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## Abstract

The aim of the present study is to compile a digitally annotated corpus of oral narratives from the Sistani Balochi dialect. The annotated oral texts are drawn from two genres: folktales and biographical narratives. These stories were recorded during several field trips to Iran.

The first section of the book provides an overview of the geographical distribution of Sistani Balochi speakers, situating the Sistani 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 bilingual or 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.

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

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*To my dear storytellers and the Sistani Balochi 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
ATTR	attributive
C	consonant
CL	classifier
CLM	clause linkage marker
CMP	comparative
COP	copula (present indicative)
DIST	distal demonstrative pronoun
echo	echo word
EMPH	emphasis
EV	evaluative
EZ	eẓāfe
FLEx	FieldWorks Language Explorer
forthc.	forthcoming
FRAG	fragmentary utterance
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperfective
IMP.k	imperfective k-
IMPV	imperative
IND	individuation clitic
INF	infinitive
KR	Karam
lit.	literal translation
MIR	mirative

NEG	negation
NEG.SBJV	negation of subjunctive
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OM	An Old Man
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
SS	The Shepherd's Son
TB	The Two Brothers
V	vowel
VCL	verb clitic
vd.	voiced
vl.	voiceless
VOC	vocative

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Geographical Distribution

Sistani Balochi is spoken in the following places: in Iran, in Sistan and Baluchistan Province, in and around Zahak, Zabol, Hamun, and Mohammad-Abad, as well as in Zahedan up to Khash; in Razavi-Khorasan Province, for example in Sarakhs; and, sporadically, in Golestan Province, in Azad Shahr, Gorgan, Gonbad Kavus, and Kalaleh; in Afghanistan (see Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 21–22), in Nimruz, Kang, Chakhansur, Zaranj, Chaharburjak and Rudbar; and in Turkmenistan (see Axenov 2006: 19–20), in the Mari region (see Map 1). The reason for this range is that people from the Sistan area have moved to the north-eastern parts of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, mainly because of drought, but also for other reasons. For the history of the Baloch migration to Turkmenistan, see Axenov (2000: 71) and Moshkalo (2000: 97–98).



Map 1: Distribution of speakers of Sistani Balochi (taken from Nourzaei 2017:93)

## 1. 2. Balochi Language and the Sistani Dialect

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

The Sistani Balochi dialect can be classified as Western Balochi. The Sistani dialect is in contact with Persian Sistani (a Persian dialect), standard Persian, Brahui (a Dravidian language), Pashto and Dari.

## 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 collection occurred in villages near the towns of Zahak, Milok, Zabol, and Zahedan, across several field trips conducted between May 2007 and January 2018, spanning my Master's, PhD, and postdoctoral programs. The consultants comprised 13 males and 10 females, aged between 30 and 85, and were introduced to me by their communities as professional storytellers. With the exception of one speaker, no participant had any formal schooling. However, all speakers possessed basic knowledge of Arabic, sufficient for reading and reciting the Quran. All linguistic consultants were bilingual in Balochi and Sistani Persian, while three of the speakers, who frequently traveled between Afghanistan and Iran, were multilingual, speaking Balochi, Brahui, Sistani Persian, and Pashto. The texts in this collection were narrated by bilingual storytellers fluent in both Balochi and Sistani Persian.

The main occupations of the male speakers were 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 the present study, two types of text have been recorded. The first type is traditional folktales, which are defined as “stories passed on by word of mouth rather than by writing, and thus subject to modification through successive re-tellings before being transcribed 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. The text “*The Shepherd’s Son*” in this collection adheres to the structure of traditional folktales, while “*Two Brothers*” is categorized as a biographical tale. Some of these biographical stories may incorporate legendary elements. The first type is consistently narrated in the third person, whereas the second type is narrated in both the first and the third person. Within this collection, some texts are narrated by different speakers, offering diverse renditions of the same story.

### 1.3.3. Previous Studies on Corpus in Sistani Balochi

By contrast with linguistic studies on the Sistani Balochi dialect (see, for an overview, Nourzaei 2017; Nourzaei, forthcoming), there is a limited availability of annotated corpora. As for unannotated corpora, Axenov (2006) published texts from Balochi communities in Turkmenistan, while Buddruss (1988) published short texts from Balochi communities in Afghanistan.

The first annotated corpus was compiled by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010), 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 field trips in 2007–18.

### 1.3.4. Data Transcription

The sounds found in Sistani Balochi are presented in Tables (1) and (2). The present transcription of Sistani Balochi follows that suggested by Okati (2012: 212) for oral vowels in Sistani Balochi, while it differs slightly from the system used by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 27).

Table 1. Sistani Balochi vowels (taken from Nourzaei 2017: 34)

	front		central		back	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
close	$\bar{i}$	$e$			$\bar{u}$	$o$
close-mid	$\bar{e}$				$\bar{o}$	
open			$\bar{a}$	$a$		

Table 2. Sistani Balochi consonants (taken from Nourzaei 2017: 35)

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

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# Interlinearized Sistani Balochi Texts

I have transcribed and glossed four texts consisting of two folktales, entitled An Old Man (OM) and The Shepherd's Son (SS), and two biographical tales, entitled the story of Karam (KR) and the story of Two Brothers (TB), 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

*wī zā'gān wasī'yat ko*  
*wī zāg-ān wasīyat ko-Ø*  
 REFL.GEN child-OBL.PL will do.PST-3SG

The old lady... [when] the old man was dying he gave his final instructions to his children.

### OM:4

*wasī'yat ko ke pe'lān 'jāh 'man te'lā*  
*wasīyat ko-Ø ke pelān jāh man telā*  
 will do.PST-3SG CLM such and such place PN.1SG gold

*'dārīn wa 'mnī dārā'yī ha'mā an*  
*dār-īn wa mnī dārāyī ham=ā =an*  
 have.NPST-1SG and PN.1SG.GEN riches EMPH=DIST =COP.NPST.3PL

*'man ke 'morton 'bād šā'ī 'brēt*  
*man ke mort-on bād šāī b-r-ēt*  
 PN.1SG CLM die.PST-1SG after from.DIST.OBL IMPV-go.NPST-2PL

*'pāč 'bdayēt pa 'wat 'bār kanēt*  
*pāč b-day-ēt pa wat bār Ø-kan-ēt*  
 open IMPV-give.NPST-2PL for REFL share IMPV-do.NPST-2PL

He gave his final instructions [said] /that/ “I have [some] gold in such and such place and they are my only riches; when I die, then you go [and] dig it up (lit. open) [and] share among yourselves.”

### OM:5

*gwan'dēn 'zāgē ša por'satā estepā'da kort o*  
*gwanḍ-ēn zāg=ē ša porsat-ā estepāda kort-Ø =o*  
 small-ATTR child=PC.3SG from chance-OBL use do.PST-3SG =and

*'šot yak te'lāerā 'pāč dāt o doz'zet*  
*šot-Ø yak telā-erā pāč dāt-Ø =o dozzet-Ø*  
 go.PST-3SG one gold-OBJ open give.PST-3SG =and steal.PST-3SG

The youngest son saw [his] chance and went [and] dug up one of these [pieces of] gold and stole it.

**OM:6**

'iĉĉī	pīra'marday	'rōĉ	'pūra	būt	o
iĉĉī	pīramard-ay	rōĉ	pūra	būt-Ø	=o
nothing	old man-GEN	day	completed	become.PST-3SG	=and

'mort  
mort-Ø  
die.PST-3SG

Well, the old man died (lit. the old man's days came to an end and he died).

**OM:7**

'mort	o	ē'sā	'bortant	'kabr	kortant	o
mort-Ø	=o	ēš-ā	bort-ant	kabr	kort-ant	=o
die.PST-3SG	=and	PROX-OBL	carry.PST-3PL	grave	do.PST-3PL	=and

'xarj o 'bājē	'geptant	o	'kōnṭā	'jam	kortant
xarj obāj]=ē	gept-ant	=o	kōnṭ-ā	jam	kort-ant
expenses=PC.3SG	arrang.PST-3PL	=and	carpet-OBL	gathered	do.PST-3PL

o	'goštant	maš'mā	'brawan	pa
=o	gošt-ant	mašmā	b-raw-an	pa
=and	say.PST-3PL	PN.1PL.INCL	SBJV-go.NPST-3PL	for

te'lāānī	'pāĉ	dā'tenā
telā-ān-ī	pāĉ	dāt-en-ā
gold-OBL.PL-GEN	open	give.PST-INF-OBL

He died and they took him [and] buried [him] and they held a ceremony for him (lit. made expenses) and finished it (lit. put the carpet together); then (lit. and) they said, “Let’s go to dig up the gold” (lit. golds).

**OM:8**

pa	te'lāānī	'pāĉ	dā'tena	ke	'šotan	'ar
pa	telā-ān-ī	pāĉ	dāt-en-a	ke	šot-an	ar
for	gold-OBL.PL-GEN	open	give.PST-INF-OBL	CLM	go.PST-3PL	each

sa'yēn	'brās	'pāĉ	dātan	'ta	'ē	te'lā	'do
say-ēn	brās	pāĉ	dāt-an	ta	ē	telā	do
three-ATTR	brother	open	give.PST-3PL	MIR	PROX	gold	two

A. Text Corpus

*ant*

=ant

=COP.NPST.3PL

When they went to dig up the gold, all three brothers dug [and saw] /that/, the [pieces of] gold were two.

**OM:9**

'bād gō wa'ī jēn'dā 'bās 'kortant ke 'ē te'lā  
 bād gō wat-ī jēnd-ā bās kort-ant ke ē telā  
 after with REFL-GEN self-OBL quarrel do.PST-3PL CLM PROX gold

aga 'pes 'drōg jatēn 'ē te'lā  
 aga pes drōg Ø-jat-ēn ē telā  
 if father lie SBJV-hit.PST-PSBJV PROX gold

'nawatant ha'mē do'kēn om  
 naw-=at-ant ham=ē do-kēn =om  
 NEG=COP.PST.3SG-3PL EMPH=PROX two-ATTR =ADD

'nawatan hat'man 'pes 'rāst gošta  
 naw-=at-an hatman pes rāst gošt-a=Ø  
 NEG=COP.PST.3SG-3PL sure father truth say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'yakērā 'yakē šā 'šmā dozze'ta  
 yak=ē-rā yak=ē šā šmā dozzet-a=Ø  
 one=IND-OBJ one=IND from PN.2PL steal.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

After that, they quarreled with each other [and said] /that/, “If [our] father had lied these [pieces of] gold would not be [here]; these two [pieces of] gold wouldn’t be [here] either; for sure [our] father has told the truth; One of you has stolen one of them.”

**OM:10**

'ē 'gō 'wī jēndā 'bās kortan 'bād 'goštant  
 ē gō wī jēnd-ā bās kort-an bād gošt-ant  
 PROX with REFL-GEN self-OBL quarrel do.PST-1PL then say.PST-3PL

ke 'na 'erang maš'may jē'ra 'sāpa  
 ke na ē-rang mašmay jēra sāpa  
 CLM no PROX-kind PN.1PL.INCL-GEN dispute solve=VCL



'nabīt  
na-b-īt  
NEG-become.NPST-3SG

They quarreled with each other; then they said /that/, “No in this way our dispute will not be solved,

**OM:11**

yak 'jāē tōj'jārē wa hamēran'gēn  
yak jā=ē tōjjār=ē wa ham=ē-rang-ēn  
one place=IND merchant=IND and EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR

marā'pāna 'sāpa kant meš'mā 'brawan  
marāpāna sāp=a kan-t mašmā b-raw-an  
dispute.PL.OBL solve=VCL do.NPST-3SG PN.1PL.INCL SBJV-go.NPST-3PL

amā'tā 'ta maš'may jē'ra a'mā 'sāp  
amāā ta mašmay jēra am=ā sāp  
EMPH.DIST.LOC PN.2SG PN.1PL.INCL.GEN dispute EMPH=DIST solve

kant 'gošte 'brawan  
Ø-kan-t gošt=e b-raw-an  
SBJV-do.NPST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

There is a merchant in a [certain] place and he solves such disputes; let's go to him so that he can solve our dispute.”; one of them (lit. he) said, “Let's go.”

**OM:12**

e'sān 'go 'brawan  
eš-ān go-Ø b-raw-an  
PROX-OBL.PL say.PST-3SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

They said, “Let's go.”

**OM:13**

'šotant yak 'haddē ke 'šotan 'šapē 'jāē  
šot-ant yak hadd=ē ke šot-an šap=ē jā=ē  
go.PST-3PL one some=IND CLM go.PST-3PL night=IND place=IND

'rōčē 'jāē 'ta yak mar'domē dā'rī 'jīt  
rōč=ē jā=ē ta yak mardom=ē dār-ī j-īt  
day=IND place=IND MIR one people=IND have.NPST-3SG run.NPST-3SG

They went, when they had gone a long way, passing many places (lit. one

## A. Text Corpus

night one place, one day one place) [they saw] /that/, a person was running.

### OM:14

*tū'ēn*      *'brās*      *'goštē*                      *ke*      *'lālā*      *'ta*              *oš'terē*  
tū-ēn      brās      gošt=e                      ke      lālā      ta              ošter=e  
big-ATTR brother say.PST=PC.3SG CLM brother PN.2SG camel=IND

*'zyān kortagay*  
zyān kort-ag=ay  
lost do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

The oldest brother said /that/, “Friend (lit. brother) have you lost a camel?”

### OM:15

*'gošte*                      *'ān*  
gošt=e                      ān  
say.PST=PC.3SG yes

He said, “Yes.”

### OM:16

*dawo'mēn*              *'brās*      *'gošte*                      *ke*      *'tī*                      *oš'ter*  
daw-om-ēn      brās      gošt=e                      ke      tī                      ošter  
two-ORD-ATTR brother say.PST=PC.3SG CLM PN.2SG.GEN camel

*mā'dagēnē*                      *ā'posēnē*                      *at*                                      *'lālā*  
mādag-ēn=e                      āpos-ēn=e                      =at-Ø                                      lālā  
female-ATTR=IND pregnant-ATTR=IND =COP.PST.3SG-3SG brother

The second brother said /that/, “Was your camel a female, a pregnant [one], friend (lit. brother)?”

### OM:17

*'gošte*                      *'ān*  
gošt=e                      ān  
say.PST=PC.3SG yes

He said, “yes.”

### OM:18

*sayo'mēn*                      *'gošte*                      *ke*      *yak*      *'čammē*      *'kōr*  
say-om-ēn                      gošt=e                      ke      yak      čamm=e      kōr  
three-ORD-ATTR say.PST=PC.3SG CLM one eye=IND blind

*at*

=at-Ø

=COP.PST.3SG-3SG

The third one said /that/, “Was it blind on one eye?”

**OM:19***'gošt*            *'ān*

gošt-Ø            ān

say.PST-3SG    yes

He said, “Yes.”

**OM:20***'gošt*            *am'mā*            *'nadīstagan*

gošt-Ø            ammā            na-dīst-ag=an

say.PST-3SG    PN.1PL.EXCL    NEG-see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

He said, “We have not seen [it].”

**OM:21***'ē*    *oš'teray*    *wā'ond*    *'gošt*            *'gō*    *'šmā*    *ent*

ē    ošter-ay    wāond    gošt-Ø            gō    šmā    =ent

PROX camel-GEN owner    say.PST-3SG    with    PN.2PL    =COP.NPST.3SG

The owner of this camel said, “You have [it].”

**OM:22***'gošt*            *'gō*    *'šmā*    *ent*                            *ke*            *'šmā*    *'čōn*    *ša*

gošt-Ø            gō    šmā    =ent                            ke            šmā    čōn    ša

say.PST-3SG    with    PN.2PL    =COP.NPST.3SG    because    PN.2PL    how    from

*nešā'nī o bal'gānī*            *'zāntēt*            *ke*    *māda'gēnē*

nešānī o balgānī=ī            zānt-ēt            ke    mādag-ēn=ē

characteristic=PC.3SG    know.PST-2PL    CLM    female-ATTR=IND

*'ast*            *o*    *āpo'sēnē*            *ast*            *o*    *'čamme*

ast-Ø            =o    āpos-ēn=ē            ast            =o    čamm=e

be.NPST-3SG    =and    pregnant-ATTR=IND    be.NPST    =and    eye=PC.3SG

A. Text Corpus

'kōr en 'čōn 'gō šmā 'nahent  
 kōr =en čōn gō šmā nahent  
 blind =COP.NPST.3SG how with PN.2PL NEX.COP.NPST.3SG

He said, “You have [it] because how would you [otherwise] know of its characteristics, that it is a female and it is pregnant and its eye is blind?; how (is it possible that) you don’t have it.”

**OM:23**

e'šānī jē'ra 'amedā os'tāt  
 eš-ān-ī jēra am=edā ostāt-Ø  
 PROX-OBL.PL-GEN dispute EMPH=here stand.PST-3SG

They started to quarrel (lit. their quarrel started) there (lit. here).

**OM:24**

'gošte am'mā 'wat om jē'raē 'dāran  
 gošt=e ammā wat =om jēra=e dār-an  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1PL.EXCL REFL =ADD dispute=IND have.NPST-3PL

maš'mā 'nūn 'čār ūtan 'brawan a'mā  
 mašmā nūn čār ūt-an b-raw-an am=ā  
 PN.1PL.INCL now four become.PST-3PL SBJV-go.NPST-1PL EMPH=DIST

tōj'jāreyā meš'may jē'ra a'mā 'sāp  
 tōjjar-eyā mešmay jēra am=ā sāp  
 merchant-LOC PN.1PL.INCL.GEN dispute EMPH=DIST solve

kant 'šotan  
 Ø-kan-t šot-an  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG go.PST-3PL

One of the brothers (lit. he) said, “We ourselves have a dispute too; now we are four; let’s go to that merchant; he can solve our dispute”; they went.

**OM:25**

'šotan 'bād 'ēčī  
 šot-an bād ēčī  
 go.PST-3PL then nothing

They went, you know (lit. then nothing).

**OM:26**

*yak 'hadde jwā'nēn ke 'šotan ta yak 'borre mar'dom*  
 yak hadd=e jwān-ēn ke šot-an ta yak borre=mardom  
 one some=IND good-ATTR CLM go.PST-3PL MIR one lot=EZ people

*dā'ran jī'yan jālā'ī*  
 dār-an jī-yan jāl-ā-ī  
 have.NPST-3PL run.NPST-3PL down-OBL-ADVZ

When they went to a very long distance, [they saw] /that/, a lot of people were running downwards/westwards.

**OM:27**

*a'me tū'ēn 'brās 'sōj ko ke 'lālā*  
 am==e tū-ēn brās sōj ko-Ø ke lālā  
 EMPH==PROX big-ATTR brother question do.PST-3SG CLM brother

*'šmay mar'domē 'zyān ent*  
 šmay mardom=ē zyān =ent  
 PN.2PL.GEN people=IND lost =COP.NPST.3SG

The oldest brother asked [he said] /that/, “Friend (lit. brother) is someone belonging to you lost?”

**OM:28**

*'gošt 'ān*  
 gošt-Ø ān  
 say.PST-3SG yes

He said, “Yes.”

**OM:29**

*do'mīēn 'gošt 'šmay mar'dom mō'ledē*  
 do-mī-ēn gošt-Ø šmay mardom mōled=ē  
 two-ORD-ATTR say.PST-3SG PN.2PL.GEN people female.slave=IND

*būta*  
 büt-a=Ø  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The second one said, “Was your person a female slave?”

## A. Text Corpus

### OM:30

'gošt            'ān  
gošt-Ø        ān  
say.PST-3SG    yes

He said, “Yes.”

### OM:31

say'mīēn            'gošt            ke    lā'pā            'zāg  
say-mī-ēn            gošt-Ø            ke    lāp-ā            zāg  
three-ORD-ATTR    say.PST-3SG    CLM    belly-OBL    child

'dāšta  
dāšt-a=Ø  
have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The third one said /that/, “Was she pregnant (lit. does she has the body in her belly?)”

### OM:32

'gošt            'ān  
gošt-Ø        ān  
say.PST-3SG    yes

He said, “Yes.”

### OM:33

'gošt            am'mā            'nadīstagan  
gošt-Ø            ammā            na-dīst-ag=an  
say.PST-3SG    PN.1PL.EXCL    NEG-see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

He said, “We have not seen [her].”

### OM:34

oš'tere            wā'ond            'gošt            'lālā            'ē            ga'nōk    ant  
ošter-e            wāond            gošt-Ø            lālā            ē            ganōk    =ant  
camel-GEN    owner            say.PST-3SG    brother    PROX    mad        =COP.NPST.3PL

'ē            'mnī            oš'terē            'zyān    ent            'mnā  
ē            mnī            ošter=ē            zyān    =ent            mnā  
PROX    PN.1SG.GEN    camel=IND    lost        =COP.NPST.3SG    PN.1SG.OBJ

*a'mērang*            *'goštan*            *'ē*            *ga'nōk an*            *'lālā*  
 am=ē-rang            gošt-an            ē            ganōk =an            lālā  
 EMPH=PROX-kind    say.PST-3PL    PROX    mad            =COP.NPST.3PL    brother

*'šmā*    *'berēt*                            *pa*    *'wtī*            *mar'domā*  
 šmā    be-r-ēt                            pa    wtī            mardom-ā  
 PN.2PL    IMPV-go.NPST-2PL    for    REFL.GEN    person-OBL

*'bgardēt*            *'man*    *'raīn*            *pa*    *'wtī*            *oš'terā*  
 b-gard-ēt            man    ra-īn            pa    wtī            ošter-ā  
 IMPV-look for-2PL    PN.1SG    go.NPST-1SG    for    REFL.GEN    camel-OBL

*'gardīn*  
 gard-īn  
 look for-1SG

This owner of the camel said, “Friend (lit. brother) these are crazy; one of my camels is lost; they told me all about it (lit. they said this way); these are crazy, my friend (lit. brother); you go and look for your person and I will go and look for my camel.”

**OM:35**

*'ā*    *pa*    *wtī*            *mar'domā*    *'šotant*            *o*            *'ē*            *pa*    *wtī*  
 ā    pa    wtī            mardom-ā    šot-ant            =o            ē            pa    wtī  
 DIST    for    REFL.GEN    person-OBL    go.PST-3PL    =and    PROX    for    REFL.GEN

*oš'terā*            *'šot*            *'ē*            *'say*    *'brās*    *'wtī*            *rā'hā*  
 ošter-ā            šot-Ø            ē            say    brās    wtī            rāh-ā  
 camel-OBL    go.PST-3SG    PROX    three    brother    REFL.GEN    way-OBL

*geptant*            *o*            *'šotan*  
 gept-ant            =o            šot-an  
 take.PST-3PL    =and    go.PST-3PL

That one went for his person and this one went for his camel; these three brothers continued their journey (lit. took their way and went).

**OM:36**

*'šotan*            *ta*    *'hadd...*    *ha'tāe*    *ke*    *be*    *toj'jāray*            *ge'sā*  
 šot-ant            ta    hadd    hatā=e    ke    be    tojjār-ay            ges-ā  
 go.PST-3PL    till    some    even=EZ    CLM    at    merchant-GEN    house-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'rastant  
rast-ant  
arrive.PST-3PL

They went to... till they arrived at the merchant's house.

**OM:37**

'rastant            o        'neštant        be aw'tāxā            o        ošā'madē  
rast-ant            =o    nešt-ant        be awtāx-ā            =o    ošāmad=ē  
arrive.PST-3PL =and sit.PST-3PL in    guestroom-OBL =and greetings=IND

'kortant        o        xolā'sa toj'jār        ar'kat kort            ke        mē'mān  
kort-ant        =o    xolāsa tojjār        arkat kort-Ø            ke        mēmān  
do.PST-3PL =and well        merchant move do.PST-3SG CLM visitor

dārīn            pe'shān                    gwa'ragē 'košt  
dār-īn            p-eš-ān                    gwarag=ē košt-Ø  
have.NPST-1SG for-PROX-OBL.PL    lamb=IND kill.PST-3SG

They arrived and sat down in the guestroom and they exchanged greetings; well, the merchant stood up (lit. made a move) since he had visitors; he slaughtered a lamb for them.

**OM:38**

gwa'ragē 'košt            o        'šām    'jōḍ    ūt            o  
gwarag=ē košt-Ø            =o    šām    jōḍ    ūt-Ø            =o  
lamb=IND kill.PST-3SG =and dinner ready become.PST-3SG =and

das'sōdā            'dēm dāt                    'bra  
dasšōd-ā            dēm dāt-Ø                    b-ra-Ø  
hand.wash-OBL face give.PST-3SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

mē'mānānī            das'tāna                    'bšōd            ke  
mēmān-ān-ī            dast-ān-a                    b-šōd            ke  
visitor-OBL.PL-GEN hand-OBL.PL-OBJ IMPV-wash.NPST CLM

'šāma            waran  
šām=a            war-an  
dinner=VCL eat.NPST-3PL

He slaughtered a lamb and the dinner was prepared and he sent the servant (lit. hand-washer) [and said], “Go [and] wash the guests' hands because we are going to eat.”



**OM:39**

*das'šōd ke 'šot pa das'tay šoš'tenā*  
 dasšōd ke šot-Ø pa dast-ay šoš't-en-ā  
 hand.wash CLM go.PST-3SG for hand-GEN wash.PST-INF-OBL

*ṭū'ēn 'gošte ke 'gošt ṭū'ēn 'brās*  
 ṭū-ēn gošt=e ke gošt-Ø ṭū-ēn brās  
 big-ATTR say.PST=PC.3SG CLM say.PST-3SG big-ATTR brother

*'gošt ke 'mana 'nawarīn 'ē nān ē*  
 gošt-Ø ke man=a na-war-īn ē nān ē  
 say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG=VCL NEG-eat.NPST-1SG PROX bread PROX

*gal'lā ša mor'dagay āḏ'ḏay 'tā 'dar ātan 'ē*  
 gallā ša mordag-ay āḏḏ-ay tā dar āt-an ē  
 wheat from dead-GEN bone-GEN in PREV come.PST-3PL PROX

*mor'dār an 'mana 'nawarīn*  
 mordār =an man=a na-war-īn  
 dirty =COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG=VCL NEG-eat.NPST-1SG

When the servant went for washing the [guests'] hands the oldest one said /that/, he said, the old brother said /that/, “I won’t eat [it] since this bread, this wheat has come out from the dead’s bones; It is dirty; I won’t eat [it].”

**OM:40**

*do'mī 'gošte ke 'gošt do'mīēn 'brās*  
 do-mī gošt=e ke gošt-Ø do-mī-ēn brās  
 two-ORD say.PST=PC.3SG CLM say.PST-3SG two-ORD-ATTR brother

*'gošt 'ē a'ray 'gōšt ant pa moš'mā*  
 gošt-Ø ē ar-ay gōšt =ant pa mošmā  
 say.PST-3SG PROX donkey-GEN meat =COP.NPST.3PL for PN.1PL.INCL

*'pakketāan 'mana 'nawarīn*  
 pakket-ā=an man=a na-war-īn  
 cook.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG=VCL NEG-eat.NPST-1SG

The second one said /that/, he said, the second brother said, “This is donkey’s meat which they have cooked for us; I won’t eat [it].”

A. Text Corpus

**OM:41**

*seo'mīēn*            *'brās*    *'gošt*            *'ē*    *toj'jār*    *kō'tekē*  
 se-omī-ēn            brās    gošt-Ø            ē    tojjār    kōtek=ē  
 three-ORD-ATTR brother say.PST-3SG PROX merchant illegitimate=IND

*go'lāmay*            *'tōmē*            *e'sī*            *nā'nānā*  
 golām-ay            tōm=ē            eš-ī            nān-ān-ā  
 male slave-GEN offspring=IND PROX-GEN bread-OBL.PL-OBJ

*'mana*            *'nawarīn*  
 man=a            na-war-īn  
 PN.1SG=VCL NEG-eat.NPST-1SG

The third brother said, “This merchant is an illegitimate child; he is the offspring of a male slave; I won’t eat his food.”

**OM:42**

*'ē*    *dast'sōd*    *'šot*            *ha'wālā*    *'bort*            *pa toj'jārā*  
 ē    dastšōd    šot-Ø            hawāl-ā    bort-Ø            pa tojjār-ā  
 PROX hand.wash go.PST-3SG news-OBL take.PST-3SG for merchant-OBL

This servant went, [and] brought the news for the merchant.

**OM:43**

*pa toj'jārā*            *'bort*            *ke*    *'byā*            *ke*    *'ē*  
 pa tojjār-ā            bort-Ø            ke    by-ā-Ø            ke    ē  
 for merchant-OBL take.PST-3SG CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM PROX

*'tī*            *mē'mān*    *'ēranga*            *'šant*  
 tī            mēmān    ē-rang=a            š-ant  
 PN.2SG.GEN visitor PROX-kind=VCL say.NPST-3PL

He brought [the news] for the merchant [and said] /that/, “Look, these visitors of yours are saying like this.”

**OM:44**

*toj'jārā*            *sō'rēn*            *'tapē*            *'gept*            *ke*    *a'nū*    *'man*  
 tojjār-ā            sōr-ēn            tap=ē            gept-Ø            ke    anū    man  
 merchant-OBL red-ATTR fever=IND take.PST-3SG CLM now PN.1SG

'čōn kanīn  
 čōn Ø-kan-īn  
 how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

The merchant got a high fever [and asked himself] /that/, what should I do now?

**OM:45**

toj'jār 'čōn ko sālār-ā 'lōṭīt  
 toj'jār čōn ko-Ø sālār-ā lōṭ-īt  
 merchant how do.PST-3SG foreman.of.farmers-OBL want.NPST-3SG

What did the merchant do?; he called the overseer [of the farm workers].

**OM:46**

sālār-ā 'lōṭet ke 'yāne a'mē  
 sālār-ā lōṭet-Ø ke yāne am=ē  
 foreman.of.farmers-OBL call.PST-3SG CLM mean EMPH=PROX

gal'lāe ke 'ārt kortagay o pa 'man  
 gallā=e ke ārt kort-ag=ay =o pa man  
 wheat=EZ CLM flour do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG =and for PN.1SG

ā'ortagay 'ē ša gōjā ant ke  
 āort-ag=ay ē ša gōjā =ant ke  
 bring.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG PROX from where =COP.NPST.3PL CLM

an'čēn ba'lā 'mnī ge'sā ātant o  
 ančēn balā mnī ges-ā āt-ant =o  
 such.ATTR calamity PN.1SG.GEN house-OBL come.PST-3PL =and

an'čēn a'barē goštant ke ša mor'dagay ād'day 'tā  
 ančēn abar=ē gošt-ant ke ša mordag-ay ād'd-ay tā  
 such.ATTR word=IND say.PST-3PL CLM from dead-GEN bone-GEN in

'ē 'dar ātagan  
 ē dar āt-ag=an  
 PROX PREV come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

He called the overseer [of the farm workers] [and asked him] /that/,"This wheat that you have grinded and have brought for me, from where is it?;[because] some (lit. this kind of) weird ones have come to my home and they said /that/ (lit. such a word that) this wheat has come out from among the dead's bones."







ay                    'ta            go'lāmay            'tōmay  
 =ay                    ta            golām-ay            tōm=ay  
 =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG male slave-GEN offspring=COP.NPST.2SG

She said, “They are right my son (lit. mother); you are an illegitimate child; you are the offspring of a male slave.”

**OM:58**

ē'dā toj'jār        'padā nārā'at ūt                    o        apsor'da  
 ēdā toj'jār        padā nārāat ūt-Ø                    =o        apsorda  
 here merchant again sad        become.PST-3SG =and depressed

būt                    o        sō'rēn            'tapē            'gept  
 būt-Ø                    =o        sōr-ēn            tap=ē            gept-Ø  
 become.PST-3SG =and red-ATTR fever=IND take.PST-3SG

ē'sērā                a'mērang                'mant                je'neke        'dāšt  
 ēšerā                am=ē-rang                mant-Ø                jenek=e        dāšt-Ø  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ EMPH=PROX-kind stay.PST-3SG girl=IND have.PST-3SG

ke        hame'sa mardēnzā'gī pōše'tat                    wa        'pes        o  
 ke        hameša mardēnzāg-ī pōšet=at                    wa        pes        =o  
 CLM always man-NMLZ wear.PST=COP.PST.3SG and father =and

'māse                'nazāntant                je'nek taklī'pīēn                tū'ēn  
 mās=e                na-zānt-ant                jenek taklīp-ī-ēn                tū-ēn  
 mother=PC.3SG NEG-know.PST-3PL girl        duty-ADVZ-ATTR big-ATTR

ast                    mardēnzā'gēn        'počča                'pōšet                man'dilē  
 ast-Ø                    mardēnzāg-ēn        počč=a                pōšet-Ø                mandīl=ē  
 be.NPST-3SG man-ATTR cloth=VCL wear.PST-3SG loin.cloth=IND

'sarā                ko                    'nazānt                'kase                ke  
 sar-ā                ko-Ø                    na-zānt-Ø                kas=e                ke  
 head-OBL do.PST-3SG NEG-know.PST-3SG no one=IND CLM

hamsā'egē        ke        'ē        je'nekē        'goštant        ke        mar'dēnzāgē  
 hamsāeg=ē        ke        ē        jenek=ē        gošt-ant        ke        mardēnzāg=ē  
 neighbour=IND CLM PROX girl=IND say.PST-3PL CLM man=IND

Then (lit. here) the merchant became sad again and he became depressed and he got a high fever (lit. a high fever got him); he was shocked speechless; he had a daughter who always dressed as a man and her father and mother knew

## A. Text Corpus

(lit. didn't know, as a mistake by the narrator) that she is a grown-up girl ready to get married, she was dressing as a man and wore a turban on her head; no one knew, any neighbor, that she is a girl; they said /that/, she is a boy.

### OM:59

<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'āt</i>	<i>pe'seyā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'čōn</i>	<i>'ērang</i>
jenek	āt-Ø	pes-eyā	ke	bābā	čōn	ē-rang
girl	come.PST-3SG	father-LOC	CLM	father	how	PROX-kind

*ay*

=ay

=COP.NPST.2SG

The girl came to her father [and asked] /that/, “Why are you looking like this?”

### OM:60

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>ba'lā</i>
gošt=e	bābā	by-ā-Ø	ke	say	balā
say.PST=PC.3SG	father	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	CLM	three	calamity

<i>'ātan</i>	<i>ge'sā</i>	<i>'ērang</i>	<i>'nūn</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>rōs'wā</i>
āt-an	ges-ā	ē-rang	nūn	man	rōswā
come.PST-3PL	house-OBL	PROX-kind	now	PN.1SG	disgraced

<i>būton</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'čē</i>	<i>'bgošīn</i>	<i>mardo'mānī</i>
būt-on	man	čē	b-goš-īn	mardom-ān-ī
become.PST-1SG	PN.1SG	what	SBJV-say.NPST-1SG	people-OBL.PL-GEN

<i>ja'wābā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'čē</i>	<i>'bdaīn</i>
jawāb-ā	man	čē	b-da-īn
answer-OBL	PN.1SG	what	SBJV-give.NPST-1SG

He said, “My daughter (lit. father), look, some (lit. this kind of) weird ones have come [to my] home, like this; now I have become disgraced; what should I say?; what should I tell people (lit. what should I say as an answer to people)?”

### OM:61

<i>goš'ta</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>narā'hat</i>
gošt-a=Ø	bābā	ta	nārāhat
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	father	PN.2SG	sad



'mabay                      ā'wānī                      ĵa'wāb gō     'man  
 ma-b-ay                      ā-wān-ī                      ĵawāb gō     man  
 PROH-become.NPST-2SG     DIST-OBL.PL-GEN     answer with     PN.1SG

ent  
 =ent  
 =COP.NPST.3SG

She said, “Father, do not be sad; I know how to answer them.”

**OM:62**

'ē     ĵe'nek     ĵwā'nēn     'počč     'pōšet     o     man'dīla  
 ē     ĵenek     ĵwān-ēn     počč     pōšet-Ø     =o     mandīl-a  
 PROX     girl     good-ATTR     cloth     wear.PST-3SG     =and     loin.cloth-OBL

'sarā     kort     o     'šot     be     aw'tāxā  
 sar-ā     kort-Ø     =o     šot-Ø     be     awtāx-ā  
 head-OBL     do.PST-3SG     =and     go.PST-3SG     to     guestroom-OBL

This girl dressed up nicely and put the turban around her head and went to the guestroom.

**OM:63**

salāma'laykē     ko                      gō     e'šān                      'das kallā  
 salāmalayk=ē     ko-Ø                      gō     eš-ān                      das kallā  
 greeting=IND     do.PST-3SG     with     PROX-OBL.PL     shaking.hand

dāt                      o     'nešt                      ke'nekkeš                      waššā'mad     'kort  
 dāt-Ø                      =o     nešt-Ø                      kenekk=eš                      waššāmad     kort-Ø  
 give.PST-3SG     =and     sit.PST-3SG     beside=PC.3PL     welcome     do.PST-3SG

o     'nešt                      o     'gošte                      'brāsān                      'šmā  
 =o     nešt-Ø                      =o     gošt=e                      brās-ān                      šmā  
 =and     sit.PST-3SG     =and     say.PST=PC.3SG     brother-OBL.PL     PN.2PL

'neštaet                      'mnī                      mē'mān     et                      'man  
 nešt-a=et                      mnī                      mēmān     =et                      man  
 sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2PL     PN.1SG.GEN     visitor     =COP.NPST.2PL     PN.1SG

pa     'šmā     kes'sāē     'kanīn                      'šmā     'gōš     kaššē  
 pa     šmā     kessā=ē     kan-īn                      šmā     gōš     Ø-kašš-ē  
 for     PN.2PL     story=IND     do.NPST-1SG     PN.2PL     ear     SBJV-pull.NPST-2PL



*ar'gā*      *'byāway*                      *'tae*      *'jenēn*  
 arg-ā      by-ā-way                      ta=e      jēnēn  
 palace-OBL IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG=EZ woman

The king fell in love with the girl and made an appointment; [he said] /that/,  
 “You must come to my palace at such an hour, you, woman!”

**OM:66**

*'ē*      *mā'sī*      *'gošte*                      *ke*      *'gošt*                      *ke*      *'ērang*  
 ē      māsī      gošt=e                      ke      gošt-Ø                      ke      ē-rang  
 PROX mother say.PST=PC.3SG CLM say.PST-3SG CLM PROX-kind

*'man*      *aga*      *da'rā da'rā*      *'byāīn*                                      *maš'mā*                      *rōs'wā*  
 man      aga      darā darā      by-ā-īn                                      mašmā                      rōswā  
 PN.1SG if openly      SBJV-come.NPST-1SG PN.1PL.INCL disgraced

*bean*                      *'ta*      *yak*      *sū'paē*                      *ša*      *'wtī*                      *ar'gay*  
 be-an                      ta      yak      sūpa=e                      ša      wtī                      arg-ay  
 become.NPST-1PL PN.2SG one tunnel=IND from REFL.GEN palace-GEN

*'čērā*      *aw'tāxe*                      *ke*      *'dāray*                                      *'bjan*                                      *ta*  
 čērā      awtāx=e                      ke      dār-ay                                      b-ĵan-Ø                                      ta  
 under guestroom=EZ CLM have.NPST-2SG IMPV-hit.NPST-2SG until

*'byayt*                                      *pa*      *'mnī*                                      *ge'say*                      *'čērā*      *ke*      *'man*  
 by-ay-t                                      pa      mnī                                      ges-ay                      čērā      ke      man  
 SBJV-come.NPST-3SG to PN.1SG.GEN house-GEN under CLM PN.1SG

*ša*      *'mā*                      *de'gāray*      *'čērā*      *'byāīn*                                      *ke*  
 ša      mā                      degār-ay      čērā      by-ā-īn                                      ke  
 from EMPH.DIST earth-GEN under SBJV-come.NPST-1SG CLM

*'mnā*                      *'kasē*                      *'magendīt*  
 mnā                      kas=e                      ma-gend-īt  
 PN.1SG.OBJ person=IND PROH-see.NPST-3SG

This lady (lit. mother) said /that/, she said /that/, “If I come openly in this  
 manner, we will be disgraced; you dig a tunnel under your palace; from the  
 room that you have that comes out under my house in order for me to come  
 from under the ground so that no one will see me.”

A. Text Corpus

**OM:67**

*pāde'šāh ka'būl ko e'šī a'barā šo'rū ko*  
*pādešāh kabūl ko-Ø eš-ī abar-ā šorū ko-Ø*  
 king accepting do.PST-3SG PROX-GEN word-OBL start do.PST-3SG

*be sū'pay ja'tenā*  
*be sūpay jat-en-ā*  
 to tunnel.GEN hit.PST-INF-OBL

The king accepted her proposal (lit. word) [and] started to dig this tunnel.

**OM:68**

*xolā'sa sū'pa mod'date 'tūl kaššet 'tā 'waxte āmā'da*  
*xolāsa sūpa moddat=e tūl kaššet-Ø tā waxt=e āmāda*  
 well tunnel time=IND length pull.PST-3SG till time=IND ready

*būt o 'āt 'e je'nēn 'watrā*  
*būt-Ø =o āt-Ø =e jenēn wat-rā*  
 become.PST-3SG =and come.PST-3SG =PROX woman REFL-OBJ

*ārā'eš kort o āmā'da bū ke*  
*ārāeš kort-Ø =o āmāda bū-Ø ke*  
 makeup do.PST-3SG =and ready become.PST-3SG CLM

*'brawt pa tā'jerayā*  
*b-raw-t pa tājer-ayā*  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG for merchant-LOC

In short, it took a long time before the tunnel was ready; this woman came and put on make up and got ready to go to the merchant.

