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The Gilaki Language

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English translation editing and expanded content by

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Abstract

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This is a translation of the original book entitled: *Giljanskij Jazyk*. It includes an additional appendix containing an interlinearized version of the Gilaki texts.

Original Abstract

This monograph presents a description of one of the insufficiently explored Iranian languages widespread in the Northern part of Iran (in the province of Gilan). A description of the phonetic and grammatical system of the Gilaki language is given therein. Texts (examples of conversational language and connected narrative) taken down by Gilaki authors now in the USSR are the basis of the grammatical analysis.

At the end of the work the Gilaki texts and their translations into Russian are added.

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FOREWORD

Seeing that this book was a significant work on the Gilaki language, some years ago I sought to have it translated to English. I recognized the high quality of the research and believed the work to be one of the best of its kind on the subject. I undertook a complete reformatting and editing of the book so that it could be made available to the linguistic community.

I decided to also undertake the task of interlinearizing all of the texts included in this work. In appendix A you will find the original Gilaki texts with the free translation immediately below each sentence. This differs from the original book in which each Gilaki text was followed by a free translation text. The free translation line is an English translation of the original Russian free translation. In appendix B you will find an interlinearized version of the texts. Three lines are provided; the vernacular divided into morphemes, the corresponding English glosses for the vernacular morphemes and a free translation line. In appendix B the English free translation has been revised as necessary to give a more accurate English free translation of the Gilaki vernacular.

The body of the book has been reformatted to make it easier to read. Sections and subsections have been added. Example sentences have been formatted and listed as numbered examples. Numbered tables and figures have also been included. Note that for some example sentences no reference is given. This is because the sentence is not from the texts included in the appendices.

In the online version of this book, I added extensive linking between the examples and the texts. The user can click on an example's reference and be taken to the text containing that example in appendix A. From appendix A the user can click to see the corresponding interlinear example in appendix B. All of the language and gloss data has been color coded.

See: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-182789>

I would like to thank the many colleagues who contributed to the translation and editing of the English version of this book. Also, many thanks are due to the Russian academy for their checking of the final document.

Ronald M. Lockwood

For Michelle, Christopher, Cameron and Andrea

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1. Introduction

The Gilaki language belongs to the north-western group of Iranian languages. In Iranistic literature the north-western Iranian languages that are represented in the regions adjoining the Caspian Sea are often also called pre-Caspian. Apart from Gilaki the Mazandarani, Semnani and Talyshi languages are also included.

The Gilaki language is spread along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea in one of the northern provinces of Iran known as Gilan. The native speakers of the language call themselves Gilaks and their language Gilaki. The main city and principal industrial and cultural centre of Gilan is Rasht (with more than 100,000 inhabitants). Bandar Anzali, the big sea-port on the Caspian Sea (with more than 30,000 inhabitants), and Lahijan (with about 20,000 inhabitants) may be included in the number of other heavily-populated areas of Gilan. The population of all the Gilaks numbers about 700,000.

The immediate neighbors of the Gilaks are the Mazanderanis – in the province of Mazanderan, the Azerbaijanis – in Iranian Azerbaijan, the Tatis, the Talyshis and the Persians. There are also many Azerbaijanis and Persians in the big cities of Gilan – in Rasht and Bandar Anzali. The majority of the representatives of the Gilaki city population, especially the intelligentsia, are bilingual. They speak, apart from Gilaki, the Persian language just as well. But in the rural areas many Gilakis, especially the women, do not know the Persian language.

The Gilaki language is in essence unwritten. In the last decades attempts have been made to publish the works of local writers in Gilaki (chiefly poetry) in the newspaper “*Čələŋər*” (in the 1950s) and earlier in the periodical فروغ “*Forug*” – with the use of the Arabic alphabet (in the form in which it is used in the Persian language). However, this written language has not become very widespread. The teaching in the schools is conducted in Persian. On account of this and also on account of the bilingualism widely developed among the Gilaks, the Gilaki language is subject to the strong influence of the Persian language, especially in its vocabulary (and partially in its phonology).

The first information about Gilaki was received in the second half of the 18th century thanks to the Russian scientific naturalist and ethnographic academician, S.G. Gmelin, who, during his journey through the Caucasus and along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, visited the Gilaks. Gmelin (1775, third part) presents a number of Gilaki words (the names of animals, plants, etc.).

1. Introduction

The next Gilaki materials were published just over sixty years later by the Russian student of Iran, A. Chodzko, who lived in Iran for eleven years where he collected materials on a number of Iranian languages. Chodzko (1842) gives a list of Gilaki words, the translations of some Gilaki songs and also information about the region over which this language is spread.

The first grammatical essay on the Gilaki language was Berésine (1853). It was published by a professor of the Kazan university, I.N. Berésine, who had visited Iran from 1842 to 1845. Conversational texts in the Gilaki language and 25 Gilaki songs are also contained therein. Apart from his own materials and observations I.N. Berésine made use of the information picked up from the works of S.G. Gmelin and A. Chodzko in this book.

In 1860–1861 one of the most outstanding Russian students of Iran of the last century, the academic B.A. Dorn, visited the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. In the territory of Gilan he conducted recordings and observations in Rasht, Lahijan and Fuman. A few poems were written for him along with the translation of a few Persian stories in the Gilaki language. Consequently, the materials in the pre-Caspian languages, even including the Gilaki language, gathered together by B.A. Dorn, were passed on to the German student of Iran called Geiger who made use of them when compiling the corresponding section in Geiger (1898–1901).

In 1863 a few Gilaki songs were published by Melgounof in a Russian translation, Melgounof (1863). Later in 1868 the grammatical outline of the Gilaki and Mazanderani languages, with an appendix of lists of words, conversational phrases and songs, was also published therewith Melgounof (1868).

All the information about the phonology and the grammatical system of the Gilaki language obtained by the explorers towards the end of the 19th century were summarized by W. Geiger in the article ‘Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen’ (section ‘Die Kaspischen Dialekte’) inserted in Geiger (1898–1901) pp. 344–380. The comparative description of all of what are known as the ‘Caspian’ languages – Mazanderani, Gilaki, Talyshi, Tati and Semnani – is given therein. In the part dealing with the Gilaki language W. Geiger was guided by the works of A. Chodzko, I.N. Berésine and G. Melgounof. According to his own admission¹ two notebooks of the unpublished materials of B.A. Dorn (including the drafts of the grammatical essay), which were passed on to him to this end by the academician K.G. Zaleman, had a special value to W. Geiger.

The work of W. Geiger has been of great importance in the history of the study of the pre-Caspian (including the Gilaki) languages. However, it has now become greatly out of date and it can no longer satisfy the investigators. The most imprecise part thereof is his description of the sounds (especially the

¹Op. cit. p. 345.

vowels), inasmuch as the list of materials used by the author is not phonological, he also was not too accurate in their rendering. The verbal paradigm is not quite exact and far from perfect; there is no clear-cut distinction between the forms of the present tense and the aorist, nor between the past neutral (or perfective) and the past continuous tense. The forms of the past definite and the past subjunctive mood are not mentioned. The function of the prefixes *d-*, *di-*, *du-* (which the author considers to be form-building) is misunderstood. The system of nominal declension is not correctly explained. The presence of only two cases is recorded, when in fact there are three in Gilaki. Little consideration is given to the meanings of the nominal and verbal forms. The syntax of the sentence is hardly described at all.

The next work devoted to the Gilaki language was published only 29 years later. Christensen (1930) was written by the Danish scholar A. Christensen. It contains a short description of the grammatical system of the Gilaki language based on the Rasht dialect (according to the personal observations and materials of the author), a number of texts (i.e. seven short stories and three poems) and a short vocabulary. The work of Christensen considerably expands and, in a number of cases, even corrects the information about the Gilaki language that was available until then. It describes almost all the verbal forms, presents contemporary paradigms (with an appendix containing a list of the most common verbs) and a correct description of nominal declension. However, the representation of the sounds in the texts is untrustworthy, especially regarding the vowels. The meaning of the verbal forms is insufficiently elaborated. The syntax is poorly represented.

In 1953 the Soviet scholars V.S. Sokolova, V.I. Zav'yalova and T.N. Pakhalina were engaged in the study of the Gilaki language. They wrote down a few texts from among the Gilakis, now in the USSR. Zav'yalova also carried out an experimental analysis of the sound system of the Gilaki language. The results of the work of this group of students from Iran were reflected:

1. In Sokolova and Pakhalina (1957).
2. In Zav'yalova (1955) defended by her in Leningrad in 1955 and in Zav'yalova (1956) based on Zav'yalova (1955)

The main achievement of the Soviet students of Iran lies in the fact that they were the first to apply the principles of phonology to the Gilaki language and to determine its phonological composition. Moreover, Zav'yalova described the vowel and consonantal phonemes of the Gilaki language applying standards of modern scholarship and profiting from the use of sound recordings. Sokolova and Pakhalina made some additions and gave more precise definitions to the description of the morphology.

However, even with the appearance of the above-mentioned works, the ex-

1. Introduction

tent of the study of the Gilaki language still remains inadequate. All the existing descriptions of its grammatical system have been built on the basis of very limited textual material, the texts of which are in general narrative monologues, without dialogues and colloquial speech. The semantics and the function of the nominal and verbal forms, prepositions and postpositions has undergone little research. The structure of the sentence has hardly been dealt with. The word-formation and vocabulary have hardly been touched upon.

All this has impelled us to study an additional collection of materials in the Gilaki language and to investigate its grammatical system and vocabulary having taken advantage of the presence in Moscow of some Gilakis who were natives of the city of Rasht. One of them – Mamedzade – took a very active part in writing the work and is included amongst its authors.

Most of our consideration was given to morphology and syntax. Only the most elementary phonological information essential for reading and understanding the accompanying texts and phrasal examples in the grammar is given, since, as we have already said, Zav'yalova (1955) and Zav'yalova (1956) describe the phonological structure of the Gilaki language in detail. The positive contribution to the study of the Gilaki language by previous researchers and first and foremost by A. Christensen, V.I. Zav'yalova, V.S. Sokolova and T.N. Pakhalina was taken into consideration when the present book was written.

The sections of the present book 'Introduction', 'Phonology' and 'The Verb' were written by V.S. Rastorgueva; 'Vocabulary' and 'Word-formation' by A.A. Kerimova; 'Nouns', 'Adjectives', 'Pronouns', 'Numerals' and 'Adverbs' by D.I. Edel'man; and 'Prepositions and Postpositions' and 'Syntax' by L.A. Pireiko. A.K. Mamedzade was involved in all the sections. He helped in the compiling of the paradigms, chose the examples and contributed to the analysis of the meanings and the functions of the forms.

The texts numbers 1-17 are compiled by Mamedzade and transcribed and translated by Rastorgueva; text number 18 (obligingly made at our disposal by Sokolova and Zav'yalova) is compiled and transcribed by A. Nasirani, a native speaker from the city of Rasht and translated by Zav'yalova; and texts numbers 19 and 20 are taken from the newspaper "*Čaləngər*" (whose author is *Pābərəh-nəyə Rašti*), transcribed by V.S. Rastorgueva and D.I. Edel'man according to the pronunciation of A.K. Mamedzade, translated by V.S. Rastorgueva.

Mr. Tabatabai, a native speaker from the city of Rasht, recorded on tape a text that was later compiled by A.K. Mamedzade and subsequently assisted in the checking of the texts and the Gilaki pronunciation.

The international, Iranian transcription, based on Latin with the introduction of some additional letters from the Greek and a few diacritics, is used for the writing down of the texts. The explanation of the transcription symbols is given in the section 'Phonetics'.

The translation of the texts with a view to a better reflection of the specific

character of the Gilaki language is not always given in a literal form. Simultaneously with the present work the 'Gilaki-Russian dictionary' with the converse Russian-Gilaki index, which was intended to be published separately, was also compiled in the sector of the Iranian languages of the Institute of Linguistics of the AN of the USSR. Therefore, the dictionary is not added to the text.

Let us take the opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the people who have offered help in the work – V.I. Zav'yalova and V.S. Sokolova; and S. Nasirani and Tabatabai who have provided us with additional materials (i.e. text number 18).

2. Phonology

2.1 The Sound System

2.1.1 Vowels

2.1.1.1 Description

In the Gilaki language there are nine vowel phonemes:

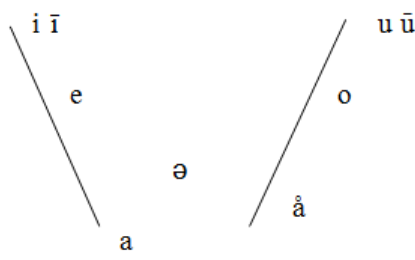


Figure 1. Gilaki Vowels

The vowels *ī*, *ū* are relic phonemes preserved in a small number of words: *šīrin* ‘sweet’; *gīsan* ‘plaits’; *pīran* ‘old men’; *rūzan* ‘days’. Their quantitative contrast with the vowels *i*, *u* is clearly revealed only in open, unstressed syllables where *ī*, *ū* retain their length, but *i*, *u* are greatly shortened. The average length of *ī*, for example in the word *gīsan* ‘plaits’, is equal to 13.3 sigmas; the length of *i* in the word *biši* ‘go! (singular)’ is equal to 8.8 sigmas; the length of *ū* in the word *kūran* ‘the blind’ is equal to 12.7 sigmas; the length of *u* in the word *purāb* ‘juicy’ is equal to 5.6 sigmas.¹

The phoneme *i* in its principal variant (in a stressed, closed syllable and also at the beginning of a word) – is an unlabialized vowel pronounced with the tongue raised to the highest position and at the front of the mouth: *dil* ‘heart’; *piš* ‘before’; *ilāvə* ‘continuation’. In an unstressed, open syllable and at the very end it becomes somewhat more open: *bide* ‘he saw’; *dāšti* ‘he had’;

¹The figures are taken from Zav’yalova (1956) pp. 95–96.

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māhi ‘fish’, etc. After uvular consonants it is not only shortened, it is also pronounced with the tongue slightly further back in the throat: xijālēt ‘shame’.

The phoneme *ī* differs from *i* only in its length and correspondingly in its qualitative instability: šīrin ‘sweet’; pīran ‘old men’; bīrun ‘external part’, ‘external’.

The phoneme *e* is an unlabialized vowel pronounced with the tongue raised to a middle position and closed, at the front of the mouth (like the Russian *e* [ɐ] in the word *eti* [эти]). It is characteristic therefore in the stability of its qualitative and quantitative nature: per ‘father’; ser ‘full’; der ‘late’, ‘it is late’.

The phoneme *a* in its principal variant is an unlabialized vowel pronounced with the tongue in the lowest position at the front of the mouth (of the type of the Tajik *a*) and articulated with the tongue in a considerably lower position than for the Persian *ā* and that is why it is considerably different from the latter in its in phonation. The sound is like this:

1. At the beginning of a word or syllable: agər ‘if’; avvəl ‘at first’; asr ‘afternoon’; ama ‘we’;
2. In a closed, stressed syllable after front-lingual or dental consonants and in an unstressed ending: bad ‘after’; tang ‘narrow’, ‘tight’; ita ‘one’; kəra – a syntactic particle.

In a position after consonants articulated with the tongue to the middle of the mouth (including those cases when the phoneme follows the fricatives and affricates *š*, *č*, *j*), the tongue moves considerably forwards, sometimes being similar in sound to the very open *e*: siya ‘black’; bija – a postposition indicating direction; úya ‘there’; šarāfət ‘nobility’; when close to uvular or pharyngeal consonants the tongue draws back and the phoneme becomes a vowel articulated with the tongue in a neutral position at the lowest level, close to the Russian *a*; yasr ‘palace’; xarbəza ‘melon’; xandən ‘to read’; naha ‘there is / is located’. In the variant of the neutral *a* this phoneme is also heard in unstressed, open syllables after labial or front-lingual consonants: fadən ‘to give’; vakudən ‘to open’; darəm ‘I have’, etc.

The phoneme *ā* is a vowel articulated with the tongue to the back of the mouth in a low position (the first or second position from the bottom),² pronounced with slightly rounded lips. It is close in phonation to the Persian *ā*. This sound is stable with respect to quality and quantity. Regardless of its position, it changes comparatively little: āb ‘water’; ādəm ‘man’; bāy ‘garden’; kār ‘work’.

The phoneme *ə* is a vowel with a very great articulatory and consequently,

²Speaking of the level – first, second, third, etc. – both here and later, we mean the six degrees of the level of the tongue which are presented in L.V. Shcherba’s table of cardinal vowels. See Shcherba (1948) p. 283.

also acoustic range. In the principal variant, revealed by the distinct pronunciation in the stressed syllable after front-lingual consonants, this unlabialized vowel articulated with the tongue in a mixed position at the middle level of the mouth (between the second and third levels from below), is close in sound to the Russian post-stress **a** in the words **povar**, **gorod**, **podat**: **dərd** ‘pain’; **sər** ‘head’; **dərs** ‘lesson’; **gərdəš** ‘walk’; **təɾəf** ‘side’. It changes vastly according to its phonetic position and also according to the speed of conversation. Thus, for example, in rapid speech in those same words the vowel **ə** becomes a more closed sound: **dird**, **sir**, **dirs**, **girdiš**, **tirif**. In a position after the consonant **y** and also after other consonants, including the tongue in a mid-position (**š**, **č**, **j**), **ə** is pronounced with the tongue much further forward in the mouth, coming closer in phonation to **e**: **šənā** ‘swimming’; **jəngəl** ‘wood(s)’; **yək** ‘one’ (they are pronounced: **šənā**, **jəngəl**, **yək**). When close to uvular consonants **ə** is pronounced with the tongue further back in the mouth: **xər** ‘donkey’; **yəd** ‘stature’, ‘figure’; **āxər** ‘at last’; **vəxt** ‘time’ and in unstressed syllables it is vastly shortened and reduced, especially when close to voiceless consonants – **sərde kətə** ‘cold pilau’.

The phoneme **o** is a labialized vowel articulated with the tongue to the back of the mouth in a middle position and closed (at the fourth level from below). – **sob** ‘morning’; **hoz** ‘pond’; **xob** ‘it is good’; – It is notable for its considerable stability; with a change of the phonetic position, it changes little.

The phoneme **u** is a closed labialized vowel articulated with the tongue to the back of the mouth at the highest level but brought slightly forward: **utul** ‘car’; **šur** ‘salty’; **gušt** ‘meat’. In an unstressed, open syllable and at the very end of a word it has a more open variant: **bukun** ‘do! (singular)’; **durust** ‘true’; **šuru** ‘beginning’; and after uvular consonants the tongue moves a little further back: **xu** ‘one’s own’; **buxur** ‘eat! (singular)’.

The phoneme **ū** differs from **u** only in its length and qualitative stability: **kūran** ‘blind men’; **rūzan** ‘days’.

From the point of view of the quantitative features the vowel phonemes of the Gilaki language are divided into stable and unstable phonemes (as in the Tajik and Persian languages). **e**, **o**, **a**, **ā**, **ī**, **ū** are stable vowels; **i**, **ə**, **u** are unstable vowels. The stable vowels preserve their length in all their phonetic positions, but the unstable vowels are considerably shortened in an unstressed position (especially in an open syllable). A more distinct contrast of stable and unstable vowels is to be observed in open, unstressed syllables, where **e**, **o**, **a**, **ā**, **ī**, **ū** are pronounced long and the vowels **i**, **ə**, **u** very briefly.

The average length of stable vowels in this most distinctive position is shown in Table 1:

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Table 1. *Stable Vowels*

ī	šīrin ‘sweet’	14.9 sigmas
ū	kūrān ‘blind men’; tūrān ‘nets’	16.5 sigmas
ā	pārā ‘piece’; kārūn ‘Karun’	15.7 sigmas
e	perān ‘fathers’; terān ‘Tehran’	16.6 sigmas
o	korān ‘girls’	14.0 sigmas

The average length of unstable vowels in this most distinctive position is shown in Table 2:

Table 2. *Unstable Vowels*

ə	tərā ‘greenery’; tərāf ‘side’; xərīd ‘purchase’	8.3 sigmas
u	purāb ‘juicy’	5.6 sigmas
i	sifid ‘white’; čitór ‘how’	6.9 sigmas ³

2.1.1.2 Historical Roots

From an historical point of view the vowel *i* can be traced back to:

1. The historically short *i* (corresponding to the Middle Persian *i*, the Persian *e* and the Tajik *i*): ništān ‘to sit’; nivištān ‘to write’; dil ‘heart’; siya ‘black’; also in the words borrowed from the Arabic language: fikr ‘thought’; nisf ‘half’; hizb ‘party’; kitab ‘book’;
2. The historically long *ī* (corresponding to the Middle Persian *ī*, the Persian *i* and the Tajik *i*): bist ‘twenty’; nəzdik ‘near’; bāzi ‘game’; čiz ‘thing’; also in the words borrowed from the Arabic language: təbrik ‘congratulation’; zəlil ‘erring’; tārīx ‘history’, ‘date’;
3. *ē* (corresponding to the Middle Persian *ē*, the Persian *i* and the Tajik *e*): piš ‘front (noun or adjective)’; hamišə ‘always’; zir ‘bottom (noun)’, ‘lower’; jəvāni ‘a young man’;
4. On very rare occasions, *a*: sifid ‘white’ (an assimilation of the vowel); hizār ‘thousand’.

The vowel *ī* can be traced back to the historically long *ī* (it corresponds to the Middle Persian *ī*, the Persian *i* and the Tajik *i*); it has been preserved in a very small number of words in open, unstressed syllables: šīrin ‘sweet’; dīruz

³The figures are taken from Zav’yalova (1956) pp. 101 & 96.

‘yesterday’; *bīrun* ‘external’, ‘on the outside’, ‘outside’; *pīran* ‘old men’; *gīsan* ‘plaits’.

The vowel *e* has a relatively narrow sphere of use. In a small number of words it corresponds to the Middle Persian *ē*, the Persian *i* and the Tajik *e*: *der* ‘late’; ‘it is late’; *seb* ‘apple’; *ser* ‘satisfied’; *mex* ‘nail’. In other words it is formed:

1. From *a* before *y* or *i* (in diphthongs): *meyl* ‘inclination’; *peydā* ‘visible’, ‘obvious’, ‘evident’; *keyf* ‘delight’; *eyd* ‘holiday’; *meydan* ‘square’, etc.;
2. From the combination of the vowels *ə* and *i*: *nesə* < *nə-isə* ‘no’, ‘there is no’; *besid* < *bə-+isid* ‘stand! (2nd person plural)’;
3. In some cases from the short *i* (under the influence of Persian), chiefly in Arabic words: *vāred* ‘coming’, ‘arriving’; *ertəjā* ‘reaction’; *hāzer* ‘ready’; *hāfez* ‘defender’; *ebtedā* ‘beginning’; and more rarely in Iranian words: *behtər* ‘better’; *mehman* ‘guest’; *mehrabān* ‘loving’, ‘tender’, ‘affectionate’;
4. As the result of contraction: *de* < *digar* ‘another’, ‘again’, ‘still’; *re* (< *rādiy*) – the postposition corresponding to the Persian *rā* and the Tajik *ro*; *per* (< *pidar*, Old Persian *pitar*) ‘father’; *zeen* (< *zadan*) ‘to beat’; *deen* (< *dīdan*) ‘to see’; *čeen* (< *čīdan*) ‘to gather’; *heen* (< *harīdan* or *xarīdan*) ‘to buy’, etc.

The vowel *a* can be traced back to:

1. The historically long *ā* (corresponding to the Middle Persian *ā*, the Persian *ā* and the Tajik *o*): *xandən* ‘to read’; *xastən* ‘to want’; *danəstən* ‘to know’; *daštən* ‘to have’; *amon* ‘to come’; *avərdən* ‘to bring’; *tanəstən* ‘to be able’; *šuma* ‘you (plural)’; *ama* ‘we’; *miyan* ‘middle’, etc.;
2. The historically short *a*:
 - a. At the beginning of a word (where it corresponds to the Middle Persian *a* and the Persian and Tajik *a*): *az* – the preposition ‘from’, ‘out of’; *agər* ‘if’; *ama* ‘we’; also in loan-words from the Arabic language: *azā* ‘mourning’; *arus* ‘bride’; *abad* ‘eternal’; *ahāli* ‘population’; *aslaha* ‘weapon’;
 - b. In words of Arabic origin when close to *ʕ* (which has disappeared from Gilaki): *bāzi* ‘some’; *bad* (< *ba’d*) ‘after’; *sāat* ‘hour’; *lal* (< *la’l*) ‘ruby’; *da^avət* ‘conscription’; *mualləm* ‘teacher’; *ma^adən* ‘mine’, ‘pit’; *ta^ayib* ‘pursuit’;
 - c. When adjacent to the pharyngeal consonant *h* (in words of Iranian and Arabic origin): *haft* ‘seven’; *hašt* ‘eight’; *hamišə* ‘always’; *ham* ‘also’; *dah* // *da* ‘ten’; *hamsāyə* ‘neighbor’; *palu* // *pahlu* ‘side’, ‘sideways’; *habs* ‘arrest’; *hammām* ‘bath-house’; *hadəf* ‘target’, ‘aim’; *hattā* ‘even’; *harf* ‘letter’, etc.;

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- d. When adjacent to the uvular consonants **x** and **y** (not all words): **yasr** ‘palace’; **bəbaxš** ‘excuse me’;
- e. In the first open syllable in polysyllabic words: **šarāfətmənd** ‘noble’; **vaziyət** ‘condition’, ‘state’; **maxsusān** ‘especially’;
- f. Sometimes in unstressed, closed syllables: **majbur** ‘forced’;
- g. In the word **bale** ‘yes’.

The vowel **ā**, apparently borrowed from the Persian language, is encountered in a small number of words, shared with Persian, where it can be traced back to the historically long **ā**: **xāb** ‘sleep’; **bāy** ‘garden’; **āvāz** ‘voice’; **havā** ‘air’, ‘weather’; **āhu** ‘gazelle’; **āb** ‘water’; **bāzi** ‘play’; **peydā** ‘evident’, ‘obvious’. It is the same in Arabic words: **āxər** ‘at last’; **sāhab** ‘master’; **rāzi** ‘agreed’; **āləm** ‘world’, ‘universe’; **ijāzə** ‘permission’, etc. In a number of words, the parallel use of **ā** // **a** is possible: **jā** // **ja** ‘place’; **kār** // **kar** ‘work’; **bərār** // **bərar** ‘brother’; **šumā** // **šuma** ‘you (plural)’; **pīrān** // **pīran** ‘old men’, etc.

The vowel **ə** can be traced back to the historically short **a** on all occasions, except in the initial position or when next to pharyngeal or uvular consonants (where **a** is usually preserved) and it corresponds

- 1. to the Middle Persian **a**, the Persian **a** and the Tajik **a**: **səvār** ‘horseman’; **jəvān** ‘young man’; **məgər** ‘perhaps’; **šənā** ‘swimming’; **tərəf** ‘side’; **rəng** ‘color’; **dəs(t)** ‘hand’; **tərs** ‘fear’; **dərd** ‘pain’; **bulənd** ‘high’; **tənhā** ‘solitary’, ‘only’; **gərdən** ‘neck’; **bəd** ‘bad’;
- 2. in final position, to the Middle Persian **a**, the modern Persian **e** and the Tajik **a**: **hamə** ‘all’; **hamišə** ‘always’; **xālə** ‘aunt (on one’s father’s side)’; **piyādə** ‘pedestrian (noun or adjective)’; **tāzə** ‘clean’; **mīvə** ‘fruits’; **xānə** ‘house’, etc.

In a small number of words **ə** can be traced back to:

- 1. The historical **i**: **gərdəš** (**gardiš**) ‘walk’; **āxər** ‘at last’; **mualləm** ‘teacher’; **ertəjā** ‘reaction’; **hādəsə** ‘event’; **zəndān** ‘prison’; **mubārəzə** ‘struggle’, etc.;
- 2. **u**: **vavərsen** ‘to ask’ (Middle Persian **pursīdan**, Tajik **pursidan**); **mehrəbān** ‘sweet’, ‘affectionate’, ‘loving’.

The vowel **u** can be traced back to:

1. The historically short **u** (corresponding to the Middle Persian **u**, the Modern Persian **o** and the Tajik **u**): **pušt** ‘back’; **durust** ‘correctly’; **du** ‘two’; **gul** ‘flower’; **šuma** ‘you (plural)’; the same in Arabic words: **muraxəsi** ‘leave’, ‘free time’; **musafər** ‘wanderer’, ‘traveler’; **mulla** ‘mullah’;
2. The historically long **ū** (corresponding to the Middle Persian **u**, the Modern Persian **u** and the Tajik **u**): **čun** ‘when’; **zud** ‘quick’, ‘quickly’; **durun** ‘interior (noun)’, ‘inside (adjective)’;
3. The historically long **ō** (corresponding to the Middle Persian **ō**, the Modern Persian **u** and the Tajik **u**): **dust** ‘friend’; **ruz** ‘day’; **guš** ‘ear’; **ru** ‘face’; **suzan** ‘needle’; **bu** ‘smell’.

The vowel **ū** is encountered in a very small number of words, in an open, unstressed syllable, where it can be traced back to the historical, long **ū** or **ō**: **rūzan** ‘days’; **kūran** ‘blind one (pl.)’; **tūran** ‘nets’.

The vowel **o** has a limited sphere of use (compare **e**). It only continues its course of development of the historical **ō** in a very small number of words (corresponding to the Middle Persian **ō**, the Modern Persian **u** and the Tajik **u**): **doy** ‘buttermilk’; **rošan** ‘light’. Its main source of formation is the contraction of the diphthong **ou** < **av** (corresponding to the Persian **ou** and the Tajik **av**): **dolət** // **doulat** < **davlat** ‘state’; **čutor** < **či touṛ** < **či tavr** ‘how’; **dor** < **douṛ** < **davr** ‘around’; **hoz** < **houz** < **havz** ‘pond’; **nobə** < **noṇbat** < **navbat** ‘queue’, etc. In a few cases, it is produced from **ū** or **u** (the latter under the influence of the Persian language): **xob** ‘good’, ‘well’; **sob(h)** ‘morning’, ‘in the morning’; **noh** ‘nine’; **təšəkkor** ‘thank you’; **goftən** ‘to say’.

2.1.2 Consonants

The 22 consonantal phonemes in the Gilaki language are shown in table 3:⁴

⁴For a detailed description of the consonantal phonemes of the Gilaki language, see Zav’yalova (1956).

Table 3. *Gilaki Consonants*

		bilabial	labio-dental	front-lingual	mid-lingual	back-lingual	uvular	pharyngeal
occlusives	pure	p b		t d		k g		
	affricate			č ĵ				
	nasal	m		n				
fricatives	single focus				y		x ɣ	h
	bifocal		f v	s z				
	lateral			š ž				
tremulous				l				
				r				

The phonemes *č, ĵ* are front-lingual, bifocal affricatives, voiceless or voiced. They are articulated with the second, middle focus and that is why a certain shade of softness is peculiar to the ear; *č* in particular is pronounced a little softer than the Russian *ch*.

The phonemes *x, ɣ* are uvular, fricative consonants, one voiceless and one voiced, of the same type as those of the Persian and Tajik languages. They are articulated by means of the drawing together of the uvular with the very back part of the body of the tongue. The sound *x* is harsher than the Russian *kh* which is explained by its deeper formation.

The phonemes *š, ž* are front-lingual, bifocal, fricative consonants. They are articulated from the second, middle focus (as in the Persian and Tajik languages) and that is why they are different in sound from the Russian *sh* in their greater softness.

The voiceless stops *p, t, k* are characterized by the presence of a slight aspiration. A more distinct aspiration is revealed at the beginning of words and syllables before vowels: *kotər* ‘pigeon’; *kor* ‘girl’; *per* ‘father’; *turš* ‘sour’. When found before other consonants, the aspiration usually disappears.

Distinctive features of the voiced stops *b, d, g* is their incomplete voicing and their weakness of articulation. They are only fully voiced in an intervocal position: *bidin* ‘look!’, *bəbər* ‘take!’, *bugu* ‘say!’. They usually have a voiceless beginning (occlusive and enduring) and a voiced ending (plosive) at the beginning of a word before a vowel. In contrast, at the end of a word after vowels and voiced consonants they have a voiced beginning, but they become voiceless at the end.⁵

The phoneme *l* is a front-lingual, lateral, fricative, voiced consonant as in the Persian and Tajik languages (of the type of the German *l*).

The phoneme *n* according to the way it is formed is a front-lingual sound, that is, it is articulated with the tip of the tongue, being adjoined to (or occluding) the alveolar ridge,⁶

2.1.3 The Influence of Persian

The influence of the Persian language amongst the representatives of the intelligentsia from Rasht who were our informants when studying the Gilaki language is most evident in vowel pronunciation. It becomes apparent in the inclination to pronounce words, shared with Persian, in the Persian manner, that is replacing:

1. The sound *u* in those words where it can be traced back to the historically short *u* with the sound *o*: *təšəkkor* ‘gratitude’; *dorost* ‘right’;

⁵Zav’yalova (1956) pp. 110–111.

⁶Zav’yalova (1956) p. 112.

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2. The sound **i** where it can be traced back to the historically short **i** with the sound **e**: **ebtedâ** ‘beginning’; **ertəjâ** ‘reaction’; **ettehâd** ‘union’, etc.;
3. The sound **a** where it can be traced back to **ā** with the sound **â**: **xulâsə** ‘in one word’; **âftâb** ‘sun’; **râzi** ‘agreeable’, etc.

This has been reflected to some extent even in our recordings of the texts, although after repeated pronunciations this was usually corrected by the informants themselves.

In general the sound **â**, as we have already said, came into existence into the Gilaki language, by all appearances, under the influence of the Persian language.

Regarding the system of consonants as a whole, as can be seen from the table above, they differ little from Persian.

2.2 The Assimilation of Vowels

The regressive assimilation of vowels is peculiar to the Gilaki language – that is to say that the preceding vowel is assimilated to the following one. The assimilated sound may become similar to the assimilatory one from the point of view of its series or vowel backness (front – central – back), or of its labialization and sometimes of its vowel height (high – mid – low). Vowels of relational elements – of the form-building and derivational prefixes in the verb and of the verbal negative particle, chiefly undergo assimilation. For example, if the initial vowel of the stem is **ə**, **a**, **â**, the vowel **ə** will be in the form-building prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-**:

- (1) a. **bəbərdəm** I have taken away
b. **bətanəstəm** I could

If the first vowel in the stem is **i**, the vowel of the prefix changes to **i**:

- (2) **binivištəm** I have written

If the first vowel in the stem is **u** or **o**, the vowel of the prefix changes to **u**:

- (3) a. **bukudəm** I have done
b. **bugoftəm** I have said

An analogous phenomenon is to be observed in the case of the joining of the negative particle **nə-** to the verb. Compare:

2.3 The Phonetic Phenomena Where Two Morphemes Are Combined

- (4)
- a. ná-bərdəm I did not take
 - b. ná-tanəstəm I could not
 - c. ní-nivištəm I did not write
 - d. nú-kudəm I did not do
 - e. nú-goftəm I did not say

With more careful, somewhat deliberate pronunciation however, the vowel ə in the prefix and the negative particle may be retained in all the listed cases:⁷

- (5)
- a. bəbərdəm I have taken away
 - b. bənivištəm I have written
 - c. bəkudəm I have done
 - d. ná-bərdəm I did not take
 - e. ná-nivištəm I did not write
 - f. ná-kudəm I did not do

The ending -ə of the past participle may also undergo assimilation when that participle is a part of the descriptive, verbal forms and the auxiliary verb **buon** ‘to be’ follows it:

- (6)
- a. bukudu bum < bəkudə bum I had done
 - b. bukudi bi < bəkudə bi you had done

2.3 The Phonetic Phenomena Where Two Morphemes Are Combined

In the case of the cooccurrence of two vowels, the following phenomena occur where the morphemes are combined.

1. The epenthetic sound **y** is inserted between the vowels. This chiefly occurs in verbs between the stem (when it ends in a vowel) and the personal endings:

⁷In our materials, this is chiefly to be observed in the texts compiled and written by Nasirani.

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- (7) a. **vavərseyim** we asked
b. **amoyidi** they arrived
c. **dayidi** they were giving

However, in rapid speech the consonant **y** may be omitted:

- (8) a. **vavərseim**
b. **amoidi**
c. **daidi**

2. One vowel is deleted. This chiefly happens:

- a. In cases of joining the form-building prefix **bə-** or the negative particle **nə-** to a verb beginning with the vowel **a**, the vowel **ə** is deleted:

- (9) a. **bavərdəm** < **bə+avərdəm** I brought
b. **n-avərdəm** I did not bring

- b. In the case of an ending that begins with a vowel joined to a verbal stem ending in a vowel:

- (10) a. **gəm** < **gu+-əm** I am saying
b. **gi** < **gu+-i** you are saying
c. **bamom** < **bə+amo+əm** I came

3. A sequence of two vowels is replaced by one vowel, different from either vowel making up the sequence. This is observed only in the case of the joining of the prefix **bə-** or the negative particle **nə-** to a verb beginning with the vowel **i**:

- (11) a. **besam** (< **bə+isam**) I stood, 'I stopped'
b. **nesa bu** (< **nə+isa bu**) He/she did not stand

2.4 Stress

Stress in the Gilaki language is dynamic. In words not having inflectional, morphological endings, it falls on the last syllable:

- (12) a. xâná house
 b. kârəgór worker
 c. šená swimming

In the situation where the case enclitic -ə of the genitive case, -a of the accusative case, or the “Ezafə” enclitic -ə joins to the noun, the stress remains on the stem:

- (13) a. mi pérə xânə my father’s house
 b. u duxtéra bavər bring this girl
 c. fikrə Məryəm the thought of Maryəm

In a verb in the forms of the aorist, the present-future tense and the imperative mood, the stress falls on the end of the word, that is, on the personal ending:

- (14) a. bəgəm (if) I say
 b. kunəm I am doing, I shall do
 c. bukún do! (singular)
 d. bukuníd do! (plural)

In the presence of negation in the same forms the stress passes to the negative particle:

- (15) a. ná-gəm I shall not say, I am not saying
 b. ná-gə (if) he/she does not say
 c. nú-kunəm I am not doing, I shall not do
 d. nú-kun do not do! (singular)
 e. nú-kuníd do not do! (plural)

In the past neutral and past continuous tenses, the stress remains on the stem:

- (16) a. bəgóftə he/she said
 b. góftim I was saying

3. Vocabulary

3.1 Proto-Iranian Origin

Words of proto-Iranian origin form the basis of the vocabulary of the Gilaki language. Here we are dealing with: pronouns, numerals, main verbs, the names of parts of the body, natural phenomena, the main units for the measurement of time, kinship terms, indicators of gender and color, various qualitative states, the names of some animals and plants and many other words. We shall give some examples.

3.1.1 Pronouns

(17)	Gilaki	mən ‘I’
	Old Persian	manā
	Avestan	mana the genitive singular
	Persian	mān
	Tajik	man
	Tati ¹	mæn
	Talyshi	mī, mīni

(18)	Gilaki	tu ‘you (singular)’
	Old Persian	tuvam
	Avestan	tūm, tvām, tū
	Persian	to
	Tajik	tu
	Kurdish	tō
	Tati	tū
	Talyshi	tī
	Balochi	ta

¹Tati of Dagestan and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

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(19)	Gilaki	ama ‘we’
	Old Persian	amāxam
	Avestan	ahmākəm the genitive plural
	Persian	mā
	Tajik	mo
	Kurdish	əm
	Tati	(i)mu(n)
	Talyshi	ama
	Balochi	ammā

(20)	Gilaki	šuma ‘you (plural)’
	Avestan	yusmāka-
	Persian	šoma
	Tajik	šumo
	Tati	(i)šmu(n)
	Talyshi	šima
	Balochi	šmā

3.1.2 Numerals

(21)	Gilaki	yək ‘one’
	Old Persian	*aivaka-
	Avestan	aeva-
	Persian	yek
	Tajik	yak
	Kurdish	yək
	Tati	yæ // yǎki
	Balochi	yak

(22)	Gilaki	du, do ‘two’
	Old Persian (compare)	duvitīya- ‘second’
	Avestan	dva-
	Persian	do
	Tajik	du
	Kurdish	dō
	Tati	dȳ
	Talyshi	dī
	Balochi	du

(23)	Gilaki	se ‘three’
	Old Persian (compare)	ṣritīya- ‘third’
	Avestan	ṣri
	Persian	se
	Tajik	se
	Kurdish	se
	Tati	sæ
	Talyshi	se
	Balochi	say

(24)	Gilaki	čâr, čəâr, čəhâr ‘four’
	Avestan	čaθwārō
	Persian	čāhâr, čâr
	Tajik	čor
	Kurdish	çar
	Tati	čar
	Talyshi	čo
	Balochi	čār

(25)	Gilaki	da(h) ‘ten’
	Avestan	dasa
	Persian	dā(h)
	Tajik	da(h)
	Kurdish	dəh
	Tati	dæh
	Talyshi	dâ
	Balochi	da

3. Vocabulary

(26)	Gilaki	bist ‘twenty’
	Avestan	vīsaiti-
	Persian	bist
	Tajik	bist
	Kurdish	bist
	Tati	bist
	Talyshi	vist
	Balochi	bīst or gīst

3.1.3 Main Verbs

(27)	Gilaki	šoon, šon, šuon ‘to go’, ‘to move’
	Old Persian	√šiyav-
	Avestan	√šav-
	Persian	šodān
	Tajik	šudan

(28)	Gilaki	isan ‘to stand’
	Old Persian	√stā-
	Persian	estādān
	Tajik	istodan

(29)	Gilaki	xuftən ‘to sleep’
	Avestan	xʷafna ‘sleep’
	Persian	xābidān, xoftān
	Tajik	xobidan, xuftan

(30)	Gilaki	kudən ‘to do’
	Old Persian	√kar-
	Avestan	√kar-
	Persian	kārdān
	Tajik	kardan
	Kurdish	kirin
	Tati	kærdæn

(31)	Gilaki	xurdən, xordən ‘to eat’ (‘to devour’)
	Avestan	√x ^{ar} -, x ^{araiti}
	Persian	xordān
	Tajik	xūrdan
	Kurdish	xwarin
	Tati	xardæn

(32)	Gilaki	daštən ‘to have’
	Old Persian	√dar-
	Avestan	√dar-
	Persian	dāštān
	Tajik	doštan
	Tati	daštæn ‘to detain’, ‘to keep’

(33)	Gilaki	goftən // guftən ‘to say’
	Old Persian	√gaub- gaubataiy
	Persian	goftān
	Tajik	guftan
	Kurdish	gotin

3.1.4 Names of the Parts of the Body

(34)	Gilaki	sər ‘head’
	Avestan	sarah-
	Persian	sār
	Tajik	sər
	Kurdish	səri (seri)
	Tati	sær
	Balochi	sər

(35)	Gilaki	på ‘foot’
	Avestan	pāda-
	Persian	på
	Tajik	po

3. Vocabulary

(36)	Gilaki	guš ‘ear’
	Old Persian	gauša-
	Avestan	gaoša-
	Persian	guš
	Tajik	gūš
	Tati	guš

(37)	Gilaki	čəšm, čum, čušm ‘eye’
	Avestan	čašman-
	Persian	češm, čāšm
	Tajik	čašm
	Tati	čým

(38)	Gilaki	abru ‘eyebrow’
	Avestan	brvat-
	Persian	ābru
	Tajik	abrū
	Tati	býrg
	Balochi	burvan, birvān

(39)	Gilaki	dəndān ‘tooth’
	Old Persian	dānta-
	Persian	dāndān
	Tajik	dandon
	Tati	dandu
	Balochi	dantān

(40)	Gilaki	zəbān ‘tongue’
	Old Persian	izāvam
	Avestan	hizū
	Persian	zābān
	Tajik	zabon
	Kurdish	ziman (zimen, zimin)
	Tati	zuhun

3.1.5 Names of Natural Phenomena and Substances

(41)	Gilaki	zānu ‘knee’
	Avestan	zānu-
	Persian	zānu
	Tajik	zonu
	Tati	zani

3.1.5 Names of Natural Phenomena and Substances

(42)	Gilaki	zəmin, zimin ‘earth’
	Avestan	zāo, genitive plural zemō
	Persian	zāmin
	Tajik	zamin
	Kurdish	zəmin

(43)	Gilaki	āsəmān, āsmān ‘sky’
	Old Persian	asman-
	Avestan	asman-
	Persian	āsmān
	Tajik	osmon
	Balochi	āsmān

(44)	Gilaki	bād ‘wind’
	Avestan	vāta-
	Persian	bād
	Tajik	bod
	Kurdish	ba

(45)	Gilaki	sətårə ‘star’
	Avestan	star-
	Persian	setāre
	Tajik	sitora
	Tati	astaræ
	Balochi	stār

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(46)	Gilaki	āb ‘water’
	Old Persian	āp-
	Persian	āb
	Tajik	ob
	Balochi	āp

3.1.6 Names of the Main Units for Measuring Time

(47)	Gilaki	šəb ‘night’, ‘evening’
	Avestan	xšap-, xšapan-
	Persian	šāb
	Tajik	šab
	Kurdish	šəv, šəb
	Tati	šəy
	Balochi	šap

(48)	Gilaki	ruz ‘day’
	Old Persian	raučah-
	Avestan	raočah-
	Persian	ruz
	Tajik	rūz
	Kurdish	r’ož
	Tati	ruz
	Balochi	rōč

(49)	Gilaki	mā, ma ‘month’
	Old Persian	māh-
	Avestan	māh-
	Persian	māh, mäh
	Tajik	moh, mah
	Kurdish	məh
	Tati	māh

(50)	Gilaki	sal, sāl ‘year’
	Avestan	sarəḏa-
	Persian	sāl
	Tajik	sol
	Kurdish	sal
	Balochi	sāl

3.1.7 Kinship Terms

(51)	Gilaki	mār ‘mother’
	Avestan	mātar-
	Persian	mādār
	Tajik	modar
	Afghan	mor

(52)	Gilaki	per, pədər ‘father’
	Old Persian	pitar-
	Avestan	pitar-
	Persian	pedār
	Tajik	padar
	Tati	piyær

(53)	Gilaki	pəsər ‘son’, ‘boy’, ‘lad’
	Old Persian	puṡra-
	Avestan	puṡra-
	Persian	pesār
	Tajik	pisar

(54)	Gilaki	duxtər ‘daughter’, ‘girl’
	Avestan	duyḏar-
	Persian	doxtār, doxt
	Tajik	duxtar
	Tati	duxtær

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(55)	Gilaki	bərar ‘brother’
	Old Persian	brātar-
	Avestan	brātar-
	Persian	berādār
	Tajik	barodar
	Kurdish	bīra (bire)
	Tati	birar

(56)	Gilaki	xāxur, xaxur ‘sister’
	Avestan	xʷanhar
	Persian	xāhār
	Tajik	xohar
	Tati	xuvar
	Yagnobi	xʷor
	Afghan	xor

3.1.8 The Designations of Gender

(57)	Gilaki	mərd ‘man’, ‘husband’
	Old Persian	martiya-
	Persian	mārd
	Tajik	mard
	Kurdish	mer

(58)	Gilaki	zən ‘woman’, ‘wife’
	Ancient Iranian (compare)	zan- ‘to give birth’, ‘to bring into the world’
	Avestan	jeni-, jaina-
	Persian	zān
	Tajik	zan
	Kurdish	žin
	Tati	zæn
	Munji	žína, žinka

3.1.9 Designations of Color and Various Qualitative Conditions

(59)	Gilaki	səfid, sifid ‘white’
	Avestan	spaeta-
	Persian	sāfid
	Tajik	safed
	Kurdish	şîpi
	Tati	ispi
	Balochi	spēt

(60)	Gilaki	sorx, surx ‘red’
	Avestan	suxra-
	Persian	sorx
	Tajik	surx
	Kurdish	sor

(61)	Gilaki	gərm ‘hot’
	Old Persian	garma-
	Avestan	garema-
	Persian	gārm
	Tajik	garm
	Kurdish	gərm

(62)	Gilaki	dəraz ‘long’
	Avestan	drājah-
	Persian	derāz
	Tajik	daroz
	Kurdish	dîrêž
	Tati	duraz

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3.1.10 Names of Animals, Plants and Products of Nourishment

(63)	Gilaki	asb, asp ‘horse’, ‘steed’
	Avestan	aspa-
	Persian	āsb
	Tajik	asp
	Kurdish	h'əsp
	Tati	æs
	Balochi	asp

(64)	Gilaki	mory, mury ‘hen’, ‘bird’
	Avestan	mərəya-
	Persian	mory
	Tajik	mury
	Balochi	murg
	Yagnobi	mūry
	Afghan	muryə

(65)	Gilaki	rubā ‘fox’
	Ancient Iranian	*raupāsa
	Persian	rubāh
	Tajik	rūboh
	Kurdish	r'uvi
	Yagnobi	rubā
	Balochi	rōbā

(66)	Gilaki	dərəxt ‘tree’
	Avestan	*draxta-
	Persian	derāxt
	Tajik	daraxt
	Balochi	draxt

(67)	Gilaki	ård ‘flour’
	Persian	ård
	Tajik	ord
	Kurdish	ar(er)
	Balochi	ārt
	Yagnobi	órta

(68)	Gilaki	nân ‘bread’
	Persian	nân
	Tajik	non
	Kurdish	nan (nen, nin)
	Tati	nu
	Balochi	nān

3.1.11 Gilaki-Persian Comparison

In the Gilaki language there are many words that are the same as in Persian. Some of them are possibly borrowed from Persian, for example participial forms such as *dərīdə* with the meaning of ‘impudent, insolent’; *čakīdə* in word combinations – *māstə čakīdə* ‘thick, settled, sour milk’; *āšuftə* ‘sad, agitated’ (in the compound verb *āšuftə bostən* ‘to be agitated, to be upset’). In the Gilaki language these participial forms are the isolated representations of their original paradigms having little if any connection between them. The sphere of their meanings is much narrower than in Persian. Compare the Gilaki *dərīdə* (‘impudent, insolent’) and the Persian *dāride* 1) ‘torn, torn asunder, broken’; 2) ‘impudent, impertinent, insolent’; the Gilaki *čakīdə* (*māstə čakīdə* ‘thick, settled sour milk’) and the Persian *čekide* 1) ‘having dripped drop by drop (of a liquid)’; 2) ‘juice, squeezing, extract’; 3) ‘the better, choice part of something’; the Gilaki *āšuftə* (‘sad, agitated’) and the Persian *āšofte* 1) ‘uneasy, anxious, alarmed’; 2) ‘disordered, made untidy’; 3) ‘ruffled’; 4) ‘in love’.

