK:93

'mā a'natānen 'hadet 'bošten yā
mā a=na-tān-en had=et b-ošt-en yā
 PN.1PL VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-1PL by=PC.2SG SBJV-stay.NPST-1PL or

aya bo'kā 'mārā 'bošten 'mā
aya bokā mā-rā b-ošt-en mā
 if want.NPST PN.1PL-OBJ SBJV-stay.NPST-1PL PN.1PL

ar'ren ka'fā 'ya 'jāhe dī'ge ke
ar=r-en kafā ya jāh=e dīge ke
 VCL=go.NPST-1PL Kafa.OBL one place=IND you know CLM

'waden a'sen hay'wānet ham
wad=en a=š-en haywān=et ham
 REFL=PC.1PL VCL=say.NPST-1PL animal=PC.2SG ADD

aba'ren
a=bar-en
 VCL=take.NPST-1PL

We cannot stay with you or if you want us to stay we will go to Kafa or another place which we decide (lit. say) [and] take your animals as well.”

AK:94

a'sī 'na o fe'lān 'ēš om a'sī
 a=š-ī na =o felān ēš =om a=š-ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG no =and so and so PROX =ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG

may he'sāba 'beka 'ta 'berren
 may hesāb-a be-kan-Ø ta ber-r-en
 PN.1PL.GEN money-OBL IMPV-do.NPST-2SG so that SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

He said, “No and stuff like that”; [but] he said, “Give our money (lit. account) for us to go.”

AK:95

ar'ran pās'gāh o pās'gāh 'xās
 ar=r-an pāsgāh =o pāsgāh xās
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL police station =and police station requirement

abī pās'gāh ham ē'sāna māh'kūm
 a=b-ī pāsgāh ham ēš-ān-a māhkūm
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG police station ADD PROX-PL-OBJ guilty

akan a'sī šo'mā četō'rī ya'nī 'ya na'far
 a=kan-Ø a=š-ī šomā četōrī yanī ya nafar
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2PL how i.e. one person

o do... 'sad na'farī ke 'assen 'jōr
 =o do sad nafar=ī ke ass=en jōr
 =and two hundred person=IND CLM be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG possible

a'nabī šom'ā dro'gā maga'se
 a=na-b-ī šomā drog-ā ma-gaš-e
 VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG PN.2PL lying-OBL IMP-say.NPST-2PL

šo'mā 'wadō 'wadō 'jaday 'ras a'sī
 šomā wad=ō wad=ō jad-ay ras a=š-ī
 PN.2PL REFL=PC.2PL REFL=PC.2PL hit.PST-PP truth VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'wadō 'wadō 'jadā
 wad=ō wad=ō jad-ā
 REFL=PC.2PL REFL=PC.2PL hit.PST-PP

They went to the police station and the police summoned (lit. wanted) them; so the police (lit. police station) found them guilty [and] said, “How is it

A. Text Corpus

possible one person and two...[if] there is one hundred people, it doesn't work (lit. it is impossible that one person would beat all of them up); you are lying you yourselves beat each other; he (lit. Alamdar) tells the truth you yourselves beat each other.

AK:96

<i>'ī</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>na'far</i>	<i>a'natānt</i>		<i>šo'ma</i>	<i>pan'jāh</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>nafar</i>	<i>a=na-tān-t</i>		<i>šomā</i>	<i>panjāh</i>
PROX	one	person	VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3SG		PN.2PL	fifty

<i>na'farā</i>	<i>'beĵant</i>	<i>'harčī</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ke</i>
<i>nafar-ā</i>	<i>be-ĵan-t</i>	<i>harčī</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ke</i>
person-OBL	SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG	however much	ADD	CLM

'bebī
be-b-ī
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

This one person cannot beat you, fifty persons; whoever (lit. whatever) he is (lit. however strong he may be).”

AK:97

<i>ba'sāb</i>	<i>ak'bar</i>	<i>ē'sān</i>	<i>hā'kem</i>	<i>abīt</i>	<i>lō'ga</i>
<i>basāb</i>	<i>akbar</i>	<i>ēš-ān</i>	<i>hākem</i>	<i>a=b-īt</i>	<i>lōg-a</i>
you know	Akbar	PROX-PL	ruler	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	house-OBL

<i>as</i>	<i>o'dān</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>agēĵan</i>
<i>as</i>	<i>odān</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>a=gēĵ-an</i>
from	there	PREV	VCL=take.out.NPST-3PL

You know, Akbar overcame (lit. becomes ruler of) them [and] they moved from there.

AK:98

<i>'dar</i>	<i>agēĵan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dī'ga</i>	<i>ar'ran</i>	<i>ak'bar</i>
<i>dar</i>	<i>a=gēĵ-an</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dīga</i>	<i>ar=r-an</i>	<i>akbar</i>
PREV	VCL=take.out.NPST-3PL	CLM	you know	VCL=go.NPST-3PL	Akbar

<i>am</i>	<i>'kam</i>	<i>'kam</i>	<i>dy'a</i>	<i>gereftār</i>	<i>bodag</i>
<i>=am</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>dya</i>	<i>gereftār</i>	<i>bod-ag</i>
<i>=ADD</i>	little	little	well	entangled	become.PST-PP

boda

bod-a=Ø

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

They moved from there; you know, they went, [and] Akbar had little by little become addicted.

AK:99

ar'rant hā'mā... ak'bar as bō'āay de'ya
 ar=r-ant hām=ā akbar as bōā=ay deya
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=DIST Akbar from father=PC.3SG you know

'borr awā bō'āī de'ya
 borrr a=wā-Ø bōā=ī deya
 division VCL=eat.NPST-3SG father=PC.3SG well

a'kay jāī de'ya mā šah'rā
 a=k-ay-Ø jā=ī deya mā šahr-ā
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG place=IND other into town-OBL

mārešama'kī ak'bar ar'ra garmā'bād
 mārešamakī akbar ar=ra-Ø garmābād
 Mareshamaki Akbar VCL=go.NPST-3SG Garm Abad

They went that...you know, then Akbar separated from his father; you know, his father settled in another place in the town by name Mareshamaki [and] Akbar went to Garm Abad.

AK:100

ar'ra ō'dān garmā'bād de'ya garmā'bād am
 ar=ra-Ø ōdān garmābād deya garmābād =am
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG there Garm Abad you know Garm Abad =ADD

ak'bar gereftār boda 'janī ham
 akbar gereftār bod-a=Ø jan=ī ham
 Akbar entangled become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG wife=PC.3SG ADD

ke čo'kā pay'dā akant 'ya 'bačī 'gīrī
 ke čok-ā paydā a=kan-t ya bač=ī gīr=ī
 CLM child-OBL visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG one boy=IND grip=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

akay *'bačī* *ham 'got*
a=k-ay-Ø bač=ī ham got
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG son=PC.3SG ADD big

abī
a=b-ī
VCL=become.NPST-3SG

He went there, to Garm Abad you know, and in Garm Abad Akbar became addicted; so, when his wife gave a birth to a baby; the baby was a boy (lit. she gets a boy), and his son grew up.

AK:101

'bačī *a'lān ham taḡrī'ban* *'šāyad 'bīs*
bač=ī alān ham taḡrīban šāyad bīs
son=PC.3SG well ADD almost maybe twenty

sā'laynī
sāl=ayn=ī
year=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

His son, well, he is almost twenty years old now.

AK:102

'got abī *'bače* *'xob abī*
got a=b-ī bač=e xob a=b-ī
big VCL=become.NPST-3SG son=PC.3SG good VCL=become.NPST-3SG

go ha'mā ar'ran *kā'rā* *o ak'bar ta'rīf*
go hamā ar=r-an kā-r-ā =o akbar tarīf
with each other VCL=go.NPST-3PL work-OBL =and Akbar account

akant *'babam* *ī'taw*
a=kan-t bab=m ītaw
VCL=do.NPST-3SG father=PC.1SG this way

boda *ī'taw* *boda*
bod-a=Ø ītaw bod-a=Ø
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG this way become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ba'sāb 'bačī *ham a'šī* *'kay bā'bā ē'sānā*
basāb bač=ī ham a=š-ī kay bābā ēš-ān-ā
anyway son=PC.3SG ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG who father PROX-PL-OBJ

ham nō'sene 'man 'day 'ta 'man am
 ham nōšen=e man Ø-day-Ø ta man =am
 ADD sign=EZ PN.1SG SBJV-give.NPST-2SG PN.2SG PN.1SG =ADD

'hamī pa'jāheš 'bīyārān ak'bar
 ham=ī pajāh=eš bīy-ār-ān akbar
 EMPH=PROX recognizing=PC.3PL SBJV-bring.NPST-1SG Akbar

a'sī 'babam de'ya 'wel day
 a=š-ī bab=m deya wel Ø-day-Ø
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG father=PC.1SG well loose IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

ā gozašte'hā sal'wāt de'ya 'man ā daw'ra 'man
 ā gozašte-hā salwāt deya man ā dawr-a man
 DIST past-PL finish well PN.1SG DIST time-OBL PN.1SG

adān 'ta de'ya a'natānay
 =ad-ān ta deya a=na-tān-ay
 =COP.PST-1SG PN.2SG you know VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-2SG

'bejanay dya dōš'manā ba 'wadet
 be-ĵan-ay dya dōšman-ā ba wad=et
 SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG you know enemy-OBL for REFL=PC.2SG

'matrāš
 ma-trāš-Ø
 PROH-make. NPST-2SG

His son grew up; he turned out good; they went to work together and Akbar said, “My dear [son] it was in this and that way, you know.”; so his son, said, “Who?; father show them to me in order that I may get to know them as well”; Akbar said, “Well my dear, forget about it, the past is passed (lit. say peace on the past), at that time it was me; you know, you cannot fight; you know, do not make (lit. cut out) enemies for yourself.”