**OM:69**

*'mardē 'āt 'mardē ke ša 'rāh*  
*mard=e āt-Ø mard=e ke ša rāh*  
 husband=PC.3SG come.PST-3SG husband=PC.3SG CLM from way

*'āt 'gošte 'jenēn 'man o e'dā*  
*āt-Ø gošt=e jenēn man =o ēdān*  
 come.PST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG woman PN.1SG =FOC here

*'nabūton 'gošt 'gošt 'man o e'dā*  
*na-būt-on gošt-Ø gošt-Ø man =o ēdān*  
 NEG-become.PST-1SG say.PST-3SG say.PST-3SG PN.1SG =FOC here





*pāde'sāh 'rast*  
 pādešāh rast-Ø  
 king arrive.PST-3SG

The woman went through this tunnel, and came (lit. arrived) to the king.

**OM:76**

*pāde'sāh 'gošt 'čōn ša mayš'may wax'tā 'dēr*  
 pādešāh gošt-Ø čōn ša mayšmay waxt-ā dēr  
 king say.PST-3SG how from PN.1PL.INCL.GEN time-OBL late

*gwast*  
 gwast-Ø  
 pass.PST-3SG

The king said, “Why are you late for our appointment (lit. why did it pass late from our time)?”

**OM:77**

*'ē je'nēn ja'wābe 'dāt 'gošt 'dēr*  
 ē jenēn jawāb=e dāt-Ø gošt-Ø dēr  
 PROX woman answer=PC.3SG give.PST-3SG say.PST-3SG late

*'gwast ke 'man ke rā'dag būton āmā'da*  
 gwast-Ø ke man ke rādag būt-on āmāda  
 pass.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG CLM ready become.PST-1SG ready

*būton 'mnī 'mard 'āt wā 'man*  
 būt-on mnī mard āt-Ø wā man  
 become.PST-1SG PN.1SG.GEN husband come.PST-3SG and PN.1SG

*rās'tēnā 'wtī mar'dā 'gošton*  
 rāst-ēn-ā wtī mard-ā gošt-on  
 truth-ATTR-OBL REFL.GEN husband-OBL say.PST-1SG

This woman answered [him], she said, “I was on my way, I was ready since long ago, my husband came and I told my husband the truth.”

**OM:78**

*'gošt pāde'sāh 'gošt 'tī 'mard 'čē gošt*  
 gošt-Ø pādešāh gošt-Ø tī mard čē gošt  
 say.PST-3SG king say.PST-3SG PN.2SG.GEN husband what say.PST

A. Text Corpus

'gošt 'mnī 'mard 'go 'man ā'sexā be  
 gošt-Ø mnī mard go-Ø man āšex-ā be  
 say.PST-3SG PN.1SG.GEN husband say.PST-3SG PN.1SG in love-OBL to

ā'sexā bax'sāton  
 āšex-ā baxšāt-on  
 in love-OBL bestow.PST-1SG

He said, the king said, “What did your husband say? She said, “My husband said, I give the beloved to the lover.”

**OM:79**

pāde'sāh 'gošt 'waxte ke 'tī 'mard  
 pādešāh gošt-Ø waxt=e ke tī mard  
 king say.PST-3SG time=IND CLM PN.2SG.GEN husband

'ērangēn 'kārē kor'ta o  
 ē-rang-ēn kār=ē kort-a=Ø =o  
 PROX-kind-ATTR work=IND do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

'ērangēn mardāna'gīē 'korta 'man  
 ē-rang-ēn mardānagī=ē kort-a=Ø man  
 PROX-kind-ATTR magnanimity=IND do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG

om 'trā be 'tī mar'dā bax'sāton wā  
 =om trā be tī mard-ā baxšāt-on wā  
 =ADD PN.2SG.OBJ to PN.2SG.GEN husband-OBL bestow.PST-1SG and

'ta 'mnī 'mās o gow'ār ay  
 ta mnī mās =o gowār =ay  
 PN.2SG PN.1SG.GEN mother =and sister =COP.NPST.2SG

ha'mārang 'ber gard pa 'wtī mar'dayā  
 ham=ā-rang ber Ø-gard pa wtī mard-ayā  
 EMPH=DIST-kind PREV IMPV-play.NPST for REFL.GEN husband-LOC

The king said, when your husband had done such a thing (lit. work) and he has done such a magnanimity, as for me, I give you [back] to your husband and you are [as] my mother and sister; you go back to your husband just as you are (lit. in the same manner).”



**OM:80**

'ē    ǰe'nēn   'ber   gašt  
 ē     ǰenēn   ber    gašt-Ø  
 PROX woman PREV turn.PST-3SG

The woman returned.

**OM:81**

'ber   gašt                ša'mē                'sūpay       'tā 'padā 'ber  
 ber   gašt-Ø             šamē                sūpay        tā   padā   ber  
 PREV turn.PST-3SG from.EMPH.PROX tunnel.GEN in again PREV

gašt           o     'āt                ta   yak 'haddē   ke  
 gašt-Ø        =o    āt-Ø             ta   yak hadd=ē   ke  
 turn.PST-3SG =and come.PST-3SG until one some=IND CLM

'rast                'čel   'dozz   sū'pae        de'gārē  
 rast-Ø             čel   dozz   sūpa=e        degar-ē  
 arrive.PST-3SG forty thief tunnel=IND earth-GEN

'jatagant                               ke   pāde'sāhay xazā'nagā  
 jat-ag=ant                             ke   pādešāh-ay xazānag-ā  
 hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL CLM king-GEN treasure-OBL

'bdozzan               'e       sū'pa   'gō   'mē                sū'paā  
 b-dozz-an             =e       sūpa   gō   mē                sūpa-ā  
 SBJV-steal.NPST-3PL =PROX tunnel with EMPH.PROX tunnel-OBL

'dok   'wārta                               o   masa'lan   'čē  
 dok   wārt-a=Ø                            =o   masalan   čē  
 touch eat.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and you know what

būta                               'ečī   'ē   ǰe'nen   be 'čel  
 büt-a=Ø                            ečī   ē   ǰenēn   be čel  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG nothing PROX woman in forty

doz'zay   gī'rā   'kapt  
 dozz-ay   gīr-ā   kapt-Ø  
 thief-GEN grip-OBL fall.PST-3SG

She went back through this tunnel again; thus (lit. then) she returned and came a long way; [she saw] forty thieves has dug another tunnel [under] ground to steal the king's treasure; the two tunnels met (lit. this tunnel jointed

A. Text Corpus

with this tunnel) and, you know, what happened, well (lit. nothing), this woman fell into the hands of these forty thieves.

**OM:82**

'ē 'dozz šē'sī 'sōj kortan ke 'goštan  
 ē dozz šēšī sōj kort-an ke gošt-an  
 PROX thief from.PROX.OBL question do.PST-1PL CLM say.PST-3PL

'gošt 'dozz ke 'ta gō'jā būtagay  
 gošt-Ø dozz ke ta gōjā būt-ag=ay  
 say.PST-3SG thief CLM PN.2SG where become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

'gošte 'yāra... ha'mē māje'rātā 'gošt ke  
 gošt=e yāra ham=e mājerāt-ā gošt-Ø ke  
 say.PST=PC.3SG truthly EMPH=PROX story.PL-OBL say.PST-3SG CLM

'man... pāde'sāh 'mnī 'sarā ā'sex  
 man pādešāh mnī sar-ā āsex  
 PN.1SG king PN.1SG.GEN head-OBL in love

būta o 'man ke  
 būt-a=Ø =o man ke  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and PN.1SG CLM

'šotagon pāde'sāhayā 'mnī 'mard om  
 šot-ag=on pādešāh-ayā mnī mard =om  
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG king-LOC PN.1SG.GEN husband =ADD

'mnā be pāde'sāh bax'sāta o  
 mnā be pādešāh baxšāt-a=Ø =o  
 PN.1SG.OBJ to king bestow.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

pāde'sāhayā ke 'šotaon pāde'sāh 'gošt  
 pādešāh-ayā ke šot-a=on pādešāh gošt-Ø  
 king-LOC CLM go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG king say.PST-3SG

'trā ke 'tī 'mard be 'man  
 trā ke tī mard be man  
 PN.2SG.OBJ CLM PN.2SG.GEN husband to PN.1SG



A. Text Corpus

<i>'ērang</i>	<i>'gošta</i>	<i>am'mā</i>	<i>om</i>
ē-rang	gošt-a=Ø	ammā	=om
PROX-kind	say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1PL.EXCL	=ADD

<i>am'may</i>	<i>rō'zīyā</i>	<i>xo'dā</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'jāē</i>
ammay	rōī-yā	xodā	ša	dega	jā=ē
1.PL.EXCL.GEN	daily bread-OBL	God	from	another	place=IND

<i>awā'la</i>	<i>kant</i>
awāla	Ø-kan-t
transformation	SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

So these forty thieves said /that/ “When the king has said like this and your husband has said like this, as for us, may [God] give our daily bread from another place.

**OM:85**

<i>'trā</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>am'mā</i>	<i>bax'sātan</i>	<i>be 'tī</i>
trā	=om	ammā	baxšāt-an	be tī
PN.2SG.OBJ	=ADD	PN.1PL.EXCL	bestow.PST-1PL	to PN.2SG.GEN

*mar'dā*  
mard-ā  
husband-OBL

We also give you [back] to your husband.”

**OM:86**

<i>'padā</i>	<i>je'nēn</i>	<i>'āt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>be 'wtī</i>	<i>mar'dā</i>	<i>'sar</i>
padā	jenēn	āt-Ø	=o	be wtī	mard-ā	sar
again	woman	come.PST-3SG	=and	to REFL.GEN	husband-OBL	head

*ūt*  
ūt-Ø  
become.PST-3SG

The woman came [and] returned to her husband.

**OM:87**

<i>'annū</i>	<i>'šmā</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>be 'mē</i>	<i>'say</i>	<i>'brāsā</i>	<i>'gošt</i>
annū	šmā	jenek	be mē	say	brās-ā	gošt-Ø
now	PN.2PL	girl	to EMPH.PROX	three	brother-OBL	say.PST-3SG

*ke 'annū 'šmā 'bgošet ke 'kay 'jwānēn 'kā...*  
 ke annū šmā b-goš-et ke kay jwān-ēn kā  
 CLM now PN.2PL SBJV-say.NPST-2PL CLM who good-ATTR FRAG

*pāde'sāh 'jwānēn 'kārē ko toj'jār 'jwānēn*  
 pādešāh jwān-ēn kār=ē ko-Ø tojjār jwān-ēn  
 king good-ATTR deed=IND do.PST-3SG merchant good-ATTR

*'kārē ko yā 'ē 'dozz 'jwānēn 'kārē*  
 kār=ē ko-Ø yā ē dozz jwān-ēn kār=ē  
 deed=IND do.PST-3SG or PROX thief good-ATTR deed=IND

*'kortan*  
 kort-an  
 do.PST-3PL

Now, the girl said to these three brothers /that/ “You tell me who did a good deed’ (lit. work)...; did the king do a good deed?; did the merchant do a good deed? or did this thief do a good deed.”

**OM:88**

*tū'ēn 'brās 'gošt toj'jār 'jwānēn 'kārē*  
 tū-ēn brās gošt-Ø tojjār jwān-ēn kār=ē  
 big-ATTR brother say.PST-3SG merchant good-ATTR deed=IND

*ko ke ā'sexā be ā'sexā bax'sāt*  
 ko-Ø ke āšex-ā be āšex-ā baxšāt-Ø  
 do.PST-3SG CLM in love-OBL to in love-OBL bestow.PST-3SG

The oldest brother said, “The merchant did a good deed since he gave the beloved to the lover.”

**OM:89**

*do'mīēn 'gošt 'na pāde'sāh 'jwānēn 'kārē*  
 do-mī-ēn gošt-Ø na pādešāh jwān-ēn kār=ē  
 two-ORD-ATTR say.PST-3SG no king good-ATTR deed=IND

*ko ke ja'nā be mar'dā bax'sāt*  
 ko-Ø ke jan-ā be mard-ā baxšāt-Ø  
 do.PST-3SG CLM wife-OBL to husband-OBL bestow.PST-3SG

The second one said “No, the king did a good deed since he gave the wife to [her] husband.”

A. Text Corpus

**OM:90**

*gwan'dēn 'gošte ke 'dozz j'wānēn 'kārē*  
*gwanḍ-ēn gošt=e ke dozz j'wān-ēn kār=e*  
 small-ATTR say.PST=PC.3SG CLM thief good-ATTR deed=IND

*ko ke ja'nā be mar'day bax'sāt*  
*ko-Ø ke jan-ā be marday baxšāt-Ø*  
 do.PST-3SG CLM wife-OBL to husband.OBL.PC.3SG bestow.PST-3SG

The youngest one said /that/ “The thief did a good deed, since he gave the wife to her husband.”

**OM:91**

*je'nek dar ja'wābe gwan'dēn 'brāsā 'gošt ke*  
*jenek dar jawāb=e gwanḍ-ēn brās-ā gošt-Ø ke*  
 girl to answer=EZ small-ATTR brother-OBL say.PST-3SG CLM

*'ta 'dozz om 'taw ay te'lā om gō*  
*ta dozz =om taw =ay telā =om gō*  
 PN.2SG thief =ADD PN.2SG =COP.NPST.2SG gold =ADD with

*'ta ent*  
*ta =ent*  
 PN.2SG =COP.NPST.3SG

In reply to the youngest brother the girl said /that/, “It is you who are the thief and you have the gold.”

**OM:92**

*a'mē 'bād 'ē ba'čak 'gošte ke 'na na'pa*  
*am=e bād ē bačak gošt=e ke na napa*  
 EMPH=PROX then PROX boy say.PST=PC.3SG CLM no sure

*'man ke 'dozz on o te'lā gō man*  
*man ke dozz =on =o telā gō man*  
 PN.1SG CLM thief =COP.NPST.1SG =and gold with PN.1SG

*ent 'ta om je'nēnzāgē ay*  
*=ent ta =om jenēnzāg=e =ay*  
 =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG =ADD girl=IND =COP.NPST.2SG



## A. Text Corpus

'angorī de'ga a'lās ūt  
angorī dega alās ūt-Ø  
after that you know finish become.PST-3SG

I was with [them] this far (lit. till here) and after that it was finished.

## A.2. Text 2: Karam

### Karam

### karam

*recounted by Rahim Narui*

#### KR:1

'yak zamā'nagē 'do 'brās atan ša 'yak 'pes o  
yak zamānag=ē do brās =at-an ša yak pes =o  
one period=IND two brother =COP.PST.3SG-3PL from one father =and

'māsā o 'bāz hamde'garā 'dōst dāštant o  
mās-ā =o bāz hamdegar-ā dōst dāšt-ant =o  
mother-OBL =and very much each other-OBL friend have.PST-3PL =and

hamde'garay a'mē ez'zata 'dāštant 'ē a'wal  
hamdegar-ay am=ē ezzat=a dāšt-ant ē awāl  
each other-GEN EMPH=PROX respect=VCL have.PST-3PL PROX first

ṭū'ēn 'brās 'ges kort o 'bād gwan'dēn  
ṭū-ēn brās ges kort-Ø =o bād gwand-ēn  
big-ATTR brother house do.PST-3SG =and afterwards small-ATTR

'brās o ṭū'ēn 'brāsay 'nām a'zam at  
brās =o ṭū-ēn brās-ay nām azam =at-Ø  
brother =and big-ATTR brother-GEN name Azam =COP.PST.3SG-3SG

o gwan'dēn ka'ram  
=o gwand-ēn ka'ram  
=and small-ATTR karam

Once (lit. it was a time), there were two brothers from the same (lit. one) mother and father and they liked each other very much and were respectful to each other; first the oldest brother got married and afterwards the youngest brother, and the oldest brother was called Azam and the youngest one Karam.



## KR:2

'ē    ʈū'ēnā            ke    'ges   kort            'bād   ša    'do   'sālā  
 ē    ʈū-ēn-ā            ke    ges   kort-Ø            bād   ša    do   sāl-ā  
 PROX old-ATTR-OBL CLM house do.PST-3SG after from two year-OBL

o    'yak   'sālā        xo'dā   'āerā            aw'lādē        dāt  
 =o   yak   sāl-ā        xodā   āerā            awlād=ē        dāt-Ø  
 =and one year-OBL God DIST.OBL.OBJ child.PL=IND give.PST-3SG

o    o        'bād   gwan'dēnā        ham   'bād   ša    'do   say   'sālā  
 =o   =o      bād   gwanḍ-ēn-ā        ham   bād   ša    do   say   sāl-ā  
 =and =and after small-ATTR-OBL ADD after from two three year-OBL

ham   xo'dā   aw'lādē        'dāt            o    'ē        'goštant    ke  
 ham   xodā   awlād=ē        dāt-Ø            =o   ē        gošt-ant    ke  
 ADD God child.PL=IND give.PST-3SG =and PROX say.PST-3PL CLM

'lālā    'hanū   ke...   ʈū'ēn        'brāsay        ba'čakē    at  
 lālā    hanū   ke    ʈū-ēn        brās-ay        bačak=ē    =at-Ø  
 brother now CLM big-ATTR brother-GEN son=IND =COP.PST.3SG-3SG

o    gwan'dēnay        ʃe'nekē    'gošt        ke    'lālā  
 =o   gwanḍ-ēn-ay        ʃenek=ē    gošt-Ø        ke    lālā-Ø  
 =and small-ATTR-GEN girl=IND say.PST-3SG CLM brother-VOC.SG

'hanū   'dega        hame   maš'mā        bā'ed   was'lat    kanan  
 hanū   dega        hame   mašmā        bāed   waslat    Ø-kan-an  
 now   you know well PN.1PL.INCL must marriage SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

gōham   o        'gošte            'lālā    gwan'dok    an  
 gōham   =o        gošt=e            lālā    gwanḍ-ok    =an  
 each other =and say.PST=PC.3SG brother small-EV =COP.NPST.3PL

'gošt        ke    'na   gwan'dok    'hastant            yā  
 gošt-Ø        ke    na   gwanḍ-ok    hast=ant            yā  
 say.PST-3SG CLM no small-EV be.NPST=COP.NPST.3PL or

'nawant            'bale   'mana            'lōʈīn            ke  
 nawant            bale   man=a            lōʈ-īn            ke  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3PL but PN.1SG=VCL want.NPST-1SG CLM



**KR:3**

*būt*                    *o*    *zamā'nagē*    *'gwāst*                    *o*    *'ē*    *'tū*  
 būt-Ø                    =o    zamānag=ē    gwast-Ø                    =o    ē    tū  
 become.PST-3SG    =and    period=IND    pass.PST-3SG    =and    PROX    big

*'būtant*                    *o*    *'yak*    *'rōčē*                    *ha'mē*                    *ba'čak*    *'watī...*  
 būt-ant                    =o    yak    rōč=ē                    ham=ē                    bačak    wat-ī  
 become.PST-3PL    =and    one    day=IND    EMPH=PROX    boy    REFL-GEN

*ha'mē*                    *a'zīm*    *'watī*                    *pe'sārā*                    *dīst*    *ke*  
 ham=ē                    a'zīm    wat-ī                    pes-ā-rā                    dīst    ke  
 EMPH=PROX    Azim    REFL-GEN    father-OBL-OBJ    see.PST    CLM

*ha'mē*                    *ta*                    *'mnā*                    *'bar*                    *zā'mās*  
 ham=ē                    ta                    mnā                    Ø-bār-Ø                    zāmās  
 EMPH=PROX    PN.2SG    PN.1SG.OBJ    IMPV-take.NPST-2SG    bridegroom

*kan*                                    *o*    *pe'sā*                    *'gošt*                    *ke*    *ta*    *'sabr*  
 Ø-kan-Ø                    =o    pes-ā                    gošt-Ø                    ke    ta    sabr  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG    =and    father-OBL    say.PST-3SG    CLM    PN.2SG    wait

*kan*                                    *ke*    *yak*    *zamā'nagē*    *tī*                    *nā'kō*  
 Ø-kan-Ø                    ke    yak    zamānag=ē    tī                    nākō  
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG    CLM    one    period=IND    PN.2SG.GEN    uncle

*mnā*                    *'kawlē*                    *dāta*                                    *o*  
 mnā                    kawl=ē                    dāt-a=Ø                                    =o  
 PN.1SG.OBJ    promise=IND    give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    =and

*'mana*                    *'rahīn*                    *ge'say.*  
 man=a                    ra-hīn                    ges=ay  
 PN.1SG=VCL    go.NPST-1SG    house=PC.3SG

It so happened that (lit. it was and) time passed and they grew up, and one day, this boy, his... this Azim, came to (lit. saw) his father [and said] /that/, “Get me a wife (lit. take and make me a groom)”, and the father said /that/, “You wait since at a certain time your uncle made me a promise; I will go to his house.”

**KR:4**

*'ēxtī*                    *'yak*    *'rōčē*                    *'hāt*                    *o*    *brā'say*                    *ge'sā*  
 ēxtī                    yak    rōč=ē                    hāt-Ø                    =o    brās-ay                    ges-ā  
 this time    one    day=IND    come.PST-3SG    =and    brother-GEN    house-OBL

A. Text Corpus

*pa 'zoray o 'ṭaym... wā'dā wat 'brās xo'sāl*  
 pa zor-ay =o ṭaym wādā wat brās xošāl  
 for noon-GEN =and time time REFL brother happy

*ū 'sak ke 'brās ā'ta*  
 ū-Ø sak ke brās āt-a=Ø  
 become.PST-3SG very CLM brother come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'mnī ge'sā o ē'serā pē'sī 'čāšt o*  
 mnī ges-ā =o ēšerā pēšī čāšt =o  
 PN.1SG.GEN house-OBL =and PROX.OBL.OBJ for.PROX.OBL food =and

*ča'rāgē 'jor kortant o 'gošte 'xayr*  
 čarāg=ē jōr kort-ant =o gošt=e xayr  
 echo=IND make do.PST-3PL =and say.PST=PC.3SG good news

*en ke en'sallāh ma'rōčī 'mnī ge'sā*  
 =en ke enšallāh marōčī mnī ges-ā  
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM God willing today PN.1SG.GEN house-OBL

*'ātagay 'gošte 'lālā 'man*  
 āt-ag=ay gošt=e lālā man  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG say.PST=PC.3SG brother PN.1SG

*pa'mē xā'terā 'āton ke 'lālā ha'mē*  
 pamē xāter-ā āt-on ke lālā ham=ē  
 for.EMPH.PROX sake of-OBL come.PST-1SG CLM brother EMPH=PROX

*'mnī zāg'ā... 'čēn 'sāl dē'mā om 'ta*  
 mnī zāg-ā čēn sāl dēm-ā =om ta  
 PN.1SG.GEN child-OBL several year face-OBL =ADD PN.2SG

*ha'mē ha'barā dā'tagay o 'hanūn pa*  
 ham=ē habar-ā dāt-ag=ay =o hanūn pa  
 EMPH=PROX word-OBL give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG =and now for

*wa'tī parzen'dī ka'būl kan 'ē 'brās*  
 wat-ī parzend=ī kabūl Ø-kan-Ø ē brās  
 REFL-GEN child=PC.3SG accepting IMPV-do.NPST-2SG PROX brother

'gošt ke 'bītogō 'hanū ke enka'rēn 'rāhē  
 gošt-Ø ke bītogō hanū ke enkar-ēn rāh=ē  
 say.PST-3SG CLM alright now CLM this much-ATTR path way=IND

'ta ā'tagay o 'ta 'mnī  
 ta āt-ag=ay =o ta mnī  
 PN.2SG come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG =and PN.2SG PN.1SG.GEN

'brāsay tū'ēn o 'man 'ē yak'kēn  
 brās=ay tū-ēn =o man ē yakk-ēn  
 brother=COP.NPST.2SG big-ATTR =and PN.1SG PROX one-ATTR

je'nekā pat'ta xay'rāta kanīn 'bale ha'mē  
 jenek-ā pat-ta xayrāt=a kan-īn bale ham=ē  
 girl-OBL for-PN.2SG sacrifice=VCL do.NPST-1SG but EMPH=PROX

'rang en ta ke 'ē je'nek gwan'dēnē o  
 rang =en ta ke ē jenek gwand-ēn=ē =o  
 kind =COP.NPST.3SG MIR CLM PROX girl young-ATTR=IND =and

han'gata wa'tī jāl o 'borzā 'nazānt o  
 hangata wat-ī jāl =o borz-ā na-zānt-Ø =o  
 still REFL-GEN down =and up-OBL NEG-know.PST-3SG =and

'hame 'šām o 'čāštē ta'yār 'kortaga  
 ham==e šām =o čāšt=ē tayār kort-ag=a  
 EMPH==PROX dinner =and lunch=IND make do.PST-PP=VCL

'nakant 'gošte 'hanūn aga ta'yār kortag om  
 na-kan-t gošt=e hanūn aga tayār kort-ag =om  
 NEG-do.NPST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG now if make do.PST-PP =ADD

'nakant 'aybē 'nadārī 'mnī 'jan  
 na-kan-t ayb=ē na-dār-ī mnī jan  
 NEG-do.NPST-3SG defect=IND NEG-have.NPST-3SG PN.1SG.GEN wife

o 'zāg 'ēšerā 'yāta dayant o  
 =o zāg ēšerā yāt=a day-ant =o  
 =and child PROX.OBL.OBJ memory=VCL give.NPST-3PL =and

## A. Text Corpus

<i>gō'sī</i>	<i>ham ko'mak</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>yā'rīya</i>	<i>kanant</i>	<i>o</i>
gō-šī	ham komak	=o	yārī=ya	kan-ant	=o
with-PROX.OBL	help	=and	assistance=VCL	do.NPST-3PL	=and

<i>'ta</i>	<i>pa ē'sī</i>	<i>nega'rān</i>	<i>'mabay</i>
ta	pa ēšī	negarān	ma-b-ay
PN.2SG	for PROX.GEN	worry	PROH-become.NPST-2SG

That time, one day, he came to his brother's house; it was noon time... and his brother became very happy since his brother had come to his house and they made food for him; [the younger brother] said, "Hopefully (lit. if God wants) it is [for a] good [reason], that you have come to my house today"; [the oldest brother] said, "[Dear] brother, I came here for this reason, brother, this my son... some years ago also you told me this thing (lit. word) and now accept his proposal (lit. him as your child);" this brother said /that/, "Ok [since] now you have come from a long distance and you are my older brother; I will give (lit. sacrifice) this one daughter to you; but the issue is that, this girl is young, and still she does not recognize her right and left hand (lit. down and up) and you know, she is not able to cook a dinner and a lunch"; [the oldest brother] said, "No problem, even if she is not able to cook, my wife and children will teach her and they will help (lit. help and assist) her, and you should not be worried about this."

### KR:5

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'xob ēšerā</i>	<i>'bād deldārī</i>	<i>dāt</i>
gošt=e	xob ēšerā	bād deldārī	dāt-Ø
say.PST=PC.3SG	Ok	PROX.OBL.OBJ then	encouragement give.PST-3SG

<i>o</i>	<i>'ēšerā</i>	<i>gošt</i>	<i>'aybē</i>	<i>'nadārī</i>	<i>bas</i>
=o	ēšerā	gošt	ayb=ē	na-dār-ī	bass
=and	PROX.OBL.OBJ	say.PST	defect=IND	NEG-have.NPST-3SG	that'all

<i>'ēš</i>	<i>pa 'tī</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>xay'rāt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'gošt</i>	<i>'čār</i>
ēš	pa tī	sar-ā	xayrāt	=o	gošt-Ø	čār
PROX	for PN.2SG.GEN	head-OBL	sacrifice	=and	say.PST-3SG	four

<i>'māh</i>	<i>o...</i>	<i>mo'eddē</i>	<i>bel</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'kadēn</i>	<i>'ges</i>	<i>o</i>
māh	=o	moedd=ē	be-el-Ø	ke	kadēn	ges	=o
month	=and	time=IND	SBJV-allow.NPST-2SG	CLM	when	house	=and

<i>ā'rōsa</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'čār</i>	<i>'māh</i>
ārōs=a	b-ī	gošt=e	čār	māh
wedding celebration=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	four	month

'bād  
bād  
after

[The younger brother] said, “Ok.”; then he encouraged his brother (lit. him) and said to him, “No problem so she will be your son’s (lit. a sacrifice for your head)” and [the oldest brother] said, “Four months... arrange a date when the marriage celebration should be held?”; [the younger brother] said, “In four months.”

**KR:6**

'bād ša 'čār 'māh mo'edday sa'rā ē'sā 'āwortant o  
bād ša čār māh moedd-ay sarā ēš-ā āwort-ant =o  
after from four month time-GEN on PROX-OBL bring.PST-3PL =and

'brās... gwan'dēn 'brās pa ete'rāmā wa'tī tū'ēn  
brās gwand-ēn brās pa eterām-ā wat-ī tū-ēn  
brother small-ATTR brother for respect-OBL REFL-GEN big-ATTR

'brāsayā ša 'ēdā 'watī je'nekā 'zort o  
brās-ay-ā ša ēdā wat-ī jenek-ā zort-Ø =o  
brother-GEN-OBL from here REFL-GEN girl-OBL take.PST-3SG =and

'bort o be'mā tū'ēn 'brāsay ge'sā  
bort-Ø =o bemā tū-ēn brās-ay ges-ā  
take.PST-3SG =and to.EMPH.DIST big-ATTR brother-GEN house-OBL

o 'ōdāna ā'rōsē 'geptant o š...  
=o ōdān-a ārōs=ē gept-ant =o š  
=and there-OBL wedding celebration=IND arrang.PST-3PL =and FRAG

'čāštē 'dātant mardo'mānā 'jameš  
čāšt=ē dāt-ant mardom-ān-ā jam=eš  
lunch=IND give.PST-3PL people-OBL.PL-OBJ gathered=PC.3PL

kort o 'sīeš ko wa'tī 'dōst o  
kort-Ø =o sī=eš ko-Ø wat-ī dōst =o  
do.PST-3SG =and inform=PC.3PL do.PST-3SG REFL-GEN friend =and

ā'zīzānā o ē'sānā 'čāšte ke  
āzīz-ān-ā =o ēšānā čāšt=e ke  
friend-OBL.PL-OBJ =and PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ lunch=IND CLM

A. Text Corpus

<i>'dātant</i>	<i>'goṛān ā'lemērā</i>	<i>'lōṭetant</i>	<i>o</i>
dāt-ant	goṛān ālem=e-rā	lōṭet-ant	=o
give.PST-3PL	then wise man=IND-OBJ	want.PST-3PL	=and

<i>e'sānī</i>	<i>nē'kayāreš</i>	<i>bast</i>
eš-ān-ī	nēka-yār=eš	bast-Ø
PROX-OBL.PL-GEN	betrothal-OBJ=PC.3PL	tie.PST-3SG

After four month, at the arranged time they brought her and the brother...to honour his older brother; the younger brother, took his daughter from his home (lit. here) to his older brother's home and they arranged a wedding party there and din...; they gave the people lunch; they gathered and informed their relatives and friends and when they had given lunch to them; then they called a Mullah and made the formal marriage contract between them.

**KR:7**

<i>nē'kayā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bastan</i>	<i>'harka</i>	<i>pa wa'tī</i>	<i>'kār o</i>
nēka-yā	ke	bast-an	harka	pa wat-ī	kār =o
betrothal-OBL	CLM	tie.PST-3PL	everybody	for REFL-GEN	work =and

<i>'rāhay</i>	<i>sa'rā mora'xas</i>	<i>ūtant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>šotant</i>	<i>o</i>
rāh-ay	sarā moraxas	ūt-ant	=o	šot-ant	=o
way-GEN	on off	become.PST-3PL	=and	go.PST-3PL	=and

<i>'ēšon</i>	<i>ha'mē...</i>	<i>ē'sānā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šām o</i>
eš=on	ham=e	ēšānā	ke	šām =o
PROX=ADD	EMPH=PROX	PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ	CLM	dinner =and

<i>'čāštē</i>	<i>'dātant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'harkasā</i>	<i>mora'xaseš</i>	<i>kort</i>
čāšt=e	dāt-ant	=o	harkas-ā	moraxas=eš	kort-Ø
lunch=IND	give.PST-3PL	=and	everyone-OBJ	off=PC.3PL	do.PST-3SG

<i>pa'rīyā</i>	<i>'mant</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>zā'māsā</i>	<i>a'zīm bwa'tī</i>
pa'rī-yā	mant-Ø	=o	gō	zāmās-ā	a'zīm bwatī
Pari-OBL	stay.PST-3SG	=and	with	bridegroom-OBL	Azim to.REFL.GEN

<i>ārō'sīēn</i>	<i>ge'say</i>	<i>'tā o</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'čenka</i>
ārōs-ī-ēn	ges-ay	tā =o	yak	čenka
wedding celebration-ADVZ-ATTR	house-GEN	in =and	one	so much

<i>'waxtē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ārō'sī</i>	<i>'nōk atant</i>
waxt=e	ē	ārōs-ī	nōk =at-ant
time=IND	PROX	wedding celebration-ADVZ	new =COP.PST.3SG-3PL



*o 'bād šā'ī de'ga bād bā'ed ā'rōs*  
 =o bād šāī dega bād bāed ārōs  
 =and after from.DIST.OBL you know then must wedding celebration

*'bostīt o 'nān o 'hāpē o 'tarr o*  
 b-ost-īt =o nān =o hāp=ē =o tarr =o  
 SBJV-stand up-NPST-3SG =and bread =and water=IND =and wet =and

*'mōštē o 'nānē 'pačīt 'ěš*  
 mōšt=ē =o nān=ē Ø-pač-īt ěš  
 fist=IND =and bread=IND SBJV-bake.NPST-3SG PROX

*ha'mērang karāka'rā šo'rū kort o ta 'yak*  
 ham=ē-rang karākarā šorū kort-Ø =o ta yak  
 EMPH=PROX-kind slowly start do.PST-3SG =and until one

*meġ'dārē ta 'yak 'haddē ha'mā was'sū o*  
 meġdār=ē ta yak hadd=ē ham=ā wassū =o  
 amount=IND until one some=IND EMPH=DIST mother-in-law =and

*dos'kič gō ē'sī ko'mak kortant o nā'kō xo'sāl*  
 doskīč gō ěšī komak kort-ant =o nākō xošāl  
 sister-in-law with PROX.GEN help do.PST-3PL =and uncle happy

*at ke 'man brā'zākā*  
 =at-Ø ke man brāzāk-ā  
 =COP.PST.3SG-3SG CLM PN.1SG nephew-OBL

*ā'wortaon o gō 'āī ham yā'rī kortant*  
 āwort-a=on =o gō āī hamyārī kort-ant  
 bring.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG =and with DIST.OBL help do.PST-3PL

*o 'bāzī wax'ta 'pesēa kāt*  
 =o bāzī waxt-a pes=ē=a k-āt-Ø  
 =and some time-OBJ father=PC.3SG=VCL IMP.k-come.PST-3SG

*ka'rama kāt wa'tī je'nekkayā 'sara*  
 ka'ram=a k-āt-Ø wat-ī ĵenekk-ayā sar=a  
 karam=VCL IMP.k-come.PST-3SG REFL-GEN girl-LOC head=VCL



'dīst            ke   'na 'zabr 'jōr   'dara            'nayayt  
 dīst-Ø        ke   na   zabr   jōr   dar=a        nay-ay-t  
 see.PST-3SG CLM no good right PREV=VCL NEG-come.NPST-3SG

o            'ēšerā                    'ān... 'gošt            ke   rāh  
 =o        ēšerā                    ān   gošt-Ø            ke   rāh  
 =and PROX.OBL.OBJ yes say.PST-3SG CLM path way

'ēšent                            'gošt            ke   'na 'rāh            'ā  
 ēš=ent                            gošt-Ø            ke   na   rāh            ā  
 PROX=COP.NPST.3SG say.PST-3SG CLM no path way DIST

'nē                            'ēšenta                            o        go'sī  
 nē                            ēš=ent=a                            =o        gošī  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PROX=COP.NPST.3SG =and with.PROX.OBL

ha'mē            ja'wāb    o        saw'āl    ke   'kort            ha'mē  
 ham=ē            jawāb    =o        sawāl    ke   kort-Ø            ham=ē  
 EMPH=PROX answer =and question CLM do.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX

'bas        was'sū            gēš'ter        narā'hata        būt                    'yak 'rōč  
 bass        wassū            gēš-ter        nārāhat=a        būt-Ø                    yak   rōč  
 that'all mother-in-law more-CMP angry=VCL become.PST-3SG one day

šekā'hattē                    ko            be   āī            nā'kōā        ke   'ē  
 šekāhatt=ē                    ko-Ø            be   āī            nākō-ā        ke   ē  
 complaint=PC.3SG do.PST-3SG to DIST.OBL uncle-OBL CLM PROX

'tī            ha'mē            brā'zāk    'heč    be   'mnī            da'pā  
 tī            ham=ē            brāzāk    heč    be   mnī            dap-ā  
 PN.2SG.GEN EMPH=PROX nephew no to PN.1SG.GEN word-OBL

'nakant                            o        nā'kō 'gošt            ke   'man        a'walā  
 na-kan-t                            =o        nākō gošt-Ø            ke   man        awāl-ā  
 NEG-do.NPST-3SG =and uncle say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG first-OBL

om        gošt'aon                            ke   'ē        gwan'dūe        o  
 =om        gošt-a=on                            ke   ē        gwanḍ-ū=e        =o  
 =ADD say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG CLM PROX young-EV=IND =and

## A. Text Corpus

'ē pa wa'tī kārā han'gata ā'dat 'nadārīt  
 ē pa wat-ī kār-ā hangata ādat na-dār-īt  
 PROX for REFL-GEN work-OBL still habit NEG-have.NPST-3SG

o 'yād 'nadārī 'šomā bā'ed ē'šerā...  
 =o yād na-dār-ī šomā bāed ēšerā  
 =and learn NEG-have.NPST-3SG PN.2PL must PROX.OBL.OBJ

ē'šerā bāz ē'šerā 'tā 'waxte ke 'tūa  
 ēšerā bāz ēšerā tā waxt=e ke tū=a  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ again PROX.OBL.OBJ in time=IND CLM big=VCL

bīt ē'šī ran'jā 'bkaššet wāgar'na  
 b-īt ēšī ranj-ā b-kašš-et wāgar-na  
 become.NPST-3SG PROX.GEN pain-OBL SBJV-pull.NPST-2PL otherwise

ke 'nabīt 'ērang  
 ke na-b-īt ē-rang  
 CLM NEG-become.NPST-3SG PROX-kind

She started to annoy [her]; today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow...  
 whatever this woman [the daughter-in-law] was doing; she saw /that/ things  
 were not working out well, you know..., (her mother-in-law) told her “This is  
 the correct way [of doing things];” [the girl answered], “No, this is the way.”  
 and when the girl disputed with her then you know the mother-in-law became  
 more angry; one day, she complained to the girl’s (lit. her) uncle [and said]  
 /that/ “Your niece does not listen to me”, and the uncle said /that/, “I told [you]  
 from the beginning, still she is a small [girl], and is not used to doing her job  
 yet; she does not know, you should... you should help her (lit. carry her pain)  
 until she grows up, otherwise it is not going to work this way.”