Many words that are close or similar to the Persian in form and meaning could have come into being even on Gilaki soil itself. Thus, for example, it is quite possible that the different alliterative and figurative combinations, having parallels in Persian, are in fact Gilaki: *pārə-u-pindərə* ‘patched, mended’ (compare the Persian *pāre-pure* 1) ‘torn, ragged’; 2) ‘goods and chattels’, ‘rags’); *čub-u čəkāl* ‘sticks’ (compare the Persian *čubočol* 1) ‘firewood’; 2) ‘boards, chunks, pieces of wood’), *kəpči-ləpči* ‘crooked-mouth’, *kəpčə ločə kudən* ‘to frown, glower’ (compare the Persian *kājokoūle* 1) ‘twisted, twirled’; 2) ‘crooked, bent, curved’; 3) ‘distorted, irregular’); *šələ-pələ* ‘weak, flabby (as applied to a drug addict)’; compare the Persian *šolovel* ‘weak, flabby’, etc.

3. Vocabulary

In the speech of the Gilakis, under the influence of the Persian language, certain words may be pronounced even in a Persian manner. Thus, for example, it is difficult to say what the truth is about the word *poxtəpəz* (*‘the preparation of food, cooking’*) in Gilaki – whether it is borrowed from the Persian or whether it has come into being on Gilaki soil and is just pronounced similar to the Persian. In Gilaki, *pəxtəpəz* would be expected, in conformity with the verb *pəxtən* *‘to cook, prepare food’*.

It often happens that there is a discrepancy in the meanings of words that are common to Gilaki and Persian. Compare the Gilaki *gāz* *‘tooth, teeth’* (*gāzu* *‘with teeth that are protruding forwards’*) and the Persian *gāz* *‘bite, biting’* (*gāz gereftān* *‘to bite, to be given to biting’*); the Gilaki *čārdəsti* *‘strongly’* (*čārdəsti daštən* *‘to hold firmly’*) and the Persian *čārdəsti* 1) *‘hurriedly, quickly’*, *‘greedily’*; 2) *‘four together (to play cards, etc)’*; the Gilaki *dəm-bə-dəm* *‘upon one’s heels’* and the Persian *dāmbədām* 1) *‘constantly, continuously’*, *‘often’*; 2) *‘continually’*, *‘more and more’* (the Gilaki *dəm* and the Persian *dām* mean *‘breathing’*, *‘deep breath’*); the Gilaki *bur* 1) *‘red’*, *‘fiery’* (*búr-a bostən* *‘to redden’*, *‘to feel shy’*), 2) *‘red (of hair)’* and Persian *bur* 1) *‘brown’*, *‘chestnut’*, *‘red’*, 2) *‘light brown, fair-haired, blond’*; 3) the colloquial *‘having put one’s foot in it, having found oneself in an awkward situation, having been embarrassed’*; 4) *‘blond man, blond woman’*; the Gilaki *pičək* *‘sticky, adhesive’* and the Persian *pičāk* 1) *‘climber (any plant)’*; 2) *‘tendrils (of creepers)’*; 3) *‘bindweed’*; 4) *‘plant name’*.

Individual words, rarely encountered in Persian, have been rather more widely used in Gilaki. Thus, for example, the word *āl* (the Persian *āl*), noted in Persian as rare (with the meaning of *‘light red, red’*) Rubinchik (1970), has in Gilaki the meaning *‘red’* in different compound words: *āləbeyrəy* *‘the red flag’*; *ālaparčə* *‘red calico’*. Possibly, it is even present in the compound word *āləmərəxə* *‘Gilaki beads’*. The word *dim* *‘face’*, *‘image’*, *‘expression’* Rubinchik (1970), which is rare in the Persian language, is used in the usual way in Gilaki, for example:

- (69) *un kənārə hoz bušo, ita piče āb xu díma bəze*
He went to the bank of the pond and splashed his face with a little water.

The word *himə* *‘firewood’*, marked in Persian as archaic Rubinchik (1970), also has its usual meaning in Gilaki.

Many words, common to Gilaki as well as Persian, are found in colloquial Persian. Compare the Gilaki *čāxān* *‘flattering’*, *‘obsequious’*, *‘toady’* and the Persian colloquial *čāxān* 1) *‘toadying’*, *‘flattering’*; 2) *‘toady’*; 3) *‘toadying’*;² the Gilaki *čārčəsmi* *‘fixedly’*, *‘vigilantly’* and the Persian colloquial *čārčəšmi*

²Here and subsequently the Persian word with the note ‘colloquial’ is taken from Rubinchik (1970).

(čårčešm) ‘fixedly’, ‘vigilantly’; the Gilaki jir-u-bir ‘squeal’, ‘peep’ and the Persian colloquial jirrovir ‘cry’, ‘noise’; the Gilaki xərt-u-pərt ‘all sorts of things’, ‘gadgets’, ‘junk’ and the Persian colloquial xertopert ‘small knick-knacks’, ‘cheap things’, ‘rubbish’, ‘trinkets’; the Gilaki kār-ə-bār ‘affair’, ‘condition’ and the Persian colloquial kārōbār ‘affairs’, ‘condition’, ‘state of affairs’; the Gilaki sāxt-u-pāxt ‘secret agreement about the joint action against somebody’, ‘collusion’, ‘conspiracy’ and the Persian colloquial sǎxtopǎxt ‘secret collusion’, ‘secret deal’; the Gilaki hast-u-nist ‘property, goods and chattels, belongings’ and the Persian colloquial hǎstonist ‘property, belongings, goods and chattels’; the Gilaki hič-u-puč ‘for no reason at all’ and the Persian colloquial hičopuč ‘for nothing, about nothing’; the Gilaki tǎzə-mǎzə ‘news’ and the Persian colloquial tǎzə-mǎzə ‘news’; the Gilaki kurmal-kurmal ‘gropingly’ and the Persian colloquial kurmāl-kurmāl (or kurmāl) ‘blindfolded’, ‘blindly’; the Gilaki dəvəl ‘deception’ (dəvəl daan ‘to deceive’) and the Persian colloquial dǎvāl ‘dragging out the business’, ‘case protraction, constant delaying of the affair’ and many others.

3.2 Arabic Origin

The words of Arabic origin make up a considerable section of the vocabulary of the Gilaki language. They embrace the most diverse spheres of life. There are an especially great number of them in the spheres of religion, culture, education, science, morals, law, economics and politics. We shall give some examples: *din* ‘religion’, ‘faith’; *fetr* ‘the breaking of the fast’, ‘the first meal after the fast’; *eftār* ‘the first meal after a fast’; *fetva* ‘fetwa’, ‘the sentence according to Shariah law’; *etəyād* ‘persuasion’, ‘faith’; *eddā* ‘claim’, ‘pretension’; *eftəra* ‘slander’; *dəxl* ‘connection’, ‘relationship’; *dərs* ‘lesson’, ‘studies’; *kitab* ‘book’; *mədrəsə* ‘school’; *məalləm* ‘teacher’; *ilm* ‘knowledge’, ‘science’; *məsala* ‘question’, ‘problem’; *māāš* ‘means of subsistence’, ‘wages’; *məbləy* ‘sum (of money)’; *māliyət* ‘tax’; *mədrək* ‘document’; *məhsul*, *məsul* ‘harvest’; *ertəjā* ‘reaction’, ‘reactionary forces’, etc.

Possibly, some Arabic words have entered the Gilaki language by means of the Persian. Thus, for example, the word *bəšərə* ‘air’, ‘appearance’, ‘face’ in the Gilaki language is closer in meaning to the Persian than to the Arabic.

The Arabic *bašaratun* has the meaning ‘skin’, ‘pellicle’. In Persian the word has acquired one more meaning: ‘air’, ‘appearance (of a man)’. It is precisely this meaning that we find in the Gilaki *bəšərə*.

The Arabic loan-words in the Gilaki language are far fewer than in Persian: they are quite limited even in their sphere of use. Some of them are encountered only in certain combinations. Thus, for example, the Arabic word *ayār* is known to us in Gilaki only in combination with the verb *kudən* ‘to make’: *ayār kudən* ‘to measure’. For comparison one may point out the range of meanings

3. Vocabulary

of this word in Arabic and Persian:

Arabic:

1. criterion, standard;
2. calibre (of a gun or projectile);
3. mark of assay (of metal);
4. (a) weight

Persian:

1. mark of assay (of precious metal);
2. touchstone, assay balance;
3. carat

In Persian the word in question is part of a number of complex verbs: *äyâr zādän* ‘to alloy (precious metals)’; *äyâr kârdän* (//*gereftän*) ‘to assay or test (precious metals)’.

In the Gilaki language, as in the other Iranian languages, cases of the reinterpretation of Arabic words are observed. Compare the Gilaki *bærkät* ‘success’, ‘good luck’ and the original Arabic word *barakatun* 1) ‘blessing’; 2) ‘the ecclesiastical grace’, ‘heavenly gift’.

3.3 Turkic Loanwords

Turkic loanwords occupy a definite place in the vocabulary of the Gilaki language. Amongst them are many Azerbaijani words or words that have entered the Gilaki language through Azerbaijani: *buşyâb* ‘plate’, ‘dish’ (the Azerbaijani *boşgab*);³ *dus(t)ây* ‘prison’ (the Azerbaijani *dustag* ‘prisoner’, ‘slave’, ‘captive’); *dus(t)âyban* (with the Iranian element *bân*) ‘jailer’, ‘warder’; *ləvaş* ‘lavash (a round or egg-shaped pancake)’, the Azerbaijani *lavaş*; *äj* ‘hungry’ (Azerbaijani *aj*, Turkish *aç*); *čətin* ‘difficult’ (Azerbaijani *čətin*, Turkish *çetin*); *čupoy* ‘chibouk’ (Azerbaijani *čubug*, Turkish *čubuk*); *yāvâş* ‘quietly’, ‘noiselessly’ (Azerbaijani, Turkish *yavaş-yavaş* ‘quietly, softly’); *yâş* ‘eyebrow’ (Turkish, Tati *kaş*, Azerbaijani *gaş*); *yurəş* ‘attack’ (Turkish *yuriş*, Azerbaijani *yəriş* ‘walk, walking’, Osm. *yuriş* ‘attack, assault, storm’); *bâtlây* ‘bog, swamp’; *duyulu* ‘twins’; *daş*, *adaş* ‘elder brother (and also referring to a man who is eldest in age)’, etc.

³On the origin of Turkic words see Budagov (1869–1871).

3.4 Words from Western Europe

Words from the Western European languages, adopted mostly from the French (or via French), make up a rather big section of Gilaki vocabulary: *apartaman* ‘flat’ (French *appartement*); *famil* ‘family, relatives’ (French *famille*); *doktor* ‘doctor, physician’ (French *docteur*); *diktə* ‘dictation’ (French *dictée*); *adres* ‘address’ (French *adresse*); *bātun* ‘baton’ (French *bâton* ‘stick’); *poz* ‘pose’ (*poz daan* ‘to put on airs, to swagger’), compare the French *pose* ‘the position of one’s body, pose’, *posé* ‘solid, serious, important, staid’; *fiks* ‘fixed, established’ (*yeymət fiks-ə* ‘fixed price’, compare the French *prix fixe* ‘fixed price’); *āvār* ‘damage’ (Italian *avaria*, French *avarie*); *isfālt* ‘asphalt’ (Greek *asphaltos*, French *asphalte*); *kām(i)yun* ‘lorry’ (French *camion*); *malariya* ‘malaria’; *utul*, *utumubil* ‘car’; *pulis* ‘police’; *jəldəyə* (compare the Persian *jelityə*) ‘waistcoat’ (French *gilet* ‘waistcoat, jersey’), etc.

3.5 Russian Loanwords

There are loanwords from the Russian language, on the whole, of an everyday nature: *bidrə*, *vidrə* ‘bucket’; *boškə* ‘barrel’; *lotkə* ‘boat’; *duruškə* ‘cab, horse carriage’; *pičanək* ‘pastry’; *pirguzke* ‘tea with a lump of sugar’; *rubl* ‘rouble’; *čotkə* ‘abacus’ (*čotkə tavədan* ‘to count on an abacus’) *oros* ‘Russian’; *urusi* in the combination *urusi mory* – the name of one of the breeds of chickens, lit. ‘Russian hen’; *lipčik* ‘a short, pleated skirt, usually worn over wide trousers’ (compare the Russian [*lifčik*] ‘brassière’); *černildan* (with the Iranian element *dan*) ‘ink-well’; *xutkə* ‘teal’ (compare the Russian [*utka*] ‘duck’); *suxari* ‘rusk’, ‘dried breadcrumbs’, etc.

3.6 Other Information

The formation of new words from within in the Gilaki language occurs chiefly according to function and is descriptive: *dəndānpākkun* ‘toothbrush’ (lit. ‘cleaning teeth’); *māhutpākkun* ‘brush for clothes’ (lit. ‘cleaning cloth’); *bār xānə* ‘depository for goods, warehouse’ (*bār* ‘goods’; *xānə* ‘home, room’); *dəvā xānə* ‘chemist’s shop’ (*dəvā* ‘medicine’; *xānə* ‘home, room’).

An abundance of simple verbs, including prefixal verbs, is peculiar to the vocabulary of the Gilaki language: *fibištən* (*fivištən*) ‘to bake’ (lit. ‘by fire’), from *bištən* ‘to cook, to roast’; *vabištən* (*vavištən*) ‘to roast’ (from the same verb); *dəbištən*, *dibištən* ‘to cook, to roast’ (from the same verb); *uduštən* 1) ‘to milk’; 2) ‘to suck out’; 3) figuratively ‘to squeeze (out of a man) everything that is possible, to drain him, to squeeze like a lemon’ (from the verb *duštən* ‘to milk’); *fuduštən* 1) ‘to milk’; 2) ‘to suck, to suck out’ (from the same verb); *dukudən* 1) ‘to put on’; 2) ‘to pour’ (from the verb *kudən* ‘to make’); *fukudən*

3. Vocabulary

1) ‘to pour or spill a liquid or substance’; 2) ‘to pour’ (from the same verb); *jukudən* ‘to thread a needle’ (from the same verb); *fuɣuftən* ‘to fall, to fall upon’ (from *xuftən* ‘to sleep, to lie’); *ɟuxuftən* ‘to hide oneself’ (from the same verb); *ɟigiftən* ‘to wean a child’ (from *giftən* ‘to take’); *dukuštən* ‘to smother, to deprive somebody of the possibility of breathing’ (from *kuštən* ‘to kill’); *vasoxtən* ‘to boil away, to evaporate’ (from *soxtən* ‘to burn, to burn down’); *bəsavəstən* ‘to be rubbed’ (from *savəstən* ‘to rub, to reduce something to powder, to small particles, while kneading’); *dəpərkəstən* ‘to wake up, to jump (from sleep)’ (from *pərkəstən* ‘to shiver, to feel shivery’), etc.

Simple verbs often express that which, for example in Persian, may be rendered by a complex verb. Compare ‘to attack, assault’ – the Gilaki *futurkəstən* (a simple verb) and the Persian *hämle kărdän, hämle bordän, hojum kărdän, hojun bordän* (complex verbs); ‘to stick (in one’s throat)’ – the Gilaki *fuškəftən* (a simple verb) and the Persian *gir kărdän* (a complex verb) in the combination *dăr gălu gir kărdän*.

Repetitive words are often encountered: *aɟin-aɟin* ‘toothed’; *čəkə-čəkə* ‘teeth’; *âzâ-âzâ* ‘quite’; *pâk-pâk* ‘quite’; *tolo-tolo* in the combination *tolo-tolo xurdən* ‘to stagger (when walking)’, ‘to roll from side to side’, etc.

Many words and expressions are of a figurative nature, for example, *bâbâgəndum* ‘maize’ (lit. ‘grandfather-wheat’); *šəkóma barbəndi kudən* ‘to slightly satisfy one’s hunger, to have a snack’ (*šəkəm* ‘stomach’, *barbəndi kudən* ‘to tie together, pack one’s things’).

4. Word Formation

Word-formation in Gilaki is accomplished through stem-composition and affixation.

4.1 Stem-Composition

Words formed by the combination of stems are divided into two types: copulative and determinative. In the copulative type the component elements of the compound word each have equal weight, for example: *bəzən-bukub* ‘*masacre*’ (*bəzən* – the imperative mood of the verb *zeen*, ‘to beat’, *bukub* – the imperative mood of the verb *kobəstən*, ‘to beat’, ‘to inflict blows’), *dəgərdən-vəgərdən* ‘*turning (of a garment)*’: *dəgərdən-vəgərdən kudən* ‘to turn inside out’ (*dəgərdən* // *dəgərdan* – the imperative mood of the verb *dəgərdanen* ‘to turn over’, *vəgərdən* // *vagərdən* – imperative mood of the word *vəgərdanen* ‘to turn over’). In the determinative type one of the component parts of the verb depends on the other: *səbildəraz* ‘*long-moustached*’ (*səbil* ‘moustache’, *dəraz* ‘long’), *aždəməb* ‘*very salty water*’, (*aždəm* ‘very salty’, *əb* ‘water’).

4.1.1 Copulative

Within the copulative type of words the following distinctions can be made.

1. Combinations of two nouns to form nouns, adjectives and adverbs, in which we should note the following variants:
 - a. The reduplication of the same noun through a linking element -*ā*-. *pəsāpəs* ‘*backwards*’ from *pəs* ‘back, rear part’, ‘behind’;
 - b. The reduplication of the same noun through the linking element -*bə*-. *rəj-bə-rəj* ‘in rows’, ‘row upon row’ from *rəj* ‘row’, ‘order’, ‘formation’;
 - c. The reduplication of the same noun without a linking element, but with the addition of the suffixes -*i*, -*iki* (-*əki*); *dəst-dəsti* ‘personally’, ‘with one’s own hand’, from *dəst* ‘hand’; *ārām-ārāmi* ‘quietly’, ‘softly’, from *ārām* ‘quiet’, ‘peace’; *zir-ziriki* ‘secretly’ from *zir* ‘bottom’, ‘lower part’; *holholəki* ‘hastily’, ‘hurriedly’, from *hol* ‘fear’, ‘alarm’;
 - d. The combination of different nouns with the addition of the suffix -*i*: *āxər(ə)pəsi* ‘at last’, ‘in the end’, from *āxər* ‘end’, ‘at last’ and *pəs* ‘rear, back part’, ‘after’; *bərarxaxuri*, ‘brotherly (love)’;

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- e. The combination of two different nouns with the linking element **-ə-**:
dələšəkəm ‘glutton’ from **dəl** (dil) ‘heart’ and **šəkəm** ‘stomach’.
2. The combination of an adjective with a noun by means of a linking element **-u-** forms an adjective: **xúrd-u-xəmir** ‘smashed to smithereens’ (in the figurative sense: ‘shattered from tiredness, grief’, ‘weakened’, ‘weary’) from **xurda** ‘small, smallest’ and **xəmir** ‘dough’.
3. The combination of two verbal stems forms nouns with the meaning of the name of an action. The following variants of this are possible:
 - a. The reduplication of the present stem of a verb with the linking element **-mə-**: **kəšməkəš** ‘trouble’, ‘discord’ from **kəš** – the present stem of the verb **kəšen** ‘to drag’;
 - b. The combination of past and present stems of the same verb with the linking element **-ə-**: **poxtəpəz** ‘preparation of food’, ‘cooking’ from **poxt** (**pəxt**) – the past tense stem, **pəz** – the present stem of the verb **pəxtən** ‘to cook’;
 - c. The reduplication of the imperative mood of the same verb: **bəkob-bəkob** ‘noise’, ‘hum’, from **bəkob** – the imperative mood of the verb **kobəstən** ‘to beat’, ‘to inflict blows’, **budob-budob** ‘running hither and thither’ from **budob** – the imperative mood of the verb **dobəstən** ‘to run about’, ‘to run’, **vavurs-vavurs**, ‘questions’, from **vavurs** (**vavərs**) – the imperative mood of the verb **vavərsən**, ‘to ask’;
 - d. The combination of the forms of two different verbs in the imperative mood: **bəzən-bukub**, ‘assault’, from **bəzən** – the imperative mood of the verb **zeen**, ‘to beat’ and **bukub** – the imperative mood of the verb **kobəstən**, ‘to beat’, ‘to inflict blows’; **bəzən-bukuš**, ‘beat to death’, from **bəzən** – the imperative mood of the verb **zeen**, ‘to beat’ and **bukuš** – the imperative mood of the verb **kuštən**, ‘to kill’.
4. Alliterative and rhyming combinations form words which indicate collectiveness, contempt and sometimes expressiveness. They are formed in five ways:
 - a. By means of the reduplication of the noun with the linking element **-o-** (**-u-**), with the substitution in the second element of the first consonant by the sound **m** or **p**: **čiz-o-miz**, ‘something’, ‘things’ from **čiz** ‘thing’, **rəxt-u-pəxt**, ‘clothes’, from **rəxt**, ‘clothes’;
 - b. By means of the reduplication of the stem without a linking element, with the substitution of the first consonant in the second component by the sound **m** or the addition of **m** (if the word begins with a vowel): **xânə-mânə**, ‘house and belongings’, from **xânə** ‘house’, ‘lodging’, **bugu-mugu**, ‘cries’, from **bugu** – the imperative mood of the verb **guftən**, ‘to speak’, **aĵan-maĵan**, ‘policemen’ from **aĵan**, ‘policeman’, **čəpəl-məpəl** ‘portly’, ‘short/stunted’, from **čəpəl** ‘lazy’, **duĵur-muĵur** ‘vague’ (**duĵur-muĵur** harf **zeen**, ‘to speak vaguely’);

- c. By means of the reduplication of the stem without a linking element with the substitution of the first consonant in the second component by the sound **p** or **v**: *tiri-piri* ‘dimness (of the eyes)’ from *tiri*, ‘blackness’, ‘darkness’, *šələ-pələ*, ‘weak’, ‘flabby’, from *šələ*, ‘weak’, ‘flabby’, *dəbəd-vəbəd*, ‘tying very tightly’, from *dəbəd*, the present stem of the verb *dəbəstən* // *dəvəstən*, ‘to tie’, ‘to tie up’, *čākun-vākun* in the combination *čākun-vākun kudən*, ‘to dress (in)’ (*čākun* is the present stem of the verb *čākudən*, ‘to refurbish’, ‘to repair’);
 - d. By means of the reduplication of the stem without a linking element with the substitution of the first consonant in the second component by the sound **f**: *dičin-fičin*, ‘clearing up’, ‘tidying’, from *dičin* – the present stem of the verb *dičen*, ‘to collect’, ‘to put together’;
 - e. By repeating the stems with the addition of the sound **p** or **b** at the beginning of the second component: *ātik-patik*, ‘small’, ‘tiny’, ‘small child’; *ātil-bātil* (*ātil-u-bātil*), ‘absolutely useless, without any use whatever’, from *ātil*, ‘useless’, see also: *bātil*, *bātilə*, ‘cancelled (of a document)’, ‘inactive’.
5. Onomatopoeic and descriptive formations, composed of words with the meaning of an action or outward characteristic, are differentiated in the following four variations:
- a. Simple reduplication: *ḡərəng-ḡərəng*, ‘jingling (of money)’, *tap-tap*, ‘beat (of the heart)’, *su-su*, ‘wink’ in the formation *su-su daən*, ‘to wink’, *tərax-tərax*: *tərax-tərax zeən*, ‘to hit with a crack’, ‘to bang’; *mərt-mərt*: *mərt-mərt kudən*, ‘to grumble’;
 - b. Reduplication of the word with a linking element and with substitution of the vowels **a**, **ā**, **ə**, by the vowel **u** or **i**: *hart-u-hurt*, ‘groans’, *nək-u-nuk*, ‘hesitation’, in the formation *nək-u-nuk kudən*, ‘to refuse’, *hāy-u-hiy*, ‘whooping’;
 - c. Reduplication of the word without a link but with substitution of the vowels in the second component by the sound **u**: *darx-durx*, ‘the sound of beating’, *ahan-uhun*, ‘coughing’, *šəṛāx-šurux* ‘the sound of the rain’;
 - d. Reduplication of the stem without a linking element and with the addition of the suffix **-i**: *pič-piči*, ‘whisper’, *vil-vili*, ‘continual movement’, *vil-vili kudən*, ‘to perform a continual movement’, ‘to move continually’, ‘to fidget’, *ḡad-ḡadi*, ‘tickling’, *ḡiḡ-ḡiḡi*, *ḡiḡ-gili*, ‘tickling’, *gil-gili*: *gil-gili daan*, ‘to twirl’, ‘to turn’, *gil-gili xordən*, ‘to roll’, ‘to spin’.

On the basis of onomatopoeic and descriptive formations, by adding the suffix **-ə**, new words can be formed with the meaning of an object: *yumyumə*, ‘flask’, *xərxərə*, ‘larynx’, *ḡumḡumə*, ‘skull’, *ḡāṛyurə* (*ḡār-ə-yurə*, *ḡāṛyur*) ‘the bones of the whole body’, *ḡəḡḡəḡə*, ‘rattle’, *fəšfəšə*, ‘rocket’.

Among the onomatopoeic formations can be counted such words as *čičini*, ‘sparrow’, *čičir*, ‘lizard’ and many others.

4. Word Formation

4.1.2 Determinative

Compound words of the determinative type can be divided into the following variants depending on the character of the component parts.

1. The combination of two nouns or a noun and an adjective can form nouns or adjectives. The following variants are possible:
 - a. The combination of two nouns, of which the first defines the second: *kârxânə*, 'factory', from *kâr*, 'work' and *xânə*, 'house', 'premises', *gul-bây*, 'flower-bed' from *gul* 'flower' and *bây*, 'garden', *pâkursi*, 'stool', from *pâ*, 'leg' and *kursi*, 'chair', *dəryāguš*, 'shell containing a pearl' from *dəryā*, 'sea' and *guš*, 'ear';
 - b. The combination a qualitative adjective with a noun: *pâkdil*, 'pure in spirit' from *pâk*, 'clean' and *dil*, 'heart', *bulən(d)bâlâ*, 'tall', from *bulənd*, 'tall' and *bâlâ*, 'stature', 'figure', *siyačəšm*, 'black-eyed', from *siya* 'black' and *čəšm*, 'eyes';
 - c. An inverted construction – the combination of a noun with a qualitative adjective: *šəkəm-kuluft*, 'with a fat stomach', 'fat', 'a fat man', from *šəkəm*, 'stomach' and *kuluft*, 'fat', *rišsifid*, 'grey-bearded (village headman, elder)' from *riš* 'beard' and *sifid* 'white', *ruṛāst*, 'honorable', 'righteous', 'open', from *ru* 'face' and *rāst* 'upright'.
2. The combination of a numeral with a noun forms an adjective or, more rarely, an adverb. The following variants are possible:
 - a. The combination of a numeral with a noun with the suffixes *-ə* or *-i*: *pənjasalə*, 'fifty-year-old' from *pənja*, 'fifty' and *sal* 'year', *durozə*, 'two-day' from *du* 'two' and *ruz* 'day', *dubârə*, 'again' from *du* 'two' and *bâr* 'time', *idəfa(y)i* 'suddenly' from *i* 'one' and *dəfa* 'time';
 - b. The combination of a numeral with a noun without any suffix: *dudil* 'lacking confidence', 'hesitant', from *du* 'two' and *dil* 'heart', *dupahlu*, 'ambiguous' from *du* 'two' and *pahlu* 'side'.
3. The combination of a noun with a verbal stem in the present tense form:
 - a. Adjectives with active meaning and nouns of actions: *xâtərxâ*, 'in love', 'admirer', from *xâtər* 'memory' and *xâ* – the present stem of the verb *xastən* 'to want', *duroygu* 'deceiver', 'telling lies', from *duroy* 'untruth', 'lie' and *gu* – the present stem of the verb *guftən* (goftən), 'to speak', *zəhmətkəš* 'toiler' from *zəhmət* (zəhmət, zəmət) 'labor' and *kəš*, 'to drag';
 - b. Adjectives with a passive meaning and nouns naming an object: *gālipuš* (gālipuši) 'covered with thatch' from *gāli* 'thatch' and *puš* – the present stem of the verb *pušen* 'to clothe', *pərčīn* 'fence' from *pər* 'feather' and *čīn* – the present stem of the verb *čeen* 'to collect'.

4. The combination of a noun with a verbal past stem forms a noun: *sərguzəšt*, ‘story’, ‘narrative’ from *sər* ‘head’ and *guzəšt* – the past tense stem of the verb *guzəštən* ‘to pass through’, *sərnəvišt* ‘fate’, from *sər* ‘head’ and *nəvišt* – the past tense stem of the verb *nivištən* ‘to write’.
5. The combination of a noun with a past participle form a noun or an adjective: *pədərsəxtə* ‘scoundrel’ from *pədər*, ‘father’ and *səxtə* – past participle of the verb *səxtən* ‘to burn’, *hərāmzadə* ‘illegitimate’, ‘swindler’, ‘rogue’ from *hərām* ‘forbidden’, ‘prohibited’ and *zadə* – past participle of the verb *zaan* ‘to be born’.

4.2 Affixation

4.2.1 Word-Forming Suffixes

1. *-i* (after vowels: *-gi*, *-yi*) A productive suffix, forming;
 - a. Abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives: *rāhəti* ‘peacefulness’ from *rāhət* ‘rest’, ‘peace’, *duzdi* ‘theft’ from *duzd* ‘thief’, *piri* ‘old age’ from *pir* ‘old’, *xušgili* ‘beauty’ from *xušgil* ‘beautiful’, *sādəgi* ‘simplicity’, ‘naivety’ from *sādə* ‘simple’, ‘naive’, *tənhāyi* ‘loneliness’ from *tənhā* ‘lonely’;
 - b. Adjectives from nouns: *dihāti*, ‘rural’, from *dihāt*, ‘countryside’, *šəxsi*, ‘personal’, ‘own’, from *šəxs*, ‘personality’, *vurudi*, ‘entrance (as in entrance ticket)’ from *vurud* (*varəd*), ‘entrance’, *āxəri*, ‘last’ from *āxər*, ‘end’, *kəši*, ‘(made of) rubber’, from *kəš*, ‘rubber’;
 - c. Adverbs from compound words: *bixudi*, ‘for good reason’, from *bixud* ‘in vain’, ‘beside oneself’, *idəfai*, ‘suddenly’ from *idəfa*, ‘once’, *gāh-gāhi*, ‘sometimes’, from *gāh-gāh*, ‘from time to time’;
 - d. Nouns of action from compound words, consisting of nouns and present stems: *pətəng-zəni*, ‘the cleaning of grain’, from *pətəng*, ‘flail’, ‘mill (for rice)’ and *zən* – the present stem of the verb *zeen* ‘to beat’, *bəranjčini*, ‘harvesting of rice’, from *bəranj*, ‘rice’ and *čin* – the present stem of the verb *čeen*, ‘to gather, collect’, *jackəši*, ‘matchmaking’, from *jack*, ‘place’ and *kəš* – the present stem of the verb *kəšen*, ‘to drag’.

4. Word Formation

2. **-ə** A productive suffix, forming nouns, adjectives and adverbs: **pərə** ‘peak (of cap)’, ‘brim of a hat’ from **pər**, ‘wing’; **årdə**, ‘rice flour’, from **ård**, ‘flour’; **kəšə**, ‘embrace’, from **kəš-**, the present stem of the verb **kəšen**, ‘to drag’, ‘to stretch out’, **xərxərə**, ‘larynx’ from **xərxər** – an onomatopoeic combination, **səbzə**, ‘swarthy’, from **səbz**, ‘green’, **pisxələ**, ‘a little’ from **pisxāl**, small measure of weight, **nimizgərə**, ‘a little’, ‘slightly’, from **nim az girəh**. **gireh** (a small measure of length).

The suffix **-ə** with some words can produce hypocoristic-diminutive or derogatory forms of nouns: **pəsərə**, ‘boy’, ‘lad’, from **pəsər**, ‘lad’, **jəvănə**, ‘young man’, from **jəvăn**, ‘young man’, **zənəkə**, ‘woman’, from **zənək**, ‘woman’.

3. **-ək (-ak)** A suffix giving words an affectionate or derogatory nuance: **tiflək**, ‘lad’ from **tifl**, ‘child’, **jəvănək**, ‘young man’, from **jəvăn**, ‘young man’, **mərdək**, ‘man’ from **mərd**, ‘man’, **pirəzənək**, ‘old woman’ from **pirəzən**, ‘old woman’, **čāləka**, ‘a small pit’, ‘a hollow’, from **čāl**, **čālə**, ‘pit’.
4. **-ay** Joined with certain words, this suffix gives to a word a nuance of familiarity: **mərdəy**, ‘man’ from **mərd**, ‘man’, **pirəmərday**, ‘old man’ from **pirəmərd**, ‘old man’, **pirəzənəy**, ‘old woman’, from **pirəzən** ‘old woman’.
5. **-čə** Joined to nouns, this suffix gives them a diminutive meaning: **yəličə**, ‘rug’ from **yəli**, ‘carpet’, **dəftərčə**, ‘booklet’, ‘handbook’ from **dəftər**, ‘exercise book’, ‘book’, **čərpəčə**, ‘sitting with crossed legs’ (**čər**, ‘four’, **pə**, ‘leg’).
6. **-či** A suffix forming the name of the person performing an action (agentive nominal) from nouns: **lotkači**, ‘boatman’ from **lotkə**, ‘boat’, **tiləfunči**, ‘telephonist’, from **tiləfun**, ‘telephone’, **təmāšāči**, ‘spectator’ from **təmāšā**, ‘sight’, **čəpoči**, ‘robber’ from **čəpo**, ‘robbery’.
7. **-dan** A suffix which forms a word meaning a receptacle, rarely used: **čəy-dan**, ‘tea-caddy’ from **čəy**, ‘tea’, **čərnildan**, ‘ink-well’ from **čərnil** ‘ink’.
8. **-gər** A less productive suffix, forming the name of the person performing an action from nouns: **kār(ə)gər**, ‘worker’, from **kār**, ‘work’.
9. **-gār** An unproductive suffix, forming an abstract noun: **ruzəgār**, ‘life’ from **ruz**, ‘day’.
10. **-ur** An unproductive suffix, forming the name of a person performing an action: **muzdur**, ‘hireling’ from **muzd**, ‘pay’.
11. **-əš** A less productive suffix, forming the name of an action from the present stem of a verb: **gərdəš**, ‘going for a walk’, ‘pastime’, from **gərd** – present stem of the verb **gərdəstən**, ‘to walk’, ‘to revolve’, **bərdəš**, ‘rain’, from **bār** – the present stem of the verb **bārəstən** ‘to fall (of rain, snow, etc)’.

12. **-vår, -bår** A less productive suffixes, forming nouns and adjectives indicating possession of an object or a quality; **xānəvār**, ‘family’ from **xānə** ‘house’, ‘location’, **umidvār**, ‘hoping’ from **umid**, ‘hope’, **nāzbār**, ‘spoilt’ from **nāz**, ‘caprice’, ‘whim’.
13. **-əki (-iki)** A less productive suffix, forms nouns, adjectives and adverbs of manner of action from compound words, formed by reduplication: **šaləki**, **šaliki**, ‘rag’, from **šal**, ‘shawl’, ‘handwoven woollen material’, **ābəki**, ‘liquid’, from **āb**, ‘water’, **zir-ziriki**, ‘secretly’, from **zir-zir** – reduplication of the word **zir**, ‘bottom’, ‘lower part’.
14. **-anə** An unproductive suffix, forming nouns: **moryanə**, ‘egg’, from **mory**, ‘hen’.
15. **-u** A less productive suffix, forms adjectives from nouns: **gāzu**, ‘with protruding teeth’, from **gāz**, ‘teeth’.
16. **-o** A less productive suffix, forming the name of an action from the present stem of a verb: **čāpo**, ‘robbery’, from **čāp** – the present stem of the verb **čāpəstən**, ‘to rob’.

4.2.2 Word-Forming Prefixes

1. **bā-** A prefix indicating the presence of some attribute or characteristic, forms adjectives from nouns: **bāsəvād**, ‘literate’, from **səvād**, ‘ability to read and write’, **bāadab**, ‘well brought up’, from **adab** ‘politeness’, ‘good breeding’.
2. **bi- (bu-)** A prefix indicating the absence of some quality or characteristic, forms adjectives and adverbs: **bisəvād**, ‘illiterate’, from **səvād**, ‘ability to read and write’, **biriya**, ‘sincere’, from **riya**, ‘hypocrisy’, **bidin**, **budin**, ‘ungodly’ from **din**, ‘religion’, **biiytəyār**, ‘unwillingly’, from **iytəyār**, ‘will’, ‘freedom’, **bixud**, ‘in vain’ from **xud**, ‘oneself’.
3. **nā-** A prefix forming adjectives with a negative meaning: **nārāhət**, ‘restless’, ‘disturbed’ from **rāhət**, ‘peace’.¹
4. **ham-** A prefix indicating reciprocity: **hamdigər**, ‘one another’, from **digər**, ‘another’.

¹The prefix **lā-** also has a negative meaning found in a word borrowed from Arabic, **lākitab**, ‘infidel’, from **kitāb**, ‘book’.

5. Morphology

5.1 Nouns

Nouns in Gilaki are characterized by the presence of the following grammatical categories:

1. Definiteness-Indefiniteness
2. Number
3. Case¹

Nouns are also characterized by the ability to combine syntactically with prepositions, postpositions and certain specific grammatical markers.

5.1.1 Definiteness-Indefiniteness

Definiteness and indefiniteness mark the object/person/idea that is being talked about as either a) known (definite), or b) unknown or an unspecified member of a class of similar objects (indefinite). The following serve as means to show definiteness or indefiniteness:

1. Articles
2. A distinction in the morphology of nouns, marking definite and indefinite objects, in those cases where these nouns function as a direct object.

¹In spite of this there are individual cases when nouns with the meaning of an object or an animal and used figuratively to indicate the moral qualities of a person take the comparative degree suffix *-tər*:

- (i) “*az tu xərtər nidem!*”
“I have never seen a bigger ass than you!”

Please:2

There is no category of gender in Gilaki.

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5.1.1.1 Articles

In the function of articles we see meaningful words which to some extent lose their lexical meaning. In the function of the indefinite article with singular nouns we see the number “**one**”, sometimes combined with the numerative **-ta**:

- (70) a. **har ki say kudi úna az i ráhi bə dər bəbərə.** Poor:48
Everyone tried by some means (lit. by whatever route) to get her
(lit. to lead to the door)
- b. **i dəfə i nəfər mi púšta tungulə bəze.** Seashore:19
Suddenly (lit. at some moment) someone tickled my back
- c. **ita məyâzə tâzə vabostə** Greeting:10
A shop has just been opened
- d. **tiləfunçi ki ita duxtar bu, guša usadə.** Minute:2
The operator (and she was a girl) picked up the receiver.

Plural nouns do not take this article.

In the function of the definite article we usually find the demonstrative pronouns **a**, ‘**this**’ or, more rarely, **u**, ‘**that**’ which are not declined and do not have plural forms although they are used with nouns in any number and case.

- (71) a. **təməmə a mardúm ki áya isáidi, šəhádət dəhidi** Liar:17
All the people who are here will testify
- b. **dər ha mahallə, dər ita az u kučánə-miyan ki šume-re** Poor:13
šərh-u vəsf bukudəm, ita gəlpuši xânə naha
In that district, on one of the streets I described to you there is a
house with a thatched roof

Apart from articles proper, in cases of word-combinations mainly borrowed from Persian, Gilaki uses a marker of singularity **-i/-ə** which is attached to the noun or the attribute following it. The marker depends on the noun and gives it a nuance of indefiniteness and singularity:

- (72) a. **šahrə kučík-i bu**
There was a (some) small town
- b. **havā hala tārík bu, ammā nəsimə xunəski vəzei.** Story:6
It was still dark, but a cool breeze was blowing.

- c. *har hāl bəd šəkári nıyə.* Story:16
In any case, it is quite a good gain (lit. not a bad game)
- d. *pulána xob jái čāl bukudim.* Story:28
We have buried the money in a good place.
- e. *yəm-u yussə, rúzi da sáát kār ... a zənakəya az áy-u vāy tavədə.* Poor:28
The continual depression, ten hours' work a day ... had brought this woman to such a condition.

Joined to the noun (or to an attribute relating to it), after which follows a subordinate defining clause, the ending *-i/-ə* gives it a nuance of distinctiveness and particularity:

- (73) a. *az duzdı-i ki bukudi ma'lum-ə, dúzdə kuhnekār-i* Thief:1
By this theft that you have committed, it is obvious that you are an experienced thief.
- b. *úni ki mən dus darəm, ún-am mərə dus dare yā na?* Poor:212
The woman I love, does she also love me or not?

The combination of the ending *-i/-ə* with the noun *vəxt*, 'time', functions as a conjunction:

- (74) a. *jəyəlan vəxti úna bideidi az xuşhāli jiy bəkəşéidi.* Seashore:21
When the children saw him, they squealed with joy.
- b. *vəxti bide, uşánə xānə šimi, bugóftə: "ame xānə hič kəs n-ésə.* Seashore:31
When she saw that we were going into their house, she said, "There is nobody at home.

5.1.1.2 Definite and Indefinite Nouns

Nouns expressing a definite direct object take the accusative-dative enclitic *-a*. An object, person or occurrence is taken to be definite when it is

1. known from its situation or the preceding context:

- (75) a. *mi dil xaye, zakána usanim dəryā kənára bišim* Seashore:7
I want to take [my] children and travel to the seaside
- b. *səməvəra atəš bukum* Niece:8
Put on the samovar

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- c. **hato ki čəšm bə dunyá vakudəm, nə péra bideṃ, nə mára.** Poor:109

When I opened my eyes to the world, I saw neither my father nor my mother.

2. indicating a proper name:

- (76) a. **mi dil xásti Hasána bidinəm.** Friends:1

I wanted (lit. my heart wanted) to see Hassan

- b. **Məryəm Iskəndəra bərarjan, Iskəndər Məryəma xaxur duxadí.** Poor:147

Maryam called Iskander brother and Iskander called Maryam sister.

3. indicating a common noun with sufficiently full definition which would allow the given object to be considered as concrete. To this are related definitions indicated by

a. personal, demonstrative and some other pronouns:

- (77) a. **mən hása té-re təmámə mi kára gəm** Friends:6
I will now tell you my whole story

- b. **mən vasti ... ušanə dərša vavərsəm.** Friends:27
I must ... check (lit. ask) their lessons

- c. **agər ti méyla bə já navəṛəm, kí méyla bə já bavəṛəm?** Seashore:6
If I do not fulfill your wishes, then whose wishes shall I fulfill?

- d. **xayəm a ruzána Ráštə-miyán šime-bija buguzəranəm** Traveler:3
I want to spend these days with you in Rasht.

- e. **sərd āb xu təsira bukudə.** Story:8
The cold water had its effect

b. proper names:

- (78) a. **mi dil xéyli xasti Huséynə sərguzəšta bədanəm.** Traveler:51
I very much wanted (lit. my heart very much wanted) to know the fate of Hussein

- b. *bəhánə-re gərdəsti tã Məryəmə pērə kuláh-siyáya čub bəzənə.* Poor:61

He was looking for an opportunity to cause unpleasantness to Maryam's poor father (lit. to hit with a stick Maryam's father [wearing] the black cap)

c. the context or situation:

- (79) *zakánə dəsta bigiftəm* Seashore:9
I took [my] children by the hand

Nouns expressing substance, an indefinite object or a collective idea, in the function of a direct object, appear usually in the nominative case:

- (80) a. *tã čəsm vagərdəni ruz təmám-a be* Friends:25
By the time you blink your eyes the day has gone
- b. *yək sáát vəxt fadidi tã nahár buxorim.* Friends:16
They give an hour's time for lunch
- c. *ita pičé ruznámə xanəm, bad vagərdəm* Friends:20
I will read the paper for a while, then I will go back
- d. *hár ki bətanəste, bamo, har ki nə-tanəstə təlgəráf fada, kárt-u pustál fada* Birthday:12
Those who could, came, those who could not sent a telegram or a postcard
- e. *diplóm fagíftə* Birthday:3
She received a diploma
- f. *bad az muddəti bətanəstə bu, ita muzdúr peydá bukunə* Poor:142
After a long time he was able to find a hired laborer

In individual cases, obviously, in order to underline the extent of the effect on a defined quantity of objects, a whole category or a whole class of objects, the accusative-dative case can be used for a collective idea rather than just a concrete object or person:

- (81) a. *yədám-bə-yədám ádəma taayíb kunídi*
Step by step they follow the man

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- b. *čəre imsál muryə kəbáb-ə lākú, sir-u piyáza ... der* Poor:62
bəbərđi?
 Why did you withhold roast chickens, rice cakes, garlic and leeks
 this year?
- c. *nəzem mi surəta ába*
 I did not splash water on my face

5.1.2 Number

Number is expressed in the opposition of grammatical forms of the singular and plural. The form of the singular is presented as a pure stem (in the nominative case) or as a stem with the addition of case enclitics (in oblique cases). The plural form of the nominative case is formed from the stem plus the suffix *-an*, *-ân*.²

(82)	a.	<i>vəxt</i>	time	<i>vəxtan</i>	times
	b.	<i>jâ</i>	place	<i>jâyân</i>	places
	c.	<i>dər</i>	door	<i>dəran</i>	doors
	d.	<i>kārəgər</i>	workman	<i>kārəgərân</i>	workmen
	e.	<i>kuh</i>	mountain	<i>kuhan</i>	mountains

The oblique case forms of the plural are formed by the combination of case enclitics, identical to the singular case enclitics, with the form of the nominative case of the plural (cf. section 5.1.3 Case). Nouns with a stem ending in *-ə* lose it before the plural suffix:

(83)	a.	<i>xânə</i>	house	<i>xânân</i>	houses
	b.	<i>jəyələ</i>	child	<i>jəyəlan</i>	children
	c.	<i>ruznâmə</i>	newspaper	<i>ruznâmân</i>	newspapers

There are also individual cases of the use of the plural suffix *-hâ*, in a root in stable formations, evidently under the influence of Persian:

- (84) a. *ame čəšm a kúnə dunyâ-miyan čizhâ bide.* Poor:324
 Our eyes have seen something else in this old world."

²Individual nouns are found with the plural suffix *-en*, formed from the ending *-i* of the stem and *-an*: *dihâti*, 'inhabitant of a village' – plural: *dihâten*; *mərdumgulzəni*, 'deception' – plural: *mərdumgulzənen*; *lusbâzi*, 'spoiledness' – plural: *lusbâzen*.

- b. *badhå bəfahmæstə bu*
Considerably later he understood.

Nouns in the singular express single objects, but also body parts that come in pairs, collective ideas and names of substances, even when talking about a number of similar objects:

- (85) a. *har jǎ biši, mislə mūr-u mələx ǎdəm isa (//isǎidi).* Seashore:12
Wherever you go the people are like ants and locusts.
- b. *ǎnə-vasi xəyli kəsan úna dust daridi, mislə pərvǎnə únə dór-u bər jəm-a bidi.* Birthday:8
Because of this, many people love her and like butterflies, they gather around her.
- c. *zakǎnə dǎsta bigiftəm* Seashore:9
I took [my] children by the hand
- d. *ušǎni-re ruznǎmǎ, kitǎb xǎndi.* Traveler:67
He read newspapers and books to them.
- e. *xu dǎst-u páya gum-a kune* Poor:135
She lost her head (lit. lost her arms and legs)

Nouns expressing collective names or abstract ideas are always used in the singular: *mǎ/urđum*, ‘people’, *ertǎjǎ*, ‘reaction’, ‘reaction forces’, etc., although the predicates relating to them and pronouns replacing these nouns are as a rule in the plural, for example:

- (86) a. *kǎšmǎkǎš ertǎjǎ vǎ ušǎnə nokǎránə-amra bǎlǎ bigiftə*
A battle flared up between the reaction forces and their servants.
- b. *a mǎrdúm čǎ yǎdǎr purkǎr, zahmǎtkǎš, mutǎhammél vǎ šǎrǎfǎtmǎnd-idi!*
How industrious, hard-working, robust and honorable these people are!
- c. *a mǎrdum ... hoyǎbǎzí, muftxori, kulǎguzǎrí, kulǎh-bǎrdǎrí nǎ-nidid čí-yǎ* Poor:10
These people ... do not know what cheating, scrounging, deceit or servility are.

In combination with numerals or words substituting for them (pronouns, nouns) or word-combinations expressing quantity, nouns are always used in the singular form:

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- (87) a. *dú-ta utáy kərayə bukudim* Seashore:38
We took two rooms
- b. *haf sâl dare*
He is seven years old.
- c. *uya hizâr-u divîst kârəgór kâr kune*
There were one thousand two hundred people working there.
- d. *unə púštə-sər ita iddə kârəgór šoidi* Traveler:66
There were [always] several workers following him
- e. *az malə dunyâ i ĵuft yâličə daštîm.* Complaint:6
Of all worldly goods I only had a couple of small rugs.
- f. *bərxuri bə čəntə kučəyə təng, bārîk, kəsîf, pur az gil-u gul.* Poor:4
You will see (lit. you will meet) some crowded, narrow, dirty streets, full of dirt and mud.