AK:103

'bače 'got abī ha'lā a'sant
 bač=e got a=b-ī halā a=š-ant
 son=PC.3SG big VCL=become.NPST-3SG now VCL=say.NPST-3PL

tarak'tolī 'gefta kāmōī 'gefta
 taraktol=ī geft-a kāmō=ī geft-a
 tractor=PC.3SG take.NPST.pst-PP Combine=PC.3SG take.NPST.pst-PP

A. Text Corpus

ak'barī 'bač ham nomzā'dī en a'lān de'ya la'bāsā
akbar-ī bač ham nomzādī =en alān deya labās-ā
Akbar-GEN son ADD engaged =COP.NPST.3SG now now dress-OBL

mage'ra bah're ja'nay dō'at
ma-ger-a bahr=e janay dōat
IMP-take.NPST-3SG for=EZ wife.OBL.PC.3SG marriage

kan
Ø-kan-Ø
SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

His son grew up; they are said, now he has bought a tractor; he has bought a Combine; Akbar's son is engaged, too; now he is buying the dress for his wife to get married.

AK:104

ba'sāb 'ē ham ak'barī sargo'zašt
basāb ē ham akbar-ī sargozašt
well PROX ADD Akbar-GEN story

So, well , this is the story about Akbar.

A.3. Text 3: Goli

Goli golī

recounted by Zahra Samsaniyan

GL:1

mā ya šahreyā ya ahmadnāme
mā ya šahr=e-yā ya ahmad-nām=e
into one town=IND-OBL one Ahmad-name=IND

bodagen ya jane am
bod-ag=en ya jan=e =am
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one wife=IND =ADD

bodagen be nāme golī
bod-ag=en be nām=e golī
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG to name=EZ Goli

There was a man called Ahmad in a town, [and] had (lit. there was also) a

wife called Goli.

GL:2

golī jāne xubī nabodagen
golī jān=e xub-ī na-bod-ag=en
 Goli wife=IND good-ADJZ NEG-become.PST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

azzīyāte makanā boda o ešān
azzīyāt=e ma-kan-ā bod-a =o ešān
 trouble=PC.3SG IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and like this

as dassay ājez boda
as dassay ājez bod-a=Ø
 from hand.OBL.PC.3SG disabled become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Goli was not a good wife; she was giving him a hard time, and you know; he was fed up with her.

GL:3

ye rō ahmad akay be golī
ye rō ahmad a=k-ay-Ø be golī
 one day Ahmad VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to Goli

ašī ke hāmmo mardom marawan sawzā
a=š-ī ke hāmmo mardom ma-raw-an sawzā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM all people IMP-go.NPST-3PL herb.OBL

xob bīyā man o ta am
xob bīy-ā-Ø man =o ta =am
 well IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.1SG =and PN.2SG =ADD

berren gō hamā
ber-r-en gō hamā
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL with each other

One day Ahmad came; [and] said to Goli /that/, “All these people go [to pick] green herbs, you know, come on, let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, together.”

GL:4

golī am ġabūl akant ašī
golī =am ġabūl a=kan-t a=š-ī
 Goli =ADD accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

<i>bībī</i>	<i>berren</i>
bī-b-ī	ber-r-en
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	

So Goli, accepted; she said “Ok, let’s go.”

GL:5

<i>gō</i>	<i>hamā</i>	<i>arrant</i>	<i>sabzā</i>	<i>sawzā</i>
gō	hamā	ar=r-ant	sabzā	sawzā
with each other		VCL=go.NPST-3PL	herb.OBL	herb.OBL

<i>čēnagā</i>	<i>ešān</i>
čēn-ag-ā	ešān
pick.NPST-INF-OBL like this	

They went to the wilderness (lit. herb) together to pick green herbs and things like this.

GL:6

<i>deya</i>	<i>hamedānako</i>	<i>ahmad</i>	<i>sawzā</i>	<i>mačēnā</i>
deya	ham=edānako	ahmad	sawzā	ma-čēn-ā
you know EMPH=right here		Ahmad	herb.OBL	IMP-pick.NPST-BACKG.3SG

<i>boda</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>čāhī</i>	<i>pēdā</i>	<i>akant</i>
bod-a	ye	čāh=ī	pēdā	a=kan-t
become.PST-PP		one well=IND	visible	VCL=do.NPST-3SG

You know, [when] Ahmad was picking the green herbs there (lit. here), he found a well.

GL:7

<i>ašī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>wadī</i>	<i>ašī</i>	
a=š-ī	ke	had=e	wad-ī	a=š-ī	
VCL=say.NPST-3SG		CLM	by=EZ	REL-GEN	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>masan</i>	<i>golīā</i>	<i>xob</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>prēnān</i>	<i>mā</i>	
masan	golī-ā	xob	=en	Ø-prēn-ān	mā	
for example		Goli-OBL	good	=COP.NPST.3SG	SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG	into

<i>ē</i>	<i>čāhā</i>
ē	čāh-ā
PROX well-OBL	

It is said /that/, he said to himself, you know, it is [a] good [idea] if I throw

Goli in this well.

GL:8

<i>gānk aĵant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ašī</i>	<i>golī</i>
gānk a=ĵan-t	=o	a=š-ī	golī
call	VCL=hit.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli

<i>byā</i>	<i>mā ē</i>	<i>čāhā</i>	<i>sayl</i>	<i>kan</i>
by-ā-Ø	mā ē	čāh-ā	sayl	Ø-kan-Ø
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	into	PROX	well-OBL	looking
				SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

<i>ya čē berč</i>	<i>maĵanagen</i>
ya čē berč	ma-ĵan-ag=en
one	what shining IMP-hit.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

He called [her] and said, “Come Goli [and] look in this well; something is shining.”

GL:9

<i>golī ke akay</i>	<i>lohe</i>
golī ke a=k-ay-Ø	loh=e
Goli	CLM VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG pushing=PC.3SG

<i>adā</i>	<i>aprēnīde</i>	<i>mā čāhā</i>
a=dā-Ø	a=prēn-īd=e	mā čāh-ā
VCL=give.NPST-3SG	VCL=throw.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	into well-OBL

<i>golīā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>wadī</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>zorr</i>	<i>agī</i>
golī-ā	=o	wad=ī	=am	zorr	a=g-ī
Goli-OBL	=and	REFL=PC.3SG	=ADD	turning	VCL=take.NPST-3SG

lōgā
lōg-ā
house-OBL

When Goli came, he pushed her [and] threw her into the well, Goli, and as for himself, he returned home.

GL:10

<i>lōgā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>akay</i>	<i>hade</i>	<i>wadī</i>
lōg-ā	ke	a=k-ay-Ø	had=e	wad=ī
house-OBL	CLM	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	by=EZ	REFL=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

fekr akant nārāhat abīd
 fekr a=kan-t nārāhat a=b-īd
 thought VCL=do.NPST-3SG troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG

ašī man nabāhāta ešī
 a=š-ī man na-bāhāt=a-Ø ešī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG PROX.OBL

prēnān mā čāhā gonāhe assad
 Ø-prēn-ān mā čāh-ā gonāh=e ass=ad-Ø
 SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into well-OBL sin=PC.3SG be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

manī ĵan ad
 man-ī ĵan ad-Ø
 PN.1SG-GEN wife COP.PST-3SG

When he arrived home, he thought to himself; he became upset [and] said, “I should not have thrown her into the well; I should have taken pity on her (lit. she was pity); she was my wife.”