### KR:9

'bas gō 'mē š... čīyā 'ē ka'rākarā  
 bass gō mē š čī-yā ē karākarā  
 that'all with EMPH.PROX FRAG what-OBL PROX slowly

'goštant... 'bāz ko'tāh ātant ke 'aybē  
 gošt-ant bāz kotāh āt-ant ke ayb=e  
 say.PST-3PL again short come.PST-3PL CLM defect=IND

'nadārīt o 'tūa bīt o āje'zag  
 na-dār-īt =o tū=a b-īt =o ājezag  
 NEG-have.NPST-3SG =and big=VCL become.NPST-3SG =and girl

om 'gošt ke 'hanūn 'mnī was'sū 'balke  
 =om gošt-Ø ke hanūn mnī wassū balke  
 =ADD say.PST-3SG CLM now PN.1SG.GEN mother-in-law maybe

ē mā'hā 'zabr bīt o ē mā'hā  
 ē māh-ā zabr b-īt =o ē māh-ā  
 PROX month-OBL good become.NPST-3SG =and PROX month-OBL

āxe'rā 'na 'tāke was'sū wā'kī 'āt o  
 āxer-ā na tā-ke wassū wākī āt-Ø =o  
 end-OBL no till-CLM mother-in-law really come.PST-3SG =and

gō'sī be badī'yā oš'tāt o 'yak 'rōčē  
 gō-šī be bad-ī-yā oštāt-Ø =o yak rōč=ē  
 with-PROX.OBL to bad-ADJZ-OBL stand.PST-3SG =and one day=IND

bā'zēnē ē'serā 'tāparēntant o 'jatant  
 bāz-ēn=ē ēšerā tāparēnt-ant =o jat-ant  
 much-ATTR=IND PROX.OBL.OBJ beat.PST-3PL =and hit.PST-3PL

bēcā'ragā 'ē ša'mē 'laṭṭānī das'ta  
 bēcārag-ā ē šamē laṭṭ-ān-ī dasta  
 poor-OBL PROX from.EMPH.PROX wooden stick-OBL.PL-GEN because

be 'šapē tā'rīnkēn 'jest pa wa'tī 'pesay  
 be šap=ē tārīnk-ēn jest-Ø pa wat-ī pes-ay  
 to night=IND dark-ATTR escape.PST-3SG for REFL-GEN father-GEN

ge'sā ē'dā ke 'āt o be ša'pā 'pes  
 ges-ā ēdā ke āt-Ø =o be šap-ā pes  
 house-OBL here CLM come.PST-3SG =and to night-OBL father

'gošt ke 'pače ā'tagay 'gošt  
 gošt-Ø ke pače āt-ag=ay gošt-Ø  
 say.PST-3SG CLM why come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG say.PST-3SG

'āton ke 'man pa... 'enka ja'tagant  
 āt-on ke man pa enka jat-ag=ant  
 come.PST-1SG CLM PN.1SG for this much hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

A. Text Corpus

*o wa'tī das'tā pe'say gar'denā 'kort*  
 =o wat-ī dast-ā pesay garden-ā kort-Ø  
 =and REFL-GEN hand-OBL father.OBL.PC.3SG neck-OBL do.PST-3SG

*o gār o 'gīr kort o 'pes om ke je'nekā*  
 =o gār =o gīr kort-Ø =o pes =om ke jenek-ā  
 =and cry =and echo do.PST-3SG =and father =ADD CLM girl-OBL

*'dīst ke 'erang azī'yāt ūta*  
 dīst-Ø ke =e-rang azīyat ūt-a=Ø  
 see.PST-3SG CLM =PROX-kind bothering become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*o... 'gošte pa'čī ā'tagay o*  
 =o gošt=e pačī āt-ag=ay =o  
 =and say.PST=PC.3SG why come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG =and

*'ešān 'gošt ke 'mnā 'enka hazī'yāt o*  
 eš-ān gošt-Ø ke mnā enka hazīyat =o  
 PROX-OBL.PL say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG.OBJ this much bothering =and

*ā'zār kor'ta 'mnī mar'dā o*  
 āzār kort-a=Ø mnī mard-ā =o  
 annoyance do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG.GEN husband-OBL =and

*'mnī ha'mē wā'serkā wā was'sūā*  
 mnī ham=e wāserk-ā wā wassū-ā  
 PN.1SG.GEN EMPH=PROX father-in-law-OBL and mother-in-law-OBL

*o dos'kīčā o bas 'ēš om 'gošt ke*  
 =o doskīč-ā =o bass ēš =om gošt-Ø ke  
 =and sister-in-law-OBL =and that'all PROX =ADD say.PST-3SG CLM

*'bas 'yak 'čen 'rōčē 'mān ke enšal'lāh 'man*  
 bass yak čen rōč=e mān-Ø ke enšallāh man  
 that'all one some day=IND stay.NPST-3SG CLM God willing PN.1SG

*'tī nā'kōā 'lōḡm o gō āḡ*  
 tī nākō-ā lōḡ-īn =o gō āī  
 PN.2SG.GEN uncle-OBL want.NPST-1SG =and with DIST.OBL

*ha'bara dan*  
 habar=a dan-Ø  
 word=VCL give.NPST-3SG

You know, slowly and slowly, in this way they said...; they became quiet (lit. short); [they said] /that/, “No problem and she will grow up” and so the girl said /that/, “Now, my mother-in-law may turn nice this month, or the next (lit. this) month”; [but] no then, finally, her mother-in-law really started to annoy [her] (lit. she came and stood up with her for badness) and one day, they hurt her and beat the poor one so much that she ran away to her father’s place because of this punishment (lit. wood) in the dark night; when she came there at night (lit. here), her father said /that/, “Why have you come?”; she said, “I came since they have beaten me this much” and she put her hands around her father’s neck and cried, and so when [her] father saw /that/, the girl had been annoyed this much and ..., he said, “Why have you come like that”; she said /that/, “They have annoyed and tormented me very much, my husband, my father-in-law, my mother-in-law, and my sister-in-law”; so then, you know, he said /that/, “Well, stay here for a few days; God willing, I will call your uncle and he talks to her.”

**KR:10**

*nā'kōārā 'lōṭet o nā'kō ke 'āt 'gošt*  
 nākō-ārā lōṭet-Ø =o nākō ke āt-Ø gošt-Ø  
 uncle-OBJ call.PST-3SG =and uncle CLM come.PST-3SG say.PST-3SG

*ke 'man 'trā awa'lā am 'gošt ke 'ē*  
 ke man trā awāl-ā =am gošt-Ø ke ē  
 CLM PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ first-OBL =ADD say.PST-3SG CLM PROX

*gwan'dūē o tā'kate ē kā'rān*  
 gwand-ū=ē =o tākat=e ē kār-ān  
 young-EV=IND =and toleration=EZ PROX work-OBL.PL

*'nadārī ke enka'rēn masu'līya 'čē*  
 na-dār-ī ke enkar-ēn masulīya čē  
 NEG-have.NPST-3SG CLM this much-ATTR duty FRAG

*bē'sī 'baḍ'dā 'bī ke 'nān o 'āp*  
 bēšī baḍḍ-ā b-ī ke nān =o āp  
 to.PROX.GEN shoulder-OBL become.NPST-3SG CLM bread =and water

A. Text Corpus

'kan 'gošt ke 'bale a'nū 'šomā pa'dā  
 kan-Ø gošt-Ø ke bale anū šomā padā  
 do.NPST-3SG say.PST-3SG CLM yes now PN.2PL again

ba'dīya kanet 'gošt ke a'nū de'ga  
 bad-ī=ya kan-et gošt-Ø ke anū dega  
 bad-ADJZ=VCL do.NPST-2PL say.PST-3SG CLM now you know

'būta o 'zāgay  
 būt-a=Ø =o zāg-ay  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and child-GEN

'kārenta o pa'dā de'ga 'heč ā'tešē  
 kār=ent=a =o padā dega heč āteš=ē  
 work=COP.NPST.3SG=VCL =and again you know no fire=IND

be'dūt 'nēst o 'heč 'jan o  
 be-dūt nēst =o heč jan =o  
 without-smoke NEX.be.NPST.3SG =and no wife =and

mar'dīyē be sar o 'sadā 'naent o  
 mard-ī=yē be sar =o sadā na=ent =o  
 husband-ADJZ=IND to head =and noise NEG=COP.NPST.3SG =and

bā'ed hawse'la kanant 'padā šā wa'tī brā'sā  
 bāed hawsela Ø-kan-ant padā šā wat-ī brās-ā  
 must patient SBJV-do.NPST-3PL again from REFL-GEN brother-OBL

xā'heš ko ke 'ē wā'rī ešte'bāh  
 xāheš ko-Ø ke ē wār=ī eštabāh  
 request do.PST-3SG CLM PROX time=PC.3SG mistake

korta 'mnī 'zāg o 'mnī 'jan  
 kort-a=Ø mnī zāg =o mnī jan  
 do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG.GEN child =and PN.1SG.GEN wife

o 'ta 'byā o ša wa'tī hā'kā  
 =o ta by-ā-Ø =o ša wat-ī hāk-ā  
 =and PN.2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG =and from REFL-GEN right-OBL



'bgwāz                      o        'ē        āje'zagā    rā'zī        'bkan  
 b-gwaz-Ø                    =o     ē        ājezag-ā    rāzī        b-kan-Ø  
 SBJV-pass.NPST-2SG =and PROX girl-OBL pleased SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

wa'tī            je'nekā    'ā        om        'gošt        ke        'bīt  
 wat-ī            jenek-ā    ā        =om      gošt-Ø        ke        b-īt  
 REFL-GEN girl-OBL DIST =ADD say.PST-3SG CLM become.NPST-3SG

'lālā    'man    pa    'bāse        eh...    'man    pa    'ta  
 lālā    man    pa    bās=e        eh        man    pa    ta  
 brother PN.1SG for sake of=EZ FRAG PN.1SG for PN.2SG

xe'rāta            baīn                                      o        'ē        je'nek    pa    'tī  
 xerāt=a            ba-īn                                      =o     ē        jenek    pa    tī  
 sacrifice=VCL become.NPST-1SG =and PROX girl for PN.2SG.GEN

sa'rā    'nadrenta                                      o        ha'me                    je'nekā  
 sarā    nadr=ent=a                                      =o     ham==e                    jenek-ā  
 on    sacrifice=COP.NPST.3SG=VCL =and EMPH==PROX girl-OBL

'gošt            ke        'bāz    'če    'makanay                    ke        'ē        'yakkē  
 gošt-Ø            ke        bāz    če    ma-kan-ay                    ke        ē        yakk=ē  
 say.PST-3SG CLM again what PROH-do.NPST-2SG CLM PROX one=IND

'taway                                      o        'yakkē...    'yakkē    ha'me  
 taw=ay                                      =o     yakk=ē    yakk=ē    ham==e  
 PN.2SG=COP.NPST.2SG =and one=IND one=IND EMPH==PROX

'tī                    nākō'zāken                                      'yakkē    de'ga  
 tī                    nākōzāk=en                                      yakk=ē    dega  
 PN.2SG.GEN cousin=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND another

kabres'tānen                                      'man    'ēdā    pa    'ta        'gesē  
 kabrestān=en                                      man    ēdā    pa    ta        ges=ē  
 graveyard=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG here for PN.2SG house=IND

'nadārīn                    'bāz    'ā...    'hamē                    pa'rīyā    rā'zī  
 na-dār-īn                    bāz    ā        ham=ē                    pa'rī-yā    rāzī  
 NEG-have.NPST-1SG again DIST EMPH=PROX Pari-OBL pleased

A. Text Corpus

*kortant o 'dēm dātant pa āṭ ge'sā*  
 kort-ant =o dēm dāt-ant pa āṭ ges-ā  
 do.PST-3PL =and face give.PST-3PL for DIST.OBL house-OBL

He called [her] uncle and when the uncle came; he said /that/ “I told you from the beginning that she is a small girl, and she doesn’t have the endurance to do these jobs, when there is so much responsibility for her with the housework (lit. to make bread and water)”; he said “Well, you still are annoying her”; [the uncle] said /that/, “Well, it happened, it is not so important, (lit. it is a child’s work) and you know, there is no fire without smoke, and there is no husband and the wife without quarrelling; they should be patient”; then he requested from his brother; [he said] /that/ “They, my wife and children, have made a mistake at this time, and you forgive (lit. come) them; convince this girl, your daughter, [to return]”; so his brother (lit. he) said, “My brother, to hon... I am at your service (lit. your sacrifice) and this girl is at your service (lit. your sacrifice) as well” and he said to his daughter /that/, “You should not do so much [disobeying] since this is you and this is your cousin and the other [alternative] will be the graveyard; I do not have any room for you here”; again, you know, they convinced Pari and sent her to her house.

**KR:11**

*ē'dā ke 'ātan nā'kō... nā'kōē bīčā'rag pāṭ*  
 ēdā ke āt-an nākō nākō=ē bīčārag pāṭ  
 here CLM come.PST-3PL uncle uncle=PC.3SG poor for.DIST.OBL

*'gesē je'ta kort o do'šakē o nā'liyē o*  
 ges=ē jētā kort-Ø =o došak=ē =o nālī=yē =o  
 house=IND separate do.PST-3SG =and pillow=IND =and bed=IND =and

*'kōṇṭē o 'lēpē o la'ganē o*  
 kōṇṭ=ē =o lēp=ē =o lagan=ē =o  
 carpet=IND =and bedspread=IND =and big dish,=IND =and

*kā'čōlē o 'harčī ke 'dāšt pē'šī je'ta*  
 kāčōl=ē =o harčī ke dāšt-Ø pēšī jētā  
 big dish=IND =and whatever CLM have.PST-3SG for.PROX.OBL separate

*kort o 'dastay 'dāt 'padā 'yak mod'datē*  
 kort-Ø =o dastay dāt-Ø padā yak moddat=ē  
 do.PST-3SG =and hand.OBL.PC.3SG give.PST-3SG again one time=IND

ke 'mantant... o be ā'ī ta'bīla dāt o  
 ke mant-ant =o be āī tabīl=a dāt-Ø =o  
 CLM stay.PST-3PL =and to DIST.OBL delivery=VCL give.PST-3SG =and

'goštī 'ē de'ga 'ta o 'ēšom  
 gošt=ī ē dega ta =o ēš=om  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PROX you know PN.2SG =FOC PROX=ADD

'tī 'ges 'āon 'gošt ke xo'dā šo'mārā  
 tī ges ā=on gošt-Ø ke xodā šomā-rā  
 PN.2SG.GEN house DIST=ADD say.PST-3SG CLM God PN.2PL-OBJ

'xayr 'dant o 'bāz ša 'ēška 'čon...  
 xayr Ø-dan-t =o bāz ša ēšk-a čon  
 blessing SBJV-give.NPST-3SG =and again from this side-OBL FRAG

nā'kō om nezār'ata kort o 'dīst... 'tā ājē'zag  
 nākō =om nezārat=a kort-Ø =o dīst-Ø tā ājēzag  
 uncle =ADD control=VCL do.PST-3SG =and see.PST-3SG till girl

'dīst ke 'na 'bābā 'hārtē ke 'mnā  
 dīst-Ø ke na bābā hārt=ē ke mnā  
 see.PST-3SG CLM no father flour=IND CLM PN.1SG.OBJ

'dayan 'ārta 'mana 'pačīn 'man  
 day-an ārt-a man=a pač-īn man  
 give.NPST-3PL flour-OBL PN.1SG=VCL bake.NPST-1SG PN.1SG

'kammē 'wāda 'kanīn 'nānā ke 'pačīn o  
 kamm=ē wād=a kan-īn nān-ā ke pač-īn =o  
 little=IND salt=VCL do.NPST-1SG bread-OBL CLM bake.NPST-1SG =and

'kārīn ta 'ē 'nān 'šor en  
 k-ār-īn ta ē nān šor =en  
 IMP.k-take.NPST-1SG until PROX bread salty =COP.NPST.3SG

ha'me dī... 'dīgē ke šor'wāē 'čīzē 'jora  
 ham==e dī dīg=ē ke šorwā=ē čīz=ē jor=a  
 EMPH==PROX FRAG pot=IND CLM soup=IND thing=IND make=VCL

A. Text Corpus

*kanīn bāz 'gendīn ke 'eš o 'hamē*  
 kan-īn bāz gend-īn ke eš =o ham=ē  
 do.NPST-1SG again see.NPST-1SG CLM PROX =FOC EMPH=PROX

*mōr'čakē 'bāz an 'padā ē'sānī sar*  
 mōrčak=ē bāz =an padā ēš-ān-ī sar  
 pepper=PC.3SG again =COP.NPST.3PL again PROX-OBL.PL-GEN head

*o sa'dā būt o 'gošt 'ē pa'če 'ē*  
 =o sadā būt-Ø =o gošt-Ø ē pače ē  
 =and noise become.PST-3SG =and say.PST-3SG PROX why PROX

*rang ant ā 'gošt ke 'man*  
 rang =ant ā gošt-Ø ke man  
 kind =COP.NPST.3PL DIST say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG

*'nakorta 'ta kor'tagay o*  
 na-kort-a=Ø ta kort-ag=ay =o  
 NEG-do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG =and

*hat'man de'garē 'ē kā'rā kor'ta*  
 hatman degar=ē ē kār-ā kort-a=Ø  
 sure someone else=IND PROX work-OBL do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*ke 'ē 'ērang an ha'mē bad'tām*  
 ke ē ē-rang =an ham=ē badtām  
 CLM PROX PROX-kind =COP.NPST.3PL EMPH=PROX tasteless

*ūtagant o 'zabr wara'gīya*  
 ūt-ag=ant =o zabr war-ag-ī=ya  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL =and good eat.NPST-PP-ADVZ=VCL

*'nabayant o pamē'sī sa'rā bīčā'ragā*  
 na-bay-ant =o pamēšī sarā bīčārag-ā  
 NEG-become.NPST-3PL =and for.EMPH.PROX.OBL on poor-OBL

*'jatantē o 'čī kortan ke 'ta ba'lad*  
 jat-ant=ē =o čī kort-an ke ta balad  
 hit.PST-3PL=PC.3SG =and what do.PST-3PL CLM PN.2SG learn

'naway                      o      was'sūē                      wa'tī  
 naw-=ay                      =o      wassū=ē                      wat-ī  
 NEG=COP.NPST.2SG      =and      mother-in-law=PC.3SG      REFL-GEN

mar'dārā      'gošt              ā'ī              wāser'kārā              ke      'ta  
 mard-ārā      gošt-Ø              āī              wāserk-ārā              ke      ta  
 husband-OBJ      say.PST-3SG      DIST.OBL      father-in-law-OBJ      CLM      PN.2SG

ha'mē              'mnī              zā'gā              ē'dā      syā'baxt              'kortay  
 ham=ē              mnī              zāg-ā              ēdā      syābaxt              kort-ay  
 EMPH=PROX      PN.1SG.GEN      child-OBL      here      misfortunate      do.PST-2SG

o      'heč      mar'doma      'nabīt                      o  
 =o      heč      mardom=a      na-b-īt                      =o  
 =and      no      people=VCL      NEG-become.NPST-3SG      =and

wā'serkē                      'gošt              ke      ša      xo'dā      'bgend  
 wāserk=ē                      gošt-Ø              ke      ša      xodā      b-gend-Ø  
 father-in-law=PC.3SG      say.PST-3SG      CLM      from      God      SBJV-see.NPST-2SG

ke      'ēš      gwan'dokē              o      'man      awā'lā      ham  
 ke      ēš      gwanḍ-ok=ē              =o      man      awāl-ā      ham  
 CLM      PROX      young-EV=IND              =and      PN.1SG      first-OBL      ADD

goš'ta                                      'ē              gwan'doke              o      'bād      'ta  
 gošt-a=Ø                                      ē              gwanḍ-ok=e              =o      bād      ta  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      PROX      young-EV=IND              =and      after      PN.2SG

ē'serā              'čō      wa'tī              zā'gayā              pe'sī              ko'mak  
 ēšerā              čō      wat-ī              zāg-ay-ā              p-ešī              komak  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ      like      REFL-GEN      child-GEN-OBL      for-PROX.OBL      help

'kanay                      o      ē'serā                      'pant      o      nasī'hat  
 Ø-kan-ay                      =o      ēšerā                      pant      =o      nasīhat  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG              =and      PROX.OBL.OBJ      advice      =and      advice

kanay.  
 Ø-kan-ay  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

When they came back (lit. here), uncle... her poor uncle, separated a room, a bed, a pillow, a carpet, a bed, a big dish, and a big cup for her, and whatever he had he separated for her and gave to her; again, after that they stayed...

## A. Text Corpus

and he gave them to her and he said, “You know, this is you and this is your house”; so she said /that/, “May God bless you”; on the other hand (lit. side), what... her uncle controlled the situation too and she saw..., till this girl saw /that/, well, (lit. no father) the flour that they gave her; she baked it [and] added a little salt; [but] the bread that she baked and brought, that (lit. this) bread was salty, you know, she sa... the dish that, the soup or something that she cooked; again, she found /that/ you know, there was so much pepper in it; again, they disputed, and her husband (lit. he) said, “Why is it like that?”; she said /that/, “I have not done it, you have done it or (lit. and) for sure, someone else has done this so that it became tasteless and inedible” and for this, they beat the poor girl, they did, you know... and [they said] /that/ “You do not know (how to cook)”, and her mother-in-law said to her husband, the girl’s father-in-law /that/ “You know, you made my son misfortunate with her (lit. here), and she will not turn out good”; her father-in-law said /that/, “Fear God, she is small and I have also told [you] from the beginning; she is small, and you know, you should help her as your own child, and give her advice.”

### KR:12

<i>'būt</i>	<i>zamā'nagē</i>	<i>be'mē</i>	<i>'šekl</i>	<i>'hāt</i>	<i>o</i>
būt-Ø	zamānag=ē	bemē	šekl	hāt-Ø	=o
become.PST-3SG	period=IND	in.EMPH.PROX	way	come.PST-3SG	=and

<i>'gwāst</i>	<i>'ēš</i>	<i>ē'sānī</i>	<i>moš'kel</i>	<i>ṭū'ter</i>	<i>o</i>
gwast-Ø	ēš	ēš-ān-ī	moš'kel	ṭū-ter	=o
pass.PST-3SG	PROX	PROX-OBL.PL-GEN	problem	big-CMP	=and

<i>ṭū'ter</i>	<i>ūt</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>ē'serā</i>
ṭū-ter	ūt-Ø	=o	yak	rōč=ē	ēšerā
big-CMP	become.PST-3SG	=and	one	day=IND	PROX.OBL.OBJ

<i>maza'nēn</i>	<i>'laṭṭeš</i>	<i>ḵat</i>	<i>bad'baxtā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ē</i>
mazan-ēn	laṭṭ=eš	ḵat-Ø	badbaxt-ā	=o	ē
big-ATTR	wooden stick=PC.3PL	hit.PST-3SG	poor-OBL	=and	PROX

<i>ha'mārang</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'dastay...</i>	<i>'dastay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'pāday</i>
ham=ā-rang	ke	dast=ay	dast=ay	=o	pād=ay
EMPH=DIST-kind	CLM	hand=PC.3SG	hand=PC.3SG	=and	foot=PC.3SG

<i>'šal</i>	<i>atan</i>	<i>'padā</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>'šapē</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>
šal	=at-an	padā	be	šap=ē	wat-ī
limping	=COP.PST.3SG-3PL	again	to	night=IND	REFL-GEN

*xa'tārā* 'kor kort o šā 'ōdā 'āt be  
 xat-ārā kōr kort-Ø =o šā ōdā āt-Ø be  
 appearance-OBJ blind do.PST-3SG =and from there come.PST-3SG to

'mā 'padā pe'say ge'sā  
 mā padā pes-ay ges-ā  
 EMPH.DIST again father-GEN house-OBL

It was; it went on like this for a long time, [and] their problem got bigger and bigger, and one day, they beat her, the poor girl, so much and she like this /that/ her hand...her hands, and her feet, were all bruised, again during a night she escaped from there [and] came to her father's house.

**KR:13**

pe'say ge'sā ke 'āt 'pes 'gošte ke  
 pes-ay ges-ā ke āt-Ø pes gošt=e ke  
 father-GEN house-OBL CLM come.PST-3SG father say.PST=PC.3SG CLM

'tī 'yak 'mard kabres'tān ent 'yakē  
 tī yak mard kabrestān =ent yak=e  
 PN.2SG.GEN one husband graveyard =COP.NPST.3SG one=IND

ha'mā 'mnī brā'zāk enta o 'na  
 ham=ā mnī brāzāk =ent=a =o na  
 EMPH=DIST PN.1SG.GEN nephew =COP.NPST.3SG=VCL =and no

brā'sārā 'lōjet 'brās 'gošt ke ē'serā  
 brās-ārā lōjet-Ø brās gošt-Ø ke ēšerā  
 brother-OBJ call.PST-3SG brother say.PST-3SG CLM PROX.OBL.OBJ

'mā 'harčī ke nasī'hata kanan 'ē  
 mā harčī ke nasihat=a kan-an ē  
 PN.1PL.EXCL whatever CLM advice=VCL do.NPST-1PL PROX

am'may nasī'hata 'nabārt o 'trūay  
 ammay nasihat=a na-bar-t =o trū=ay  
 1.PL.EXCL.GEN advice=VCL NEG-take.NPST-3SG =and aunt=PC.3SG

ham nasī'hat korta o 'mardē ham  
 ham nasihat kort-a=Ø =o mard=e ham  
 ADD advice do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and husband=IND ADD

## A. Text Corpus

*nasī'hat korta* *o 'ē nasī'hata*  
 nasīhat kort-a=Ø =o ē nasīhat=a  
 advice do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and PROX advice=VCL

*'nabārt* *o 'ē* *ne'sārē* *'hamā*  
 na-bar-t =o ē nešār=ē ham=ā  
 NEG-take.NPST-3SG =and PROX daughter-in-law=PC.3SG EMPH=DIST

*pa'rī 'jat be wa'tī 'sarā ke 'man 'harčī ke*  
 pa'rī jat-Ø be wat-ī sar-ā ke man harčī ke  
 Pari hit.PST-3SG to REFL-GEN head-OBL CLM PN.1SG whatever CLM

*'man pe'sān 'kār kanīn 'ē nāmam'nū*  
 man pešān kār kan-īn ē nāmamnū  
 PN.1SG for.PROX.OBL.PL work do.NPST-1SG PROX unappreciative

*ant o 'ē 'mnī ha'barā 'zabr s...*  
 =ant =o ē mnī habar-ā zabr s  
 =COP.NPST.3PL =and PROX PN.1SG.GEN word-OBL good FRAG

*ka'būla 'nakant o 'man*  
 kabūl=a na-kan-t =o man  
 accepting=VCL NEG-do.NPST-3SG =and PN.1SG

*šē'sānī das'tā a'zāb on*  
 š-ēš-ān-ī dast-ā azāb =on  
 from-PROX-OBL.PL-GEN hand-OBL unhappy =COP.NPST.1SG

When she came to her father's house, her father said /that/, "One of your husband's is the grave and other one is my nephew", and you know, he called his brother; his brother said, /that/ "However much we give her advice, she does not take our advice and both her aunt [mother-in-law] her and her husband have admonished her; but she does not take the advice", and this his daughter-in-law, that Pari, cried (lit. she beat on her head) and [said] /that/, "However, I do for them; [but] they are unappreciative and they don't accept my word well... and I am so unhappy with them (lit. from their hands)."

### KR:14

*'pes 'gošt ke 'man 'trā pa wa'tī*  
 pes gošt-Ø ke man trā pa wat-ī  
 father say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ for REFL-GEN



*brā'say rī'sā xe'rāta kanīn 'padā ē'sā*  
 brās-ay rīš-ā xerāt=a kan-īn padā ēš-ā  
 brother-GEN beard-OBL sacrifice=VCL do.NPST-1SG again PROX-OBL

*gō 'nākōā be'rāh kort ke 'āt*  
 gō nākō-ā be-rāh kort-Ø ke āt-Ø  
 with uncle-OBL in-way do.PST-3SG CLM come.PST-3SG

[Her] father said /that/, “I will sacrifice you for my brother’s beard”; again, he made her go with [her] uncle.

**KR:15**

*'ēdā ke 'āt 'yak mod'datē ke būt*  
 ēdā ke āt-Ø yak moddat=ē ke būt-Ø  
 here CLM come.PST-3SG one time=IND CLM become.PST-3SG

*'hamā a'walay kānī'yātānā 'ē šō'rū kortant*  
 ham=ā awāl-ay kānīyāt-ān-ā ē šōrū kort-ant  
 EMPH=DIST first-GEN story-OBL.PL-OBJ PROX start do.PST-3PL

*'gošt ke 'hanū ke šō'rū kortan de'ga 'rāh o*  
 gošt-Ø ke hanū ke šōrū kort-an dega rāh =o  
 say.PST-3SG CLM now CLM start do.PST-1PL you know way =and

*čā'ragē 'nēst ājē'zag 'šot o 'yak ša...*  
 čārag=ē nēst ājēzag šot-Ø =o yak ša  
 solution=IND NEX.be.NPST.3SG girl go.PST-3SG =and one from

*šā'mē dā'rūē 'ğorsē pay'dā korto*  
 šamē dārū=ē ğors=ē paydā kort-Ø=o  
 from.EMPH.PROX medicine=IND pill=IND visible do.PST-3SG=and

*šā'mē ğor'sā 'wārt ke 'balke 'watrā xāte'ma*  
 šamē ğors-ā wārt-Ø ke balke wat-rā xātema  
 from.EMPH.PROX pill-OBL eat.PST-3SG CLM maybe REFL-OBJ end

*'bdaīno 'bkošīn 'ē sar'pad*  
 b-da-īn=o b-koš-īn ē sarpad  
 SBJV-give.NPST-1SG=and SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG PROX aware

*ūtanto 'ā ke be'hāl ūt*  
 ūt-ant=o ā ke behāl ūt-Ø  
 become.PST-3PL=and DIST CLM unconscious become.PST-3SG

A. Text Corpus

*ā'wortant ē'sī da'pay tā 'dōgeš 'rēto*  
 āwort-ant ēšī dap-ay tā dōg=eš rēt=o  
 bring.PST-3PL PROX.GEN mouth-GEN till yoghurt=PC.3PL pour.PST=and

*ke 'ē 'hālē be'ham 'bwārto*  
 ke ē hāl=ē beham b-wārt-Ø=o  
 CLM PROX mood=IND disorder SBJV-eat.PST-3SG=and

*'bšānīt o ha'mē 'ğors ša da'pay*  
 b-šān-īt =o ham=ē ğors ša dap-ay  
 SBJV-vomit.NPST-3SG =and EMPH=PROX pill from mouth-GEN

*'tay 'dar bīt o 'bkapīt 'ēdā*  
 tay dar b-īt =o b-kap-īt ēdā  
 in.OBL.PC.3SG PREV become.NPST-3SG =and SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG here

*ke 'ğors ša da'pay tay 'dar ūt*  
 ke ğors ša dap-ay tay dar ūt-Ø  
 CLM pill from mouth-GEN in.OBL.PC.3SG PREV become.PST-3SG

*o 'kapt de'ga 'ē āj... moč'čēn 'goštant ke*  
 =o kapt-Ø dega ē āj močč-ēn gošt-ant ke  
 =and fall.PST-3SG you know PROX FRAG all-ATTR say.PST-3PL CLM

*'ta pwa'tī mar'kā 'rāzīayo o*  
 ta pwa'tī mark-ā rāzī=ay=o =o  
 PN.2SG for.REFL.GEN death-OBL happy=COP.NPST.2SG=and =and

*'ē 'kār 'bāz ba'dēn 'kārē ast o 'maga*  
 ē kār bāz bad-ēn kār=ē ast =o maga  
 PROX work very bad-ATTR deed=IND be.NPST =and Question

*am'mā 'hančō bad an ke 'ta 'ē*  
 ammā hančō bad =an ke ta ē  
 PN.1PL.EXCL such bad =COP.NPST.1PL CLM PN.2SG PROX

*kā'rānā kanay 'gošt 'ān 'aga šo'mā 'bad*  
 kār-ān-ā kan-ay gošt-Ø ān aga šomā bad  
 work-OBL.PL-OBJ do.NPST-2SG say.PST-3SG yes if PN.2PL bad

'*nayet*                      šo'mā    'mnā                      'košteto                      'padā  
 nay=et                      šomā    mnā                      košt-et=o                      padā  
 NEG=COP.NPST.2PL    PN.2PL    PN.1SG.OBJ    kill.PST-2PL=and    again

*ha'mērang*                      *ke*    'ē                      'wāb    'šotan                      ša'mēdā                      *be*  
 ham=ē-rang                      ke    ē                      wāb    šot-an                      šamēdā                      be  
 EMPH=PROX-kind    CLM    PROX    sleep    go.PST-3PL    from.EMPH.PROX    to

'šapē                      'jest                      *o*                      'šo                      *pa*    wa'tī                      pese'yā  
 šap=ē                      jest-Ø                      =o                      šo-Ø                      pa    wat-ī                      pes-eyā  
 night=IND    escape.PST-3SG    =and    go.PST-3SG    for    REFL-GEN    father-LOC

'*pes*    '*go*                      *pa*    'če                      ā'tagay                      'gošt  
 pes    go-Ø                      pa    če                      āt-ag=ay                      gošt-Ø  
 father    say.PST-3SG    for    what    come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG    say.PST-3SG

'*axe*    ša'mē                      'tī                      brā'say                      das'tā                      *o*  
 axe    šamē                      tī                      brās-ay                      dast-ā                      =o  
 well    from.EMPH.PROX    PN.2SG.GEN    brother-GEN    hand-OBL    =and

ša'mē                      'tī                      ne'šāray                      das'tā                      *ke*  
 šamē                      tī                      nešār-ay                      dast-ā                      ke  
 from.EMPH.PROX    PN.2SG.GEN    daughter-in-law-GEN    hand-OBL    CLM

'*mnā*                      de'ga                      *pa*    mar'kā                      gep'tagan  
 mnā                      dega                      pa    mark-ā                      gept-ag=an  
 PN.1SG.OBJ    you know    for    death-OBL    take.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

'gošt                      *ke*    'hanū    *ke*                      'ērangen                      'napa...  
 gošt-Ø                      ke    hanū    ke                      ē-rang-en                      napa  
 say.PST-3SG    CLM    now    CLM    PROX-kind-ATTR    well

ṭap'pānī                      *ke*    'dīst                      pīra'mard    'gošt                      *ke*    'na  
 ṭapp-ān-ī                      ke    dīst-Ø                      pīramard    gošt-Ø                      ke    na  
 wound-OBL.PL-GEN    CLM    see.PST-3SG    old man    say.PST-3SG    CLM    no

de'ga                      'naylīn                      *ke*    'mnī                      'zāg  
 dega                      nay-l-īn                      ke    mnī                      zāg  
 you know    NEG-allow.NPST-1SG    CLM    PN.1SG.GEN    child

A. Text Corpus

'brawt

b-raw-t

SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

When she came there (lit. here), after a while, they started the same stories as before; she said /that/, “Now that they started [annoying and beating me]; there is no way out”; the girl went and one of... you know, found a medicine, a pill and ate [one] of them in order to make an end to herself, to kill herself; they understood [it] and when she fainted, they brought her [and] poured some yoghurt into her mouth, so that she might feel sick and vomit and this pill would come out from her mouth; when the pill came out from her mouth, you know, this gi... all said /that/, “Are you happy to die and this thing is very bad thing and are we this bad that you are doing these things?”; she said, “Yes, if you are not bad, then why do you kill me?”; again in the same way, when they went to sleep, she escaped from there at night and went to her father [’s house]; [her] father said, “Why have you come?”; she said “Well, because of your brother (lit. your brother’s hand) and your sister-in-law, who are about to kill me (lit. have taken me for death)”; he said /that/, “Well, now that it is like this...”; when he saw her wounds, the old man said /that/ “No, I don’t allow my child to go [there] again.”

**KR:16**

<i>brā'sārē</i>	<i>'lōteto</i>	<i>ṭap'pānā</i>	<i>ne'sāne</i>
brās-ārē	lōtēt-Ø=o	ṭapp-ān-ā	nešān=e
brother-OBJ	call.PST-3SG=and	wound-OBL.PL-OBJ	show=PC.3SG

<i>dāto</i>	<i>'gošt</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>ṣjatao</i>
dāt-Ø=o	gošt-Ø	kay	ṣjat-a=Ø=o
give.PST-3SG=and	say.PST-3SG	who	hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG=and

<i>'gošt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'mardē</i>	<i>ṣjatao</i>
gošt-Ø	ke	=o	mard=e	ṣjat-a=Ø=o
say.PST-3SG	CLM	=and	husband=PC.3SG	hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG=and

<i>'padā</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>was'sū</i>	<i>ham</i>
padā	tī	tī	wassū	ham
again	PN.2SG.GEN	PN.2SG.GEN	mother-in-law	ADD

<i>ṣja'ta</i>	<i>'mnā...</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>bīčā'ragā o</i>
ṣjat-a=Ø	mnā	=o	ē	bīčārag-ā =o
hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	=and	PROX	poor-OBL =and

'napa 'man de'ga je'nekē 'nadārīn ke  
 napa man dega ĵenek=ē na-dār-īn ke  
 well PN.1SG you know girl=IND NEG-have.NPST-1SG CLM

'šmārā 'bdayīn je'nekā... 'ē brās 'ša ham  
 šmārā b-day-īn ĵenek-ā ē brās ša ham  
 PN.2PL.OBJ SBJV-give.NPST-1SG girl-OBL PROX brother each other

'zār ūtanto je'nek 'hamēdā 'mant  
 zār ūt-ant=o ĵenek ham=ēdā mant-Ø  
 sad become.PST-3PL=and girl EMPH=here stay.PST-3SG

ha'mē pe'say ge'sā  
 ham=ē pes-ay ges-ā  
 EMPH=PROX father-GEN house-OBL

He called his brother and showed him the wounds and the brother said, “Who beat her?”; [the father of the girl] said /that/, “Her husband and also your, your mother-in-law beat me... this poor one and now, surely; I do not have a daughter to give to you, the girl...”; these brothers got angry at each other and the girl stayed in her (lit. this) father’s house.