The noun in the plural form is used in those cases where a number of objects, people or ideas are being referred to (more than one), not united in one homogeneous idea:

- (88) a. *ašanə pillə tinibi dəhab-bə-sər az mehmānan pur bu.* Birthday:11
Their large room was filled with guests.
- b. *anə-vasi kârəgərānə-miyan bānufuz bubóstə bu.* Traveler:65
Therefore, he acquired great authority among the workers (lit. became an influential authority).
- c. *íta az á ĵâyān šahrə Rašt bu*
One of these places was the town of Rasht.
- d. *refeyān mára bugoftidi* Traveler:35
My friends were talking to me

To a certain extent the singular or plural form with a plural meaning is also conditional on the definiteness/indefiniteness category. A number of indefinite objects, representing a generic idea, are expressed by a singular noun, whereas definite objects are expressed by plural nouns:

- (89) a. *nâyəb az ašanə sər-u sədə bidār-a bubostə. yāvāšəkí xu* Story:26
čúma vakudə və ušanə harfána guš bəda.
 The lieutenant awoke because of their noise. He quietly opened his eyes and listened to their words.
- b. *bamo xu čəkmə dukunə. bide, čəkmán-am bəbərđidi.* Story:53
 He went to put on his boots (singular). He saw [that] they had made away with his boots (plural) too.
- c. *Abul púlə nuyrə az xu reféy Akbər fagíftə ... pulána sədə* Story:21
bəda
 Abul took the silver coins (singular) from his friend Akbar ... The coins jingled (plural)

We also find plural nouns having the meaning of a place, time or process in order to emphasize that they are extended:

- (90) a. *bugóftə: “a tərəfán peydá ni-yə.”* Seashore:23
 He said, “On that side [even far away] it will not be found [a free room].”
- b. *alán u vəxtán níyə*
 Now is not the time.
- c. *a mubārəzán və hādəsánə-miyán xušanə mərdānəgí və ĵurbəzəya*
nišán bədáidi
 In this long drawn-out battle and in [these] fights they showed their virility and steadfastness
- d. *hasa tu xob fander, a nəzdikan hič kəs nésa”* Story:29
 Now you look well, to see whether anyone is nearby.”

In a sentence with two homogeneous parts the plural suffix can be joined with each part (for examples see above) as well as with the last part:

- (91) *lábúd šumá Ráštə kučə mahallána xob danidi* Poor:3
 Certainly you know the streets and quarters of Rasht well

5.1.3 Case

5.1.3.1 Forms

Cases take three forms – the nominative and two oblique cases which can be called accusative-dative and genitive. The nominative case is expressed in the

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singular by a pure stem and in the plural by a stem with the plural suffix **-an**, **-ân**. The oblique cases in the singular and plural are formed from the nominative case of the corresponding number plus the accusative-dative enclitic **-a**, or the genitive enclitic **-ə**.³

(92)

Example of Declension		
Case	Singular	Plural
Nom.	mərd (man)	mərdá/ân
Acc.-Dat.	mərda	mərdá/âna
Gen.	mərdə	mərdá/ânə

This rule is applicable only to stems ending with a consonant. In stems ending with a vowel the irregularity is obvious.

Nouns with the stem ending in **-u**, **-â**, **-e**, **-i** can appear with a **-y** inserted before the case enclitic in order to remove the hiatus.

(93)

Nominative case	Accusative-dative case	Genitive case
mu (hair)	múya	múyə
jâ (place)	jáyā	jáyə
be (quince)	béya	béyə
šeytānī (prank)	šeytāniya	šeytāniyə

Nouns with a stem ending in **-i**, **-a**, **-â**, **-ə**, such as:

- (94)
- a. čāləkā hole
 - b. xānə house
 - c. dəryā sea

in the singular, as a rule, do not have a genitive form. Used in such functions in which other nouns appear in the genitive form (that is, when functioning as a prepositional or postpositional attribute), nouns ending in **i**, **a**, **â**, or **ə** usually appear in the form of a pure stem, corresponding to the nominative case. Examples:

³The genitive enclitic comes obviously from the ancient genitive singular enclitic; the accusative-dative case enclitic of course, is of postpositional origin (cf. Tajik **-a** as a variant **-ro**). Both enclitics are the same for all nominal parts of speech in both singular and plural.

- (95) a. *fuvostid ani kállə-sər*
They pounced on him. (lit. at his head)
- b. *dəryå kənår nəzdik bu.* Seashore:40
The seashore was nearby.
- c. *hamsâyə-bijə bušo.* Seashore:34
He has gone to his neighbor.”
- d. *tå sâatə yək idårə-miyan kår kunəm.* Friends:15
I work in the institution until one o'clock
- e. *pətgəzənı vəxt-hamişə hamdigərə-re kumók bid* Poor:140
At the time of the winnowing they always helped each other
- f. *bişim səfrə-sər*
Lets sit at the table.
- g. *xânə-ja birún şəm* Friends:8
I leave the house
- h. *kəmiyə havâ-miyan*
when there is a shortage of air

Exceptions are rare:

- (96) *diruz mi xaxurzâyə təvəllud bu.* Birthday:1
Yesterday was my niece's birthday.

The accusative-dative case of these nouns is formed in the usual way – with the enclitic *-a* plus the appearance of the inserted *-y-* in order to avoid a hiatus:

- (97) a. *bu-zur sâatə noh idårəya farəsəm.* Friends:14
With difficulty I reach the institution at nine o'clock.
- b. *dəryå sədāya işnavəstim.* Seashore:41
We heard the sound of the sea.
- c. *tu ti nəyşəya mı-re bugu* Traveler:23
You tell me about your plans (lit. say your plan)

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5.1.3.2 Nominative

Nouns in the nominative case (with the attributes relating to them) appear in the following functions:

1. Subject:

- (98) a. **bad az ʔəza rəʔs və ávâz bə miyan bamo.** Birthday:21
After eating, dances and singing began.
- b. **duxtəran və pəsəran rəʔs bukididi.** Birthday:22
The girls and boys danced.
- c. **mi xaxurzá Mohtəram xānóm imsál tázé mədrəsəya** Birthday:3
təmám-a kudə
My niece Mohtaram-khanum has just finished school this year
- d. **ti mərdáy či kune?** Niece:17
What does your husband do?

2. Direct object – if the noun expresses an indefinite object or collective idea (see section 5.1.1.2 Definite and Indefinite Nouns). The direct object of the verb **daštən**, ‘to have’, appears as a rule in the nominative case, independent of whether it is definite:

- (99) a. **az malə dunyā i ʔuft ʔaličə daštīm.** Complaint:6
Of all worldly goods I only had a couple of small rugs.
- b. **íta az ušan ki Abul nām dašti xu reféya bugoftə** Story:13
One of them called Abul (lit. who had the name Abul) said to his friend
- c. **un fəʔət ita rā dāšti** Poor:64
He had one way out

3. Indirect objects and adverbial modifiers (with prepositions and without them) with the meanings of:

a. Place:

- (100) a. **xayi ánə čəkməya az ánə pā birún bavəram?** Story:13
Do you want me to pull his boots off his feet?
- b. **pulána xob ʔái čāl bukidim** Story:28
We have buried the money in a good place

- c. *mən xənə ita pələxóra darəm, ita duxtər.* Poor:123
I have a wife and a daughter at home.
- d. *únə-amara kâfe bušom.* Friends:3
I went with him into the café
- e. *lotkə fagiftəm yāziyân bušom* Seashore:26
I took a boat and travelled to Gazian

b. Time:

- (101) a. *ruzân çi kuni ki vəxt nûkuni mi-bîja bayî?* Friends:5
What do you do [all] day, that you do not take time to come and see me?
- b. *imsâl tâbəstân havâ xéyli gərm bu.* Seashore:1
This year it was very hot in the summer.
- c. *har ruz yək sâat vəxt fadidi tâ nahâr buxorim.* Friends:16
Every day they give us one hour for lunch.
- d. *tâzə a vəxt mi kârân tēmām-a ni-be.* Friends:23
Only at this time my work does not come to an end.
- e. *şəb-əm mi kâr tēmām-a nibe.* Friends:26
My work is not finished even in the evening.

c. Measures and degrees:

- (102) *ita âlôm ûna hadyə fadâidi* Birthday:13
A whole group (lit. one world) of presents were showered on her

d. Form of action (often with reduplications and with prepositions):

- (103) a. *yəđôm bə yəđôm âdôma taayîb kunidi*
Step by step they follow the man.
- b. *mən nəyđ muâmələs kunəm* Story:20
I make the deal in cash
- c. *bad bâ ləbxənd ge* Poor:244
Then she says with a smile

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- d. *raǰ-bə-ráǰ nište*
They sit in rows.

Nouns appearing in the function of indirect objects in expressions of the kind “to do something with the help of something”, “to turn someone into someone else” are usually used in the nominative case without connective words:

- (104) *Məryəmə per u āxəṛən rāzī bəbosti bid ki Məryəma Mulla Rəǰəbə zən bukunid* Poor:78

In the end Maryam’s father agreed to let her marry Mullah Rajab
(lit. make her the wife of Mullah Rajab)

4. Postpositional “Ezafe” attributes (see section 5.1.4 “Ezafe” Constructions).

5. Appositions (preceding or following a noun phrase):

- (105) a. *ti xaxurza Kubrā xānəm amon dərə.* Niece:3
Your niece, Miss Kubra is coming here!

- b. *mən Mohsəné pile bərar Husəyna xéyli dust dāstim.* Traveler:42
I liked Mohsein’s older brother Hussein very much.

- c. *íta kārəgór Abu-taləb nāma bideṁ*
I saw one worker named Abutalib.

- d. *bəšnāxtidi ki un sərkār nāyəb-ə* Story:12
They recognized that he was a senior lieutenant

- e. *an təməmə hast-u nistə Məryəm-Mirza Mamúdə zən-ə ki a xānə-miyan zəndəgi kuné.* Poor:17
This is the property of Maryam, Mirza Mamud’s wife, who lives in this house.

- f. *Mirza Ahmadə arbāb mālīkə a dehāt ita pəsər dašti.* Poor:70
Mirza Ahmad, the landowner of their village, had one son.

6. Numerals and counting units (in combination with nouns):

- (106) a. *íta tirišə xarbəzə hiči nú-kune.* Niece:15
One piece of melon will not do anything.

- b. *az malə dunyā i juft yāličə dastim.* Complaint:6
Of all worldly goods I only had a couple of small rugs.

- c. *čən ruz muraxxsí fagíftəm* Traveler:8
I took a few days' leave

(cf. section 5.4 Numerals).

7. Predicative:

- (107) a. *mi nām Iskəndər-ə* Poor:107
My name is Iskander
- b. *mən doktór-əm*
I am a doctor.
- c. *məgər divanə-i?* Story:14
What, are you mad?
- d. *bálāvə Məryəm úni xānə kârkun bu.* Poor:66
Besides, Maryam was a worker in his house.

8. Address:

- (108) a. *xaxurjan, bîya, bîya!* Niece:1
Little sister, come, come here!
- b. *kor Fâtəmə áya bîya!* Niece:7
Daughter Fatima, come here!

It is necessary to note that nouns functioning this way are characterized by a transfer of stress to the first syllable and this distinguishes them a little from the nominative case. Nouns in this function are often formed with separate vocative particles which precede the noun (as in poetic speech) or follow it:

- (109) a. *bérara*
O my brother
- b. *xudāya*
O God
- c. *māre, bədan ki ruzəgâr* News II:25
Oh, mother, know that fate
- hato n-áye me-re bə kâr.*
Does not favor me.

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d. **ay bərarʃan!** Friends:6
Hey, brother!

e. **ay per, tu mi nāma čire vapursi?** Poor:99
Father, why are you asking me what my name is?

5.1.3.3 Accusative-Dative

Nouns in the accusative-dative case have the following functions.

1. Direct object – if the noun expresses a definite object, person or idea (see section 5.1.1.2 Definite and Indefinite Nouns).
2. Indirect object with the meaning of direction, addressee or person for whom something is intended:

(110) a. **bu-zur saātə noh idārəya fərəsəm.** Friends:14
With difficulty I reach the institution at nine o'clock.

b. **Mohsəna bugóftəm** Traveler:21
I said to Mohsein

c. **Huséyn Ráštə-ja Tehrána bušo**
Husein travelled from Rasht to Tehran

d. **mi zakán-əm ha ráya xaidi šoon** Traveler:28
My children will go along the same road

e. **a yək mǎ jəṣəlána xéyli xuš buguzəštə** Seashore:44
This month went very well for the children

f. **pənd-u nəsihət únə gúša furú niše, hato ki únə pérə** Traveler:29
gúša furú nušo
The exhortations do not go into his ears, just as they did not go into his father's

Here too indirect objects indicating the subject of a condition are also included:

(111) a. **Mohsəna xéyli xuš bamo.** Traveler:18
Mohsein was very pleased [with this].

- b. *utâyə-durun mi zaáka górm-a be.* Niece:11
In the room my child will be hot.

and the object of a comparison:

- (112) *ánə ĵulán məxməla mané* Birthday:5
Her cheeks are like velvet

5.1.3.4 Genitive

Nouns in the genitive case have the following functions.

1. Modifier of something that follows:

- (113) a. *mi zakánə ahvál xob nu-bu* Niece:6
My children were unwell
- b. *diruz mi xaxurzáyə təvəllud bu.* Birthday:1
Yesterday was my niece's birthday.
- c. *mən mí-biĵa fikr bukúdəm, "pənd-u nəsihət únə gúša furu niše, hato ki únə péré gúša furu núšo.* Traveler:29
I thought, "Advice and admonitions will not work on (lit. will not reach the ears of) such a man on whose father [such advice] did not work.

2. Any part of a sentence that has a postposition, regardless of the particular function of the nouns and the meaning of the postposition:

- (114) a. *utâyə-durun mi zaáka górm-a be.* Niece:11
In the room my child will be hot.
- b. *xábə-ĵa virizəm* Friends:7
I wake up (lit. get up out of sleep)
- c. *un vavərse: "har ĉi bəxayəm, tu mi xátərə-vasi bə ĵā avəri?"* Seashore:5
She asked, "Will you carry out for my sake what I want?"
- d. *diruz Tehránə-ĵa telgəráf fəgíftəm.* Traveler:1
Yesterday I received a telegram from Tehran.
- e. *xayəm a ruzána Rášťə-miyán šimé-biĵa buguzəranəm* Traveler:3
I want to spend these days with you in Rasht.

5. Morphology

- f. a lotkó mí-šin ní-yə, mi bərá-rə-šin-ə
This boat is not mine, but my brother's⁴

Exception: in front of the postposition **-amrá** (/amará) the use of the genitive case enclitic is optional, i.e. in practice this postposition matches the noun both in the nominative and in the genitive cases:

- (115) a. mən vasti zakánə-amará sər-u kəllə bəzənəm Friends:27
I must look after the children

- b. har vəxt ki ušánə kār túmām-a bosti, Məryəm xu Poor:40
dəsxaxurán-amra i jayi xušánə hamsâyána yavér
(/yâvər) kúdi.
Whenever their work was finished, Maryam and her female friends
helped their neighbors.

In front of the postposition **-re** the genitive case enclitic **-ə** in normal conversational speech becomes much narrower and moves forward, changing to **-e** or **-i**:

- (116) a. vasti bəšəm zakáne-re čiz bihinəm. Friends:24
I must go and buy something for the children.

- b. hič kəsi-re kār nu-kunəm, mí-re kār bukunəm
I do not work for anyone, I work for myself

In the deliberately full style of speech the enclitic does not undergo assimilation:

- (117) a. sír-u piyáza arbábə-re der bəbərđi Poor:62
You were late bringing the landowner his garlic and onion.

- b. az šuma či pinhân ki kedxudáyə a dihât Mulla Rəjəb-əm Poor:49
Məryəmə-re dəndân tız-a kudə bu.
What can be hidden from you; the chief of this village, Mullah Rajab, also wanted her (lit. had sharpened teeth).

⁴It is also possible to consider the declinable marker **-šan** when it is attached to a form in the genitive case as a postposition.

- (i) gâhi ham Məryəməšanə xânə-julo amói Poor:77
Sometimes he even drove up to Maryam's house

5.1.3.5 Case Enclitics

Case enclitics in the Gilaki language can be categorized as phrase modifiers, since they mark not only stand-alone nouns, but also whole noun phrases by attaching to the final word in the phrase.

So in the presence of postpositional attributes of nouns, the case enclitic is attached to the last of them:

- (118) a. *ti čəšm rúze bəda ni-dinə!* Pool:21
May your eyes never see a bad day!
- b. *míslə in ki vəsəte tábəstán-ə. zən-u mərd haváye* Pool:22
ázadə-miyan šəná kudidi.
It was as if this affair were going on in the summer. Women and men were swimming under the open sky.
- c. *hato ki juloxānə məsjədə šāya farəse, anə čum dəkəfte bə* Story:3
məsjəd.
When he had approached the front of the Shah's mosque, his glance fell on the mosque.

Case enclitics can also mark other extensive combinations, presenting one component of a sentence:

- (119) a. *mən Mohsəné pile bərar Huséyna xéyli dust dáštīm.* Traveler:42
I liked Mohsein's older brother Hussein very much.
- b. *íta kārəgər Abutáləb-nāma bidem*
[yesterday] I saw one worker called Abutalib

In the situation of a sentence of two or more homogeneous components which should be in one of the indirect cases, the indirect case enclitics are usually connected to the last of them:

- (120) a. *kārəgərán únə sədayət və liyāyətə xušanə čəšmánə-amra bide bid*
The workers saw with their own eyes his faithfulness and worth
- b. *mi Mohtərəm xānəm diruz xu dəsxaxuran və* Birthday:10
dəsbərarana xu-bija da'vət bukuədə.
Yesterday, my Mohtaram-khanum invited her female and male friends to her house.

5. Morphology

- c. *tā čən(d) sāl-piš-am gáhi a dihâtí, gáhi u kədxudā, gáhi* Poor:110
u arbābə-re muzdurí kudim.

Until recently I worked as a farm laborer, first with a peasant, then for the village elder and then for the landowner.

Besides the case system for the expression of syntactical relationships of nouns in a sentence, adpositions are also used (see section 5.7 Postpositions and Prepositions, as well as section 5.1.4 “Ezafe” Constructions).

5.1.4 “Ezafe” Constructions

“Ezafe” constructions are usually used in borrowings from the Persian language of attributive combinations and more rarely, in Gilaki itself, mostly in literary (poetic) language, but also in the language of oral narrative stories. It is formed by adding the postpositional enclitic *-ə* (after vowels: *-yə*) to an individual noun which is then followed by an attribute (noun, adjective or pronoun):

- (121) a. *úya maadón-ə zuḡál-ə sang naha*
There is a coal-mine there.
- b. *únə rúzə təvəllúda təbrík bugoftə* Birthday:12
They wished her a happy birthday
- c. *az a sərə tinibi tā u sərə tinibi səfrə páhn-a bukudə* Birthday:15
bid.
From this end of the room to that end of the room a tablecloth was spread.
- d. *či dərdə sər bədəm, tā nísfə šəb bəzən-bukúb bu* Birthday:23
Talking for such a long time (lit. enough to give you a headache),
the music was playing until midnight (lit. half of the night)

The names of places of the type “the town of Rasht”, “the port of Anzali”, are expressed by “Ezafe” constructions:

- (122) a. *íta az a jāyán šáhrə Rašt bu*
One of those places was the town of Rasht.
- b. *yəksər Bəndərw Anzalı bušóim.* Seashore:9
We immediately set off for the port of Anzali.

An “Ezafe” construction can be used along with other methods of expressing syntactical relationships (case forms, prepositions and postpositions or a

modifier preceding a head):

- (123) *úya karxánáyə parčəbâfî-miyan kâr fagíftə* Traveler:57
There he started working in a weaving mill

(the whole “Ezafə” construction is modified by the postposition *miyan*, relating to what is being defined);

- (124) *górd-u xákə mašinána nuxurim* Conver:37
We will not get our mouths full of dust from cars

(the whole “Ezafə” construction is marked by the accusative-dative case enclitic *-a*, relating to both homogeneous nouns *górd-u xák*, lit. ‘dust and dirt’);

- (125) *du tərəfə a kučə hamišə xəndəy-ə* Poor:5
On both sides of this street there are always gutters

(both the noun and the attribute in an “Ezafə” construction have in turn the prepositional attribute).

5.2 Adjectives

5.2.1 General

Adjectives in Gilaki do not have a definiteness-indefiniteness category, number or case.⁵ Used in the function of an attribute, they appear either in the form of a pure stem or an attributive form independent of the form of the noun to which they relate.

Adjectives appearing in the function of an attribute are joined to the noun they describe by three means:

1. By juxtaposition, that is by the juxtaposing the adjective stem before the noun:

- (126) a. *gidi: “xob məyâzə-yə”* Greeting:12
They say, “It is a good shop.”
- b. *mi pilé bərar bušo.* Traveler:26
My older brother went.
- c. *ǰəyələn úna siya Huseyn duxadidi.* Traveler:47
The children called him black Hussein.

2. By the use of the attributive form of the adjective formed from the stem by the postpositional enclitic *-ə*. The adjective in the attributive form stands before the noun it describes. The attributive form is found only in adjectives with the stem ending in a consonant:

- (127) a. *čutor bətanəsti rástə divára buǰor biši?* Thief:3
Then how did you manage to climb up that sheer wall?

⁵With the exception of cases of substantivisation [“Ezafe”], for example:

- (i) a. *tā bayíd ušána birún fakəšid, bičărān ǰan kənidi*
While they were coming to pull them out of the cave-in, the poor things were dying.
- b. *šāyəd xeyliyan tanəstid ušána gul bəzənid.* Poor:156
Possibly, many people could have deceived them.

- b. *an rástə gáb-ə.* Poor:241
It is true? (lit. Is that a true word?)

3. By means of an “Ezafe” construction, that is by placing the adjective after the noun it modifies and marking the noun with the “Ezafe” enclitic *-ə*:

- (128) a. *ti čəšm rúze bəda ni-dinə!* Pool:21
May your eyes never see a bad day!

- b. *šumá danidi, xānəyə xālí kóya nahá?* Seashore:27
Do you know where there is a free room?

- c. *zud kārəgərə sādə-ja ustakār bubo.* Traveler:60
From a simple worker he quickly became a foreman.

Where two or more attributive adjectives are linked to one noun, they can be joined together:

- a. by the “Ezafe” enclitic *-ə*:

- (129) *múyə siyáyə girinjí dášti.* Poor:32
She had black, curly hair.

- b. by the connecting links *u* or *və*:

- (130) a. *ádəmə pāk-u sáf-u sādə bu.* Traveler:49
He was a pure, honorable and simple man.

- b. *Huséyn de u kārəgərə sádə ní-yə, mórdə mokəm və bəsəvād-ə*
Husein was no longer that simple worker, he was a stable and literate man.

- c. or without a link:

- (131) a. *jönáni bu bulənyəd, xušyāmət, čəhārsānə.* Traveler:48
He was a tall youth of fine physique and broad-shouldered.

- b. *az a purd yək kəmi rədd-a bi, bərxuri bə čəntə kučəyə* Poor:4
təng, bārik, kəsif, pur az gil-u gul.
If you go a little way beyond the bridge, you will see (lit. you will meet) some crowded, narrow, dirty streets, full of dirt and mud.

The “Ezafe” method of associating adjectives (and nouns too) is met more often in narrative texts than in conversational ones. There is no nuance of meaning between the various ways of associating adjectives:

5. Morphology

- (132) a. *úya karxânáyə parčəbâfi-miyân kâr fagiftə* Traveler:57
There he began working at the weaving mill

- b. *parčəbâfi kârxânə-miyan hamə úna dúst dáštidi.* Traveler:63
Everybody in the weaving mill loved him.

Prepositions, postpositions and case endings relating to the noun stand outside the attributive construction with the adjectives modifying the whole:

- (133) a. *xušanə bištərə zúra jəm bu kudə bid*
They gathered their greatest strength.

- b. *zən-u mærd havâyə âzadə-miyan šəna kudidi.* Pool:23
Women and men were swimming under the open sky (lit. in the free air).

One also finds the rare use of attributive adjectives relating to nouns marked by the identifying ending *-i/-ə*, a type analogous to that found in Persian constructions:

- (134) *jəvâni bu bulənyəd, xušyāmət, čəhâršānə. âdəmə pāk-u* Traveler:48
sāf-u sādə bu.

He was a tall youth of fine physique and broad-shouldered. He was a pure, honorable and simple man.

5.2.2 Degrees of Comparison

In the Gilaki language the comparative degree is formed from the stem of the adjective plus the suffix *-tər* (less often *-tar*):

- (135) a. *pil(l)é, pil(l)ə* large
b. *pillətár* larger

- (136) a. *kučík* small
b. *kučiktá/ər* smaller

The comparative degree of the adjective *xob* ‘good’ is formed from its suppletive stem:

- (137) *be(h)tər, behtár, bə(h)tər* better

The comparative degree of the adjective *bəd*, ‘bad’ is expressed by joining to the stem the suffix *-tər* and assimilating the final *-d* of the stem:

- (138) *bəd(t)á/ér, bət(t)á/ér worse*

The noun designating the object of comparison is formed with the postposition *ja* (less often *ǰə*) or the preposition *az*. In poetic speech *ǰə* is used, appearing usually as a preposition, less often as a postposition:

- (139) a. *dah sálə-ǰa bištér bu ki Huséyn Ráštə-ǰa Tahrána bušo*
It was more than ten years since Husein travelled from Rasht to Tehran.
- b. *zakán hušyartér az un bid ki ušánə gúla buxorid*
The children were cleverer than [too clever] to fall for their tricks
- c. *šəb ayi ti kumə dəš dərāztár az pā* News I:14
At night you come to your hut with your arms longer than your legs
[from hard work]

Used in the attributive or predicative functions, the form of the comparative degree takes the same suffixes as the affirmative in a given function:

- (140) a. *xušánə bištərə zúra ǰəm bukadə bid,*
They gathered their greatest strength.
- b. *xáyli xob. zātəǰəm núkuni hič či; ti gərdən kuluftər-a be.* Pool:19
Very well. You will not fall ill with pneumonia; you will become healthier. (lit. your neck will become fatter)

There is no superlative degree expressed morphologically. The quality of superlative degree is expressed descriptively by the combination of a form of the comparative degree with phrases of the type: *hamə-ǰa, az hamə, ǰə hamə, than everyone, of them all*

- (141) *a maadón haməyə maadənánə-ǰa buzurgtər-ə və betər-ə*
This mine is bigger and better than all other mines.

but also with some other periphrastic constructions.

5.2.3 As Adverbial Modifiers

Used in the function of an adverbial modifier, adjectives appear in the form of a pure root not taking any complementary endings. Often in such use the adjectives practically enter the group of adjectives which can have the semantics of adjectives or adverbs depending on the context. See below paragraph in section 5.3 Adverbs.

5. Morphology

- (142) *mi xaxurzá Mohtərém xáném imsál tázé mædrəsóya* Birthday:3
təmám-a kudə

My niece Mohtaram-khanum has just finished school this year.

Compare:

- (143) *xáli mən bə xănə isam.* Seashore:32
I am alone at home.

with:

- (144) *i nəfərə-ja vavərsem: “šuma danidi, xánóyə xálí kóya* Seashore:27
naha?”

We asked one man about a flat (lit. a place), “Do you know where there is a free room?”

Compare:

- (145) *ušána xéyli sádó hálí kudi* Traveler:68
He explained to them very simply

with:

- (146) *ádəmə ... sádó bu.* Traveler:49
He was a ... simple man.

5.3 Adverbs

Adverbs have not developed very much in the Gilaki language as an independent grammatical group. There is a distinct group of words used mostly in the “adverbial modifier” function, for example *imrúz*, ‘today’, *hása* ‘now’, *ára*, ‘here’ and combinations – *ita pičé*, *i pičé*, ‘a little’ and so on:

- (147) a. *mən nǝ-tanəm bayəm, ipičé (/ita pičé) kār darəm* Greeting:14
I cannot go, I have some things to do
- b. *bad vagərdimi bə xǝnǝ.* Niece:25
Then we return home.
- c. *imruz úna bidem.* Friends:2
Today I saw him.
- d. *mən hása té-re tǝmǝmǝ mi kǝra gǝm* Friends:6
I shall now tell you about all my affairs
- e. *mən hič vǝxt nukunəm ára-úra bǝšǝm* Friends:6
I have absolutely no time (in order) to go here and there
- f. *imsǝl tǝbǝstǝn havǝ xǝyli gǝrm bu.* Seashore:1
This year it was very hot in the summer.
- g. *diruz ... telgǝrǝf fagiftǝm* Traveler:1
Yesterday I received a telegram ...

These words are as a rule uninflected. However, in certain cases some of them, depending on the semantics, can take morphological endings.

1. Adverbs with the meaning of place and time can take the comparative degree suffix:

- (148) a. *an bugǝftǝ: “ustatǝr utǝyǝ xǝli naha.”* Seashore:15
This one said, “There on that side there is a free room.”
- b. *un bugǝftǝ: “ustatǝr bušu, jǝ kǝya naha, tara fadim.”* Seashore:16
That one said, “Go there on that side, where there is a place; we shall give it to you.”

5. Morphology

- c. *šâyəd xəjələt kəšeyidi, šâyəd-am áyta muntəzər bu ki úyta xu dílə gəba zudtər bəge.* Poor:149

Perhaps they were ashamed, but perhaps both of them were waiting in order that the other one might make a declaration of love first.

2. Adverbs with the meaning of place and time can take case enclitics:

- (149) a. *Akbár íta pičé ára-uraya fanderestə* Story:30
Akbar looked here and there for a little while
- b. *refeyán ... mára bə imruzə vaz'ə varéd bukudidi* Traveler:35
My friends ... led me into my present position

In some cases the degree of intensity is expressed by the reduplication of adverbs:

- (150) a. *bad mehmānan yāvāš-yāvāš bušóyidi.* Birthday:25
Then the guests gradually went away.
- b. *zud-bə-zúd avóz-a bostidi*
They very quickly took turns at (doing something)
- c. *buland bulánd ... bugóftə* Story:22
He spoke very loudly

Arabic adverbs do not occur in the above mentioned cases:

- (151) a. *alan mən yəksər úya šuon dərəm.* Pool:9
I am just going there now.
- b. *tu kâmilón durúst gi*
You are speaking the absolute truth
- c. *ǰəvâné bilâxərə́ ge* Poor:107
Finally, the youth says

There are cases of the combination of adverbs with prepositions and postpositions:

- (152) a. *bíya pulana birun bavərim və az áya usanim."* Story:32
Let us steal the money and take it from here."

- b. az úya-ja ra dəkəfidi t̃a pillə meydánə-miyan
From there they headed for the big square.

Apart from adverbs, adjectives and nouns themselves there is a group of words used like adjectives, adverbs or nouns, depending on the context. More often than not these are nouns meaning place, time or manner:

- (153) a. t̃a čəšm vagərdəni ruz təmám-a be, šəb aye. šəb-əm mi Friends:25
k̃ar təmám-a nibe.
You do not have time to blink before the day goes by and evening comes. My work is not finished even in the evening.
- b. šəban dərs xandi Traveler:61
at night he studied
- c. xéyliya úya-ja birún bavərdid
many were driven away from there
- d. mára xé(y)li dust dare Niece:20
He loves me very much
- e. t̃a idârə xéyli ráy-ə Friends:10
It is a long way to the institution
- f. mən bidem bəd ní-ge. Seashore:8
I saw that she was speaking sensibly (lit. she was not speaking badly).
- g. bəd šəkári nýə Story:16
This is not a bad catch

5.4 Numerals

The Gilaki cardinal numerals are close to the corresponding Persian ones, except for i⁶ ‘one’.

Table 4. Simple Numerals

1	i, yək
2	do, with numeratives: du (du-ta, du nəfər), do (donə)
3	sə, se
4	čəhār, čəār, čār
5	pənĵ
6	šiš
7	haf(t), with numeratives more often: haf; hāf-ta, haf nəfər
8	haš(t), with numeratives more often: haš; hāš-ta, haš nəfər
9	no(h)
10	da(h)
11	yazdə
12	dəvazdə (in villages also dōzdə)
13	sizdə
14	čəhārdə
15	pa/ānzdə
16	šanzdə
17	hivdə
18	hiždə
19	nuzdə
20	bist
30	si
40	čehel, čə/el, with numeratives: čəl, čel: čəl ta, čəl nəfər
50	pənĵa/ā

⁶It is possible to assume that the Gilaki i derives from *aiva-, while the Persian yek derives from a suffixed form *aivaka-.

In a number of phrases such as temporal ones, the Persian loan yək (more rarely yek) is used; the same loan yək is used in compound numerals:

- (i)

a yək mǎ jəyəlana xəyli xuš buguzəštə.

Seashore:44
- The children spent this month very well (lit. This one month for the children went very well).
- (ii)

har ruz yək sǎat vəxt fadidi tā nahār buxorim.

Friends:16
- Every day they give us one hour for lunch.

60	šəst
70	haftád
80	haštád
90	nəvəd
100	səd, sad
200	di/əvíst
300	sisəd
400	čəhársəd
500	pānsəd
600	šišsəd
700	haf(t)səd
800	haš(t)səd
900	nosəd, nusəd
1000	hizá/ár ⁷

In compound numerals consisting of thousands, hundreds, tens and units, the components designating the bigger numerals are placed in front and the smaller ones are placed after them. They are joined together with the copulative conjunction **-u** (sometimes, in colloquial speech, it sounds like **-ə**):

- (154) a. **bist-u pənĵ** 25
 b. **bist-u čəhár** 24
 c. **bist-ə yək** 21
 d. **bist-ə do** 22
 e. **hizár-ə čəhársəd-e bíst-u čəhár** 1424

Sometimes the copulative conjunctions are dropped:

- (155) **si-haf** Poor:27
 38

⁷The numerals **dah** ‘10’, **səd** ‘100’ and **hizá/ár** ‘1000’ are simultaneously also nouns. They may take plural suffixes:

- (i) **a xānəvār ita nəmunəyə kučík az hizárán-hizár mərdúmə amé** (//ami) Poor:2
məm(ə)ləkát-ə.
 This family is one of the representatives (lit. a small model) of the thousands
 and thousands of people in our country.

Similarly the numeral **pənĵa/ā** ‘50’, when used in the following combinations might be considered nominalized: **i pənĵā** ‘a fifty’; **do pənĵā** ‘a hundred’ (lit. ‘two fifties’); **sə pənĵā** ‘a hundred and fifty’ (lit. ‘three fifties’), etc.

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Approximate numbers are usually expressed by two numbers without linking elements:

- (156) a. *ame yəzaxori yéki-du saat tul bəkəše.* Traveler:39
Our meal lasted one or two hours.
- b. *dá-pânzdó ruz murəxəsi darəm* Traveler:3
I have ten to fifteen days holiday

With approximate counting, where compound numerals appear, the repetitive part of the compound numeral may be omitted:

- (157) *Məryəm təyribən si haf-ašt sâl bištər na-re, ammə uni yiyâfə* Poor:27
nišân dihe (/dəhe) ki pənjasalə-yə.
Maryam is roughly thirty-seven or thirty-eight years old, not more,
but in outward appearance she is a fifty-year-old.

Numeratives are used for counting objects, ideas and animate nouns. In such cases the combination of the numeral with the numerative, appearing without a noun, may decline as a noun.

The following numeratives are more common:

The numerative *-ta*, which is more universal, is used to count objects, ideas and live animals:

- (158) a. *ún-əm hizár-ta kâr piš aye* Friends:30
but even then we also have a thousand jobs to do
- b. *í-taya duzd bəbərde* Complaint:7
A thief took away one of them
- c. *nimsâát nuguzəštə bu ki dú-ta duzd úya bamo* Story:12
Not even half an hour had gone by when two thieves arrived there
- d. *ádém dú-ta čəšm dášti* Poor:35
Every man has two eyes
- e. *du-sé-ta gâv* Poor:56
two or three cows

When counting inanimate objects (and, more rarely, people) the numerative *dané // dâné* ‘a piece’ is also used; usually it merges together with its numeral to the extent that it sometimes loses its first syllable:

- (159) a. i **dané** **one**
 b. **doné** **two**
 c. **sané** **three**

For example:

- (160) a. **bide fuvo xu doné** (/du dānə) gāz
 He saw that he had lost two of his teeth
- b. **murvarí bónda bidin dæbəstə xu gærdən da dānə šad da** News I:9
γətár-γətár
 Look, she has covered her neck with ten strings of pearls and beads,
 in ten rows
- c. **i dānə ge ...**
 One man says ...

When counting people the noun-numerative **nəfər** is used:

- (161) a. **i mærtəbə čehél nəfər fuvostid áni kəllə-sər**
 Forty men pounced on him at once
- b. **ammā dər bātən (bātin) a du nəfər xušanə dílə-miyan** Poor:148
γeyr az méhr-u muhəbbətə bərar-xaxurí íta
muhəbbətə digər-am his kudidi
 However, in their hearts, they both felt, apart from brotherly love,
 yet another love
- c. **har kəs íta gušə nište bu. i nəfər fikr kudi ... íta digər** Poor:363
nifrín kudi
 Each man sat in some little corner. One was thinking ... another
 was cursing
- d. **bavərdə da nəfər čančukəš**
 He brought ten stevedores (with him)
- e. **zakán γərībə čel nəfər fuvostənadi sər-bə-sər**
 The lads, about forty men, fell on each other

When a noun is present in the phrase, numeratives are not obligatory:

- (162) **úya hizár-u divíst kārəgər kār kune**
 1,200 workers work there

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When numerals are combined with nouns designating units of time and distance and monetary units, numeratives, as a rule, are not used:

- (163) a. *tā úya sə kilumétr rá-yə*
It is a three kilometer journey to go there
- b. *səbər kunim du rúze de*
We shall wait another two days
- c. *pənjá tumán fadəm* Story:18
I will give fifty Tumans
- d. *tu a tərəfana nigā bukun, tā mən a šiš hizār tumana čāl bukunəm.* Story:24
You look in all directions while I bury six thousand Tumans there.”

When designating dates (cardinal and more rarely ordinal) numerals are placed before nouns designating months and they are joined by means of an “Ezafe” construction:

- (164) a. *tā bilāxərəš háftə – háštə mársə hizār-ə haš(t)səd-ə bíst-u čəhār bubo*
Until at last March 27 1824 has come
- b. *šəbə pānzəyə mā bu.* Poor:378
It was the evening of the fifteenth of the month.
- c. *imruz haštúmə márs-ə.* Who:33
Today is the eighth of March.

When designating time in phrases of the type ‘(for) so much time’ the numeral is placed before the noun and adjuncted to it (without any link)::

- (165) a. *á ĵur vasti rúzi haš(t) sâat kâr bukunid*
Thus they had to work every day for eight hours
- b. *har ruz yək sâat vəxt fadidi* Friends:16
Every day they give us one hour

In phrases of the type ‘at such and such an hour’ the numeral stands after the noun being joined to it by means of the “Ezafe” construction:

- (166) a. *bu-zur sâatə noh idârəya farəsəm.* Friends:14
With difficulty I reach the institution at nine o’clock.

- b. *bāz-əm tā sáátə šiš kār kunəm.* Friends:22
And again I work until six o'clock.

- c. *i šəb sá'atə se bad az nísfə šəb xiyábānə Buzərjumeri-ja* Story:2
guzəštən dubu.
One night, at three o'clock in the middle of the night, he was walking along Buzerjumeri street.

Cardinal numbers do not change, but when nominalized, cases of the use of numerals with the “Ezafə” enclitic may be observed:

- (167) *tā čəhārə ebtədai íta mədrəsə-miyan dərs bəxándim.* Traveler:43
Until the fourth year of primary school we studied in the same school.

Ordinal numerals are formed by combination of a corresponding cardinal number with the suffix *-um*:

- (168) a. *čəhárúm* fourth
b. *haštúm* eighth

Disjunctive numerals are formed by reduplication by which the whole word combination consisting of the numeral and the noun may be reduplicated:

- (169) *ušánə dəsmúzda čəhár mə-čəhár mə faānde*
(He) used not to pay their salary for four months

Fractional numbers are observed very rarely. They are formed by the combination of the cardinal number, expressing the numerator of the fraction and the ordinal numeral, expressing the denominator, for example:

- (170) a. *yək čəhárúm* one quarter
b. *yək haštúm* one eighth
c. *du səvvúm* two thirds

To indicate the idea of ‘a half’, the nouns *nim* and *nisf* are used:

- (171) *háft-ə nim* 7½

To indicate quarters, eighths, etc, nouns are used of the type

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- (172) a. čəhåryék a quarter
b. haštyék an eighth

- (173) čəhåryék-ə a mabláy únə-šin-ə
the fourth part of this sum is his

The designation of percentages (possibly modelled after the Persian) is encountered as follows:

- (174) haštád dər səd eighty percent

5.5 Pronouns

In the Gilaki language the following series of pronouns are to be observed: personal, demonstrative, interrogative-relative, attributive, indefinite, reflexive-attributive, adverbial and numeral.

5.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns can be observed in the first and second persons singular and plural (demonstrative pronouns fill the role of personal pronouns of the third person). Personal pronouns do not have a grammatical category of number (it is expressed lexically). The category of case is expressed, as with nouns, by forms of the nominative, accusative-dative and genitive cases.

Table 5. *The Pronoun Declension Paradigm*

Case	Singular		Plural	
	First	Second	First	Second
Nominative	mən	tu	amá	šumá
Accusative-Dative	méra, mára	téra, tára	amára	šumára
Genitive	mi	ti	amé, amí	šimé, šimí

The forms of the accusative-dative case have a postpositional origin. In a fully stressed style of speaking the pronouns in the singular of the accusative-dative case sound like *méra* and *téra*. The forms *mára*, *tára* arise apparently as a result of assimilation and possibly by analogy with *amára* and *šumára*.

The variable pronunciation of the genitive plural *amé* // *amí*, *šimé* // *šimí* of the pronoun, with the predominance of the final *-e*, is typical of the dialect of Rasht. In a series of other dialects, for example in Bandar Anzali, these forms are pronounced as *amí* and *šimí*. Furthermore, isolated cases of the use in the genitive case of the form *šumé* instead of the usual *šimé* are to be observed. This is explained evidently by the assimilating influence of the adjacent nasal *-m-* and by analogy with the other cases where this pronoun appears with *-u-*:

(175) *han yəḏór tanəm šumé-re bəgəm ki ...*

Poor:21

In any case, I can tell you that ...

Compare to its usual use:

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- (176) *hasa ki šumá xaidi, bə čəšm itáát kunəm, šimé-re gəm* Traveler:54
Now, since you so wish I shall gladly obey you and tell you

Before the postposition *-re* the vocalic ending of the form of the genitive case may sound like *-e*:

- (177) a. *tu dani, mé-re (/mí-re) íta rá naha.* Traveler:25
You know that for me there is one way.
- b. *áya te-re libásə šəná fagirəm.* Pool:30
I shall hire a bathing suit for you from here.

Compare with:

- (178) *tí-re bəgəm*
I shall tell you.

Before the copulative conjunctions *-am // -əm* and *u* the pronoun *tu* ‘you (singular)’, in the nominative case, takes the form *tun* (by analogy with *mən* ‘I’):

- (179) a. *biya tun-am (/tu ham) mi-amra bišim.* Pool:6
You go too. Let us go together.
- b. *tún-əm bəpər!* Pool:38
You also jump in
- c. *vasi i-ǰúr, i-díl, i-ǰán tún-u mən-u un, hamətan*
We must all be united as one; you and I and he and all of you.

Plural pronouns do not change when in this position:

- (180) a. *amá-am aími*
We shall also come.
- b. *šumá-am aídi*
You will also come.

Apart from the stylistically neutral pronouns in the Gilaki language that have already been considered, two pronouns are to be observed that bear a certain stylistic nuance.

These are the polite form *šumá* (the second person plural) for the second person singular of the pronoun; and the pejorative form *bəndó* ‘slave’ (a noun) for the first person singular of the pronoun:

- (181) a. **bəndə bugoftəm**
I, a worthless individual, said.
- b. **bəndə gəm**
I, a worthless individual, shall say.

5.5.1.1 Personal Pronouns: Nominative

Personal pronouns in the nominative case play the roles of:

1. Subject:

- (182) a. **mən ni-demə** Greeting:12
I did not see.
- b. **tu bugu bidinəm** Greeting:15
Can you tell me, so that I may know (lit. see).
- c. **mən sâatə haft xâbə-ja virizəm** Friends:7
I get up at seven o'clock in the morning
- d. **amā bidé-im**
We saw.
- e. **hâsa ki şumâ xâidi ...** Traveler:54
Now, since you so wish ...
- f. **şuma danîdi ki Huseyn xeyli bâhuş bu.** Traveler:58
You know that Hussein was very clever.
- g. **amā îta piçé una bîdinim** Traveler:13
Let us look at him a little

2. Indirect objects and adverbial modifiers with prepositions:

- (183) a. **bi tu de mən nə-tanəm kudəm zəndəgânî** Poor:374
I can no longer live without you
- b. **mən az u rûzə avvəl ki tərâ bidəm, bə tu dil dəbəstəm** Poor:239
(//dəvəstəm):
From that very first day that I saw you, I fell in love with you.
- c. **az mən hiç çi birun dərz nû-kune** Traveler:41
I would not give away anything

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- d. *az šumá či pinhán* Poor:49
What can be hidden from you?

3. Attribute in an “Ezafe” construction:

- (184) *bi ijázýə mən āb nu-xure* Niece:21
Without my permission he does not even drink water

4. Predicate:

- (185) *an mən-əm ki a kára bukudəm*
I am [the very one] who did this deed.

5. Addressee:

- (186) *ey, tu ki ána gofti, hása bidé-i čuto bubostə?*
Do you now see how it has turned out for you who said this?

5.5.1.2 Personal Pronouns: Accusative-Dative

Pronouns in the form of the accusative-dative case play the roles of:

1. Direct object:

- (187) a. *či yədór árzu kudim tá-ra bidinəm* Niece:6
How much I wanted to see you
- b. *čutor bubostə ki amára yád bu-kudi?* Niece:5
How did you come to remember us?
- c. *mára xé(y)li dust dare* Niece:20
He loves me very much
- d. *amára bə xánə-durun bəbərdə.* Seashore:37
He took us into the house.
- e. *tu mára šənasi* Traveler:32
You know me
- f. *mən šumára bidem*
I saw you

- g. *tu mára bidé-i*
You saw me

2. Indirect object with:

a. Directional meaning:

- (188) *mən kitába tára fadəm*
I shall give you the book

b. The meaning of addressee. When used with verbs of speech it may be expressed by the form of the accusative-dative case (as with nouns):

- (189) a. *Améd mára bugóftə* Pool:28
Ahmed said to me

- b. *mən xayəm tára ič či bəgəm* Poor:122
I want to tell you something

c. The form of the genitive case with the postposition *-re* (see section 5.5.1.4 Indirect Object Usage below).

3. Subject in some impersonal phrases of state:

- (190) a. *tu az rá bamói, tára vištá-yə* Traveler:21
You have only just come from the road. You are hungry. (lit. there is hunger to you)

- b. *tára či bubostə?* Pool:52
What has happened to you?

- c. *rəhəti tš-ra xuš n-áye?"* Poor:43
Would not you like a rest?"

- d. *mára či bəd ayé purčānəgí!*
How I dislike verbosity!

(Sometimes with this same function the genitive case is used with the postposition *-re*. See next section.)

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5.5.1.3 Personal Pronouns: Genitive

Pronouns in the form of the genitive case are used in the roles of:

1. Attributes of belonging:

- (191) a. *šime* (/šimi) *zakan či kunidi?* Greeting:7
What are your children doing?
- b. *mi mār nāxúš-ə* Greeting:16
My mother is sick
- c. *ame xānə-ja tā idarə xéyli rā-yə.* Friends:10
It is quite far from our house to the institution.
- d. *ti dil či xaye* Seashore:4
What do you want? (lit. what does your heart want?)
- e. *tu bušu, ti péra duxan!* Seashore:35
You go and call your father!

2. The object of a postposition. In such cases even the postposition *-am(a)ra*, as distinct from its use with nouns, is always joined to the genitive case:

- (192) a. *mé-re māne íta jum'á* Friends:30
There remains for me only Friday
- b. *bidin ki amé-biža amon dərə!* Niece:2
Look who is coming to us!
- c. *a kitáb mí-šin-ə*
This book is mine.
- d. *zəndegí amí-šin xob níyə*
Our life is unimportant.
- e. *āxər guná ti-šin či-yə?*
So what is your sin?
- f. *ti-amara ču-žur rəftār kune?* Niece:18
How does he treat you?
- g. *... mí-ja fagiftə* Complaint:7
[he] took ... away from me

- h. xayəm a ruzána Rášṭə-miyán šime-biḡa buguzəranəm. Traveler:3
I want to spend these days with you in Rasht.
- i. mən-əm tí-vasí muraxxəsi faḡiftəm Traveler:17
I too, took a holiday for your sake
- j. biya tun-am (// tu ham) mi-amra bišim. Pool:6
You go too. Let us go together.
- k. tu taní amé-re utây peydâ bukuni? Seashore:22
Will you not find a room for us?

5.5.1.4 Indirect Object Usage

The indirect object, expressing the person to whom the utterance is addressed or the topic of conversation, may be formed either by the accusative-dative case (see section 5.5.1.2 Personal Pronouns: Accusative-Dative above) or by the genitive case with the postposition *-re*.⁸

- (193) a. mən hasa té-re təmámə mi kára gəm Friends:6
I shall now tell you about all my affairs
- b. tu ti nəyšəya mí-re (//mé-re) bugu Traveler:23
You tell me about your plans
- c. alán šimé-re gəm
Now I shall tell you.
- d. šimé-re či xuš aye dərâz rudəḡí
How you like a long account!

5.5.1.5 Pronominal Enclitics

Pronominal enclitics that would be used with nouns and verbs, as in the Persian and Tajik languages, are not observed in the Gilaki language.

However, cases are encountered of the use of enclitics with some types of pronouns, for example, with attributive pronouns and with the reflexive-

⁸In this form the indirect object used with verbs of speech has a dual meaning:

1. The addressee and
2. The person for whom something is said.

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attributive pronoun **xud** (see section 5.5.6.2 **xud** below). In general these forms of enclitics are the same as in the Persian language.

Table 6. *Pronominal Enclitics*

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-əm	-əman
2nd Person	-ət	-ətan
3rd Person	-əš	-əšan

Perhaps these pronouns with enclitics are loan-words (compare the presence of the strictly Gilaki form **xu** side by side with **xud** in section 5.5.6 Reflexive-Attributive Pronouns below).