GL:11

xolāsa nārāhat abīd o ašī
 xolāsa nārāhat a=b-īd =o a=š-ī
 in short troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and VCL=say.NPST-3SG

berrān šāyad zenna mantagen o
 ber-r-ān šāyad zenna mant-ag=en =o
 SBJV-go.NPST-1SG maybe alive stay.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG =and

ešān
 ešān
 like this

Anyhow, he became troubled and said, “Let me go; maybe she is still (lit. has stayed) alive, you know.”

GL:12

godday say čār rō ye banne am azort
 godd=ay say čār rō ye bann=e =am a=zor-t
 after=EZ three four day one rope=IND =ADD VCL=take.NPST-3SG

arraft *čāhokay* *sarā o* *gānk aĵant*
 ar=raf-t čāh-ok-ay sarā =o gānk a=ĵan-t
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG well-DEF-GEN on =and call VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

ašī *golī aga zenne ay* *ē*
 a=š-ī golī aga zenne =ay ē
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli if alive =COP.NPST.2SG PROX

bannokā *man* *aprēnān* *deya*
 bann-ok-ā man a=prēn-ān deya
 rope-DEF-OBL PN.1SG VCL=throw.NPST-1SG you know

beger *bīyā* *ta*
 be-ger-Ø bīy-ā-Ø ta
 SBJV-take.NPST-2SG SBJV-come.NPST-2SG so that

bekašānet *bālād*
 be-kaš-ān=et bālād
 SBJV-pull.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG high

After three or four days, he took a rope [and] went to the well, and he called and said, “Goli, if you are alive, I throw this rope, you know take it, [and] come so that I can pull you up.”

GL:13

bannā *aprēnī* *mā čāhā* *o* *ešān* *o*
 bannā a=prēn-ī mā čāh-ā =o ešān =o
 rope.OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG into well-OBL =and like this =and

hay *akašīd* *bannā* *akašīd*
 hay a=kaš-īd bannā a=kaš-īd
 ITER VCL=pull.NPST-3SG rope.OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG

akašīd *agennī* *ta* *bannok* *saĵīn*
 a=kaš-īd a=genn-ī ta bann-ok saĵīn
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR rope-DEF heavy

mahā *bālād saĵīn en*
 mah-ā-Ø bālād saĵīn =en
 IMP-come.NPST-3SG high heavy =COP.NPST.3SG

He threw the rope into the well; you know, and he kept pulling (lit. pulled [and] pulled) the rope; he felt (lit. saw) /that/, the rope was coming up heavy;

A. Text Corpus

[it] was heavy.

GL:14

dobāra akašī agennī ta wāywāywelā ye
 dobāra a=kaš-ī a=genn-ī ta wāywāywelā ye
 again VCL=pull.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR weo one

aždahāī dar akay sahrā
 aždahā=ī dar a=k-ay-Ø sahrā
 dragon=IND PREV VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG wilderness.OBL

Again he pulled [it and] saw /that/, woe, a dragon came out on the ground (lit. in the wilderness).

GL:15

akay ke bannā wel dād
 a=k-ay-Ø ke bannā wel Ø-dā-d
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG CLM rope.OBL loose SBJV-give.NPST-3SG

aždahāok ašī ke na bannā wel
 aždahā-ok a=š-ī ke na bannā wel
 dragon-DEF VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM no rope.OBL loose

maday manā maprēn mā čāhā
 ma-day-Ø man-ā ma-prēn-Ø mā čāh-ā
 IMP-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-OBJ IMP-throw.NPST-2SG into well-OBL

harčīet bokān bī
 harčī=et bokān Ø-b-ī
 whatever=PC.2SG want.NPST SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

adānet
 a=dān=et
 VCL=give.NPST=PC.2SG

He was about to throw the rope [down]; the dragon said /that/,"No, don't let go of the rope; do not throw me into the well, I will give you whatever you want."

GL:16

ašī masalan atānay šāhay
 a=š-ī masalan a=tān-ay šāh-ay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG for example VCL=be able.NPST-2SG king-GEN

janekā om ba... begeray ba man
 janek-ā =om ba be-ger-ay ba man
 girl-OBL =ADD for SBJV-take.NPST-2SG for PN.1SG

He said, “Well, can you get even the king’s daughter for me?”

GL:17

ašī hā šāhay janekā am agerān
 a=š-ī hā šāh-ay janek-ā =am a=ger-ān
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes king-GEN girl-OBL =ADD VCL=take.NPST-1SG

It said, “Yes, I will get even the king’s daughter.”

GL:18

ašī xob bebīd
 a=š-ī xob be-b-īd
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG good SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

He said, “Ok, fine.”

GL:19

akašīdī bālād o a čāhā
 a=kaš-īd=ī bālād =o a čāh-ā
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG up =and from well-OBL

akārīd sahrā o aždahāok
 a=k-ār-īd sahrā =o aždahā-ok
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG wilderness.OBL =and dragon-DEF

ašī man šāmī arrān
 a=š-ī man šām-ī ar=r-ān
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG supper-ADVZ VCL=go.NPST-1SG

apēčān dawre janekay gardenā šāhay janekay
 a=pēč-ān dawr=e janek-ay garden-ā šāh-ay janek-ay
 VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ girl-GEN neck-OBL king-GEN girl-GEN

godda har kasā āorteš man boĵag
 godda har kas-ā āort=eš man boĵ-ag
 then each person-OBL bring.PST=PC.3PL PN.1SG open.NPST-INF

A. Text Corpus

anayān *bejōz ta*
a=nayān bejōz ta
VCL=NEG.COP.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG

Ahmad (lit. he) pulled it up, and brought it [out] from the well on the ground (lit. in the wilderness), and the dragon said, “Tonight I will go [and] wrap myself around the daughter’s neck, the king’s daughter’s [neck]; then no matter whoever they bring I wont be unwrapped (lit. open) except for you.

GL:20

ta am ke ākkay ašay ke šāh
ta =am ke ākk-ay a=š-ay ke šāh
PN.2SG =ADD CLM come.PST-2SG VCL=say.NPST-2SG CLM king

janekat beday man tā man ē
janek=at be-day-Ø man tā man ē
girl=PC.2SG SBJV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG in order PN.1SG PROX

aždahāokā bōjān šāh ke ġabūlī
aždahā-ok-ā Ø-bōj-ān šāh ke ġabūl=ī
dragon-DEF-OBL SBJV-open.NPST-1SG king CLM accepting=PC.3SG

ko goddā man bōjag akāyān
ko goddā man bōj-ag a=k-ā-ān
do.PST then PN.1SG open.NPST-INF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

So when you come, you say /that/, “King give your daughter to me in order for me to open this dragon; when he accepts then I will be unwrapped.”

GL:21

ahmad am ašī bebīd
ahmad =am a=š-ī be-b-īd
Ahmad =ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

So Ahmad said, “Ok.”

GL:22

arraft o šāmī ē aždahāok
ar=raf-t =o šām-ī ē aždahā-ok
VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and supper-ADVZ PROX dragon-DEF

apēčī *dawray* *šāhay* *janekay* *gardenā* *o*
 a=pēč-ī dawr=ay šāh-ay janek-ay garden-ā =o
 VCL=twist.NPST-3SG around=EZ king-GEN girl-GEN neck-OBL =and

sōbīgāh *pād* *akāyan* *agennan* *ta*
 sōbīgāh pād a=k-ā-an a=genn-an ta
 morning time foot VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR

dādobīdād *ya* *aždahāī* *pēkkag* *dawre*
 dādobīdād ya aždahā=ī pēkk-ag=Ø dawr=e
 oh dear one dragon=IND coil.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG around=EZ

ē *janekay* *gardenā* *ke* *byā* *o*
 ē janek-ay garden-ā ke by-ā-Ø =o
 PROX girl-GEN neck-OBL CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG =and

begenn
 be-genn-Ø
 IMPV-see.NPST-2SG

It went and in the evening this dragon wrapped himself around the neck of the king's daughter, and early in the morning they got up [and] saw /that/, oh dear, a dragon had wrapped [itself] around this daughter's neck; you can't believe it (lit. come and see).

GL:23

xolāsa *har* *kasā* *ākārant* *mollā*
 xolāsa har kas-ā ā=ār-ant mollā
 in short each person-OBL VCL=bring.NPST-3PL Mullah

ākārant *ālemā* *ākārant* *harkasā*
 ā=ār-ant ālem-ā ā=ār-ant harkas-ā
 VCL=bring.NPST-3PL wise man-OBL VCL=bring.NPST-3PL whoever-OBL

ākārant *aždahāok* *bōjag*
 a=k-ār-ant aždahā-ok bōj-ag
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL dragon-DEF open.NPST-INF

anayayt
 a=nay-ay-t
 VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG

Well, they brought everybody; they brought the Mullah; they brought wise

A. Text Corpus

men; whoever they brought the dragon could not be unwrapped.