**KR:17**

pe'say ge'sā 'manto hap'tagē ke 'gwast  
 pes-ay ges-ā mant-Ø=o haptag=ē ke gwast-Ø  
 father-GEN house-OBL stay.PST-3SG=and week=IND CLM pass.PST-3SG

'pes wa'tī... je'nek wa'tī pe'sārā 'gwašt ke  
 pes wat-ī ĵenek wat-ī pes-ā-rā gwašt-Ø ke  
 father REFL-GEN girl REFL-GEN father-OBL-OBJ say.PST-3SG CLM

'bābā 'man ĵenēn'zāgēon o 'man 'mardē  
 bābā man ĵenēnzāg=ē=on =o man mard=ē  
 father PN.1SG girl=IND=COP.NPST.1SG =and PN.1SG husband=IND

dāš'taon 'man ha'mē 'yak  
 dāšt-a=on man ham=ē yak  
 have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG EMPH=PROX one

'māhen ke 'mnī 'saro 'počč  
 mäh=en ke mnī sar=o počč  
 month=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.1SG.GEN head=and cloth



*ha'mā marden'zāg... 'pesay ša 'šarmā 'do 'jāh*  
 ham=ā mardenzāg pes=ay ša šarm-ā do jāh  
 EMPH=DIST man father=PC.3SG from shame-OBL two place

*'kapīto 'geša kant ke 'ē čō'nēn*  
 kap-īt=o gēs=a kan-t ke ē čōn-ēn  
 fall.NPST-3SG=and faint=VCL do.NPST-3SG CLM PROX what-ATTR

*'čīē go'ṛān 'ē de'ga ne'šārēā*  
 čī=ē goṛān ē dega nešār=ē-ā  
 what=IND then PROX you know daughter-in-law=IND-OBL

*'dāšta ne'šāra šī ke*  
 dāšt-a=Ø nešār=a š-ī ke  
 have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG daughter-in-law=VCL say.NPST-3SG CLM

*gessō'tag 'ēšo 'mardē 'dāšta*  
 gessōtag ēš=o mard=ē dāšt-a=Ø  
 poor fellow PROX=FOC husband=IND have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*ē'šerā 'nalōṭī ke 'ta 'enkā narā'hat*  
 ēšerā na-lōṭ-ī ke ta enkā nārāhat  
 PROX.OBL.OBJ NEG-want.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG such sad

*'bayay 'ē mar'dēyā 'dāšta*  
 bay-ay ē mard=ē-yā dāšt-a=Ø  
 become.NPST-2SG PROX husband=IND-OBL have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*o 'šī 'na 'sīa kanant xāna'wādahā*  
 =o š-ī na sī=a kan-ant xānawādah-ā  
 =and say.NPST-3SG no inform=VCL do.NPST-3PL family-OBL

*āṭī brā'seyā o 'ā šī 'na 'ērang*  
 āī brās-e-yā =o ā š-ī na ē-rang  
 DIST.GEN brother-GEN-OBL =and DIST say.NPST-3SG no PROX-kind

*'ne o go'ṛān 'čēnkā mohta'ram jwā'nēn*  
 ne =o goṛān čēnkā mohtaram jwān-ēn  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG =and then several respected good-ATTR

A. Text Corpus

*mar'doma 'kāyant spe'rīšo spe'sarēn*  
 mardom=a k-ā-yant sperīš=o spesar-ēn  
 people=VCL IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL white beard=and white head-ATTR

*mar'dom 'gošan 'na o ba'čakā 'lōtan ba'čaka*  
 mardom goš-an na =o bačak-ā lōt-an bačak=a  
 people say.NPST-3PL no =and boy-OBL want.NPST-3PL boy=VCL

*'šī 'ān 'ē ke 'mnī nākō'zāk 'hast*  
 š-ī ān ē ke mnī nākōzāk hast-Ø  
 say.NPST-3SG yes PROX CLM PN.1SG.GEN cousin be.NPST-3SG

*'hanū ša 'mnī janegē'rīyā ke 'šota*  
 hanū ša mnī janegērī-yā ke šot-a=Ø  
 now from PN.1SG.GEN wife-OBL CLM go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*ša 'mnī 'čīyā o 'našota o*  
 ša mnī čī-yā =o na-šot-a=Ø =o  
 from PN.1SG.GEN what-OBL =and NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

*'ē 'mnī 'nang enta o 'plānā*  
 ē mnī nang =ent=a =o plān-ā  
 PROX PN.1SG.GEN zeal =COP.NPST.3SG=VCL =and so and so-OBL

*'waxta ē ha'nār 'lōteta ša 'man*  
 waxt-a ē hanār lōtet-a=Ø ša man  
 time-OBL PROX pomegranat want.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG from PN.1SG

*'hamē 'hamē ha... hanā'rānā ša*  
 ham=ē ham=ē ha hanār-ān-ā ša  
 EMPH=PROX EMPH=PROX FRAG pomegranat-OBL.PL-OBJ from

*'man 'lōtet 'man 'šotaon za'hak*  
 man lōtet-Ø man šot-a=on zahak  
 PN.1SG want.PST-3SG PN.1SG go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG Zahak

*p'ēšī ha'nārom 'zītaon o*  
 pēšī hanār=om zīt-a=on =o  
 for.PROX.OBL pomegranat=ADD buy.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG =and





A. Text Corpus

*zā'gay*    *če'rag* *be* *'šānī*                      *če'rago* *ha'mē*                      *tū'ēn*  
*zāg-ay*    *čerag* *be* *'šānī*                      *čerag=o* *ham=e*                      *tū-ēn*  
 child-GEN *face*    *to* *PROX.PL.GEN* *face=and* *EMPH=PROX* *big-ATTR*

*mar'domo* *dok'toro*    *āzmā'yešē* *'hast*                      *šo'mā* *'waylā* *pa'čē*  
*mardom=o* *doktor=o*    *āzmāyeš=e* *hast-Ø*                      *šomā* *waylā* *pačē*  
*people=and* *doctor=and* *test=IND*    *be.NPST-3SG* *PN.2PL* *nothing* *why*

*nārā'hat* *'hastet*                      *pa'mēšī*                      *sa'rā* *kā'nē*  
*nārāhat* *hast-et*                      *pamēšī*                      *sarā* *kānē*  
*upsat*    *be.NPST-2PL* *for.EMPH.PROX.GEN* *on*    *pleased*

*būtanto*                      *būt*                      *o* *'ē*    *pa* *badbāx'tī*  
*būt-ant=o*                      *būt-Ø*                      *=o* *ē*    *pa* *badbāxt-ī*  
*become.PST-3PL=and* *become.PST-3SG* *=and* *PROX* *for* *miserable-ADJZ*

*hamē*    *'no* *'māho*    *'no* *rō'čā*    *taha'mol* *kort*  
*hamē*    *no* *māh=o*    *no* *rōč-ā*    *tahamol* *kort-Ø*  
*you know* *nine* *month=and* *nine* *day-OBL* *patient*    *do.PST-3SG*

*ha'mē*                      *pe'say*                      *ge'sā*                      *pa* *xwā'rī*                      *o*    *bād* *šā*  
*ham=e*                      *pes-ay*                      *ges-ā*                      *pa* *xwār-ī*                      *=o*    *bād* *šā*  
*EMPH=PROX* *father-GEN* *house-OBL* *for* *poor-ADJZ* *=and* *after* *from*

*'no* *'māh* *o*    *'no* *'rōčā*    *xo'dā* *'zāgē*                      *'dāt*  
*no* *māh* *=o*    *no* *rōč-ā*    *xodā* *zāg=e*                      *dāt-Ø*  
*nine* *month* *=and* *nine* *day-OBL* *God*    *child=IND* *give.PST-3SG*

*je'nekē* *o*    *'hamē*                      *'čelo*                      *'panč* *rō'čag* *ke*  
*jenek=e* *=o*    *ham=e*                      *čel=o*                      *panč* *rōčag* *ke*  
*girl=IND* *=and* *EMPH=PROX* *forty=and* *five*    *day*    *CLM*

*būt*                      *jene'kā* *'āt*                      *'hamā*                      *nā'kōay* *'jan*  
*būt-Ø*                      *jenek-ā* *āt-Ø*                      *ham=ā*                      *nākō-ay* *jan*  
*become.PST-3SG* *girl-OBL* *come.PST-3SG* *EMPH=DIST* *uncle-GEN* *wife*

*ke* *'man* *wa'tī*                      *zā'gā*                      *'barīn*                      *'goštant*  
*ke* *man* *wat-ī*                      *zāg-ā*                      *bar-īn*                      *gošt-ant*  
*CLM* *PN.1SG* *REFL-GEN* *child-OBL* *take.NPST-1SG* *say.PST-3PL*

'gessotag 'ē gwan'dokē o ša xo'dā 'šarm  
 gessotag ē gwand-ok=ē =o ša xodā šarm  
 curse PROX young-EV=IND =and from God shame

kan 'ē 'telpe mā'sūmē 'merīto  
 Ø-kan-Ø ē telp=e māsūm=ē mer-īt=o  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG PROX infant=EZ innocent=IND die.NPST-3SG=and

ē'sī 'hōn 'tī gar'denā bī  
 ēsī hōn tī garden-ā b-ī  
 PROX.GEN blood PN.2SG.GEN neck-OBL become.NPST-3SG

'gošt 'hān 'gošt 'na 'bī  
 gošt-Ø hān gošt-Ø na b-ī  
 say.PST-3SG yes say.PST-3SG no become.NPST-3SG

'mabī 'ē 'zāg 'mnī ent  
 ma-b-ī ē zāg mnī =ent  
 PROH-become.NPST-3SG PROX child PN.1SG.GEN =COP.NPST.3SG

o 'man 'šmārā 'nadaīne o 'bād  
 =o man šmārā na-da-īn=e =o bād  
 =and PN.1SG PN.2PL.OBJ NEG-give.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG =and after

'bas zā'gā 'zīt o ha'mārang  
 bass zāg-ā zīt-Ø =o ham=ā-rang  
 that'all child-OBL take.PST-3SG =and EMPH=DIST-kind

'zorto 'bort pwa'tī ge'sā  
 zort-Ø=o bort-Ø pwatī ges-ā  
 take.PST-3SG=and take.PST-3SG for.REFL.GEN house-OBL

She stayed at her father's place, and when one week passed, the father his... the girl told her father /that/, "Father, I am a woman, and I have had a husband, and you know, I have not had my period for a month, (lit. my head and dress have not been there) and if I am pregnant (lit. there was a baby), do not get upset; he said /that/... the poor father was so upset that he did not listen to what she said at all; one day, she /that/... you know, she had a stepmother, when she had washed her, she had seen /that/ her belly was big; she has come [and] told the father /that/, "Why you... look, so-and-so's belly, you know, so-and-so's, Pari's belly is big"; he said /that/... that man... her father, because of shame, fell down [on the ground] twice and fainted [in despair] of what was going on; after that, he had an another sister-in-law; his sister-in-law

## A. Text Corpus

said /that/, “Poor you, she had a husband; there is no need to be so sad since, she had husband”, and he said, “No!!!”; they informed his brother’s family and the brother (lit. he) said, “No, it is not this way”; and then, several respectful and good persons came, elders (lit. white bearded and white headed people), said, “ No!”, and they called the boy [her ex-husband]; he said, “Yes, she is my cousin, [although] now she is not my wife; but she has not dropped from my, well... [still] she is my honour and at such a time; she wanted pomegranates from me; she wanted these pom... pomegranates from me; so I went to Zahak and bought pomegranate for her and brought the pomegranates [and] gave her and she ate them”, and they asked the girl [they said] /that/, “Is it true? (lit. is there such a thing)”; she said, “Yes, he brought pomegranates for me”, and his father [her ex-father-in-law] also said /that/, “I saw it”; you know, they settled for this, /that/ they counted [and said] /that/ “If God gives her a child at such a time [and] specific date, this child is from you; and in any case, fig... the face of that baby looks like their face.... and you know, there are wise people and doctors and tests... why you are sad for nothing?”; they were convinced by this and it so happened that she endured these nine months and nine days in her father house with great difficulty; after nine months and nine days, God gave a baby, a girl, and you know, when the girl was forty-five days old, that uncle’s wife [her ex-mother- in-law] came [and said] /that/, “I am taking my child”; they said, “Poor woman (lit. burn your house), she is small and fear God this innocent infant will die [and] you will responsible for her death (lit. her blood will be on your neck”); she said, “Well (lit. yes)”; she said “If it happens or not, this child is mine and I will not give her to you”, and well, she picked up the baby and took her like this and took her to her house.

### KR:18

<i>'ē</i>	<i>ājē'zag</i>	<i>ha'mēdā</i>	<i>'mant</i>	<i>'gāreto</i>	<i>ʃat</i>
ē	ājēzag	ham=ēdā	mant-Ø	gāret-Ø=o	ʃat-Ø
PROX	girl	EMPH=here	stay.PST-3SG	cry.PST-3SG=and	hit.PST-3SG

<i>'watrā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>bīčā'rag</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>del'sozo</i>	<i>ʃagarso'tago</i>
wat-rā	=o	bīčārag	=o	delsoz=o	ʃagarsotag=o
REFL-OBJ	=and	poor	=and	compassionate=and	heart-rending=and

<i>zā'gay</i>	<i>ʃetā'ī</i>	<i>'xa</i>	<i>'bāz</i>	<i>'čīēhat</i>
zāg-ay	ʃetāī	xa	bāz	čī=ē=hat-Ø
child-GEN	separation	you know	again	what=IND=COP.PST.3SG-3SG

<i>ṭū'ēn</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>ē'šī</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>'hečkā</i>
ṭū-ēn	=o	bale	ēšī	dap-ā	hečkā
big-ATTR	=and	yes	PROX.GEN	word-OBL	nobody

'nakorto                      zā'gokā                      'zortanto                      'bortant  
na-kort-Ø=o                      zāg-ok-ā                      zort-ant=o                      bort-ant  
NEG-do.PST-3SG=and child-EV-OBL take.PST-3PL=and take.PST-3PL

o                      'būt                      'yak 'čenka                      'waxtē                      ke                      'gwast  
=o                      būt-Ø                      yak čenka                      waxt=ē                      ke                      gwast-Ø  
=and become.PST-3SG one so much time=IND CLM pass.PST-3SG

'ē                      pes'ay                      ge'sā                      be jaṅōzā'mī...                      'bas                      'yak 'rōčē...  
ē                      pes-ay                      ges-ā                      be jaṅōzām-ī                      bass                      yak rōč=ē  
PROX father-GEN house-OBL to widow-ADJZ that'all one day=IND

'ē                      ha'mē                      'pesē                      dā'tay                      'zāgē                      'dāšt  
ē                      ham=ē                      pes-ē                      dāi-ay                      zāg=ē                      dāšt-Ø  
PROX EMPH=PROX father-GEN uncle-GEN child=IND have.PST-3SG

ke                      kešā...                      ke                      'rōč 'kāt                      hamē'sī  
ke                      kešā                      ke                      rōč k-āt-Ø                      ham=ēšī  
CLM FRAG CLM day IMP.k-come.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX.GEN

ge'sā                      o                      wat'ī                      de'gāray                      sa'rā 'šot                      o  
ges-ā                      =o                      wat-ī                      degār-ay                      sarā šot-Ø                      =o  
house-OBL =and REFL-GEN farmland-GEN on go.PST-3SG =and

'kešt                      pa ā'ī                      kešāwar'zīyā                      'šoto  
kešt-Ø                      pa āī                      kešāwarzīyā                      šot-Ø=o  
sow.PST-3SG for DIST.OBL farming work go.PST-3SG=and

keš'tenā                      o                      zo'rā                      'kāt                      'hamēdā  
kešt-en-ā                      =o                      zor-ā                      k-āt-Ø                      ham=ēdā  
sow.PST-INF-OBL =and noon-OBL IMP.k-come.PST-3SG EMPH=here

ha'mēšī                      was'sū                      'yak 'rōčē                      'bay  
ham=ēšī                      wassū                      yak rōč=ē                      b-ay-Ø  
EMPH=PROX.GEN mother-in-law one day=IND SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

be ge'sā                      o                      das'tānā                      be ham 'jant                      o                      pa  
be ges-ā                      =o                      dast-ān-ā                      be ham jant-Ø                      =o                      pa  
to house-OBL =and hand-OBL.PL-OBJ to ADD hit.PST-3SG =and for

A. Text Corpus

<i>'hamē</i>	<i>'watī</i>	<i>a'walay...</i>	<i>pa'rīyā</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>bo'tānē</i>	<i>'jor</i>
ham=ē	wat-ī	awāl-ay	pa'rī-yā	yak	botān=ē	jōr
EMPH=PROX	REFL-GEN	first-GEN	Pari-OBL	one	accusation=IND	make

<i>ko</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'bale</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'dīston</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ērang</i>
ko-Ø	ke	bale	man	dīst-on	ke	ē-rang
do.PST-3SG	CLM	yes	PN.1SG	see.PST-1SG	CLM	PROX-kind

<i>ūta</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>'ēšom</i>	<i>'har</i>	<i>do</i>
ūt-a=Ø		=o	ēš=om	har	do
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		=and	PROX=ADD	every	two

<i>mor'tanto</i>	<i>zen'dag</i>	<i>ūtanto</i>	<i>be mē'sī</i>
mort-ant=o	zendag	ūt-ant=o	be mēšī
die.PST-3PL=and	alive	become.PST-3PL=and	to EMPH.PROX.GEN

<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>ūtan</i>
sarā	sak	ūt-an
on	serious	become.PST-3PL

This woman stayed there (lit. here) she cried and beat herself in despair, and anguish (lit. heart-burning) and pain (lit. liver-burning); the separation of child was a very big thing; but you know, nobody listened to what she said and they picked the child up [and] took away; it so happened that some time passed; as a widow in her father's place..., you know, one day... this her father had a cousin that...; he came to his place during the day and went on his farmland and sowed [his fields], did (lit. went) his farming work, sowed, and came back [home] at noon; there (lit. here), one day her [ex-] mother-in-law came to [her father's] place, and declared (lit. clapped her hands) and for this her first... she made an accusation against Pari [she said] /that/, "You know, I saw that it was (lit. has been) like that", and both of them, [Khanbibi and her father's cousin] were shocked (lit. they died and lived [again]) and they became serious about this issue.

**KR:19**

<i>'sak</i>	<i>ūtanto</i>	<i>be'mē</i>	<i>'sak</i>
sak	ūt-ant=o	bemē	sak
serious	become.PST-3PL=and	in.EMPH.PROX	serious

<i>bū'tenay</i>	<i>'tā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'sak</i>	<i>ūtan</i>	<i>pa</i>
būt-en-ay	tā	ke	ē	sak	ūt-an	pa
become.PST-INF-GEN	in	CLM	PROX	serious	become.PST-3PL	for

*wa'tī nan'gay xāte'rā 'šā nēma'gā om*  
 wat-ī nang-ay xāter-ā šā nēmag-ā =om  
 REFL-GEN honour-GEN sake of-OBL from direction-OBL =ADD

*wa'tī mar'dā das... a'zama 'gošt ke 'ta*  
 wat-ī mard-ā das azam-a gošt-Ø ke ta  
 REFL-GEN husband-OBL hand Azam-OBL say.PST-3SG CLM PN.2SG

*plān'īyā 'gošt ke 'bayt*  
 plān-ī-yā Ø-gošt-Ø ke Ø-bay-t  
 so and so-ADJZ-OBL SBJV-say.NPST-3SG CLM SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

*ke ē'serā meš'mā pa plā'nīyā*  
 ke ēšerā mašmā pa plān-ī-yā  
 CLM PROX.OBL.OBJ PN.1PL.INCL for so and so-ADJZ-OBL

*'dayan 'ē āje'zag 'gošt ke 'man 'aga*  
 day-an ē ājezag gošt-Ø ke man aga  
 give.NPST-1PL PROX girl say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG if

*'merīn 'mānīn šo'mā 'mnā be plā'nī*  
 mer-īn mān-īn šomā mnā be plān-ī  
 die.NPST-1SG stay.NPST-1SG PN.2PL PN.1SG.OBJ to so and so-ADJZ

*pa nāha'kī bo'tān 'bastet 'hanūn 'agar 'man*  
 pa nāhak-ī botān bast-et hanūn agar man  
 for unjustly-ADJZ accusation tie.PST-2PL now if PN.1SG

*'merīn yā 'mānīn 'man hamēš'erā*  
 mer-īn yā mān-īn man ham=ēš-erā  
 die.NPST-1SG or stay.NPST-1SG PN.1SG EMPH=PROX-OBJ

*'gerīn o ā'wānā 'nagerīn*  
 ger-īn =o āwānā na-ger-īn  
 take.NPST-1SG =and DIST.OBL.PL.OBJ NEG-take.NPST-1SG

*'hamē ke 'lōtetan ēš'erā pa 'zor*  
 ham=ē ke lōtet-an ēš-erā pa zor  
 EMPH=PROX CLM want.PST-3PL PROX-OBJ by force

## A. Text Corpus

'bdayan                      be ē              banday      xo'dā ā      ša'mē  
 b-day-an                    be ē              banday      xodā ā      šamē  
 SBJV-give.NPST-3PL to PROX servant.EZ God DIST from.EMPH.PROX

ge'sā              'jesto                      'šot              be de'ga              'gesē  
 ges-ā              jest-Ø=o                      šot-Ø              be dega              ges=ē  
 house-OBL escape.PST-3SG=and go.PST-3SG to you know house=IND

They became serious and being serious; when they became serious for the sake of their honour, on the other hand [her ex-mother-in law] told her husband Azam, /that/, “You should tell so-and-so to come and we should marry her off to so-and-so”; this girl said /that/, “If I die or stay alive, you made an accusation unjustly with such and such person, now if I die or stay alive I will marry him and I will not marry those ones (lit. them)”; you know, they wanted marry off her to this fellow by force; she escaped from that (lit. this) place and went to another place.

### KR:20

be de'ga              'gesē              'šot              'ē              'jam              ūtan  
 be dega              ges=ē              šot-Ø              ē              jam              ūt-an  
 to you know house=IND go.PST-3SG PROX gathered become.PST-3PL

ke              ā'erā                      'brawan                      ke              ha'mōdā  
 ke              āerā                      b-raw-an                      ke              ham=ōdā  
 CLM DIST.OBL.OBJ SBJV-go.NPST-3PL CLM EMPH=there

'bkošan                      ša'mādā                      'padā ha'mā                      ā'ī  
 b-koš-an                      šam=ādā                      padā ham=ā                      āī  
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL from-EMPH=there then EMPH=DIST DIST.OBL

pe'say              ha'mē                      dā'īay              'zāg              ē'šerā  
 pes-ay              ham=ē                      dāī-ay              zāg              ešerā  
 father-GEN EMPH=PROX uncle-GEN child PROX.OBL.OBJ

'zorto                      'bort                      be jene'kay              dā'īay              ge'sā  
 zort-Ø=o                      bort-Ø                      be jenek-ay              dāī-ay              ges-ā  
 take.PST-3SG=and take.PST-3SG to girl-GEN uncle-GEN house-OBL

She went to another place; they came together in order to go and kill her there; you know, then her father's cousin took her from there (lit. here) to her maternal uncle's place.



**KR:21**

'ōdā 'bortant o ā'lemē 'lōtet dā'īē  
 ōdā bort-ant =o ālem=ē lōtet-Ø dāī=ē  
 there take.PST-3PL =and wise man=IND call.PST-3SG uncle=PC.3SG

'gošt ke 'hanū ke 'ērangenta  
 gošt-Ø ke hanū ke ē-rang=ent=a  
 say.PST-3SG CLM now CLM PROX-kind=COP.NPST.3SG=VCL

de'ga do'ros 'nahenta ā'lemā 'lōtetant  
 dega doros nah-=ent=a ālem-ā lōtet-ant  
 you know right NEG=COP.NPST.3SG=VCL wise man-OBL call.PST-3PL

o ē'sānī 'aḡdo nē'kā 'bastant o be  
 =o ēš-ān-ī aḡd=o nēkā bast-ant =o be  
 =and PROX-OBL.PL-GEN marriage=and betrothal tie.PST-3PL =and to

'šapē je'nekā o bača'kā ša'mēdā 'bortant be  
 šap=ē jenek-ā =o bačak-ā šamēdā bort-ant be  
 night=IND girl-OBL =and son-OBL from.EMPH.PROX take.PST-3PL to

šah'rā o ša 'ōdā gō oto'būsē 'dēmeš dāt pa  
 šahr-ā =o ša ōdā gō otobūs=ē dēm=eš dāt pa  
 Shahr-OBL =and from there with bus=IND face=PC.3PL give.PST for

zā... māzenda'rān  
 zā māzendarān  
 FRAG Mazandaran

They took [her] there and her uncle called a Mullah [and] said /that/, “Now that the [situation] is like this; it is not OK; they called the Mullah and declared their marriage and during one night they took the girl and the boy from there to Shahr, and from there they sent them to Mazandaran by bus.

**KR:22**

māzenda'rān 'ōdā 'ē 'čenka 'sāl zende'gī kortanto  
 māzendarān ōdā ē čenka sāl zendegī kort-ant=o  
 Mazandaran there PROX some year life do.PST-3PL=and

allā'hay ra'zā 'say 'čār aw'lādeš būt 'do  
 allāh-ay razā say čār awlād=eš būt-Ø do  
 God-GEN satisfaction three four child.PL=PC.3PL become.PST-3SG two

A. Text Corpus

*je'nek 'do ba'čak o 'bād ša 'ōdānā ke ha'mē*  
 jenek do bačak =o bād ša ōdān-ā ke ham=ē  
 girl two boy =and after from there-OBL CLM EMPH=PROX

*'ē ā'ī dā'tay 'zāg bese'lāh pa'rīe nō'kēn*  
 ē āī dāī-ay zāg beselāh pa'rī-e nōk-ēn  
 PROX DIST.GEN uncle-GEN child you know Pari-GEN new-ATTR

*'mard 'čīē 'dāšt be... dēm'terā on 'janē*  
 mard čī=ē dāšt-Ø be dēm-ter-ā =on jan=ē  
 husband what=IND have.PST-3SG to face-CMP-OBL =ADD wife=IND

*dāš'tato 'zāg go'rān ša 'ōdā torkamansah'rā*  
 dāšt=at=o zāg goṛān ša ōdā torkamansahrā  
 have.PST=COP.PST.3SG=and child then from there Mazandaran

*xa'rāb ūt o 'padā 'ber gaštano*  
 xarāb ūt-Ø =o padā ber gašt-an=o  
 draught become.PST-3SG =and again PREV turn.PST-3PL=and

*'ātan 'watī jēn'day mol'kā 'ēdā ke 'ātan*  
 āt-an wat-ī jēnd-ay molk-ā ēdā ke āt-an  
 come.PST-3PL REFL-GEN self-GEN land-OBL here CLM come.PST-3PL

*ā'ī 'jan 'gošt ke 'man 'watī mar'dā*  
 āī jan gošt-Ø ke man wat-ī mard-ā  
 DIST.GEN wife say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG REFL-GEN husband-OBL

*'lōṭīn o ājē'zag 'gošt ke 'man 'hanūn 'zāg*  
 lōṭ-īn =o ājēzag gošt-Ø ke man hanūn zāg  
 want.NPST-1SG =and girl say.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG now child

*'dārīn o 'ta 'āda bay o 'man*  
 dār-īn =o ta āda b-ay =o man  
 have.NPST-1SG =and PN.2SG there become.NPST-2SG =and PN.1SG

*'ēdāon o belaxa'ra ha'mērang maš'mā*  
 ēdā=on =o belaxara ham=ē-rang mašmā  
 here=COP.NPST.1SG =and you know EMPH=PROX-kind PN.1PL.INCL

*zende'gīa kanan ā'xerā ha'mē mar'dārā*  
 zendegī=a kan-an āxer-ā ham=ē mard-ārā  
 life=VCL do.NPST-1PL end-OBL EMPH=PROX husband-OBJ

*'hamā 'dēmay 'jan 'zor ūt o 'ē*  
 ham=ā dēmay jan zor ūt-Ø =o ē  
 EMPH=DIST previous wife force become.PST-3SG =and PROX

*pa'mē badbāx'tī... o 'ēšī lē'pā*  
 pamē badbāx'tī =o ēšī lēp-ā  
 for.EMPH.PROX poverty =and PROX.GEN bedspread-OBL

*lē'pā 'bdōč o ā'ī baleš'tā 'pōš*  
 lēp-ā b-dōč-Ø =o āī balešt-ā pōš  
 bedspread-OBL SBJV-sew.NPST-3SG =and DIST.GEN pillow-OBL cover

*'kano 'ēšī ge'sā jaw'rī*  
 Ø-kan-Ø=o ēšī ges-ā jawrī  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG=and PROX.GEN house-OBL broom

*'kano ā'ī far'sā 'btakeno*  
 Ø-kan-Ø=o āī farš-ā b-taken-Ø=o  
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG=and DIST.GEN carpet-OBL SBJV-shake.NPST-3SG=and

*be'mē 'šekl 'watī zen'degī o zāgo'kānā*  
 bemē šekl wat-ī zendegī =o zāg-ok-ān-ā  
 in.EMPH.PROX way REFL-GEN life =and child-EV-OBL.PL-OBJ

*'tū kort alhamdol'lah o ha'nū 'yak 'zāgē*  
 tū kort-Ø alhamdollah =o hanū yak zāg=ē  
 big do.PST-3SG thanks God =and now one child=IND

*kār'mand ūta o'yak*  
 kārmand ūt-a=Ø =o-yak  
 government employed become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and-one

*'zāgē de'gare ham ranen'da ent o 'yak*  
 zāg=ē degar=e ham ranenda =ent =o yak  
 child=IND another=PC.3SG ADD driver =COP.NPST.3SG =and one

A. Text Corpus

*je'nekē 'hamā gwando'kīyā allā'hay ra'zā gō*  
 ĵenek=ē ham=ā gwand-ok-ī-yā allāh-ay razā gō  
 girl=IND EMPH=DIST young-EV-NMLZ-OBL God-GEN will with

*nap'tān 'sōto ša don'yā 'šoto 'yak*  
 napt-ān sōt-Ø=o ša donyā šot-Ø=o yak  
 oil-OBL.PL burn.PST-3SG=and from world.OBL go.PST-3SG=and one

*je'nekē de'ga om 'mardē 'dārīto 'ā om*  
 ĵenek=ē dega =om mard=ē dār-īt=o ā =om  
 girl=IND another =ADD husband=IND have.NPST-3SG=and DIST =ADD

*'čēnka 'zāg 'dārīt o al'lāhay ra'zā 'ē sarna'wešt*  
 čēnka zāg dār-īt =o allāh-ay razā ē sarnawešt  
 several child have.NPST-3SG =and God-GEN will PROX fate

*ē mā'sīay han'ga ha'mē rangento be*  
 ē māsī-ay hanga ham=ē rang=ent=o be  
 PROX woman-GEN still EMPH=PROX kind=COP.NPST.3SG=and to

*'šekle en'sānento 'hamē dās'tān o*  
 šekl=e ensān=ent=o ham=ē dāstān =o  
 shape=EZ human=COP.NPST.3SG=and EMPH=PROX story =and

*'hamē ša... 'čīon ha'mē 'rang 'mant*  
 ham=ē ša čī=on ham=ē rang mant-Ø  
 EMPH=PROX from what=ADD EMPH=PROX kind stay.PST-3SG

They lived there, in Mazandaran, for some years, and in the will of God, they had three four children, two sons and two daughters, and you know, this her [father's] uncle's son, well, Pari's new husband, he had what... he had had a wife and children already; after that, Torkamansahra became dry (lit. destroyed); again they returned to their own land, when they came there, his [first] wife said /that/, "I want my husband", and this girl said /that/ "Now I have children, and you stay there [in Zahak] and I am here [in Shahrestan] and you know, we will live like this"; finally, this previous wife took this man back by force, and she [was left] in this poverty and, she sewed a bedspread for this person; she made a pillow-case for that person; cleaned this [person's] house, and shook a carpet for that [person] and in this way, [supported] herself and took care of her children, and now, thank God, one of her son has become a government employee and the other one is a driver, and one of her daughters, in the will of God, was burnt by oil and passed away when she was a child, and the other one got married, and she has several children and in the

will of God, the fate of this woman (lit. mother) is still like this and now she has a good life (lit. she is like a human), and you know, still this story and this... my story (lit. thing) remains like this.

### A.3. Text 3: The Shepherd's Son

#### The Shepherd's Son

#### šwā'nage 'zāg

*recounted by Gol Pari Nourzaei*

##### SS:1

'būt	o	'būt	ša	moš'may	xo'dā
būt-Ø	=o	būt-Ø	ša	mošmay	xodā
become.PST-3SG	=and	become.PST-3SG	from	PN.1PL.INC.GEN	God

kas	gē'ter	'nawat
kas	gēter	nawat
person	good.COMP	NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

Once upon a time, (lit. there was and there was, there was no one better than our God).

##### SS:2

'do	dānag	'brās	atant	hamsā'eg	atant
do	dānag	brās	=at-ant	hamsāeg	=at-ant
two	CL	brother	=COP.PST.3SG-3PL	neighbour	=COP.PST.3SG-3PL

There were two brothers, they were neighbours.

##### SS:3

ā'wānī	je'nenā	xo'dā	aw'lād	dāt	'gošt
ā-wān-ī	jenēn-ā	xodā	awlād	dāt-Ø	gošt-Ø
DIST-OBL.PL-GEN	wife-OBL	God	child.PL	give.PST-3SG	say.PST-3SG

'ay	lā'lā	aga	'tī	xā'nomā	xo'dā	'zāgē	'dāt
ay	lālā	aga	tī	xānom-ā	xodā	zāg=ē	dāt-Ø
VOC	brother	if	PN.2SG.GEN	wife-OBL	God	child=IND	give.PST-3SG

je'nekē	'būt	o	'mnī	xā'nomay	ba'čakē
jenek=ē	būt-Ø	=o	mnī	xānom=ay	bačak=ē
girl=IND	become.PST-3SG	=and	PN.1SG.GEN	wife=PC.3SG	son=IND

A. Text Corpus

'būt                      'tī                      ĵe'nek 'mnī                      zā'gay  
 būt-Ø                      tī                      ĵenek mnī                      zāg-ay  
 become.PST-3SG PN.2SG.GEN girl PN.1SG.GEN child-GEN

God gave [each of] their wives a child; [one of them] (lit. he) said, “Oh brother, if God gives your wife a baby [and] it is a girl and my wife’s is a boy, then they will marry each other later on (lit. your girl will be my child’s).”

SS:4

'gošte                      'bītogō                      'lālā                      'maga                      'mnī                      'zāg  
 gošt=e                      bītogō                      lālā                      maga                      mnī                      zāg  
 say.PST=PC.3SG no problem brother Question PN.1SG.GEN child

'mnī                      ĵa'nek ša                      'tī                      zā'gā                      'bālāter o  
 mnī                      ĵanek ša                      tī                      zāg-ā                      bālā-ter =o  
 PN.1SG.GEN girl from PN.2SG.GEN child-OBL up-CMP =FOC

nahen                      ka'rār o 'borr būt                      o                      'ēštant  
 nahen                      karār o borr būt-Ø                      =o                      ēšt-ant  
 NEG.COP.NPST.3SG agreement become.PST-3SG =and leave.PST-3PL

He said, “It’s alright, brother, my child, my daughter, is not better than your child.”; they made an agreement (lit. there was an agreement) and went (lit. left).

SS:5

'šotant                      tā 'yak zamā'nagē ke                      ĵe'nek ham 'tū būt  
 šot-ant                      tā yak zamānag=e ke                      ĵenek ham tū būt-Ø  
 go.PST-3PL till one period=IND CLM girl ADD big become.PST-3SG

o                      ba'čak ham 'tū būt                      ham'sar 'močče  
 =o                      bačak ham tū būt-Ø                      hamsar močče=e  
 =and boy ADD big become.PST-3SG age mate all=PC.3SG

ge'sī                      o                      ārō'sī                      būtan                      ba'čak  
 ges-ī                      =o                      ārōs-ī                      būt-an                      bačak  
 house-ADJZ =and wedding celebration-ADVZ become.PST-3PL boy

eda'hā ko                      pa ge'sā  
 edahā ko-Ø                      pa ges-ā  
 request do.PST-3SG for house-OBL

They went, some time [passed] till when the girl grew up and the boy grew up as well; [their] age-mates all got married; the boy wished to get married (lit.

for house).

**SS:6**

'ā 'brāsē ke wa'tī ĵe'nekā be wa'tī brā'sā  
 ā brās=ē ke wat-ī ĵenek-ā be wat-ī brās-ā  
 DIST brother=IND CLM REFL-GEN girl-OBL to REFL-GEN brother-OBL

'gōl dāt 'ā sarma'dār at 'ē  
 gōl dāt-Ø ā sarmadār =at-Ø ē  
 promise give.PST-3SG DIST rich =COP.PST.3SG-3SG PROX

ġa'ribē at 'ē māl'dār o šwā'nagē  
 ġarīb=ē =at-Ø ē maldār =o šwānag=ē  
 poor=IND =COP.PST.3SG-3SG PROX pastoralist =and shepherd=IND

at bād 'zāg 'yak zamā'nagē āt o  
 =at-Ø bād zāg yak zamānag=ē āt =o  
 =COP.PST.3SG-3SG then child one period=IND come.PST =and

ej'bār ko ke 'mnā zā'mās kan  
 ejbār ko-Ø ke mnā zāmās Ø-kan-Ø  
 insistence do.PST-3SG CLM PN.1SG.OBJ bridegroom IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

That brother who promised his daughter to his brother was a rich man; [but] this [other] brother was poor; he was a pastoralist and a shepherd; then, at a certain time, the boy came and insisted; [he said] /that/ “Get me married (lit. make me a bridegroom).”

**SS:7**

'gošte ke 'bābā 'man 'yak 'waxtē 'hamē  
 gošt=e ke bābā man yak waxt=ē ham=ē  
 say.PST=PC.3SG CLM father PN.1SG one time=IND EMPH=PROX

ran'gēn a'barē būta aga 'tī  
 rang-ēn abar=ē būt-a=Ø aga tī  
 kind-ATTR word=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG if PN.2SG.GEN

nā'kō wa'tī ka'rāray 'sarā oš'tāt o 'mana  
 nākō wat-ī karār-ay sarā oštāt-Ø =o man=a  
 uncle REFL-GEN agreement-GEN on stay.PST-3SG =and PN.1SG=VCL

A. Text Corpus

<i>ra'īn</i>	<i>pa kāse'dīyā</i>	<i>aga 'naōštāt</i>	<i>'lālā</i>
ra-īn	pa kāsedi-yā	aga na-ōštāt-Ø	lālā
go.NPST-1SG	for proposal-OBL	if NEG-stay.PST-3SG	brother

<i>'trā</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>'jāhē</i>	<i>zā'māsa</i>	<i>kanīn</i>
trā	dega	jāh=ē	zāmās=a	kan-īn
PN.2SG.OBJ	another	place=IND	bridegroom=VCL	do.NPST-1SG

He said /that/, “My dear (lit. father), once there has been such an issue (lit. a word); If your uncle keeps his promise I will go to propose, [and] if he doesn't keep it, my dear, I will propose to someone else for you (lit. I will make you a groom somewhere else).”

SS:8

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'bāyed</i>	<i>'beraway</i>	<i>'goš</i>	<i>'ay</i>
gošt=e	ta	bāyed	be-raw-ay	goš-Ø	ay
say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.2SG	must	SBJV-go.NPST-2SG	say.PST-3SG	VOC

<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'mana</i>	<i>'dēm</i>	<i>'maday</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>xajā'latta</i>
bābā	man-a	dēm	ma-day	man	xajālatt=a
father	PN.1SG-OBL	face	PROH-give.NPST	PN.1SG	shy=VCL

<i>bahīn</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ġa'rīb</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>sarmāya'dārē</i>
ba-hīn	man	ġarīb	=on	ā	sarmāyadār=ē
become.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG	poor	=COP.NPST.1SG	DIST	merchant=IND

<i>tā'jerēn</i>	<i>e</i>
tājēr-ēn	=e
merchant-ATTR	=IND

He said, “You must go”; [his father] said, “Oh son (lit. father), do not send me; I feel embarrassed; I am poor [and] he is rich; he is a merchant.”

SS:9

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'bāyed</i>	<i>'braway</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>'ta</i>
gošt=e	na	bāyed	b-raw-ay	aga	ta
say.PST=PC.3SG	no	must	SBJV-go.NPST-2SG	if	PN.2SG

<i>'maraway</i>	<i>'mna</i>	<i>'narahīn</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>pa'sān</i>
ma-raw-ay	mn=a	na-ra-hīn	gō	pas-ān
PROH-go.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG=VCL	NEG-go.NPST-1SG	with	sheep-OBL.PL

He said, “No you must go, if you don't go, I will not go with the sheep.”



**SS:10**

'ē ma'rōčī 'šot brā'sā 'nadīst  
 ē marōčī šot-Ø brās-ā na-dīst-Ø  
 PROX today go.PST-3SG brother-OBL NEG-see.PST-3SG

That day he went [but] he did not see his brother.

**SS:11**

bān'dā 'āt brā'sā 'nadīst  
 bāndā āt-Ø brās-ā na-dīst-Ø  
 tomorrow come.PST-3SG brother-OBL NEG-see.PST-3SG

The day after he came [but] he did not see him.

**SS:12**

je'nek be ge'sā en je'nekā gen'dīt  
 jenek be ges-ā =en jenek-ā gend-īt  
 girl at house-OBL =COP.NPST.3SG girl-OBL see.NPST-3SG

The girl was at home, [and] he met (lit.saw) the girl.

**SS:13**

do'mīēn rō'čā ke 'šot je'nek 'sōj ko  
 do-mī-ēn rōč-ā ke šot-Ø jenek sōj ko-Ø  
 two-ORD-ATTR day-OBL CLM go.PST-3SG girl question do.PST-3SG

ke 'kākā 'ta 'čōn ay goš'nag ay  
 ke kākā ta čōn =ay gošnag =ay  
 CLM uncle PN.2SG how =COP.NPST.2SG hungry =COP.NPST.2SG

twān... ta'wān 'nadāray 'xwār ay 'ta  
 twān tawān na-dār-ay xwār =ay ta  
 power power NEG-have.NPST-2SG poor =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG

'čīze 'nadāray 'ta gō 'man 'bgoš  
 čīz=e na-dār-ay ta gō man b-goš-Ø  
 thing=EZ NEG-have.NPST-2SG PN.2SG with PN.1SG SBJV-say.NPST-2SG

'gošte 'na 'kākā hē'čī 'man 'gō 'tī  
 gošt=e na kākā hēčī man gō tī  
 say.PST=PC.3SG no uncle nothing PN.1SG with PN.2SG.GEN

## A. Text Corpus

*pe'sā*      *'kārē*      *'dārīn*  
 pes-ā      kār=ē      dār-īn  
 father-OBL deed=IND have.NPST-1SG

When he went the second day, the girl asked him [she said] /that/, “Uncle, how are things with you?; are you hungry?; power... don't you have any money (lit. power)?; are you poor?; don't you have anything, tell me”; he said, “No dear (lit. uncle), [I need] nothing; [but] I have some business with your father.”

### SS:14

*ōs'tāt*              *ša'mē*                      *am'bāray*              *tā le'bās o*  
 ōstāt-Ø              šamē                      ambār-ay              tā lebās =o  
 stand.PST-3SG from.EMPH.PROX storehouse-GEN in clothes =and

*čīz 'mīz pa wa'tī*      *nākō'zākān*      *'jam*      *kort*      *wa'tī*  
 čīz mīz pa wat-ī      nākōzāk-ān      jam      kort-Ø      wat-ī  
 stuff for REFL-GEN cousin-OBL.PL gathered do.PST-3SG REFL-GEN

*nā'kōā*      *baḏ'ḏokē*              *'dāt*              *'ē*      *'šo*  
 nākō-ā      baḏḏ-ok=ē              dāt-Ø              ē      šo-Ø  
 uncle-OBL shoulder-EV=IND give.PST-3SG PROX go.PST-3SG

*'gošte*              *'kākā aga ša'pī*              *'āt*              *'tī*  
 gošt=e              kākā aga šap-ī              āt-Ø              tī  
 say.PST=PC.3SG uncle if night-ADVZ come.PST-3SG PN.2SG.GEN

*'pes gō 'man... pa āt*      *ha'bar 'bday*              *ke*  
 pes gō man pa āī      habar b-day-Ø              ke  
 father with PN.1SG for DIST.OBL word IMPV-give.NPST-2SG CLM

*'man 'gō 'tī*              *pe'sā*      *a'barē*      *dār'īn*  
 man gō tī              pes-ā      abar=ē      dār-īn  
 PN.1SG with PN.2SG.GEN father-OBL word=IND have.NPST-1SG

She stood up [and] collected, clothes and stuff for her cousins from the storehouse [and] she gave a small bag to her uncle; he went [and] said, “My dear (lit. uncle), tonight if your father comes, with me... tell him about me that I have some business with your father.”

## SS:15

'gošte                    'bītogo   'kākā   xodāpī'zī   kort            o        'šot  
 gošt=e                bītogo   kākā   xodāpīzī   kort-Ø            =o        šot-Ø  
 say.PST=PC.3SG   alright   uncle   goodbye   do.PST-3SG   =and   go.PST-3SG

'wtī                ge'sā  
 wtī                ges-ā  
 REFL.GEN   house-OBL

She said, “Alright uncle”; he said goodbye and returned to his house.

## SS:16

bē'gāhī                ba'čak   'āt                    'gošte                    'mnī  
 bēgāh-ī                bačak   āt-Ø                    gošt=e                    mnī  
 evening-ADVZ   boy   come.PST-3SG   say.PST=PC.3SG   PN.1SG.GEN

ja'wāb   'bābā   'gošte                    'bābā   ma'rōčī   ham   'šoton  
 jawāb   bābā   gošt=e                    bābā   marōčī   ham   šot-on  
 answer   father   say.PST=PC.3SG   father   today   ADD   go.PST-1SG

'tī                    nā'kōā            'nadīston                    'bale   'tī  
 tī                    nākō-ā            na-dīst-on                    bale   tī  
 PN.2SG.GEN   uncle-OBL   NEG-see.PST-1SG   but   PN.2SG.GEN

nākō'zākā   so'gā                    kor'tagon                    ke  
 nākōzāk-ā   sogā                    kort-ag=on                    ke  
 cousin-OBL   recommendation   do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG   CLM

ša'pī                gō   'tī                    pe'sā...            gō   'tī                    nā'kōā  
 šap-ī                gō   tī                    pes-ā                gō   tī                    nākō-ā  
 night-ADVZ   with   PN.2SG.GEN   father-OBL   with   PN.2SG.GEN   uncle-OBL

a'bar   'dan                    goš'ta                    'bītogo  
 abar   Ø-dan-Ø                    gošt-a=Ø                    bītogo  
 word   SBJV-give.NPST-3SG   say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG   alright

In the evening, the boy came, he said, “[What is] the answer for me, father?”; [the father] said, “I went [there] today as well; I didn’t see your uncle; but I have told your cousin, to speak with your father... your uncle tonight; she said, alright”.