In some stable combinations the use of enclitics of the third person singular with nouns is encountered:

- (194) **dani Məryəm, rāstəša xayī?** Poor:238
Do you know Maryam, do you want the truth?

5.5.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns indicate two different degrees of remoteness: **a, an, ha, han** indicate things that are close and **u, un, hu, hun** things that are distant. The forms **a, an, u, un** are simple demonstrative pronouns and they are usually used even as third person personal pronouns: **a, an** ‘this’, ‘he/she’; **u, un** ‘that’, ‘he/she’. The forms **ha, han, hu, hun** are emphatic demonstrative pronouns. They retain the same nuance of emphasis even when used to indicate the third person personal pronouns: **ha, han** ‘just this’, ‘here this is’, ‘just him/her’, ‘here he/she is’; **hu hun** ‘just that’, ‘there that is’, ‘just him/her’, ‘there he/she is’.

The full forms of the demonstrative pronouns **an, un, han, hun** are observed in the singular and the plural and they are declined like nouns and personal pronouns. The short forms: **a, u, ha, hu** are uninflected:⁹

The ending of the form of the genitive case of demonstrative pronouns varies between the nominal (**-ə**) and the pronominal (**-i**); but before the postposition **-re** it is sometimes **-e**, (see section 5.5.1 Personal Pronouns):

⁹The historical forms of the accusative-dative case have also been consolidated in the language as adverbial pronouns: **āya** ‘here’, ‘hither’ and **ūya** ‘there’, ‘thither’ (see section 5.5.9 Adverbial Pronouns).

Table 7. *Demonstrative Pronouns*

Case	Form	Close		Short Form	Distant		Short Form
		Sing.	Plural		Sing.	Plural	
Nom.	Simple	an	ašán		un	ušán	
	Emphatic	han	hašán		hun	hušán	
Acc.-	Simple	ána	ašána	a	úna	ušána	u
Dat.	Emphatic	hána	hašána	ha	húna	hušána	hu
Gen.	Simple	ánə/i	ašánə/i		únə/i	ušánə/i	
	Emphatic	hánə/i	hašáne/i		húnə/i	hušáne/i	

- (195) a. úni/e-re gəm
I am telling him
- b. ašáne/i-re
for their sake
- c. únə/i-šin
his (possessive)
- d. ašánə/i-šin
their
- e. dād áni-šin bu-guš bamo
His yell has reached my ears.
- f. fuvostid áni kəllə-sər
[They] pounced on him.
- g. úni dər ćúbi-yə bəšəkəstə
Her door is a broken piece of wood.

Poor:15

For examples with the ending -ə see below.

The full forms of the demonstrative pronouns are used in the function of almost any part of the sentence. They take the corresponding case form and are combined with various prepositions and postpositions. As attributes they express possession.

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5.5.2.1 Demonstrative Pronouns: Nominative

The full forms of the demonstrative pronouns in the nominative case are used as:

1. Subject:

- (196) a. *an mi kár-ə.* Friends:29
Such is my work.
- b. *un vavərse* Seashore:5
She asked
- c. *an bugóftə ustatər utáyə xalı naha. un bugóftə ustatər bušu* Seashore:15
This one said, "There on that side there is a free room." That one said, "Go there on that side"

2. Predicative:

- (197) a. *an bu mi Huséynə sərguzəšt*
Such was the fate of my Hussein
- b. *hálə yəziyə an bu* Poor:87
This is how it happened
- c. *rāst-am hán-ə muntəhá har du muntəzərə bəhánə bid* Poor:152
To tell the truth, (lit. the truth is just the fact [that]) finally, they both waited for an occasion

3. Indirect objects and adverbial modifiers with prepositions:

- (198) a. *zakán huşyartər az un bid ki uşánə gúla buxorid*
The lads were too clever to fall for their trick.
- b. *íta az ašan mi Huséyn bu*
One of them was my Hussein.

4. Attributes in stable compositions:

- (199) *an yədər ruznámán únə náma bəbərdidi, binivištidi*
So many [times] the newspapers have mentioned his name and written about him.

5.5.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns: Accusative-Dative

Pronouns in the form of the accusative-dative case are used as:

1. Direct object:

- (200) a. *imruz úna bidem.* Friends:2
Today I saw him.
- b. *arbáb-am hana xayə-u bəs.* Poor:276
This serves the landowner right.
- c. *úna tənhá nə-naidi*
(They) did not leave him alone.
- d. *tā bayid ušána birun fakəšid, bičărán jan kənidi*
When they come to pull them out of the landslide, the poor people
will have perished
- e. *ána vavərs, úna vavərs* Seashore:14
Ask this person, ask that person

2. Indirect object with the meaning of direction or of an addressee¹⁰:

- (201) a. *úna bəčasbəstidid* Traveler:11
They stuck to him
- b. *əxér mən ušána bugóftəm* Traveler:12
Finally, I said to them
- c. *mašínə-amra (//amara) zud əšənə buba və úna səvar-a bo.* Traveler:59
He quickly learned (lit. got to know) about cars and started to drive.
- d. *ušána xéyli sādó hálí kudi* Traveler:68
He explained to them very simply

3. Subject of state:

- (202) a. *úna či bubosta?* Greeting:18
What [on earth] has happened to her?

¹⁰With verbs of speech the genitive case may also be used with the postposition *-re* (see below).

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- b. *mən-am čən ruz muraxxsí faǵíftəm, tǎ Mohsén tənǰá* Traveler:8
ná-bə və úna səxt nu-guzərə.
[and] also took a few days holiday, so that Mohsein would not be
alone and he would not feel unhappy

5.5.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns: Genitive

Pronouns in the form of the genitive case are used as:

1. Possessive attribute:

- (203) a. *únə hářfa guš bukudəm* Seashore:25
I obeyed him (lit. his words)
- b. *bu-zur Mohsóna ušánə dǎstə-ǵa xǎlǎs bukúdəm.* Traveler:14
With difficulty I freed Mohsein from them.
- c. *ánə ǵulán məxmǎla mane* Birthday:5
Her cheeks are like velvet
- d. *ašánə pillə tinibi dəhab-bə-sər az mehmānan pur bu.* Birthday:11
Their large room was filled with guests.
- e. *i mərtəbǎ čehél nəfǎr fuvostid áni kǎllǎ-sər*
Forty men pounced on him at once (lit. on his head).

2. The object of a postposition irrespective of the role of the noun and the meaning of the postposition:

- (204) a. *mən únə-ǵa xeyli rǎzǐ-yəm.* Niece:26
I am very pleased with him.
- b. *únə-amara kǎfe bušom.* Friends:3
I went with him into the café
- c. *mən nǎtanəm ... tí-biǵa bayəm, únə-biǵa bǎšəm* Friends:31
I cannot ... come to you, go to that man
- d. *anə-vasi kǎrəǵəránə-miyan bǎnufuz bubǎstə bu.* Traveler:65
Therefore, he acquired great authority among the workers (lit. became an influential authority).
- e. *az únə-ǵa buxǎr bulǎnd-a bosti.* Pool:20
From it steam was rising.

- f. *bəyəyyə ušanə-re āba xordən-ə*
The rest is [as easy] for them as to drink water.
- g. *alán ašáni-re gəm*
Now I shall tell them.
- h. *a lotká únə-šin-ə*
This boat is his.
- i. *mi bərar únə-ja behtər-ə*
My brother is better than him.

5.5.2.4 Short Forms

The short forms of demonstrative pronouns are used chiefly as prepositional demonstrative pronouns and as definite articles (see section 5.1.1.1 Articles) and they are not inflected with respect to the number or case of their head noun:

- (205) a. *az a sǝrə tinibí ta u sǝrə tinibí* Birthday:15
From this end of the room to that end of the room
- b. *a máya tá āxér úya bəsim* Seashore:7
We shall remain there until the end of this month
- c. *ún-əm u ráyə ki mi per bušo, mi pilé bərar bušo.* Traveler:26
mǝn-əm hu ráya vasti bəšəm. yəyín darəm: mi
zakán-ən ha ráya xaidi šoon.
This is the same road along which my father and my older brother went. I must also go along that same road. I am sure that my children will go along the same road.
- d. *alán u vəxtán ní-yə*
Now is not the same time.
- e. *íta az a jǝyǝn šáhrə Rašt bu*
One of these places was the city of Rasht.
- f. *ha vəxt rǝis bǝ hǝlǝtə yéyz-u yəzəb dǝra vakudə* Please:3
At that very moment the boss opened the door with irritation

(see also section 5.1.1.1 Articles)

5. Morphology

In addition, individual cases of the use of the short form of the demonstrative pronoun **u** as an independent part of the sentence are observed:

1. As subject:

- (206) a. **u** **dinə**
He sees.
- b. **u** **bide**
He saw.
- c. **u** **xú-re xánó bəsaxtə**
He built a house for himself.
- d. **u** **xú-re a kára bukude**
He did this for himself.
- e. **u** **xuse**
He is sleeping.

2. As indirect objects and as adverbial modifiers with postpositions:

- (207) **u nəzdiki ita dukan naha.** Friends:18
There is a shop nearby.

3. As the first part of a pronominal substantive compound consisting of the short pronoun, the numeral **i**: ‘one’ and the numeratives **-ta** or **dâ/anə**: ‘that’ [pronoun]:

- (208) a. **u+i+ta > uyta**
b. **u+i+dâ/anə > uydâ/anə**

The pronoun **a** also takes part in analogous forms:

- (209) a. **a+i+ta > ayta**
b. **a+i+dâ/anə > aydâ/anə**

These compounds have a substantive meaning and are declined like a noun with the appropriate ending of the stem (that is to say, they do not have the form of the genitive case). In the nominative case they are used in the same functions as nouns and in addition, as a modifier:

- (210) a. *íta kənárə dər isa, uydānə muntəzər isa*
One man is standing by the door, another is waiting.
- b. *u-i-dānə mīslə šīrə nər gurná kəše*
[and] this one growls like a lion.
- c. *šāyəd xəjálət kəšeyidi, šāyəd-am áyta muntəzərə bu ki* Poor:149
úyta xu dílə gába zudtər bəge
Perhaps they were ashamed, but perhaps this one waited so that one
could say what was on his heart (lit. the word of his heart) first
- d. *aydanə ham ašan faandidi!* Complaint:9
But you know they have not even returned this one.”

In the accusative-dative case they are used as direct and indirect objects with the meanings of direction and addressee:

- (211) a. *uytáya šəlláy bəze*
[and] he struck that one.
- b. *itaya duzd bəbərdə, uytáya kəlántəri mi-ja fagiftə ki* Complaint:7
az unə gul-u butə və nəyšə-ja uydanəya peydá
bukunə.
A thief took away one of them and the police took the other one in
order to find the first one by looking at the pattern of the second
one and making a drawing of it.
- c. *íta úytaya gofti* Please:2
One said to the other
- d. *uytáya fadə*
Return [it] to that [woman].

5.5.3 Interrogative-Relative Pronouns

The following interrogative-relative pronouns are observed:

- (212) a. *ki* (more rarely *ke*) *who, whose*
b. *či, čə* *what, which, what kind of*
c. *ko* *which, that, what kind of*

5. Morphology

Their interrogative or relative meaning depends on the context.

The pronoun **ki** does not have a category of number and it is always used in the singular form. Two case forms are observed: the direct case **ki** and the indirect case **kíya**, corresponding to the form of the accusative-dative case of other nouns.

5.5.3.1 **ki**

The pronoun **ki** in the form of the direct case is used in the function of any part of the sentence:

1. Subject:

- (213) **bidin ki amé-bija amon dərə!** Niece:2
Look who is coming to us!

2. Predicative:

- (214) **té-re ki məxfí ní-ye, mən kí-yəm** Traveler:24
For you it is not a secret who I am

3. Attribute:

- (215) **agər ti méyla bə jǎ n-əvərəm, kí méyla bə jǎ bavərəm?** Seashore:6
If I do not fulfil you wishes, then whose wishes shall I fulfill?

4. Indirect objects and adverbs (with prepositions and postpositions):¹¹

- (216) a. **xéyli xob dane, čé-re və ké-re áya ayé**
He knows very well why and for whose sake he is coming here.
- b. **ké-re (//kí-re) gi?**
For whom do you say [all this]?

5. In some cases this form may be used as a direct object:

- (217) **ke bəzei?**
Whom have you beaten?

6. Pronouns in the form of the indirect case are used as a direct object:

- (218) **kíya xayi bidini** Traveler:23
Whom do you want to see?

¹¹ Before the postposition **-re** (more rarely without it), the pronoun may sound like **ke**.

The remaining interrogative pronouns are uninflected.

5.5.3.2 **či, čə**

The pronoun **či** // **čə** is used when asking:

1. About a substance or an action (‘**what**’)

(219) a. **xéyli mi dil xaye, vəli či bukunəm.** Friends:32
I want to very much, but what can I do?

b. **úna či bubostə?** Greeting:18
What has happened to her?

2. About quality (‘**which**’, ‘**what kind of**’, ‘**what**’)

(220) a. **té-re ki məxfi ní-ye, mən kí-yəm, či xayəm** Traveler:24
For you it is not a secret who I am

b. **Huséynə-ja či xəbər dari?** Traveler:52
What news do you have of Hussein?

c. **a məyâzə či məyâzə isə?** Greeting:11
What sort of shop is it?

d. **axər guná ti-šin či-yə?**
So what is your sin?

The pronoun **či** is also used from an emotional point of view in exclamatory sentences:

(221) a. **či dórdə sər bədəm** Birthday:23
How can I deceive [you]?

b. **a kâr či muškîl və musibət-ə!**
How hard and exhausting this work is!

In combination with the third person singular copula **isə** ‘**he/she is**’ the vowel of the pronoun **či** is amalgamated with the vowel **i** of the copula – **čisə** ‘**what is it**’, ‘**what kind is it**’, ‘**which is it**’ from **či + isə**:

(222) **an čisə?**
What is this?

5. Morphology

Before the postposition **-re**, the pronoun may take the form **če** (together with **či**, see above):

- (223) a. **če-re gi?**
Why are you saying [this]?
b. **če-re ána gi?**
Why are you telling him?

The lexicalized combination of the pronoun **či** with the postposition **-re** is used as an interrogative pronoun-adverb **čire**, **čére** (sometimes with a deliberately stressed articulation – **čére**): ‘**what for**’, ‘**why**,’ (see (280) in section 5.5.9 Adverbial Pronouns).

5.5.3.3 ko

The pronoun **ko** ‘**which**’ is observed in three case forms:

1. The nominative case **ko**
2. The accusative-dative case **kóna**¹² and
3. The genitive **kónə**.

In the nominative case the pronoun is used as a prepositive attribute lacking any additional markers:

- (224) a. **az ko ra bišim?** Conver:30
By which way shall we go?
b. **ko kitába usadi?**
Which book did you take?

In the accusative-dative case it is used as an object:

- (225) **kóna usadi?**
Which one did you take?

In the genitive case it is used as an attribute:

- (226) **kónə kitába usadi?**
Of which [men] did you take the book?

¹²The oblique cases are formed from the stem **kon-**, so that we are in practice dealing with two stems: **ko** and **kon-**, analogous to the demonstratives **u** and **un**, or **a** and **an**. The fixed form of the accusative-dative case **kóya**, from the stem **ko**, is used as an interrogative, adverbial pronoun: ‘**where**’, ‘**whither**’ (see below).

In addition, the pronoun **ko** is used in complex pronominal word formations consisting of the pronoun **ko**, the numeral **i** ‘one’ and the numerative **-ta** or **dānə**: **ko + i + ta** > **koyta** ‘which’, **ko + i + dā/anə** ‘which’. These word formations, analogous to the similar word formations of the type: **ayto**, **uydānə**, etc. (see (210) above), have a substantive meaning and they are used as different independent parts of the sentence:

- (227) a. **koydānə ti bərar-ə?**
Which of them is your brother?
- b. **koydānə ti-šin-ə // koyta ti-šin-ə?**
Which [of them] is yours?

5.5.4 Attributive Pronouns

The attributive pronoun **har**, **ar** ‘every’ is uninflected. It is usually used as a prepositional attribute:

- (228) a. **har ruz yək sāt vəxt fadidi** Friends:16
Every day they give us one hour.
- b. **har ki bətanəste, bamo, har ki nə-tanəstə təlgərāf feda** Birthday:12
Everyone who could come and everyone who could not sent a telegram.
- c. **har či be, bəba!** Pool:16
Come what may!
- d. **ammā har vəxt ābə-ja birun amóim, pərkəstim.** Pool:58
But whenever we come out of the water we began to shiver.
- e. **har ki say kudi úna az i ráhi bə dər bəbərə** Poor:48
Everyone tried by some means (lit. by whatever route) to get her

In combination with a numeral the pronoun **har** acquires the meaning: ‘everybody’, ‘wholly’;

- (229) **har du muntəzərá bəhānə bid** Poor:152
They were both waiting for an occasion

The pronoun **hamə**: ‘everybody’, ‘all’ may be used both independently and as an attribute. When used independently it has the meaning of: ‘everybody’:

5. Morphology

- (230) a. **hamó bǎ ham dəs fadáidi**
Everybody joined hands (lit. gave each other their hands).
- b. **hamó úna dust daštidi**
Everybody loved him.

When used independently the pronoun **hamó** may take pronominal enclitics:

- (231) **vasi i-ǵur, i-dil, i-ǵan tún-u mǝn-u un, hamǝtan**
We must all be united as one; you and I and he and all of you.

The combination with the third person singular enclitic **hamǝš** becomes lexicalized acquiring the meaning: ‘in all’, ‘only’:

- (232) ... **íta ǵǎlipuši xǎnǝ naha, ki hamǝš ita utǎy darǝ** Poor:13
... there is a house with a thatched roof, consisting of only one room

When used as a modifier the pronoun **hamó** means ‘everybody’ and ‘all’ and it is formed as a prepositive or postpositive modifier lacking any morphological links and it may also stand before a noun combined in an “Ezafe” construction:

- (233) a. **a kǎra hamó kəs na-tanǝsti bukunǝ**
Not every man can do this work
- b. **ami xǐšu-ǵoman hamǝ ušǎnǝ xǎnǝ ǵǝm bubóštidi.** Birthday:2
All our relatives gathered in their home.
- c. **mi mǎrǝ asǝbǎna un ǵǎdǝr ǵǝvǐ bukun ki bǝtanǝ hamǝya** Prayer:1
mi šeytǎnǐya tǝhǎmmúl bukunǝ!
Strengthen my mother’s nerves so much that she can endure all my pranks!
- d. **vǎli Iskǎndǝr u šǝb hamǝ čǐza hamǝya dunyǎya xú-amra** Poor:387
muxǎlǝf dei.
But that night, Iskander saw everything, the whole world [as] his enemy.

The pronoun **tamǎm** ‘all’ is also used in the same way.

- (234) a. **tǝmǎmǝ xu ǵuvvǝ-yu ǵudrǝta ǵǝm bukudǝ**
(They) gathered all their strength

5.5.5 The Indefinitive-Negative Pronoun.

- b. *təmámə mi umr*
All my life

The pronoun *digór* ‘another’ is used as a postpositive attribute being joined to the noun with the help of an “Ezafé” construction:

- (235) a. *nu-kunə, ki Iskəndər i nəfərə digóra dus bədarə* Poor:215
It cannot be that Iskander loves someone else
- b. *uyə-ja bušóim jáyə digər.* Pool:34
From there we went into another place.
- c. *az a kitābxānə-ja bušóim kitābxānəyə digór*
We went from this library to another library

On rare occasions, the pronoun *de* is used as the postpositive ‘other’:

- (236) *səbər kunim du rúzə de*
We shall wait two more days (lit. two other after)

More often it acts as an adverbial pronoun with the meaning: ‘still more’, ‘more’:

- (237) a. *bad, de nə-tanəstə dərs bəxanə.* Traveler:44
Subsequently, he could not study any longer.
- b. *Huséyn de u kārəgərə sādə ni-yə*
Hussein is no longer that simple worker
- c. *de nə-tanəm áya bayəm*
I shall not be able to come here again

5.5.5 The Indefinitive-Negative Pronoun.

The indefinite-negative pronoun *hič* is used in a positive sentence meaning: ‘something’, ‘a little’; and in a negative sentence meaning: ‘nothing’:

- (238) *hič dini un či kudən dərə*
Can you see what he is doing?

More often it is used as an adverb:

- (239) a. *mən hič nidem*
I could not see at all

5. Morphology

- b. *mən hič vəxt nukunəm ara-ura bəšəm* Friends:6
I have absolutely no time to go here and there

- c. *xob-ə, hič təkən nuxurəm.* Story:40
All right, I will not move at all.”

In addition, the pronoun *hič* often appears in combination of the type: *hič čī, ič čī*, ‘something’, ‘nothing’; *hič kəs*: ‘somebody’, ‘nobody’:

- (240) a. *mən hič kəsə kitāba unəsadəm*
I did not take anybody’s book

- b. *ammā mən xayəm tərā ič čī bəgəm.* Poor:122
But I want to tell you something.

5.5.6 Reflexive-Attributive Pronouns

Two reflexive-attributive pronouns are encountered: *xu* and *xud*.

5.5.6.1 *xu*

The pronoun *xu*: ‘oneself’ ‘one’s own’ is used only in the third person. The corresponding forms of the first and second person personal pronouns are used to express the first and second person reflexive respectively. The pronoun *xu* has singular and plural forms. In the singular it does not change according to case (before the postposition *-re*, *-ra* it may sound like *xo-*). The plural form is formed by the joining to the stem *xu* the marker *-ša/ān*: *xuša/ān*.¹³ It changes according to case as a plural noun: the accusative-dative case is *xuša/āna*, the genitive case *xuša/ānə*, (before the postposition *-re* it is also *xuša/āni*).

The pronoun *xu* is used in the singular and plural in two ways:

1. As the independent part of a sentence with the reflexive meaning ‘oneself’ (but not ‘by oneself’). In this case, its meaning is singular or plural depending on the number of the noun for which it is substituted;

- (241) a. *u xú-re a kára bukude*
He did this for himself¹⁴

¹³Possibly, this is historically the third person plural pronoun enclitic.

¹⁴In the first person:

- (i) *hič kósi-re kār nukunən, mí-re kār bukunəm*
I am not doing this for anybody else; I am doing it for myself.

- b. *tavəda xó-ra zəminə ru*
He fell to the ground
- c. *xú-re fikr bukudə* Story:4
He thought to himself
- d. *har ruz kārəgərāna xu dórə-bər jam kudi* Traveler:67
Every day he gathered the workers around him
- e. *mi Mohtərəm xānəm diruz xu dəsaxuran və dəsberarana xu-biḡa da'vət bukudə.* Birthday:10
Yesterday, my Mohtaram-khanum invited her female and male friends to her house.
- f. *Huséyn ... xú-re bāsəvād və kitābxān bubóstə bu* Traveler:62
All by himself, Hussein became literate and a reader of books
- g. *aśān xuśāni-re a kāra bukudidi*
They did this work for themselves

2. As the prepositive attribute meaning ‘one’s own’ usually agrees in number with the noun designating the possessor and more rarely the noun designating the thing possessed:

- (242) a. *un haməš xəndə kudi, rəxs (/rəyāsí) kudi, har vəxt ki lāzəm bu, xuśānə hamsāyāna kumək kudi.* Poor:45
She was always laughing and dancing and when it was necessary, she helped her neighbors.
- b. *mi Mohtərəm xānəm diruz xu dəsaxuran və dəsberarana xu-biḡa da'vət bukudə.* Birthday:10
Yesterday, my Mohtaram-khanum invited her female and male friends to her house.
- c. *vəxti ki xu kāra təmām kune yəksər bə xānə aye.* Niece:22
When he finishes his work he immediately goes home.
- d. *xuśānə bištəre zúra ... jam bukudə bid*
(They) gathered their greatest strength’

Compare with:

5. Morphology

- (243) *ama usadim ame kitába*
We took our books

The pronoun having the possessive postposition *-šin* can be used as a post-positive modifier:

- (244) *jamá buxordə pā xu-šin*
His (lit. his own) foot slipped

5.5.6.2 *xud*

The pronoun *xud*: ‘oneself’ is encountered in two roles:

1. As the base of the “Ezafé” combination, analogous to the corresponding Persian construction:

- (245) *āxər xúdə arbāb-am ha kārə-yə.* Poor:274
You see the landowner himself also acts in the same manner.

2. Functioning as a major constituent of the clause or as an apposition (in which case it may be joined to a noun or to other constituents of the sentence.) They are only used in combination with the pronominal enclitic of the corresponding person and number:

(246)		
	Singular	Plural
1st Person	<i>xúdəm</i>	<i>xúdəman</i>
2nd Person	<i>xúdət</i>	<i>xúdətan</i>
3rd Person	<i>xúdəš</i>	<i>xúdəšan</i>

The pronoun *xud*, in combination with pronominal enclitics, is declined as a noun and in this situation the case enclitic is placed after the pronominal enclitic:

- (247) a. *avvəl xúdəša bə muš-murdəgi bəzé*
At first he was changed into a meek person.
- b. *mən xúdəm na-nəm či bukunəm!* Poor:349
I myself do not know what to do!
- c. *ašan xúdəšan a kára bukudidi*
They did this job themselves.

- d. *amá xúdəman a kára bukudim(i)*
We did the job ourselves.
- e. *xudəš ki pír-a bostó bu, agər Məryəm-əm az dəst bədə,* Poor:67
úni kára ki vastí bukudi-bi?
As he himself was already old, who would begin to carry out her work, if he married off Maryam?
- f. *zəndəgiyə səddə, dur az riyá, mərdumgulzəni ham* Poor:158
xudəš xušbəxtiyə buzurg-idi.
A simple life, far from hypocrisy and deception, is already in itself a piece of great fortune.
- g. *na, fəyəť íta piče xúdəma bəd his kunəm.* Niece:14
No, I only feel a little unwell.

5.5.7 The Reciprocal-Reflective Pronoun

The reciprocal-reflective pronoun *hamdigər / hamdigár*: ‘one another’ has the same case forms and the prepositional-postpositional forms as nouns:

- (248) a. *hamišə hamdigərə-re kumák bid* Poor:140
They always helped each other.
- b. *muddəthá bu, ki Məryəm-ə Iskəndər míslə íta bərar* Poor:146
xaxur hamdigərə-amra gəb zəyidi, zəndəgi kudid(i).
Maryam and Iskander had already been living together for a long time and talked to each other as brother and sister.
- c. *jurát nə-kudid hamdigəra bigid* Poor:148
They did not dare to tell each other.
- d. *ama hamdigəri-re kâr kunimi*
We are working for each other.

5.5.8 Pronominal Combinations

Apart from pronouns proper, a great quantity of pronominal combinations of greater or lesser stability are also to be observed. The following are the most common thereof:

5. Morphology

5.5.8.1 Combination of Pronouns

hič čī ‘something’, ‘nothing’:

- (249) a. *ammā mən xayəm tərā ič čī bəgəm.* Poor:122
But I want to tell you something.
- b. *danəsti, az mən hič čī birun dərz nū-kune.* Traveler:41
He knew that I would not give away anything (lit. from me nothing would spread outside).
- c. *úya hič čī nə-na bihinid*
There is nothing there to buy.
- d. *zātəjəm nuxuni hič čī* Pool:19
You will not fall ill with pneumonia.

hič ki ‘nobody’:

- (250) a. *hič ki ni-ge: “či bukudi?”*
Nobody is saying, “What have you done?”
- b. *hič ki naye*
Nobody is coming.

hič kudám ‘nobody’ (from hič and the separate kudám ‘who’ which is not in use and borrowed from the Persian language):

- (251) *hič kudám az ušán nəhár nu-xuridi* Poor:362
Nobody is having dinner.

hamə čī ‘everything’:

- (252) a. *bad hamə čī durúst-a be* Pool:47
Then everything will turn out well.
- b. *gidi: “xob məyâzə-yə, hamə čī dare”* Greeting:12
They say, “It is a good shop; There is everything in it (lit. it has everything).”

har čī ‘everybody’, ‘whatever’, ‘everything that’:

- (253) a. *har čī bəgəm, kəm bugóftəm.* Birthday:20
Whatever I said, everything would be insufficient (lit. I said little).

- b. *har či bəxayəm, tu mi xâtérə-vasi bə jâ avəri?* Seashore:5
Will you carry out for me what I want?

- c. *har či be, bəba!* Pool:16
Come what may!

har kudám ‘both’:

- (254) *Iskəndár-u Məryəm har kudam šidi xušani jāsər, xusidi.* Poor:248
Iskander and Maryam both left to go to their homes and went to bed.

5.5.8.2 Combination of Pronouns with Nouns

har kəs ‘every (man)’; *hamə kəs* ‘everybody’, ‘every (man)’:

- (255) a. *har kəs dane Ráštə-miyán Səbzə-meydán kóya isə*
Everyone knows where Sabze-meidan is in Rasht.
- b. *dihâten ha gəbāna zeyidi, har kəs šon xu xānə.* Poor:325
The peasants spoke in this way [and] everybody departed [from them] for his own home.
- c. *a kára hamə kəs ná-tanəsti bukunə*
Not every man can carry out this job.
- d. *hamə kəs xušanə šəkayəta uya bəridi!”* Complaint:4
You know everybody goes [just] there to bring his complaints”
- e. *har kəs ita gušə nište bu.* Poor:363
Each one sat in his own corner.

hič kəs ‘somebody’, ‘nobody’:

- (256) a. *hič kəsi-re kār nu-kunəm, mí-re kār bukunəm*
I am not working for anybody; I am working for myself.
- b. *ame xānə hič kəs n-esə.* Seashore:31
There is nobody at home.
- c. *mən hič kəsə-re nugoftəm*
I did not speak to anybody.

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- d. *mən hič kəsə kitába unəsadəm*
I did not take anybody's book.

har já, hamó já 'everywhere', 'wherever':

- (257) a. *har já šói únə púštə-sər íta iddə kārəgər šóidi.* Traveler:66
Wherever he went a number of workers followed him.
- b. *har já kār séxt-ə purzahmót-ə, úya hun kār kune*
Wherever there is difficult, painful work, there he works in particular.
- c. *imruz dunyá-miyan hamó já zənəkan xušánə háyə-vasi* Who:34
ǰəm-a bidi.
Today, women are gathering everywhere in the world to fight for their rights.

har vəxt 'always', 'every time':

- (258) *ámmá har vəxt ábə-ǰa birun amóim, pərkəstim.* Pool:58
But whenever we come out of the water we began to shiver.

hič vəxt 'never':

- (259) *mən hič vəxt a kára nukudəm*
I never did this

The nominal stems *to*, *tor* and *ǰur*: 'manner', 'way' are used almost exclusively in combination with pronouns.

The main combinations are *čutó*, *čutór*, *ču-ǰur* (from the pronouns *či*, *čə* and the nouns *to*, *tor* and *ǰur*): 'how', 'what', 'in what way':

- (260) a. *ti a(h)vál čutor-ə?* Greeting:3
How are you?
- b. *čutor bubostə ki amára yád bu-kudi?* Niece:5
How did you come to remember us?
- c. *ti-amara ču-ǰur rəftár kune?* Niece:18
How does he treat you?
- d. *Məryám de az zoǰ na-nasti, čutó rá bəšə.* Poor:243
Maryam did not feel her feet beneath her for joy.

- e. *vəli xudət dini ki vəziyət čutó-yə* Poor:413
But you can see for yourself what the situation is.

ato ‘so’, ‘such’; *uto* ‘so’, ‘thus’; *a-ǵur*, *ha-ǵur* ‘thus’, ‘in that way’:

- (261) a. *Məryámə per ató-yə, utó-yə, mahsúl-u maləlǵarəya der* Poor:260
fade
Maryam’s father is a so-and-so, he withholds the harvest and the rent
- b. *ti sár-u surət čəre ato sórx-ə?”* Poor:338
Why is your face so red?”
- c. *šəyəd aslən ato nú-bu.* Poor:384
Perhaps this was not at all true.
- d. *mən ki uto núǵuftəm.* Poor:424
You know I did not say such a thing.
- e. *Məryámam ha ǵur fǵır kudi.* Poor:359
Maryam thought the same thing.

hato, more rarely *huto* (originally the emphatic versions of *ato*, *uto*): ‘so’, ‘thus’:

- (262) a. *hato bušu, tǵa úya farəsi*
Walk like this until you arrive there.
- b. *hato a kǵara kunəm ki hič kəs nədanə*
I shall do this deed so that nobody finds out.
- c. *inšǵalá ama ti arusí-re hato budo-budo bukunim* Poor:207
God willing, we shall also make merry at your wedding
- d. *hato ki dini, mǵn-am de pír-a bostən dərəm* Poor:124
As you can see, I am already growing old

The combination *hato ki*, formed from *hato*, appears in its temporal meaning: ‘when’, ‘as soon as’:

- (263) a. *hato ki mára bide, mi ǵulóya bigiftə və varərse* Complaint:2
As soon as she saw me, she blocked my way and asked

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- b. *hato ki juloxānə məşjədə šāya farəse, anə čum dəkəftə bə məşjad.* Story:3

When he had approached the front of the Shah's mosque, his glance fell on the mosque.

i-jūr, i-tór 'so', 'thus' (the component *i* appears with a demonstrative meaning, apparently under the influence of the Persian language):

- (264) a. *šurú kune bə gəryə kudən, ammə itór ki jəyəlán nə-famid.* Poor:327

He begins to cry, but so that the children do not notice

- b. *ijuri zəndəgiya guzəranəm.* Poor:117
That is how I live."

- c. *xob, zay, ame haməgí sərnəvištən ijur-ə.* Poor:119
All right child, fate is the same for all of us.

hamə-ju/or 'by every means':

- (265) *hamə-jur bayə mi sər bəlá*
Misfortune comes onto my head by every means.

a yədər, an yəzər, u yədər, un yədər 'so much', 'so';

- (266) a. *úya kār kudən a yədər (/un // u yədər) séxt-ə ki ...*
Working there is so hard that ...

- b. *kār ki nibe anyəzər dədār* News I:14
But the work cannot be so immense

čə yədər 'how much', 'how':

- (267) *a murdúm čə yədər purkār və šarāfətmənd-idi*
How these people are industrious and honest.

5.5.8.3 Combination of the Numeral *i*

The combination of the numeral *i* 'one' as the indefinite article with the pronoun *či*: *i či* 'something', 'a little' (it is sometimes contaminated with the combination *hič či*, which is concordant and close in meaning, as a result of which they have the forms *ič či*, see section 5.5.8.1 Combination of Pronouns):

- (268) *i-či nivisidi, fadidi Huséynə péra*
Then they wrote something and returned it to Hussein's father.

5.5.9 Adverbial Pronouns

5.5.9.1 Locative Adverbial Pronouns

Adverbial pronouns express a direction or a question having to do with place, time, cause, etc. *úya*, *húya*, *áya*, *háya*, *ára*, *úra*, *kóya*, *kóra* are among the adverbial pronouns with the meaning of place.

The pronouns *úya*, *húya* ‘there’, ‘thither’ and *áya*, *háya* ‘here’, ‘hither’, like the demonstrative pronouns *u*, *hu*, *a*, *ha*,¹⁵ are divided into the simple pronouns:

- (269) a. *úya* there
b. *áya* here

and the emphatic pronouns:

- (270) a. *huyá* just there, over there
b. *haya* just here, over here

All the demonstrative, adverbial pronouns are uninflected:

- (271) a. *áya* *áb júlǵ-ə* Pool:46
Here the water is deep.
- b. *kor Fâtəmə áya bíya!* Niece:7
Daughter Fatima, come here!
- c. *úya bəšəm, úya xunók-ə.* Niece:10
Let us go there; it is cool there.
- d. *u nəzdikí ita dukán nahá. úya nahár xorəm* Friends:18
Near (his office) there is one little shop. I have lunch there
- e. *xéyliya úya-ja birún bavərid*
They drove many out from there.
- f. *Akbór, háya-háya! xob jái-yə!* Story:22
Akbar, over here, over here! It is a good place!

¹⁵The pronouns *úya*, *húya*, *áya*, *háya* were originally the fixed forms of the accusative-dative case of the pronouns *u*, *hu*, *a*, *ha*.

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- g. *húya bušoidi*
They went just there.

Sometimes they are used with a temporal meaning:

- (272) *az háya Məryəm bā Iskəndər āšnā bidi.* Poor:137
From that time Maryam got to know Iskander.

The pronouns *ára*, ‘*hither*’, *úra*, ‘*thither*’ (from the combination of the demonstrative pronouns *a*, ‘*this*’ and *u*, ‘*that*’ with the noun *ra*: ‘*path*’, ‘*road*’) are uninflected. Usually, they are used in pairs:

- (273) a. *mən hič vəxt nukunəm ára-úra bəšəm* Friends:6
I cannot find time to go hither and thither at all
- b. *ára bəgərd, úra bəgərd* Seashore:14
Turn hither, turn thither

The pronoun *koya*¹⁶ ‘*where*’, ‘*whither*’ is also uninflected:

- (274) a. *kóya šuon dəri?* Pool:2
Where are you going?
- b. *šumā danidi, xānýə xālí kóya naha?* Seashore:27
Do you know where there is a free room?
- c. *kóya xayí biši?* Traveler:23
Where do you want to go?
- d. *tu az kóya dani?* Poor:223
How do you know?
- e. *Mullá Rəjəb (kedxudá) kəm-kəm bu bəre ki Məryəm sər bə kóya bənd-ə.* Poor:256
Mullah Rajab (the village elder) began to understand (lit. understands) a little where Maryam’s thoughts were directed (lit. where Maryam’s head was called).

The pronoun *kóra* (apparently formed by the combination of *ko*: ‘*which*’ and *ra*: ‘*way*’: ‘*which way*’, ‘*by which road*’, ‘*on which side*’ is used fairly rarely:

¹⁶Originally, apparently, this is the fixed form of the accusative case of the pronoun *ko* (see section 5.5.3.3).

(275) *kóra šim?*

Which way (/on which side) shall we go?

5.5.9.2 Temporal Adverbial Pronouns

The most widely used of the adverbial pronouns with the meaning of time are: *ása*, *hása*, *hamišó* and *aké*.

hása, *ása*: ‘immediately’, ‘now’:

(276) a. *mən hása té-re təmámə mi kára gəm* Friends:6
I shall now tell you about all my affairs

b. *hasa xaye təra xuš bayə, xaye bəd baye, an rāstə gəb-ə.*” Poor:241
Now whether you like it or not it is true.”

c. *mən tã hása tóra āšəkār nu-guftəm* Poor:405
I have not spoken to you openly until now

hamišó: ‘always’, ‘constantly’:

(277) a. *amé šahr hamišó vāróš vāre (/bāróš bare)* Friends:9
In our town it is always raining

b. *hamišó ušánə-ja ĵulo šoi*
He always went in front of them

c. *xu-re kākul bəna bu ki hamišó áni dímə-sər fubostí.* Poor:94
He let a forelock grow which continually came down onto his face.

aké: ‘when’:

(278) a. *ná-nəm, aké rəhá bəmə*
I do not know when I shall be freed.

b. *aké sinəmə šim(i)?*
When shall we go to the cinema?

c. *tu úya ake bušoi?*
When did you go there?

In addition, the following lexicalized word combinations are used with a temporal meaning: *a-vəxtə-yədər*: ‘hitherto’, ‘until now’ and *ha-vəxtə-yədər* ‘how long’, ‘until when’:

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- (279) a. *a vəxtə-γədər hizār vār bamo bum* Greeting:21
I would have come a thousand times
- b. *ha-vəxtə-γədər tu a kára təmám-a kuni?*
When will you finish this work?

The most common interrogative pronoun with the meaning of cause – *čére*, *čire*¹⁷ (more rarely *čóre* in the emphasized, perfect style of speaking): ‘*why*’, ‘*what for*’, is uninflected:

- (280) a. *čire nigā kuni?”* Poor:236
Why are you looking at me?”
- b. *pəs čire ní-gi?”* Poor:232
Then why do you not say?”
- c. *mən xarbəzə na-tanəm buxurəm. či-re?* Niece:12
I cannot eat the melon. Why not?
- d. *ay per, tu mi náma čire vapursi?* Poor:99
Father, why are you asking me what my name is?
- e. *mi zay namo če-re?* News II:5
Why has my son not come?
- f. *tu čere sursát-u bədəhíyə parsalá fá-n-dəyi? ... čere imsál* Poor:62
múryə kəbáb-ə lākú, sir-u piyáza arbábə-re der
bəbərđi?
Why are you not paying the landowner the previous year’s duty in-kind and the arrears, ... why this year, have you withheld from the landlord the duty in-kind in the form of roast chickens, rice cakes and vegetables (lit. of onions and of garlic).

5.5.10 Numeral Pronouns

Numeral pronouns express an indication of number (‘*so much*’, ‘*as much*’, ‘*several*’, etc.) or a question about number (‘*how much?*’, ‘*how much!*’, etc.).

The pronoun *čən*, *čan(d)* when used in an interrogative sentence means ‘*how much*’ and in an affirmative sentence has the indefinite meaning ‘*several*’. It may be combined with numerals:

¹⁷The fixed combination of the pronoun *či* with the postposition *-re* (see the applicable paragraph in section 5.5.3 Interrogative-Relative Pronouns).

- (281) a. *čand ĵur yâtoy bəpəxtə bid.* Birthday:17
Several types of seasoning were prepared.
- b. *čən sâl-ə ki Rášta ní-de.* Traveler:6
It was already several years since he had seen Rasht.
- c. *čən sâl dari?*
How old are you?
- d. *čənta zay dari?*
How many children do you have?
- e. *čand fadi, unə čəkməya tara fadəm?"* Story:17
How much will you give me if I give you his boots?"

The pronominal combinations *a yədər*, *an yəzər*, *u yədər* and *un yədər* are used with the demonstrative meaning: ‘so much’, ‘so’

- (282) a. *ma'dəné-miyán kâr kudən a yədər (//un // u yədər) səxt-ə ki ...*
Working in the mine is so hard that ...
- b. *kâr ki nibe anyəzər dədār* News I:14
But the work cannot be so immense

The pronominal combination *čə yədər* in interrogative sentences or in exclamations means ‘how much’, ‘how’:

- (283) *a murdúm čə yədər purkâr ... və šərâfətmənd-idi*
How industrious ... and honest these people are.

The combination of the numeral *i* ‘one’ as the indefinite article with the pronoun *či*:

i či: ‘something’, ‘a little’ (it is sometimes contaminated with the combination *hič či*, which is consonant and close in meaning, as a result of which there are the forms *ič* and *či* – see section 5.5.8.3 Combination of the Numeral *i*:

- (284) *i-či nivisidi, fadidi Huséynə péra*
Then they wrote something and returned it to Hussein’s father.

5.6 The Verb

5.6.1 The Stems of Prototypical Verbs

As in many other Iranian languages every verb has two stems: the present stem and the past stem. The first of them is used for the formation of the forms of the present-future tense, the imperative mood and the aorist. The second is used for the formation of the forms of the past tense, the participle and the infinitive.

There are two types of verbal stems of the past tense:

1. Those ending in the consonant **d** or **t** (as in the Persian language): **xand-** is the past stem of the verb **xandən**: ‘to read’; **kud-** is the past stem of the verb **kudən**: ‘to make’; **gift-** is the past stem of the verb **giftən**: ‘to take’, etc.;
2. Those ending in the vowel **e** or, more rarely, **a**: **de-** is the past stem of the verb **deen**: ‘to see’; **ze-** is the past stem of the verb **zeen**: ‘to beat’; **rəse-** is the past stem of the verb **rəsen**: ‘to reach’; **iškəne-** is the past stem of the verb **iškənen**: ‘to break’; **isa-** is the past stem of the verb **isan**: ‘to stand’, etc.

There are the following correlations between past and present stems:

1. Verbs whose past stem is a derivative of the present stem, without any supplementary phonetic changes, with the addition of:
 - a. The suffix **-e** (productive): **kəš-**; **kəše-** (infinitive **kəšen**): ‘to drag’, ‘to pull’; **rəs-**; **rəse-** (infinitive **rəsen**): ‘to reach’; **tərs-**; **tərse-** (infinitive **tərsen**): ‘to be afraid’; **vavərs-**; **vavərse** (infinitive **vavərsen**): ‘to ask’
 - b. The suffix **-d** (unproductive): **bər-**; **bərd-** (infinitive **bərdən**): ‘to carry’, ‘to take away’; **avər-**; **avərd-** (infinitive **avərdən**): ‘to bring’; **xan-**; **xand-** (infinitive **xandən**): ‘to read’; the same with the changing of the vowel in the stem: **mir-**; **murd-** // **mərd-** (infinitive **murdən** // **mərdən**): ‘to die’
 - c. The suffix **-t** (unproductive): **kəf-**; **kəft-** (infinitive **kəftən**): ‘to fall’; **iškəf-**; **iškəft-** (infinitive **iškəftən**): ‘to break’; **kuš-**; **kušt-** (infinitive **kuštən**): ‘to kill’
 - d. The suffix **-əst** (unproductive): **dan-**; **danəst-** (infinitive **danəstən**): ‘to know’; **gərd-**; **gərdəst-** (infinitive **gərdəstən**): ‘to revolve’, ‘to go’, ‘to wander’; **fəndər-**; **fəndərəst-** (infinitive **fəndərəstən**): ‘to look’; **futurk-**; **futurkəst-** (infinitive **futurkəstən**): ‘to fall’

- e. The suffix **-a** (unproductive): **is-**; **isa-** (infinitive **isan**): ‘to stand’; **tavəd-**; **tavəda-** (infinitive **tavədan**): ‘to break’
2. Verbs whose stems of the present and past tenses while differing significantly from each other still show regular correspondences between their final consonants (in past stem it is the consonant preceding the historically suffix **-t**) which are as follows:
- a. **z-š**: **viriz-**; **virišť-** (infinitive **virišťan**): ‘to lift’
 - b. **s-š**: **nivis-**; **nivišť-** (infinitive **nivišťan**): ‘to write’
 - c. **r-š**: **dar-**; **dašť-** (infinitive **dašťan**): ‘to have’; **guzər-**; **guzəšť-** (infinitive **guzəšťan**): ‘to pass’
 - d. **r-s**: **šor-**; **šost-** (infinitive **šostan**): ‘to wash’
 - e. **y-s**: **xay-**; **xast-** (infinitive **xastan**): ‘to want’
 - f. **d-s**: **dəbəd-**; **dəbəšť-** (infinitive **dəbəšťan**): ‘to tie’, ‘to bind’
 - g. **s-x**: **šənas-**; **šənaxť-** (infinitive **šənaxťan**): ‘to know (about a man)’; ‘to be familiar’
 - h. **ǰ-x**: **soǰ-**; **soxt-** (infinitive **soxtan**): ‘to be burnt down’
 - i. **r-f**: **gir-**; **gift-** (infinitive **giftan**): ‘to take’
 - j. **s-f**: **xus-**; **xuft-** (infinitive **xuftan**): ‘to sleep’, ‘to lie’

Apart from these there are some verbs of which:

1. The present stem ends in the nasal consonant **n** and the past stem ends in the vowel **e**: **din-**; **de-** (infinitive **deen**): ‘to see’; **zən-**; **ze-** (infinitive **zeen**): ‘to beat’; **hin-**; **he-** (infinitive **heen**): ‘to take’, ‘to buy’, **vavin-**; **vave** (infinitive **vaven**): ‘to cut’
2. The present stem ends in **n** and the past stem ends in **d**: **kun-**; **kud-** (infinitive **kudən**): ‘to make’; **duxan-**; **duxad-** (infinitive **duxadən**): ‘to call’
3. The present stem ends in **h** (in rapid pronunciation it and the previous vowel are often deleted) and the past stem ends in **a**: **d(eh)-** // **d(ih)-**; **da-** (infinitive **daan**): ‘to give’; **nəh-**; **na-** (infinitive **naan**): ‘to put’

The verbs **šoon**: ‘to go’ (stems **šu-**; **šo-**), **amon**: ‘to arrive’ (stems **a-**; **amo-**); **goftən** // **guftən**: ‘to say’ (stems **gu-**; **goft-**) stand by themselves.

The most productive way to form past stems is by joining the suffix **-e** to the present stem: **tərs-**; **tarse-** (infinitive **tərsen** // **tarsen**): ‘to be afraid’; **rəs-**; **rəse-** (infinitive **rəsen**): ‘to reach’. The stems of the past tenses of derived causative (or transitive) verbs are formed, in particular, according to this model: **fahman-**; **fahmane-** (infinitive **fahmanen**): ‘to explain’, etc.