GL:24

deya ašant xo šāh ba wazīr ašī
 deya a=š-ant xo šāh ba wazīr a=š-ī
 you know VCL=say.NPST-3PL well king to minister VCL=say.NPST-3SG

kay manta mā ī šāhrā
 kay mant-a=Ø mā ī šāhr-ā
 who remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG into PROX town-OBL

ašī ellā ya ahmade badbaxt en
 a=š-ī ellā ya ahmad=e badbaxt =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG except one Ahmad=IND poor =COP.NPST.3SG

mā hamī šahrā zennagī makanagen
 mā ham=ī šahr-ā zennagī ma-kan-ag=en
 into EMPH=PROX town-OBL life IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

o ešān ašī xob berret hamā
 =o ešān a=š-ī xob ber-r-et ham=ā
 =and like this VCL=say.NPST-3SG good SBJV-go.NPST-2PL EMPH=DIST

ahmadā am bīyāret
 ahmad-ā =am bīy-ār-et
 Ahmad-OBL =ADD IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

You know, they said ...; well, the king said to the minister; he said, “Who is left in this town?”; he said, “[Nobody] except a poor [fellow called] Ahmad, [who] is living in this town, you know”; he said, “OK, go and bring that Ahmad too.”

GL:25

ahmadā am ākārānt o ahmad
 ahmad-ā =am ā=k-ār-ant =o ahmad
 Ahmad-OBL =ADD VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL =and Ahmad

ašī ke man ya šarte
 a=š-ī ke man ya šart=e
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG one condition=IND

assenom *šāh ta ēšī*
 ass=en=om šāh ta ēšī
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG king in order PROX.OBL

bōjān *aždahāokā*
 Ø-bōj-ān aždahā-ok-ā
 SBJV-open.NPST-1SG dragon-DEF-OBL

So they brought Ahmad, and Ahmad said /that/, “I have a condition, king, in order to open this one, the dragon.”

GL:26

ašī *bebī* *če šarte*
 a=š-ī be-b-ī če šart=e
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG what condition=IND

assen *ašī* *bāhāten*
 ass=en a=š-ī bāhāt=en
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG must=COP.NPST.3SG

janekat *beday* *ba man*
 janek=at be-day-Ø ba man
 girl=PC.2SG SBJV-give.NPST-2SG for PN.1SG

He said, “Alright, what is your condition?”; he said, “You must give your daughter to me.”

GL:27

šāh am *majbūr abī* *ašī*
 šāh =am majbūr a=b-ī a=š-ī
 king =ADD forced VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

bebī *janekom* *ba ta* *wale ta* *ē*
 be-b-ī janek=om ba ta wale ta ē
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG girl=PC.1SG for PN.2SG but PN.2SG PROX

aždahāokā *bōj*
 aždahā-ok-ā Ø-bōj-Ø
 dragon-DEF-OBL IMPV-open.NPST-2SG

So the king had no other choice; he said, “Alright, my daughter to you; but unwarp this dragon.”

A. Text Corpus

GL:28

xolāse ešī ḡanekā aḡd akant o
xolāse ešī ḡanek-ā aḡd a=kan-t =o
 in short PROX.OBL girl-OBL marriage VCL=do.NPST-3SG =and

adant ahmad o ahmad am arraft
a=dan-t ahmad =o ahmad =am ar=raf-t
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG Ahmad =and Ahmad =ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG

mā aždahāay gōšay ya če ašī o
mā aždahā-ay gōšay ya če a=š-ī =o
 into dragon-GEN ear.OBL.PC.3SG one what VCL=say.NPST-3SG =and

aždahā bōḡag akay
aždahā bōḡ-ag a=k-ay-Ø
 dragon open.NPST-INF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

Anyway, he married off his daughter and gave [her] to Ahmad, and so Ahmad went [and] wispered something to the dragon (lit. said in the dragon's ear), and the dragon opened up.

GL:29

edān ke aždahā akay beraft
edān ke aždahā a=k-ay-Ø be-raf-t
 here CLM dragon VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

ašī ke harḡāh raftān dawre yakkay
a=š-ī ke harḡāh raft-ān dawr=e yakk-ay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM wherever go.PST-1SG around=EZ one-GEN

gardenā pēkom deya ta nayāay
garden-ā pēk=om deya ta nay-ā-ay
 neck-OBL twist.PST=PC.1SG you know PN.2SG NEG-come.NPST-2SG

bōḡay ā wagarna awarānet
Ø-bōḡ-ay ā wagarna a=war-ān=et
 SBJV-open.NPST-2SG EMPH otherwise VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

ašī bebī man dīge
a=š-ī be-b-ī man dīge
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PN.1SG again

anayān

a=nayān

VCL=NEG.COP.NPST.1SG

When the dragon was about to go, it said /that/, “Wherever I go and wrap around somebody’s neck, do not come and open [me] again, OK, otherwise, I will eat you up.”; Ahmad (lit. he) said, “Alright, I won’t come again.”

GL:30

xolāse ē arraft aždahāok o arraft
xolāse ē ar=raf-t aždahā-ok =o ar=raf-t
 in short PROX VCL=go.NPST-3SG dragon-DEF =and VCL=go.NPST-3SG

mā ya šāhre degareyā apēčī dawre ā
mā ya šāhr=e degare-yā a=pēč-ī dawr=e ā
 into one city=IND another-OBL VCL=twist.NPST-3SG around=EZ DIST

šahray šāhay janekay gardenā
šahr-ay šāh-ay janek-ay garden-ā
 town-GEN king-GEN girl-GEN neck-OBL

You know, it went; the dragon, and went, in another town; it wrapped [itself] around the neck of the daughter of the king in that town.

GL:31

šāh ašī xo četaw kanen ešān
šāh a=š-ī xo četaw Ø-kan-en ešān
 king VCL=say.NPST-3SG well how SBJV-do.NPST-1PL like this

nārāhat abīd ā šāhok
nārāhat a=b-īd ā šāh-ok
 troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG DIST king-DEF

The king said, “Well, what should we do?”; you know, the king was worried.

GL:32

ašant ke ya ahmadnāme assen
a=š-ant ke ya ahmad-nām=e ass=en
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM one Ahmad-name=EZ be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

mā folān šahrā ā folān šāhray šāhay dūmād
mā folān šahr-ā ā folān šāhr-ay šāh-ay dūmād
 into so and so town-OBL DIST so and so city-GEN king-GEN son-in-law

A. Text Corpus

en *ašan* *ā* *mabōja* *ā*
 =en a=š-an ā ma-bōj-a ā
 =COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL DIST IMP-open.NPST-3SG DIST

atānt
 a=tān-t
 VCL=be able.NPST-3SG

They said, /that/ “There is a man called Ahmad in such-and-such a town; he is the son-in-law of the king in such-and-such a town; they are said; he unwraps [dragons], he can [do it].”

GL:33

ašant *xob berret* *ahmadokā*
 a=š-ant xob ber-r-et ahmad-ok-ā
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL good IMPV-go.NPST-2PL Ahmad-DEF-OBL

bīyāret
 bīy-ār-et
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

They said, “Alright, go and bring Ahmad.”

GL:34

arran *ahmadā* *bīyāran* *ahmad*
 ar=r-an ahmad-ā bīy-ār-an ahmad
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL Ahmad-OBL SBJV-bring.NPST-3PL Ahmad

zahlay *marawā* *boda*
 zahl=ay ma-raw-ā bod-a
 gall bladder=PC.3SG IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

namarawā *boda* *ke* *aždahāokā*
 na-ma-raw-ā bod-a ke aždahā-ok-ā
 NEG-IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP CLM dragon-DEF-OBL

bōjīd *šāh ašī* *xob berra*
 Ø-bōj-īd šāh a=š-ī xob ber-ra-Ø
 SBJV-open.NPST-3SG king VCL=say.NPST-3SG good IMPV-go.PST-2SG

zešt en *o ešan rāhī* *akant*
 zešt =en =o ešan rāh=ī a=kan-t
 bad =COP.NPST.3SG =and like this way=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG

majbūr akant ahmad arraft
 majbūr a=kan-t ahmad ar=raf-t
 forced VCL=do.NPST-3SG Ahmad VCL=go.NPST-3SG

They went to bring Ahmad; [but] he was so scared (lit. his gall bladder was going), [and] he did not go to unwrap the dragon; the king said, “Well, go; it is bad [for us if you don’t do it] and, you know.”; the king sent him; the king forced him [to go and]; Ahmad went.