A. Text Corpus

SS:17

š'a'pī ke 'āt je'nek gō 'wtī pe'sā  
 šap-ī ke āt-Ø jenek gō wtī pes-ā  
 night-ADVZ CLM come.PST-3SG girl with REFL.GEN father-OBL

'gošt 'ay 'bābā 'byā ke ma'rōčī 'do  
 gošt-Ø ay bābā by-ā-Ø ke marōčī do  
 say.PST-3SG VOC father IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM today two

rōč'en ke 'mnī nā'kō 'rawt o  
 rōč=en ke mnī nākō raw-t =o  
 day=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.1SG.GEN uncle go.NPST-3SG =and

'kayt goš'ta 'bābā 'ē... 'sōj  
 k-ay-t gošt-a=Ø bābā ē sōj  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG father PROX question

'nakortay 'ē 'xwār en goš'nag en  
 na-kort-ay ē xwār =en gošnag =en  
 NEG-do.PST-2SG PROX poor =COP.NPST.3SG hungry =COP.NPST.3SG

bī'pūl en pa'čē 'ē 'do 'rōč  
 bīpūl =en pačē ē do rōč  
 without money =COP.NPST.3SG why PROX two day

'āta goš'ta 'ay 'bābā  
 āt-a=Ø gošt-a=Ø ay bābā  
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG VOC father

'man 'sōj kortaon goš'ta  
 man sōj kort-a=on gošt-a=Ø  
 PN.1SG question do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'man gō 'tī pe'sā 'kār dā'rīn 'man  
 man gō tī pes-ā kār dār-īn man  
 PN.1SG with PN.2SG.GEN father-OBL work have.NPST-1SG PN.1SG

'gō 'tī pe'sā a'bar dā'rīn  
 gō tī pes-ā abar dār-īn  
 with PN.2SG.GEN father-OBL word have.NPST-1SG

A.3. Text 3: The Shepherd's Son

<i>'byā</i>		<i>'man</i>	<i>čīz</i>	<i>'mīzē</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>āje'zagān</i>	<i>ʃam</i>
by-ā-Ø		man	čīz	mīz=e	pa	ājezag-ān	ʃam
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG		PN.1SG	stuff=IND	for	girl-OBL.PL	gathered	

<i>korton</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>dā'tagon</i>		<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'bītogo</i>
kort-on	=o	dāt-ag=on		gošt=e	bītogo
do.PST-1SG	=and	give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG		say.PST=PC.3SG	alright

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'bāndā</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>nā'kōa</i>
gošt=e	bābā	bāndā	mnī	nākō=a
say.PST=PC.3SG	father	tomorrow	PN.1SG.GEN	uncle=VCL

<i>'kay</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>nā'kōay</i>	<i>ʃa'wābā</i>
k-ay-Ø	mnī	nākō-ay	ʃawāb-ā
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.GEN	uncle-GEN	answer-OBL

<i>'bday</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'bītogo</i>
b-day-Ø	gošt=e	bītogo
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	alright

In the evening, when the father (lit. he) came, the girl told him (lit. his father) “Oh father, look, today is the second day that my uncle keeps coming (lit. goes and comes”); he said, “My dear (lit. father), haven’t you asked [if] he is hungry, [if] he is poor, [if] he lacks money?; why has he come these two days?”; she said, “Oh father, I asked, he said, I have some business with your father; I have to talk with your father, [and] you know, I have collected some stuff for his daughters and given to him”; he said, “Alright”; she said, “Father, tomorrow my uncle will come, give an answer to my uncle”; he said, “Ok.”

**SS:18**

<i>'bāndā</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>'āt</i>
bāndā	brās	āt-Ø
tomorrow	brother	come.PST-3SG

The day after [his] brother came.

**SS:19**

<i>'bāndā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>'āt</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'lālā</i>	<i>'man</i>
bāndā	ke	brās	āt-Ø	gošt=e	lālā	man
tomorrow	CLM	brother	come.PST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	brother	PN.1SG

A. Text Corpus

'say rō'č en ke kâ'in 'mnī  
 say rōč =en ke k-â-in mnī  
 three sun =COP.NPST.3SG CLM IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG PN.1SG.GEN

ja'wābā 'bday maš'mā ga'rārē  
 jawāb-ā b-day-Ø mašmā garār=e  
 answer-OBL IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1PL.INCL agreement=IND

'dāštan maš'mā ka'rār kortan maš'mā  
 dāšt-an mašmā karār kort-an mašmā  
 have.PST-1PL PN.1PL.INCL agreement do.PST-1PL PN.1PL.INCL

'ād kortan ke 'trā xo'dā je'nekē  
 ād kort-an ke trā xodā jenek=e  
 covenant do.PST-1PL CLM PN.2SG.OBJ God girl=IND

dā'ta o 'mnā ba'čakē  
 dāt-a=Ø =o mnā bačak=e  
 give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and PN.1SG.OBJ son=IND

dā'ta 'nūn moč'če ge'sī o  
 dāt-a=Ø nūn močč-e ges-ī =o  
 give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG now all-ATTR house-ADJZ =and

ārō'sī 'būta ba'čak  
 ārōs-ī būt-a=Ø bačak  
 wedding celebration-ADVZ become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG boy

'mnī sa'rā ej'bār kor'ta 'man o  
 mnī sarā ejbār kort-a=Ø man =o  
 PN.1SG.GEN on insistence do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG =FOC

ešto'bā korton hamēran'gēn a'barē 'dāton  
 eštobā kort-on ham=e-rang-ēn abar=e dāt-on  
 mistake do.PST-1SG EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR word=IND give.PST-1SG

ke 'tī nā'kō ka'rār kor'ta ke  
 ke tī nākō karār kort-a=Ø ke  
 CLM PN.2SG.GEN uncle agreement do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM

A.3. Text 3: The Shepherd's Son

'wtī      ĵe'nekā    'trā...      'ta      'wtī      mā'say  
 wtī      ĵenek-ā    trā      ta      wtī      mās-ay  
 REFL.GEN    girl-OBL    PN.2SG.OBJ    PN.2SG    REFL.GEN    mother-GEN

lā'pā      bū'tagay      ka'rār  
 lāp-ā      būt-ag=ay      karār  
 belly-OBL    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG    agreement

kor'ta      ke    'wtī      ĵe'nekā    'trā  
 kort-a=Ø      ke    wtī      ĵenek-ā    trā  
 do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    CLM    REFL.GEN    girl-OBL    PN.2SG.OBJ

'bdant      ham'mā      'yak    ka'rār o 'borrē    'kortan  
 b-dan-t      hammā      yak    karār o borrh=ē    kort-an  
 SBJV-give.NPST-3SG    PN.1PL.EXCL    one    agreement=IND    do.PST-1PL

'ād      o    ka'lām    'dāran      o    'annūn    'zāg    'mnī  
 ād      =o    kalām    dār-an      =o    annūn    zāg    mnī  
 covenant    =and    word    have.NPST-1PL    =and    now    child    PN.1SG.GEN

ĵa'wāba      'nadant      o    'annū    'lālā    'man    ma'rōčī  
 ĵawāb=a      na-dan-t      =o    annū    lālā    man    marōčī  
 answer=VCL    NEG-give.NPST-3SG    =and    now    brother    PN.1SG    today

ša'pī      ke    ā'tagon      'zīom  
 šap-ī      ke    āt-ag=on      zī=om  
 night-ADVZ    CLM    come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG    yesterday=ADD

'ātono      p'arērī      ham    'ātono      ma'rōčī  
 āt-on=o      parērī      ham    āt-on=o      marōčī  
 come.PST-1SG=and    before yesterday    ADD    come.PST-1SG=and    today

om    'man    'āton      'annūn    'byā      'lālā  
 =om    man    āt-on      annūn    by-ā-Ø      lālā  
 =ADD    PN.1SG    come.PST-1SG    now    IMPV-come.NPST-2SG    brother

'mnī      ĵa'wāba      'bday      ke    'wtī      ĵe'nekā  
 mnī      ĵawāb-a      b-day-Ø      ke    wtī      ĵenek-ā  
 PN.1SG.GEN    answer-OBL    IMPV-give.NPST-2SG    CLM    REFL.GEN    girl-OBL

## A. Text Corpus

<i>be 'mnī</i>	<i>zā'gā</i>	<i>da'yay</i>	<i>yā 'nadayay</i>
be mnī	zāg-ā	day-ay	yā na-day-ay
to PN.1SG.GEN	child-OBL	give.NPST-2SG	or NEG-give.NPST-2SG

The day after, when his brother came, he said, “Oh brother, it is third days /that/ I am coming [here], give me an answer; we had an agreement; we have agreed; we have promised that [if] God would give you a daughter and me a son...; now all have got married and [my] son has forced me; I made a mistake and told such a thing that your uncle has promised before you were born (lit. you were in your mother’s belly); he had made an agreement to give his daughter to you; we had an agreement and have promised; now my son does not listen to me and now, brother; I have come today; this evening I came yesterday as well; I came the day before yesterday as well, [and] today I have come as well; now, brother, give me an answer; do you give your daughter to my son or don’t you?”

### SS:20

<i>'gošt</i>	<i>'na 'lālā</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>je'nekē</i>	<i>'nadārīn</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>be</i>
gošt-Ø	na lālā	man	jenek=e	na-dār-īn	ke	be
say.PST-3SG	no brother	PN.1SG	girl=IND	NEG-have.NPST-1SG	CLM	to

<i>šwā'nagē</i>	<i>'bdaīn</i>	<i>šwā'nagē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'tārī</i>
šwānag=e	b-da-īn	šwānag=e	ke	tārī
shepherd=IND	SBJV-give.NPST-1SG	shepherd=IND	CLM	morning

<i>'laṭṭē</i>	<i>dār'rīto</i>	<i>bē'gāhī</i>	<i>'rawto</i>
laṭṭ=e	dār-īt=o	bēgāh-ī	raw-t=o
wooden stick=IND	have.NPST-3SG=and	evening-ADVZ	go.NPST-3SG=and

<i>'kayt</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>je'nekē</i>
k-ay-t	man	jenek=e
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG	girl=IND

<i>'nasātetagon</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ēran'gēn</i>	<i>'jāhē</i>
na-sātet-ag=on	ke	ē-rang-ēn	jāh=e
NEG-hold.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	CLM	PROX-kind-ATTR	place=IND

<i>'bdaīn</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>ka'rārē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>maš'mā</i>	<i>'ā</i>
b-da-īn	ā	karār=e	ke	mašmā	ā
SBJV-give.NPST-1SG	DIST	agreement=IND	CLM	PN.1PL.INCL	DIST



<i>wax'tā</i>	<i>kor'tagan</i>	<i>ā'wānā</i>	<i>be'hōš</i>
wax-t-ā	kort-ag=an	āwānā	behōš
time-OBL	do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL	DIST.OBL.PL.OBJ	forgotten

*kan*

Ø-kan-Ø

IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

He said, “No, brother, I don’t have any daughter /that/ to give to a sheperd who has a wooden stick and goes in the morning and comes back in the evening; I haven’t raised a daughter to give her to such a person (lit. place); forget that arrangment that we had set up, at that time.”

**SS:21**

<i>'hēčī</i>	<i>ša'mōdā</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>aga pa</i>	<i>'yak</i>	<i>'šartē</i>
hēčī	šamōdā	gošt=e	aga pa	yak	šart=e
nothing	from.EMPH.there	say.PST=PC.3SG	if	for one	condition=IND

<i>da'īn</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>je'nekā</i>	<i>'tī</i>	<i>zā'gā</i>	<i>ke</i>
da-īn	wat-ī	jenek-ā	tī	zāg-ā	ke
give.NPST-1SG	REFL-GEN	girl-OBL	PN.2SG.GEN	child-OBL	CLM

<i>'tī</i>	<i>'zāg</i>	<i>'braw</i>	<i>mo'lā</i>	<i>nay'dar</i>	<i>jānī</i>
tī	zāg	b-raw-Ø	molā	naydarjān-ī	
PN.2SG.GEN	child	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG	Mullah	Neydar	Jan-GEN

<i>'elmo</i>	<i>'darso</i>	<i>el'may</i>	<i>'bzūrīt</i>
elm=o	dars=o	elm=ay	b-zūr-īt
knowledge=and	lesson=and	knowledge=PC.3SG	SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

<i>o</i>	<i>āle'mīay</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'čō</i>	<i>mā'īyā</i>	<i>'dars</i>
=o	ālemī=ay	=o	ā	čō	m=ā-īyā	dars
=and	knowledge=PC.3SG	=and	DIST	like	EMPH=DIST-LOC	lesson

<i>'bwānī</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>das'tay</i>	<i>čē'rā</i>	<i>'elmo</i>
b-wān-ī	āī	dast-ay	čērā	elm=o
SBJV-read.NPST-3SG	DIST.OBL	hand-GEN	under	knowledge=and

<i>ā'lemā</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>	<i>dar'sā</i>	<i>'bzūrīt</i>	<i>'ēdā</i>
ālem-ā	āī	dars-ā	b-zūr-īt	ēdā
wise man-OBL	DIST.OBL	lesson-OBL	SBJV-take.NPST-3SG	here

A. Text Corpus

<i>'bayt</i>	<i>'mesle amā'īyā</i>	<i>go'rā wa'tī</i>
Ø-bay-t	mesle am=ā-īyā	goṙā wat-ī
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	like EMPH=DIST-LOC	then REFL-GEN

*je'nekā da'īn*  
 ĵenek-ā da-īn  
 girl-OBL give.NPST-1SG

That's all (lit. nothing), [then] he said, "I will give my daughter to your son on one condition, that your son goes and learns Mullah Neykadar Jan's knowledge (lit. lesson and knowledge) and he should study like him; study under him; he should learn his knowledge; the lessons [he teaches] [become] like him and come [back] here, then I will give my daughter [to him]."

SS:22

<i>'ē ša'mādā</i>	<i>bad'baxt 'gār o</i>	<i>par'yād 'korto</i>
ē šam=ādā	badbaxt gār =o	paryād kort-Ø=o
PROX from-EMPH=there	poor cry =and	scream do.PST-3SG=and

<i>'ē 'āt</i>	<i>gō wa'tī</i>	<i>je'nenā 'gošt</i>	<i>ā'ī</i>
ē āt-Ø	gō wat-ī	ĵenēn-ā gošt-Ø	āī
PROX come.PST-3SG	with REFL-GEN	wife-OBL say.PST-3SG	DIST.OBL

<i>das'tay čē'rā 'harkas 'braw</i>	<i>'bera</i>
dast-ay čērā harkas b-raw-Ø	ber=a
hand-GEN under whoever	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG PREV=VCL

<i>'nagardī de'ga 'ē de'ga dās'tānē 'at</i>
na-gard-ī dega ē dega dāstān=ē =at
NEG-turn.NPST-3SG you know PROX another story=IND =COP.PST.3SG

The poor fellow cried [all the way] from there and came back [and] said to his wife, "Nobody who goes to him returns again; it is impossible (lit. this would be a different story)."

SS:23

<i>bē'gāhī mar'dak āt</i>	<i>mar'dak del'xor ūt</i>
bēgāh-ī mard-ak āt-Ø	mard-ak delxor ūt-Ø
evening-ADVZ man-EV come.PST-3SG	man-EV sad become.PST-3SG

<i>o 'āt ša o'tī brāse'yā 'zār ūt</i>
=o āt-Ø ša o'tī brās-eyā zār ūt-Ø
=and come.PST-3SG from REFL.GEN brother-LOC sad become.PST-3SG

A.3. Text 3: The Shepherd's Son

'āt                      'ēdā ke 'āt                      ĵe'nēne                      'sōĵ  
 āt-Ø                      ēdā ke āt-Ø                      ĵenēn=e                      sōĵ  
 come.PST-3SG here CLM come.PST-3SG wife=PC.3SG question

ko                      'gošte                      'byāke                      'ta                      'čīya  
 ko-Ø                      gošt=e                      by-ā-ke                      ta                      čī=ya  
 do.PST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG SBJV-come.NPST-CLM PN.2SG what=VCL

kanay                      ke 'mnī                      'brās                      'ē ran'gēn                      a'barē  
 kan-ay                      ke mnī                      brās                      ē-rang-ēn                      abar=ē  
 do.NPST-2SG CLM PN.1SG.GEN brother PROX-kind-ATTR word=IND

dā'ta    ke 'tī                      'zāg 'bāyed  
 dāt-a=Ø    ke tī                      zāg bāyed  
 give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.2SG.GEN child must

'braw                      mo'lā                      nay'dar 'ĵānī                      dar'sā                      o  
 b-raw-Ø                      molā                      naydarĵān-ī                      dars-ā                      =o  
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG Mullah Neydar Jan-GEN lesson-OBL =and

el'may                      'bzūrīt                      'čō mā'īyā  
 elm=ay                      b-zūr-īt                      čō m=ā-īyā  
 knowledge=PC.3SG SBJV-take.NPST-3SG like EMPH=DIST-LOC

'bīt    go'ṛān 'man                      wa'tī                      ĵe'nekā                      ĵe'nekā  
 Ø-b-īt    goṛān man                      wat-ī                      ĵenek-ā                      ĵenek-ā  
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG then PN.1SG REFL-GEN girl-OBL girl-OBL

da'īn                      'man                      'wtī                      zā'gā...                      ĵe'nekā                      be šwā'nagē  
 da-īn                      man                      wtī                      zāg-ā                      ĵenek-ā                      be šwānag=ē  
 give.NPST-1SG PN.1SG REFL.GEN child-OBL girl-OBL to shepherd=IND

'nadaīn  
 na-da-īn  
 NEG-give.NPST-1SG

In the evening, the man came back; he became offended and angry with his brother [and] returned home; he became offended and came back; he became angry and came back from his brother; when he came back home (lit. here); his wife asked “[What had happened]”; he said, “You know, what to do /that/, my brother has said such a thing; [he] said /that/, your son should go [and] learn Mullah Neydar Jan’s knowledge and the lesson [which] he teaches (lit. his lessons) [and] become like him, then I will give my daughter to [him] I

A. Text Corpus

will not give my child... daughter to a shepherd.”

SS:24

<i>ja'nak</i>	<i>yā'seno šā'sen</i>	<i>ko</i>		<i>'gošt</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>'zāg</i>
jan-ak	yāseno šāsen	ko-Ø		gošt-Ø	mnī	zāg
woman-EV	scream	do.PST-3SG		say.PST-3SG	PN.1SG.GEN	child

<i>ke</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>'braw</i>		<i>be</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>'molkē</i>	<i>dū'rī</i>	<i>ke</i>
ke	ōdā	b-raw-Ø		be	ā	molk=ē	dūr=ī	ke
CLM	there	SBJV-go.NPST-3SG		to	DIST	land=EZ	far away=IND	CLM

<i>'dūren</i>		<i>ā'ī</i>		<i>das'tay</i>	<i>čē'rā</i>	<i>'āerā</i>
dūr=en		āī		dast-ay	čērā	āerā
far away=COP.NPST.3SG		DIST.OBL		hand-GEN	under	DIST.OBL.OBJ

<i>'wārt</i>	<i>'ā</i>	<i>gō'jā</i>	<i>dawā'rag</i>	<i>'bera</i>	<i>gardī</i>	<i>'ā</i>
wārt-Ø	ā	gōjā	dawārag	ber=a	gard-ī	ā
eat.PST-3SG	DIST	how	again	PREV=VCL	turn.NPST-3SG	DIST

*bozlan'gīē*  
bozlangī=ē  
demon=IND

The woman cried and mourned [and] said, “If my child goes there, to such a remote land which is far away, under his hand; he will put an end to (lit. eat) him, how will [my child] return; he is a demon.”

SS:25

<i>'āt</i>	<i>'hēcī</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'wtī</i>	<i>'gāro</i>	<i>par'yādā</i>
āt-Ø	hēcī	=o	wtī	gār=o	paryād-ā
come.PST-3SG	nothing	=and	REFL.GEN	cry=and	scream-OBL

<i>kor'tant</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'zāg</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>je'nek</i>	<i>'močč</i>	<i>'sī</i>	<i>'būtan</i>
kort-ant	ē	zāg	=o	jenek	močč	sī	būt-an
do.PST-3PL	PROX	child	=and	girl	all	inform	become.PST-3PL

<i>'zāg</i>	<i>bē'gāhī</i>	<i>āt</i>
zāg	bēgāh-ī	āt-Ø
child	evening-ADVZ	come.PST-3SG

He came, that's all, and they cried (lit. cried and screamed) [and] all [their] sons and daughters got aware [of this problem]; in the evening, the boy came.

## SS:26

*bē'gāh 'gošte 'bābā 'mnī ja'wāb 'gošte*  
*bēgāh gošt=e bābā mnī jawāb gošt=e*  
 evening say.PST=PC.3SG father PN.1SG.GEN answer say.PST=PC.3SG

*'bābā 'trā... dega rō'čē 'bābā ma'rōčī*  
*bābā trā dega rōč=e bābā marōčī*  
 father PN.2SG.OBJ another day=IND father today

*'nadīstaon 'gošte 'na 'mnī*  
*na-dīst-a=on gošt=e na mnī*  
 NEG-see.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG say.PST=PC.3SG no PN.1SG.GEN

*ja'wābā 'bday*  
*jawāb-ā b-day-Ø*  
 answer-OBL IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

In the evening, he said, “Father, the (lit. my) answer?”; he said, “My dear, another day, my son (lit. father), today I have not seen [him]” ; the boy (lit. he) said, “No, give me the answer.”

## SS:27

*goš'ta 'bābā 'amā a'barē ke*  
*gošt-a=Ø bābā am=ā abar=e ke*  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG father EMPH=DIST word=IND CLM

*rās'tēne pa 'ta 'gošīn 'ta... 'jāhē*  
*rāst-ēn=e pa ta goš-īn ta jāh=e*  
 truth-ATTR=IND for PN.2SG say.NPST-1SG PN.2SG place=IND

*'mnā goš'ta ke 'mabīt*  
*mnā gošt-a=Ø ke ma-b-īt*  
 PN.1SG.OBJ say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PROH-become.NPST-3SG

*'gošte 'bābā 'yak mar'domē 'yak ā'lemē*  
*gošt=e bābā yak mardom=e yak ālem=e*  
 say.PST=PC.3SG father one people=IND one wise man=IND

*'ast mo'lā nay'dar 'jāna 'šant ke xo'dāye*  
*ast-Ø molā naydarjān=a š-ant ke xodā-ye*  
 be.NPST-3SG Mullah Neydar Jan=VCL say.NPST-3PL CLM God-GEN

A. Text Corpus

*ban'dag*      *ā'ī*              *das'tay*      *čē'rā*      *'dars*      *'bwānīt*  
 bandag      āī              dast-ay      čērā      dars      b-wān-īt  
 human being      DIST.GEN      hand-GEN      under      lesson      SBJV-read.NPST-3SG

*o*      *ā'ī*              *el'mā*              *'bzūrīt*              *de'ga*      *'bera*  
 =o      āī              elm-ā              b-zūr-īt              dega      ber=a  
 =and      DIST.OBL      knowledge-OBL      SBJV-take.NPST-3SG      then      PREV=VCL

*'nagardīt*              *'ārā*              *'wā*              *de'ga*      *'zyāna*  
 na-gard-īt              ārā              wā-Ø              dega      zyān=a  
 NEG-turn.NPST-3SG      DIST.OBL.OBJ      eat.NPST-3SG      you know      lost=VCL

*kant*  
 kan-t  
 do.NPST-3SG

He said, “My dear, I tell you the truth; he told me [about] a place that wouldn’t work; he said, “My dear (lit. father), there is a man, a wise man, called Mullah Neydar Jan; they are said /that/ [if] anyone studies under him and learns his knowledge; then he will not return; he will destroy (lit. eat) him, you know; get rid of him.”

**SS:28**

*'goštī*              *'bītogo*      *'mana*              *'raīn*              *pa*      *'šarte*  
 gošt=ī              bītogo      man=a              ra-īn              pa      šart=e  
 say.PST=PC.3SG      alright      PN.1SG=VCL      go.NPST-1SG      for      condition=EZ

*ke*      *'ā*      *'mnā*              *'bdant*              *'anū*      *ke*      *'ē*  
 ke      ā      mnā              b-dan-t              anū      ke      ē  
 CLM      DIST      PN.1SG.OBJ      SBJV-give.NPST-3SG      now      CLM      PROX

*'abare*              *'saren*              *'man*      *a'mē*              *šar'tay*  
 abar-e              sar=en              man      am=ē              šart-ay  
 word-GEN      head=COP.NPST.3SG      PN.1SG      EMPH=PROX      condition-GEN

*sa'rā*      *ra'īn*  
 sarā      ra-īn  
 on      go.NPST-1SG

He said, “Alright, I will go on the condition that he will give [his daughter] to me; now that he has agreed to this (lit. is on this word) I will go on this condition.”

**SS:29**

'gošte                    'bītogo ra'īn  
 gošt=e                    bītogo ra-īn  
 say.PST=PC.3SG alright go.NPST-1SG

He said, "Alright, I will go."

**SS:30**

a'mē                    'bāndā    ra'magā    'wayl korto            'ē            'zāg  
 am=e                    bāndā    ramag-ā    wayl kort=o            ē            zāg  
 EMPH=PROX tomorrow herd-OBL loose do.PST=and PROX child

rā'dag ūt                                    pa'mādā  
 rādag ūt-Ø                                    pamādā  
 ready become.PST-3SG for.EMPH.there

In the morning, he left the herd [of goat and sheep] and this boy (lit. child) set out [to go] there.

**SS:31**

'ay 'šapē            'jāē            o            'rōčē            'jāē            o            'šapē  
 ay šap=e            jā=e            =o            rōč=e            jā=e            =o            šap=e  
 ITR night=IND place=IND =and day=IND place=IND =and night=IND

'jāē            o            'rōčē            'jāē            'watrā    ra'sēnt  
 jā=e            =o            rōč=e            jā=e            wat-rā    rasēn-t  
 place=IND =and day=IND place=IND REFL-OBJ take.NPST-3SG

He kept walking (lit. one night in one place and one day in one place, one night in one place and one day in one place), [until] he arrived.

**SS:32**

'yak 'jāē            'šot            'šap    'ārā            'gept  
 yak jā=e            šot-Ø            šap    ārā            gept-Ø  
 one place=IND go.PST-3SG night DIST.OBL.OBJ take.PST-3SG

'gošt            'ay    mosol'mānān    bota'kaššē  
 gošt-Ø            ay    mosolmān-ān    botakašš=e  
 say.PST-3SG VOC muslim-OBL.PL wood gatherer=IND

'nalōīt                                    'gošte                                    'čerā    bota'kaššē  
 na-lōīt-īt                                    gošt=e                                    čerā    botakašš=e  
 NEG-want.NPST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG yes    wood gatherer=IND

A. Text Corpus

<i>'lōtan</i>	<i>'šapī</i>	<i>gwā'zēnt</i>	<i>'tārī</i>	<i>pē'šī</i>
lōt-an	šap-ī	gwāzēnt-Ø	tārī	pēšī
want.NPST-1PL	night-ADVZ	spend.NPST-3SG	morning	for.PROX.OBL

<i>ka'lākē</i>	<i>bo'taē</i>	<i>ā'ort</i>	<i>ē'sa</i>	<i>'nānē</i>
kalāk=e	bota=e	āort-Ø	ēš-a	nān=e
bundle=EZ	bush=IND	bring.PST-3SG	PROX-OBL	bread=IND

<i>'dāt</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>'wtrā</i>	<i>ra'sēnt</i>
dāt-Ø	šot-Ø	wtrā	rasēn-t
give.PST-3SG	go.PST-3SG	REFL.OBJ	take.NPST-3SG

It was night (lit. the night caught him); he went [and] said, “Oh muslim [brother]s, don’t you want a wood gatherer?”; [someone] said, “Yes we need a wood gatherer”; he spent the night [there]; in the morning, he brought a bundle of bushes for him; [that man] gave him some bread; he went [and] arrived [at Mullah Neydar Jan’s place].

**SS:33**

<i>ō'dā</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>sa'rāay</i>	<i>da'pā</i>	<i>ta'mām</i>	<i>mar'dom</i>	<i>goš'tant</i>
ōdā	šot-Ø	sarā-ay	dapā	tamām	mardom	gošt-ant
there	go.PST-3SG	yard-GEN	in front of	all	people	say.PST-3PL

<i>ke</i>	<i>'harkas</i>	<i>ā'ta</i>		<i>'šēdā</i>	<i>'drwā</i>
ke	harkas	āt-a=Ø		šēdā	drwā
CLM	whoever	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		from.here	safe

<i>našo'ta</i>		<i>'šēdā</i>	<i>pa wa'tī</i>	<i>'pes</i>	<i>o</i>
na-šot-a=Ø		šēdā	pa wat-ī	pes	=o
NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		from.here	for REFL-GEN	father	=and

<i>mā'sayā</i>	<i>naš'ta</i>		<i>'ēdā</i>	<i>bera</i>
mās-ayā	na-št-a=Ø		ēdā	ber=a
mother-LOC	NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		here	PREV=VCL

<i>'nagarday</i>	<i>'marra</i>	<i>pīra'mardē</i>	<i>'at</i>
na-gard-ay	mar-ra-Ø	pīramard=e	=at
NEG-play.NPST-2SG	PROH-go.NPST-3SG	old man=IND	=COP.PST.3SG

<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'marra</i>	<i>'bīčārag</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>'wā</i>
gošt=e	mar-ra-Ø	bīčārag	trā	wā-Ø
say.PST=PC.3SG	PROH-go.NPST-2SG	poor	PN.2SG.OBJ	eat.NPST-3SG



A.3. Text 3: The Shepherd's Son

<i>'trā</i>	<i>'darsa</i>	<i>'nadant</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>'zyāna</i>
trā	dars=a	na-dan-t	trā	zyān=a
PN.2SG.OBJ	lesson=VCL	NEG-give.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	lost=VCL

<i>kant</i>	<i>'trā</i>	<i>'neylī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'šēdā</i>
kan-t	trā	ney-l-ī	ke	ta	šēdā
do.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	NEG-leave.NPST-3SG	CLM	PN.2SG	from.here

<i>'braway</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'bītogo</i>	<i>'mna</i>
b-raw-ay	gošt=e	bītogo	mn-a
SBJV-go.NPST-2SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	alright	PN.1SG-OBJ

<i>'bwārt</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>šar'tay</i>	<i>sa'rā</i>	<i>as'ton</i>
b-wārt-Ø	man	wat-ī	šart-ay	sarā	ast-on
SBJV-eat.PST-3SG	PN.1SG	REFL-GEN	condition-GEN	on	be.NPST-1SG

<i>'belē</i>	<i>'bwā</i>	<i>'mna</i>
be-l-Ø=e	b-wā-Ø	mn-a
SBJV-leave.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG	SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-OBL

[When] he went there in front of the door; all the people said /that/, “Every one who has come here has not returned from here safely; he has not come back to his father and mother; you will not return from here; do not go [further]”; there was an old man; he said, “Do not go poor fellow; he will eat you; he won’t teach you; he will destroy you; he will not allow you to leave from here; the boy (lit. he) said, “OK, [even if] he eats me, I am determined to fulfill the condition (lit. I am on my condition); let him eat me.”

**SS:34**

*'šot*  
 šot-Ø  
 go.PST-3SG

He went.

**SS:35**

<i>'hamōdā</i>	<i>'dar</i>	<i>ʃat</i>	<i>'go</i>	<i>'ay</i>	<i>mo'zūrē</i>	<i>'kaya</i>
ham=ōdā	dar	ʃat-Ø	go-Ø	ay	mozzūr=e	kay=a
EMPH=there	door	hit.PST-3SG	say.PST-3SG	VOC	servant=IND	who=VCL

<i>lō'ītō</i>	<i>'ay</i>	<i>bota'kaššē</i>	<i>'kaya</i>
lōt-īt=o	ay	botakašš=e	kay=a
want.NPST-3SG=and	VOC	wood gatherer=IND	who=VCL

A. Text Corpus

*lō'ītō*                      'kay    naw'karē      *lō'ītō*                      *bas*  
 lōt-īt=o                      kay    nawkar=ē      lōt-īt=o                      bass  
 want.NPST-3SG=and    who    servant=IND    want.NPST-3SG=and    that'all

*ar'kat korto*              *mo'lā*    *nay'dar jān*    *ša*    *w'tī*              *ar'gā*  
 arkat    kort=o              molā    naydarjān    ša    wtī              arg-ā  
 move    do.PST=and    Mullah    Neydar Jan    from    REFL.GEN    palace-OBL

*ḍan'nā 'būt*                      'šot                      *sa'lām a'layke korto*              'dast  
 ḍannā    büt-Ø                      šot-Ø                      salām alayk=e    kort=o              dast  
 out        become.PST-3SG    go.PST-3SG    hello=IND        do.PST=and    hand

*o...*    'gošt                      'byā                      'brawan  
 =o    gošt-Ø                      by-ā-Ø                      b-raw-an  
 =and    say.PST-3SG    IMPV-come.NPST-2SG    SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

There he knocked on the door [and] said, “Who wants a hireling and who wants a wood gatherer and who wants a servant”; so Mullah Neydar Jan stood up from his palace [and] came out of [it] [and] he went [and] said hello and hand and... he said, “Come let’s go.”

**SS:36**

'gošt                      'man    'tī                      *naw'karon*                      'aspē  
 gošt-Ø                      man    tī                      nawkar=on                      asp=ē  
 say.PST-3SG    PN.1SG    PN.2SG.GEN    servant=COP.NPST.1SG    horse=IND

*dā'rīn*                      *o*    *masa'la 'kārē*                      *dā'rīn*                      *o*  
 dār-īn                      =o    masala    kār=ē                      dār-īn                      =o  
 have.NPST-1SG    =and    issue        deed=IND    have.NPST-1SG    =and

*a'mē*                      'manī                      *kār-rānā*                      'bkan  
 am=ē                      man-ī                      kār-ān-ā                      b-kan-Ø  
 EMPH=PROX    PN.1SG-GEN    work-OBL.PL-OBJ    SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

'trā                      'darsom                      *da'īn*                      *pā'ī*                      *ehte'rām om*  
 trā                      dars=om                      da-īn                      pāī                      ehterām    =om  
 PN.2SG.OBJ    lesson=ADD    give.NPST-1SG    for.DIST.OBL    respect    =ADD

'ešt  
 ešt-Ø  
 leave.PST-3SG

The boy (lit. he) said, “I am your servant”; [he said] “I have a horse and, for

example, have a job [for you to do] and do these jobs of mine; I will teach you as well"; he paid honour to the boy as well.

**SS:37**

'ādā ke 'šot je'nekē 'dāšt de'gāray 'čērā  
 ādā ke šot-Ø jenek=ē dāšt-Ø deġār-ay čērā  
 there CLM go.PST-3SG girl=IND have.PST-3SG earth-GEN under

at ša 'baseke sora'tī 'at o  
 =at-Ø ša baseke soratī =at-Ø =o  
 =COP.PST.3SG-3SG from very beautiful =COP.PST.3SG-3SG =and

'kas ĵor'ʔata 'nako de'gāray 'čērā 'at  
 kas ĵorʔat=a na-ko-Ø deġār-ay čērā =at  
 no one dare=VCL NEG-do.PST-3SG earth-GEN under =COP.PST.3SG

When the boy went there, [the Mullah] had a daughter; she was under the ground [since] she was very beautiful, and no one dared...; she was under the ground.

**SS:38**

'ē 'šot 'ē de'ga bad'baxta 'nazānt 'ay  
 ē šot-Ø ē deġa badbaxt=a na-zānt-Ø ay  
 PROX go.PST-3SG PROX you know poor=VCL NEG-know.PST-3SG ITR

pa'say... čē 'pasē dāš'ta 'ay aga  
 pas-ay čē pas=ē dāšt-a=Ø ay aga  
 sheep-GEN what sheep=IND have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG ITR if

oš'terē 'dāšt aga 'gōkē 'dāšt 'ēšī  
 ošter=ē dāšt-Ø aga gōk=ē dāšt-Ø ēšī  
 camel=IND have.PST-3SG if cow=IND have.PST-3SG PROX.GEN

xez'mattā ko o 'āp am mor'tab 'ēšī pa  
 xezmatt=ā ko-Ø =o āp =am mortab ēšī pa  
 service=VCL do.PST-3SG =and water =ADD always PROX.GEN for

dasne'māzay ā'māda 'dāšt o 'ēšā 'dars am  
 dasnemāz=ay āmāda dāšt-Ø =o ēš-ā dars =am  
 ablution=PC.3SG ready have.PST-3SG =and PROX-OBL lesson =ADD

A. Text Corpus

'dāt

dāt-Ø

give.PST-3SG

He went; you know, this poor fellow did not know; you know, his sheep...[if] he had a sheep, you know, if he had a camel, if he had a cow, he took care of them and he always made some water available for his ablution, and [Mullah Neydar Jan] taught him as well.

SS:39

'būt                    'do 'sāl 'say 'sāl 'čār 'sāl 'haf 'sāl 'ēšī  
 büt-Ø                do sāl say sāl čār sāl haf sāl ēšī  
 become.PST-3SG two year three year four year seven year PROX.GEN

a'mē...                ba'čak ē'šī                naw'kar 'būt                a'mī  
 am=ē                bačak ēšī                nawkar büt-Ø                am=ī  
 EMPH=PROX boy        PROX.GEN servant        become.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX

mar'dom moč'čēn 'goštant ke 'ē čō'nēn 'zāgē ke  
 mardom močč-ēn gošt-ant ke ē čōn-ēn zāg=ē ke  
 people all-ATTR say.PST-3PL CLM PROX what-ATTR child=IND CLM

'ē šwā'nag 'hamēdā jā'gīr 'būt                ē'sā mo'lā  
 ē šwānag ham=ēdā jāgīr büt-Ø                ēš-ā molā  
 PROX shepherd EMPH=here fixed become.PST-3SG PROX-OBL Mullah

nay'dar j'ān 'nawā                'ē čō'nēn sawāt'dārē 'dar  
 naydarjān na-wā-Ø                ē čōn-ēn sawātdār=ē dar  
 Neydar Jan NEG-eat.NPST-3SG PROX what-ATTR educated=IND PREV

āt                    'ē 'zāg 'zab 'dars wānt  
 āt-Ø                ē zāg zab dars wānt-Ø  
 come.PST-3SG PROX child good lesson read.PST-3SG

Two years, three years, four year, seven years passed, his you know... this boy was his servant; all these people said /that/, “What kind of a boy is he, this shepherd?; he established himself here and Mulla Neydar Jan doesn’t eat him; how did he turn out such an educated man?”; this boy (lit. child) studied very well.

## SS:40

'harčī ke 'ādā 'dars wānt goṛān 'yak 'rōčē  
 harčī ke ādā dars wānt-Ø goṛān yak rōč=ē  
 whatever CLM there lesson read.PST-3SG then one day=IND

'būt o je'nek ša de'gāray 'čērā 'wī  
 būt-Ø =o jenek ša deḡār-ay čērā wī  
 become.PST-3SG =and girl from earth-GEN under REFL.GEN

gar'denā 'kaššet 'gošte 'harčī ke 'ā  
 garden-ā kaššet-Ø gošt=e harčī ke ā  
 neck-OBL pull.PST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG whatever CLM DIST

'trā 'darsa dant 'trā 'man  
 trā dars=a dan-t trā man  
 PN.2SG.OBJ lesson=VCL give.NPST-3SG PN.2SG.OBJ PN.1SG

šā'ī gēš'ter 'darsa da'īn  
 šāī gēš-ter dars=a da-īn  
 from.DIST.OBL more-CMP lesson=VCL give.NPST-1SG

Whatever he studied there, then, it was one day, and the girl pulled up her neck from under the ground and said, “Whatever he teaches you, I will teach you more than him.

## SS:41

'man 'trā gēš'ter 'darsa da'īn pa'gat  
 man trā gēš-ter dars=a da-īn paḡat  
 PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ more-CMP lesson=VCL give.NPST-1SG only

'har kārē 'bkanay... 'wāte de'gāray 'čērā  
 har kār=ē b-kan-ay wāte deḡār-ay čērā  
 every work=IND SBJV-do.NPST-2SG REFL.GEN earth-GEN under

'at je'nek 'ā de'gāray 'čērā 'at  
 =at jenek ā deḡār-ay čērā =at  
 =COP.PST.3SG girl DIST earth-GEN under =COP.PST.3SG

'gošte 'harčī ke 'ā 'ōdā wā'nī 'ta  
 gošt=e harčī ke ā ōdā wān-ī ta  
 say.PST=PC.3SG whatever CLM DIST there read.NPST-3SG PN.2SG

A. Text Corpus

'kam 'kam 'wtī 'delā 'bwān 'man 'harčī  
 kam kam wtī del-ā b-wān-Ø man harčī  
 little little REFL.GEN heart-OBL SBJV-read.NPST-2SG PN.1SG whatever

ke 'ōdā 'nazānay 'man pa 'ta go'sīn  
 ke ōdā na-zān-ay man pa ta goš-īn  
 CLM there NEG-know.NPST-2SG PN.1SG for PN.2SG say.NPST-1SG

I will teach you more; only, whatever you do..." she herself, was under the ground, the girl; she was under the ground; she said, "Whatever he reads there, you should slowly but surely memorize; whatever you don't know there [from his teaching], I will teach you."