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5.6.2 Personal Endings

There are three types of personal endings:

1. Endings used when forming forms of the present-future tense:

Table 8. *Present-Future Verb Endings*

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-əm	-im(i)
2nd Person	-i	-id(i)
3rd Person	-e	-id(i)

2. The endings used when forming the aorist and the past neutral tense (they are different from the first type only in the third person singular):

Table 9. *Aorist and Past Neutral Verb Endings*

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-əm	-im(i)
2nd Person	-i	-id(i)
3rd Person	-ə	-id(i)

3. The endings used when forming the past continuous tense (they are different from the first and second types in the first and third persons singular):

Table 10. *Past Continuous Verb Endings*

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-im(i)	-im(i)
2nd Person	-i	-id(i)
3rd Person	-i	-id(i)

5.6.3 Verb Derivation Prefixes

The common verbal, derivational prefixes are the following:

1. **də-//du-//di-** indicates:

a. Movement inwards, into the middle:

- (285) a. **dukudən** to put on
 b. **dəkəftən** to hit, to fall

b. The general direction of action (without concrete definition):

- (286) a. **dəgadən** to throw
 b. **dəkəlastən** to fall in
 c. **dəbəstən** to tie together, to bind
 d. **duxadən** to call

c. Sometimes the location within:

- (287) **dubun** to be found

The use of one or another of the three above mentioned, phonetic variants of prefixes (**də-**, **du-** or **di-**) partially depends on the nature of the first vowel in the stem. The prefix **də-** is joined to the stems having **a**, **ə** as the first vowel:

- (288) a. **dəkəftən** to hit, to fall
 b. **dəgadən** to throw

The prefix **du-** is joined to the stems with the vowels **u**, **a**:

- (289) a. **dukudən** to put on
 b. **duxadən** to call

2. **fa-** indicates the directedness of the action -- the accomplishment of a goal:

- (290) a. **farəsen** to reach
 b. **fagiftən** to receive
 c. **fadan** to give
 d. **fanderəsten** to look

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Sometimes it indicates movement from within:

(291) *fakəʃən* to take out

3. *fu-* could be considered as a phonetic variant of the prefix *fa-*, insomuch as it is only encountered with verbs having *u* or *o* in the stem, but it has another meaning of indicating movement downwards:

- (292) a. *fukudən* to drop, to throw down, to pour from *kudən*: 'to make'
b. *fubostən* to come out, to fall (of hair) from *bostən*: 'to become', 'to get'
//*fuvostən*
c. *futurkəstən* to attack

4. *va-* indicates:

a. Movement back or backwards:

(293) *vagərdəstən* to return from *gərdəstən*: 'to revolve', 'to go'

b. The repetition of the action:

- (294) a. *vaməxtən* to search, to seek
b. *vakəftən* to stick

c. Movement away to one side:

(295) *vakudən* to open from *kudən*: 'to make'

(296) *vavostən* to open, to come to light from *bostən*: 'to become', 'to get'

(297) *vatərkərstən* to tear, to be torn off

(298) *vaven* to cut, to cut off

In some verbs the prefix's own meaning is not obvious:

(299) *vavərsen* to ask

5.6.3.1 The Verbal Form-Building Prefix **bə-**

In isolated instances the following prefixes are to be observed:

- (300) a. **ta-** tavədan to fall
b. **ča-** čakudən to prepare
c. **u-** usadən to raise

The peculiarity of prefixed verbs is the fact that:

1. In the aorist and the past neutral tense they do not take the form-building prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-**; compare

- (301) a. **usadə** he/she raised
b. **duxadə** he/she called

with

- (302) a. **bubostə** it became
b. **bigiftə** he/she took

2. The negative particle is placed not at the beginning, but between the prefix and the main verb:

- (303) a. **u-nə-sadəm** I did not raise
b. **fa-nə-kəšəm** I am not taking out
c. **va-nə-vərsəm** I am not asking

5.6.3.1 The Verbal Form-Building Prefix **bə-**

In the Gilaki language there is one form-building prefix used in three phonetic variants – **bə-//bi-//bu-**. It is used for the formation of the forms of the imperative mood, the aorist, the past neutral tense and the pluperfect tense. The choice of one of the three phonetic variants of the prefix or another depends on the first vowel in the stem of the verb.

When the vowel **ə**, **a** are present in the stem, **bə-** is used, when the vowel **i** is present, **bi-** is used and when **u**, **o** are present, **bu-** is used:

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- (304) a. *bəkəš* drag!, pull!
b. *bəxandəm* I read (past tense)
c. *bihin* buy!
d. *bigiftə* he/she took
e. *bugu* say!
f. *bukudi* you made
g. *bugoftəm* I said

The breaking of this rule is to be observed only in the text compiled by Nasirani¹⁸ where the prefix *bə-* is encountered (although not systematically) even before verbs having the vowels *u*, *o* in the stems (*bəkudəm*: ‘I made’; *bəgoftə*: ‘he said’).

In the cases of the joining of the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* to verbs beginning with *a* (*amon*: ‘to come’, *avərdən*: ‘to bring’), the vowel sound of the prefix is deleted:

- (305) a. *bayəm* < *bə* + *ayəm* if I come
b. *bavər* bring!

If this prefix is joined to verbs beginning with *i* sound contraction occurs. The sounds *ə* and *i* are replaced by the one vowel *e*:

- (306) *besid* < *bə* + *isid* stop!, cease!

The prefixal verbs (*dukudən*: ‘to put on’; *vavərsen*: ‘to ask’; *fadan*: ‘to give’, etc.) do not take the form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* (see previous section). This prefix is not used in negative forms of the verb either (see previous section).

5.6.4 The Negative Particle

Negation with the verb is expressed by the prepositive particle represented by three main, phonetic variants: *nə-//ni-//nu-*.

The choice of the variants depends on the nature of the first vowel in the stem of the verb.

When the vowels *ə*, *a* are present in the stem of the verb, the variant *nə-* is used, when *i*, *e*, are present, the variant *ni-* is used, when *u*, *o* are present, the variant *nu-* is used:

¹⁸See text 18 in appendix A.

- (307) a. *nə-kəfe* he/she will not fall
 b. *nə-tanəstəm* I could not
 c. *ni-gi* (you) do not say
 d. *ni-dem* I did not see
 e. *ni-be* (he/she) will not be
 f. *nu-kune* (he/she) does not
 g. *nu-bu* he/she was not
 h. *nu-bosti* he/she did not become
 i. *nu-šoyi* he/she did not go

The variant *ni-* is also used with verbs beginning with the consonant *y*:

- (308) *ni-yaftə* he/she did not find

In the remaining cases the breaking of this rule is possible. The particle *nə-* is used with verbs with any vowel in the stem:¹⁹

- (309) a. *nə-kunəm* I do not make
 b. *nə-gifti* he/she did not take

When joined to verbs beginning with the vowel *a* the negative particle loses its final vowel *ə*:

- (310) a. *n-aye* < *nə- + aye* does not come
 b. *n-avəre* < *nə + avəre* does not bring

In verbs beginning with *i*, as a result of contraction, the combination of the vowels *ə + i* are replaced by the one vowel *e*:

- (311) *nesa bu* < *nə- + isa bu* (he) did not stand

In prefixal verbs the negative particle is located between the prefix and the main verb:

- (312) a. *də-nə-kəfəm* I am not hitting
 b. *va-nə-vərsəm* I am not asking
 c. *fu-nu-kunəm* I shall not drop

¹⁹This phenomenon is observed by us only in the text written by Nasirani (see text 18 in Appendix A).

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In some prefixal verbs the transposition of the vowel in the negative particle (with its assimilation to the prefix vowel) occurs:

- (313) a. *fa-ān-de* he/she does not give
b. *ča-an-kudə* he/she has not prepared
c. *u-un-sənəm* (//*u-nə-sənəm*) I am not taking

In the verbs *daštən*: ‘to have’, *danəstən*: ‘to know’ the negative particle replaces the initial syllable *da*:

- (314) a. *daštīm* I had
b. *nə-štīm* I did not have
c. *darəm* I have
d. *nə-rəm* I do not have
e. *danəm* I know
f. *nə-nəm* I do not know
g. *danəsti* he/she knew
h. *nə-nəsti* he/she did not know

The addition to the negative particle in the aorist, the imperative mood, the past neutral tense and the pluperfect tense, the form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* is lost:

- (315) a. *bugu* say!
b. *nú-gu* do not say!
c. *bugoftə* he/she said
d. *nú-goftə* he/she did not say
e. *bətanəstə* he/she could
f. *nə-tanəstə* he/she could not
g. *bigiftə bid* they had taken
h. *ní-giftə bid* they had not taken

5.6.5 Causative Verbs

With the help of the suffix *-an* joined to the verbal present stem, what are known as the ‘causative’ verbs are formed: *rəsanen* (its stems are *rəsan-*: *rəsane-*): ‘to supply’, from *rəsen* (present stem *rəs-*): ‘to reach’; *tərsanen* (stems *tərsan-*: *tərsane-*): ‘to frighten’, from *tərsen* (present stem *tərs-*: *tars-*): ‘to be afraid’, etc.

The term ‘causative’ here is applied due to tradition. Conventionally only those (not very numerous) which are derivations of transitive verbs obtain a causative meaning, for example: **fahmanen**: ‘to explain’ (‘to force to understand’), from **fahmæstən** (present stem **fahm-**): ‘to understand’. The rest, that is those formed from intransitive verbs, do not, strictly speaking, have a causative meaning but a transitive meaning: **vagərdanen**: ‘to turn back’, from **vagərdæstən** (present stem **vagərd-**): ‘to return’ (reflexive); **tərsanen**: ‘to frighten’, from **tərsen** (present stem **tərs-**): ‘to be afraid’; **guzəranen**: ‘to accompany’, from **guzəštən** (present stem **guzər-**): ‘to walk’, etc.

The total number of causative verbs in the Gilaki language is not very great.

5.6.6 Compound Verbs

In the Gilaki language as in the majority of other Iranian languages there is a small number of simple verbs, including the prototypical verbs. The prefixal and suffixal word formation of verbs, as we have seen, is also poorly developed. This deficiency is made up for by means of compound formations consisting of a noun or an adjective and a verb:

- [illegible]

In accordance with the tradition established in Iranistic literature we shall call them compound verbs.

The verbs that are most often used as a second (verbal) component in such combinations are the following:

- (317) a. kudən to make
b. bostən to become, to grow
c. boon to become, to grow

In most cases **kudən** will form transitive verbs and **bostən** will form intransitive verbs:

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- (318) a. *šuru kudən* to begin (transitive) *šuru*: beginning
 b. *šuru bostən* to begin (reflexive)
 c. *intəxâb kudən* to choose *intəxâb*: choice
 d. *intəxâb bostən* to be chosen
 e. *jam kudən* to collect *jam*: collection, gathering
 f. *jam bostən* to gather together

However, besides this, some compound verbs with an intransitive meaning may also be formed with the help of the verb *kudən* ‘to make’:

- (319) a. *zəndəgi kudən* to live *zəndəgi*: life
 b. *gərdəš kudən* to go for a walk, to stroll *gərdəš*: walk (noun)
 c. *šəną kudən* to swim *šəną*: swimming
 d. *mubarəzə kudən* to fight *mubarəzə*: struggle
 e. *yəx kudən* to freeze *yəx*: ice

Besides *kudən*: ‘to make’, *bostən*: ‘to become’, ‘to grow’, *boon*: ‘to become’, ‘to grow’ the following verbs may also be involved in the formation of compound verbs:

Table 11. *Other Verbs in Compound Verb Formation*

	Verb	Verb Gloss	Non-verbal Element	Element Gloss
1.	<i>amon (a-)</i> ²⁰	to come on foot, to come by transport		
	<i>piš amon</i>	to appear	<i>piš</i>	front
2.	<i>avərdən (avər-)</i>	to fetch, to bring, to lead		
	<i>dəvâm</i>	to continue	<i>dəvâm</i>	continuation
	<i>avərdən</i>			
	<i>ru avərdən</i>	to address	<i>ru</i>	face
	<i>tâyət avərdən</i>	to suffer	<i>tâyət</i>	patience
3.	<i>bərdən (bər-)</i>	to carry away, to drive away, to take away		

²⁰The present stem is given here in parentheses.

	Verb	Verb Gloss	Non-verbal Element	Element Gloss
4.	bu bərdən	to guess	bu	smell
	piš bərdən	to accomplish	piš	front
	daan (dəh- // dih-)	to give		
5.	nišan daan	to show	nišan	sign
	təškil daan	to organize	təškil	organization
	jeváb daan	to answer	jeváb	answer
	daštən (dar-)	to have		
	dust daštən	to love	dust	friend
6.	bávər daštən	to believe	bávər	trust
	xəbər daštən	to be informed about, to know	xəbər	news
	dəgadən (dəgan-)	to throw		
7.	rā dəgadən	to raise, to lift (of a cry, a noise or rumours)	rā	road
	dəkəftən (dəkəf-)	to fall (into some condition, state)		
8.	rā dəkəftən	to set off on a journey	rā	road
	giftən (gir-)	to take		
9.	bālā giftən	to gain the upper hand	bālā	top
	kəšen (kəš-)	to drag, to pull		
10.	tul kəšen	to continue	tul	extent, continuation
	jiy kəšen	to shout	jiy	shout (used as an individual word)
11.	xurdən (xur-)	to eat, to take food		
	təkan xurdən	to start (with surprise)	təkan	start (noun)
	šəkəst xurdən	to suffer defeat	šəkəst	defeat
11.	yuti xurdən	to sink	yuti	immersion
	zeen (zən-)	to beat, to strike		
	gəb zeen	to speak	gəb	word
11.	gul zeen	to make a fool of, deceive	gul	deception, mistake

5. Morphology

Besides single nouns and adjectives, in a number of cases the combinations of a noun with a preposition also can be in the first part of the compound verb:

- (320) *be jā avərdən* to fulfill *jā*: place, *bə*: a preposition indicating the direction of the action
- bə dəst avərdən* to capture, to appropriate *dəst*: hand
- az dəst daan* to let (something) slip through one's hands, to lose

5.6.6.1 The Separable Particle -a, Attached to the Non-Verbal Elements in Compound Verbs

In compound verbs the form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-*, used for the formation of the forms of the imperative mood, the aorist, the past neutral tense and the pluperfect tense, may be replaced by the separable particle *-a* which is joined to the nominal part of the compound verb:

- (321) a. *yāli pān-a kun!* (*//pa(h)n bukun*) Niece:9
Spread the carpet!
- b. *hič nə-tanəm təra fəramuš-a kunəm* (*//fəramuš bukunəm*) Poor:24
By no means can I forget you.
- c. *mi dil xunək-a bostə* (*//xunək bubostə*) Conver:12
My heart has been set at rest
- d. *xudəš ki pír-a bostə bu* (*//pír bubostə bu*) Poor:67
As he himself was already old

Apparently, by analogy with these forms, the particle *-a* attached to verbs is sometimes observed in compound verbs, even in those forms where there should not be the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-*, namely:

1. With the infinitive:

- (322) *vəli bad dine de nə-ša gayəm-a kudən.* Poor:340
But then he sees that it is impossible to hide it any longer.

2. In the present-future tense:

- (323) *šəb-əm mi kār təmām-a nibe.* Friends:26
My work is not finished even in the evening.

3. In the past continuous tense:

- (324) *Məryəm avvəl-avvələn jəvəb nədayi sūrx-a bostí mislə* Poor:83
ālaparčə.

At first Maryam did not answer and blushed like red calico.

In these cases the meaning of the forms does not change.

5.6.7 Modal Verbs

In the Gilaki language there is a whole series of modal, defective verbs having no paradigm and being similar to modal particles. Since they require the presence of certain verbal forms after them and therefore play an important role in their syntactic use, we feel it necessary to speak about them now before we consider the conjugation of the verb. They include:

1. *ba* // *va* (evidently from *bayəd*): ‘it is necessary’, ‘one should’, with the negation *nə-ba* // *nə-va*;

- (325) a. *kóya va bəšəm?* Complaint:2
 Where must I go?

- b. *zud bāš maa-tal náva bostən!* Pool:28
 Hurry up, do not be slow!

2. *vasti* // *vasi* (probably from *bāyisti*): ‘it is necessary’, ‘it was necessary’, ‘one should’;

- (326) a. *a jur vasti rúzi hašt sāt kār bukunid*
 Thus they had to work eight hours a day

- b. *māšin nə-na, piyādə vasi bišid*
 There are no cars; we must go on foot

- c. *anəm vasi bəgəm ki ...*
 I should also say that ...

3. *ša* (probably from *šāyəd*): ‘perhaps’, ‘it is possible’, ‘one can’, with the negative it is *nə-ša*: ‘it cannot be’, ‘it is impossible’:

- (327) a. *a šá(h)ra ša goftən ki šá(h)rə kārəgəri*
 It would be possible to say about this town that it is a working town
 (that is: ‘a town of workers’)

5. Morphology

- b. *nə-šə úni nâma dər nan* Poor:15
It cannot even be called a door.

4. *šasti* (probably from *šâyisti*): ‘perhaps’, ‘it is possible’, ‘one could’

- (328) *âb čičal bu. únə ša (/šasti) tåyət avərdən.* Pool:56
The water was lukewarm. It could be endured.

In the remaining cases (perhaps under the influence of the Persian language) the verbs: *bayəd*: ‘it is necessary’, ‘one should’, ‘it must be’; *šâyəd*: ‘perhaps’, ‘it is possible’, ‘one can’ are also used:

- (329) a. *ušani arusi-re hato mærdum bayəd xuši bukunid.”* Poor:186
At their wedding people must be happy in the same way.
- b. *šâyəd xəjälət kəšeyidi* Poor:149
Perhaps they were ashamed.

5.6.8 The Predicative Copula and the Defective Verbs of State

5.6.8.1 The Predicative Copula

The predicative copula, which only has a form in the present tense, is part of the set of defective verbs.

(330)		Singular	Plural
	1st Person	-əm	-im
	2nd Person	-i	-idi
	3rd Person	-ə	-idi

With the negative particle:

(331)		Singular	Plural
	1st Person	ní-yəm	ní-yim
	2nd Person	ní-yi	ní-yidi
	3rd Person	ní-yə	ní-yidi

In the positive form the predicative copula is usually pronounced together with the previous word and it does not take stress, that is to say it acts as an enclitic:

- (332) a. *tå úya se kilumetr rá-yə*
It is a three kilometre journey from his house.
- b. *mən kí-yəm* Traveler:24
Who am I?
- c. *tu năxúš-i?* Niece:13
Are you ill?

In the negative form it is pronounced separately from the previous word and the stress falls on the negative particle:

- (333) a. *xiyăbân isfălt ní-yə.* Friends:11
The street is not paved.
- b. *zakan čutor-idi? bəd níyidi.* Conver:20
How are the children? Not bad.

There is also the full form of the predicative copula (not the enclitic form):

(334)

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	<i>isəm</i>	<i>isimi</i>
2nd Person	<i>isi</i>	<i>isidi</i>
3rd Person	<i>isə</i>	<i>isidi</i>

Here is an example of its use:

- (335) *a məyâzə či məyâzə isə?* Greeting:11
What sort of shop is it?

In the third person singular the full form of the copula (*isə*) is also used with the meaning ‘there is’ and with the negative *nisə* // *nesə*: ‘there is no’, ‘there is not’:

- (336) *ame xănə hič kəs n-esə.* Seashore:31
There is nobody at home.

5.6.8.2 The Defective Verb of State

The verb ‘to be’, ‘there is’ is also a defective verb, with the present stem *dər-* (there is no infinitive), which is used as an auxiliary when forming the present definite and past definite tenses. Let us look at the paradigm of its conjugation.

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(337) Present Tense

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	dərəm	dərim
2nd Person	dəri	dərid
3rd Person	dərə	dərid

(338) Past Tense

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	dərə bum	dərə bim
2nd Person	dərə bi	dərə bid
3rd Person	dərə bu	dərə bid

As an independent word this verb is only encountered in the form of the first person singular of its present tense **dərə**: ‘there is’;

- (339) **mizə-ru duta kitāb dərə**
On the table there are two books.

5.6.9 Non-Finite Verb Forms

5.6.9.1 The Infinitive

The infinitive is formed from the verbal past stem with the help of the ending **-ən // -an // -en // -on**:

- (340) a. **kudən** to make
b. **danəstən** to know
c. **goftən** to say
d. **daan** to give
e. **zeen** to beat
f. **deen** to see
g. **buon** to be

In verbs of the type **daan**, **zeen**, etc. where there is a cluster of two vowels, a contraction occurs in quick and fluent speech: **dan** < **daan**; ‘to give’; **zen** < **zeen**; ‘to beat’, **bun** < **buon**: ‘to be’, etc.

In its meaning the infinitive is also simultaneously a noun of action: *danəstən*: ‘to know’ and ‘knowing’; *deen*: ‘to see’ and ‘seeing’, etc. In accordance with this, even from a grammatical point of view, it combines in itself nominal and verbal characteristics. It may, for example, take the “Ezafe” enclitic like a noun and at the same time have the direct object of action attached to it like a verb:

- (341) a. *məšyulə taayi kudən, durust kudənə šəm-u yəzā bid* Poor:172
They were occupied with the preparation of supper

- b. *nə-šə úni nāma dər nan* Poor:15
It cannot even be called a door

The syntactic functions of the infinitive in the sentence are varied. It may appear as:

1. A subject:

- (342) *maadənə-miyan kār kudən xéyli muškil-ə*
Working in the mine is very hard

2. A direct object:

- (343) *šenā kudən dani?* Boat:8
Can you swim? (lit. Do you know swimming?)

In particular when attached to verbs designating a beginning or the start of an action of the type *šuru kudən*: ‘to begin’, *bənā kudən*: ‘to start’, ‘to begin’;

- (344) a. *Aməd šuru bukudə kir-kir xandə kudən.* Pool:50
Ahmed began to laugh loudly.

- b. *ašan və žandārmān bənā bukudidi kārəgərāna aziyyət-u āzār kudən*
They and the gendarmes began to oppress and offend the workers
in every possible way.

3. An attribute:

- (345) *per ham fikrə murdən nāšti.* Liar:4
But his father was not even thinking of dying.

4. An adverbial modifier (with the postposition *re*) of purpose:

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- (346) *Huseyn zud bətanəstə xušanə huyúya bədanə və ušanə fagiftənə-re mubarəzə bukunə*
Hussein could soon find out their rights and begin to fight for their realization

The infinitive is also used with the modal verbs: *ba // va*: ‘it is necessary’, ‘one should’, ‘it must be’; *vasti // vasi*: ‘it is necessary’, ‘it was necessary’; *ša*: ‘perhaps’, ‘one may’; *tanəstən*: ‘to be able’, etc.:

- (347) a. *zud bāš! matəl nə-va bostən* Pool:28
Hurry up, do not be slow!
- b. *ašanə-amra vasti mubarəzə kudən.* Who:20
We must fight them.
- c. *bi tu de mən nə-tanəm kudəm zəndəgāni, jān-jānə Məryəm!”* Poor:374
I can no longer live without you, dear Maryam.”

The infinitive is part of several descriptive verbal forms (the present definite tense, the past definite tense and the future tense). See sections 5.6.10.3.2 The Present Definite Tense, 5.6.10.3.6 The Past Definite Tense and 5.6.10.3.3 The Future Categorical Tense respectively.

5.6.9.2 The Participle and the Gerund

The past participle is formed from the past stem with the help of the suffix *-ə* (sometimes with the addition of the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-*): *guzəštə*: ‘past’, *bəškəstə*: ‘broken’, etc. In stems ending in a vowel the ending *-ə* is absent: *de*: ‘seen’ The participle is used chiefly as a component of the descriptive, verbal forms (the pluperfect tense and the subjunctive past tense). It is rarely used on its own (without descriptive forms). In our materials in particular, only two examples are cited where this participle plays an attributive role (with a passive meaning):

- (348) a. *íta bəškəstə səmavər* Poor:16
A broken samovar
- b. *Məryəmə pér-am bā hālə giriftə,²¹ yəmgin aye xānə.* Poor:326
Maryam’s father arrives home depressed and sad.

In isolated cases the use of this form as a gerund (with an active meaning)

²¹The expression *bā hālə giriftə* apparently is borrowed from the Persian language (in Gilaki it would be *giftə*).

is also recorded:

- (349) a. *az ašan guzəštə, ti asli nāma bugu.* Poor:104
Stop it (after having forgotten it); tell me your real name.

- b. *u šəb əbkəšpələ, čən jür xuruš az fusənjen-u yeymə,* Poor:174
múryə kəbāb giriftə tā burāni-vu turšə tərə arúsə xānə
taayi kunidi.
That evening, in the bride's house, they prepared pilau and various dishes, beginning with roast duck and meat stuffing, roast chicken and including burani²² and marinade.

The present participle is recorded with the ending *-əndə* added to the present stem. It is encountered rarely, and in the majority of cases it is nominalized: *āyəndə*: 'arriving', 'coming', 'future';

- (350) *āyəndəyə yəšəng-u xuš* Poor:358
an excellent, pleasant future

In a few examples the gerund of the present tense, formed from the present stem with the help of the suffix *-ān*, is found: *xəndə kunān*; 'laughing'; *rəxs kunān*; 'dancing'. Examples in phrases:

- (351) a. *rəxs kunān rā dəkəfidi dāmādə xānə.* Poor:195
Dancing, they set out on the journey to the bridegroom's house.
- b. *Məryəm xəndə kunān aye xu pérə-virja* Poor:331
Laughing, Maryam approaches her father

5.6.10 Finite Verb Forms

5.6.10.1 Introductory Remarks

The personal forms of the verb in the Gilaki language are divided into two types from the point of view of their structure: simple and complex/descriptive.

The simple forms are formed directly from the verbal stems with the addition of the personal endings and the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* or only the personal endings. The imperative mood, the aorist (the present-future tense of the subjunctive mood), the present-future tense, the past neutral tense and the past continuous tense of the indicative mood are of this type.

The complex/descriptive forms of the verb usually consist of the main verb in the form of the past participle or the infinitive and one of the auxiliary verbs.

²² A kind of dish prepared from spinach or pumpkin and seasoned with fermented, baked milk.

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The following verbs are used as auxiliary verbs:

- (352) a. **buon** to be
b. **bostən** to become, to grow
c. **xastən** to want
d. **dubon** to be situated, to be

and the defective verb with the meaning ‘to be situated’ (not having an infinitive):

- (353) a. **dərəm** I am situated
b. **dəri** you are situated
c. **dərə** he/she is situated
d. ...

See section 5.6.8.2 The Defective Verb of State.

The pluperfect tense, the present definite tense, the past definite tense and the future-categoric tense of the indicative mood as well as the past tense of the subjunctive mood belong to the set of complex or descriptive forms of the verb.

In the Gilaki language there are three moods – the imperative, the indicative and the subjunctive and two voices – the active and the passive.

5.6.10.2 The Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is generally used only in the second person singular and plural. It is formed from the present stem in the singular with the addition of the prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-** and in the plural with the help of the same prefix plus the personal ending. In the negative form the prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-** is absent. Let us cite as a model the paradigms of the following verbs:

- (354) a. **kəšen** (kəš-) to drag, to pull
b. **nivištən** (niviš-) to write
c. **kudən** (kun-) to make
d. **avərdən** (avər-) to bring, to fetch

(355) Imperative

Singular	Plural
bəkəš	bəkəšid
binivis	binivisid
bukun	bukunid
bavər	bavərid

(356) Negative Imperative

Singular	Plural
nə-kəš	nə-kəšid
ní-nivis	ní-nivisid
nú-kun	nú-kunid
n-ávər	n-ávərid

In complex verbs the form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* may be replaced by the separable particle *-a* being joined to the nominal part of the verb (without a change in the meaning of the form):

- (357) *γāli pān-a kun!* (*//pa(h)n bukun*)
Spread the carpet!

Niece:9

The imperative mood of prefixal verbs is formed in the same way but without the addition of *bə-//bi-//bu-*. Let us cite as a model the paradigms of the verbs *vavərsen* (*vavərs-*): ‘to ask’; *fanderəstən* (*fander-*): ‘to look’; *dukudən* (*dukun-*): ‘to put on’.

(358) Prefixal Imperative

Singular	Plural
vavərs	vavərsid
fander	fanderid
dukun	dukunid

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(359) Negative Prefixal Imperative

Singular	Plural
va-nó-vərs	va-nó-vərsid
fa-án-der	fa-án-derid
du-nú-kun	du-nú-kunid

The imperative mood is used to express orders and requests:

- (360) a. *tu bušu, ti péra duxan!* Seashore:35
Go and call your father!
- b. *vóxta tələf nú-kun!* Pool:14
Do not waste time!
- c. *xaxurjan, tu mára bəbaxš!* Greeting:20
Little sister, forgive me!
- d. *bidin ki amé-biža amon dərə!* Niece:2
Look who is coming to us!

5.6.10.3 The Indicative Mood

5.6.10.3.1 The Present-Future Tense

The present-future tense is formed from the present stem with the addition of the personal endings of the first type (see Table 8 in section 5.6.2 Personal Endings).

(361) Present-Future

Singular			
1st person	kəšəm(ə)	nivisəm(ə)	kunəm(ə)
2nd person	kəši	nivisi	kuni
3rd person	kəše	nivise	kune
Plural			
1st person	kəšim(i)	nivisimi	kunimi
2nd Person	kəšidi	nivisidi	kunidi
3rd Person	kəšidi	nivisidi	kunidi

(362) Negative Present-Future

Singular			
1st Person	ná-kəšəm(ə)	ní-nivisəm(ə)	nú-kunəm(ə)
2nd Person	ná-kəši	ní-nivisi	nú-kuni
3rd Person	ná-kəše	ní-nivise	nú-kune
Plural			
1st Person	ná-kəšim(i)	ní-nivisim(i)	nú-kunim(i)
2nd Person	ná-kəšid(i)	ní-nivisid(i)	nú-kunid(i)
3rd Person	ná-kəšid(i)	ní-nivisid(i)	nú-kunid(i)

The same tense is formed as follows in prefixal verbs:

(363) Prefixal Present-Future

Singular			
1st Person	vavərsəm(ə)	fanderəm(ə)	dukunəm(ə)
2nd Person	vavərši	fanderi	dukuni
3rd Person	vavərse	fandere	dukune
Plural			
1st Person	vavərsim(i)	fanderim(i)	dukunim(i)
2nd Person	vavərsid(i)	fanderid(i)	dukunid(i)
3rd Person	vavərsid(i)	fanderid(i)	dukunid(i)

(364) Negative Prefixal Present-Future

Singular			
1st Person	va-ná-vərsəm(ə)	fa-ǎn-derəm(ə)	du-nú-kunəm(ə)
2nd Person	va-ná-vərse	fa-ǎn-deri	du-nú-kuni
3rd Person	va-ná-vərse	fa-ǎn-dere	du-nú-kune
Plural			
1st Person	va-ná-vərsim(i)	fa-ǎn-derim(i)	du-nú-kunim(i)
2nd Person	va-ná-vərsid(i)	fa-ǎn-derid(i)	du-nú-kunid(i)
3rd Person	va-ná-vərsid(i)	fa-ǎn-derid(i)	du-nú-kunid(i)

In the verbs **buon** (bu-): ‘to be’, **šuoŋ** (šuo-): ‘to go’, **goftən** (gu-): ‘to say’, **fadan** (fadə-): ‘to give’ the vowel in the stem is deleted in the present-future

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tense:

(365) Present-Future – Verbs with Stem Vowel Deleted

Singular				
1st Person	bəm	šəm	gəm	fadəm
2nd Person	bi	ši	gi	fadi
3rd Person	be	še	ge	fade
Plural				
1st Person	bim(i)	šim(i)	gim(i)	fadim(i)
2nd Person	bid(i)	šid(i)	gid(i)	fadid(i)
3rd Person	bid(i)	šid(i)	gid(i)	fadid(i)

(366) Negative Present-Future – Verbs with Stem Vowel Deleted

Singular				
1st Person	ná-bəm	ná-šəm	ná-gəm	fa-án-dəm
2nd Person	ní-bi	ní-ši	ní-gi	fa-án-di
3rd Person	ní-be	ní-še	ní-ge	fa-án-de
Plural				
1st Person	ní-bim(i)	ní-šim(i)	ní-gim(i)	fa-án-dim(i)
2nd Person	ní-bid(i)	ní-šid(i)	ní-gid(i)	fa-án-did(i)
3rd Person	ní-bid(i)	ní-šid(i)	ní-gid(i)	fa-án-did(i)

In the verbs **daštən** (dar-): ‘to have’ and **danəstən**: ‘to know’ the negative particle replaces the initial syllable **da** in the negative form. The vowel sound of the negative particle does not undergo assimilation.

(367) Present-Future – Verbs with First Syllable Replaced

Singular				
	Positive		Negative	
1st Person	darəm	danəm	ná-rəm	ná-nəm
2nd Person	dari	dani	ná-ri	ná-ni
3rd Person	dare	dane	ná-re	ná-ne
Plural				
	Positive		Negative	
1st Person	darim(i)	danim(i)	ná-rim(i)	ná-nim(i)
2nd Person	darid(i)	danid(i)	ná-rid(i)	ná-nid(i)
3rd Person	darid(i)	danid(i)	ná-rid(i)	ná-nid(i)

The form of the present-future tense is used:

1. To indicate actions usually or always happening:

- (368) a. *alan du sâl-ə ki šəb-u ruz kâr kune.* Poor:306
He has already been working night and day for two years.
- b. *mən hamišə gəmə: “mi Zahrajan xeyli mehrəbân-ə.”* Greeting:23
I am always saying, “My Zahrajan is very kind.”
- c. *hamišə pul ná-ridi*
They never have any money.
- d. *har čən vəxt čubbəstə tunəl iškəfe, ku dəkələye, rāyə birun šoóna dəbədə*
From time to time the supports in the tunnel break, the mountain caves in and the way to the exit is closed.

2. To indicate actions happening at the present moment:

- (369) a. *Aməd vavarə: “tərsi re?”* Pool:40
Ahmed asks, “Are you afraid?”
- b. *mən bāz-am bāvər nūkunəm ki nəyəb xuftə* Story:43
I still do not believe the lieutenant is asleep.

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- c. *xob, ti hárfa bəzən! čire nigā kuni?* Poor:235
All right, tell me! Why are you looking at me?

3. To indicate actions in the future:

- (370) a. *bíya bišim! aya te-re libāsə šənā fagirəm.* Pool:29
Let us go! I shall hire a bathing suit for you from here.
- b. *mən hasa te-re təmámə mi kára gəm* Friends:6
I shall now tell you about all my affairs
- c. *čand fadi, unə čəkməya tara fadəm?”* Story:17
How much will you give me if I give you his boots?”

In object clauses, after the verbs *deen*: ‘to see’, *bu bərdən*: ‘to suspect’, ‘to find out’ (and some others), in the forms of the past tense, this form may indicate an action that was carried out at that very moment in the past when it was seen or someone found out about it (that is to say, for that period of time when it was taking place):

- (371) a. *vəxti bide, ušanə xānə šimi, bugoftə* Seashore:31
When she saw that we were going into her house, she said
- b. *Huseyn bu bəbərdə bu ki únə pérə bija ba'zi šəban ba'zi ādəman ayidi, gəb zənidi, bəhs kunidi*
Hussein found out that some people sometimes come to his father at night and talk and argue.

The form of the present-future tense may also be used to indicate what is actually the past tense when the speaker transfers the past into the present to express the figurativeness of the narrative:

- (372) a. *hālə yəziyə an bu ki təyribən i sāl-piš Məryəmə per təsmim gire, íta muzdur bigirə ...* Poor:87
This is how it happened: about a year ago Maryam’s father made the decision to hire a worker
- b. *íta ruz še bāzār-sər.* Poor:88
One day he sets off for the market.

5.6.10.3.2 The Present Definite Tense

The present definite tense is formed from the infinitive of the main verb and the defective verb of being: ‘to be’ (*dərəm*, *dəri*, *dərə*, etc. See section 5.6.8.2 The Defective Verb of State):

(373) Present Definite

Singular		
1st Person	<i>kəʃən dərəm</i>	<i>nivištən dərəm</i>
2nd Person	<i>kəʃən dəri</i>	<i>nivištən dəri</i>
3rd Person	<i>kəʃən dərə</i>	<i>nivištən dərə</i>
Plural		
1st Person	<i>kəʃən dərīm(i)</i>	<i>nivištən dərīm(i)</i>
2nd Person	<i>kəʃən dərīd(i)</i>	<i>nivištən dərīd(i)</i>
3rd Person	<i>kəʃən dərīd(i)</i>	<i>nivištən dərīd(i)</i>

This form serves to indicate an action being performed at the present moment:

- (374) a. *Ahmədʒan səlam! ba a tundi kóya šuon dəri?* Pool:1
Hello, Ahmed! Where are you going so hurriedly?
- b. *bidin ki amé-biʒa amon dərə!* Niece:2
Look who is coming to us!
- c. *ay vây, Abul, či kudən dəri? aya ita nâyəb xufte.* Story:30
Oh Abul, what are you doing? Here some kind of lieutenant is sleeping.

On more rare occasions it may be used to indicate an action lasting in the present for a longer period of time:

- (375) *a tiflek du sâl-ə ame-re kâr kudən dərə.*
This young lad has already been working for us for two years.

In figurative narrative this form often expresses what is actually a past action, represented as a present action:

- (376) a. *avvəl arus yək kəmi gəryə kune ki az xu pér-ə mâr judâ bostən dərə, ammə úni dəsxaxuran úna nâz-a didi* Poor:194
(//nâz dehidi).
At first the bride cries a little, as she is parting with her parents, but her female friends comfort her.

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- b. *Məryəm dine ki Iskəndər xéyli nărăhət-ə, kəra divanə bostən dəre* Poor:422
Maryam can see that Iskander is very alarmed and is going out of his mind.

5.6.10.3.3 *The Future Categorical Tense*

The future categorical tense is formed by the combination of the present-future tense of the auxiliary verb *xastən (xay-)*: ‘to want’ with the infinitive of the main verb:

(377) Future Categorical

Singular		
1st Person	<i>xayəm nivištən</i>	<i>xayəm vavərsen</i>
2nd Person	<i>xayi nivištən</i>	<i>xayi vavərsen</i>
3rd Person	<i>xaye nivištən</i>	<i>xaye vavərsen</i>
Plural		
1st Person	<i>xayimi nivištən</i>	<i>xayim vavərsen</i>
2nd Person	<i>xayidi nivištən</i>	<i>xayidi vavərsen</i>
3rd Person	<i>xayidi nivištən</i>	<i>xayidi vavərsen</i>

With the negative particle : *nə-xayəm nivištən, nə-xayi nivištən*, etc.

This form serves to express a future action:

- (378) *yəyin darəm: mi zakán-əm ha rāya xaidi šoon.* Traveler:28
I am sure that my children will go along the same road.”

In object clauses after the verb having one of the forms of the past tense, it indicates the future in the past, that is to say an action that was future, in relation to that moment in the past with which we are dealing in the main clause :

- (379) *xu-re fikr bukuḍə ki bəd nə-xaye bostən ki səri ham bə məsʒəd bəzənə və a kār zərər nəxaye daštən.* Story:4
He thought to himself that it would not be a bad thing to call at the mosque for a minute and that no harm would come from this.

5.6.10.3.4 *The Past Neutral Tense*

The past neutral tense is formed from the past stem with the combination of the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* and the personal endings of the second type (see Table 9 in section 5.6.2 Personal Endings). In the negative form the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* is absent.

(380) Past Neutral

Singular			
1st Person	bəbərdəm ²³	binivištəm	bukudəm
2nd Person	bəbərđi	binivišti	bukudi
3rd Person	bəbərdə	binivištə	bukudə
Plural			
1st Person	bəbərdim(i)	binivištīm(i)	bukudīm(i)
2nd Person	bəbərđid(i)	binivištīd(i)	bukudīd(i)
3rd Person	bəbərđid(i)	binivištīd(i)	bukudīd(i)

(381) Negative Past Neutral

Singular			
1st Person	nə-bərdəm	ní-nivištəm	nú-kudəm
2nd Person	nə-bərđi	ní-nivišti	nú-kudi
3rd Person	nə-bərdə	ní-nivištə	nú-kudə
Plural			
1st Person	nə-bərdīm(i)	ní-nivištīm(i)	nú-kudīm(i)
2nd Person	nə-bərđīd(i)	ní-nivištīd(i)	nú-kudīd(i)
3rd Person	nə-bərđīd(i)	ní-nivištīd(i)	nú-kudīd(i)

Prefixal verbs do not take the form-building prefix bə-//bi-//bu-.

(382) Prefixal Past Neutral

Singular			
1st Person	fagiftəm ²⁴	fanderəstəm	dukudəm
2nd Person	fagifti	fanderəsti	dukudi
3rd Person	fagiftə	fanderəstə	dukudə
Plural			
1st Person	fagiftīm(i)	fanderəstīm(i)	dukudīm(i)
2nd Person	fagiftīd(i)	fanderəstīd(i)	dukudīd(i)
3rd Person	fagiftīd(i)	fanderəstīd(i)	dukudīd(i)

²³ bərdən (bər-) ‘to carry’.

²⁴ fagiftən (fagir-) ‘to take’, ‘to receive’.

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(383) Negative Prefixal Past Neutral

Singular			
1st Person	fa-ná-giftəm	fa-án-derəstəm	du-nú-kudəm
2nd Person	fa-ná-gifti	fa-án-derəsti	du-nú-kudi
3rd Person	fa-ná-giftə	fa-án-derəstə	du-nú-kudə
Plural			
1st Person	fa-ná-giftim(i)	fa-án-derəstim(i)	du-nú-kudim(i)
2nd Person	fa-ná-giftid(i)	fa-án-derəstid(i)	du-nú-kudud(i)
3rd Person	fa-nə-giftid(i)	fa-án-derəstid(i)	du-nú-kudid(i)

In those verbs in which the past stem ends in a vowel, in the second person singular, as the result of contraction, the vowel sound *-ə* of the ending drops out (*-m < -əm*) and in the third person singular the ending is absent. As examples we shall cite the verbs *daan* (dih-): ‘to give’ ; *šoon* (šu-): ‘to go’ , *vavərsen* (vavərs-): ‘to ask’.

(384) Past Neutral – Stem-Final Vowel

Singular			
1st Person	bədam	bušom	vavərsem
2nd Person	bəda(y)i	bušoyi	vavərseyi
3rd Person	bəda	bušo	vavərse
Plural			
1st Person	bədayim(i)	bušoyim(i)	vavərseyim(i)
2nd Person	bədayid(i)	bušoyid(i)	vavərseyid(i)
3rd Person	bədayid(i)	bušoyid(i)	vavərseyid(i)

The negative form is *nə-dam*, *nú-šom*, *va-nə-vərsem*, etc. The epenthetic *y* in the second person singular and in the first, second and third persons plural is often not heard in rapid speech: *bədai*, *bušoi*, *vavərsei*, etc.

In view of the fact that the past stem, which can historically be traced back to the past participle, the personal endings of the second type, which can apparently be traced back to the predicative copula and the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* (evidently from the middle Iranian prefix *bé-*, which used to indicate the momentariness of the action) are an organic part of the present form, it would be possible to suppose that the meaning of efficaciousness, completeness and momentariness of the action is peculiar thereto. This supposition is based on the grounds that in the general system of the temporal forms of the indicative

mood the form of the past continuous tense is opposed thereto (see below, section 5.6.10.3.5 The Past Continuous Tense). Some specialists were probably guided by this when calling this form the past perfective tense.²⁵

It is quite possible that this form was really, originally, the past perfective tense or the perfect. However, in the modern Gilaki language, as the analysis of our material shows, it is neutral from an aspectual point of view and serves only to establish the fact that the action in question was accomplished in the past. How this action proceeded, whether it was long or short, complete or incomplete, a single action or a repeated action, is not expressed in the form itself.²⁶ This is determined by the context. This tense form stands opposed to the past continuous tense. It does not represent a short action as opposed to a prolonged one, nor a perfective action as opposed to an imperfective action but a neutral aspect action as opposed to the implicitly progressive continuative action.

An action expressed by the form of the past neutral tense may be understood as perfective and momentary whenever there are no special words in the phrase indicating the period of time during which it took place, and the verb itself, according to its semantics, permits the concept of completion and momentariness:

- (385) a. *íta dəyiḡə nú-guzəštə, mərday bamo.* Seashore:36
Not a minute had gone by when a man came.
- b. *lotkə fagiftəm ʔāziyān bušom.* Seashore:26
I took a boat and went to Gazian.
- c. *har ki bətanəstə, bamo, har ki nə-tanəstə telgəraf fada, kārṭ-u pustāl fada, unə rúzə təvəllúda təbrík bugóftə.* Birthday:12
Everyone who could came, and everyone who could not sent a telegram or sent a postcard and wished her a happy birthday.

It is the same when comparing it with the past continuous tense (within one sentence).

- (386) *a vaziḡət kəš dašti tā məs'aləyə Huseyn piš bamo*
It continued thus until the question of Hussein arose

If there are adverbial words in the sentence expressing a definite space of time or defining the action from the standpoint of its length, the action, expressed by the form of the past neutral tense, may be understood as prolonged:

²⁵See Sokolova and Pakhalina (1957).

²⁶Compare the simple past tense in the Persian and Tajik languages.

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- (387) a. **ame yəzaxori yéki-du saat tul bəkəşe.** Traveler:39
Our meal lasted one or two hours.
- b. **du sál-ə ki mən a harfána mi dílə-miyan bədaštəm, véli de nótanəm táyət bavərəm.** Poor:406
I have already kept these words in my heart for two years, but I can no longer bear [this].”
- c. **íta piče biníštím, kələgəb bəzeim.** Friends:4
I sat with him for a little while and we talked.
- d. **har či bəgərdəstə, xákə tázə nide.** Story:51
No matter how far he walked, he did not see fresh earth.

The presence of the corresponding adverbial words may, in the same way, impart to the action expressed by the form of the past neutral tense, a shade of iterative meaning;

- (388) a. **Məryámə pérə mār čən dəfa Məryəma buguftidi ...** Poor:79
Maryam’s parents said to Maryam several times ...
- b. **an yədər ruznāman únə nāma bəbərdidi, binivištidi**
The newspapers have mentioned it and written (about it) so many times.
- c. **har ki bideidi, vakəftidi, bəzeidi, habs bukudidi**
They were seizing, beating and arresting everyone they saw.

If the form of the past neutral tense in the phrase or in the general context is opposed to the pluperfect tense it indicates an action that happened later:

- (389) **diruz Tehránə-ja telgəraf fagiftəm. Mohsən binivištə bu:** Traveler:1
“éydə-re Rašt ayəm.”
Yesterday I received a telegram from Tehran. Mohsein wrote, “I am coming on holiday to Rasht.”

However, in the majority of cases, past actions immediately following each other and sometimes even those where one of them precedes the other by a considerable amount of time are all expressed by the past neutral tense:

- (390) a. **ame libásána bəkəndim, libásə šənā dukudim, bušoim** Pool:36
ábə kənār.
We took off our clothes, put on bathing suits and went into the water.

- b. *un kənārə hoz bušo, ita piče āb xu dima bəze.* Story:7
He went to the edge of the pool and splashed a little water on his face.
- c. *mən az u rúzə avvəl ki tərā bidəm, bə tu dil dəbəstəm* Poor:239
(//dəvəstəm):
From that very first day that I saw you, I fell in love with you.

In conditional, subordinate clauses the form of the past neutral tense may be used to indicate a future perfective action, preceding that action that is presented in the main clause and expressed by the form of the present-future tense, the future tense or the imperative mood:

- (391) a. *ǰə mən agər n-ámo xəbər, bixud nāzan ti sinə-sər.* News II:4
If there is no news from me, (lit. if from me news has not come)
Do not beat yourself in the breast!
- b. *agar tēkan buxurdə, malum be, bidar-ə.”* Story:37
If he moves, it will be clear that he is not asleep.”

In compound verbs the form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* may be replaced by the separable pre-verbal particle *a* which is joined to the nominal part of the compound verb. In this case the meaning of the form does not change. Compare the forms of the past neutral tense with *bə-//bi-//bu-* and the pre-verbal, separable particle *-a* in the following sentences:

- (392) a. *mašínə-amra* (//amara) *zud āšənā bubo və úna səvar-a* Traveler:59
bo.
He quickly learned (lit. got to know) about cars and started to drive.
- b. *mi xaxurza Mohtərəm xānəm imsāl tázə mǎdrəsəya* Birthday:3
təmám-a kudə, diplom fagíftə.
My niece Mohtaram-khanum has just finished school this year; she has received her diploma.
- c. *a hál-u ahvāl ertəǰāya nārāhāt-a kudə* (//nārāhat bukudə)
This situation perturbed a reaction (that is, the reactionary circles of society)

5.6.10.3.5 The Past Continuous Tense

The form of the past continuous tense is formed from the past stem with the addition of the personal endings of the third type (see Table 10 in section 5.6.2 Personal Endings).

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(393) Past Continuous

Singular				
1st Person	bərdim	nivištīm	kudīm	avərdīm
2nd Person	bərđi	nivišti	kudi	avərđi
3rd Person	bərđi	nivišti	kudi	avərđi
Plural				
1st Person	bərdim(i)	nivištīm(i)	kudīm(i)	avərdīm(i)
2nd Person	bərdid(i)	nivištīd(i)	kudid(i)	avərdīd(i)
3rd Person	bərdid(i)	nivištīd(i)	kudid(i)	avərdīd(i)

The negative form: ná-bərdim, ní-nivištīm, nú-kudīm, n-ávərdīm, etc. The negative form of the verbs *daštan*: ‘to have’, *danəstən*: ‘to know’ is: ná-štīm, ná-šti; ná-nəstīm, ná-nəsti, etc.

The same form of prefixal verbs is: dukudīm, dukudi, dukudi, etc.; in the negative form: du-nú-kudīm, du-nú-kudi, etc.

In verbs having a past stem ending in a vowel the sound *y* is inserted between the vowel of the stem and the vowel of the ending:

(394) Past Continuous – Stem-Final Vowel

Singular			
1st Person	dayim	šoyim	vavərseyim
2nd Person	dayi	šoyi	vavərseyi
3rd Person	dayi	šoyi	vavərseyi
Plural			
1st Person	dayim(i)	šoyim(i)	vavərseyim(i)
2nd Person	dayid(i)	šoyid(i)	vavərseyid(i)
3rd Person	dayid(i)	šoyid(i)	vavərseyid(i)

The negative form: ná-dayim, nú-šoyim, va-nə-vərseyim

The epenthetic *y* can be absent in fluent speech.

The form of the past continuous tense serves to express:

1. A prolonged action:

- (395) a. *muddəthā bu, ki Məryəm-ə Iskəndər mīslə ita bərar* Poor:146
xaxur hamdigərə-amra gəb zəyidi, zəndəgi kudid(i).
 Maryam and Iskander had already been living together for a long time and talked to each other as brother and sister.
- b. *badən hamə sahrā-miyan jəm-a bostid, čalpa zeyid, rəxs* Poor:177
kudid, āvāz xandid.
 Then they all assembled in the field, clapped their hands, danced and sang songs.
- c. *Iskəndər hato ki gəb zeyi, Məryəmə čəšmāna nigā kudi.* Poor:407
 When Iskander said this, he looked in Maryam's eyes.
- d. *havā hala tārīk bu, ammə nəsimə xunəki vəzei.* Story:6
 It was still dark, but a cool breeze was blowing.