GL:35

ēdān mā rāhā ke marawā boda
 ēdān mā rāh-ā ke ma-raw-ā bod-a
 here into way-OBL CLM IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

zahlay marawā boda o
 zahl=ay ma-raw-ā bod-a =o
 gall bladder=PC.3SG IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and

ešān nārāhat boda mešā
 ešān nārāhat bod-a me-š-ā
 like this troubled become.PST-PP IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda man aga berrān ē aždahāok
 bod-a man aga ber-r-ān ē aždahā-ok
 become.PST-PP PN.1SG if SBJV-go.NPST-1SG PROX dragon-DEF

manā āwā četaw kanān ke xalās
 man-ā ā=wā-Ø četaw Ø-kan-ān ke xalās
 PN.1SG-OBJ VCL=eat.NPST-3SG how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG CLM finished

bān
 Ø-b-ān
 SBJV-become.NPST-1SG

There (lit. here) when he was walking along the road, he was so scared, and you know; he was worried; he was saying; if I go, the dragon will eat me, what should I do to be escaped.

GL:36

hamīṭaw hade wadī xolāsa fekr
 hamīṭaw had=e wad=ī xolāsa fekr
 like this by=EZ REFL=PC.3SG in short thought

A. Text Corpus

makanā *boda* *o* *nārāhat* *boda*
 ma-kan-ā bod-a =o nārāhat bod-a
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and troubled become.PST-PP

o *ešān* *yakdafe* *ye* *fekre* *ba* *zehnay*
 =o ešān yakdafe ye fekr=e ba zehnay
 =and like this suddenly one thought=IND for mind.OBL.PC.3SG

arrasī *deya* *xošhāl* *abī* *az*
 ar=ras-ī deya xošhāl a=b-ī az
 VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG you know happy VCL=become.NPST-3SG from

ī *fekrok* *o* *ešān* *ašan* *čōn*
 ī fekr-ok =o ešān a=š-an čōn
 PROX thought-DEF =and like this VCL=say.NPST-3PL because

enet *makannagay* *ta*
 =en=et ma-kann-ag=ay ta
 =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG IMP-laugh.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG

o *ta* *hamī* *hālā* *nārāhat* *aday*
 =o ta ham=ī hālā nārāhat =ad-ay
 =FOC till EMPH=PROX now troubled =COP.PST-2SG

ašī *hīččī* *berren*
 a=š-ī hīččī ber-r-en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG nothing SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

You know, he was thinking to himself like this, and was worried, and you know; suddenly, he came up with an idea; then he became happy with this idea and, you know; they [i.e. his companions] said, “What has happened to you? you are laughing; now you were worried.”; he said, “Nothing let’s go.”

GL:37

xolāsa *arran* *arrasan* *ā* *šahrā* *o*
 xolāsa ar=r-an ar=ras-an ā šahr-ā =o
 in short VCL=go.NPST-3PL VCL=arrive.NPST-3PL DIST town-OBL =and

īdān *ke* *wārede* *gasrā* *abant* *aždahāy*
 īdān ke wāred=e gasr-ā a=b-ant aždahā-ay
 here CLM entering=EZ palace-OBL VCL=become.NPST-3PL dragon-GEN

čamm ke akafī ba ahmad ašī
 čamm ke a=kaf-ī ba ahmad a=š-ī
 eye CLM VCL=fall.NPST-3SG for Ahmad VCL=say.NPST-3SG

nagaštom mayā asabānī
 na-gašt=om may-ā-Ø asabānī
 NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG PROH-come.NPST-2SG angry

abīt ašī nagaštom
 a=b-īt a=š-ī na-gašt=om
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG

mayā wagarna awarānet
 may-ā-Ø wagarna a=war-ān=et
 IMP-come.NPST-2SG otherwise VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

Well, they went [and] arrived in that town, and when they approached (lit. entered) the castle; when the dragon's eyes fell on Ahmad, it said, "Haven't I told you not to come"; it became angry [and] said, "Haven't I told you not to come, otherwise I will eat you."

GL:38

ašī man ke nayākān tarā
 a=š-ī man ke nay-āk-ān tarā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG CLM NEG-come.PST-1SG PN.2SG-OBJ

bōjān ākkagān ya
 Ø-bōj-ān ākk-ag=ān ya
 SBJV-open.NPST-1SG come.NPST.pst-PP=COP.NPST.1SG one

paygāme bedān o berrān
 paygām=e be-d-ān =o ber-r-ān
 message=IND SBJV-give.NPST-1SG =and SBJV-go.NPST-1SG

He said, "I did not come to unwrap you, you know; I have come to give a message and leave (lit. go)."

GL:39

ašī xo paygāmet bega o
 a=š-ī xo paygām=et be-ga-Ø =o
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well message=PC.2SG IMPV-say.NPST-3SG =and

A. Text Corpus

berra

ber-ra-Ø

IMPV-go.NPST-3SG

It said, “OK, tell your message and go.”

GL:40

ašī ke golī ke... golī as čāhā dar
a=š-ī ke golī ke golī as čāh-ā dar
VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM Goli CLM Goli from well-OBL PREV

kafta rannat
kaft-a=Ø rannat
fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG after.OBL.PC.3SG

magardayen
ma-gard-ay=en
IMP-go around.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

He said /that/, “Goli that... Goli has come out of the well, [and] she is looking for you.”

GL:41

aždahā edān ke golī nāmā eškonī zahlay
aždahā edān ke golī nām-ā eškon-ī zahl=ay
dragon here CLM Goli name-OBL hear.NPST-3SG gall bladder=PC.3SG

arraft bōjag akay
ar=raf-t bōj-ag a=k-ay-Ø
VCL=go.NPST-3SG open.NPST-INF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

arraft de boro ke raft ī
ar=raf-t de bo-ro-Ø ke raft-Ø ī
VCL=go.NPST-3SG oh IMPV-go.NPST-2SG CLM go.PST-3SG PROX

farār akant
farār a=kan-t
running VCL=do.NPST-3SG

When the dragon heard Goli’s name; it got so scared that it opened up, [and] went; oh, how it ran; it fled.

GL:42

xolāse īdān deya enšālāh dossen
xolāse īdān deya enšālāh doss=en
 in short here you know God willing friend=PC.1PL

bebīd ahmad o... čō ahmad o došmanen
be-b-īd ahmad =o čō ahmad =o došman=en
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG Ahmad =and like Ahmad =and enemy=PC.1PL

am bebī čō golī
=am be-b-ī čō golī
 =ADD SBJV-become.NPST-3SG like Goli

Well, now (lit. here) God willing, may our friend be Ahmad and..., like Ahmad, and may our enemy also be like Goli.

A.4. Text 4: Goli and Ahmad

Goli and Ahmad**go'ī o ah'mad**

recounted by Mahtalat Samsaniyan

GA:1

Golī wa šoharaš
golī wa šohar=aš
 Goli and husband=PC.3PL

Goli and her husband.

GA:2

'yake 'assa 'yake 'nesta
yak=e ass=a yak=e nest=a
 one=IND be.NPST=COP.PST one=IND NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST

'gayre xodā'ye mehra'bān 'hečka 'nessa
ğayr=e xodā=ye mehrabān hečka ness=a
 other than=EZ God=EZ kind no body NEG.be.NPST.3SG=COP.NPST

elā'hī be e'mēde 'ta
elāhī be emēd=e ta
 God to hope=EZ PN.2SG

Once upon a time (lit. There was one; there was no one; there was no body

A. Text Corpus

except kindness God.); may God with you.

GA:3

go'li o ah'mad 'ye 'zano šo'harī a'dan
goli =o ahmad ye zan=o šohar=ī ad-an
Goli =and Ahmad one wife=and husband=IND COP.PST-3PL

Goli and Ahmad were a couple (lit. a wife and a husband).

GA:4

'ye 'zano šo'harī bodayant 'banney
ye zan=o šohar=ī bod-ay=ant banne=y
one wife=and husband=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL servant=EZ

xo'dā ah'madī 'jan azī'yaī maka'na
xodā ahmad-ī jan azīyat=ī ma-kan-a
God Ahmad-GEN wife trouble=PC.3SG IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda 'xob ham 'nāboda
bod-a xob ham nā-bod-a=Ø
become.PST-PP well ADD NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They were a couple (lit. a wife and a husband); the fellow (lit. the servant of God) Ahmad's wife was annoying him; you know, she was not nice.