SS:42

'ā ke 'wāba 'šot ke 'ē 'ēra kapt  
 ā ke wāb=a šot-Ø ke ē ēr=a kapt-Ø  
 DIST CLM sleep=VCL go.PST-3SG CLM PROX PREV=VCL fall.PST-3SG

'ke kār-rānā 'bkant ē pa ā'īā  
 ke kār-ān-ā b-kan-t ē pa āi-ā  
 CLM work-OBL.PL-OBJ SBJV-do.NPST-3SG PROX for DIST.OBL-OBJ

'gošt 'īnka sa'wāte 'šo bā'lā 'īnka  
 gošt-Ø īnka sawāt=e šo-Ø bālā īnka  
 say.PST-3SG so much education=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG up so much

'elme 'šo bā'lā ke de'ga ša mo'lā  
 elm=e šo-Ø bālā ke dega ša molā  
 knowledge=PC.3SG go.PST-3SG up CLM you know from Mullah

nay'dar 'jān bālā'ter 'būt basa'wāt 'bū 'yāne  
 naydarjān bālā-ter büt-Ø basawāt bū-Ø yāne  
 Neydar Jan up-CMP become.PST-3SG educated become.PST-3SG mean

moč'čē mar'dom ha'sūd ūtant ke 'ē šwā'nag bī  
 močč-ē mardom hasūd ūt-ant ke ē šwānag bī  
 all-ATTR people jealous become.PST-3PL CLM PROX shepherd with

'haf 'sāle ke 'ē 'zyāna 'nabī  
 haf sāl=e ke ē zyān=a na-b-ī  
 seven year=EZ CLM PROX lost=VCL NEG-become.NPST-3SG

'hamēdā en  
 ham=ēdā =en  
 EMPH=here =COP.NPST.3SG

When the Mullah (lit.he) fell asleep, /that/ the boy (lit.he) came downstairs to do his duties; the girl (lit. she) taught him; he earned so much education; he got so much knowledge; you know, that [his knowledge] was much higher than Mullah Neydar Jan; he became an educated [man]; you know, all the people became jealous; [they said] /that/ “This shepherd had not disappeared during those (lit. these) seven years [and still] he was there (lit. here).”

**SS:43**

'rōčē būt ke mo'lā nay'dar j'ān ne'māzay sa'rā  
 rōč=ē būt-Ø ke molā naydarjān nemāz-ay sarā  
 day=IND become.PST-3SG CLM Mullah Neydar Jan prayer-GEN on

'at o ša ne'māzay sa'rā ke 'ēr kapt  
 =at =o ša nemāz-ay sarā ke ēr kapt-Ø  
 =COP.PST.3SG =and from prayer-GEN on CLM PREV fall.PST-3SG

ša ne'māzay sa'rā... ne'māzā ke ko ba'čak ša  
 ša nemāz-ay sarā nemāz-ā ke ko-Ø bačak ša  
 from prayer-GEN on prayer-OBL CLM do.PST-3SG boy from

ne'māzā gwāz... ke dar'say ke 'wānt 'ā  
 nemāz-ā gwāz ke dars=ay ke wānt-Ø ā  
 prayer-OBL FRAG CLM lesson=PC.3SG CLM read.PST-3SG DIST

ne'māzay sa'rā oš'tāt ba'čak 'ēr kapt ja'lagā  
 nemāz-ay sarā oštāt-Ø bačak ēr kapt-Ø jalag-ā  
 prayer-GEN on stay.PST-3SG boy PREV fall.PST-3SG down-OBL

šā'ī argā āt ke pa ā'ī  
 šāī arg-ā āt-Ø ke pa āī  
 from.DIST.OBL palace-OBL come.PST-3SG CLM for DIST.OBL

'mālān 'čī 'bkant jene'ko 'wī gar'denā  
 māl-ān čī b-kan-t jenek-o wī garden-ā  
 animal-OBL.PL what SBJV-do.NPST-3SG girl-EV REFL.GEN neck-OBL

kaš'set gō 'šī... hā 'āt... 'ē 'hamā  
 kaššet-Ø gō šī hā āt-Ø ē ham=ā  
 pull.PST-3SG with PROX.GEN DIST come.PST-3SG PROX EMPH=DIST

A. Text Corpus

*sā... ha'mā 'darsē ke 'ā ha'mōdā 'dāt*  
*sā ham=ā dars=ē ke ā ham=ōdā dāt-Ø*  
 FRAG EMPH=DIST lesson=IND CLM DIST EMPH=there give.PST-3SG

*ha'mē dar'sā ha'mē je'nek 'ārā*  
*ham=ē dars-ā ham=ē jenek ārā*  
 EMPH=PROX lesson-OBL EMPH=PROX girl DIST.OBL.OBJ

*'dāt 'ēš am 'darsa dāt de'ga je'nek*  
*dāt-Ø ēš =am dars=a dāt-Ø dega jenek*  
 give.PST-3SG PROX =ADD lesson=VCL give.PST-3SG you know girl

*be 'āī ā'seg at čorī'ka am ha'mā*  
*be āī āšeg =at-Ø čorīk-a =am ham=ā*  
 to DIST.OBL in love =COP.PST.3SG-3SG boy-OBL =ADD EMPH=DIST

*rang 'at 'ē gō 'wat ham'rang a'tant*  
*rang =at ē gō wat ham=rang =at-ant*  
 kind =COP.PST.3SG PROX with REFL EMPH=color =COP.PST.3SG-3PL

*'bād 'gošte ke... 'yaga mo'lā nay'dar de'ga*  
*bād gošt=e ke yaga molā nay'dar dega*  
 then say.PST=PC.3SG CLM suddenly Mullah Neydar you know

*'elm 'dāšt 'yaga sar'pad 'būt 'hapt*  
*elm dāšt-Ø yaga sarpad büt-Ø hapt*  
 knowledge have.PST-3SG suddenly aware become.PST-3SG seven

*'sālen 'anū*  
*sāl=en anū*  
 year=COP.NPST.3SG now

It was one day; when Mullah Neydar Jan was praying, and when he finished his prayer, from pray... When he said the prayer; the boy from the prayer... when he studied his lesson, the Mullah (lit. he) stood up [to] pray; the boy (lit. he) came down from the Mullah's palace; he came to [feed] his animals; the girl pulled up her neck, with him...; he came,...she that... the same lesson which the Mullah taught him there; this girl taught him this lesson; she taught him too [as well]; you know, the girl fell in love with him [and] the boy fell [in love] (lit. was the same) too; they fell in love with each other (lit. they were similar to each other); after that he said /that/,...suddenly, well, Mullah Neydar Jan's had [supernatural] knowledge; suddenly he became aware; seven years had passed now.



## SS:44

*ba'čak amenka'sēn 'rīšē kor'ta*  
 bačak amenkas-ēn rīš=ē kort-a=Ø  
 boy this much-ATTR beard=IND do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*ā'lemē tū'ēnē wa'trā dā'rī 'bād ba'čak...*  
 ālem=ē tū-ēn=ē wat-rā dār-ī bād bačak  
 wise man=IND big-ATTR=IND REFL-OBJ have.NPST-3SG then boy

*mar'dak d'īst oo ke 'ē 'mnī naw'kar o*  
 mard-ak dīst-Ø oo ke ē mnī nawkar =o  
 man-EV see.PST-3SG oh dear CLM PROX PN.1SG.GEN servant =FOC

*'man ē'sā 'darsa da'īn ē'sī sa'wāt*  
 man ēš-ā dars=a da-īn ēšī sawāt  
 PN.1SG PROX-OBL lesson=VCL give.NPST-1SG PROX.GEN education

*bā'lā 'bīt ke 'nūn 'mnī je'nek... gō*  
 bālā b-īt ke nūn mnī jenek gō  
 up become.NPST-3SG CLM now PN.1SG.GEN girl with

*'mnī je'nekā 'ōdā dā'rī 'sayla kant*  
 mnī jenek-ā ōdā dār-ī sayl=a kan-t  
 PN.1SG.GEN girl-OBL there have.NPST-3SG looking=VCL do.NPST-3SG

*o 'mnī je'nekā... de'gāray 'čērā 'mnī je'nek gō*  
 =o mnī jenek-ā de'gār-ay čērā mnī jenek gō  
 =and PN.1SG.GEN girl-OBL earth-GEN under PN.1SG.GEN girl with

*ē'sī a'bara dan*  
 ēšī abar=a dan  
 PROX.OBL word=VCL give.NPST

The boy had this much beard; he regarded himself as a great wise man; then the boy... the man saw /that/, oh dear, this my servant, [whom] I am teaching him; he earned so much knowledge /that/ my daughter...; now he is enjoying himself with my daughter there, and my daughter... my daughter is talking with him under the ground.

## SS:45

*goš'ta xay'le 'xob 'trā a'mērang*  
 gošt-a=Ø xayle xob trā am=ē-rang  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG very alright PN.2SG.OBJ EMPH=PROX-kind

A. Text Corpus

'borīn ke ša 'ta 'yak 'peṭṭē 'makapī  
 bor-īn ke ša ta yak peṭṭ=ē ma-kap-ī  
 eat.NPST-1SG CLM from PN.2SG one drop=IND PROH-fall.NPST-3SG

be de'gārā  
 be degār-ā  
 on ground-OBL

He said, “Alright, I will eat you in such a way that not [even] one drop [of blood] from you will fall on the ground.”

**SS:46**

šā'mōdā 'ēr kapt ke 'ēr kapt jēne'ko  
 šamōdā ēr kapt-Ø ke ēr kapt-Ø jenek-o  
 from.EMPH.there PREV fall.PST-3SG CLM PREV fall.PST-3SG girl-EV

sar'pad 'būt jēne'ko sar'pad 'bū  
 sarpad būt-Ø jenek-o sarpad bū-Ø  
 aware become.PST-3SG girl-EV aware become.PST-3SG

'gošte 'xānā xa'rāb zā'nay 'čōn 'bkanay  
 gošt=e xānā xarāb zān-ay čōn b-kan-ay  
 say.PST=PC.3SG poor guy know.NPST-2SG how SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

'āt o 'gošt 'trā 'wārt 'trā  
 āt-Ø =o gošt-Ø trā wārt-Ø trā  
 come.PST-3SG =and say.PST-3SG PN.2SG.OBJ eat.PST-3SG PN.2SG.OBJ

a'mī ran'gēn wār'tene 'kant ke  
 am=ī rang-ēn wārt-en=e Ø-kan-t ke  
 EMPH=PROX kind-ATTR eat.PST-INF=IND SBJV-do.NPST-3SG CLM

de'ga ha'rām en ke pa 'ta 'pačkē  
 dega harām =en ke pa ta pačk=ē  
 you know prohibited =COP.NPST.3SG CLM for PN.2SG piece=IND

mā'nīt 'gošte zā'nay 'čōn  
 Ø-mān-īt gošt=e zān-ay čōn  
 PROH-leave.NPST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG know.NPST-2SG how

'bkanay 'gošt yak... de'ga 'elm  
 b-kan-ay gošt-Ø yak dega elm  
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG say.PST-3SG one you know knowledge

'dāšt 'ē šwā'nage 'ē 'hap 'sāl 'darsē  
 dāšt-Ø ē šwānag=e ē hap sāl dars=e  
 have.PST-3SG PROX shepherd=IND PROX seven year lesson=PC.3SG

'wānt ē han'čēn 'helmē wā'dī kort  
 wānt-Ø ē hanč-ēn helm=e wādī kort-Ø  
 read.PST-3SG PROX such-ATTR knowledge=IND visible do.PST-3SG

'yak mas'tēn lē'raē 'watrā ko 'gūl 'gūl 'gūl  
 yak mast-ēn lēra=e wat-rā ko-Ø gūl gūl gūl  
 one crazy-ATTR camel=IND REFL-OBJ do.PST-3SG grunt grunt grunt

'gūl 'gūl be 'mē 'mē 'āī ha'yātay 'tā  
 gūl gūl be mē mē āī hayāt-ay tā  
 grunt grunt to EMPH.PROX EMPH.PROX DIST.OBL yard-GEN in

He came down from there; when he came down, the girl became aware; the girl became aware; she said, “Poor fellow do you know what to do?”; she came and said, “He will eat you; he will eat you in such way that it is impossible [it is religiously forbidden] that [even] a piece of you would remain”; she said, “Do you know what to do?”; he said “One...” he was his shepherd; you know, he had [supernatural] knowledge; he had studied for seven years; he had acquired such a knowledge, [that] he turned himself into a crazy camel, grunt, grunt, grunt, grunt and grunt in that yard of his.

## SS:47

jene'ko 'dīst ke 'ē 'wtā ēran'gēn 'čīzē  
 jenek-o dīst-Ø ke ē wtā ē-rang-ēn čīz=e  
 girl-EV see.PST-3SG CLM PROX REFL.OBJ PROX-kind-ATTR thing=IND

ko 'gošt ē'sā 'wā de'ga har'kat  
 ko-Ø gošt-Ø ēš-ā wā-Ø dega harkat  
 do.PST-3SG say.PST-3SG PROX-OBL eat.NPST-3SG you know move

korto 'yak 'zāgērā ša'mē de'gāray 'čērā  
 kort=o yak zāg=e-rā šamē degār-ay čērā  
 do.PST=and one child=IND-OBJ from.EMPH.PROX earth-GEN under

'yak 'zāgērā das'tok ko ke 'byā  
 yak zāg=e-rā dast-ok ko-Ø ke by-ā-Ø  
 one child=IND-OBJ hand-EV do.PST-3SG CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

A. Text Corpus

'ēdā

ēdā

here

When the girl saw /that/, he turned himself into such a thing; she said [to herself] “Well, the Mullah (lit. he) will eat him”; you know, she came out (lit. moved) and a child... from under the ground she waved at a child; [she said] /that/ “Come here”.

**SS:48**

'gošte	'byā	'ēdā	'gošt	'ēšā
gošt=e	by-ā-Ø	ēdā	gošt-Ø	ēš-ā
say.PST=PC.3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	here	say.PST-3SG	PROX-OBL

tro'set	'gošte	'byā	'ēdā
troset-Ø	gošt=e	by-ā-Ø	ēdā
frightn.PST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	here

'gošte	'bra	ha'mā	oš'teray	ma'hārā
gošt=e	b-ra-Ø	ham=ā	ošter-ay	mahār-ā
say.PST=PC.3SG	IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	EMPH=DIST	camel-GEN	bridle-OBL

'bgero	'byār	ēngo'rī
b-ger-Ø=o	by-ār-Ø	ēngorī
IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=and	IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG	here

She said, “Come here”; she said,...; the boy was afraid; she said, “Come here”; she said, “Go, take and bring the leading rope of this camel here.”

**SS:49**

'ē	'zāg	'šoto	de'lēr	'būt	'šot
ē	zāg	šot-Ø=o	delēr	būt-Ø	šot-Ø
PROX	child	go.PST-3SG=and	brave	become.PST-3SG	go.PST-3SG

'ēšī	ma'hārā	ā'ort	ē'šī	ma'hārā
ēšī	mahār-ā	āort-Ø	ēšī	mahār-ā
PROX.GEN	bridle-OBL	bring.PST-3SG	PROX.GEN	bridle-OBL

šamē	pō'zay	'dūr	ko	wa'tī
šamē	pōzay	dūr	ko-Ø	wat-ī
from.EMPH.PROX	nose.GEN.OBL	away	do.PST-3SG	REFL-GEN

*das'tay de'lā 'ešt a'mērang a'mērang*  
 dast-ay delā ešt-Ø am=ē-rang am=ē-rang  
 hand-GEN inside leave.PST-3SG EMPH=PROX-kind EMPH=PROX-kind

*ke 'ešt 'ē šay'nakkē 'būto 'brakke...*  
 ke ešt-Ø ē šaynakk=ē büt-Ø=o brakke  
 CLM leave.PST-3SG PROX falcon=IND become.PST-3SG=and quickly

*'čē ka'potē o 'brakke 'dāray be ha'wāay dē'mā*  
 čē kapōt=ē =o brakke dār-ay be hawā-ay dēmā  
 what dove=IND =and quickly have.NPST-2SG to air-GEN to

This boy (lit. son) became brave and went; he went [and] brought its leading rope; she removed its leading rope from its nose and put it in her hand like this; when she left [it] like this, it became a falcon, and quickly... no (lit. what) a dove, and quickly it flew to the sky.

**SS:50**

*mo'lā nay'dar 'jān 'čōn 'ko 'dīst mo'lā nay'dar 'jān*  
 molā naydarjān čōn ko-Ø dīst-Ø molā naydarjān  
 Mullah Neydar Jan what do.PST-3SG see.PST-3SG Mullah Neydar Jan

*'dīst ke 'āo 'šot pwat oš'ter 'mant*  
 dīst-Ø ke ā=o šot-Ø pwat ošter mant-Ø  
 see.PST-3SG CLM DIST=FOC go.PST-3SG for.REFL camel stay.PST-3SG

*oš'tero de'ga 'wayl en 'ā ha'mā*  
 ošter=o dega wayl =en ā ham=ā  
 camel=FOC you know loose =COP.NPST.3SG DIST EMPH=DIST

*'at ke 'šot pwat be el'may 'ta*  
 =at ke šot-Ø pwat be elm-ay ta  
 =COP.PST.3SG CLM go.PST-3SG for.REFL to knowledge-GEN in

*'šot*  
 šot-Ø  
 go.PST-3SG

What did Mullah Neydar Jan do?; he saw, Mullah Neydar Jan saw /that/ he went away for himself [and] the camel was left; you know, the camel was free [without any bridles or leading rope]; the boy (lit. that one) was the one who flew, /that/ he [the boy] went away because of (lit. in) his [supernatural] knowledge.

A. Text Corpus

**SS:51**

'bād 'ā 'čōn ko ā wa'ta šay'nakkē 'kort  
 bād ā čōn ko-Ø ā wata šaynakk=ē kort-Ø  
 after DIST what do.PST-3SG DIST REFL.OBJ falcon=IND do.PST-3SG

o ē'sī pa'dā 'kapt  
 =o ēšī padā kapt-Ø  
 =and PROX.GEN behind fall.PST-3SG

Then, what did the Mullah (lit. he) do?; he made himself a falcon, and followed him.

**SS:52**

ǰene'ko de'ga 'zānt de'ga be ā'ī 'rōč  
 ǰenek-o dega zānt-Ø dega be āī rōč  
 girl-EV you know know.PST-3SG you know to DIST.OBL day

'ūt 'ā ǰene'ko amā'ī el'mā de'ga  
 ūt-Ø ā ǰenek-o am=āī elm-ā dega  
 become.PST-3SG DIST girl-EV EMPH=DIST.GEN knowledge-OBL as well

dā'rī  
 dār-ī  
 have.NPST-3SG

Well, the girl got it; it became clear to her (lit. it became day for her); the girl had his [supernatural] knowledge as well.

**SS:53**

'šapē 'ǰāē 'rōčē 'ǰāē 'šapē 'ǰāē  
 šap=ē ǰā=ē rōč=ē ǰā=ē šap=ē ǰā=ē  
 night=IND place=IND day=IND place=IND night=IND place=IND

'rōčē 'ǰāē tā āxer'īn na'pas de'ga ka'pōtay  
 rōč=ē ǰā=ē tā āxer-īn napas dega kapōt-ay  
 day=IND place=IND till end-ATTR breath you know dove-GEN

mant  
 mant-Ø  
 stay.PST-3SG

He kept flying (lit. one night in one place and one day in one place, one night in one place and one day in one place); till the last breath of the dove was left.

## SS:54

*ša'mādā*                    *'hāto*                    *be'mā*                    *nā'kō...*  
 šam=ādā                    hāt-Ø=o                    bemā                    nākō  
 from-EMPH=there    come.PST-3SG=and    to.EMPH.DIST    uncle

*be'mē*                    *'haf*    *sā'lay*                    *tā*    *ke*                    *'ē*                    *nā'kō...*    *āpōš'kī*  
 bemē                    haf    sāl-ay                    tā    ke                    ē                    nākō                    āpōšk-ī  
 in.EMPH.PROX    seven    year-GEN    in    CLM    PROX    uncle                    drought-ADJZ

*būt*                    *'ē*                    *'bāgē*                    *'hōšk*    *būt*                    *'ē*  
 büt-Ø                    ē                    bāg=ē                    hōšk    büt-Ø                    ē  
 become.PST-3SG    PROX    garden=PC.3SG    dry    become.PST-3SG    PROX

*nā'dār*    *būt*                    *'ē*                    *ġa'rīb*    *būt*                    *ke*  
 nādār    büt-Ø                    ē                    ġarīb    büt-Ø                    ke  
 poor    become.PST-3SG    PROX    poor    become.PST-3SG    CLM

*šā*                    *brā'sā*                    *ke*    *šwā'nag*    *at*  
 šā                    brās-ā                    ke    šwānag    =at-Ø  
 from.EMPH.DIS    brother-OBL    CLM    shepherd    =COP.PST.3SG-3SG

*ġarīb'ter*    *būt*                    *o*                    *je'nekam*    *ha'mā*                    *ge'say*                    *tā*  
 ġarīb-ter    büt-Ø                    =o                    jenek=am    ham=ā                    ges-ay                    tā  
 poor-CMP    become.PST-3SG    =and    girl=ADD    EMPH=DIST    house-GEN    at

*hangā*    *man'tagant*                    *moč'čēn*  
 hangā    mant-ag=ant                    močč-ēn  
 still    stay.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL    all-ATTR

He came from there (lit. here) to his uncle...; during these seven years, this uncle... there was a drought [and] this [uncle's] garden dried up; he became poor; he became destitute; he became poor and he became poorer than that brother who was a shepherd; so the girls, all of them were still unmarried (lit. they were still sitting at home).

## SS:55

*'mās*    *'kor*    *ūt*                    *pa*    *'wtī*                    *mā'say...*                    *če*    *pa*  
 mās    kōr    üt-Ø                    pa    wtī                    mās-ay                    če    pa  
 mother    blind    become.PST-3SG    for    REFL.GEN    mother-GEN    what    for

*'wtī*                    *zā'gay*                    *ġa'mān*                    *'pes*    *pa'kīrē*  
 wtī                    zāg-ay                    ġam-ān                    pes    pakīr=ē  
 REFL.GEN    child-GEN    grief-OBL.PL    father    Dervish=IND

A. Text Corpus

<i>būta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>de'ga</i>	<i>hay'rān</i>	<i>o</i>
būt-a=Ø	ē	dega	hayrān	=o
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	you know	perplexed	=and

<i>sargar'dān būto</i>	<i>tā'jer</i>	<i>ham ša</i>	<i>'brāsā</i>
sargardān būt-Ø=o	tājer	ham ša	brās-ā
bewildered become.PST-3SG=and	merchant	ADD	from brother-OBL

<i>bad'ter būt</i>
bad-ter būt-Ø
bad-CMP become.PST-3SG

His mother (lit. the mother) became blind for his mother... no (lit. what), grieving her son; [his] father had become a dervish; he became perplexed and bewildered, and the merchant became worse than his brother as well.

**SS:56**

<i>'yak naw'karē</i>	<i>'dāšt</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'ta</i>
yak nawkar=ē	dāšt-Ø	gošt=e	ta
one servant=IND	have.PST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	PN.2SG

<i>'bra</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>'bāgay</i>	<i>'tā 'say</i>
b-ra-Ø	am=ē	bāg-ay	tā say
IMPV-go.NPST-2SG	EMPH=PROX	garden-GEN	in three

<i>kan</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>ma'rō dō'sī</i>	<i>'hawrē</i>
Ø-kan-Ø	am=ē	marō dōšī	hawr=ē
IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	EMPH=PROX	today last night	rain=IND

<i>kor'ta</i>	<i>bā'ren</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>a'mē</i>	<i>bā'gā</i>
kort-a=Ø	bāren	ta	am=ē	bāg-ā
do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	maybe	that	EMPH=PROX	garden-OBL

<i>'say</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ha'mē</i>	<i>'bāg</i>	<i>'hōšken</i>
say	Ø-kan-Ø	ham=ē	bāg	hōšk=en
looking	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	EMPH=PROX	garden	dry=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>a'san</i>	<i>'golē</i>	<i>'čīzē</i>	<i>'gole</i>	<i>moxamā'dī</i>
asan	gol=ē	čīz=ē	gol=e	moxamādī
at all	flower=IND	thing=IND	flower=EZ	rose





A. Text Corpus

'golē      tū'enē      amenka'sēn      'golē      'ē  
 gol=ē      tū-ēn=ē      amenkas-ēn      gol=ē      ē  
 flower=IND      big-ATTR=IND      this much-ATTR      flower=IND      PROX

amenka'sēn      'golē      wa'tā      'jōra      kant  
 amenkas-ēn      gol=ē      wat-ā      jōɾ=a      kan-t  
 this much-ATTR      flower=IND      REFL-OBL      make=VCL      do.NPST-3SG

'yagašta 'rawt      ha'mē      go'lā      'čent  
 yagašta raw-t      ham=ē      gol-ā      čen-t  
 quickly go.NPST-3SG      EMPH=PROX      flower-OBL      pick.NPST-3SG

He came to the garden; he found (lit. saw) a big flower, a flower of this size; [the boy] made himself a flower of this size; the servant quickly went [and] picked that (lit. this) flower.

**SS:59**

go'lā      'čent      o      'zūte      zū'rīt  
 gol-ā      čen-t      =o      zūt=e      zūr-īt  
 flower-OBL      pick.NPST-3SG      =and      quickly=PC.3SG      take.NPST-3SG

kā'rī      ha'mī      ba'čakay 'pes... nā'kōay  
 k-ār-ī      ham=ī      bačak-ay pes      nākō-ay  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG      EMPH=PROX      boy-GEN      father      uncle-GEN

ge'sā      bā'gay      wā'ondayā  
 ges-ā      bāg-ay      wāond-ayā  
 house-OBL      garden-GEN      owner-LOC

He picked the flower and took it quickly and brought to this boy's father... uncle's house, the owner of garden.

**SS:60**

'ēdā ke      kā'rī      goš'te      xodā'jān      čō'nēn  
 ēdā ke      k-ār-ī      gošt=e      xodā-jān      čōn-ēn  
 here CLM      IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG      say.PST=PC.3SG      God-dear      what-ATTR

'hamrē      būta      ke      enka'sēn  
 hamr=ē      būt-a=Ø      ke      enkas-ēn  
 order=IND      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      CLM      this size-ATTR

'gole      mohamā'dī   'mnī              bā'gay      ta   'bāgē      ke  
gol=e      mohamādi   mnī              bāg-ay      ta   bāg=e      ke  
flower=EZ   rose              PN.1SG.GEN   garden-GEN   in   garden=IND   CLM

'hōško   'laṭṭ   en                              'ē      ša   gō'jā   'ē      'bāg   'sabz  
hōšk=o   laṭṭ   =en                              ē      ša   gōjā   ē      bāg   sabz  
dry=and   wood   =COP.NPST.3SG   PROX   from   where   PROX   garden   green

ko

ko-Ø

do.PST-3SG

When he brought it there (lit. here); [the uncle] said, “Dear God, what kind of a supernatural thing (lit. order) has happened, since a rose flower of this size [has grown] in my garden; the garden which it is totally dried up; from where did this flower (lit. garden) grow?”

#### SS:61

'ā      oš...      'ā      wa'ta      ke      šay'nakkē      'kort      be  
ā      oš      ā      wata      ke      šaynakk=e      kort-Ø      be  
DIST   FRAG   DIST   REFL.OBL   CLM   falcon=IND   do.PST-3SG   to

mē'sī                      tā      'prēnt                      sar'pad   'nabū  
mēši                      tā      prēnt-Ø                      sarpad   na-bū-Ø  
EMPH.PROX.OBL   inside   dive.PST-3SG   aware   NEG-become.PST-3SG

ke      'gol      'čōn      'ū                              ha'mē      ke      'ē  
ke      gol      čōn      ū-Ø                              ham=e      ke      ē  
CLM   flower   what   become.PST-3SG   EMPH=PROX   CLM   PROX

go'lā                      'zort                      'ārt                      'yakgašt   be   'paday  
gol-ā                      zort-Ø                      ārt-Ø                      yakgašt   be   paday  
flower-OBL   take.PST-3SG   bring.PST-3SG   suddenly   to   trace.OBL.PC.3SG

'zānt                      ke      'ē      ha'mē                      'gol      'at                      ke  
zānt-Ø                      ke      ē      ham=e                      gol      =at                      ke  
know.PST-3SG   CLM   PROX   EMPH=PROX   flower   =COP.PST.3SG   CLM

'šot                      'yak   'golē                      gwan'dēn      at                      'yak  
šot-Ø                      yak   gol=e                      gwand-ēn      =at-Ø                      yak  
go.PST-3SG   one   flower=IND   small-ATTR   =COP.PST.3SG-3SG   one

A. Text Corpus

*tū'hēn ā tū'ēnā 'ā 'bō gwan'dēn*  
*tū-hēn ā tū-ēn-ā ā bō-Ø gwanḁ-ēn*  
 big-ATTR DIST old-ATTR-OBL DIST take.PST-3SG small-ATTR

*'mant*  
 mant-Ø  
 stay.PST-3SG

He... When [the Mullah] made himself a falcon; he came [and] dived into this garden; he did not understand /that/, what happened to the flower; when [the man] took the flower [and] brought it; suddenly [the Mullah] realized from his traces /that/ the boy (lit. he) was that flower that went; there was a small flower [and] a big one; he took the big one [and] the small one was left.

SS:62

*pa'day 'kapt 'šot pa'mā ge'dānā wā'dī*  
 pad=ay kapt-Ø šot-Ø pamā gedān-ā wādī  
 trace=PC.3SG fall.PST-3SG go.PST-3SG for.EMPH.DIST tent-OBL visible

*'ko 'šot pē'lekkē wa'tī goḁ'tā*  
 ko-Ø šot-Ø pēlekk=ē wat-ī goḁt-ā  
 do.PST-3SG go.PST-3SG big bag=IND REFL-GEN neck-OBL

*'korto mo'lā nay'dar 'jān enka'sēn pē'lekkē*  
 kort-Ø=o molā naydarjān enkas-ēn pēlekk=ē  
 do.PST-3SG=and Mullah Neydar Jan this size-ATTR big bag=IND

*wa'tī goḁ'tā 'korto 'šoto ā'sāē om*  
 wat-ī goḁt-ā kort-Ø=o šot-Ø=o āsā=ē =om  
 REFL-GEN neck-OBL do.PST-3SG=and go.PST-3SG=and stick=IND =ADD

*'zorto 'tak 'taka 'ko be ge'dānay*  
 zort-Ø=o tak tak=a ko-Ø be gedān-ay  
 take.PST-3SG=and knock knock=VCL do.PST-3SG on tent-GEN

*da'pā*  
 dapā  
 in front of

[The Mullah] chased the servant (lit. him); he went towards that tent; he found [it and] went [and] hung a big bag on his neck and Mullah Neydar Jan; he hung a bag of this size on his neck and went and took a stick as well; he knocked on the pole of the tent.

## SS:63

'ē mar'dom o 'ā 'gošt 'ay... 'ē 'ā 'gošt  
 ē mardom =o ā gošt-Ø ay ē ā gošt-Ø  
 PROX people =and DIST say.PST-3SG VOC PROX DIST say.PST-3SG

'ay dor'bēš... 'čē xo'dā to'ba 'āt be sa'rāay  
 ay dorbēš čē xodā toba āt-Ø be sarā-ay  
 VOC Dervish what God remorse come.PST-3SG to yard-GEN

da'pā 'ē dīwā'lokē sa'rāē dā'stant 'āt  
 dapā ē dīwāl-ok=ē sarā=ē dāšt-ant āt-Ø  
 in front of PROX wall-EV=IND yard=IND have.PST-3PL come.PST-3SG

'tak 'tak 'kort 'gošt 'ay 'brēt  
 tak tak kort-Ø gošt-Ø ay b-r-ēt  
 knock knock do.PST-3SG say.PST-3SG VOC IMPV-go.NPST-2PL

ġa'rībē 'ast 'bdayēt ā'erā aga  
 ġarīb=ē ast-Ø b-day-ēt āerā aga  
 poor=IND be.NPST-3SG IMPV-give.NPST-2PL DIST.OBL.OBJ if

ro'genē 'dāret aga 'zarrē 'dāret 'ārtē  
 rogen=ē dār-et aga zarr=ē dār-et ārt=ē  
 oil=IND have.NPST-2PL if money=IND have.NPST-2PL flour=IND

'dāret 'bday ġa'rībārā  
 dār-et b-day-Ø ġarīb-ā-rā  
 have.NPST-2PL IMPV-give.NPST-2SG poor-OBL-OBJ

These people and that one said; oh ... this and that one said “Oh Darvish... no (lit. what), God forgive me; he came to the door of the yard; they had a [mud] wall [around the house and garden]; he came [and] knocked on the door of the wall; [the uncle] said, “Oh, there is a poor [man here], give him [something], if you have some oil, if you have money, [if] you have some flour, give [it] to the poor.”

## SS:64

'bortant pē'sī ga'llāē o 'nānē 'čīzē  
 bort-ant pēšī gallā=ē =o nān=ē čīz=ē  
 take.PST-3PL for.PROX.OBL wheat=IND =and bread=IND thing=IND

## A. Text Corpus

'bortant          'nazort  
 bort-ant          na-zort-Ø  
 take.PST-3PL    NEG-take.PST-3SG

They took [something]; they took some wheat for him, and bread, and stuff like that; he did not accept [it].

### SS:65

'gošte                  'baret                  'zarrē                  'bdayet  
 gošt=e                  Ø-bar-et                  zarr=ē                  b-day-et  
 say.PST=PC.3SG    IMPV-take.NPST-2PL    money=IND    IMPV-give.NPST-2PL

'gošte                  'nazort                  'gošte                  ke      da'rā  
 gošt=e                  na-zort-Ø                  gošt=e                  ke      dar-ā  
 say.PST=PC.3SG    NEG-take.PST-3SG    say.PST=PC.3SG    CLM    door-OBL

'pāč    kanet                                  zā'nā    mō'ṭō    sar'dīa                  wā  
 pāč    Ø-kan-et                                  zānā    mōṭō    sard-ī=a                  wā-Ø  
 open    IMPV-do.NPST-2PL    maybe    poor one    cold-3SG=VCL    eat.NPST-3SG

'bayayt                  ge'sā                  'ē                  šot      be      ge'sā  
 bay-ay-t                  ges-ā                  ē                  šot      be      ges-ā  
 SBJV-come.NPST-3SG    house-OBL    PROX    go.PST    inside    house-OBL

[The uncle] said, “Take some money and give him”; [someone] said, “He did not accept [it]”; [the uncle] said /that/ “Open the door [and] let him come into the house, maybe the poor one is cold”; the Mullah (lit. he) went inside the house.

### SS:66

ē'dā    'dara                  'jant                  'goštant                  'xodāyā                  'ē                  pa'če  
 ēdā    dar=a                  jant-Ø                  gošt-ant                  xodā-yā                  ē                  pače  
 here    door=VCL    hit.PST-3SG    say.PST-3PL    God-VOC    PROX    why

'ēranga                  'kant                  goš'tant                  pa'če    na...  
 ē-rang=a                  kan-t                  gošt-ant                  pače    na  
 PROX-kind=VCL    do.NPST-3SG    say.PST-3PL    why    no

'naraw                  a'nūn    nemā'sām    en                                  naz'zīke    nemā'sām  
 na-raw-Ø                  anūn    nemāšām    =en                                  nazzīk=e    nemāšām  
 NEG-go.NPST-3SG    now    sunset                  =COP.NPST.3SG    near=EZ    sunset

*en* *nemā'sāmay* 'waxt *en* 'ē *mo'lā*  
 =en nemāšām-ay waxt =en ē molā  
 =COP.NPST.3SG sunset-GEN time =COP.NPST.3SG PROX Mullah

*nay'dar j'ān pē'lekkē* *be go'tay* *en* *ke*  
 naydarjān pēlekk=ē be goṭṭay =en ke  
 Neydar Jan big bag=IND to neck.OBL.PC.3SG =COP.NPST.3SG CLM

*a'nūn 'ā... 'ē 'gol* *be 'zā... mar'dakay* 'dastā  
 anūn ā ē gol be zā mard-ak-ay dast-ā  
 now DIST PROX flower to FRAG man-EV-GEN hand-OBL

*enta* *nā'kōay* *šwā'nagay* 'pes... *nā'kō*  
 =ent-a nākō-ay šwānag-ay pes nākō  
 =COP.NPST.3SG-PP uncle-GEN shepherd-GEN father uncle

*en* *ke* *je'nekay* *wā'onden*  
 =en ke jenek-ay wāond=en  
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM girl-GEN owner=COP.NPST.3SG

There he was knocking on the door; they said, “Oh God, why is he doing like this”; they said, “Why not... is he not going”; now it was sunset; It was about sunset, it was the time of sunset; this Mullah Neydar Jan had a big bag around his neck; now that... this flower was in the boy... man's hand, (lit. he was) his uncle, the shepherd's father... uncle who was the owner of the daughter.

## SS:67

'ēdā *ke* *go'lā* 'dīst *ke* 'gošt 'gol  
 ēdā ke gol-ā dīst-Ø ke gošt-Ø gol  
 here CLM flower-OBL see.PST-3SG CLM say.PST-3SG flower

*ha'mēš* *ent* *de'ga* 'ā 'elm 'dāšt  
 ham=ēš =ent dega ā elm dāšt-Ø  
 EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG you know DIST knowledge have.PST-3SG

*mo'lā* *nay'dar j'ān* *de'ga* 'hečkas 'našotat *ke*  
 molā naydarjān dega hečkas na-šot=at ke  
 Mullah Neydar Jan you know nobody NEG-go.PST=COP.PST.3SG CLM

'ber *gardī* *ē'sī* 'elm *bā'zā... bālā*  
 ber gard-ī ēšī elm bāzā bālā  
 PREV turn.NPST-3SG PROX.GEN knowledge FRAG up

A. Text Corpus

'būt ke šā'ī gwā'zēnt 'ēdā 'dīst  
 būt-Ø ke šāī gwāzēnt-Ø ēdā dīst-Ø  
 become.PST-3SG CLM from.DIST.OBL spend.NPST-3SG here see.PST-3SG

'gošte... 'ēš 'gošte 'čīyā 'lōtay  
 gošt=e ēš gošt=e čī-yā lōt-ay  
 say.PST=PC.3SG PROX say.PST=PC.3SG what-OBL want.NPST-2SG

'gošt a'mā go'lā 'lōfīn 'gošt  
 gošt-Ø am=ā gol-ā lōt-īn gošt-Ø  
 say.PST-3SG EMPH=DIST flower-OBL want.NPST-1SG say.PST-3SG

bā'dī 'haf 'sāl 'mnā xo'dā... 'mnī bā'gay 'tā  
 bād=ī haf sāl mnā xodā mnī bāg-ay tā  
 after=EZ seven year PN.1SG.OBJ God PN.1SG.GEN garden-GEN in

'čīzē 'nabūta 'yak 'golē  
 čīz=ē na-būt-a=Ø yak gol=ē  
 thing=IND NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one flower=IND

ha'mē go'lā 'man 'trā 'bdaīn  
 ham=ē gol-ā man trā b-da-īn  
 EMPH=PROX flower-OBL PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ SBJV-give.NPST-1SG

'ta de'ga 'čīzē ġa'būla 'nakanay  
 ta dega čīz=ē ġabūl=a na-kan-ay  
 PN.2SG you know thing=IND accepting=VCL NEG-do.NPST-2SG

goš'ta 'na a'mā go'lā 'lōfīn  
 gošt-a=Ø na am=ā gol-ā lōt-īn  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG no EMPH=DIST flower-OBL want.NPST-1SG

When he saw the flower, he said [to himself] /that/ “This is that flower”; you know, he had [supernatural] knowledge; Mullah neydar Jan; well, no one had gone [there and] come back; the boy’s knowledge (lit. his) was so great /that/ he surpassed [the Mullah]; there (lit. here) he saw; he said,... he said, “What do you want?”; he said, “I want that flower”; he said, “After seven years, God me...there has been nothing in my garden, a flower, [how] I should give this flower to you?; don’t you accept anything else?”; the Mullah (lit. he) said, “No, I want that flower.”





A. Text Corpus

SS:70

'ā 'čōn 'ko 'ā 'watrā 'bāz 'morgē 'kort  
 ā čōn ko-Ø ā wat-rā bāz morg=ē kort-Ø  
 DIST what do.PST-3SG DIST REFL-OBJ again hen=IND do.PST-3SG

o 'gō 'dah pāz'dāh dā'nag čō'kūyā 'tek 'tek o ko'rok  
 =o gō dah pāzdāh dānag čōkū-yā tek tek =o kořok  
 =and with ten fifteen CL chicken-OBL cluck cluck =and cluck

ko'rok o ko'rok o ko'rok o ko'rok o ko'rok  
 kořok =o kořok =o kořok =o kořok =o kořok  
 cluck =and cluck =and cluck =and cluck =and cluck

moč'čēnānā 'čēt o ē'sānā  
 močč-ēn-ān-ā čēt-Ø =o ēšānā  
 all-ATTR-OBL.PL-OBJ pick.PST-3SG =and PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ

'wārt čūča'dār... 'yak dā'nagē 'yak 'jāē pan'hān  
 wārt-Ø čūčadār yak dānag=ē yak jā=ē panhān  
 eat.PST-3SG hen one CL=IND one place=IND hidden

'mant kaw'say ta 'ā wa'tā ro'bāhē 'korto  
 mant-Ø kawš-ay ta ā wat-ā robāh=ē kort-Ø=o  
 stay.PST-3SG shoe-GEN in DIST REFL-OBL fox=IND do.PST-3SG=and

moč'čānī sa'ragā 'sest o 'wārt 'ta  
 močč-ān-ī sarag-ā sest-Ø =o wārt-Ø ta  
 all-OBL.PL-GEN head-OBL pluck.PST-3SG =and eat.PST-3SG PN.2SG

'bra 'bjī 'kan  
 b-ra-Ø b-jī-Ø Ø-kan-Ø  
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG IMPV-run.NPST-2SG IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

'āškā o 'ā 'bjī kan  
 āšk-ā =o ā b-jī-Ø Ø-kan-Ø  
 that side-OBL =and DIST IMPV-run.NPST-2SG IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

ēn'goro 'ē 'bjī 'kan ke 'ē  
 ēngor=o ē b-jī-Ø Ø-kan-Ø ke ē  
 this side=and PROX IMPV-run.NPST-2SG IMPV-do.NPST-2SG CLM PROX

<i>'jēnnē</i>	<i>at</i>		<i>'ē</i>	<i>'čīyē</i>	<i>at</i>
ǰēnn=ē	=at-Ø		ē	čī=yē	=at-Ø
ǰinn=IND	=COP.PST.3SG-3SG	PROX	what=IND	=COP.PST.3SG-3SG	

<i>ē'rang</i>	<i>'ūt</i>	<i>'harka</i>	<i>'pwatō</i>	<i>'šot</i>	<i>pwat</i>
ē-rang	ūt-Ø	harka	pwatō	šot-Ø	pwat
PROX-kind	become.PST-3SG	everybody	for.SELF	go.PST-3SG	for.REFL

What did the Mullah (lit. he) do?; he made himself a hen instead, and with ten, fifteen chicks and with cluck, cluck, cluck it picked up all [the grain] and ate it, the hen...; one [grain] was left hidden inside a shoe; the boy (lit. he) made himself a fox and plucked off all the chicken's heads and ate them; you run in this direction and he should run in this direction; she should run away, this was a jinn; what was this [that] turned out this way?; everybody ran away for self."