2. A recurring, repeated action:

- (396) a. *sóbh-u asr dəryā šoim. šənā kudim, fūršə-ru* Seashore:42
āftābə-dimə dərāz kəšeim.
 In the mornings and the evenings we went to the sea. We swam and sunbathed on the sand.
- b. *gāhi kārəgəran, gāhi dolət piš bərdi*
 Sometimes the workers gained the victory and sometimes the government.
- c. *Husəyn-ham yéki-du bār yāvāšəki mədrəsə-miyan muallómə mízə-žir*
kāyəzāna pəxš kudi
 And Hussein also secretly put pieces of paper underneath the teacher's table one or two times.

3. A constant action usually having taken place in the past:

- (397) a. *hamišə kārəgəranə-ja julo šoi*
 He always went in advance of his workers.
- b. *Huseyn ruzan kār kúdi, šəban dərs xāndi, ruznāmə* Traveler:61
xāndi.
 Hussein worked in the daytime and studied and read newspapers in the evening.

5. Morphology

- c. *har ĵā šói únə púštə-sər íta iddə kārəgər šóidi.* Traveler:66
Wherever he went a number of workers followed him.

This form is also used to indicate an action in the past unreal tense, that is to say, one that could have happened but actually did not:

- (398) a. *heyf, mən ná-tanəm bayəm, ipiče kār darəm, və-illā ti-amara amoyim.* Greeting:14

It is a pity that I cannot come. I am busy, otherwise I would come with you.

- b. *bu xudā, mən nánastim ki bə a nəzdikí-yə, vəgərnə xudəm piyādə šoimi!* Minute:7

Really and truly, I did not know it was so near, otherwise I should have gone on foot

5.6.10.3.6 The Past Definite Tense

The past definite tense is formed in two ways.

1. By the combination of the infinitive of the main verb with the past neutral tense of the auxiliary verb *dubun*: ‘to be’, ‘to be found inside’ (equally for non-prefixal and prefixal verbs).

(399) Past Definite – Auxiliary Form

Singular		
1st Person	<i>kudən dubum</i>	<i>vavərsen dubum</i>
2nd Person	<i>kudən dibi</i>	<i>vavərsen dibi</i>
3rd Person	<i>kudən dubu</i>	<i>vavərsen dubu</i>
Plural		
1st Person	<i>kudən dibim</i>	<i>vavərsen dibim</i>
2nd Person	<i>kudən dibid</i>	<i>vavərsen dibid</i>
3rd Person	<i>kudən dibid</i>	<i>vavərsen dibid</i>

This form serves to express a prolonged, continuous action usually correlated with some definite moment of time in the past. In particular it is particularly often used to indicate some kind of prolonged action in the past against a background of which another, shorter action took place:

- (400) a. *i šəb sâ'atə se bad az nîsfə šəb xiyâbânə Buzərjumerî-ja* Story:2
guzəştən dubu.
 One night, at three o'clock in the middle of the night, he was walking along Buzerjumeri street.
- b. *hato ki fikr kudən dubu, az pilləkân bijir bamo varədə* Story:5
məsʃəd bubóstə.
 Thinking thus, he went down the steps and entered the mosque.
- c. *duta pişxədmət rəisə utāyə-pušt murafe kudən dibid.* Please:1
 Two servants were quarreling behind the boss's door.
- d. *vəxti ki amon dubum, refeyan mara bugóftidi və* Traveler:35
mara bə imruzə vaz'ə vared bukudidi.
 When I was preparing to come out, my friends spoke to me about this and kept me informed about the present state of affairs.

2. By the combination of the infinitive of the main verb with the past tense of the defective verb 'to be' (see section 5.6.8.2 The Defective Verb of State).

(401) Past Definite – Defective Form

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	<i>kudən dərə bum</i>	<i>kudən dərə bim</i>
2nd Person	<i>kudən dərə bi</i>	<i>kudən dərə bid</i>
3rd Person	<i>kudən dərə bu</i>	<i>kudən dərə bid</i>

The same form of prefixal verbs is: *vavərsen dərə bi*, etc.

This form is used with the same meaning as the past definite tense of the first type:

- (402) a. *mi sərə bijir tavədam, kərə šuon dərə bum* Seashore:18
 I had been walking with my head hung down
- b. *kərə xurdən dərə bum zəng bəzeidi*
 I had been eating when they called.
- c. *kərə amon dərə bum šime xânə, un mara bide*
 I had been coming to your house when he saw me.

(the particle *kərə* emphasizes the moment of the action).

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5.6.10.3.7 The Pluperfect Tense

The form of the pluperfect tense is formed by the combination of the past participle of the main verb with the auxiliary verb **buon**: ‘to be’ in the past neutral tense.

(403) Pluperfect

Singular			
1st Person	bəbərdə bum	binivištə bum	bukudə bum
2nd Person	bəbərdə bi	binivištə bi	bukudə bi
3rd Person	bəbərdə bu	binivištə bu	bukudə bu
Plural			
1st Person	bəbərdə bim	binivištə bim	bukudə bim
2nd Person	bəbərdə bid	binivištə bid	bukudə bid
3rd Person	bəbərdə bid	binivištə bid	bukudə bid

(404) Negative Pluperfect

Singular			
1st Person	nə-bərdə bum	ní-nivištə bum	nú-kudə bum
2nd Person	nə-bərdə bi	ní-nivištə bi	nú-kudə bi
3rd Person	nə-bərdə bu	ní-nivištə bu	nú-kudə bu

In rapid speech the assimilation of the final vowel of the participle with the vowel of the auxiliary verb is possible: **bukudu bu** < **bukudə bu**, **bukudi bi** < **bukudə bi**, etc.

In prefixal verbs the derivational prefix is absent.

(405) Prefixal Pluperfect

Singular			
1st Person	fagiftə bum	fanderəstə bum	dukudə bum
2nd Person	fagiftə bi	fanderəstə bi	dukudə bi
3rd Person	fagiftə bu	fanderəstə bu	dukudə bu
Plural			
1st Person	fagiftə bim	fanderəstə bim	dukudə bim
2nd Person	fagiftə bid	fanderəstə bid	dukudə bid
3rd Person	fagiftə bid	fanderəstə bid	dukudə bid

(406) Negative Prefixal Pluperfect

Singular			
1st Person	fa-nó-giftə bum	fa-án-derəstə bum	du-nú-kudə bum
2nd Person	fa-nó-giftə bi	fa-án-derəstə bi	du-nú-kudə bi
3rd Person	fa-nó-giftə bu	fa-án-derəstə bu	du-nú-kudə bu
Plural			
1st Person	fa-nó-giftə bim	fa-án-derəstə bim	du-nú-kudə bim
2nd Person	fa-nó-giftə bid	fa-án-derəstə bid	du-nú-kudə bid
3rd Person	fa-nó-giftə bid	fa-án-derəstə bid	du-nú-kudə bid

In verbs having the past stem ending in a vowel the past participle, as we have said, is identical to the stem (as it does not have the ending -ə). In pluperfect forms the past participle of such verbs looks like its stem too.

Singular			
1st Person	bəda bum	bušo bum	vavərse bum
2nd Person	bəda bi	bušo bi	vavərse bi
3rd Person	bəda bu	bušo bu	vavərse bu
Plural			
1st Person	bəda bim	bušo bim	vavərse bim
2nd Person	bəda bid	bušo bid	vavərse bid
3rd Person	bəda bid	bušo bid	vavərse bid

With the negative: nə-da bum, nu-šo bum, va-nə-vərse bum, etc.

The peculiarity of the verbs *daštən*: ‘to have’ and *isan*: ‘to stand’, ‘to be’ is the fact that they do not take the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* in the pluperfect tense: *daštə bum*, *daštə bi*, *daštə bu*; *isa bum*, *isa bi*, *isa bu*, etc.

In the negative form the verbs *daštən*: ‘to have’ and *danəstən*: ‘to know’ lose their initial syllable *da*, but in the verbs beginning in *i* (*isan*: ‘to stand’, *ištəvəstən*: ‘to hear’) the initial *i* contracts with the vowel of the negative particle and is replaced by the sound *e*.

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(408)	Singular		
	1st Person	ná-štə bum	ná-nəstə bum nésa bum
	2nd Person	ná-štə bi	ná-nəstə bi nésa bi
	3rd Person	ná-štə bu	ná-nəstə bu nésa bu
	Plural		
	1st Person	ná-štə bim	ná-nəstə bim nésa bim
	2nd Person	ná-štə bid	ná-nəstə bid nésa bid
	3rd Person	ná-štə bid	ná-nəstə bid nésa bid

This form indicates an action that precedes some other past action or some appointed period of time:

- (409) a. ammā har du nəfər dər bārəyə u gəbāni ki rā-miyan Poor:249
hamdigəra bəze bid, fikr kudidi.
However, both of them thought of those words that they had said to each other on the journey.
- b. nimsaat nuguzəštə bu ki duta duzd úya bamo və úna Story:12
fandərəstidi və bəšnāxtidi
Not even half an hour had gone by when two thieves arrived there, saw him and recognized
- c. Huséynə kār bə jái bərəse bu ki tanəsti kārəgərāna Traveler:69
rā-u čāya nišān bədə.
Hussein's work progressed so much that he could point the way to the workers.
- d. xeyli vəxt-a bu ki tara ni-de bum
A lot of time has passed since I have seen you

The use of the pluperfect tense is not restricted by the opposition of the preceding action to the following one. The precedence expressed therein may be ascribed, as we have already said, not to another action but to some period of time:

- (410) a. xaly dane, xudā dane, kóya a pəsəré Məryəma bide bu. Poor:74
[People know,] God knows where this lad had seen Maryam.

- b. Məryəmə per az xu zəndəgi xəyli rāzi bu. bad az Poor:142
muddəti bətanəstə bu, ita muzdur peydā bukunə ki
uni-re mislə pəsər kār bukunə.

Maryam's father was very pleased with his life. After a long time he could at last, find a hired laborer who would work for him as a son.

In the presence of the corresponding elucidatory words (vəgərnə: 'or otherwise', və-illā: 'honestly', etc.) and in the appropriate context the preceding action, expressed by the form of the pluperfect tense, acquires an additional shade of unreality:

- (411) xaxurjan, tu mara bəbaxš! mən nanastim, və-illā a Greeting:20
vəxtə-yədər hizār vār bamo bum.

Little sister, forgive me! I did not know, otherwise I should have come (to your house) a thousand times.

The form of the pluperfect tense of the verbs of state isan: 'to stand', 'to be', ništen: 'to sit' often does not indicate a precedence in time but a simultaneity therewith (and accordingly duration):

- (412) a. i ruz ki tājər tənha bə xānə isa bu, fuvostidi únə-sər və únə Liar:7
dəs-u pāya dəbəstidi

One day, when the merchant was alone in the house, they pounced on him, bound him hand and foot.

- b. i var bamom šimi xānə, nésa bidi. Conver:14
One day I went to your house, but you were not there.

- c. xəyli ādəmāna únə-vasi ki úya isa bid, bigiftidi, habs bukudidi
They seized and arrested many people just because they were there.

In compound verbs the form-building prefix bə-//bi-//bu- may be replaced in the pluperfect by the separable particle -a which is joined to the nominal part of the verb:

- (413) a. Məryəm xu səra bizir-a kudu bu, sór-x-a bostə bu. Poor:410
Maryam hung her head and blushed.

- b. az šuma či pinhān ki kedxudāyə a dihāt Mulla Rəjəb-əm Poor:49
Məryəmə-re dəndān tiz-a kudə bu.

What can be hidden from you; the chief of this village, Mullah Rajab, also wanted her (lit. had sharpened teeth).

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5.6.10.4 The Subjunctive Mood

5.6.10.4.1 The Present-Future Tense (Aorist)

The aorist, or the present-future tense of the subjunctive mood, is formed with the present stem plus the addition of the prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-** and the personal endings of the second type (see Table 9 in section 5.6.2 Personal Endings). In the negative form the prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-** is absent.

(414) Aorist

Singular				
1st Person	bəbərəm	binivisəm	bukunəm	bavərəm
2nd Person	bəbəri	binivisi	bukuni	bavəri
3rd Person	bəbəre	binivise	bukune	bavere
Plural				
1st Person	bəbərim(i)	binivisim(i)	bukunim(i)	bavərim(i)
2nd Person	bəbərid(i)	binivisid(i)	bukunid(i)	bavərid(i)
3rd Person	bəbərid(i)	binivisid(i)	bukunid(i)	bavərid(i)

(415) Negative Aorist

Singular				
1st Person	nə-bərəm	ní-nivisəm	nú-kunəm	n-ávərəm
2nd Person	nə-bəri	ní-nivisi	nú-kuni	n-ávəri
3rd Person	nə-bere	ní-nivise	nú-kune	n-ávere

The prefixal verbs form the aorist without the prefix **bə-//bi-//bu-** with the addition of nothing but the personal endings.

(416) Prefixal Aorist

Singular			
1st Person	fagirəm	fanderəm	dukunəm
2nd Person	fagiri	fanderi	dukuni
3rd Person	fagirə	fanderə	dukunə
Plural			
1st Person	fagirim(i)	fanderim(i)	dukunim(i)
2nd Person	fagirid(i)	fanderid(i)	dukunid(i)
3rd Person	fagirid(i)	fanderid(i)	dukunid(i)

(417) Negative Prefixal Aorist

Singular			
1st Person	fa-nó-girəm	fa-án-derəm	du-nú-kunəm
2nd Person	fa-nó-giri	fa-án-deri	du-nú-kuni
3rd Person	fa-nó-girə	fa-án-derə	du-nú-kunə
Plural			
1st Person	fa-nó-girim(i)	fa-án-derim(i)	du-nú-kunim(i)
2nd Person	fa-nó-girid(i)	fa-án-derid(i)	du-nú-kunid(i)
3rd Person	fa-nó-girid(i)	fa-án-derid(i)	du-nú-kunid(i)

In verbs beginning in *i* the initial *i* and the vowel in the prefix *bə-* contract and are replaced by the one vowel sound *e*. The same thing happens with the addition of the negative particle. For example, in the verb *isan*: ‘to stand’, ‘to be’ the positive form of the aorist is *besəm*, *besi*, *besə*, etc. and in the negative form it is *nésəm*, *nési*, *nəsə*, etc.

The aorist, being close in temporal meaning to the present-future tense of the indicative mood, is directly opposed to it because of its modality. Whereas the present-future tense of the indicative mood serves to indicate an action considered to be real and certain. The aorist, on the other hand, is suitable for the expression of all kinds of deviation from the actual reality of the action. It is used to indicate desirability, possibility, obligation, permission, doubt, indirect commands, incentives for action, etc. In every concrete case the meaning of the aorist is defined more accurately by various syntactic, lexical and intonational means (by the construction of the sentence itself, by modal verbs or particles, or by intonation, etc.)

Two main types of the use of the aorist are seen in an independent clause

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and in a dependent subordinate clause.

5.6.10.4.1.1 The Aorist in an Independent Clause

In an independent clause, depending on the context, the aorist may be used to express:

1. An indirect order (only in the third persons singular and plural):

- (418) *bušu, yāra bugu mərham bavərə.* Poor:25
Go and tell my friend; let him bring a bandage.

2. An assumption or permission that something should take its normal course (only in the third person singular):

- (419) *har či be, bəba!* Pool:16
Whatever will be will be (lit. let be what will be)

3. An invitation to perform an action together (only in the first person plural):

- (420) a. *bəfərma bišim!* Traveler:38
Please, let us go!
- b. *viriz, bišim!* Who:27
Get up, let us go!

4. A wish:

- (421) a. *ti čəšm rúzə bəda ní-dinə!* Pool:21
May your eyes never see a bad day!
- b. *xob, Iskəndər-bərar, inšāla ama ti arusi-re hato* Poor:207
budo-budo bukunim
All right Iskander, brother, God willing we shall also celebrate your wedding noisily

5. Bewilderment, hesitation, doubt about possibility, the time trend or expediency of the intended action (only with an intonation of inquiry):

- (422) a. *xob, az kóya šuru bukunəm, Məryəmə-amra gəb* Poor:391
bəzənəm?
All right, however shall I start the conversation (lit. converse with) Maryam?

- b.
- az ko ra bišim?*

Conver:32

But what road shall we take?

5.6.10.4.1.2 The Aorist in a Subordinate Clause

In subordinate clauses the modal meaning of the aorist is defined more precisely by the nature of the construction of the sentence in which it is used or by the semantics of that word or phrase to which it is subordinated (in object clauses, in part, by the semantics of the verb or of another word acting as a predicate in the main sentence). In our materials the aorist is obligatory:

1. in subordinate, conditional clauses:

- (423) a.
- agər kārəgəran i nəfəra bavər bədarid, tå āxər únə-amra-idi*

If the workers any some man, they will be with him to the end.

- b.
- bəd nə-xaye bostən ki səri ham bə məsʃəd bəzənə*

Story:4

It would not be a bad thing for him to call at the mosque for a minute

2. in subordinate, object clauses; in particular:

- a. after verbs designating a wish, an endeavour, consent, resoluteness, daring, fear, the beginning of an action, etc. such as:

- i. *āruzu (ārzu) kudən*: ‘to dream’, ‘to wish’

- (424)
- mən hamišə āruzu kudim ki ti-amra zəndəgi bukunəm.”*

Poor:412

I have always dreamt of living with you.”

- ii. *say kudən*: ‘to try’:

- (425)
- say kunəm ki bəyəm*

Poor:369

I shall try to come

- iii. *rāzi buon (bostən)*: ‘to consent to’, ‘to agree to’:

- (426)
- bilāxərə uşani per-ə mār rāzi bidi uşāni-re arusi ra tavədidi.*

Poor:167

In the end, their parents agreed to arrange their wedding.

- iv. *təsmim giftən*: ‘to decide’, ‘to make a decision’

- (427)
- təyribən i sāl-piš Məryəmə per təsmim gire, ita muzdur bigirə*

Poor:87

About a year ago Maryam’s father made the decision to hire a worker

- v. *jurit kudən*: ‘to dare’:

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- (428) *ammā jurat nē-kudid hamdigōra bigid* Poor:148
But they did not dare to tell each other [about this].
vi. *tārsen*: ‘to fear’
- (429) *mi bāla tir buxurd, tārsēm bimirēm,* Poor:24
An arrow has hit me in the arm; I am afraid I shall die.
vii. *šuru kudən*: ‘to begin’;
- (430) *hato ki pišnēmāz šuru bukudə allāh-u akbar bəgə, tājər xu* Liar:13
sēra tābūtə-ja birun bavərdə
As soon as the imam began to say the “God is great”, the merchant thrust his head out of the coffin.
viii. *fəramuš kudən*: ‘to forget’:
- (431) *fəramuš-a kune, xu pēra səlam bukune* Poor:135
She forgets to greet her father
ix. *meyl daštən*: ‘to wish’, ‘to have an inclination to’:
- (432) *koya meyl dari, bišim.* Conver:29
Wherever you want, there we shall go.
b. after modal verbs: *xastən*: ‘to want’, *tanəstən*: ‘to be able’:
- (433) a. *či xayī bukuni* Traveler:23
What do you want to do?
- b. *mən xarbəzə na-tanəm buxurəm* Niece:12
I cannot eat the melon
- c. after the defective modal verbs *bayəd // ba // va*: ‘it is necessary’, ‘one should’, ‘probably’; *vasti // vasi*: ‘it was necessary’, ‘it is necessary’, ‘one should’ ‘probably’; *šāyəd // ša*: ‘possibly’, ‘perhaps’; *šasti*: ‘it was possible’, ‘perhaps’:
- (434) a. *koya va bəšəm?* Complaint:2
Where must I go?
- b. *mislə in ki pirəmərd ādāmə bədi nə-va bəbə.* Poor:128
The old man is probably not a bad man.
- c. *mən-əm hu rāya vasti bəšəm.* Traveler:27
I must also go along that same road.

- d. *šāyəd mən bəšnasəm.*” Poor:226
Perhaps I know her.”

d. after modal words and expressions of the type: *mumkin-ə*; ‘possibly’, ‘perhaps’; *mumkin bu*: ‘it was possible’; *mumkin nu-bu*: ‘it was impossible’; *lāzəm-ə*: ‘it is necessary’; *lāzəm-bu*: ‘it was necessary’, etc.:

- (435) a. *mumkín-ə bigi ...* Minute:4
Perhaps you will tell me ...

- b. *bilāxərə hamišə de mumkin nu-bu ki ušan zir-ziriki hamdigəra dust bədarid* Poor:151
Ultimately, it was impossible to love each other secretly forever

- c. *lāzəm-ə ki mən-am bə fikrə arusi bəbəm.* Poor:211
I too, must think about marriage.

- d. *bilāxərə lāzəm bu, a mozu ruyi āb bəyə* Poor:151
Ultimately, it was necessary for this question to come to the surface

e. after the predicative combination *behtər-ə*: ‘better’:

- (436) *behtər-ə ki ūna māne nə-bəm.*” Traveler:30
It will be better if I do not stop him.”

f. after the verb *danəstən*: ‘to know’ in the negative form:

- (437) a. *bəlla mən xudəm nə-nəm či bukunəm!* Poor:349
Really and truly, I myself do not know what to do!

- b. *Məryəm de az zoj nə-nasti, čuto rā bəšə.* Poor:243
Maryam did not feel her feet beneath her for joy.²⁷

g. when used as part of a subordinate clause:

- (438) a. *bad iči nivisidi, fadidi Huséynə péra tā čāp bukunə*
Then they will give everything they write to Hussein’s father so that he can type it.

- b. *bamo xu čəkmə dukunə.* Story:53
He went to put on his boots.

h. in subordinate, concessive clauses:

²⁷In the text: *na-nasti, čuto rā bəšə* (lit. She did not know how she was going along the road.)

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- (439) a. *har çi bəgəm, kəm bugóftəm.* Birthday:20
Whatever I said, everything would be insufficient (lit. I said little).
b. *har jâ bişi, mislə mûr-u mələx âdəm isa (//isâidi).* Seashore:12
Wherever you go the people are like ants and locusts.

5.6.10.4.1.3 Differences between the Aorist and the Present-Future

The aorist, as we have already said, is similar to the form of the present-future tense of the indicative mood in respect to tense. However, there is, nevertheless, not a complete correspondence. The present-future tense of the indicative mood is equally often used to indicate both the present and the future tenses. In the majority of cases the aorist indicates the future tense either in the true sense of the word or correlatively with the action represented in the main clause:

- (440) a. *agər Iskəndəra jəvâb bədəm, mi kâr çi ba bəbə?* Poor:350
If I dismiss Iskander, who will help me with my work?
b. *kârəgəran majbur bid jərgə-jərgə bāzâr bişid ...*
The workers were forced to go to the market in groups ...

Much more rarely the aorist indicates the present tense:

- (441) a. *mən xarbəzə na-tanəm buxurəm* Niece:12
I cannot eat the melon
b. *mislə in ki pirəmərđ âdémə bədi nəva bəbə.* Poor:128
The old man is probably not a bad man.
c. *agər kârəgəran i nəfəra bāvər bədarid, tâ âxər únə-amra-idi*
If the workers trust any man, they will be with him to the end.

In complex verbs the prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* may be replaced by the separable particle *-a* which is joined to the nominal part of the complex verb. In this case the meaning of the aorist does not change:

- (442) *ašanə kələ a fikr dəkəftə ki tājəra zəndə-zəndə çālə kunid.* Liar:6
The thought of burying the merchant alive came into their heads.

5.6.10.4.2 The Subjunctive Past Tense

The past tense of the subjunctive mood is formed by the combination of the past participle with the auxiliary verb *buon*: ‘to be’, ‘to become’ in the form of the continuous tense:

(443)	Singular		
1st Person	bəbərdə bim	binivištə bim	bukudə bim
2nd Person	bəbərdə bi	binivištə bi	bukudə bi
3rd Person	bəbərdə bi	binivištə bi	bukudə bi
	Plural		
1st Person	bəbərdə bim	binivištə bim	bukudə bim
2nd Person	bəbərdə bid	binivištə bid	bukudə bid
3rd Person	bəbərdə bid	binivištə bid	bukudə bid

The negative form is: *nə-bərdə bim*, *ní-nivištə bim*, *nú-kudə bim*, etc.

Prefixal verbs, as in other tenses, do not take the form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-*: *fagiftə bim*, *fanderəstə bim*, *dukudə bim*, etc.; in the negative form: *fa-nə-giftə bim*, *fa-ân-derəstə bim*, *du-nu-kudə bim*, etc.

The form-building prefix *bə-//bi-//bu-* is also absent in complex verbs when the pre-verbal, separable particle *-a* is added to the nominal part thereof: *jam-a kudə bi*: ‘if he/she collected’.

In rapid speech the final vowel of the participle may be assimilated to the vowel of the auxiliary verb: *bukudi bi* < *bukudə bi*.

Verbs having the past stem ending with a vowel are slightly different from the other verbs in this form, as their past participle, as we have already said, does not have the ending *-ə*: *isa bim*, *vavərse bim*, etc.

The past tense of the subjunctive mood is similar in its modal meaning to the aorist, that is to say that it is meant to express all kinds of departures from reality but with the carrying out of the action not in the future and the present but in the past. In connection with this the sphere of its use is somewhat narrower and it is encountered more rarely than the aorist. In our materials the following cases of the use of this form are found:

1. in conditional, subordinate clauses:

- (444) *bad agər vəxt daštə bim, šimi, ita piče Sabzəmeydān gərdəš kunimi.* Niece:24

Then, if we have any [spare] time, we might go for a little walk on Sabze-meidan.

2. in attributive subordinate clauses referring to an action that would-be or a suppositional action (in the past):

- (445) *u bələyə ki dər dunyā nə-na bi, mi sər bəmo.* Poor:111

Whatever misfortune existed in the world, it would fall upon my head.

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3. in clauses indicating obligation with a shade of irrealis (in relation to a past action), in combination with the defective verb **vasti**: ‘it was necessary’, ‘it is necessary’, ‘one should’:

(446) **xudəš ki pír-a bostə bu, agər Məryəm-əm az dəst bədə, úni** Poor:67
kāra ki vastí bukudi-bi?

As he himself was already old, who would begin to carry out her work, if he married off Maryam?

A peculiarity of the verb **daštən**: ‘to have’ is the fact that the form of the past tense of the subjunctive mood could have the meaning of the present tense (with the corresponding modal shades of meaning. See (444).)

5.6.10.5 The Passive Voice

The passive is formed by means of the combination of the past participle with the corresponding finite form of the auxiliary verb **bostən**: ‘to become’, or **buon**: ‘to be’, ‘to become’. Apparently it is used comparatively seldom. In our materials it is used only in the third person singular of the past neutral tense:

- (447) a. **a ayáləstə-miyan hamə-ja ertəjā bukóbəstə bubóstə ...**
Everywhere in those regions the reaction (the reactionary forces) have been defeated (lit. were defeated) ...
- b. **un xéyli āšuftə bubo**
He was made very angry.

5.7 Postpositions and Prepositions

According to their role in the expression of syntactical relationships in the Gilaki language prepositions in many respects are inferior to postpositions, both in their number and chiefly in their frequency of use.

5.7.1 Postpositions

Postpositions in the Gilaki language number no less than twenty-five:

- (448) a. -amara (/amra)
 b. -biʃa
 c. -dimə
 d. -dimə-sər
 e. -dər
 f. dór-ə-bər (/dór-u-bər)
 g. -dumbāl
 h. -durun
 i. -ʃa (/ʃə)
 j. -ʃir
 k. -ʃor
 l. -ʃulo
 m. -manəstən
 n. -miyan
 o. -pušt
 p. puštə-sər
 q. -re
 r. -ru
 s. -sər²⁸
 t. sərə-ʃor
 u. -təɾəf

²⁸The postpositions *ja*, *miyan* and especially *sər* are also used as prepositions, for example:

- (i) a. pəs yək haštúmə ti zəndəgi ʃə dəs bušo Boat:6
 Then you have wasted one eighth of your life (lit. has gone out of your hands)
- b. miyanə a bugu-mugu tavəda xo-ra aʃanə-ru
 Between these cries he threw himself upon the policeman.
- c. sərə kuyi bušom Poor:23
 I climbed a mountain

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- v. -vasi
- w. -virĵa
- x. -xâtəṛə
- y. xâtəṛə-vasi

All of them, with the single exception of the postposition -ĵa, are of nominal origin²⁹. Nouns and demonstrative pronouns, governed by postpositions, receive the enclitic -ə of the genitive case, including those that are formed with the postpositions -ĵa (by analogy with the great bulk of postpositional constructions). Thus, nouns with a postposition are formed as a kind of attributive word combination of the first type. Nouns ending in a vowel, whose case enclitics are usually omitted, are an exception. Personal pronouns of the first and second types are in the form of the genitive case.

5.7.1.1 -amara

The postposition -amara (/amra) indicates:

1. Collaboration of an action:³⁰

- (449) a. Amədə-amara ĭta xiyābāna bušoim Pool:20
Ahmed and I went along one street.
- b. ašanə-amra vasti mubarəzə kudən. Who:20
We must fight them.

2. Instrumentality:

- (450) a. kulóngə-amra zuyāl kənīdi
They are digging out coal with a pick.
- b. xušānə čašmánə-amra bide bid
(They) saw with their own eyes.

²⁹The enclitic -a of the accusative-dative case and the pronominal case enclitic -ra originate from the same postposition -ra. The case enclitic -a has still retained a sufficiently strong link with a group of postpositions, in as much as, in a long “Ezafə” construction, it is separated from its head-noun and is joined to the last attribute which may be expressed by an adjective. Another postposition -re, is on the verge of becoming an enclitic, marking case in the noun, namely the genitive case. Thus, the final vowel -ə, of the genitive case enclitic, is often assimilated by this postposition resulting in, for example: zakane-re < zakanə-re.

³⁰Editor's note: This might better be called the comitative. Example (449b) seems to be an incorrect example of the comitative.

5.7.1.2 -biĵa

The postposition -biĵa indicates:

1. Location near, or in proximity to, someone or something:

- (451) a. *íta duxtərbəčə dǣrə-biĵa bāzi kúdi.* Seashore:30
Some girl was playing by the door.
- b. *ita pillə istəxr-ə, ame dānəškədə-biĵa naha.* Pool:12
It is a big pool near our college.
- c. *áya, ašanə-biĵa kulfəti kunəm.* Who:11
Here I work for them as a servant.

2. Motion towards someone:

- (452) a. *bamo mi-biĵa.* Pool:51
He came up to me.
- b. *únə perə-biĵa bá'zi ādəman ayidi*
Some people came up to his father.

Motion towards a person is expressed without exception by the postposition -biĵa, and never by the preposition bə which is synonymous thereto in meaning, for example:

- (453) *xayəm havəpeymā-amra mi zahakə-biĵa bə Nyu-York* Minute:3
bəšəm
I want to go by airplane to New York to see my children.

5.7.1.3 -dimə

The postposition -dimə indicates the location of something on the surface:

- (454) *ši nišini āftābə-dimə* News I:16
(He) came and sat in the sunshine.

5.7.1.4 dímə-sər

The postposition dímə-sər indicates motion along the surface of an object:

- (455) *bušóim pillekānə dímə-sər* Pool:48
We went down the ladder.

5. Morphology

5.7.1.5 -dor and dór-ə-bər

The postpositions **-dor** and **dór-ə-bər** (/dor-u-bər) indicate location around an object:

- (456) a. **dórə xānə** Poor:14
Around the house
- b. **ašk Məryəmə čəšmə-dor xalyə bəze bu** Poor:346
Tears welled up in the eyes (lit. around the eyes) of Maryam.
- c. **kārəgərāna xu dorə-bər jam kudi** Traveler:67
He gathered the workers around him.

5.7.1.6 -dumbāl

The postposition **-dumbāl** signifies movement behind someone. For example:

- (457) **mən bā tərs-u lərz Aməddə-dumbāl rā dəkəftəm.** Pool:32
I followed Ahmed closely in fear.

5.7.1.7 -durun

The postposition **-durun** indicates staying inside an object:

- (458) **utāyə-durun mi zaāka gərm-a be.** Niece:11
In the room my child will be hot.

5.7.1.8 -ja

The postposition **-ja** is functionally close to the preposition **az**, but its sphere of meaning is narrower than that of the preposition. However, the postposition is more generally used with those meanings that are common to both of them. It indicates:

1. The initial point in any space:

- (459) **ame xānə-ja tā idārə xéyli rā-yə.** Friends:10
It is quite far from our house to the institution.

2. The initial point of motion:

- (460) **xānə-ja birun šəm** Friends:8
I leave the house.

3. An object, from which or out of which something is obtained:

- (461) a. **unə-ja yəkmāhə dúta utāy kərayə bukúdim.** Seashore:38
We rented two rooms from him for a month.

- b. **diruz Tehrānə-ja telgəraf fagiftəm.** Traveler:1
Yesterday I received a telegram from Tehran.

4. A source of information:

- (462) **Huséynə-ja či xəbər dari?** Traveler:52
What news do you have of Hussein?

5. An object of comparison:

- (463) **zud kārəgərə sādə-ja ustakār bubo.** Traveler:60
From a simple worker he quickly became (lit. more skillful than) a foreman.

6. Passage through or along something:

- (464) **xiyābānə Buzərjumeri-ja guzəştən dubu** Story:2
He was walking along Buzerjumeri street.

And finally, the postposition **-ja** is used as a means of government by a number of verbs: **dəfā kudən**: ‘to defend (someone)’; **hisāb bərdən**: ‘to take (something) into consideration’; **vavərsen**: ‘to ask (someone)’, etc.

5.7.1.9 -jir

The postposition **-jir** indicates the position or direction under or below something:

- (465) a. **da dərəcə səfrə-jir** Pool:27
Ten degrees below zero
- b. **mizə-jir kəyəzana paxš kudi**
(He) put the documents under the table.

5.7.1.10 -jor

The postposition **-jor** indicates direction above something:

- (466) **pākursi-jor šuon du**
(He) stood on the stool.

5.7.1.11 -julo

The postposition **-julo** indicates motion in front of something, to the front of something or near something:

- (467) a. **gāhi ham Məryəməšānə xānə-julo amoi** Poor:77
Sometimes he even drove up to Maryam’s house.

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- b. *Məryəm ... xu-ǰulo bəna* Poor:18
Maryam put ... in front of her.

5.7.1.12 -manəstən

The postposition *-manəstən* indicates likeness or resemblance:

- (468) *imruz ti-manəstən ǎdəman hizār-hizār iǰā ǰəm-a bidi.* Who:28
Today people like you have gathered in the thousands in one place.

5.7.1.13 -miyan

The postposition *-miyan* indicates a remaining or a motion into some environment or object:

- (469) a. *dəkəftəm ǎbə-miyan* Pool:49
I fell into the water.
- b. *ita mədrəsə-miyan dərs bəxāndim* Traveler:43
We studied in the same school.
- c. *bušóim íta numrə-miyan* Pool:35
We went into a booth.
- d. *dunyá-miyan* Poor:324
In the world

5.7.1.14 -pušt

The postposition *-pušt* indicates location or direction behind something:

- (470) *nǎyəb ... bušo sutúnə-pušt.* Story:50
The lieutenant ... went behind the pillar.

5.7.1.15 puštə-sər

The postposition *puštə-sər* indicates movement or direction behind someone:

- (471) a. *har ǰā šói únə púštə-sər íta iddə kārəgər šóidi.* Traveler:66
Wherever he went a number of workers followed him.
- b. *nigǎ kune xu puštə-səra* Poor:396
He looks back.

5.7.1.16 -re

The postposition **-re** indicates:

1. The addressee of the appeal or information:

(472) a. **an-əm bəgəm šumé-re** Poor:37
And in addition, I shall tell you.

b. **ušani-re ruznāmə, kitâb xandi** Traveler:67
(He) read newspapers and books to them.

2. An object for the good of which some kind of action is accomplished, for example:

(473) a. **tu tani ame-re utây peydâ bukuni?** Seashore:22
Will you find a room for us?

b. **xayəm bəšəm úya ipiče zakánə-re čiz-o miz bihinəm.** Greeting:13
I want to go there to buy something for the children.

3. An aim:

(474) **Huseyn zud betanéstə xušánə huyúyə bədanə və ušánə fagiftónə-re mubarəzə bukunə**
Hussein quickly managed to find out their rights and fight for their realization (lit. seizure)

4. A reason:

(475) **xulāsə Zirābə-re xeyli alamšəngə rā dəgadidi**
In other words, because of Zirab, they made a loud noise.

5.7.1.17 -ru

The postposition **-ru** indicates motion aside a horizontal surface or a remaining on the surface of an object:

(476) a. **fukudi zəminə-ru** Story:25
(He) struck them against the ground.

b. **məxmələ-ru nište.** News I:10
She sits on velvet.

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- c. *fúršə-ru áftábə-dimə dərāz kəšéim* Seashore:43
We sunbathed on the sand.

5.7.1.18 -sər

The postposition *-sər* indicates position or motion on the surface of an object:

- (477) a. *hamvārə bostə gilə-sər*
(He) lay flat on the ground.
- b. *aǰan bəze mi kəllə-sər*
The policeman struck me on the head.
- c. *bišim səfrə-sər* Traveler:22
Let us go to the table (lit. to the tablecloth)

5.7.1.19 sərə-ǰor

The postposition *sərə-ǰor* indicates motion towards someone:

- (478) *bad bušo nâyəbə sərə-ǰor.* Story:21
Then he went up to the lieutenant.

5.7.1.20 -təraf

The postposition *-təraf* indicates motion aside some kind of object:

- (479) *ertəǰa xu doləta yuvvə-yu yudrəta šāhi-təraf kəǰ-a kúda*
The reactionary circles have sent their governmental forces to Shahi.

5.7.1.21 -vasi

The postposition *-vasi* indicates a reason and aim:

- (480) a. *zənəkan xušanə háyə-vasi ǰəm-a bidi* Who:34
Women are gathering to fight for their rights.
- b. *kārəǰarənə-vasi ... sər iškenéi* Traveler:64
He took risks for the sake of the workers ...

5.7.1.22 -virǰa

The postposition *-virǰa* is used synonymously with the postposition *-biǰa* and it indicates movement towards someone.³¹

- (481) *Məryəm xəndə kunān aye xu perə-virǰa*
Laughing, Maryam approaches her father.

³¹The postposition *-virǰa* is encountered in our texts once.

5.7.1.23 xâtərə-vasi

The postposition *xâtərə-vasi* indicates an aim on behalf of someone:

- (482) a. *mən-əm šimi xâtərə-vasi har maldəvil nu-kunəm*
 And I, for your sake, shall not race through (the story)
- b. *tu mi xâtərə-vasi bə ĵā avəri?* Seashore:5
 Will you carry it out for my sake?

5.7.2 Prepositions

The Gilaki prepositions are not unique. They are all represented in the Persian language, the main ones being:

- (483) a. *az*
 b. *bā*
 c. *bə*
 d. *bi*
 e. *dər*
 f. *tā*

and the secondary ones (nominal and compound):

- (484) a. *mislə*
 b. *sər*
 c. *zirə*
 d. *az zirə*
 e. *az vəsətə*
 f. *yeyr az*
 g. *bad az*
 h. *bə ĵayə*
 i. *bə tərəfə*
 j. *bə xâtərə*

The prepositions that are nominal in origin and compound ones that include those prepositions therein take the enclitic *-ə*. The preposition *sər* is also used postpositionally (in which case its meaning is different, see section 5.7.1 Postpositions).

5. Morphology

5.7.2.1 az

The preposition **az** indicates a starting point in the broadest sense of the word. This meaning is shown in the following ways:

1. As the starting point in space:

- (485) **az a sǝrǝ tinibi ta u sǝrǝ tinibi** Birthday:15
From this side of the hall to that side of the hall

2. As the starting point in time:

- (486) a. **az abad tǝ se sǝl**
From the period of one's life down to three years
- b. **az u šǝb dǝ un Mǝryǝma mǝslǝ ǎdǝmǝ tur-u divanǝ az dil** Poor:183
ǎšǝy be
From that evening he fell in love with Maryam with his whole heart,
as a madman.

3. As the source of a spreading of motion:

- (487) a. **danǝsti, az mǝn hič čǝ birun dǝrz nǝ-kune.** Traveler:41
He knew that I would not give away anything (lit. from me nothing
would spread outside).
- b. **az xu per-a mǝr žudǎ bostǝn dǝre** Poor:194
She is parting from her parents.

4. As part of a whole; a member of a series:

- (488) a. **ti dil har čǝ xaye az mivǝ, širini, ǎžil ǝya naha bu.** Birthday:18
They put everything there that your heart would desire: fruits,
sweets, nuts (and small pieces of fruits and raisins)
- b. **íta az ǎšan**
One of them

5. As a reason:

- (489) a. **žǝyǝlan vǝxti ǝna bideidi az xušhǎli žiy bǝkǝšǝidi.** Seashore:21
When the children saw him, they squealed with joy.
- b. **Mǝryǝm-u Iskǝndǝr dil az a kǝr xun bu.** Poor:361
Because of this, Maryam and Iskander's hearts were bleeding.

6. As a source of information:

- (490) **Məryəmə per az Iskəndər vapurse: “ti nām či, bərar?”** Poor:95
Maryam’s father asked Iskander, “What is your name, brother?”

7. As a source or object of comparison:

- (491) a. **kārəgəran huşyartər az un bid ki uşánə gúla buxorid**
The workers were too clever to be deceived.
- b. **dəs dərâztar az pã** News I:14
Arms longer than legs

8. As a subject of conversation:

- (492) **binîştimi, az a tərəf u tərəf gəb bəzəim.** Traveler:15
We sat down and talked about this and that.

9. As the passing through or along something:

- (493) a. **pəs az a ra bişim.** Conver:36
Then let us go along this road.
- b. **az səbzə-u čəmən guzər kunim** Conver:34
We will pass the lawns and glades.

Finally, the preposition **az** is used in rare cases to express attributive phrases, for example:

- (494) **mənzur az nigāhan** Poor:400
The purpose of these glances

5.7.2.2 **bå**

The preposition **bå**, synonymous to the postposition **-amra**, is much less frequently used than **-amra**, and it is chiefly used to form adverbial words with the meaning of possession of some quality or other:

- (495) a. **bå hālətə yeyz-u yəzəb** Please:3
With irritation
- b. **bå tərs-u lərz**
With fear and trembling
- c. **bå a tundi** Pool:2
Quickly (lit. at this speed)

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- d. **bā təšrifāt** Liar:24
With honor
- e. **az hāya Məryəm bā Iskəndər āšnā bidi.** Poor:137
From that time Maryam got to know Iskander.

5.7.2.3 bə

The preposition **bə** has the following meanings:

1. (Principal meaning) The indication of direction toward an object:

- (496) a. **bad vagərdimi bə xānə.** Niece:25
Then we return home.
- b. **farəsəim bə íta meydān** Pool:20
We reached a square.

2. An indication of direction may reach a different degree of figurativeness, depending on the context, for example:

- (497) a. **xāk bə ti sər!** Pool:40
Put ashes on your head!
- b. **bə kuməkə dolət**
With the help of the government
- c. **avvəl xudəša bə muš-murdəgi bəze**
At first he was changed into a meek person.

3. An indication of the addressee:

- (498) a. **yāzi ru bukudə bə duzd** Thief:1
The judge addressed the thief.
- b. **íta pirəmərday bə kántórə havāpeymāyi tiləfun bukudə.** Minute:1
One old man telephoned the office of Aeroflot.

4. An indication of a name:

- (499) **íta istgāyə rā-ahən bə nāmə Zirāb-ə**
The train station called Zirab.

5. An indication of residence within:

- (500) **xāli mən bə xānə isam.** Seashore:32
I am alone at home.

5.7.2.4 bi

The preposition **bi** indicates the absence of someone or something:

- (501) a. **bi ijázəyə mən əb nú-xure** Niece:21
Without my permission he will not even drink water.
- b. **hič nə-tanəm bi tu zəndəgi bukunəm** Poor:405
I cannot live without you.

5.7.2.5 dər

The preposition **dər** indicates a staying inside something. It is used considerably less frequently than the synonymous postposition **-miyan**:

- (502) **kārəgəran dər ɣalbə ku tunel kəndi**
The workmen dug a tunnel in the thickness of the mountain.

5.7.2.6 tå

The preposition **tå** indicates a limit in time and space:

- (503) a. **bəz-əm tå sâatə šiš kår kunəm.** Friends:22
And again I work until six o'clock.
- b. **a mǎya tå ăxər úya bəsim** Seashore:7
We shall stay there until the end of this month.
- c. **tunélə-miyan tå zānu əbə-miyan isidi**
(They) are knee-deep in water in the tunnel.

5.7.2.7 mislə

The preposition **mislə** indicates similarity:

- (504) a. **mislə pərvanə únə dor-u bər jəm-a bidi** Birthday:8
Like butterflies they gather around her.
- b. **har jå bişi, mislə mūr-u mələx ădəm isa (//isáidi).** Seashore:12
Wherever you go the people are like ants and locusts.

5.7.2.8 sər

The preposition **sər** indicates motion or a remaining at the beginning, the top or the head of something:

- (505) a. **un sərə kår bamo**
He came to power (lit. to the head of the business)

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- b. *Aməd sərə keyf-ə* Pool:54
Ahmed is in perfect bliss.
- c. *sərə kuyi bušom* Poor:23
I climbed a mountain.
- d. *sərə piri* Poor:287
In old age

5.7.2.9 *zir*

The preposition *zir* indicates motion or a remaining at the bottom of something:

- (506) *murđum manídi zírə ávâr*
People remained under the landslide.

5.7.2.10 *az zirə*

The preposition *az zir(ə)* indicates motion from under something:

- (507) *fəyət gâhgâhi zir-ziriki az zirə čəšm hamdigəra nigâ kudidi* Poor:399
Only from time to time they stealthily (lit. from under their eyes)
cast glances at each other.

5.7.2.11 *az vəsətə*

The preposition *az vəsətə* ‘by means of’:

- (508) *ha vəxt íta pillə moj az vəsətə dəryâ buland-a bo* Boat:7
Then a big wave arose on the sea.³²

5.7.2.12 *yeyr az*

The preposition *yeyr az* ‘besides, expecting’:

- (509) *a du nəfər xušani (//ə) dilə-miyan yeyr az mehr-u* Poor:148
muhəbbətə bərar-xaxurí íta muhəbbətə digər-am his
kudidi
Apart from brotherly love these two felt another love in their hearts.

5.7.2.13 *bad az*

The preposition *bad az* indicates the following of something in time usually after some kind of fixed event:

- (510) *Huseyn bad az xu pərə mərdán nə-tanəstə Rāštə-miyan bəso*
After the death of his father, Hussein could not remain in Rasht.

³²Editor's note: This seems to be an incorrect example of the meaning ‘by means of.’ The meaning of *az vəsətə* in (508) would be ‘in the middle of.’

5.7.2.14 bə ʃayə

The preposition **bə ʃayə**: ‘in place of, instead of’:

- (511) **mən-am ki pəsərə buzurg narəm, tu bə ʃayə mi pəsər.** Poor:126
 Since I do not have a grown son, you will be a son for me instead.”

5.7.2.15 bə tərəfə

The preposition **bə tərəf(ə)** indicates motion towards an object:

- (512) **ita pillə moʃ ... bə tərəfə ašanə lotkə bamo** Boat:7
 A big wave ... rolled up to their boat.

5.7.2.16 bə xâtərə

The preposition **bə xâtərə** indicates an aim or a cause:

- (513) **hizâr nəfər bəkəndə ʃân** News II:27
 A thousand men suffer, as if in agony,
bə xâtərə i luymə nân.
 for their daily bread.

5.7.3 Prepositional-Postpositional Constructions

In the Gilaki language prepositional-postpositional constructions are encountered. The simultaneous use of both the preposition and the postposition with the noun more precisely determines the direction indicated thereby, but in some cases, when the preposition and the postposition are tautological in meaning, it is as if it emphasizes the indication of direction. The following combination of prepositions with postpositions are noted (single examples): **bə ... -durun, tå ... -miyan, az ... -ja, ja ... -ja**:

- (514) a. **amára bə xânə-durun bəbərdə.** Seashore:37
 He took us into the house.
- b. **az uya (//uya-ja) rā dəkəfidi tå pillə meydānə-miyan.** Who:29
 From there they headed for the big square.
- c. **az únə-ja buxâr bulənd-a bosti** Pool:20
 From it steam was rising
- d. **ja a suraxə-ja**
 Out of this hole

6. Syntax

6.1 Ways of Expressing Syntactic Relations

Agreement, government, juxtaposition, and word order are the principal means of expressing the syntactic relations of words in the sentence. Rhythmics and the melodies of speech have a special place therein.

The principal means of expressing syntactic linking is closely connected with the morphological peculiarities of nouns in the Gilaki language, to the effect that nouns have considerably fewer inflectional suffixes than verbs. Of the three principal means of syntactic linking – agreement, government and juxtaposition, only agreement is brought about through inflectional markers (the personal verbal endings). As for government, both inflectional and analytical means of linking words are used: the case endings of nouns and postpositions with prepositions. Juxtaposition is confined to purely the analytical means of linking, i.e. to the position of a word in relation to another word.

6.1.1 Agreement

Agreement is used to link the subject to the predicate. There are two types of agreement: full agreement (in person and number) and incomplete agreement (only in person).

Examples of full agreement:

- (515) a. *šime* (/šimi) *zakan čī kunidi?* Greeting:7
What are your children doing?
- b. *mən nə-ta-nəm bayəm* Greeting:14
I cannot come.
- c. *mi mār naxúš-ə.* Greeting:16
My mother is ill.