GA:5

'ya 'rō a'šī 'goli 'ē ham'mo
ya rō a=š-ī goli-Ø ē hammo
one day VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli-VOC.SG PROX all

maraw'en sow'zīyā mače'nen bīyā
ma-raw-en sowzī-yā ma-čen-en bīy-ā-Ø
IMP-go.NPST-1PL herb-OBL IMP-pick.NPST-1PL IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

'man o 'ta ham 'berren sow'zīyā
man =o ta ham ber-r-en sowzī-yā
PN.1SG =and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL herb-OBL

'bečenen
be-čen-en
SBJV-pick.NPST-1PL

One day he said, “Goli these people (lit. all) were going [and] they were picking the green herbs; let the two of us (lit. me and you) go [and] pick the

green herbs.”

GA:6

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>'xo</i>	<i>'bebī</i>	<i>ar'ren</i>
a=š-ī	xo	be-b-ī	ar=r-en
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	OK	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	VCL=go.NPST-1PL

she said, “Ok let’s go”

GA:7

<i>ar'ran</i>	<i>sow'zīyā</i>	<i>'bečenan</i>	<i>hamo'dān</i>	<i>ke</i>
ar=r-an	sowzī-yā	be-čen-an	ham=odān	ke
VCL=go.NPST-3PL	herb-OBL	SBJV-pick.NPST-3PL	EMPH=there	CLM

<i>mačē'nēn</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ī'sān</i>	<i>'ya</i>
ma-čēn-ēn	bod-a	=o	īšān	ya
IMP-pick.NPST-BACKG.3PL	become.PST-PP	=and	such and such	one

<i>'čāhe</i>	<i>boda</i>
čāh=e	bod-a=Ø
well=IND	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

they went to pick the green herbs; there where they were picking [it] and such and such; there was a well.

GA:8

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bīyā</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>ī</i>
a=š-ī	ke	bīy-ā-Ø	say	mā	ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	looking	into	PROX

<i>čā'hā</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'nūrīen</i>	<i>ī'sān</i>	<i>ham</i>
čāh-ā	ya	nūr=ī=en	īš-ān	ham
well-OBL	one	light=IND=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX-PL	ADD

<i>ar'rant</i>	<i>go'lī</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>čā'hā</i>	<i>'say</i>
ar=r-ant	golī	ar=ra-Ø	mā	čāh-ā	say
VCL=go.NPST-3PL	Goli	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	into	well-OBL	looking

<i>akant</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>agen'nī</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'nūre</i>
a=kan-t	ta	a=genn-ī	ya	nūr=e
VCL=do.NPST-3SG	MIR	VCL=see.NPST-3SG	one	light=IND

A. Text Corpus

ar'ra *hamī'dān* *ke* *'say* *akant*
 ar=ra-Ø ham=īdān ke say a=kan-t
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG EMPH=here CLM looking VCL=do.NPST-3SG

go'līyā *'loh* *adā* *aka'fī* *mā*
 golī-yā loh a=dā-Ø a=kaf-ī mā
 Goli-OBL pushing VCL=give.NPST-3SG VCL=fall.NPST-3SG into

čā'hā
 čāh-ā
 well-OBL

He said /that/, “Come [and look] into this well; there is a light;” as for them, they went...Goli went to look into the well; she saw /that/, there was a light; he went when Goli was looking into the well; he pushed Goli; she fell down into the well.

GA:9

aka'fī *mā* *čā'hāyo* *ah'mad* *ke* *'zorrī*
 a=kaf-ī mā čāh-ā=yō ahmad ke zorr-ī
 VCL=fall.NPST-3SG into well-OBL=and Ahmad CLM turning=PC.3SG

gefta *boda* *lō'gā* *pašay'mān*
 geft-a bod-a lōg-ā pašaymān
 take.PST-PP become.PST-PP house-OBL regret

abī *a'šī* *'manī* *'janam*
 a=b-ī a=š-ī man-ī jan=am
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN wife=PC.1SG

bā'hāt *ān* *'naprēnon* *mā* *čā'hāo*
 bāhāt =ān na-prēn-on mā čāh-ā=o
 must =COP.NPST.1SG NEG.SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into well-OBL=and

'bad *'kāre* *'kodom* *o* *ī'šān*
 bad kār=e kod=om =o īšān
 bad work=IND do.PST=PC.1SG =and like this

She fell down into the well and; when Ahamd has come back at home; he was regreted; he said, “She was my wife; I should not fell [her] down into the well, and I did a bad deed and so on.”

GA:10

'xo 'ya 'banne a'zo ar'ra ke
 xo ya bann=e a=zo-Ø ar=ra-Ø ke
 well one rope=IND VCL=take.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG CLM

ba'sāb ja'nay 'dar āri
 basāb janay dar Ø-ār-ī
 anyway wife.OBL.PC.3SG PREV SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG

You know, he took a rope [and] went in order to bring out his wife.

GA:11

ban'nā ke aprē'nī a'sī 'golī aga
 bann-ā ke a=prēn-ī a=š-ī golī aga
 rope-OBL CLM VCL=throw.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli if

zen'nay ho 'bege ban'nā 'bīyā
 zenn=ay =ho be-ge bann-ā bīy-ā
 alive=COP.NPST.2SG =FOC IMPV-take.NPST rope-OBL IMPV-come.NPST

agay mor'tay ho 'hīčī
 agay mort=ay =ho hīčī
 if die.PST=COP.NPST.2SG =FOC nothing

When he threw the rope; he said, “Goli if you are alive, take the rope [and] come up; If you are die [then] nothing?”

GA:12

'xo mō'gay ban'nā akaš'sī agen'nī
 xo mōgay bann-ā a=kašš-ī a=genn-ī
 you know when rope-OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG

'bann sa'ḡīnen 'bann sa'ḡīnen
 bann saḡīn=en bann saḡīn=en
 rope heavy=COP.NPST.3SG rope heavy=COP.NPST.3SG

aka'sī 'wāgtī ke aka'sī
 a=kaš-ī wāgtī ke a=kaš-ī
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG when CLM VCL=pull.NPST-3SG

a'kay bālā'ter agen'nī 'ya
 a=k-ay-Ø bālā-ter a=genn-ī ya
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG up-CMP VCL=see.NPST-3SG one

A. Text Corpus

ā'fien *ban'nā* *geftay* *bo'kānī*
 āfī=en bann-ā geft=ay bokān=ī
 snake=COP.NPST.3SG rope-OBL take.PST=PC.3SG want.NPST=PC.3SG

boda *ke* *ban'nā* *'wel* *kant* *mā'rok*
 bod-a ke bann-ā wel Ø-kan-t mār-ok
 become.PST-PP CLM rope-OBL loose SBJV-do.NPST-3SG snake-DEF

a'sī *ban'nā* *'wel* *makan* *'ta*
 a=š-ī bann-ā wel ma-kan-Ø ta
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG rope-OBL loose IMP-do.NPST-2SG when

'bīyān *bā'lād* *'harčīet* *bo'kā* *ba'hrat*
 bīy-ā-n bālād harčī=et bokā bahr=at
 SBJV-come.NPST-1SG up whatever=PC.2SG want.NPST for=PC.2SG

a'dān
 a=d-ān
 VCL=give.NPST-1SG

You know, when he pull out the rope; he felt [that] the rope was heavy; the rope was heavy; he pulled [it] up; when it pulled [it] up; it came up; he saw it was a snake took the rope; he was about to leave the rope; the snake said, “Do not leave the rope; when I come up whatever you want I will give [it] to you.”

GA:13

'xo *mā'roka* *aka'sī* *a'kay*
 xo mār-ok-a a=kaš-ī a=k-ay-Ø
 well snake-DEF-OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

bā'lād *o* *a'sī* *'man* *ā'seḡe* *šā'hay*
 bālād =o a=š-ī man āseḡ=e šāh-ay
 up =and VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG in love=EZ king-GEN

ja'nekon *ā'seḡe* *šā'hay* *ja'nekon*
 janek=on āseḡ=e šāh-ay janek=on
 girl=COP.NPST.1SG in love=EZ king-GEN girl=COP.NPST.1SG

a'sī *'xo* *'bāke* *'nessen*
 a=š-ī xo bāk=e nessen
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well fear=IND NEG.be.NPST.3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

'man ar'rān apē'čān 'dawre šā'hay
 man ar=r-ān a=pēč-ān dawr=e šāh-ay
 PN.1SG VCL=go.NPST-1SG VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ king-GEN

ja'nekay gar'denā tā 'ta ham 'nayay 'man
 janek-ay garden-ā tā ta ham nayay man
 girl-GEN neck-OBL till PN.2SG ADD NEG.COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG

gar'denay 'wel anakanān
 gardenay wel a=na-kan-ān
 neck.OBL.PC.3SG loose VCL=NEG-do.NPST-1SG

Well, he pulled the snake out; the snake came out and he said, “I fell in love with the king’s daughter; I fell in love with the king’s daughter; it said; “No problem (lit. there is no fear); I go [and] coil myself around the neck of the king’s daughter till you do not come I will not open her neck.”