## SS:71

<i>goṛān</i>	<i>ša...</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'šo</i>	<i>ē'šānā</i>	<i>'wārt</i>
goṛān	ša	ē	ke	šo-Ø	ēšānā	wārt-Ø
then	from	PROX	CLM	go.PST-3SG	PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ	eat.PST-3SG

<i>ba'čak</i>	<i>'watrā</i>	<i>mar'domē</i>	<i>'kort</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ōš'tāt</i>	<i>pa</i>
bačak	wat-rā	mardom=ē	kort-Ø	=o	ōštāt-Ø	pa
boy	REFL-OBJ	people=IND	do.PST-3SG	=and	stay.PST-3SG	for

*ne'māzā*  
nemāz-ā  
prayer-OBL

Then from... when the fox (lit. he) went and ate them; the boy made himself a man and stood up to pray.

## SS:72

<i>ōš'tāt</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'wtī</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'wtī</i>	<i>ne'māzā</i>
ōštāt-Ø	pa	wtī	nemāz-ā	=o	wtī	nemāz-ā
stay.PST-3SG	for	REFL.GEN	prayer-OBL	=and	REFL.GEN	prayer-OBL

<i>ke</i>	<i>'kort</i>	<i>'goṛān</i>	<i>'dīstī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ēdā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>'ādā</i>
ke	kort-Ø	goṛān	dīst=ī	ke	ēdā	=o	ādā
CLM	do.PST-3SG	then	see.PST=PC.3SG	CLM	here	=and	there

A. Text Corpus

*mar'doma jī'ant*                      *o mar'doma kā'yant*  
 mardom=a jī-ant                      =o mardom=a k-āy-ant  
 people=VCL run.NPST-3PL =and people=VCL IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

*goš'ta*                                      *'xodāyepārēn 'ēdā 'šmā 'pače*  
 gošt-a=Ø                                      'xodāyepārēn ēdā šmā pače  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Godness                      here PN.2PL why

*jī'yet*                      *goš'ta*                                      *amēran'gēn*  
 jī-yet                      gošt-a=Ø                                      am=ē-rang-ēn  
 run.NPST-2PL say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR

*barnā'maē būta*                                      *'gošte*                                      *'balke*  
 barnāma=ē būt-a=Ø                                      gošt=e                                      balke  
 plan=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG say.PST=PC.3SG maybe

*xo'dāye 'hamr 'yak 'wābē*                      *'yak 'čizē*                                      *bešā'nī*  
 xodā-ye hamr yak wāb=ē                      yak čiz=ē                                      bešānī  
 God-GEN order one sleep=IND one thing=IND to.PROX.OBL.PL.GEN

*čam'mā kor'ta*  
 čamm-ā kort-a=Ø  
 eye-OBL do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He stood up for his prayers; when he had said (lit. did) his prayer; then he saw /that/, people were running away and coming [back] in this and that direction; he said, “Oh my Godness, why you are running away there (lit. here)”; one of them (lit. he) said, “There has been such a scene”; he said, “Maybe, by the command of God, a dream, a thing has appeared to them (lit. their eyes).”

SS:73

*'gorān 'ē*                      *'ātanto*                                      *ā'češo*                      *ēn'goro*                                      *ān'gor*  
 gorān ē                      āt-ant=o                                      āčeš=o                      ēngor=o                                      āngor  
 then                      PROX come.PST-3PL=and fire=and this side=and that direction

*kor'tant*                      *salāma'laykē*                      *kortant*                                      *goš'ta*  
 kort-ant                      salāmalayk=ē kort-ant                                      gošt-a=Ø  
 do.PST-3PL greeting=IND do.PST-3PL say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*'byā*                                      *ke... pe'sī*                                      *ta'rīf*                      *kortant*                      *ke*  
 by-ā-Ø                                      ke p-ešī                                      tarīf                      kort-ant                      ke  
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM for-PROX.OBL account do.PST-3PL CLM

<i>'byā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>amēran'gēn</i>	<i>barnā'maē</i>
by-ā-Ø	ke	am=ē-rang-ēn	barnāma=ē
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	CLM	EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR	plan=IND

<i>am'may</i>	<i>'gesā</i>	<i>'būt</i>
ammay	ges-ā	būt-Ø
1.PL.EXCL.GEN	house-OBL	become.PST-3SG

Then, they came and lit a fire and things like that; they exchanged greetings, one of them (lit. he) said “Look, /that/,...” they told him /that/ look /that/, there was such a scene in our house.”

**SS:74**

<i>gošte</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'hēčč</i>	<i>'drost</i>	<i>'nakortay</i>
gošt=e	ke	ta	hēčč	drost	na-kort-ay
say.PST=PC.3SG	CLM	PN.2SG	nothing	right	NEG-do.PST-2SG

<i>ē'sānā</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'na</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'nazānīn</i>
ēšānā	gošt=e	na	man	na-zān-īn
PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ	say.PST=PC.3SG	no	PN.1SG	NEG-know.NPST-1SG

<i>'aslan</i>	<i>am'mā</i>	<i>'nazānta</i>	<i>ke</i>
aslan	ammā	na-zānt-a=Ø	ke
at all	PN.1PL.EXCL	NEG-know.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	CLM

<i>amēran'gēn</i>	<i>sānī'yaē</i>	<i>'bīt</i>	<i>a'mā</i>
am=ē-rang-ēn	sānīya=ē	b-īt	am=ā
EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR	scene=IND	become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=DIST

<i>amēran'gēn</i>	<i>barnā'maē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>sānī'yaē</i>	<i>am'mā</i>
am=ē-rang-ēn	barnāma=ē	=o	sānīya=ē	ammā
EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR	plan=IND	=and	scene=IND	PN.1PL.EXCL

<i>'bādī</i>	<i>'haf</i>	<i>sālā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>am'may</i>	<i>'bāg</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ḡe'gāro</i>
bād=ī	haf	sāl-ā	ke	ammay	bāg	=o	ḡegār=o
after=EZ	seven	year-OBL	CLM	1.PL.EXCL.GEN	garden	=and	field=and

<i>ta'māme</i>	<i>am'may</i>	<i>zende'gī</i>	<i>'hōšk</i>	<i>ūta</i>
tamām=e	ammay	zendegī	hōšk	ūt-a=Ø
all=EZ	1.PL.EXCL.GEN	life	dry	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

A. Text Corpus

*o* 'šta *am'mā* 'yak 'golē *be*  
 =o št-a=Ø ammā yak gol=ē be  
 =and go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL.EXCL one flower=IND to

*bā'gay* 'tā 'dīstant *o* *go'lā* *ā'ortant*  
 bāg-ay tā dīst-ant =o gol-ā āort-ant  
 garden-GEN in see.PST-3PL =and flower-OBL bring.PST-3PL

*dor'bēšē* *ā'ta* *ge'say* *da'pā*  
 dorbēš=ē āt-a=Ø ges-ay dapā  
 Dervish=IND come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG house-GEN in front of

*gep'ta* *o* *dor'bēš* 'nī *hē'čiyā*  
 gept-a=Ø =o dorbēš nī hēčī-yā  
 take.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and Dervish now nothing-OBL

*'nalōteta* *a'mī* *go'lā*  
 na-lōtet-a=Ø am=ī gol-ā  
 NEG-want.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=PROX flower-OBL

*lōte'ta* *man* 'prēnton *al'gāč*  
 lōtet-a=Ø man prēnt-on algāč  
 want.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG throw.PST-1SG throwing

*'korton* 'ā 'morgē 'kort *enka* *čū'čāg*  
 kort-on ā morg=ē kort-Ø enka čūčāg  
 do.PST-1SG DIST hen=IND do.PST-3SG this much chicken

*'korto* 'klot 'klot 'kort *o* 'yak *dā'nagē...* 'bāz  
 kort-Ø=o klot klot kort-Ø =o yak dānag=ē bāz  
 do.PST-3SG=and cluck cluck do.PST-3SG =and one CL=IND much

*ro'bāhē* 'sesto... 'byā *ke*  
 robāh=ē sest-Ø=o by-ā-Ø ke  
 fox=IND pluck.PST-3SG=and IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM

*ēran'gēn* 'hamrē *am'may* 'dap *bas'ta*  
 ē-rang-ēn hamr=ē ammay dap bast-a  
 PROX-kind-ATTR order=IND 1.PL.EXCL.GEN mouth close.PST-PP



A. Text Corpus

*ā'erā* 'man 'wārton 'man 'watrā 'golē  
 āerā man wārt-on man wat-rā gol=ē  
 DIST.OBL.OBJ PN.1SG eat.PST-1SG PN.1SG REFL-OBJ flower=IND

'korton ša'mādā ke 'ē 'mnī pa'dā  
 kort-on šamādā ke ē mnī padā  
 do.PST-1SG from.EMPH.DIST CLM PROX PN.1SG.GEN again

*kap'ta* ta'mēdā 'čenka 'šap o 'rōč  
 kapt-a=Ø tamēdā čenka šap =o rōč  
 fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG till.EMPH.DIST so much night =and day

'ēš be 'mnī pa'dā en 'man ā'erā...  
 ēš be mnī padā =en man āerā  
 PROX to PN.1SG.GEN behind =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG DIST.OBL.OBJ

'ā wa'tā pa'kīrē 'korto 'ta 'golā  
 ā wat-ā pakīr=ē kort-Ø=o ta gol-ā  
 DIST REFL-OBL Dervish=IND do.PST-3SG=and PN.2SG flower-OBL

*al'gāč* 'kortay ar'zon 'būton 'man wa'tā ar'zon  
 algāč kort-ay arzon būt-on man wat-ā arzon  
 throwing do.PST-2SG millet become.PST-1SG PN.1SG REFL-OBL millet

'korton kaw'šānī 'tā o 'ā wa'tā šag...  
 kort-on kawš-ān-ī tā =o ā wat-ā šag  
 do.PST-1SG shoe-OBL.PL-GEN inside =and DIST REFL-OBL FRAG

*mor'gē* 'kort čūča'dārēn o čō'kū ša 'yak sa'rā  
 morg=ē kort-Ø čūčadār-ēn =o čōkū ša yak sarā  
 hen=IND do.PST-3SG hen-ATTR =and chicken from one on

*ses'tanto* wār'tant 'goṛān 'tok 'tok 'kort ko'tok  
 sest-ant=o wārt-ant goṛān tok tok kort-Ø koṭok  
 pluck.PST-3PL=and eat.PST-3PL then cluck cluck do.PST-3SG cluck

*ko'tok* 'ko moč'čānā 'čēt 'yak dā'nagē  
 koṭok ko-Ø močč-ān-ā čēt-Ø yak dānag=ē  
 cluck do.PST-3SG all-OBL.PL-OBJ pick.PST-3SG one CL=IND



'mant            'man    wa'tā        ro'bāhē    'korton        sa'ragē  
 mant-Ø        man    wat-ā        robāh=ē    kort-on        sarag=ē  
 stay.PST-3SG PN.1SG REFL-OBL fox=IND do.PST-1SG head=PC.3SG

'seston            'moččānā        'wārtōn        ta            'annūn    'wtī  
 sest-on            močč-ān-ā        wārt-on        ta            annūn    wtī  
 pluck.PST-1SG all-OBL.PL-OBJ eat.PST-1SG PN.2SG now        REFL.GEN

je'nekā    be    'mnā            da'yay            yā    'nadayay  
 jenek-ā    be    mnā            day-ay            yā    na-day-ay  
 girl-OBL    to    PN.1SG.OBJ    give.NPST-2SG    or    NEG-give.NPST-2SG

'gošt            'nadr    pa    'ta            xay'rāton                            'bāndā  
 gošt-Ø        nadr    pa    ta            xayrāt=on                            bāndā  
 say.PST-3SG sacrifice for PN.2SG sacrifice=COP.NPST.1SG tomorrow

'bra                            'say    'dōl    'byār                            'trā  
 b-ra-Ø                            say    dōl    by-ār-Ø                            trā  
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG three drum IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG PN.2SG.OBJ

da'īn  
 da-īn  
 give.NPST-1SG

[The boy] said, “Now do you know who that was and I...; and who the other one was?”; he said, “That was that very Mullah Neydar Jan /that/ you didn't give your daughter to me; that one was that very Mullah Neydar Jan whom I ate, I made myself a flower; from that place where he started to chase me till here; he was chasing me for several nights and days, I him...; he made himself as dervish and [when] you threw the flower I became millet; I made myself into millet inside the shoes, but he made himself... a hen with chicks, and the chicks picked up [the grain] and ate it all (lit. from one side), after that, it did...; they clucked, clucked, clucked, clucked, clucked and picked up all [the grain] (lit. them); one was left so I made myself a fox [and] plucked off their heads [and] ate them all; now do you give your daughter to me or not?”; he said, “Of course my dear (lit. sacrifice for you, I am sacrificed) go and bring three drums tomorrow, I will give [her] to you.”

SS:77

goš'ta                            'na    'tī                            je'nek    'tī                            'māl  
 gošt-a=Ø                            na    tī                            jenek    tī                            māl  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG no PN.2SG.GEN girl    PN.2SG.GEN animal



*o pa'šmā 'lālā deš'tārē*  
 =o pa-šmā lālā deštār=ē  
 =and for-PN.2PL brother fiancée=IND

I broken and mended and [brought] for you a faith and for you, my dear (lit. brother), a fiancée.

**SS:80**

*ba'čak 'šot 'wīl pe'say ge'sā 'ōdā*  
 bačak šot-Ø wīl pesay ges-ā ōdā  
 boy go.PST-3SG REFL.GEN father.OBL.PC.3SG house-OBL there

*'šot das'tā 'kašše mās'ay 'čamm rō'san*  
 šot-Ø dast-ā kašše-Ø māsay čamm rōšan  
 go.PST-3SG hand-OBL pull.PST-3SG mother.OBL.PC.3SG eye light

*būtan 'kōr at 'pesay 'asa... oftā'da*  
 büt-an kōr =at-Ø pes-ay asa oftāda  
 become.PST-3PL blind =COP.PST.3SG-3SG father-GEN FRAG fallen

*būtat 'ā om rō'san büt*  
 büt=at-Ø ā =om rōšan büt-Ø  
 become.PST=COP.PST.3SG-3SG DIST =ADD light become.PST-3SG

*ē'sānā om 'če ko ša'mēdā ba'čak*  
 ēšānā =om če ko-Ø šamēdā bačak  
 PROX.OBL.PL.OBJ =ADD what do.PST-3SG from.EMPH.PROX boy

*'ešt o 'šot pa mo'lā nay'dar 'jānī je'nekā*  
 ešt-Ø =o šot-Ø pa molā naydarjān-ī jenek-ā  
 leave.PST-3SG =and go.PST-3SG for Mullah Neydar Jan-GEN girl-OBL

*'šot ā'erā šā'dā 'gō 'māl o ser'watā...*  
 šot-Ø āerā šādā gō māl =o serwat-ā  
 go.PST-3SG DIST.OBL.OBJ from.DIST with wealth =and riches-OBL

*'ōdā 'dōl sor... 'dōl o sūr'nā ko 'šap o*  
 ōdā dōl sor dōl =o sūr-nā ko-Ø šap =o  
 there drum FRAG drum =and hautboy-OBL do.PST-3SG night =and

*'rōč 'dōl 'gašto pākī'zag 'dōlo damā'mag 'kort*  
 rōč dōl gašt-Ø=o pākīzag dōl=o damāmag kort-Ø  
 day drum turn.PST-3SG=and nicely drum=and echo do.PST-3SG

## A. Text Corpus

*pa pāde'sāhī a'mā      ĵe'nekā 'gept*  
pa pādešāh-ī am=ā      ĵenek-ā gept-Ø  
for king-ADJZ EMPH=DIST girl-OBL take.PST-3SG

The boy went to his father's house; [when] he went there, he touched his mother's eyes with his hand, they (lit. his mother's eyes) became enlightened; she was (lit. they were) blind; his father... had become very weak (lit. fallen); he also became strong (lit. enlightened); he did like this, from there the boy went to Mullah Neydar Jan's daughter; he went, [and brought] her from there with her wealth and riches; drums and hau...; he played the drums and hautboy for [several] days and nights; the drums were played nicely; he married that girl in royal manner.

### SS:81

*'man ses'ton      o bas'ton      paš'mā      ī'mānē pa*  
man sest-on      =o bast-on      pa-šmā      īmān=ē pa  
PN.1SG break.PST-1SG =and tie.PST-1SG for-PN.2PL faith=IND for

*'man ī'mānē      o pa'šmā      deš'tārē      'ē      'mnī*  
man īmān=ē =o pa-šmā      deštār=ē      ē      mnī  
PN.1SG faith=IND =and for-PN.2PL fiancée=IND PROX PN.1SG.GEN

*āsmā'nak a'lās ūt*  
āsmānak alās ūt-Ø  
story finish become.PST-3SG

I broke and mended, I [brought] a faith for you... a faith for me and a fiancée for you; [here] my story finished.

## A.4. Text 4: Two Brothers

### Two Brothers

#### 'do 'brās

*recounted by Gol Pari Nourzaei*

### TB:1

*'būto      'būt      ša      moš'may      xo'dā*  
būt-Ø=o      būt-Ø      ša      mošmay      xodā  
become.PST-3SG=and become.PST-3SG from PN.1PL.INC.GEN God



## A. Text Corpus

'gepto            ā'wort  
gept=o            āwort-Ø  
take.PST=and    bring.PST-3SG

Then, what happened /that/... a daughter and a son were left from her; Karam went and got married to a crazy Narui woman and brought [her].

### TB:5

ga'nōkē    gepto                    ā'wort            o    na'kō... 'brās  
ganōk=e    gept-Ø=o            āwort-Ø            =o    nakō    brās  
mad=IND    take.PST-3SG=and    bring.PST-3SG    =and    FRAG    brother

'āt                    mo'lā    a'zam    'āt                    'hančō    ke    kalatrā'sak  
āt-Ø                    molā    azam    āt-Ø                    hančō    ke    kalatrā'sak  
come.PST-3SG    Mullah    Azam    come.PST-3SG    such    CLM    small

būt                    jēne'kō    čogo'rok    ūto                    kalatrā'sakē  
būt-Ø                    jenek-ō    čogorok    ūt-Ø=o                    kalatrā'sak=e  
become.PST-3SG    girl-EV    small    become.PST-3SG=and    small=IND

'āt                    'gošte                    'lālā    'mnī                    zā'gā    pa  
āt-Ø                    gošt=e                    lālā    mnī                    zāg-ā    pa  
come.PST-3SG    say.PST=PC.3SG    brother    PN.1SG.GEN    child-OBL    for

wa'tī                    parzendī'yā            ġa'būl    kan  
wat-ī                    parzend-ī-yā            ġabūl    Ø-kan-Ø  
REFL-GEN    child-ADJZ-OBL    accepting    IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

'gošte                    ay    'lālā    'mnī                    jē'nek    pa'tī  
gošt=e                    ay    lālā    mnī                    jenek    pa-tī  
say.PST=PC.3SG    VOC    brother    PN.1SG.GEN    girl    for-PN.2SG.GEN

čāde'rā...    pa'tī                    lēngō'tā    xay'rāt    'ē    na  
čāder-ā    pa-tī                    lēngōt-ā    xayrāt    ē    na  
Chador-OBL    for-PN.2SG.GEN    turban-OBL    sacrifice    PROX    no

nā'nī                    o    na    ā'pīye                    o    'na    'hečī  
nān-ī                    =o    na    āp-ī=ye                    =o    na    hečī  
bread-NMLZ    =and    no    water-NMLZ=IND    =and    no    nothing

'ne                    'gošte                    'bītogō    'man    ba'rīn  
ne                    gošt=e                    bītogō    man    bar-īn  
NEG.COP.NPST.3SG    say.PST=PC.3SG    alright    PN.1SG    take.NPST-1SG

*ha'mōdā*    *'yāda*    *gīt*  
 ham=ōdā    yād=a    g-īt  
 EMPH=there learn=VCL take.NPST-3SG

He got married to a crazy woman and brought [her] and uncle...; the brother came; Mullah Azam came; when [the girl] was a little bit grown up; the girl was a little bit grown up, [about nine years old]; she was a little bit grown up; he said, “My brother, give your daughter to my son (lit. accept my son as your own child)”; he said, “My brother, sure (lit. my daughter is sacrificed for your chador... your turban), [but] she knows nothing (lit. she is neither for water nor for bread, nor for anything)”; he said, “Alright, I’ll bring [her], she will learn there.”

**TB:6**

*'hamōdā*    *'yāda*    *gīt*                    *'go*            *xayle xob*  
 ham=ōdā    yād=a    g-īt                    go-Ø            xayle xob  
 EMPH=there learn=VCL take.NPST-3SG say.PST-3SG very alright

She will learn there; he said, “OK.”

**TB:7**

*'šamēdā*                    *ǰene'kā*    *'zorto*                    *'bort*            *nā'kō*  
 šamēdā                    ǰenek-ā    zort-Ø=o                    bort-Ø            nākō  
 from.EMPH.PROX girl-OBL take.PST-3SG=and take.PST-3SG uncle

*a'zamī*            *ge'sā*            *'brās*    *'hamōdā*            *ǰe'nekay*    *'geso*  
 azam-ī            ges-ā            brās    ham=ōdā            ǰenek-ay    ges=o  
 Azam-GEN house-OBL brother EMPH=there girl-GEN house=and

*ā'ī*            *ge'sā*            *'dōl*    *o*            *'sāzo*            *sōr'nā*    *o*  
 āī            ges-ā            dōl    =o            sāz=o            sōrnā    =o  
 DIST.OBL house-OBL drum =and music=and hautboy =and

*ā'rōs*                    *o*            *pākī'zag*    *'gept*                    *xolā'sa*  
 ārōs                    =o            pākīzag    gept-Ø                    xolāsa  
 wedding celebration =and nicely take.PST-3SG well

The brother took (lit. took and carried) the girl from there (lit. here) to Azam’s house (lit. uncle Azam); you know, he held the girl’s wedding celebration with drums, music, and hautboy in a nice way there in his place.

A. Text Corpus

**TB:8**

'gorā 'čī o wā'čī būt ke 'neštanto  
 goṛā čī =o wāčī būt-Ø ke nešt-ant=o  
 then what =and what become.PST-3SG CLM sit.PST-3PL=and

ē'sānī ā'rōsā gwā'zēntanto xo'dā  
 ēš-ān-ī ārōs-ā gwāzēnt-ant=o xodā  
 PROX-OBL.PL-GEN wedding celebration-OBL spend.NPST-3PL=and God

'šokr 'kortanto nā'kō ka'ram 'āt wa'tī  
 šokr kort-ant=o nākō ka'ram āt-Ø wat-ī  
 thank do.PST-3PL=and uncle karam come.PST-3SG REFL-GEN

ge'sā o je'nekā ta'bīl dāt be brā'say  
 ges-ā =o jenek-ā tābīl dāt-Ø be brās-ay  
 house-OBL =and girl-OBL delivery give.PST-3SG to brother-GEN

zā'gā o be ā'ī xānawā'dahā  
 zāg-ā =o be āī xānawādah-ā  
 child-OBL =and to DIST.OBL family-OBL

Then, it so happened (lit. it was thing and thing) /that/, they stayed and held their wedding celebration and thanked God and Karam came back to his place and gave the girl to his nephew (lit. the brother's son) and his family.

**TB:9**

'ešto 'āt  
 ešt-Ø=o āt-Ø  
 leave.PST-3SG=and come.PST-3SG

He came back (lit. left and came).

**TB:10**

'ešto 'āt 'ē bečā'rag āje'zā 'hečīā  
 ešt-Ø=o āt-Ø ē bečārag ājezā hečī-ā  
 leave.PST-3SG=and come.PST-3SG PROX poor girl nothing-OBL

'nazānt na ša 'šīrēa 'zānt o na  
 na-zānt-Ø na ša šīr=ē-a zānt-Ø =o na  
 NEG-know.PST-3SG no from milk=IND-OBL know.PST-3SG =and no



*ša 'nānēa 'zānto na ša 'ārto*  
 ša nān=ē-a zānt-Ø=o na ša ārt=o  
 from bread=IND-OBL know.PST-3SG=and no from flour=and

*'tarrēa 'zānto 'hečī pa 'hečī 'hečīa*  
 tarr=ē-a zānt-Ø=o hečī pa hečī hečī-a  
 wet=IND-OBL know.PST-3SG=and nothing for nothing nothing-OBL

*'nazānt*  
 na-zānt-Ø  
 NEG-know.PST-3SG

He came back; (lit. left and came); this poor [one], the girl did not know anything; she did not know [what to do with] milk; she did not know [how to bake] bread; she did not know [how do make] dough (lit. flour and dough), and she knew nothing, nothing at all.

**TB:11**

*'kāt bēgā'hī 'marda 'kāt*  
 k-āt-Ø bēgāh-ī mard=a k-āt-Ø  
 IMP.k-come.PST-3SG evening-ADVZ husband=VCL IMP.k-come.PST-3SG

*men'nata ko ke 'ē ke 'šmā 'mnā*  
 mennat=a ko-Ø ke ē ke šmā mnā  
 complaint=VCL do.PST-3SG CLM PROX CLM PN.2PL PN.1SG.OBJ

*'dātet 'hečīa 'nazān 'ay marō'čī bān'dā nā'kō*  
 dāt-et hečī-a na-zān ay marōčī bāndā nākō  
 give.PST-2PL nothing-OBL no-know.NPST well today tomorrow uncle

*haw'selaa kort o haw'selaa korto haw'selaa*  
 hawsela=a kort-Ø =o hawsela=a kort-Ø=o hawsela=a  
 patient=VCL do.PST-3SG =and patient=VCL do.PST-3SG=and patient=VCL

*korto ay ma'rōčī 'bāndā 'xoba bīt*  
 kort-Ø=o ay marōčī bāndā xob=a b-īt  
 do.PST-3SG=and well today tomorrow good=VCL become.NPST-3SG

*gwan'dēnē 'tūa bīt 'kam 'kam*  
 gwand-ēn=ē tū=a b-īt kam kam  
 young-ATTR=IND big=VCL become.NPST-3SG little little

He came in the evening, her husband came [and] complained [saying] /that/,

## A. Text Corpus

“This [girl] who you gave to me; she knows nothing”; well, for some time (lit. today tomorrow), the father-in-law (lit. uncle) was patient and was patient and was patient; [he said] “Today [or] tomorrow, she will be good; she is small; she will grow up slowly and slowly.”

### TB:12

<i>'rōčē</i>	<i>būt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ba'čakay</i>	<i>'mās</i>	<i>'āt</i>	<i>o</i>
rōč=ē	būt-Ø	ke	bačak-ay	mās	āt-Ø	=o
day=IND	become.PST-3SG	CLM	boy-GEN	mother	come.PST-3SG	=and

<i>mar'dā</i>	<i>'gošt</i>	<i>'gošt</i>	<i>'ta</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>čō'nēn</i>
mard-ā	gošt-Ø	gošt-Ø	ta	ē	čōn-ēn
husband-OBL	say.PST-3SG	say.PST-3SG	PN.2SG	PROX	what-ATTR

<i>'čizē</i>	<i>ā'wortay</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>čō'nēn</i>	<i>je'nekē</i>	<i>ā'wortay</i>
čiz=ē	āwort-ay	ke	čōn-ēn	jenek=ē	āwort-ay
thing=IND	bring.PST-2SG	CLM	what-ATTR	girl=IND	bring.PST-2SG

<i>ke</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>zā'gay</i>	<i>das...</i>	<i>goṭ'tā</i>	<i>dā'tay</i>	<i>na ša</i>
ke	mnī	zāg-ay	das	gott-ā	dāt-ay	na ša
CLM	PN.1SG.GEN	child-GEN	hand	neck-OBL	give.PST-2SG	no from

<i>'nānēa</i>	<i>'zānto</i>	<i>na ša</i>	<i>'āpēa</i>
nān=ē-a	zānt-Ø=o	na ša	āp=ē=a
bread=IND-OBL	know.PST-3SG=and	no from	water=IND=VCL

<i>'zānt</i>	<i>'hečī</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>'hečī</i>	<i>'hečīa</i>	<i>'nazānt</i>
zānt-Ø	hečī	pa	hečī	hečī-a	na-zānt-Ø
know.PST-3SG	nothing	for	nothing	nothing-OBL	NEG-know.PST-3SG

<i>ham'mā</i>	<i>'hanū</i>	<i>'čōn</i>	<i>'kanan</i>
hammā	hanū	čōn	Ø-kan-an
PN.1PL.EXCL	now	what	SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

One day, (lit. it was a day) when the boy’s mother came and said to her husband (lit. the man); she said, “What is this thing brought?; what kind of a girl did you bring [and] give to my son (lit. put her around my son’s hand... throat); she neither knows [how to bake] bread, nor [how to bring] water; nothing at all; she knows nothing; what should we do now?”

**TB:13**

'gošte 'harčī bīt ke 'mnī 'brās  
 gošt=e harčī b-īt ke mnī brās  
 say.PST=PC.3SG whatever become.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG.GEN brother

pa 'mnī lēn'gōtā dā'ta 'tūa  
 pa mnī lēngōt-ā dāt-a=Ø tū=a  
 for PN.1SG.GEN turban-OBL give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG big=VCL

bī 'xoba bī  
 b-ī xob=a b-ī  
 become.NPST-3SG good=VCL become.NPST-3SG

He said, “Whatever she is, since my brother has given her out of respect for me (lit. for my turban); she will grow up, [and] turn out good.”

**TB:14**

tā ā'xerā ke 'kam 'kamo 'kam 'kam 'ē je'nek... ē  
 tā āxer-ā ke kam kam=o kam kam ē jenek ē  
 till end-OBL CLM little little=and little little PROX girl PROX

bā'nā ā'wortant ke čā'derā... 'alāke wa'tī  
 bānā āwort-ant ke čāder-ā alāke wat-ī  
 start bring.PST-3PL CLM Chador-OBL you know REFL-GEN

čā'derā sō'čīt o 'alāke 'nāna  
 čāder-ā sōč-īt =o alāke nān-a  
 Chador-OBL burn.NPST-3SG =and you know bread-OBL

'nazānto 'alāke 'šīra... ē'šerā  
 na-zānt-Ø=o alāke šīr-a ēšerā  
 NEG-know.PST-3SG=and you know milk-OBL PROX.OBL.OBJ

'jatanto 'xorda kortanto 'ēšā azī'yat  
 jat-ant=o xord=a kort-ant=o ēš-ā azīyat  
 beat.PST-3PL=and broken=VCL do.PST-3PL=and PROX-OBL bothering

'kortant  
 kort-ant  
 do.PST-3PL

Finally, /that/ slowly, slowly and slowly, slowly, this girl... they found pretexts; [they said] /that/, “The chador... you know, she burns her chador,

A. Text Corpus

and well, she does not know [how to bake] bread, and you know [out of] milk...”; they beat (lit. beat and broke) her and they hurt her.

**TB:15**

'bād 'ēšā 'bāz 'ĵatan 'bāz 'ĵesto  
 bād ēš-ā bāz ĵat-an bāz ĵest-Ø=o  
 you know PROX-OBL much beat.PST-3PL again escape.PST-3SG=and

'šo wa'tī pe'say ge'sā  
 šo-Ø wat-ī pes-ay ges-ā  
 go.PST-3SG REFL-GEN father-GEN house-OBL

You know, they beat her very much; again she escaped and went to her father's place.

**TB:16**

ō'dā 'šot wa'tī pe'say ge'sā 'šot  
 ōdā šot-Ø wat-ī pes-ay ges-ā šot-Ø  
 there go.PST-3SG REFL-GEN father-GEN house-OBL go.PST-3SG

wa'tī pe'say ge'sā 'gorā ō'dā 'pesē  
 wat-ī pes-ay ges-ā gorā ōdā pes=e  
 REFL-GEN father-GEN house-OBL then there father=PC.3SG

'gošte 'bābā pa 'čīyā ā'tagay  
 gošt=e bābā pa čī-yā āt-ag=ay  
 say.PST=PC.3SG father for what-OBL come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SG

'gošte 'ay 'bābā 'mnā azī'yat  
 gošt=e ay bābā mnā azīyat  
 say.PST=PC.3SG VOC father PN.1SG.OBJ bothering

kortagan 'mnā azī'yat  
 kort-ag=an mnā azīyat  
 do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG.OBJ bothering

kortagan 'gošte 'bābā 'trā bāz  
 kort-ag=an gošt=e bābā trā bāz  
 do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL say.PST=PC.3SG father PN.2SG.OBJ much

*azī'yat kortant 'mnend 'hamedā*  
 azīyat kort-ant m-nend-Ø ham=edā  
 bothering do.PST-3PL IMPV-sit.NPST-2SG EMPH=here

[When] she went there, to her father's place; she went to her father's place, then, there her father said, "My daughter (lit. father) why have you come?"; she said, "Father, they have hurt me, they have hurt me"; he said, "My daughter (lit. father) [if] they have hurt you a lot, stay here."

**TB:17**

*bāz nā'kō os'tāto šame'dā šot pa*  
 bāz nākō ostāt-Ø=o šamedā šot-Ø pa  
 again uncle stand.PST-3SG=and from.EMPH.PROX go.PST-3SG for

*wa'tī brā'say ge'sā 'gošte ke 'lālā 'ē*  
 wat-ī brās-ay ges-ā gošt=e ke lālā ē  
 REFL-GEN brother-GEN house-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG CLM brother PROX

*je'nek 'hečīā 'nazānt 'gošte 'hečī om*  
 jenek hečī-ā na-zānt-Ø gošt=e hečī =om  
 girl nothing-OBL NEG-know.PST-3SG say.PST=PC.3SG nothing =ADD

*'mazānt pa 'tī čā'der... pa 'tī*  
 ma-zān-t pa tī čāder pa tī  
 PROH-know.NPST-3SG for PN.2SG.GEN Chador for PN.2SG.GEN

*lēn'gōtā xay'rāt 'bzūro 'bra*  
 lēngōt-ā xayrāt b-zūr-Ø=o b-ra-Ø  
 turban-OBL sacrifice IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=and IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

Again, her father-in-law went (lit. uncle stood up and went) from there (lit. here) to his brother's place; he said /that/, "Brother, this girl knows nothing"; he said, "She knows nothing, [but] in honour of you (lit. for your chador... for your turban); take (lit. pick up and take) her and go."

**TB:18**

*'bāz ē'sā ā'wort*  
 bāz ēš-ā āwort-Ø  
 again PROX-OBL bring.PST-3SG

Again he brought her.

A. Text Corpus

**TB:19**

*bāz ē'sā ā'wort bāz 'ē bīčā'rag 'harčī ke*  
*bāz ēš-ā āwort-Ø bāz ē bīčārag harčī ke*  
 again PROX-OBL bring.PST-3SG again PROX poor whatever CLM

*ġarī'bī o ha'mā ke ā'ī 'dasras at...*  
*ġarībī =o ham=ā ke āī dasras =at-Ø*  
 poverty =and EMPH=DIST CLM DIST.OBL available =COP.PST.3SG-3SG

*ē was'sū gō ā'ī ba'dī ko dos'kīč*  
*ē wassū gō āī bad-ī ko-Ø doskīč*  
 PROX mother-in-law with DIST.OBL bad-ADJZ do.PST-3SG sister-in-law

*gō ā'ī ba'dī ko ma'rdā om sar'rā be'rāh*  
*gō āī bad-ī ko-Ø mard-ā =om sarrā berāh*  
 with DIST.OBL bad-ADJZ do.PST-3SG husband-OBL =ADD misleading

*kortant ē'sī sa'rā 'xayle šo'log kortan bīčā'rag*  
*kort-ant ēšī sarā xayle šolog kort-an bīčārag*  
 do.PST-3PL PROX.GEN on very crowded do.PST-3PL poor

*kortan ē'sā*  
*kort-an ēš-ā*  
 do.PST-3PL PROX-OBL

Again he brought her; again this poor one, whatever daily food (lit. poverty) and that which was available to her (lit. she had around her hands)...; her mother-in-law annoyed her, her sister-in-law annoyed her; they mislead her husband too; they gave her a very hard time (lit. they crowded around her head); they made her helpless, this one.

**TB:20**

*'hečī ē'sī be'sī... še'sī 'hečī ke*  
*hečī ēšī bešī šešī hečī ke*  
 nothing PROX.GEN FRAG from.PROX.GEN nothing CLM

*'bgošay rā'zī bī 'kasē rā'zīa*  
*b-goš-ay rāzī b-ī kas=ē rāzī=a*  
 SBJV-say.NPST-2SG happy become.NPST-3SG person=IND happy=VCL

*'nabūt 'ē taham... taha'mol kort ta 'yak*  
*na-būt-Ø ē taham tahamol kort-Ø ta yak*  
 NEG-become.PST-3SG PROX FRAG patient do.PST-3SG until one

*a'dādē*  
 adād=ē  
 some time=IND

You know, for her, for her...if you say that someone was happy with her, [on the contrary] nobody was happy with her; she [was] patient,...; she was patient for some time (lit. to some extent).

**TB:21**

*xodā'wānde ka'rīm ē'sā 'xayle 'sabr dāt*  
 xodāwānd=e karīm ēš-ā xayle sabr dāt-Ø  
 Lord=EZ merciful PROX-OBL very patience give.PST-3SG

*be'sī ē'sā azī'yat kortan 'bāz 'rōčē*  
 bešī ēš-ā azīyat kort-an bāz rōč=ē  
 to.PROX.OBL PROX-OBL bothering do.PST-1PL you know day=IND

*būt ke ē'sā de'ga ha'mērang 'mās*  
 büt-Ø ke ēš-ā dega ham=ē-rang mās  
 become.PST-3SG CLM PROX-OBL you know EMPH=PROX-kind mother

*o go'wār 'kortant ke ša 'rāh 'āto*  
 =o gowār kort-ant ke ša rāh āt-Ø=o  
 =and sister do.PST-3PL CLM from way come.PST-3SG=and

*wa'tī je'nenā bū'dūne 'hečī pa 'hečī 'mās o*  
 wat-ī jenēn-ā būdūn=e hečī pa hečī mās =o  
 REFL-GEN wife-OBL without=EZ nothing for nothing mother =and

*go'wār ko*  
 gowār ko-Ø  
 sister do.PST-3SG

The merciful Lord gave her a lot of patience; they hurt her; you know, it was one day when his mother and sister did like this to him (lit. misguided him), that her husband came from work (lit. way) and divorced his wife for no reason at all (lit. he declared his wife as mother and sister for nothing).

**TB:22**

*ke 'māsē na 'pes ō'dā būta*  
 ke mās=ē na pes ōdā büt-a=Ø  
 CLM mother=PC.3SG no father there become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG





<i>'jama</i>	<i>kanīn</i>	<i>'hanū ke</i>	<i>'šomā</i>	<i>'ērang</i>
jam=a	kan-īn	hanū ke	šomā	ē-rang
gathered=VCL	do.NPST-1SG	now	CLM	PN.2PL PROX-kind

<i>kor'taet</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'wata</i>	<i>sā'tīnē</i>
kort-a=et	man	wat=a	sāt-īn=ē
do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2PL	PN.1SG	REFL=VCL	hold.NPST-1SG=IND

From there (lit. here) he sent a person; [he said] /that/ uncle Karam should come [and] take his daughter”; when Karam came there and people... friends and relatives said “Well, why did you divorce this girl for nothing”; he said (lit. has said), “No, she is useless”; her father (lit. he) said, “Alright, I will take care (lit. gathered) of my daughter, now /that/ you did like this; I will take care (lit. hold) of her.”

**TB:25**

<i>xolā'sa</i>	<i>sā'tet</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>del'xor</i>
xolāsa	sātet-Ø	=o	ša	brās	=om	delxor
you know	hold.PST-3SG	=and	from	brother	=ADD	sad

<i>'nabūt</i>	<i>'gošte</i>	<i>'hanū</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>zā'gā</i>
na-būt-Ø	gošt=e	hanū	mnī	zāg-ā
NEG-become.PST-3SG	say.PST=PC.3SG	now	PN.1SG.GEN	child-OBL

<i>bāz</i>	<i>azī'yat</i>	<i>korteto</i>	<i>'jateto</i>	<i>'engor 'āngor</i>
bāz	azīyat	kort-et=o	jat-et=o	engor āngor
a lot	bothering	do.PST-2PL=and	beat.PST-2PL=and	this and that

<i>kortet</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>zā'gā</i>	<i>sā'tīn</i>
kort-et	man	wat-ī	zāg-ā	sāt-īn
do.PST-2PL	PN.1SG	REFL-GEN	child-OBL	hold.NPST-1SG

You know, he took care of (lit. hold) [her] and he was not unhappy with his brother; he said, “You hurt my daughter a lot [and] beat [her] and did this and that, I will take care of my daughter.”