Incomplete agreement occurs only in the third person and there are two types thereof:

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1. The subject is in the singular and the predicate in the plural. This type of agreement is linked with the use of the noun as a subject with a collective meaning. For example:

(516) a. *íta jərgə ʔbə-miyan ləpə-amra bāzi kudidi.* Pool:25
One group is playing (lit. are playing) ball in the water.

b. *təmāmə a mardum ki aya isá-idi, ʃəhādət dəhidi* Liar:17
All the people who are (plural) here will testify (plural)

2. The subject is in the plural and the predicate in the singular. This violation of agreement in number is possible when the subject is expressed by a noun designating an inanimate object, for example:

(517) a. *tāzə a vəxt mi kārān təmām-a ni-be.* Friends:23
Even now my affairs do (singular) not end

b. *ti čašman ruzə bəda ni-dinə!* Seashore:10
But may your eyes not see (singular) the bad day

The subject, presented by the combination of the noun in the nominative case and another noun governed by the postposition, agrees with the predicate in accordance with the chief noun in this group which is in the nominative case. For example:

(518) a. *Məryəm xu dəsxaxuran-amra iʃayi xušanə hamsāyāna yavər kudi* Poor:40
Maryam and her female friends helped their neighbors.

b. *pəsərə ita iddə xu refeyanə-amra bə fikr dəkəftə* Liar:5
The lad, together with a group of his friends, pondered

If the subject is expressed by the combination of a numeral with a singular noun, then the predicate agrees therewith in the singular, for example:

(519) a. *uya hizār-u divist kārəgər kār kune*
1,200 workers work (singular) there

b. *duta čəšm-əm xastí yərz bukunə, únə yəd-u yəvārəya təməšā bukunə* Poor:35
And both eyes were longing (lit. was longing) to admire her appearance

Juxtaposition and government in their spheres of action have the following

types of syntactic linking: objects with the predicate, adverbial modifiers with their predicate and attributes with their modified words. These types of links are formed with the help of the case forms of nouns, prepositions, postpositions and with word order.

Since the description of these relations is given in the section on morphology of nouns (5.1), to avoid repetition, we shall turn immediately to juxtaposition and government, summarizing the information imparted therein.

6.1.2 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is used for the linking of:

1. The direct object, expressed by the indefinite noun, to the predicate;
2. Some adverbial words to the predicate;
3. Attributes to their head noun in some kinds of attributive phrases.

Juxtaposition is properly expressed by immediately neighboring words – the syntactically dependent word precedes the word to which it is related (or follows it, which happens more rarely). Examples:

1. In the direct object:

- (520) a. *in yədər xastəkār dare* Birthday:9
(She) has so many admirers
- b. *ruznāmə xandi* Traveler:61
(He) was reading the newspaper
- c. *mən-əm ti-vasi muraxxəsi fağıftəm* Traveler:27
And I took a holiday for your sake

2. In adverbial words (usually these are adverbial modifiers of place or, more rarely, of manner):

- (521) a. *úya šoon dərəm* Greeting:10
(I) am going there
- b. *kārəgəran majbur bid jərgə-jərgə bāzār bišid*
The workers were forced to go to the market in groups
- c. *Məryəm de az zoy na-nasti, čuto rā bəšə* Poor:243
Maryam did not feel her feet beneath her for joy

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- d. *u šəb ruyəhəm rəftə Iskənder nārāhət xuse* Poor:252
That night, in short, Iskander slept uneasily¹

3. In attributes. Attributes expressed by demonstrative, possessive, attributive and some other pronouns and also by cardinal numbers are always joined to the determinant by means of simple juxtaposition:

- (522) a. *šime zakan* Greeting:7
Your children
- b. *ti hāl* News I:7
Your condition
- c. *az a sērə tinibi tā u sērə tinibi* Birthday:15
From this end of the hall to that end of the hall
- d. *har du ruz* News II:18
Every other day
- e. *hamə kəs*
Every man
- f. *da-pānzde ruz* Traveler:3
Ten to fifteen days

Attributes, expressed by nouns or adjectives, in accordance with the types of attributive syntagmas, apart from pure juxtaposition, also make use of the morphological marker (compare the types of attributive phrases):

- (523) a. *hačīn gəb*
An empty word
- b. *utāyə xāli* Seashore:15
A free room
- c. *pirə kaftāl*
The old hyena

¹ In as much as adverbs of time in their meaning are usually related to the sentence as a whole and not to the predicate alone, they gravitate towards the very beginning of the sentence, being separated from the predicate by several parts of the sentence. In cases where there is the absence of juxtaposition, the word order dominates (see the above-mentioned example).

6.1.3 Government

There are two types of government: verbal and postpositional (prepositional).

It appears the intermediate type of verbal-postpositional government still exists which is represented by a group of verbs when they appear with certain postpositions.

Verbal government is used for linking the predicate to the direct object expressed by the definite noun or the indirect object (or the adverb) having the general meaning of direction (of the addressee). Examples:

1. In the direct object:

- (524) a. *xu kára tēmām kune* Niece:22
(He) is finishing his work
- b. *mi zāmáya bideṃ* Seashore:20
(I) saw my son-in-law
- c. *xeyli kəsan úna dust daridi* Birthday:8
Very many people love her
- d. *tu mára bəbaxš* Greeting:20
You forgive me
- e. *Xusruxân ... Məryəmə pera zəne* Poor:308
Khusrukhan ... is beating Maryam's father

2. In the indirect object:

- (525) a. *āxər mən ušána bugóftəm* Traveler:12
And finally, I told them
- b. *Məryəm ... xušánə hamsâyána yavér kudi* Poor:40
Maryam helped their neighbors
- c. *úni xâlə pəsər-am úna xâtərxâ bu* Poor:166
Her aunt's son was also in love with her
- d. *Mohsəna xeyli xuš bamo.* Traveler:18
Mohsein was very pleased [with this].
- e. *refeyan mára bugóftidi* Traveler:35
The friends told me

3. In an adverb:

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- (526) a. *bu-zur sâatə noh idârəya farəsəm.* Friends:14
With difficulty I reach the institution at nine o'clock.
- b. *xaye Rášta bəğərdə.* Traveler:7
He wants to return to Rasht.

The very same postpositions (or prepositions) may govern both objects and adverbs retaining to a certain extent the same meaning. One may illustrate this situation with examples of the use of the very same prepositions and postpositions both with indirect objects and with adverbs.²

1. Indirect objects:

To express an object of the direction of an action, or the addressee in the wider sense of the word, the postposition *-biĵa* is used:

- (527) a. *hamsâyə-biĵa bušo.* Seashore:34
He has gone to his neighbor.”
- b. *únə perə-biĵa bāzi šəbān bā'zi ādəman ayidi*
Some people come to his father in the evenings.

The postposition *-amara* (*//aməra // -amra*) is joined to the object of the joint action:

- (528) a. *zahákə-amara məšyúl-a be.* Niece:23
He is busy with the children.
- b. *i ruz pəsərə íta iddə xu refeyanə-amra //amara be fíkr dəkóftə ...* Liar:5
One day, the lad, together with a group of his friends, planned ...

Objects that are an object of purpose or an object for the sake of which an action is accomplished are formed with the postpositions *-re*, *-vasi*:

- (529) a. *vasti bəšəm zakáne-re ċiz bihinəm.* Friends:24
I must go and buy something for the children.
- b. *kārəgəránə-vasi və ušánə huyúyə-re sər iškenéi.* Traveler:64
He took risks (lit. broke his head) for the sake of the workers and for their rights.

²We do not give a full list of Gilaki postpositions and prepositions here, but we refer the reader to the appropriate section on morphology (section 5.7 Postpositions and Prepositions).

- c. *món-əm ti-vasi muraxxəsi fagíftəm* Traveler:17
I, for your sake took a holiday

2. Adverbs:

The postposition *-bija* (an adverbial modifier of place):

- (530) *íta duxtərbəčə dərə-bija bāzi kúdi.* Seashore:30
Some girl was playing by the door.

The postposition *-amara* (adverbial modifier of manner):

- (531) *xušənə čəšmanə-amra bide bid*
They saw with their own eyes

The postpositions *-re*, *-vasi* (adverbial modifiers of purpose):

- (532) a. *éydə-re Rašt ayəm* Traveler:2
For my holidays I am coming to Rasht

- b. *zənəkan xušanə háyə-vasi jəm-a bidi* Who:34
The women are uniting for their rights

Prepositional constructions are rarely used as indirect objects. They are chiefly used as adverbs.

Examples of prepositions governing adverbs:

Indirect objects The preposition *az* (as an adverbial modifier of place):

- (533) *tu az rā bamói* Traveler:21
You have arrived after a journey

(As an adverbial modifier of motive):

- (534) *az xušhāli jiy bəkəšéidi* Seashore:21
(They) shouted for joy

The preposition *bə* (an adverbial modifier of place):

- (535) *bə xānə bamom* Birthday:27
(I) arrived home

The preposition *tā* (an adverbial modifier of time):

- (536) *tā nístə šəb bəzən-bukub bu* Birthday:23
There was noise until midnight

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There are a number of verbs which occur strictly with certain postpositions (or prepositions). These cases might be treated as a sort of verbal-postpositional (or verbal-prepositional) government to some extent. We shall enumerate some of them. The following verbs:

- (537) a. *vavərsən* to ask (someone)
b. *šəkāyət kudən* to complain
c. *rāzi boon* to content oneself, to be satisfied
(with someone)
d. *xudā hāfezi kudən* to say goodbye (to someone)

demand as the object of their action the postposition *-ja*. Examples:

- (538) a. *pišnəmāz jəmāatə-ja vavərse* Liar:18
The imam asked those who were present
b. *tu čuto xayī kəlāntəri-ja šəkāyət bukuni* Complaint:3
Why do you want to complain about the police?
c. *mən únə-ja xeyli rāzī-yəm* Niece:26
I am very pleased with him
d. *mən-əm únə-ja xudā hāfezi bukudəm* Birthday:27
I also said goodbye to her

The verb *tarsən*: ‘to be afraid (of someone)’ is used with the preposition *az*:

- (539) *az xudā-u āxərət-am ná-tərse.* Poor:264
He fears neither God nor the Day of Judgment.

6.2 The Simple Sentence

The simple, unexpanded sentence can consist of only one part – the predicate, for example:

- (540) a. *biyə!* Come!
b. *bišim* Let us go!
c. *zud baš!* Hurry!
d. *xunak-ə* It is cool.

6.2.1 The Principal Parts of the Sentence

But usually the simple, unexpanded sentence consists of two main parts – the subject and the predicate, for example:

- (541) a. *tu nani?* *Do you not know?*
b. *an bugoftə* *This one said.*
c. *šuma danidi* *You know.*
d. *mərday bamo* *A man came.*

Apart from the subject and the predicate the simple, expanded sentence also includes secondary parts of the sentence within itself. They are grouped around the main parts in such a manner that the sentence as a whole consists of two groups: the group of the subject and the group of the predicate.

The attributes are related to the subject and the objects and adverbs are related to the predicate. In the simple expanded sentence any secondary part of the sentence may be absent and of the principal parts of the sentence the subject may be absent, usually when the personal pronoun is meant thereby, for example:

- (542) a. *avvəl unə-ja vavərsem* Seashore:22
 At first (I) asked him
b. *kíya xayí bidini* Traveler:23
 Whom do (you) want to see?

6.2.1 The Principal Parts of the Sentence

6.2.1.1 Subject

The subject may be expressed:

1. By a noun (or a nominalized adjective), for example:

- (543) a. *kārəgəranə iparčəgi ertəjāya bətərsanə*
 The unity of the workers frightened the reactionaries
b. *bičāran jān kənidi*
 The poor people die

2. By a pronoun, for example:

- (544) a. *mən nə-tanəm bayəm* Greeting:14
 I cannot come

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- b. *tā hamə xob bəfahmid* Who:30
So that everybody well understood
- c. *har ki bətanəstə bamo* Birthday:12
Everyone who could came

3. By an infinitive:

- (545) *maadónə-miyan kār kudən a yədər səxt-ə*
Working in the mine is so difficult

Nouns used as a subject are in the nominative case. Moreover, the formal indications of the subject are the fact that it is put in the first place in the sentence (or immediately after the adverbial modifier of time or of place) and its agreement with the predicate, for example:

- (546) a. *kārəgəran havāyə āzādə-miyan ita piče āb gərm kunidi*
The workmen are heating the water a little in the open air
- b. *diruz mi xaxurzāyə təvəllud bu.* Birthday:1
Yesterday was my niece's birthday.

The exceptions to these formal indications of the subject are: inversion, changing the word order in the sentence and the omission of the link-verbs from the nominal predicates which removes the agreement of the subject with the predicate.

The inversion is usually necessitated by the semantic emphasis. The stressed word is usually placed before the subject:

- (547) *məra či bəd aye purčanəgi! šime-re či xuš aye dərāzrudəgi!*
How I dislike verbosity! And how you like verbosity!

In these two sentences the subjects stand at the end of the sentence, the predicates precede them and the indirect objects are put in the first place, being the logical subjects of the phrases in question. Inversion is used especially often in poetry:

- (548) a. *bāz bušo hut, bamo bəhār* News I:1
The month of Khut has passed again; spring has set in
- b. *imruz ná-yəm mən nəhāra*
Today I am not going to dinner

Most commonly the link-verb is absent in the third person, for example:

- (549) a. *an ki?* Who:3
Who is this?
- b. *an tú-i?* Who:5
Is it you?
- c. *anə čuman âhúyə čuman* Birthday:5
Her eyes are the eyes of a gazelle

6.2.1.2 Predicate

The predicate may be expressed by any verbal form and also by a noun in combination with the auxiliary verb or the link-verb (which may be omitted). Verbal nominal predicates may be simple or compound, for example:

The simple verbal predicate:

- (550) *ti mærdáy či kune?* Niece:17
What is your husband doing?

The simple, nominal predicate:

- (551) *an ki?* Who:3
Who is this?

Both the simple and the compound forms are equally typical of the verbal predicate. Complex verbal forms and compound verbs can both act as verbal predicates, for example:

- (552) a. *alan mən yəksər úya šuon dərəm.* Pool:9
I am just going there now.
- b. *íta piče xúdəma bəd his kunəm* Niece:14
(I) feel a little ill

The compound form is typical of the nominal predicate unlike the verbal form. The noun with the link-verb serves as its simplest form. The enclitic forms of the verbs of being and the following auxiliary verbs serve as link-verbs:

- (553) a. *boon* ‘to be’
b. *bostən* ‘to become’
c. *isan* ‘to be’, ‘to stay’

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Examples:

- (554) a. *tu nāxúš-i?* Niece:13
Are you ill?
- b. *úya xunók-ə* Niece:10
It is cool there
- c. *a xānə xéyli təmiz bu* Seashore:39
This house was very clean
- d. *ti gərdən kuluftər-a be* Pool:19
Your neck will become stronger
- e. *xú-re bāsəvād və kitābxān bubóstə bu.* Traveler:62
He became literate and well-read.
- f. *tí-amara xob isə?* Niece:19
Is he nice to you?
- g. *a məyázə či məyázə isə?* Greeting:11
What sort of shop is it?

There are cases where a nominal part of the compound nominal predicate has attributes of different kinds or even a whole attributive phrase. Let us give some examples:

- (555) a. *Huséynə per kārəgərə čāpxānə bu* Traveler:71
Hussein's father was a worker in a printing-house
- b. *šāhi – šahrə kučiki bu*
Shakhi was a small town
- c. *Iskəndər xeyli ādəmə kəmhosələ bu.* Poor:96
Iskander was a very impatient man.
- d. *Aməd sərə keyf-ə* Pool:54
Ahmed is amusing himself
- e. *bəyyyə ušanə-re āba xordən-ə*
The rest is easy for them (lit. to drink water)

- f. *kārəgəran haštād dər sad āzərbāyǰāni-idi*
Eighty percent of the workers (in Zirab) are Azerbaijanis

The coordinate verbal predicates either follow immediately one after the other or else the following one is separated from the previous one by the words that relate thereto:

- (556) a. *ruznāman únə nāma bəbərđidi, binivíštidi*
The newspapers have mentioned, written his name
- b. *zud bāš, səmavəra átəš bukun, xarbəzə xaj (/yāj) bukun, Niece:8*
bavər!
Hurry up! Put on the samovar, cut the melon into sections and bring it here!

The link-verb may be repeated after every nominal part of the coordinate, noun predicates or it may only stand attached to the last or the first predicate:

- (557) a. *xeyli xušgıl-ə, xuşyád-ə, xuşyámət-ə* Birthday:4
(She) is very beautiful, a good height, with a fine figure
- b. *nə hóz-ə, nə rutxānə.* Pool:11
No, it is neither a pond nor a river.
- c. *a mardumə sáddə ... pākđil, rurást, xušđil-idi* Poor:11
These simple people are ... sincere, honest and kind
- d. *a murđum čə yədər purkār, zahmətkəš, mutəhammel və šaráfətmənd-idi*
They are such an industrious, diligent, enduring and noble people.

The predicate has a fixed position at the end of the sentence which all the cited examples illustrate. At the same time inversion, dictated by the necessity of a logical or expressive isolation of some word or other, causes the predicate to shift to the very beginning of the sentence:

- (558) *an bu mi Huseynə sərguzəšt*
Such was the fate of my Hussein

Moreover, inversions of the constituent parts of the noun predicate are possible for the specific purpose of semantic emphasis. The link-verb precedes the attribute to the nominal part of the predicate, for example:

- (559) *ǰəvāni bu bulənyəd, xuşyámət, čəhāršānə* Traveler:48
(He) was a young man of large stature, of fine build and broad-shouldered

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Finally, inverse word order is observed in the next two groups of the compound verb predicates. The first group includes the predicate with a modal verb as a first element of the predicate plus an aorist (present subjunctive form) or infinitive as a second element. Here, the modal verb is placed immediately after the subject and is separated from the second verb by the related objects and adverbs. For example:

- (560) a. *tu tani únə sərguzəšta mí-re bigi?*” Traveler:53
Can you tell me what has happened to him?”
- b. *xaye Rášta bəğərdə.* Traveler:7
He wants to return to Rasht.
- c. *ašanə-amra vasti mubarəzə kudən.* Who:20
We must fight them.

The second group is made up of predicates, where the first verb indicates that an action (expressed by the second verb) is starting or just beginning and the second verb is an infinitive. For example:

- (561) a. *Aməd šuru bukudə kir-kir xandə kudən.* Pool:50
Ahmed began to laugh loudly.
- b. *ašan bənā bukúdidí kārəğərāna aziyyət-u āzār kudən*
They began to oppress and torment the workers

Inversion may intrude even into the given order of the arrangement of the components of these two groups of predicates. Thus, for example, the direct object may precede the modal verb with the compound predicate standing entirely at the end of the sentence.

- (562) *kíya xayi bidini?* Traveler:23
Whom do (you) want to see?

The infinitive may precede the modal verb:

- (563) *šənā kudən dani?* Boat:8
Can you swim?

6.2.2 Minor Parts of the Sentence

6.2.2.1 Attributes

Attributes may be expressed by any noun. Two main types of attributive phrases exist.

The first type of attributive phrase possesses the following order of constituent elements: the attribute stands in the first position with the addition the morphological enclitic **-ə // -yə** (for a noun it is the inflection of the genitive case); in the second position there is the word defined thereby:

- (564) a. **Məryəmə per** Poor:339
Maryam's father
- b. **nəhárə nân** News II:2
Lunch bread
- c. **xušké mǎhi** News I:15
Dried fish
- d. **pirə kaftāl**
The old hyena

In the presence of several attributes all the attributes come before the word defined thereby and each one receives an enclitic (which may be omitted, see below).

The possessive attributes precede the qualitative attributes.

- (565) a. **Mohsónə pile bərar** Traveler:42
Mohsein's older brother
- b. **ašanə pillə tinibi** Birthday:11
Their big hall

If in an attributive phrase there are more than one possessive attribute, then each preceding attribute is related to the one following it. The head-noun is at the very end of the phrase.

- (566) **kārəgərənə mubarəzəyə tǎrix**
The story of the struggle of the workers

The enclitic **-ə** is often omitted when the attributes, expressed by adjectives, end in a vowel.

- (567) a. **pile bərar** Traveler:42
An elder brother

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- b. *siya Huseyn* Traveler:47
Black Hussein

The omission of this enclitic is less common with adjectives ending in a consonant:

- (568) a. *xob mayâze* Greeting:12
It is a good shop.
- b. *haçin gəb*
An empty word
- c. *sərd âb* Story:8
Cold water
- d. *xob jâi-yə!* Story:23
It is a good spot.

The most rare case is the omission of this enclitic with attribute nouns:

- (569) a. *Məryəm per* Poor:333
Maryam's father
- b. *Məryəm-u Iskəndər dil* Poor:361
Maryam's and Iskander's hearts

The second type of attributive phrase is the "Ezafə" construction, similar to the Persian. The vowel *-ə* is used as an "Ezafə" combining the word modified with the following modifier and every preceding modifier with the one that follows:

- (570) a. *utâyə xâli* Seashore:15
An empty room
- b. *nîsfə şəb* Birthday:23
The middle of the night

The "Ezafə" enclitic may be omitted:

- (571) a. *ĵuloxānə məşjədə šāya* Story:3
The facade of the Shah's mosque
- b. *ita sabmənsəb aĵan* Story:1
There was one police officer

- c. *məyâzə tãzə*
New shop

Greeting:10

In the majority of cases of words losing their “Ezafə” enclitic we find that they end in a vowel.

Both types of attributive constructions are equally common. The very same nouns may act as attributes in the first or the second type of attributive phrases. To what extent their spheres of action differ or whether they differ at all is unclear at present. That question demands further study. Evidently one should consider the spreading of the “Ezafə” construction as a consequence of the influence of the Persian language.

Both types of attributive phrases cannot be combined at the same time. The attributes are grouped around the word modified of either one or the other type. The common feature of both types of phrase is the possibility of the omission of the morphological enclitic *-ə*.

But there are certain lexical categories which, as attributes, never take the enclitic *-ə* and which always come before the noun modified. Thus, a third type of attributive phrase can be conditionally distinguished using pure juxtaposition even the part of the phrase corresponding to the first type of attributive phrase. This type of phrase may be freely combined with the first two.

The following categories of words act here as attributes:

1. Demonstratives, possessives, interrogatives, attributive and indefinite pronouns. We shall cite some examples:

- (572) a. *a kãŷəzan*
These documents

- b. *u rã-yə*
That road

Traveler:26

- c. *mi abji*
My aunt

Greeting:15

- d. *šime jã*
Your place

Seashore:45

- e. *či xəbər*
What news

Traveler:52

- f. *har jã*
Every place

Seashore:12

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- g. **ba'zi ādəman**
Some people

2. Cardinal numbers,³ numeratives and measures of quantity, weights, etc.:

- (573) a. **du ruz** Traveler:9
Two days
- b. **sə ta karxanə**
Three factories
- c. **čān nəfər xu refeyān**
Some people from among his friends
- d. **se kilometr rā-yə**
Three kilometer distance
- e. **íta luymə pələ** Who:12
One gulp of pilau

Attributive phrases are an indivisible whole and auxiliary words are outside thereof, for example:

- (574) a. **muallómə mízə-žir**
Under the teacher's chair
- b. **təryaki aǰanə-amara**
With the policeman who is intoxicated (with hashish)
- c. **bad-az xu perə šoon**
After his father's departure
- d. **bi ijāzəyə mən** Niece:21
Without my permission

³With the exception of those cases where the cardinal numbers follows the noun modified, on the whole even this phrase is formed according to the pattern of the “Ezafə” construction, for example:

- (i) **sāatə haft** Friends:7
seven o'clock

- e. *kārxānýə parčəbāfi-miyan* Traveler:57
In the weaving mill

The case enclitic in phrases of the first type are joined to the attribute located at the end of the phrase:

- (575) *mən Mohsəné pile bərar Huséyna xéyli dust dáštīm.* Traveler:42
I liked Mohsein's older brother Hussein very much.

(The enclitic *-a* of the accusative-dative case is joined to the attribute Hussein in the phrase which functions as a direct object.)

- (576) *mi dil xaye ... daryā kənāra bišim* Seashore:7
I want (us to) go the seaside

(The case enclitic *-a* is attached to the modified noun of the attributive phrase.)

In the "Ezafé" construction the case enclitics either shift to the noun-attribute at the end of the "Ezafé" series or else they are omitted (if the attribute is an indefinite noun). For example:

- (577) *a pisərakə harāmzadəyə bədcəšma bavərđi ti xānə-miyan* Poor:310
You have brought a lad who is dishonorable and who has bad intentions into your house

(In this sentence the enclitic *-a* of the accusative case, in the direct object, shifts to its second attribute *bədcəšm*.)

- (578) a. *ti čašman rúze bəda ní-dinə!* Seashore:10
But may your eyes not see the bad day!

- b. *a pirəmórdə ahmóya tu ba gušmali bədi."* Poor:268
You must punish this old fool."

(In both sentences the enclitic *-a* of the accusative case is attached to the attribute of the direct object.)

In the phrases:

- (579) a. *xu duxtərə azəbə-amra* Poor:265
With his unfortunate daughter

- b. *havāyə āzāde-miyan* Pool:23
In the free air

the enclitic *-ə* of the genitive-postpositional case has shifted to the attributes

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azəb-ə and *âzâd-ə* which stand after the modifiers.

In the following examples the accusative case enclitic is omitted, inasmuch as the direct object, even if it has an attribute, is an indefinite noun:

- (580) a. *Məryəm pera vaada vəid dayi* Poor:60
He made extensive promises to Maryam's father
- b. *mən-am ki pəsərə buzurg narəm* Poor:126
Since I do not have a grown son

6.2.2.2 The Direct Object

The direct object in its grammatical form is linked to the definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun. The direct object, expressed by the definite noun, is in the accusative-dative case; the indefinite noun in this function is in the nominative case.

- (581) a. *xu kâra təmâm kune* Niece:22
(He) is finishing his work
- b. *diruz Tehrânə-ja telgərâf fagîftəm.* Traveler:1
Yesterday I received a telegram from Tehran.

The direct object may be a compound. The following phrases act as compound, direct objects:

1. Two or more nouns joined by the conjunction *və* (//*-u*). In such cases the dative-accusative case enclitic only follows the last object in this series:

- (582) a. *mi Mohtərəm xānəm diruz xu dəsaxuran və dəsberarana xu-bija da'vət bukuḍə.* Birthday:10
Yesterday, my Mohtaram-khanum invited her female and male friends to her house.
- b. *kârt-u pustâl fadə* Birthday:12
(They) sent a postcard

2. Attributive phrases where the case enclitic is sent to the end:

- (583) *dəryâ sədəya išnavəstim* Seashore:41
We heard the sound of the sea

The place of the direct object in the sentence is relatively fixed. It gravitates towards the predicate, but it usually yields its place to the indirect object.

- (584) *xudā tára amé-re bədarə.* Greeting:22
May God preserve you for us.

Inversion with the aim of semantic emphasis brings about changes to this order. The direct object may change places with the indirect object or even shift to the very beginning of the sentence before the subject.

- (585) *tu tani amé-re utāy peydā bukuni?* Seashore:22
Can you find us a room?

(The indirect object *ame-re*: ‘for us’ precedes the direct object *utāy*: ‘room’.)

- (586) *a kára hamə kəs ná-tanəsti búkunə*
Not everybody can carry out this work

(The direct object *a kára* ‘this work’ stands at the beginning of the sentence, before the subject.)

6.2.2.3 The Indirect Object

The indirect object is expressed, chiefly, by the noun in the accusative-dative case and, secondly, by postpositional (or rarely prepositional) constructions, consisting of a noun (or an attributive phrase) and one of the postpositions (or prepositions).

The noun in the accusative-dative case is used as an indirect object with the meaning of direction or of an addressee:

- (587) a. *mən xastim imšəb təra bəgəm* Poor:404
Today I wanted to tell you
- b. *Məryəmə pera amr-u-nay kudi* Poor:77
(He) gave orders to Maryam’s father
- c. *gāyi ham ušāna taadid kudi* Poor:60
Sometimes he threatened them

Nouns governed by postpositions or prepositions, acting as indirect objects have, depending on the corresponding syntactic words, a wide range of meanings – from concrete meanings of direction or position to abstract meanings of purpose, cause, etc.

Thus, for example, the postposition *-biḵa* forms indirect objects with the general meaning of an addressee or the direction of an action:

- (588) a. *hamsāyə-biḵa bušo.”* Seashore:34
He has gone to his neighbor.”

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- b. *xayəm ... mi zahakə-biḵa bə Nyu-York bəšəm* Minute:3
I want ... to go to my children in New York

The postposition *-amara* governs with the indirect object of a joint or cooperative action, for example:

- (589) a. *Amadə-amara ita xiyābāna bušoim* Pool:20
(We) walked along the street with Ahmed
- b. *ašanə-amra vasti mubarəzə kudən* Who:20
We must carry on the struggle with them

The postposition *-vasi* forms the indirect object appearing as the cause or the purpose of an action:

- (590) *mən-əm ti-vasi muraxxəsi fagiftəm* Traveler:17
And I took a holiday for your sake

On the whole the great bulk of the other postpositions (and also prepositions) form indirect objects indicating a different position or direction relative thereto (see the examples in section 5.7 Postpositions and Prepositions).

6.2.2.4 Adverbial Modifiers

Adverbial modifiers may be expressed by nouns in the nominative or the accusative-dative case or by adverbs or by nouns with postpositions and prepositions. The following morphological and syntactical means are used in all semantic types of adverbial modifiers.

1. Adverbial modifiers of place:

a. To indicate location:

i. Nouns in the nominative case:

- (591) *hasa mi šavhar xānə xuftə*
Now my husband is sleeping at home

ii. Nouns with the postpositions: *-biḵa* (location near or next to); *-durun* (location inside); *-ḵir* (location below); *-miyan* (location among or inside); *-ru*, *-sər* (location on the surface), etc.

- (592) a. *dānəškədə-biḵa* Pool:12
Near the university
- b. *utāyə-durun* Niece:11
In the room

- c. *mizə-ǰir*
Under the table
- d. *idārə-miyan* Friends:15
In the institution
- e. *furšə-ru* Seashore:43
On the sand
- f. *pille-sər* Pool:48
On the step
- iii. A noun with the prepositions *bə*, *dər* (location inside); *zir* (location under something), etc.
- (593) *xāli mən bə xānə isam.* Seashore:32
I am alone at home.
- b. To indicate direction:
- i. A noun in the nominative case
- (594) *eydə-re Rašt ayəm* Traveler:2
For my holidays I am coming to Rasht
- ii. A noun in the accusative-dative case (final direction)
- (595) a. *idārəya fərəsəm* Friends:14
I reach the institution
- b. *mi dil xaye ... dəryā kənāra bišim* Seashore:7
I want (us) ... to go to the seaside
- iii. A noun with the postpositions *-ja* (initial direction), *-təraf* (final direction)
- (596) a. *xānə-ja birun šəm* Friends:8
(I) am going out of the house
- b. *šāhi-təraf kəj-a kúdə*
He made his way towards Shakhi
- iv. A noun with the preposition and postposition *bə ... durun* (direction into)
- (597) *amāra bə xānə-durun bəbərde.* Seashore:37
He took us into the house.

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v. An adverb of place

- (598) *kóya šoon dari? ... uya šoon dərəm* Greeting:9
Where are you going? ... I am going there

2. Adverbial modifiers of time:

- a. A noun expressing some period of time in the nominative case – *tābestān* ‘summer’ (‘in summer’), *sob*: ‘in the morning’ (‘morning’)
b. A noun standing for a space of time in a phrase with a numeral:

- (599) *mən sātə haft xābə-ja virizəm* Friends:7
I get up at seven o’clock

- c. Nouns with the preposition *az*, expressing the beginning and nouns with the preposition *ta*, expressing time limits:

- (600) *az abad tā se sāl*
From the time of birth (lit. eternity) up to three years of age

- d. Adverbs of time – *imsāl*: ‘this year’, *imruz*: ‘today’, *diruz*: ‘yesterday’, etc.

3. Adverbial modifiers of manner:

- a. Nouns expressing a quality or sign:

- (601) *xúdəma bəd his kunəm* Niece:14
(I) feel ill
(*bəd*: ‘bad’)

- (602) *piyādə šəm.* Friends:13
I go on foot.
(*piyādə*: ‘pedestrian’)

- b. Nouns with the postpositions *-amara* (an adverbial modifier of instrumentality), *-re*, *-vasi* (adverbial modifiers of cause or purpose):

- (603) a. *čəšmánə-amra bide bid*
(They) saw with their own eyes

- b. *éydə-re Rašt ayəm* Traveler:2
For my holidays I am coming to Rasht

- c. **kārəgəranə-vasi və ušanə huyúyə-re sər işkenéi.** Traveler:64
He took risks (lit. broke his head) for the sake of the workers and for their rights.

c. Nouns with the prepositions **bå** ‘with’; **bi** ‘without’ and **mislə** ‘like’:

- (604) a. **bå tərs-u lərz** Pool:32
With fear and trembling

- b. **bi ijjaze**
Without permission

- c. **mislə pərvānə** Birthday:8
As a butterfly

d. Adverbs modifying of the manner of an action:

- (605) a. **ita piče**
A little

- b. **xeyli**
Very

- c. **yāvāš-yāvāš**
Slowly

The place of adverbial modifiers in the sentence is not firmly established. Adverbial modifiers of time usually occur at the beginning of the sentence, being placed either before the subject or after it. Adverbial modifiers of place and manner gravitate towards the predicate (see the examples above.)

6.3 The Complex Sentence

6.3.1 Coordinated Clauses

The coordinated clauses that are parts of the complex sentence are combined by means of coordinating conjunctions. The majority of them also combine the coordinate parts of the sentence. Coordinating conjunctions are subdivided in meaning into the following groups:

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1. The copulative conjunctions **və** (with the enclitic variants **-(y)ə**, **-(y)u**, **-nu**, **-vu**) ‘and’ (which is also used even with an adversative meaning); **ham** (with the enclitic variants **-am**, **-əm**) ‘also’, ‘and’; **ham ... ham ...** (**-əm ... -əm**) ‘both ... and ...’:

- (606) **áya áb julf-ə və koya təskə?** Pool:46
Here the water is deep; where is it shallow?

The enclitic variants are usually used with coordinate parts of the sentence:

- (607) a. **biya-vu bišin mi-amra ame xânə** Poor:125
Come and live with me in our home

- b. **mərdúmə a mahallan ... mobil-u yâli, kulfət-u nokər ... naridi** Poor:8
The inhabitants of these districts do not have ... furniture and carpets, or female and male servants ...

- c. **Məryəm-ə Iskəndər bā pāki-yu sādəgíyə dihâti zəndəgi kudid** Poor:159
Maryam and Iskander lived in rural purity and simplicity

- d. **tu-nu mən-u un**
You and I and he

- e. **idâre ayəm, bāz-əm tå sâátə šis kår kunəm** Friends:21
(I) return to the institution and again I work until six o'clock

- f. **šəb-əm mi kår təmām-a nibe.** Friends:26
My work is not finished even in the evening.

- g. **ham vasi bāzār bəšəm, ham vasi poxtəpəz bukunəm** Who:13
I must both go to the market and cook the food

- h. **šəbə arusi ham Məryəm, ham Iskəndər har du šidi təmāšâ.** Poor:168
On the evening of the wedding Maryam and Iskander both went to watch the wedding.

2. The adversative conjunctions – **ammâ** ‘but’; **bəlke** (/bəlki) ‘however’, ‘but’; **və=illâ** ‘otherwise’; **vəgərnə**: ‘or else’, ‘otherwise’:

- (608) a. **šâhi šahrə kučiki bu, ámmâ səta kårxânə daští**
Shakhi was a small town, but there were three factories therein

- b. *havâ hala târik bu, amma nəsımə xunóki vazei.* Story:6
It was still dark, but a cool breeze was blowing.
- c. *kârəgəranə mubarəzə sədə fəyəť ... Mâzandəranə-miyan munakes nu-bu, bəlke Tēhrānə-miyan-ham munakes bu*
News of the workers' struggle spread not only in Mazanderan, but also (spread) even in Tehran
- d. *bəlki un xufte və neštavəstə* Story:33
But he is asleep and cannot hear
- e. *heyf, mən nə-tanəm bayəm, ipiče kâr darəm, və-illâ ti-amara amoyim.* Greeting:14
It is a pity that I cannot come. I am busy, otherwise I would come with you.
- f. *ba bə ... una az ti xānə birun-a kuni, və-illâ ti bār-u kuča dəvəd buşu* Poor:311
you must ... turn him out of your house, or else get away from here with all your belongings
- g. *mən nanastim ki bə a nəzdikí-yə, vəgərnə xudəm piyâdə şoimi* Minute:7
I did not know it was so near, otherwise I should have gone on foot
3. The disjunctive conjunctions *gâhi ... gâhi ...* 'sometimes ... sometimes'; *nə ... nə ...* 'neither ... nor ...'; *yâ (/ya)* 'or':
- (609) a. *gâhi kârəgəran, gâhi dolət piş bərdi*
First the workers then the government gains the upper hand
- b. *gâhi xuĵ, gâhi be, gâhi âlučə avərəm bāzâr, furuşəm.* Poor:116
I bring first pears, then quince and then cherry-plums to the market to sell them.
- c. *han yədər danəm, hato ki čəşm bə dunyâ vakudəm, nə péra bide, nə mára.* Poor:109
One thing I know – when I opened my eyes to the world, I saw neither father or mother.
- d. *vagərdídi, yâ vanágərdidi*
Either they will return or they will not return

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- e. *bíya imtəhan bukunim, bidinim xuftə yā na.* Story:34
Let us conduct a test; we shall see whether he is asleep or not.”

Even asyndetic coordinations are also possible:

- (610) a. *bugóftəm: “ama áya isimi, tu bušu, ti péra duxan!”* Seashore:35
I said, “We shall stay here, but you go and call your father!”
- b. *tu mara šənasi, mən nǎ-tərsəm.* Traveler:32
You know me; I am not afraid.
- c. *bəfərma bišim pələ yəx kune.* Traveler:38
Let us go, otherwise the pilau will go cold.”
- d. *šime xānə-bija ita məyāzə tāzə vabóstə, úya šoon dərəm.* Greeting:10
A shop has just been opened near your house, I am going there.

6.3.2 The Compound Sentence

The link between the main clause and the subordinate clause is created with the help of the following conjunctions:

Table 12. *Conjunctions between Main and Subordinate Clauses*

<i>ki</i>	the universal conjunction, is used in many types of subordinate clauses – object clauses, attributive clauses, phrases of time, purpose, etc., but it also introduces direct speech (for examples, see below);
<i>tā</i>	a subordinating conjunction of purpose and time;
<i>vəxti, vəxti ki,</i>	subordinating conjunctions of time;
<i>har vəxti ki</i>	
<i>agər, har yəd</i>	used in subordinate, conditional clauses;
<i>čun, čunki</i>	subordinating conjunctions of purpose;
<i>hato ki</i>	introduces subordinate comparatives and subordinate clauses of time;
<i>anə-vasi,</i>	introduce subordinate clauses of cause and effect.
<i>unə-vasi</i>	

In many types of subordinate clauses asyndetic subordination is also possible.

6.3.2.1 Object Clause

The subordinate object clause is introduced by the conjunction *ki* ‘that’ and follows the main clause, usually immediately after the verb to which it refers:

- (611) a. *šuma danídi ki Huseyn xéyli bāhuš bu.* Traveler:58
 You know that Hussein was very clever.
- b. *čutor bubostə ki amára yād bu-kudi?* Niece:5
 How did you come to remember us?

When there is asyndetic subordination the same order of the main and then the subordinate clause is preserved:

- (612) a. *badhā bəfāhməstə bu, a kâṣəzan čī bidi*
 Then (he) understood which documents these were
- b. *məgər nidinidi, mən áya isam?* Please:3
 Can you not see that I am here?

6.3.2.2 Attributive Clause

The subordinate, attributive clause is joined to the main clause with the help of the conjunction *ki* and it follows the same word that it modifies. This word is often duplicated in the third person subordinate, attributive, personal clause, but this pronoun may have the postposition (or preposition) joined thereto:

- (613) a. *farəséim bə íta meydān, ki az únə-ja buxār bulənd-a bosti.* Pool:20
 (We) approached the square, from which (lit. which from it) steam was rising
- b. *šāyəd-əm bə yādə xu mərd Mirza Mamud dəkəfə ki čənd sāl-piš žandarman úna bəkuštidi* Poor:20
 Perhaps she is remembering her husband Mirza Mamud, whom the gendarmes (lit. who ... him) killed several years before.

The subordinate, attributive clause usually follows the main clause either immediately after the word to which it refers or after the predicate:

- (614) *íta az ašan mi Huseyn bu, ki kārəgəran únə sədāṣət və liyāṣəta xušānə čəšmanə-amra bide bid*
 And one of them was my Hussein, whose honesty and devotion (lit. who his honesty and devotion) the workers saw with their own eyes

6. Syntax

However, the attributive clause may even penetrate into the sentence to which it refers if it modifies that part of the sentence which precedes the predicate:

- (615) a. *har ki bətanəstə, bamo* Birthday:12
Everyone who could came
- b. *agər sob šuma kārəgərána ki tunélə-miyan šidi bidinid ...*
If you see the workers going through the tunnel in the morning ...

Asyndetic, subordinate attributes are encountered in colloquial speech:

- (616) *a pəsərək ləndəyul kí-yə, tu ti xānə-miyan bavərđi?* Poor:296
Who is this lad, rascal whom you have brought into your house.

6.3.2.3 Temporal Clauses

Subordinate clauses of time are subordinated to the main clause with the help of the conjunctions:

Table 13. *Conjunctions for Temporal Clauses*

<i>vəxti (ki)</i>	‘when’, ‘while’
<i>ki</i>	‘when’, ‘as soon as’
<i>tā</i>	‘while (until)’, ‘when’, ‘as soon as’
<i>ha to ki</i>	‘when’, ‘just now’, ‘while’

- (617) a. *vəxti ki xu kára təmām kune yəksər bə xānə aye.* Niece:22
When he finishes his work he immediately goes home.
- b. *ǰəyələn vəxti úna bideidi az xušhāli ǰiy bəkəšéidi.* Seashore:21
When the children saw him, they squealed with joy.

The subordinate clause of time, making use of the conjunction *ki*, usually follows the main clause or else it divides it into two parts where it is placed immediately after the adverbial modifier of time:

- (618) a. *dah sālə-ǰa bištər bu ki Huseyn Rāštə-ǰa bušo.* Traveler:56
It is now already ten years since Hussein left Rasht.
- b. *bále, alān du má-yə ki nāxúš-ə.* Greeting:19
Yes, two months have already gone by now since she fell ill.

Subordinate clauses of time introduced by the conjunction *tā*, depending on

the meaning in which that conjunction is used, either precede the main clause (which is preferable) or follow it. Thus, the subordinate clause of time stands before the main clause if the conjunction *tâ* is used with the meaning ‘*when*’:

- (619) *tâ dëra vakudim, jəɣəlan virištidi budovəstidi únə bəɣəl.* Traveler:10
As soon as I opened the door, the children ran and threw themselves
(lit. ran) into his arms.

but if the conjunction *tâ* is used with the meaning ‘*while (until)*’, then the subordinate clause of time is usually placed after the main clause:

- (620) *murđum manídi zírə ávâr, tâ bayid ušána birun fakəšid*
People will remain under the landslide until they come (and) pull them
out

Subordinate clauses of time, introduced by the conjunction *hato ki*: ‘*when*’, ‘*as soon as*’, ‘*while*’, ‘*as*’, precede the main clause.

- (621) a. *xuləsə Məryəm ható ki pə bə bist bəná, úni mərđə* Poor:46
bostənə vəxt bərəsé bu.
So when Maryam was twenty years old, the time came for her to
get married.

- b. *hato ki arusə familan fərəsidi dar dāmādə xānə, íta tir* Poor:196
xāli be.
As soon as the bride’s relatives approach the bridegroom’s house,
a shot rings out.

- (622) *hato ki Iskəndər gərmə a xiyālan bu idəfayí Məryəm úni* Poor:187
bāla gire
Then, when Iskander was occupied with these thoughts, suddenly
Maryam took (lit. takes) him by the hand

The asyndetic subordination of subordinate clauses of time is also to be observed.

- (623) a. *íta dəyiɣə nú-guzəštə, mərđay bamo.* Seashore:36
Not a minute had gone by when a man came.
- b. *durust, du ruz dāštīm bə eyd, Mohsən bamo.* Traveler:9
Mohsein came exactly two days before the holidays.

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6.3.2.4 Conditional Clause

The subordinate, conditional clause is introduced by the conjunction **agər**: ‘if’, **har yəd** (the same meaning) and it is usually placed before the main clause. If the condition (of the conditional clause) is meant to be real, and the action is related to the future or the present tense, the verb in the conditional clause stands in the present-future tense of the subjunctive mood:

- (624) a. **agər ti méyla bə jâ n-avərəm, ki méyla bə jâ bavərəm?** Seashore:6
If I do not fulfil you wishes, then whose wishes shall I fulfill?
- b. **agər kârəgəran i nəfəra bāvər bədarid, tâ âxər unə-amra-idi**
If the workers trust any man, they will be with him to the end.

If the real condition is related to the past tense then the verb in the subordinate clause stands in the simple past tense:

- (625) **yâzi: “agər avvəlin bār bu, pəs čutor bətanəsti rāstə divara bujor biši?”** Thief:3
The judge: “If this was the first time, then how did you manage to climb up that sheer wall?”

In unreal conditions the verb in the subordinate clause stands in the past perfect tense and the verb in the main clause in the past imperfect tense:

- (626) a. **agər tu diruz mi-biĵa bamo bi, ti-amra sinəma šoim**
If you had come to me yesterday, I should have gone with you to the cinema
- b. **agər a kitāba mərə fada bi, duruzə xandim**
If you had given me this book, I should have been reading (it) for two days

When there is asyndetic subordination the subordinate conditional clause also stands at the beginning of the compound sentence:

- (627) **suzən tavədi, biĵir n-aye.** Seashore:11
[There] if you drop a needle, it will not fall down.

6.3.2.5 Purpose Clause

A purpose clause is formed with the conjunction **ta** ‘so that’ (or, rarely, **ki**) which always follows the main clause. The verb in the purpose clause occurs in the present-future tense form of the subjunctive mood:

- (628) a. **har ruz yək sāat vəxt fadidi tâ nahār buxorim.** Friends:16
Every day they give us one hour for lunch.

- b. *tu ti nəyşəya mî-re bugu, ... tå mən tærtîbə kâra* Traveler:23
bədəm.

You tell me about your plans ... so that I can arrange all these things.

- c. *şuru kune bə gəryə kudən, ammə itor ki jəyələn* Poor:327
nə-famid

He begins to cry, but so that the children do not notice.

Subordination without a conjunction is possible as well:

- (629) *hiç kəs narəm, unə-amarə dārdə dil bukunəm.* Who:16
 I have nobody with whom I could share my sorrow.

6.3.2.6 Causal Clause

A causal clause is introduced by the conjunctions *čun*, *čunki*, *unə-vasi (ki)*, *anə-vasi*, *hasa ki* ‘because’, ‘as’, ‘for’, ‘since’.

The position of the causal clause with respect to the main clause is relatively free. Most often it follows the main clause, but it may also precede it or occur inside it:

- (630) a. *kārəgəran ... nānidi, asr vagərdidi yā vanagərdidi, čunki har čən vəxt*
čubbəstə tunel iškəfe

The workers ... did not know whether they would return in the evening or not, as the supports for the tunnel could crack at any time

- b. *hasa ki şuma xaidi, bə čəşu itaat kunəm, şime-re gəm* Traveler:57
 Now, since you so wish I shall gladly obey you and tell you

6.3.2.7 Concessive Clause

Concessive, subordinate clauses are introduced by these conjunctions:

Table 14. *Conjunctions for Concessive Clauses*

<i>agər či</i>	‘although’
<i>har či</i>	‘however’
<i>bå a osaf</i>	‘despite’

Usually the concessive, subordinate clause is placed before the main clause:

- (631) a. *agər či duroy ziyad ge ... vəli bāz-am kedxudā-yə* Poor:271
 Although he tells many lies ... he is nevertheless the village elder

6. Syntax

- b. *har či bəgərdəstə, xākə tǝzə nide.* Story:51
No matter how far he walked, he did not see fresh earth.

- c. *har či xāka ara-ura bukudə, hič či niyaftə.* Story:52
However much he dug in the ground, he did not find anything.

The subordinate clause of consequence is introduced by the conjunction *ki* and it stands after the main clause. In the main clause there is usually a demonstrative pronoun or an adverb:

- (632) a. *“ay xudā! mi mǝrə asəbana un yədər yəvi bukun ki bətanə haməya mi šeytāniya təhāmmul bukunə!”* Prayer:1
“O, Lord! Strengthen my mother’s nerves so much that she can endure all my pranks.”

- b. *in yədər šulúy-ə ki xər xu sahəba na-šinase.* Seashore:13
There is so much noise that the donkey does not know its master.

6.4 Direct Speech

In the Gilaki language indirect speech is poorly developed; direct speech completely replaces it. Direct speech is either introduced with the conjunction *ki* or it follows thereafter without a conjunction. It is formed completely with its own object clause:

- (633) a. *Mohsən bugóftə ki “tu kāmīlən durust gi.* Traveler:34
Mohsein said, “You are speaking quite rightly.

- b. *ge ki čere mi ism Aloša ni-yə?*
(He) says (that) why do you not call me Alosha?

- c. *gidi: “xob mǝyǝzə-yə, hamə či darə”* Greeting:12
They say, “It is a good shop. There is everything in it.”

- d. *an bugóftə: “ustatər utǝyə xālī nahá.” un bugóftə: “ustatər bušu.”* Seashore:15
This one said, “There on that side there is a free room.” That one said, “Go there on that side”

A. Texts

A.1 Text 1 – Greeting

Greeting:1

səlam aleykum!

Hello!

Greeting:2

aleykum səlam!

Hello!

Greeting:3

ti a(h)vål čutor-ə?

How are you?

Greeting:4

mi a(h)vål xob-ə.

Fine.

Greeting:5

či kuni? či kår kuni?

What are you doing? How are you getting on?

Greeting:6

bəd ní-yəm.

Things are not going badly for me.

Greeting:7

šime (/šimi) zakan či kunidi?

What are your children doing?

Greeting:8

alhámdullá, bəd ní-(y)idi, dərs xanidi, kår kunidi.

Thank goodness, things are not going badly with them. They are studying and working.

Greeting:9

kóya šoon dəri?

Where are you going?

Greeting:10

šime xânə-biĵa íta məyâzə tâzə vabóstə, úya šoon dərəm.

A shop has just been opened near your house, I am going there.

Greeting:11

a məyâzə či məyâzə isə?