GA:14

'xo 'ē ham xoš'al abīd o
 xo ē ham xošāl a=b-īd =o
 you know PROX ADD happy VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and

a'sī 'bebī
 a=š-ī be-b-ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

You know, as for Ahmad, he became happy and siad, “OK”

GA:15

'xob ar'ra 'mār a'raft apē'čī
 xob ar=ra-Ø mār a=raf-t a=pēč-ī
 well VCL=go.NPST-3SG snake VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=twist.NPST-3SG

'dawre šā'hay ja'nekay gar'denā
 dawr=e šāh-ay janek-ay garden-ā
 turn=EZ king-GEN girl-GEN neck-OBL

Well, it went; the snake went [and] wrapped [himself] around the king’s daughter’s neck.

A. Text Corpus

GA:16

'harkasā ākā'rant ta 'ē 'mār 'wāzz
 harkas-ā ā=k-ār-ant ta ē mār wāzz
 every body-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL but PROX snake open

anabī āle'mā akā'ran
 a=na-b-ī ālem-ā a=k-ār-an
 VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG wise man-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

'harkasa ke boda 'gerd
 harkas-a ke bod-a=Ø gerd
 whoever-OBL CLM become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG gathered

akanant o 'ē 'mār 'wāzz anabī
 a=kan-ant =o ē mār wāzz a=na-b-ī
 VCL=do.NPST-3PL =but PROX snake open VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG

They brought every body; but this snake did not open; they brought wise men; they brought (lit. gathered) everybody who was [there]; but this snake did not open.

GA:17

'mār 'wāzz anabī 'šāh a'sī
 mār wāzz a=na-b-ī šāh a=š-ī
 snake open VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG king VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'kase ha 'mānta ī'dānān ke 'bīyāran
 kas=e ha mānt-a īdānān ke bīy-ār-an
 person=IND ADD remain.PST-PP here CLM SBJV-bring.NPST-3PL

a'sant hā 'ya ah'mad 'nāme 'hassen
 a=š-ant hā ya ahmad nām=e hass=en
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL yes one Ahmad name=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

'ya ā'dame badbax'tīnen a'sīt
 ya ādam=e badbax-t-ī=nen a=š-īt
 one human being=EZ poor-ADJZ=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'xo 'berret hamā'sī ham 'bīyāret
 xo ber-r-et ham=āšī ham bīy-ār-et
 well IMPV-go.NPST-2PL EMPH=DIST.OBL ADD IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

The snake did not open; the king said, “Who has left here in order to bring

him”; they said, “Yes there is a man [who] called Ahamd; he is a poor man;” he said, “OK, Go and bring him as well.”

GA:18

<i>ar'rant</i>	<i>ākā'rantī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ē</i>
ar=r-ant	ā=k-ār-ant=ī	=o	ē
VCL=go.NPST-3PL	VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG	=and	PROX

<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā'ray</i>	<i>gō'sa</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'čīye</i>
ar=ra-Ø	mā	mār-ay	gōš-a	ya	čī=ye
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	into	snake-GEN	ear-OBL	one	thing=IND

<i>a'sī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'mār...</i>
a=š-ī	=o	mār
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	=and	snake

They went [and] brought him and he went and wispered on the snake's ear and the snake...

GA:19

<i>hā</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>'nagaštom</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>šā'hā</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
hā	ēšī	na-gašt=om	a	šāh-ā	a=š-ī
yes	PROX.OBL	NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG	to	king-OBL	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>bā'hā</i>	<i>ja'nekat</i>	<i>'aḡd</i>	<i>kanay</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'waxtī</i>
ke	bāhā	janek=at	aḡd	Ø-kan-ay	ba	man	waxtī
CLM	must	girl=PC.2SG	marriage	SBJV-do.NPST-2SG	for	PN.1SG	when

<i>'aḡdet</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'čīye</i>	<i>a'sān</i>
aḡd=et	ko	man	ya	čī=ye	a=š-ān
marriage=PC.2SG	do.PST	PN.1SG	one	thing=IND	VCL=say.NPST-1SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'mār</i>	<i>'wāzz</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>
ke	ē	mār	wāzz	Ø-b-ī	a=š-ī
CLM	PROX	snake	open	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	VCL=say.NPST-3SG

<i>'xo</i>	<i>bā'kī</i>	<i>'ne</i>	<i>a'ḡd</i>	<i>akanān</i>
xo	bāk=ī	ne	aḡd	a=kan-ān
well	fear=IND	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG	marriage	VCL=do.NPST-1SG

A. Text Corpus

a'dānet

a=d-ān=et

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

Oh I did not say something; he said to the king /that/, “You must give your daughter in marriage for me when you give your daughter in marriage for me; I will say something so that this snake may open up;” he said, “It’s OK; I will marry her or I will give [her] to you.”

GA:20

<i>ja'neka</i>	<i>'agd</i>	<i>akant</i>	<i>a'dā</i>	<i>ah'mado</i>
janek-a	aǧd	a=kan-t	a=dā-Ø	ahmad=o
girl-OBL	marriage	VCL=do.NPST-3SG	VCL=give.NPST-3SG	Ahmad=FOC

<i>ah'madam</i>	<i>xoš'hāl</i>	<i>abī</i>	<i>ar'ra</i>	<i>mā</i>
ahmad=am	xošhāl	a=b-ī	ar=ra-Ø	mā
Ahmad=ADD	happy	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	into

<i>mā'ray</i>	<i>gō'sa</i>	<i>'ya</i>	<i>'čī</i>	<i>a'sī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'mār</i>	<i>ā'zād</i>
mār-ay	gōš-a	ya	čī	a=š-ī	=o	mār	āzād
snake-GEN	ear-OBL	one	what	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	=and	snake	free

<i>abīd</i>	<i>'wela</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ja'neka</i>	<i>o</i>
a=b-īd	wel=a	kan-Ø	janek-a	=o
VCL=become.NPST-3SG	loose=VCL	do.NPST-3SG	girl-OBL	=and

<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>ar'raft</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>dī'ya</i>
ar=raf-t	ar=raf-t	ē	dīya
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	PROX	well

<i>abī</i>	<i>šā'hay</i>	<i>dū'mād</i>	<i>ah'mad</i>
a=b-ī	šāh-ay	dūmād	ahmad
VCL=become.NPST-3SG	king-GEN	son-in-law	Ahmad

He married his daughter (lit. the girl) or [and] gave her to Ahmad; as for Ahmad, he became happy; he went and wispered (lit. says) something on the snake’s ear and the snake opened up; it left the girl and went; it went; as for Ahamd (lit. this), he became king’s son in law.

GA:21

<i>'xo</i>	<i>'sāl</i>	<i>abīd</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'māh</i>
xo	sāl	a=b-īd	=o	māh
well	year	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	=and	month

abīdo *dobā'ra 'ē* *mā'rok*
 a=b-īd=o dobāra ē mār-ok
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG=and again PROX snake-DEF

a'raft *'ye šā'hay* *ja'nekā* *dobā'ra* *a'pēč*
 a=raf-t ye šāh-ay janek-ā dobāra a=pēč-Ø
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG one king-GEN girl-OBL again VCL=twist.NPST-3SG

owā
owā
 FRG

You know, by the time (lit. a year passed and a month passed), again this snake went and wrapped [himself] around the neck of a king's daughter.