**TB:26**

<i>je'nekay</i>	<i>lā'pā</i>	<i>'zāgē</i>	<i>'bīs</i>	<i>ša'pagē</i>	<i>'dah</i>	<i>ša'pagē</i>	<i>be</i>
jenek-ay	lāp-ā	zāg=ē	bīs	šapag=ē	dah	šapag=ē	be
girl-GEN	belly-OBL	child=IND	twenty	night=IND	ten	night=IND	inside

A. Text Corpus

*lā'pay*                      *būta*                                      *o*      *'kasēa*  
*lāpay*                      *būt-a=Ø*                                      =o      *kas=ē=a*  
 belly.OBL.PC.3SG      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      =and      person=IND=VCL

*'nazānta*    *o*      *je'nek*      *ham*      *'hečī*  
*na-zānt-a=Ø*    =o      *jenek*      *ham*      *hečī*  
 NEG-know.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      =and      girl      ADD      nothing

*'nagošta*  
*na-gošt-a=Ø*  
 NEG-say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The girl was since twenty or ten nights (lit. it was a twenty or ten night-old baby inside the girl's belly); but no one knew (lit. has known) and so the girl said (lit. has said) nothing.

**TB:27**

*ša'mēdā*                      *ke*      *'hanga*      *ē'sā*                      *'māso*                      *go'wār*      *'na...*  
*šamēdā*                      *ke*      *hanga*      *ēš-ā*                      *mās=o*                      *gowār*      *na*  
 from.EMPH.PROX      CLM      still                      PROX-OBL      mother=and      sister      FRAG

*'māso*                      *go'wār*      *ē'sā*                      *korta*    *ke*      *ta'lāk*  
*mās=o*                      *gowār*      *ēš-ā*                      *kort-a=Ø*    *ke*      *talāk*  
 mother=and      sister      PROX-OBL      do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      CLM      divorce

*'nabūta*    *šo'ta*    *'bāde*  
*na-būt-a=Ø*    *šot-a=Ø*    *bād=e*  
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG      after=EZ

*'sī*      *'rōčā*      *bād*      *ē'sī*                      *talāknā'ma*      *pa*      *'zor*      *ke*      *ē*  
*sī*      *rōč-ā*      *bād*      *ēšī*                      *talāknāma*      *pa*      *zor*      *ke*      *ē*  
 thirty      day-OBL      after      PROX.GEN      divorced letter      for      force      CLM      PROX

*am'may*                      *jēn'day*      *'syādē*                      *būta*  
*ammay*                      *jēnd-ay*      *syād=ē*                      *būt-a=Ø*  
 1.PL.EXCL.GEN      self-GEN      relative=IND      become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

*pa*      *'zorē*                      *ša*      *āī*                      *zī'tagan*  
*pa*      *zor=ē*                      *ša*      *āī*                      *zīt-ag=an*  
 for      force=IND      from      DIST.OBL      get.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

From that point, when he divorced her... he divorced (lit. has divorced) her; she left (lit. has left); but still she was not divorced formally; after thirty days,

you know, by force, they got her divorce document by force from him; since he was (lit. has been) our own relative.

**TB:28**

'panč 'māh 'šaš 'māha 'bīto de'ga  
panč māh šaš māh=a b-īt=o dega  
five month six month=VCL become.NPST-3SG=and you know

'harka har'ka bīt 'bād 'yak 'rōčē wa'tī  
harka harka b-īt bād yak rōč=e wat-ī  
everybody everybody become.NPST-3SG after one day=IND REFL-GEN

poč'čānā kaš'sīt go'rān kaš'sīt 'ēšo 'ā  
počč-ān-ā kašš-īt goṛān kašš-īt ēš=o ā  
cloth-OBL.PL-OBJ pull.NPST-3SG then pull.NPST-3SG PROX=and DIST

go'sant 'čōn būta xo'dā 'ē pače  
goš-ant čōn būt-a=Ø xodā ē pače  
say.NPST-3PL what become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG God PROX why

'ērangent 'māto har'kata kanto  
ē-rang=ent māto harkat=a kan-t=o  
PROX-kind=COP.NPST.3SG step-mother move=VCL do.NPST-3SG=and

'kay 'sayla kant 'ta xo'dā  
k-ay-Ø sayl=a kan-t ta xodā  
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG looking=VCL do.NPST-3SG MIR God

'ēšo 'zāgdār būta 'gošte  
ēš=o zāgdār būt-a=Ø gošt=e  
PROX=FOC pregnant become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG say.PST=PC.3SG

'čīya kanay ka'ram ke 'tī jene'ko  
čī=ya kan-ay ka'ram ke tī jenek=o  
what=VCL do.NPST-2SG karam CLM PN.2SG.GEN girl=FOC

zāg'dāren  
zāgdār=en  
pregnant=COP.NPST.3SG

Around five or six months passed, and you know, everybody returned back to their own daily life (lit. everybody becomes everybody); then, one day, she removed her dress, after she removed; some people (lit. this and that) said

## A. Text Corpus

/that/, “Oh God, what has happened?; why is she like this?; her stepmother looked (lit. moved and looked), [she saw] /that/ “Oh God, she has got pregnant; she said, “What are you going to do, Karam, [now] that your daughter is pregnant.”

### TB:29

<i>nā'kō</i>	<i>ka'ram</i>	<i>har'kata</i>	<i>kanto</i>	<i>'rawt</i>	<i>wa'tī</i>
nākō	ka'ram	harkat=a	kan-t=o	raw-t	wat-ī
uncle	karam	move=VCL	do.NPST-3SG=and	go.NPST-3SG	REFL-GEN

<i>ne'šarā</i>	<i>'gošīt</i>	<i>'gošta</i>
nešar-ā	goš-īt	gošt-a=Ø
sister-in-law-OBL	say.NPST-3SG	say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>'byā</i>	<i>'dādā ke</i>	<i>'ērangen</i>	<i>barnā'mahē</i>
by-ā-Ø	dādā ke	ē-rang-en	barnāmah=ē
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	sister CLM	PROX-kind-ATTR	plan=IND

<i>'būta</i>	<i>'hanūn</i>	<i>'čōn</i>	<i>'kanīn</i>	<i>'man</i>
būt-a=Ø	hanūn	čōn	Ø-kan-īn	man
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	now	what	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG

<i>ša</i>	<i>'kay</i>	<i>'sōj</i>	<i>kanīn</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'hanū</i>	<i>'čī</i>
ša	kay	sōj	Ø-kan-īn	man	hanū	čī
from	who	question	SBJV-do.NPST-1SG	PN.1SG	now	what

<i>būt</i>	<i>'man...</i>	<i>baz'garē</i>	<i>ga'rībē</i>	<i>kešā'warzē</i>
būt-Ø	man	bazgar=ē	garīb=ē	kešāwarz=ē
become.PST-3SG	PN.1SG	farmer=IND	stranger=IND	farmer=IND

<i>'mnī</i>	<i>ge'say</i>	<i>'tā en</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'zāg</i>	<i>šā</i>	<i>'gojā</i>
mnī	ges-ay	tā =en	ē	zāg	šā	gojā
PN.1SG.GEN	house-GEN	in =COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	child	from	where

*būt*  
būt-Ø  
become.PST-3SG

Karam (lit. uncle Karam) went (lit. moved and went) [and] said, to his sister-in-law, he said (lit. has said), “Look (lit. come) sister /that/, such a thing has happened; what should I do now?; from whom I should ask?; what happened now?; I... A stranger farmer, a farmer, is in my house; from whom (lit. where) is this baby?”

**TB:30**

'gorān 'gošte 'bītogō 'lālā moš'māo 'sōja  
 goṛān gošt=e bītogō lālā mošmā=o sōj=a  
 then say.PST=PC.3SG alright brother PN.1PL.INCL=FOC question=VCL

kanan nārā'hat 'mabay 'lālā wa'tī  
 kan-an nārāhat ma-b-ay lālā wat-ī  
 do.NPST-1PL upset PROH-become.NPST-2SG brother REFL-GEN

je'nekā...

jenek-ā  
 girl-OBL

Then she said, “Alright, brother, we will ask; do not be upset brother [and] your daughter...”

**TB:31**

šē'dā ke os'tāto 'šo je'nekā  
 šēdā ke ostāt-Ø=o šo-Ø jenek-ā  
 from.here CLM stand.PST-3SG=and go.PST-3SG girl-OBL

bā'zēnē jat ke ja ke zab  
 bāz-ēn=ē jat-Ø ke ja ke zab  
 much-ATTR=IND beat.PST-3SG CLM FRAG CLM good

ja'ta ke de'ga kap'ta  
 jat-a=Ø ke dega kapt-a  
 beat.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM you know fall.PST-PP

būta be de'gārā de'ga ta'wān  
 büt-a=Ø be degār-ā dega tawān  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG to ground-OBL you know strength

'nadāšta ke 'bosīt  
 na-dāšt-a=Ø ke b-ost-īt  
 NEG-have.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM SBJV-stand up-NPST-3SG

de'ga 'watrā je'nek be koš'tena  
 dega wat-rā jenek be košt-en-a  
 you know REFL-OBJ girl to kill.PST-INF-OBL

A. Text Corpus

*rasēn'ta*

rasēnt-a=Ø

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

When he went (lit. stood up and went) from there (lit. here); he beat the girl a lot; when... when he beat [her]; when he beat (lit. has beaten) [her] a lot (lit. good), you know, she had fallen down on the ground; she did not have any strength to stand up again; you know, the girl had put herself in a situation where she was about to die.

**TB:32**

<i>go'rān</i>	<i>ne'sār</i>	<i>ān...</i>	<i>ne'sār</i>	<i>'čōna</i>	<i>kant</i>
goṛān	nešār	ān	nešār	čōn=a	kan-t
then	daughter-in-law	FRAG	daughter-in-law	what=VCL	do.NPST-3SG

<i>ĵene'ko...</i>	<i>ĵe'neka</i>	<i>'šīt</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'lālā</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'mnā</i>
ĵenek-o	ĵenek=a	š-īt	ke	lālā	bābā	mnā
girl-EV	girl=VCL	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	brother	father	PN.1SG.OBJ

<i>'makoš</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>'zāg</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>'mnī</i>
ma-koš-Ø	man	ē	zāg	ša	mnī
PROH-kill.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	PROX	child	from	PN.1SG.GEN

<i>mar'dā</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>nešā'nī</i>	<i>'pē</i>	<i>nešā'nī</i>
mard-ā	=en	nešān-ī	pē	nešān-ī
husband-OBL	=COP.NPST.3SG	evidence-ADVZ	to.PROX	evidence-ADVZ

<i>ke...</i>	<i>'lālā</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>'mnā</i>	<i>'makoš</i>	<i>'mnā</i>
ke	lālā	bābā	mnā	ma-koš-Ø	mnā
CLM	brother	father	PN.1SG.OBJ	PROH-kill.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG.OBJ

<i>'maĵan</i>	<i>'makoš</i>	<i>nešā'nī</i>	<i>'pē</i>
ma-ĵan-Ø	ma-koš-Ø	nešān-ī	pē
PROH-hit.NPST-2SG	PROH-kill.NPST-2SG	evidence-ADVZ	to.PROX

<i>nešā'nī</i>	<i>'bābā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ma'rīz</i>
nešān-ī	bābā	ke	man	ke	marīz
evidence-ADVZ	father	CLM	PN.1SG	CLM	sick

<i>būtagon</i>	<i>ha'mādā</i>	<i>mnī...</i>	<i>'man</i>
būt-ag=on	ham=ādā	mnī	man
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG	EMPH=there	PN.1SG.GEN	PN.1SG

*wa'tī marī'zīyā ke a'lās kortaon*  
 wat-ī marīz-ī-yā ke alās kort-a=on  
 REFL-GEN sick-NMLZ-OBL CLM finish do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

*'man an'gūr o ham'ē a'nār troš'pēn 'mnī*  
 man angūr =o ham=ē anār trošp-ēn mnī  
 PN.1SG grap =and EMPH=PROX pomegranat sour-ATTR PN.1SG.GEN

*'dela kaššeta pa 'man 'mnī*  
 del=a kaššet-a=Ø pa man mnī  
 heart=VCL want.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG for PN.1SG PN.1SG.GEN

*nākō'zāk ša ro'day poš'tā pa 'man*  
 nākōzāk ša rod-ay poštā pa man  
 cousin from river-GEN other side for PN.1SG

*ā'worta nešā'nī pa 'mē*  
 āwort-a=Ø nešān-ī pa mē  
 bring.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG evidence-ADVZ for EMPH.PROX

*nešā'nī ke 'bābā 'mnā 'majan 'pē*  
 nešān-ī ke bābā mnā ma-jañ-Ø pē  
 evidence-ADVZ CLM father PN.1SG.OBJ PROH-beat.NPST-2SG for.PROX

*ha'barā ke 'man... 'ē ha'bar 'drōgē o de'garē*  
 habar-ā ke man ē habar drōg=ē =o degar=ē  
 word-OBL CLM PN.1SG PROX word lie=IND =and someone else=EZ

*nā'mā om 'mager 'ē bā'wara*  
 nām-ā =om ma-ger-Ø ē bāwar=a  
 name-OBL =ADD PROH-take.NPST-2SG PROX believe=VCL

*'nakortagan*  
 na-kort-ag=an  
 NEG-do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

After that [his] sister-in-law, yes... what did his sister-in-law do?; the girl... the girl said /that/, “Brother, father, do not kill me; this child is from my husband; the evidence (lit. evidence to this evidence) is that... brother, father, do not kill me; do not beat me; do not kill me; this child is from my husband; father, the evidence (lit. evidence to this evidence) is that when I had my period (lit. was sick), that my... when it was finished my period (lit. I have finished my sickness); I wished (lit. my heart has wanted] for grapes, and you

A. Text Corpus

know, sour pomegranates my cousin brought (lit. has brought) [this] for me from the other side of the river; this is evidence (lit. evidence to this evidence); /that/ father, do not beat me for this issue (lit. word) that I...this issue (lit. word) is a lie and do not mention someone else's name either"; they didn't believe (lit. have not accepted) her.

**TB:33**

<i>bā'wara</i>	<i>'nakortan</i>	<i>'goṛān</i>	<i>ṭū'ēn</i>	<i>ne'sara</i>
bāwar=a	na-kort-an	goṛān	ṭū-ēn	nešar=a
believe=VCL	NEG-do.PST-3PL	then	big-ATTR	sister-in-law=VCL

<i>'rawto</i>	<i>kešā'warzayā</i>	<i>'gošta</i>	<i>age</i>
raw-t=o	kešāwarz-ayā	gošt-a=Ø	age
go.NPST-3SG=and	farmer-LOC	say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	if

<i>hamēran'gen</i>	<i>barnā'ma</i>	<i>be 'mnī</i>	<i>'pādā</i>
ham=ē-rang-en	barnāma	be mnī	pād-ā
EMPH=PROX-kind-ATTR	event	to PN.1SG.GEN	foot-OBL

<i>bīt</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>po'zā</i>	<i>gō</i>	<i>'mnī</i>	<i>gō'sā</i>
b-īt	mnī	poz-ā	gō	mnī	gōš-ā
become.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.GEN	nose-OBL	with	PN.1SG.GEN	ear-OBL

*'borret*  
borr-et  
cut off.NPST-2PL

They did not believe [her]; then [her] oldest sister-in-law went to the farmer and [he] said (lit. has said), “If such an event is proved on me (lit. is on my foot), cut off my nose and ear.”

**TB:34**

<i>ša'pēnā</i>	<i>mar'domē...</i>	<i>'ē</i>	<i>ha'bara</i>	<i>mā'nūt</i>	<i>pa</i>
šap-ēn-ā	mardom=ē	ē	habar=a	mān-īt	pa
night-ATTR-OBL	people=IND	PROX	word=VCL	stay.NPST-3SG	for

<i>ša'pēnā</i>	<i>har'kata</i>	<i>kananto</i>	<i>'hamī</i>	<i>'wat</i>	<i>pa</i>
šap-ēn-ā	harkat=a	kan-ant=o	ham=ī	wat	pa
night-ATTR-OBL	move=VCL	do.NPST-3PL=and	EMPH=PROX	REFL	for

<i>wa'tī</i>	<i>jēn'day</i>	<i>'brās</i>	<i>de'garē</i>	<i>garī'baē</i>	<i>'sīya</i>
wat-ī	jēnd-ay	brās	degar=ē	garība=ē	sī=ya
REFL-GEN	self-GEN	brother	someone else=EZ	stranger=IND	inform=VCL



<i>'nabīt</i>	<i>šamē'dā</i>	<i>ra'wan</i>	<i>nā'kōay</i>
na-b-īt	šamēdā	raw-an	nākō-ay
NEG-become.NPST-3SG	from.EMPH.PROX	go.NPST-3PL	uncle-GEN

<i>ge'sā</i>	<i>azamī'yā</i>
ges-ā	azam-īyā
house-OBL	Azam-LOC

At night a person...this issue was postponed to the night; they, [his] close relatives and his own brother went (lit. moved and went) there; no stranger was informed; from there they went to [her] father-in-law's (lit. uncle's) house, to Azam's place (lit. house).

**TB:35**

<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ra'want</i>	<i>mar'dā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ta'lāk</i>
ōdā	ke	raw-ant	mard-ā	ke	talāk
there	CLM	go.NPST-3PL	husband-OBL	CLM	divorce

<i>dāta</i>	<i>nākōzā'kēn</i>	<i>ja'nā</i>	<i>'ōdā</i>	<i>ke</i>
dāt-a=Ø	nākōzāk-ēn	jan-ā	ōdā	ke
give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	cousin-ATTR	wife-OBL	there	CLM

<i>ra'want</i>	<i>'gošan</i>	<i>'bīyā</i>	<i>ke</i>
raw-ant	goš-an	bī-yā-Ø	ke
go.NPST-3PL	say.NPST-3PL	SBJV-come.NPST-3SG	CLM

<i>'ērangēn</i>	<i>barnā'maē</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ǰōr</i>	<i>ūta</i>
ē-rang-ēn	barnāma=ē	ke	ǰōr	ūt-a=Ø
PROX-kind-ATTR	plan=IND	CLM	make	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

When they went there to the man, who divorced his wife, (lit.cousin-wife) when they went there; they said, “Look, what a thing has happened (lit. such a programme was made).”

**TB:36**

<i>'gošta</i>	<i>šomā</i>	<i>pamē'sī</i>	<i>ǰo'sā</i>
gošt-a=Ø	šomā	pamēšī	ǰos-ā
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2PL	for.EMPH.PROX.OBL	worry-OBL

<i>'mawaret</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>'man</i>	<i>šā</i>	<i>tā'rīgē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>tā'rīgā</i>
ma-war-et	aga	ī	man	šā	tārīg=ē	ē	tārīg-ā
PROH-eat.NPST-2PL	if	PROX	PN.1SG	from	date=IND	PROX	date-OBL

A. Text Corpus

'mana kār'in ša'mī tā'rīgā ke  
 man=a k-ār-in šamī tārīg-ā ke  
 PN.1SG=VCL IMP.k-take.NPST-1SG from.EMPH.PROX date-OBL CLM

'ā ša 'mnī ge'sā 'dar  
 ā ša mnī ges-ā dar  
 DIST from PN.1SG.GEN house-OBL PREV

būta ha'mārang ke 'wate  
 büt-a=Ø ham=ā-rang ke wat=e  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=DIST-kind CLM REFL=PC.3SG

'gošta 'man ša ro'day poš'tā pa  
 gošt-a=Ø man ša rod-ay poštā pa  
 say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG from river-GEN other side for

ā'ī an'gūr o ha'nār ā'wortagon  
 āī angūr =o hanār āwort-ag=on  
 DIST.OBL grap =and pomegranat bring.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

pa'mē nākōzā'kēn ja'nā ke 'anū 'man 'māso  
 pamē nākōzāk-ēn jan-ā ke anū man mās=o  
 for.EMPH.PROX cousin-ATTR wife-OBL CLM now PN.1SG mother=and

go'wār kor'taon 'ē 'zāg 'mnī  
 gowār kort-a=on ē zāg mnī  
 sister do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG PROX child PN.1SG.GEN

en ša'mē tā'rīgā aga 'zāg bedon'yā  
 =en šamē tārīg-ā aga zāg bedonyā  
 =COP.NPST.3SG from.EMPH.PROX date-OBL if child to.world.OBL

'hāt ē 'zāg 'mnīen aga 'ē  
 hāt-Ø ē zāg mnī=en aga ē  
 come.PST-3SG PROX child PN.1SG.GEN=COP.NPST.3SG if PROX

'zāg ša 'ē tā'rīgā dē'mā bedon'yā 'hāt  
 zāg ša ē tārīg-ā dēm-ā bedonyā hāt-Ø  
 child from PROX date-OBL face-OBL to.world.OBL come.PST-3SG

'mnī            'nayen  
 mnī            nayen  
 PN.1SG.GEN NEG.COP.NPST.3SG

He said (lit. has said) “Don’t be worried about this; from the date I point out, from that date /that/, she left (lit. has come out from) my house; as she said (lit. has said), I brought grapes and sour pomegranates from the other side of the river for her; my wife (lit. cousin-wife), whom I have now divorced (lit. made her as my sister and mother), if the baby is born by the appointed time, this baby is mine; if this baby is born after this date, it is not mine.”

**TB:37**

šam'ēdā            bos'tan...            pa 'wata  
 šamēdā            bost-an            pa wat=a  
 from.EMPH.PROX stand up.PST-3PL for REFL=VCL

kos'tanto            kā'hant            wa'tī            ha'barā  
 kost-ant=o            k-ā-hant            wat-ī            habar-ā  
 stand up.NPST-3PL=and IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL REFL-GEN word-OBL

ha'mēdā            'hala            kanant            o            'rawan...  
 ham=ēdā            hal=a            kan-ant            =o            raw-an  
 EMPH=here solve=VCL do.NPST-3PL =and go.NPST-3PL

kā'yant            wa'tī            ge'sā            nen'dan  
 k-āy-ant            wat-ī            ges-ā            nend-an  
 IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL REFL-GEN house-OBL sit.NPST-3PL

From there they stoop up...; they came back (lit. stands up and comes) to their place (lit. for themselves); they solved their problem (lit. word) there (lit. there) and they went...; they came back (lit. come and sit) to their own place.

**TB:38**

'no 'māh 'no 'rōča bīt            'no sā'hatē  
 no māh no rōč=a b-īt            no sāhat=ē  
 nine month nine day=VCL become.NPST-3SG nine hour=IND

gwā'zīt            'zāg 'do 'šap 'yā 'say 'šap ša tā'rīgē ke  
 gwāz-īt            zāg do šap yā say šap ša tārīg=ē ke  
 pass.NPST-3SG child two night or three night from date=IND CLM

A. Text Corpus

*pes... 'mardē 'hešta 'say 'šap 'čār*  
 pes mard=ē hešt-a=Ø say šap čār  
 father husband=PC.3SG leave.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG three night four

*'šap bedon'yā dē'māa 'kayt*  
 šap bedonyā dēmā=a k-ay-t  
 night to.world.OBL front=VCL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

Nine months, nine days and nine hours passed; the baby [was born] two or three nights [earlier than] the date that her husband fixed (lit. has fixed); she was born three or four nights earlier than.

**TB:39**

*'bāz xodā'wānde ka'rīm ā al'lāhe 'pāk 'čī o wā'čī*  
 bāz xodāwānd=e karīm ā allāh=e pāk čī o wāčī  
 you know Lord=EZ merciful DIST God=EZ holy such and such

*ē'sī o ā'ī haba'rā de'ga 'drōga*  
 ēšī =o āī habar-ā dega drōg=a  
 PROX.GEN =and DIST.OBL word-OBL you know lie=VCL

*bīt 'ē ha'bar 'rāsta bīt ke*  
 b-īt ē habar rāst=a b-īt ke  
 become.NPST-3SG PROX word truth=VCL become.NPST-3SG CLM

*zāg ša'mē mar'dā en*  
 zāg šamē mard-ā =en  
 child from.EMPH.PROX man-OBL =COP.NPST.3SG

You know, the merciful Lord, the Holy God, well, such and such person's word, you know, was a lie [and] this word was correct that the baby was from this man.

**TB:40**

*ē'sī zā'mānay xar'jā o ē'sī xar'jā*  
 ēšī zāmān-ay xarj-ā =o ēšī xarj-ā  
 PROX.GEN child birth-GEN cost-OBL =and PROX.GEN cost-OBL

*ger'dēna da'yant 'ē je'nekā 'wata*  
 gerd-ēn=a day-ant ē jenek-ā wat=a  
 all-ATTR=VCL give.NPST-3PL PROX girl-OBL REFL=VCL

'kāran                      'sātant                      ha'mā                      nā'kō    ha'mā  
 k-ār-an                      sāt-ant                      ham=ā                      nākō    ham=ā  
 IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL    hold.NPST-3PL    EMPH=DIST    uncle    EMPH=DIST

was'sū                      o                      ha'mā                      dos'kīč                      ē'sī                      'xarjo  
 wassū                      =o                      ham=ā                      doskīč                      ēšī                      xarj=o  
 mother-in-law    =and    EMPH=DIST    sister-in-law    PROX.GEN    cost=and

moxā'rejā...    ha'mā                      'mard                      ke                      ta'lāk  
 moxārej-ā                      ham=ā                      mard                      ke                      talāk  
 cost-OBL                      EMPH=DIST    husband    CLM    divorce

dāta    'kārī    'dant  
 dāt-a=Ø    k-ār-ī    dan-t  
 give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    IMP.k-take.NPST-3SG    give.NPST-3SG

zā'gay                      moxā'rejā  
 zāg-ay                      moxārej-ā  
 child-GEN    cost-OBL

They paid (lit. gave) all the costs of her childbirth's and her [other] costs; they, themselves brought this girl [and] took care (lit. hold) of her; that father-in-law (lit. uncle), that mother-in-law, and that sister-in-law, [gave] her costs...; that [ex-] husband who had divorced her paid (lit. brought gave) all the baby's costs.

**TB:41**

bīt                                      'ē                      je'nek                      hamā'wānī                                      ge'sā  
 b-īt                                      ē                      jenek                      ham=ā-wān-ī                                      ges-ā  
 become.NPST-3SG    PROX    girl                      EMPH=DIST-OBL.PL-GEN    house-OBL

būta    o                      būta  
 būt-a=Ø    =o                      būt-a=Ø  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    =and    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

o                      būta    o  
 =o                      būt-a=Ø    =o  
 =and    become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    =and

būta    ke                      'ē                      nā'kō    ka'ram    kešā'warzē  
 būt-a=Ø    ke                      ē                      nākō    ka'ram    kešāwarz=ē  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG    CLM    PROX    uncle    karam    farmer=IND



**TB:42**

'gorān rōčē ke 'ē ha'barā 'ē 'dant  
 goṛān rōč=ē ke ē habar-ā ē dan-t  
 you know day=IND CLM PROX word-OBL PROX give.NPST-3SG

ha'mē je'nekay... je'nekay wā'ond 'čōna kant  
 ham=ē jenek-ay jenek-ay wāond čōn=a kan-t  
 EMPH=PROX girl-GEN girl-GEN owner how=VCL do.NPST-3SG

je'nekay... zā'gay 'pes 'gošta  
 jenek-ay zāg-ay pes gošt-a=Ø  
 girl-GEN child-GEN father say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'bret 'mnī zā'gā 'byāret  
 b-r-et mnī zāg-ā by-ār-et  
 IMPV-go.NPST-2PL PN.1SG.GEN child-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL

wa'tī zā'gā šā'ta ze'nan  
 wat-ī zāg-ā šāī=a zen-an  
 REFL-GEN child-OBL from.DIST.OBL=VCL take.NPST-3PL

You know, when he said this thing, this [baby] girl's... what did the owner of the [baby] girl do?; the [baby] girl's... the girl's (lit. baby) father said (lit. has said), “Go [and] bring my baby, they took their baby from her.

**TB:43**

wa'tī zā'gā ke šā'ta ze'nan jene'ko  
 wat-ī zāg-ā ke šāī=a zen-an jenek-o  
 REFL-GEN child-OBL CLM from.DIST.OBL=VCL take.NPST-3PL girl-EV

de'ga 'gošta ke 'waxtē 'šomā wa'tī  
 dega gošt-a=Ø ke waxt=ē šomā wat-ī  
 you know say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM time=IND PN.2PL REFL-GEN

zā'gā 'zenet... 'pes... 'pes 'gošta  
 zāg-ā zen-et pes pes gošt-a=Ø  
 child-OBL take.NPST-2PL father father say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ta... zā'gā ke 'ā ba'rant 'gošta  
 ta zāg-ā ke ā bar-ant gošt-a=Ø  
 PN.2SG child-OBL CLM DIST take.NPST-3PL say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

A. Text Corpus

'na zā'gā 'mazenet ša 'man 'man zā'gā  
na zāg-ā ma-zen-et ša man man zāg-ā  
no child-OBL PROH-take.NPST-2PL from PN.1SG PN.1SG child-OBL

sā'tīn 'tūa kanīn 'gošta 'na  
sāt-īn tū=a kan-īn gošt-a=Ø na  
hold.NPST-1SG big=VCL do.NPST-1SG say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG no

'ta ke pār'sīā ge'ray am'mā zā'gā  
ta ke pārs-ī-ā ger-ay ammā zāg-ā  
PN.2SG CLM Persian-ADJZ-OBL take.NPST-2SG PN.1PL.EXCL child-OBL

'trā 'nadayan  
trā na-day-an  
PN.2SG.OBJ NEG-give.NPST-3PL

When they took the baby from her, you know, the girl said (lit. has said) /that/, “When you take your baby... the father... the father said (lit. has said) you...”; when they took the baby; she said, (lit. has said), “No do not take the child from me, I will take care of the child and will raise [her]”; [her ex-husband (or possibly her mother-in-law] said (lit. has said), “No [since] you marry to a Persian, we will not give the baby to you.”

**TB:44**

zā'gā zū'ranto ra'wan  
zāg-ā zūr-ant=o raw-an  
child-OBL take.NPST-3PL=and go.NPST-3PL

They took the baby and went.

**TB:45**

zā'gā ke zū'ranto ra'wan je'nek  
zāg-ā ke zūr-ant=o raw-an jenek  
child-OBL CLM take.NPST-3PL=and go.NPST-3PL girl

'gošta 'man ha'mē 'tī  
gošt-a=Ø man ham=ē tī  
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG EMPH=PROX PN.2SG.GEN

dā'tay zā'gā ge'rīn ke pār'sīyē  
dāī-ay zāg-ā ger-īn ke pārs-ī=yē  
uncle-GEN child-OBL take.NPST-1SG CLM Persian-ADJZ=IND



<i>'gošta</i>	<i>'na 'bābā ē'sa</i>	<i>'mager</i>
gošt-a=Ø	na bābā ēš-a	ma-ger-Ø
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	no father PROX-OBL	PROH-take.NPST-2SG

<i>ke 'ē pār'sīye</i>	<i>ša'yē moš'mā</i>	<i>sūn'īan</i>
ke ē pārs-ī=ye	šayē mošmā	sūnī=an
CLM PROX Persian-3SG=EZ	Shia PN.1PL.INCL	Sunni=COP.NPST.1PL

<i>'gošta</i>	<i>'na 'man hamē'sā</i>
gošt-a=Ø	na man ham=ēš=ā
say.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	no PN.1SG EMPH=PROX=VCL

<i>ge'rīn</i>	<i>marā'fāa</i>	<i>bī</i>
ger-īn	marāfā=a	b-ī
take.NPST-1SG	quarrel=VCL	become.NPST-3SG

When they took the baby and went; the girl said (lit. has said), “I will marry this your cousin who is a Persian”; her father (lit. he) said (lit. has said), “No my child (lit. father); do not marry him; since he is a Persian; he is a Shia; we are Sunni ”; [the girl] said (lit. has said), “No I will marry him”; they quarreled (lit. there was a quarrel).

**TB:46**

<i>marā'fāa</i>	<i>bīt</i>	<i>ē'sī</i>	<i>sa'rā 'bāz šo'loga</i>
marāfā=a	b-īt	ēšī	sarā bāz šolog=a
quarrel=VCL	become.NPST-3SG	PROX.GEN	on much crowded=VCL

<i>bīt</i>	<i>'ēšom...</i>	<i>ša'pēn</i>	<i>ša'pā</i>	<i>ē'sā</i>
b-īt	ēš=om	šap-ēn	šap-ā	ēš-ā
become.NPST-3SG	PROX=ADD	night-ATTR	night-OBL	PROX-OBL

<i>'bāza</i>	<i>ja'nān</i>	<i>'ēša</i>	<i>prē'nī</i>	<i>'watrā</i>
bāz=a	jan-an	ēš=a	prēn-ī	wat-rā
much=VCL	beat.NPST-3PL	PROX=VCL	throw.NPST-3SG	REFL-OBJ

<i>hamsā'hegay</i>	<i>ge'sā</i>	<i>rawt</i>
hamsāheg-ay	ges-ā	raw-ī
neighbour-GEN	house-OBL	go.NPST-3SG

They quarreled (lit. there was a quarrel); they became angry with her (lit. it was crowded); so she...that night they beat her so much; she went to her neighbour's place (lit. she threw herself inside her neighbour's place).

A. Text Corpus

**TB:47**

*ša'pī 'raw de'ga hamsā'hegay ge'sā*  
 šap-ī raw-Ø dega hamsāheg-ay ges-ā  
 night-ADVZ go.NPST-3SG you know neighbour-GEN house-OBL

*prē'nī hamsā'heg ha'mēš enta ke*  
 prēn-ī hamsāheg ham=ēš =ent=a ke  
 throw.NPST-3SG neighbour EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG=VCL CLM

*gō de'ga mo'torē 'krāha kanto ē'sā*  
 gō dega motor=ē krāh=a kan-t=o ēš-ā  
 with you know motorcycle=IND hire=VCL do.NPST-3SG=and PROX-OBL

*'bā āī dā'īay ge'sā de'ga j'āē*  
 bā-Ø āī dāī-ay ges-ā dega jā=ē  
 take.NPST-3SG DIST.OBL uncle-GEN house-OBL another place=IND

*čo'tū*

čoṭū

Chotu

That night, she went to (lit. threw herself in) another neighbour's place; you know, (lit. it is like that) the neighbour rented a motorcycle and took her to her uncle's house, to another place, Choṭu.

**TB:48**

*'ōdā ke 'raw 'yak 'šap ke mā'nant 'do 'šap*  
 ōdā ke raw-Ø yak šap ke mān-ant do šap  
 there CLM go.NPST-3SG one night CLM leave.NPST-3PL two night

*'ē 'yako ād'gar ā wa'tī 'ēško 'āškā*  
 ē yako ādgar ā wat-ī ēšk=o āšk-ā  
 PROX relative DIST REFL-GEN inside=and outside-OBL

*gar'dan pa je'nekā 'goṛān de'garēa 'šīt*  
 gard-an pa jenek-ā goṛān degar=ē=a š-īt  
 look for-3PL for girl-OBL then someone=IND=VCL say.NPST-3SG

*ke je'nek plā'nī ge'sāen*  
 ke jenek plān-ī ges-ā=en  
 CLM girl so and so-GEN house-OBL=COP.NPST.3SG

When she went there, when they stayed for one night, two nights; they her

relatives looked for the girl inside and outside [the village] then someone said /that/, “The girl is in such and such a person’s house.”

**TB:49**

*šā'mōdā ha'mē ša'pī ke mā'nī 'ēdga*  
 šāmōdā ham=ē šap-ī ke mām-ī ēdga  
 from.EMPH.there EMPH=PROX night-ADVZ CLM stay.NPST-3SG other

*ša'pēnā nā'kō 'čōna kant ha'mī je'nekā gō*  
 šapēn-ā nākō čōn=a kan-t ham=ī jenek-ā gō  
 night-OBL uncle what=VCL do.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX girl-OBL with

*'mā ba'čakā ke pār'sīyē*  
 mā bačak-ā ke pārs-ī=yē  
 EMPH.DIST boy-OBL CLM Persian-ADJZ=IND

*būta ke je'nekay 'pesa*  
 būt-a=Ø ke jenek-ay pes=a  
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM girl-GEN father=VCL

*'nalōteta ke ā'rā*  
 na-lōtet-a=Ø ke ā-rā  
 NEG-want.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM DIST.OBL-OBJ

*'bgūt 'ā pār'sīēo 'ē 'sūnī o*  
 b-g-īt ā pārs-ī=ē=o ē sūnī =o  
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG DIST Persian-ADJZ=IND=and PROX Sunni =and

*'šay 'sūnīay was'latā 'makan 'šamēdā*  
 šay sūnī-ay waslat-ā ma-kan-Ø šamēdā  
 Shia Sunni-GEN marriage-OBL PROH-do.NPST-2SG from.EMPH.PROX

*ā'wānā 'dēma dant be 'šāhre zā'bol*  
 āwānā dēm=a dan-t be šāhr=e zābol  
 DIST.OBL.PL.OBJ face=VCL give.NPST-3SG to city=EZ Zabol

*daw'lat 'aḡda kant 'rawt pa māzenda'rān*  
 dawlat aḡd=a kan-t raw-t pa māzendarān  
 Government marriage=VCL do.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG for Mazandaran

From that point, when she stayed that (lit. this) night there, on the second night, what did her uncle do?; he sent this girl from there (lit. here) with that boy, who was a Persian and the girl’s father did not want her to marry him

## A. Text Corpus

since he is a Persian and she is a Sunni and she should not enter a marriage of Shia and Sunni, to Zabol city, [and] the Government declared marriage contract; they (lit. she) went to Mazandaran.

### TB:50

'raw pa māzenda'rān 'do 'zāg 'say 'zāgay 'mās ke  
 raw-Ø pa māzendarān do zāg say zāg-ay mās ke  
 go.NPST-3SG to Mazandaran two child three child-GEN mother CLM

'bīt ke nā'kō om ke je'nekay 'pes  
 b-īt ke nākō =om ke jenek-ay pes  
 become.NPST-3SG CLM uncle =ADD CLM girl-GEN father

bīt ā'erā 'čē akant par'zende  
 b-īt āerā čē =a-kan-t parzend=e  
 become.NPST-3SG DIST.OBL.OBJ FRAG =VCL-do.NPST-3SG child=EZ

'āx 'korta  
 āx kort-a=Ø  
 curse do.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They (lit. she) went to Mazandaran; when she became the mother of two and three children, [that] uncle, who was the girl's father; he did what...her, he took an oath that she was not his daughter any longer.

### TB:51

'bāz ha'mē wa'tī ka'samā om 'wārt 'bāz  
 bāz ham=ē wat-ī kasam-ā =om wārt-Ø bāz  
 again EMPH=PROX REFL-GEN oath-OBL =ADD eat.PST-3SG again

oš'ketan ke bī'yā ke pa'rokā 'mār  
 ošket-an ke bīy-ā-Ø ke pa'r-ok-ā mār  
 hear.PST-3PL CLM IMPV-come.NPST-2SG CLM Pari-EV-OBL snake

'wārta  
 wārt-a=Ø  
 eat.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Although he took (lit. ate) this his oath, then they heard /that/, look, a snake beat (lit. has eaten) dear Pari.





*ha'yālay wā'ondo... 'geso zen'degī 'māl o ser'watay*  
 hayāl-ay wāond=o ges=o zendegī māl =o serwat-ay  
 children-GEN owner=and house=and life animal =and riches-GEN

*wā'ond būt*  
 wāond būt-Ø  
 owner become.PST-3SG

Now, that girl [Pari] with her uncle... is in her father's yard; she has worked; she has sewed covered for the blankets; she has worked (lit. done poverty), and there (lit. here) she raised her children, and the man keeps his Persian wife; he [has] a lot of children from her; he became the owner of a house, a life and riches.

**TB:56**

*'hanūn hā pa'rī ha'mā wa'tī pe'say pa'nādā*  
 hanūn hā pa'rī ham=ā wat-ī pes-ay panādā  
 now DIST Pari EMPH=DIST REFL-GEN father-GEN side

*ha'mā sarā'he 'tā ent 'do ba'čak dā'rīt*  
 ham=ā sarāh-e tā =ent do bačak dār-īt  
 EMPH=DIST yard-GEN in =COP.NPST.3SG two boy have.NPST-3SG

*'yakē kār'mande yakē de'garā om 'ges*  
 yak=ē kārmand=e yak=ē degar-ā =om ges  
 one=IND government employed=IND one=IND other-OBL =ADD house

*dāta je'nekā om 'ges*  
 dāt-a=Ø jenek-ā =om ges  
 give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG girl-OBL =ADD house

*dāta ha'mādā gō mā'wān*  
 dāt-a=Ø ham=ādā gō mā-wān  
 give.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=there with EMPH.DIST-OBL.PL

*yak'jā ent*  
 yakjā =ent  
 the same place =COP.NPST.3SG

Now, that Pari, is by her father's side, inside that yard of his; she has two sons; one of them is government employed [and] she has married off the other one (lit. she has given a house to him); she has married of her daughter as well; she is living with them there.