GA:22

ē'dān 'ya 'če 'nagaštom *'ha mā'rok* *ke*
 ēdān ya če na-gašt=om ha mār-ok ke
 here one what NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG oh snake-DEF CLM

a'sī *ke* *ah'mad 'man* *dī'ya 'harjā* *raftān*
 a=š-ī ke ahmad man dīya harjā raft-ān
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM Ahmad PN.1SG well wherever go.PST-1SG

'ta 'nayay *doba'ra 'pēčom* *'bad 'dawre*
 ta nayay dobara pēč-om bad dawr=e
 PN.2SG NEG.COP.NPST.2SG again twist.NPST-1SG then around=EZ

har 'kasay *gar'denā* *do'bāra 'byay*
 harkas-ay garden-ā dobāra by-ay-Ø
 every body-GEN neck-OBL again SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

'begašay *ā'zād bay* *ā* *ke*
 be-gaš-ay āzād Ø-bay-Ø ā ke
 SBJV-say.NPST-2SG free IMPV-become.NPST-2SG EMPH CLM

xašm'nāk abān *awa'rānet* *'xo*
 xašmnāk a=b-ān a=war-ān=et xo
 angry VCL=become.NPST-1SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG well

a'sī *'bebī* *'man* *dī'ya*
 a=š-ī be-b-ī man dīya
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PN.1SG well

A. Text Corpus

a'nayān

a=nay-ā-n

VCL=NEG-come.NPST-1SG

Here I did not say some thing; oh the snake said /that/, “Ahamd wherever I go you should not come again; I wrapped [himself] around everybody’s neck you should not come and say to be free; then I will became angry and eat you;” you know, he said, “It’s OK; I will not come again.”

GA:23

'xo mā'rok dobā'ra ar'raft 'ya 'šāhī dī'yaray
 xo mār-ok dobāra ar=raf-t ya šāh=i dīyar-ay
 well snake-DEF again VCL=go.NPST-3SG one king=IND other-GEN

ǰa'nekā 'pēč awā daw're ā'sī gar'denā
 ǰanek-ā pēč a=wā-Ø dawr=e āsī garden-ā
 girl-OBL turn VCL=eat.NPST-3SG around=EZ DIST.GEN neck-OBL

You know, by the time (lit. again), the snack went [and] wrapped [himself] around the another king’s daughter; wrapped [himself] around her neck.

GA:24

'xob īdānā'ko 'ā ham 'harkasā ākā'rī
 xob īdānākō ā ham harkas-ā ā=k-ār-ī
 well right here DIST ADD every body-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

'ē 'mār 'wāzz anabī
 ē mār wāzz a=na-b-ī
 PROX snake open VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG

To make a long story short (lit. well), there [here] they brought every body; [but] this snack did not open up.

GA:25

'xo a'šant ke 'ye na'faren fe'lān
 xo a=š-ant ke ye nafar=en felān
 you know VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM one person=COP.NPST.3SG so and so

šā'hay dū'māden fe'lān šā'hay
 šāh-ay dūmād=en felān šāh-ay
 king-GEN son-in-law=COP.NPST.3SG so and so king-GEN

dū'māden *o* *'ā* *a'tānt* *ē'sī*
 dūmād=en =o ā a=tān-t ēšī
 son-in-law=COP.NPST.3SG =and DIST VCL=be able.NPST-3SG PROX.OBL

'wāzz kant *a'sī* *'xo* *'berret*
 wāzz Ø-kan-t a=š-ī xo ber-r-et
 open SBJV-do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well IMPV-go.NPST-2PL

'bīyāretī
 bīy-ār-et=ī
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

You know, they said /that/, “There is a person; he is son-in-law of such and such king; he is the son-in-law of such and such king and he can open it; he said “Go and bring him [here].”

GA:26

a'sī *'xo* *'berret*
 a=š-ī xo ber-r-et
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well IMPV-go.NPST-2PL

'bīyāretī *ah'mad ham* *'xo* *de'ya* *'mār*
 bīy-ār-et=ī ahmad ham xo deya mār
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG Ahmad ADD well well snake

ba'hray *gaš'tay* *boda* *ke*
 bahr=ay gašt-ay bod-a=Ø ke
 to=PC.3SG say.PST-PP become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM

'nayāay *de'ya xašm'nāk abān*
 nay-ā-ay deya xašmnāk a=b-ān
 NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-2SG well angry VCL=become.NPST-1SG

ēdānā'ko *'mār...* *'šāh* *a'sī* *ke* *'zešten*
 ēdānāko mār šāh a=š-ī ke zešt=en
 right here snake king VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM bad=COP.NPST.3SG

'bāhā *'berray* *a'nabī*
 bāhā ber-r-ay a=na-b-ī
 must SBJV-go.NPST-2SG VCL=NEG-become.NPST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

'narray

nar-r-ay

NEG.SBJV-go.NPST-2SG

You know, he said, “Go [and] bring him.”; you know as for Ahmad, the snake had said to him that you should not come; I will get angry; there snake... the king said /that/, “It is bad, you must go; It’s not good [if you] do not go.”

GA:27

'xo 'hamī dānākō de'ya 'šāh 'lohī

xo ham=ī dānākō deya šāh loh=ī

well EMPH=PROX here well king pushing=PC.3SG

a'dād 'ē ham a'sī 'bāhā

a=dā-d ē ham a=š-ī bāhā

VCL=give.NPST-3SG PROX ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG must

'berray ar'rafto agen'nan ta

ber-r-ay ar=raf-t=o a=genn-an ta

SBJV-go.NPST-2SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG=and VCL=see.NPST-3PL MIR

a'wale 'xayle nārā'hat boda 'bad

awal=e xayle nārāhat bod-a=Ø bad

first=PC.3SG very troubled become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG then

agen'nant ke yak'hoī akan'nī xoš'hāl

a=genn-ant ke yakhoī a=kann-ī xošhāl

VCL=see.NPST-3PL CLM suddenly VCL=laugh.NPST-3SG happy

abī a'sant 'čon adet

a=b-ī a=š-ant čon =ad=et

VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL what =COP.PST=PC.2SG

kan'neday a'sī ke 'man 'xo

kanned-ay a=š-ī ke man xo

laugh.PST-2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG well

'berren ī'mede xo'dā a'tānan 'bāzī

ber-r-en īmed=e xodā a=tān-an bāz=ī

SBJV-go.NPST-1PL hope=EZ God VCL=be able.NPST-1SG free=PC.3SG

kanān *dī'ge*
 Ø-kan-ān *dīge*
 SBJV-do.NPST-1SG again

Well, in this time, you know, the king forced him to go; you know, he said, “You must go;” he went and they saw /that/, suddenly he laughs and he is happy; they said, “What is up to you?; you laughed.”; he said /that/, “It’s OK let’s go by hoping of God I can open it again.”

GA:28

ar'rant *odānā'kō* *'xo* *'mār* *a'sī* *'ahmad*
 ar=r-ant odānākō xo mār a=š-ī ahmad
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL right there well snake VCL=say.NPST-3SG Ahmad

'man *o* *ba* *'ta* *'gaštom* *ke*
 man =o ba ta gašt=om ke
 PN.1SG =FOC to PN.2SG say.PST=PC.1SG CLM

'nayāay *'ko* *māhā'gay*
 nay-ā-ay ko mäh-ā-g=ay
 NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-2SG where IMP-come.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG

xašm'nāk *abān* *awa'rānet*
 xašmnāk a=b-ān a=war-ān=et
 angry VCL=become.NPST-1SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

a'sī *'hālā* *am* *'nayākagān* *ke*
 a=š-ī hālā =am nay-āk-ag=ān ke
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG now =ADD NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG CLM

'wāzz *bay* *āka'gān* *'ya*
 wāzz Ø-b-ay āk-ag=ān ya
 open SBJV-become.NPST-2SG come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG one

pa'yāme *ba'hrat* *'berasānān* *a'sī* *'xo*
 payām=e bahr=at be-rasān-ān a=š-ī xo
 message=IND for=PC.2SG SBJV-send.NPST-1SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well

pa'yāmet *'čīyen* *a'sī* *go'lī*
 payām=et čī=yen a=š-ī golī
 message=PC.2SG what=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli

A. Text Corpus

'taī ran'nā magar'dage
ta-ī rannā ma-gard-ag=e
PN.2SG-GEN behind IMP-go around.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

They went there; you know, the snack, “Ahmad, I told you do not come; where are you coming?; I get angry [and] will eat you;” he said, “Well now I do not come in order [to say] you open up; I came to give a message for you.”; he said, “It’s OK; what is your massage”; he said, “Goli is looking for you.”

GA:29

a'šī go'lī taī ran'nā
a=š-ī golī ta-ī rannā
VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli PN.2SG-GEN behind

magar'dayado īdānā'ko 'mār de'ya 'bāzz
ma-gard-ay=ad=o īdānākō mār deya bāzz
IMP-go around.NPST-PP=COP.PST=and right here snake well open

abīdo ā'zād abī
a=b-īd=o āzād a=b-ī
VCL=become.NPST-3SG=and free VCL=become.NPST-3SG

ar'raft
ar=raf-t
VCL=go.NPST-3SG

He said, “Goli is looking for you”; in this time the snack opened up; and it got free [and] went.

GA:30

ar'raft
ar=raf-t
VCL=go.NPST-3SG

It went.