What sort of shop is it?

A. Texts

Greeting:12

mən ní-demə, gidi: “xob məyâzə-yə, hamə çi dare.”

I did not see [it]. They say, “It is a good shop. There is everything in it.”

Greeting:13

xayəm bəšəm úya ipiče zakánə-re čiz-o miz bihinəm.

I want to go there to buy something for the children.

Greeting:14

heyf, mən ná-tanəm bayəm, ipiče kâr darəm, və-illâ ti-amara amoyim.

It is a pity that I cannot come. I am busy, otherwise I would come with you.

Greeting:15

tu bugu bidinəm, mi abji çi kune?

Can you tell me, so that I may know (lit. see) what my mom is doing?

Greeting:16

məgər tu ná-ni, mi mâr nâxúš-ə.

Do not you know that mother is ill?

Greeting:17

na, xudâ nú-kunə.

Is that so? God forbid.

Greeting:18

úna çi bubostə?

What has happened to her?

Greeting:19

bále, alân du má-yə ki nâxúš-ə.

Yes, two months have already gone by now since she fell ill.

Greeting:20

xaxurjan, tu mára bəbaxš!

Little sister, forgive me!

Greeting:21

mən nánastim, və-illâ a véxtə-yədər hizâr vâ bamo bum.

I did not know, otherwise I would have come a thousand times.

Greeting:22

xudâ tára amé-re bədarə.

May God preserve you for us.

Greeting:23

mən hamišə gəmə: “mi Zahrajan xeyli mehrəbân-ə.”

I am always saying, “My Zahrajan is very kind.”

Greeting:24

xudâ hâfez.

Goodbye.

A.2 Text 2 – Niece

Niece:1

xaxurjan, bíya, bíya!

Little sister, come, come here!

Niece:2

bidin ki amé-biḡa amon dərə!

Look who is coming to us!

Niece:3

ti xaxurza Kubrā xānəm amon dərə.

Your niece, Miss Kubra is coming here!

Niece:4

ti yurban bəšəm!

May I be your sacrifice!

Niece:5

čutor bubostə ki amára yād bu-kudi?

How did you come to remember us?

Niece:6

či yəḡər arzu kúdim tá-ra bidinəm, ammā mi zakanə ahvāl xob nú-bu, ná-tanəstim.

How I wanted to see you, but my children were unwell and I could not.

Niece:7

kor Fātəmə áya bíya!

Daughter Fatima, come here!

Niece:8

zud bāš, səmavəra átəš bukun, xarbəzə xaj (/yāj) bukun, bavər!

Hurry up! Put on the samovar, cut the melon into sections and bring it here!

Niece:9

baxčə-biḡa yāli pán-a kun!

Spread the carpet around the little garden.

Niece:10

úya bəšəm, úya xunók-ə.

Let us go there; it is cool there.

Niece:11

utāyə-durun mi zaáka górm-a be.

In the room my child will be hot.

Niece:12

xāləjan, ti yurban bəšəm, mən xarbəzə ná-tanəm buxurəm.

Aunty, may I fall a prey to you; I cannot eat the melon.

Niece:13

či-re? mógər xudā ná-xastə ti a(h)vāl xob ní-yə? tu nāxúš-i?

Why not? Are you, God forbid, unwell? Are you ill?

Niece:14

na, fəyət ita piče xúdəma bəd his kunəm.

No, I only feel a little unwell.

Niece:15

íta tirišə xarbəzə hiči nú-kune.

One piece of melon will not do anything.

Niece:16

buxur, Kubrā! ti šəkəma yurbán bəšəm.

Eat it up, Kubra! May I be the sacrifice of your stomach.

Niece:17

bugu bidinəm, ti mərday či kune?

Can you tell me, so that I may know (lit. see) what your husband is doing?

A. Texts

Niece:18

ti-amara ču-ǰur rəftār kune?

How does he treat you?

Niece:19

tí-amara xob isə?

Is he nice to you?

Niece:20

bále, xǎləǰan, mára xé(y)li dust dare.

Yes Aunty, he loves me very much.

Niece:21

a ǵədər xób-ə ki bi iǵǎzǎyə mən āb nú-xure.

He is so good that without my permission he will not even drink water.

Niece:22

vǎxti ki xu kára təmām kune ǵəksər bə xǎnə aye.

When he finishes his work he immediately goes home.

Niece:23

zahákə-amara məšǵúl-a be.

He is busy with the children.

Niece:24

bad agər vəxt daštə bim, šimi, ita piče Sabzəmeydān gərdəš kunimi.

Then, if we have any [spare] time, we might go for a little walk on Sabze-meidan.

Niece:25

bad ǵərdimi bə xǎnə.

Then we return home.

Niece:26

mən únə-ǵa xeyli rǎzǐ-yəm.

I am very pleased with him.

Niece:27

alhamdullā xušbəxt bibi.

God grant that you will be happy.

A.3 Text 3 – Birthday

Birthday:1

diruz mi xaxurzǎyə təvəllud bu.

Yesterday was my niece's birthday.

Birthday:2

ami xǐšu-ǵoman hamə ušǎnə xǎnə ǵəm bubóstidi.

All our relatives gathered in their home.

Birthday:3

mi xaxurza Mohtərəm xǎnəm imsāl tǎzə mədrəsəya təmám-a kudə, diplom faǵíftə.

My niece Mohtaram-khanum has just finished school this year; she has received her diploma.

Birthday:4

māšǎlla ǵulə-mane, xeyli xušǵíl-ə, xušǵód-ə, xušǵámót-ə.

Thank God, she is like a flower, very beautiful, with a good height, and a fine figure.

Birthday:5

ánə ĵulan məxməla mane, ánə čuman ahúyə čuman, ánə abru míslə kəməñ.

Her cheeks are like velvet, her eyes are the eyes of a gazelle, her eyebrows are like bows.

Birthday:6

ləbə yeytāni dare míslə ləbə lal.

She has fine lips, like lips of ruby.

Birthday:7

âftāba de birun ná-va amon, mən kərə birun ayəm.

The sun does not need to rise, when she comes (lit. the sun does not need to go out; I am going out).

Birthday:8

ánə-vasi xéyli kəsan úna dust daridi, míslə pərvānə únə dór-u bər ĵəm-a bidi.

Because of this, many people love her and like butterflies, they gather around her.

Birthday:9

in yədər xastəkār dare ki xudā dane.

She has so many suitors that [this] only God knows.

Birthday:10

mi Mohtərəm xānəm diruz xu dəsaxaxuran və dəsberarana xu-bija da'vət bukuədə.

Yesterday, my Mohtaram-khanum invited her female and male friends to her house.

Birthday:11

aşánə pillə tinibi dəhab-bə-sər az mehmānan pur bu.

Their large room was filled with guests.

Birthday:12

har ki bətanəstə, bamo, har ki nə-tanəstə telgərāf fada, kār-t-u pustāl fada, unə rúze təvəllúda təbrik bugóftə.

Everyone who could come, and everyone who could not sent a telegram or sent a postcard and wished her a happy birthday.

Birthday:13

íta áləm úna hadyə fadáidi.

They gave her very many presents.

Birthday:14

uşánə pillə tinibi dəhab-bə-sər az mehmānan pur bu.

Their large room was filled with guests from end to end.

Birthday:15

az a sórə tinibi tå u sórə tinibi səfrə páhn-a bukuədə bid.

From this end of the room to that end of the room a tablecloth was spread.

Birthday:16

pəlä āb bəkəşe bid.

They prepared the pilau.

Birthday:17

čənd ĵur yátəy bəpəxtə bid.

Several types of seasoning were prepared.

Birthday:18

ti dil har či xaye az mivə, širini, āĵil úya naha bu.

They put everything there that your heart would desire: fruits, sweets, nuts (and small pieces of fruits and raisins)

A. Texts

Birthday:19

xulâsə ċi bəgəm?

In short, what can I say?

Birthday:20

har ċi bəgəm, kəm bugóftəm.

Whatever I said, everything would be insufficient (lit. I said little).

Birthday:21

bad az yəza rəys və áváz bə miyan bamo.

After eating, dances and singing began.

Birthday:22

duxtəran və pəsəran rəys bukudidi.

The girls and boys danced.

Birthday:23

ċi dərdə sər bədəm, tå nísfə šəb bəzən-bukub bu, yiyamət bu.

Talking for such a long time (lit. what headache shall I give) – until midnight there was noise and there was turmoil.

Birthday:24

xéyli xuš buguzóštə.

[The birthday] went very well.

Birthday:25

bad mehmānan yāvāš-yāvāš bušóyidi.

Then the guests gradually went away.

Birthday:26

íta piçe xəlvət-a bu.

[The room] gradually emptied.

Birthday:27

mən-am únə-ja xudā hāfezi bukúdəm, bə xānə bamom.

I too, when I had said goodbye to them, went home.

A.4 Text 4 – The Seashore

Dəryā Kənar

The Seashore

Seashore:1

imsāl tābəstān havā xéyli gərm bu.

This year it was very hot in the summer.

Seashore:2

zakānə mār mára bugóftə: “tu dani, mi dil ċi xaye?”

My wife (lit. the children’s mother) said to me, “Do you know what I want?”

Seashore:3

mən bugóftəm: “na, ná-nəm.”

I said, “No, I do not know.”

Seashore:4

bugu bidinəm, ti dil ċi xaye?

Tell me and I shall find out what you want.

Seashore:5

un vavərse: “har či bəxayəm, tu mi xâtérə-vasi bə jâ avəri?”

She asked, “Will you carry out for my sake what I want?”

Seashore:6

mən bugóftəm: “albattə, agər ti méyla bə jâ n-avərəm, ki méyla bə jâ bavərəm?”

I said, “Of course. If I do not fulfil your wishes, then whose wishes shall I fulfill?”

Seashore:7

zanay vóxti bəfáhməstə ki xu hárfa piš bəre, bugóftə ki “mi dil xaye, zakaná usánim dəryá kənára bišim, a máya tá áxər úya bésim.”

When my wife realized that she would accomplish her desire (lit. her words) she said, “I want us to take our children and go to the seaside [and] stay there until the end of this month.”

Seashore:8

mən bidem bəd ní-ge.

I saw that she was speaking sensibly (lit. she was not speaking badly).

Seashore:9

zakanə dəsta bigíftəm, yəksər Bəndórə Anzali bušóim.

I collected my children and we immediately set off for the port of Anzali.

Seashore:10

ti čaşman rúzə bóda ní-dinə!

But may your eyes not see the bad day!

Seashore:11

suzən tavódi, bijir n-aye.

[There] if you drop a needle, it will not fall down.

Seashore:12

har jâ biši, mislə mūr-u mələx ádəm isa (/isáidi).

Wherever you go the people are like ants and locusts.

Seashore:13

in yədər šulúy-ə ki xər xu sahəba na-šinase.

There is so much noise that the donkey does not know its master.

Seashore:14

ára bəgərd, úra bəgərd, ána vavərs, úna vavərs, íta jâ nə-tanəstim peydá bukunim.

Turn here, turn there ask this one, ask that one, we could not find a place [for ourselves].

Seashore:15

an bugóftə: “ustatər utáyə xáli naha.”

This one said, “There on that side there is a free room.”

Seashore:16

un bugóftə: “ustatər bušu, jâ kóya naha, tara fadim.”

That one said, “Go there on that side, where there is a place; we shall give it to you.”

Seashore:17

məgər a vəxt jâ peydá be!

Is there not a (free) place at this time?

Seashore:18

mi sára bijir tavódam, kərə šuon dərə bum.

I had been walking with my head hung down.

A. Texts

Seashore:19

i dəfə i nəfər mi púšta tungulə bəze.

Suddenly, someone slapped me on the back.

Seashore:20

vagərdəstəm mi zāmāya bide.

I turned round (and) saw my wife's brother.

Seashore:21

jəvəlan vəxti úna bideidi az xuşhāli jiy bəkəšéidi.

When the children saw him, they squealed with joy.

Seashore:22

avvəl únə-ja vavərsem: tu tani amé-re utāy peydā bukuni?

At first we asked him, "Will you not find a room for us?"

Seashore:23

bugóftə: "a tərəfan peydā ní-yə (ní-be)."

He said, "There is not one on this side of the road."

Seashore:24

jəx tani u tərəfə Yāziyān yā Xānəmhuriyá-bija peydā bukuni.

Perhaps you will find one on that side of Gazian or Khanum-khurie.

Seashore:25

únə hárfa guš bukadəm.

I listened to him.

Seashore:26

lotkə fağıftəm Yāziyān bušom.

I took a boat and went to Gazian.

Seashore:27

i nəfərə-ja vavərsem: "šuma danidi, xánóyə xāli kóya naha?"

We asked one man about a flat (lit. a place), "Do you know where there is a free room?"

Seashore:28

ita xānə amá-ra nišan bəda.

He showed us one free room.

Seashore:29

úya bušoim.

We went there.

Seashore:30

íta duxtərbəčə dórə-bija bāzi kúdi.

Some girl was playing by the door.

Seashore:31

vəxti bide, ušanə xānə šimi, bugóftə: "ame xānə hič kəs n-ésə.

When she saw that we were going into their house, she said, "There is nobody at home.

Seashore:32

xāli mən bə xānə isam.

I am alone at home.

Seashore:33

hása mi per ayə.

Now, my father will come.

Seashore:34

hamsâýă-biĵa bušo.”

He has gone to his neighbor.”

Seashore:35

bugóftəm: “ama áya isimi, tu bušu, ti péra duxan!”

I said, “We shall stay here, but you go and call your father!”

Seashore:36

íta dəýiğə nú-guzəştə, mərday bamo.

Not a minute had gone by when a man came.

Seashore:37

amára bə xână-durun bəbərdə.

He took us into the house.

Seashore:38

unə-ĵa yəkmâhə dúta utây kərayə bukúdim.

We rented two rooms from him for a month.

Seashore:39

a xânə xéyli təmiz bu tâzəsâz bu.

This house was very clean it had only just been built.

Seashore:40

dəryâ kənâr nəzdik bu.

The seashore was nearby.

Seashore:41

dəryâ sədáya išnavəstim.

We heard the sound of the sea.

Seashore:42

sóbh-u asr dəryâ šóim.

In the mornings and evenings we went to the sea.

Seashore:43

šəná kúdim, fúrşə-ru âftâbə-dimə dəràz kəšéim.

We swam and sunbathed on the sand.

Seashore:44

a yək mâ ĵəyəlana xéyli xuš buguzəştə.

The children spent this month very well (lit. This one month for the children went very well).

Seashore:45

šime ĵâ xâli.

But your place is free.

A.5 Text 5 – The Traveler

Musâfər

The Traveler

Traveler:1

diruz Tehránə-ĵa telgəráf fagíftəm.

Yesterday I received a telegram from Tehran.

A. Texts

Traveler:2

Mohsən biniviştə bu: “éyde-re Rašt ayəm.

Mohsein wrote, “For my holidays I am coming to Rasht.

Traveler:3

da-pānzde ruz muraxxi darəm; xayəm a ruzána Ráštə-miyan šimé-bijə
buguzəranəm.”

I have ten to fifteen days’ vacation; I want to spend these days with you in Rasht.”

Traveler:4

mən xéyli xuşhâl bubóstəm.

I was very glad.

Traveler:5

mən danəstim, Mohsəna dil Ráštə-re táng-a bubóstə.

I knew [that] Mohsein missed Rasht.

Traveler:6

čən sâl-ə ki Rášta ní-de.

It was already several years since he had seen Rasht.

Traveler:7

xaye Rášta bəğərdə.

He wants to return to Rasht.

Traveler:8

ánə-vasi mən-am čən ruz muraxxi fəgíftəm, tå Mohsən tənha nó-bə və úna səxt
nú-guzərə.

In view of this, I too, took a few days’ holiday so that Mohsein would not be alone
and so that he would not be bored [or, so that he would not be offended].

Traveler:9

durust, du ruz dáštım bə eyd, Mohsən bamo.

Mohsein came exactly two days before the holidays.

Traveler:10

tå dəra vakudım, jəyələn viríštidi budovəstidi únə bəyəl.

As soon as I opened the door, the children ran and threw themselves (lit. ran) into
his arms.

Traveler:11

úna bəčasbəstidi və únə sér-u díma hey mači bukúdidi (/bədəáidi).

They hung over him (lit. stuck to him) and were kissing his face and his head for a
long time.

Traveler:12

âxər mən uşána bugóftəm: “vásta (/bəsta) kunid!

Finally, I said to them, “Enough!

Traveler:13

bésid, ama íta piče úna bidinim.”

Stop and let us look at him a little.”

Traveler:14

bu-zur Mohsəna uşána dəstə-ja xəlās bukúdəm.

With difficulty I freed Mohsein from them.

Traveler:15

biníštım, az a tərəf u tərəf gəb bəzéim.

We sat down and talked about this and that.

Traveler:16

mən únə bugóftəm: “xob bukúdi imsál ti muraxxəsiya Rašt bamói.

I said to him, “You have done very well by coming on holiday to Rasht this year.

Traveler:17

món-əm tí-vasi muraxxəsi fagíftəm, tå tu ták-u tənha kučá-u xiyábânə-miyan ávârə ní-bi.”

I too, took a holiday for your sake, so that you would not feel miserably alone on the streets and avenues.”

Traveler:18

Mohsəna xéyli xuš bamo.

Mohsein was very pleased [with this].

Traveler:19

vəxti bəfahməstə món-am muraxxəsi darəm únə rəngə ru vavóstə, mara bəyól-a kudə, mači bəda.

When he found out that I too was taking a holiday, his face lit up (lit. his complexion opened) and he embraced me and gave me a kiss.

Traveler:20

a jur va ánə-amara xu təšəkkóra bəṛəsanə.

He thanked me for this.

Traveler:21

Mohsəna bugóftəm: “tu az rā bamói, tara vištá-yə.

I said to Mohsein, “You have only just come from a journey. You are hungry.

Traveler:22

bišim səfrə-sər; ham buxórim ham gəb bəzənim.

Let us go to the table (lit. to the tablecloth) we both shall chat and talk.

Traveler:23

tu ti nəyšəya mí-re (/mé-re) bugu: či xayı búkuni, kóya xayı biši, kíya xayı bídini, tå mən tərтіbə kára bədəm.”

You tell me about your plans. What you want to do, where you want to go and whom you want to see, so that I can arrange all these things.”

Traveler:24

Mohsən bugóftə: “té-re ki məxfi ní-ye, mən kí-yəm, či xayəm və či jur fikr kunəm.

Mohsein said, “You know, for you it is not a secret who I am, what I want and how I think.

Traveler:25

tu dani, mé-re (/mí-re) íta rā naha.

You know that for me there is one way.

Traveler:26

ún-əm u ráyə ki mi per bušo, mi pile bərar bušo.

This is the same road along which my father and my older brother went.

Traveler:27

món-əm hu ráya vasti bəšəm.

I must also go along that same road.

Traveler:28

yəyin darəm: mi zakán-əm ha ráya xaidi šoon.”

I am sure that my children will go along the same road.”

A. Texts

Traveler:29

mən mí-biḡa fíkr bukúdam, “pənd-u nəsihət únə gúša furu niše, hato ki únə péra gúša furu núšo.

I thought, “Advice and admonitions will not work on (lit. will not reach the ears of) such a man on whose father [such advice] did not work.

Traveler:30

behtər-ə ki úna mǎne nó-bəm.”

It will be better if I do not stop him.”

Traveler:31

úna bugóftəm: “Mohsənjān, tu dani, či zəmāni-yə.

I said, “Dear Mohsein, you know what time it is [now].

Traveler:32

tu mara šənasi, mən nó-tərsəm.

You know me; I am not afraid.

Traveler:33

ammǎ xéyli vasti məvǎzəb buon.”

But we must be very careful!”

Traveler:34

Mohsən bugóftə ki “tu kāmīlən durust gi.

Mohsein said, “You are speaking quite rightly.

Traveler:35

vəxti ki amon dubum, refeyān mara bugóftidi və mara bə imruza vaz'ə vared bukudidi.

When I was preparing to come out, my friends spoke to me about this and kept me informed about the present state of affairs.

Traveler:36

mən íta piče az áya xəbəər darəm.”

I know a little about this.”

Traveler:37

“xéyli xob.

“Very well.

Traveler:38

bəfərma bišim pələ yəx kune.”

Let us go, otherwise the pilau will go cold.”

Traveler:39

ame yəzaxori yéki-du sǎat tul bəkəše.

Our meal lasted one or two hours.

Traveler:40

Mohsəná dil vavóstə, mí-re (//mé-re) dǎrdə dil bukúda və har či xásti bugóftə.

Mohsein wanted to share his troubles with me and he said everything he wanted.

Traveler:41

danásti, az mən hič či birun dǎrz nú-kune.

He knew that I would not give away anything (lit. from me nothing would spread outside).

Traveler:42

mən Mohsəná pile bərar Huséyna xéyli dust dǎštīm.

I liked Mohsein's older brother Hussein very much.

Traveler:43

tā čəhārə ebtədai ita mədrəsə-miyan dərs bəxāndim.

Until the fourth year of primary school we studied in the same school.

Traveler:44

bad, de nə-tanəstə dərs bəxanə.

Subsequently, he could not study any longer.

Traveler:45

dərsa vél-a kudə.

He discontinued his studies.

Traveler:46

kārə-dumbāl bušo.

He started work.

Traveler:47

ǰəǰəlan úna siya Huseyn duxadidi.

The children called him black Hussein.

Traveler:48

ǰəvāni bu bulənyəd, xuşyāmət, čəhārşānə.

He was a tall youth of fine physique and broad-shouldered.

Traveler:49

ādəmə pāk-u sáf-u sādə bu.

He was a pure, honorable and simple man.

Traveler:50

sərbijir, bāhayā, zahmətkəš bu.

He was modest, shy and diligent.

Traveler:51

mi dil xəyli xāsti Huseynə sərguzəšta bədanəm.

I very much wanted to know what had happened to Hussein (lit. wanted to know the story of Hussein).

Traveler:52

únə-vasi Mohsəná-ǰa vavərsem: “Huséynə-ǰa či xəbər dari?”

Therefore I asked Mohsein, “What news do you have of Hussein?”

Traveler:53

tu tani únə sərguzəšta mí-re bigi?”

Can you tell me what has happened to him?”

Traveler:54

Mohsən āh bəkəše, bugóftə: “hasa ki šuma xáidi, bə čəsm itaat kunəm, šimé-re gəm.

Mohsein sighed [and] said, “Now, since you so wish I will gladly obey you and tell you.

Traveler:55

Huseyn nə-tanəstə Rāštə-miyan bəsə.

Hussein could not remain in Rasht.

Traveler:56

dah sālə-ǰa bištər bu ki Huseyn Rāštə-ǰa bušo.

It is now already ten years since Hussein left Rasht.

Traveler:57

úya kārẖánəyə parčəbāfi-miyan kār fagíftə və úya kār kúdi.

There he started working in a weaving mill and continued to weave.

A. Texts

Traveler:58

šuma danídi ki Huseyn xéyli báhuš bu.

You know that Hussein was very clever.

Traveler:59

mašinə-amra (/amara) zud āšənā bubo və úna səvar-a bo.

He quickly learned (lit. got to know) about cars and started to drive.

Traveler:60

zud kārəgərə sādə-ja ustakār bubo.

From a simple worker he quickly became a foreman.

Traveler:61

Huseyn ruzan kār kúdi, šəban dərs xāndi, ruznāmə xāndi.

Hussein worked in the daytime and studied and read newspapers in the evening.

Traveler:62

xú-re bāsəvād və kitābxān bubóstə bu.

He became literate and well-read.

Traveler:63

parčəbāfi kār xānə-miyan hamə úna dúst dāštidi.

Everybody in the weaving mill loved him.

Traveler:64

kārəgəranə-vasi və ušanə huyúyə-re sər iškeñi.

He took risks (lit. broke his head) for the sake of the workers and for their rights.

Traveler:65

anə-vasi kārəgəranə-miyan bānufuz bubóstə bu.

Therefore, he acquired great authority among the workers (lit. became an influential authority).

Traveler:66

har ja šói únə púštə-sər íta iddə kārəgər šóidi.

Wherever he went a number of workers followed him.

Traveler:67

har ruz kārəgəranə xu dórə-bər jam kúdi, ušanə-re ruznāmə, kitāb xāndi.

Every day he gathered the workers around him and read newspapers and books to them.

Traveler:68

ušána xéyli sādə hāli kúdi ki ruznāmə či xaye bəgə.

He explained to them very simply what it says in the newspaper.

Traveler:69

Huséynə kār bə jái bərəse bu ki tanósti kārəgəranə rá-u čāya nišān bədə.

Hussein's work progressed so much that he could point the way to the workers.

Traveler:70

Huseyn danósti čí-re únə péra bigiftidi.

Hussein knew what his father said.

Traveler:71

šuma danídi Huséynə per kārəgərə čāpxānə bu.”

You know that Hussein's father was a worker in a printing plant.”

A.6 Text 6 – A Conversation between Friends

Refeyanə Kələgəb

A Conversation between Friends

Friends:1

xéyli vəxti bu ki mi dil xásti Hasána bidinəm.

I have wanted to see Hassan for a long time already.

Friends:2

imruz úna bide.

Today I saw him.

Friends:3

únə-amara kâfe bušom.

I went with him into the café

Friends:4

íta piçe biništım, kələgəb bəzeim.

I sat with him for a little while and we talked.

Friends:5

úna vavərsem: “ruzan či kuni ki vəxt núkuni mi-biğa bayı?”

I asked him, “What are you doing during the daytime (lit. with the days), that you do not find time to call on me?”

Friends:6

bugófta: “ay bərarjan! mən hasa te-re təmāmə mi kára gəm, tå bədani ki mən hiç vəxt núkunəm ara-ura bəşəm, hattå ti-biğa báyəm.

He said, “Ah, brother! I shall now tell you about all my affairs so that you might understand (lit. learn) that I have absolutely no time (in order) to go here and there and even [in order to] call on you.

Friends:7

mən saatə haft xábə-ğa virizəm, mi sər-ə surəta şorəm, ip(i)çe vərzəş kunəm, yâlinahâr xorəm.

I get up at seven o'clock in the morning, wash myself, do some exercise and have breakfast.

Friends:8

bad libâs dukunəm, xânó-ğa birun şəm.

Then I get dressed and leave the house.

Friends:9

tu dani ki ame şahr hamişə bårəş bare.

You know that in our town it is always raining.

Friends:10

ame xânó-ğa tå idârə xéyli râ-yə.

It is quite far from our house to the institution.

Friends:11

xiyâbân isfâlt ní-yə.

The street is not paved.

Friends:12

maşin nəna.

There are no cars.

A. Texts

Friends:13

piyâdê šəm.

I go on foot.

Friends:14

bu-zur sâatê noh idârêya farəsəm.

With difficulty I reach the institution at nine o'clock.

Friends:15

tâ sâatê yêk idârê-miyan kâr kunəm.

I work in the institution until one o'clock

Friends:16

har ruz yêk sâat vœxt fadidi tâ nahâr buxorim.

Every day they give us one hour for lunch.

Friends:17

mên šəm.

I go.

Friends:18

u næzdiki ita dukan naha.

There is a shop nearby.

Friends:19

úya nahâr xorəm.

I have lunch there.

Friends:20

ita piče istêráhat kunəm, ita piče ruznâmê xanəm.

I rest a little and I read the newspaper for a little while.

Friends:21

bad vagêrdəm, idârê ayəm.

Then I return and go into the institution.

Friends:22

bâz-əm tâ sâatê šis kâr kunəm.

And again I work until six o'clock.

Friends:23

tâzê a vœxt mi kârân tēmâm-a ni-be.

Only at this time my work does not come to an end.

Friends:24

vasti bəšəm zakáne-re čiz bihinəm.

I must go and buy something for the children.

Friends:25

tâ čəšm vagêrdêni ruz tēmâm-a be, šəb aye.

You do not have time to blink before the day goes by and evening comes.

Friends:26

šəb-əm mi kâr tēmâm-a nibe.

My work is not finished even in the evening.

Friends:27

tâ zakáne mâr šâm hâzer kune, mên vasti zakáne-amara sêr-u kəllê bəzənəm, ušána dêrsa vavêrsəm.

While my wife (lit. the children's mother) prepares supper, I must occupy myself with the children and ask them to repeat their lessons.

Friends:28

bad šām xorimi və xusimi.

Then we have supper and go to bed.

Friends:29

an mi kâr-ə.

Such is my work.

Friends:30

me-re mane ita jum'a ún-əm hizârta kâr piş aye.

There remains for me only Friday, but even then we also have a thousand jobs to do.

Friends:31

an-ə ki mən nótanəm ara-ura bəšəm, tí-bija bayəm, únə-bija bəšəm.

That is why I cannot go here and there, come to you or go to someone else (lit. to him).

Friends:32

xéyli mi dil xaye, vəli çi bukunəm.

I want to very much, but what can I do?

Friends:33

vəxt nárəmə.

I have no time.

Friends:34

inşála tu mára baxši.”

God grant that you will forgive me.”

A.7 Text 7 – The Pool

Istəxr The Pool

Pool:1

Ahmədjan səlam!

Hello, Ahmed!

Pool:2

ba a tundi kóya şuon dəri?

Where are you going so hurriedly?

Pool:3

xayəm bəšəm, ábtəni bukunəm.

I want to go and take a bath.

Pool:4

çi? as-səri zəməstán ábtəni?

What? Bathe in winter?

Pool:5

bále, mægər tu nání, jəyələn dəstə-dəstə šidi.

Yes, do you not know? The children are going there in crowds.

Pool:6

bíya tu ham mi-amra bišim.

You go too. Let us go together.

A. Texts

Pool:7

či gi, bâbâ?

What are you saying, old man?

Pool:8

vâlla, râst gómə, biyə bišim.

Really and truly, I am telling the truth, let us go.

Pool:9

alan mən yəksər úya šuon dərəm.

I am just going there now.

Pool:10

úya kóya isə? hóz-ə, rutxânə-yə?

And where is it? Is it a pond or a river?

Pool:11

nə hóz-ə, nə rutxânə.

No, it is neither a pond nor a river.

Pool:12

ita pillə istəxr-ə, amə dānəškədə-bija naha.

It is a big pool near our college.

Pool:13

sərbāz, xéyli yəšəng-ə.

It is an open pool (i.e. it is in the open air) and very beautiful.

Pool:14

vəxtə tələf nú-kun! biya bišim.

Do not waste time in vain, let us go.

Pool:15

bidin, keyf bukun.

Look, enjoy yourself.

Pool:16

bišim! bādā-bād! har či be, bəba!

Off we go! Whatever will be will be!

Pool:17

hič či nībə.

Nothing will happen.

Pool:18

agər zātəjəm bukunəm, ti gərdən-ə.

If I catch pneumonia, you will be to blame (lit. on your neck).

Pool:19

xéyli xob. zātəjəm nukuni hič či; ti gərdən kuluftər-a be.

Very well. You will not fall ill with pneumonia; you will become healthier. (lit. your neck will become fatter)

Pool:20

Ahmadə-amara ifa xiyābāna bušoim, tā farəséim bə ita meydān ki az únə-ja buxār bulənd-a bosti.

Ahmad and I went along one street until we reached a square from which steam was rising.

Pool:21

váxti nəzdiktər farəsəm, ti čəšm rúzá bəda ni-dinə! či dini!

When we came a little nearer, so that your eyes may not see the bad day, what did we see?

Pool:22

míslə in ki vəsətə tábəstān-ə.

It was as if this affair were going on in the summer.

Pool:23

zən-u mərd havâyə âzâdə-miyan šəna kudidi.

Women and men were swimming under the open sky (lit. in the free air).

Pool:24

ǰəǰəlan ára dovəstidi, ura dovəstidi.

Children were running here and there.

Pool:25

íta az a ǰor vaz kudi âbə-miyan, íta ǰərgə âbə-miyan ləpə-amra bâzi kudidi.

One took a jump from above and one group is playing ball in the water.

Pool:26

ingâr nə ingâr zəməstān-ə.

It is as if it is not winter.

Pool:27

un-əm Mosko-miyan, da dərəǰə səfrə-ǰir.

And in Moscow, with the temperature ten degrees below zero.

Pool:28

Aməd mara buǰoftə: “yā-alla, zud bāš maatal náva bostən;

Ahmed said to me, “Oh Lord! Hurry up, do not be slow!

Pool:29

bíya bišim!

Let us go!

Pool:30

áya te-re libásə šənā fagirəm.

I shall hire a bathing suit for you from here.

Pool:31

loxt-a bim, dəkəfim âbe-miyan.”

Let us undress and plunge into the water.”

Pool:32

mən bâ tərs-u lərz Aməddə-dumbāl rā dəkəftəm.

I followed Ahmed closely in fear.

Pool:33

avəl bušóim dúta bilítə vurudí behéim.

At first we went and bought two entrance tickets.

Pool:34

uyə-ǰa bušóim ǰáyə digər.

From there we went into another place.

Pool:35

tunukəyə šənā fagiftim, bušóim íta numrə-miyan.

We took our swimming trunks and went into a booth.

A. Texts

Pool:36

ame libásána bəkəndim, libāsə šənā dukudim, bušoim ābə kənār.

We took off our clothes, put on bathing suits and went into the water.

Pool:37

Aməd ita piče pəsəpəs bušo, bəpərəstə ābə-miyan.

Ahmed stepped back a little and jumped into the water.

Pool:38

išarə bukudə: “tu-nəm bəpər!”

He gave me a signal, “You also jump in.”

Pool:39

mən xāstim bəpəram, vəli xurdə jā buxordəm.

I wanted to jump in, but I was a little frightened.

Pool:40

Aməd vavarə: “tərsi re? xāk bə ti sər!

Ahmed asked, “Are you afraid? Put ashes on your head!

Pool:41

məgər jəyələna ki ti ləngə yəd-idi nīdini?

Can you not see the children who are running around your feet?

Pool:42

xəjələt nə-kəši?

Are not you ashamed?

Pool:43

yālla vaz bukun!”

Oh Lord! Jump in!”

Pool:44

bugóftəm: “Amədjan ita piče səbər bukun.

I said, “Ahmedjan, wait a little.

Pool:45

avəl bugu, bidinəm pilekân kóya naha?

Tell me first of all, so that I can see where the ladder is?

Pool:46

áya āb julf-ə və koya təkə?

Here the water is deep; where is it shallow?

Pool:47

yāvāš-yāvāš az úya ayəm, bad hamə či durúst-a be.”

I shall walk there slowly, then everything will be in order.”

Pool:48

bušoim pillekânə dímə-sər, tã mi pāya bənam pille-sər.

We went down the ladder in such a way that I could see my feet on the rungs.

Pool:49

mi pã jiliskəstə, dəkəftəm ābə-miyan ita yuta buxórdəm.

My foot slipped and I fell into the water and was immersed from head to toe.

Pool:50

Aməd šuru bukudə kir-kir xandə kudən.

Ahmed began to laugh loudly.

Pool:51

bamo mi-bija.

He came up to me.

Pool:52

vavərse: “tara či bubóstə?”

He asked, “What has happened to you?”

Pool:53

ti sər yâ kəmər pillekâna nu-xordə ki?”

Did your head or your body (lit. waist) bang against the ladder?”

Pool:54

bidem Aməd sŕə keyf-ə, xaye mi-amra nəza bukunə.

I saw that Ahmed is amusing himself; he wanted to play a trick on me.

Pool:55

bugoftəm: “na, Aməd-âŷâ, ame no-bə farəse.”

I said, “No, dear Ahmed (lit. Sir Ahmed) our turn comes.”

Pool:56

âb čiçal bu.

The water was lukewarm.

Pool:57

únə ša (/šasti) tâŷət avərdən.

It could be endured.

Pool:58

amma har vəxt âbə-ja birun amóim, pərkəstim.

But whenever we come out of the water we began to shiver.

A.8 Text 8 – Who

Who:1

vay, an kí-yə?

Oh, who is this?

Who:2

âşənâya mane?

My acquaintance?

Who:3

an ki?

Who is this?

Who:4

mi dəsxaxur, Ruŷiyəyə mən-ə?

My female friend, my Rugiya?

Who:5

an tú-i?

Is it you?

Who:6

ti xaşə jana ŷurban.

It is you (lit. your bone), heart [of your] sacrifice.

Who:7

či kudən dəri?

What are you doing?

A. Texts

Who:8

fander, bidin, či kudən dərəm.

Have a glance; look at what I am doing.

Who:9

aşxâlana učen dərəm.

I am taking out (lit. collecting) the trash.

Who:10

bugu, bidinəm, či kuni, kuyə isai?

Tell me, so that I might know, what you are doing and where you are going?

Who:11

āya, aşanə-bija kulfəti kunəm.

Here I work for them as a servant.

Who:12

haf-haş nəfərə kâra vasti bukunəm, tâ ita luymə pələ buxurəm.

I must do the work of seven or eight people to [have the possibility to] eat a handful of pilau.

Who:13

ham vasi bâzâr bəşəm, ham vasi poxtəpəz bukunəm, ham vasi aşanə rāxtə libāsa buşorəm.

I must even go to the market and I must cook the food and I must wash their clothes.

Who:14

de mi čum ni-dine, tiripiri še.

Moreover (lit. more), my eyes do not see; it is going dark [before my eyes].

Who:15

de rəməyə-ja dəkəftəm.

I have already been deprived of even my strength.

Who:16

hič kəs narəm, unə-amarə dārdə dil bukunəm.

I have nobody with whom I could share my sorrow.

Who:17

na-nəm, či bukunəm, kuya bəşəm, kere bəgəm, kiya bidinəm.

I do not know what I can do, where to go, whom to tell or whom to see.

Who:18

dəsxaxurjan, pəxmə nu-bu, ti čuma vakun!

Female friend, do not be helpless, open your eyes.

Who:19

a biinsāfan ami yəma nuxoridi.

These unscrupulous men will not feel sorry for us.

Who:20

aşanə-amra vasti mubarəzə kudən.

We must fight them.

Who:21

alan de u zəmənan nıyə, har či xastidi, ami-amra kudidi.

Now it is no longer the time [when] they can do what they want to us.

Who:22

alan de təşkilāt nə-hə.

Now there is already an organization.

Who:23

biya, bišim, ti nâma uya binivis!

Let us go; you register there (lit. write your name there).

Who:24

tənhâyi nêša!

Do not be (lit. do not go) isolated.

Who:25

vasti iĵai piš ūon tã amə hãya fagirim.

We must go forwards together, [in order to] find (lit. take) our rights.

Who:26

tur-a bostə, xu dəsaxura fandərəstə.

She was amazed and looked at her female friend.

Who:27

viriz, bišim!

Get up, let us go!

Who:28

imruz ti-manəstən âdəman hizâr-hizâr iĵâ ĵəm-a bidi.

Today people like you have gathered in the thousands in one place.

Who:29

az uya (/uya-ĵa) rã dəkəfidi tã pillə meydânə-miyan.

From there they headed for the big square.

Who:30

uya isidi, nuty kunidi, tã hamə xob bəfahmid, ama ĉi gimi, ĉi xayimi.

There we were standing and delivering speeches so that people might understand all the better what we are saying and what we want.

Who:31

məgər imruz ĉi ruz-ə?

Is not today some kind of [special] day?

Who:32

na-ni?

Do you not know?

Who:33

imruz haštúmə mårs-ə.

Today is the eighth of March.

Who:34

imruz dunyâ-miyan hamə ĵâ zənəkan xušanə hãyə-vasi ĵəm-a bidi.

Today, women are gathering everywhere in the world to fight for their rights.

Who:35

bišim, mən-əm ayəm.

Let us go – I am going too.

Who:36

ušanə-amara ayəm.

I am going with them.

A.9 Text 9 – Conversation

Goftəgu Conversation

Conver:1

səlam aleykum, âyâ!

Hello, Sir!

Conver:2

aleykum səlam!

Hello!

Conver:3

ti a(h)vâl čutór-ə?

How are you?

Conver:4

bəd niyəm.

Not bad.

Conver:5

zəndə-im.

I am living.

Conver:6

şukr.

Thank you.

Conver:7

či kuni?

What are you doing?

Conver:8

ây, yāvâş-yāvâş, guzəraními.

Nothing. I am living [my life] in easy stages.

Conver:9

zakan čutor-idi?

How are the children?

Conver:10

bəd niyidi, xuşane-re buzurg-a bostən dəridi.

Not bad, they are growing.

Conver:11

xeyli vóxt-ə ki mi dil xasti tara bidinəm.

I have wanted to see you for a long time.

Conver:12

alhamdullâ imruz tara bidem və mi dil xunək-a bostə.

Thank goodness I have seen you today and my heart has been set at rest.

Conver:13

mi dil ham xastə tara bidinəm.

I too, wanted to see you.

Conver:14

i var bamom šimi xânə, nésa bidi.

One day I went to your house, but you were not there.

Conver:15

zakan bugóftidi, abji mârə-amra Anzəli buşoidi.

The children said [that] you had left for Anzali.

Conver:16

agər kâra vajib nâri, bîya imruz bişim, bəgərdim.

If you have no important business today, let us go and take a stroll today.

Conver:17

ita piçe ara-ura bişim bəgərdim, ami dil vave.

Let us go here and there a little; let us walk; let us amuse ourselves.

Conver:18

háməş ki kâr nibe.

After all, there is not always [only] work.

Conver:19

ibče va dunyâya deen.

We must see the world a little.

Conver:20

bizudi nəyə ki gidi: “ti čuma vakun dunyâya bidin!”

Not without reasons is it said, “Open your eyes and look at the world!”

Conver:21

mən-am xeyli xuşhâl-am ki tara bidem.

I too, am very pleased that I have seen you.

Conver:22

xeyli vəxt-a bu ki tara nide bum.

It is already a very long time since I have seen you.

Conver:23

na, kârə vajib nârəm.

No, I have no important business.

Conver:24

alan ta'tilə tåbəstån-ə, mən-am murəxəsi darəm.

It is the summer holidays now; I have vacation.

Conver:25

tanəm ti-amra har jâ bigi báyəm.

I can go wherever you say.

Conver:26

bişim i xurdə bəgərdim.

Let us go; let us take a little stroll.

Conver:27

koya bişim?

Where shall we go?

Conver:28

bəd niyə ita piçe gargardəxim.

It would be quite good for us to wander for a little time.

Conver:29

koya meyl dari, bişim.

Wherever you want, there we shall go.

Conver:30

bi meyl niyəm.

I have a desire. (lit. I am not without a desire.)

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Conver:31

bâyə Muhtəşəm bişim.

Let us go to the Muhtasham garden.

Conver:32

az ko ra bişim?

But what road shall we take?

Conver:33

az a ra tâzə íta xiyâbân vakudidi.

They have recently made (lit. opened) a street along this road.

Conver:34

tu una bidei?

Have you seen it?

Conver:35

na, nidem.

No, I have not.

Conver:36

pəs az a ra bişim.

Then let us go along this road.

Conver:37

ham xəlvət-ə, gərd-u xākə mašinana nuxurim və ham ki az səbzə-u čəmən guzər kunim.

It is quiet there; we will not get our mouths full of dust from cars; moreover, we will pass the lawns and glades.

Conver:38

xeyli xob.

Very well.

A.10 Text 10 – The Liar

Duroygu The Liar¹

Liar:1

íta tâjər bu və íta pəsər daştí.

There was one merchant and he had a son.

Liar:2

anə pəsər xeyli ayyaş bu və haməş yərz və yol kudi.

His son was a big jovial fellow and he incurred debts all the time.

Liar:3

hič fikr-u zíkri nāšti, mægər ki per bimirə.

He never thought of anything except the death of his father.

Liar:4

per ham fikrə murdən nāšti.

But his father was not even thinking of dying.

¹ Borrowed from One Thousand and One Nights.

Liar:5

i ruz pəsərə ita iddə xu refeyanə-amra (/amara) be fikr dəkóftə ki yək júri pérə
kələká bəkənə və unə amvāla bə dəst bavərə və bə eyš-ə nuš buguzəranə.

One day, the lad, together with a group of his friends, planned a way of destroying the father -- to take possession of his property and give themselves up to drunkenness and pleasure.

Liar:6

ašanə kələ a fikr dəkóftə ki tājəra zəndə-zəndə čālə kunid.

The thought of burying the merchant alive came into their heads.

Liar:7

i ruz ki tājər tənħā bə xānə isa bu, fuvostidi únə-sər və únə dəs-u pāya dəbəstidi,
tavədaidi tābutə-miyan.

One day, when the merchant was alone in the house, they pounced on him, bound him hand and foot and placed him in a coffin.

Liar:8

tājər hič təkan nuxurdə.

The merchant was not stirring.

Liar:9

bide, agər ĵum buxurə, unə kələka kənidi.

He saw that if he moved, they would destroy him.

Liar:10

bičārə taxt bigift(ə) tābutə-miyan buxúftə (/buxóftə).

The poor fellow lay in the coffin without movement.

Liar:11

tājəra usadidi, ĵusl bədaidi və una kəfən dukudidi və tavədaidi tābutə-miyan.

They lifted up the merchant, did the ritual ablution for him, put a shroud on him and placed him in the coffin.

Liar:12

tābuta bu duš bigiftidi, bušóidi pišnəmázə-biĵa ki un nəmázə məyyət bəxanə.

They placed the coffin on their shoulders and went to the imam, so that he might carry out the burial of the deceased.

Liar:13

hato ki pišnəmáz šuru bukuđə allāh-u akbar bəgə, tājər xu sərə tābutə-ĵa birun
bavərdə, pišnəmāza bugóftə: “ay āyā, mi dād fārəs!

As soon as the imam began to say the “God is great”² the merchant thrust his head out of the coffin and said to the imam “Oh sir, come and help me!

Liar:14

mi pəsər xaye zəndə-zəndə mara čāl-a kunə tā mi sərvəta bə dəst bavərə.”

My son wants to bury me alive, in order to appropriate my property”

Liar:15

pišnəmáz ru kune bə anə pəsər və ge: “an čī kári-yə?”

The imam addresses his son and says, “What is the matter?”

Liar:16

pəsər ge: “ay āyā, mi per duroygu-yə.

The son says, “Oh sir, my father is a liar.

²The first words of the prayer.

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Liar:17

təmāmə a mardum ki aya isaidi, šəhādət dəhidi ki un bəmərdə bu ki una yusl-kəfən bukudim.”

All the people who are here will testify that he had already died when we washed him and put a shroud on him.”

Liar:18

pišnəmāz jəmāatə-ja vavərse: “šuma či gidi?”

The imam asked those who were present, “What do you say?”

Liar:19

hamə bugóftidi: “ama šəhādət dihim ki un bəmərdə bu (/bəmərdə-yə).”

They all said, “We testify that he has died (is dead).”

Liar:20

pišnəmāz bugóftə “mən dər təməmə mi umr murdəyə duroygu ni-demə” – və ru bə tājər bukudə və bugóftə – “šuma təsdiy kunidi ki mən nətanəm šəhādətə yək iddə marduma nədidə bigirəm və ti yola az hamə bālātər bədanəm.

Then the imam said, “In my whole life I have never seen a dead person who is a liar” and turning his face to the merchant, he said, “You agree that I cannot help take into account the testimony of the [whole] group of people and cannot consider your words to be more truthful.

Liar:21

pəs mən tara murdəyə duroygu hisāb kunəm.

Therefore, I consider you to be a dead person who is a liar.

Liar:22

bəhtər ki gəb nəzəni və ame (/ami) kāra māne nibi, tā mardum bə xušanə təklífə šari aməl bukunid.”

It would be better for you to say [nothing] and not hinder our affair, so that people will fulfill their legal duty”

Liar:23

pišnəmāz de vóxtə etərāz tājəra fəandə və hukm bukudə tābutə-səra dəbədid, və šuru bə-nəmāzə məyyət bukudə.

The imam no longer gave the merchant time to object ordered the lid of the coffin to be covered and began the burial service.

Liar:24

və bad az nəmāz una bā təšrifāt bə yəbrəstan bəbardidi və čāl-a kudidi.

And after the burial service they took him with honor to the cemetery and buried him.

A.11 Text 11 – In the Boat

Lotkə Miyān

In the Boat

Boat:1

musāfər lotkačiya ge: “šuma riyāzi danidi?”

A passenger says to the boatman, “Do you know mathematics?”

Boat:2

lotkači: “nānəm.”

Boatman: “I do not.”

Boat:3

musáfər: “pəs ita čəhårumə ti zəndəgíya az dəst bedái.

Passenger: “Then you have wasted one quarter of your life.

Boat:4

hasa bugu bidinəm: tå-rix dani?”

Now tell me so that I might know (lit. see), Do you know history?”

Boat:5

lotkaçi: “nánəm.”

Boatman: “I do not”

Boat:6

musáfər: “pəs yək haštúmə ti zəndəgi jə dəs bušo.”

Passenger: “Then you have wasted one eighth of your life.”

Boat:7

ha vəxt ita pillə moǰ az vəsətə dəryå buland-a bo və bə tərəfə aşanə lotkə bamo.

Then a big wave arose on the sea and rolled up to their boat.

Boat:8

lotkaçi musáfəra vavərse: “şənå kudən dani?”

The boatman asked the passenger, “Can you swim?”

Boat:9

musáfər jəváb bəda: “nánəm.”

The passenger answered, “I cannot.”

Boat:10

lotkaçi: “pəs təmāmə şimi zəndəgiya az dəst bedaidi”

Boatman: “Then you have wasted all your life.”

A.12 Text 12 – As You Please!

Ixtiyar Daridi!

As You Please!

Please:1

duta pişxədmət rəisə utâǵə-pušt murafe kudən dibid.

Two servants were quarreling behind the boss's door.

Please:2

íta úytaya gofti: “az tu xərtər nidem!”

One said to the other, “I have never seen a bigger ass than you!”

Please:3

ha vəxt rəis bā hālətə yeyz-u yəzəb dərə vakudə və bugóftə: “məgər nidinidi, mən áya isam?!”

At that very moment the boss opened the door with irritation and said, “Can you not see that I am here?”

A.13 Text 13 – A Complaint

Šəkayət

A Complaint

Complaint:1

ita pirəzənay dula-dula šuon dubu.

An old woman was walking with difficulty, dragging her feet.

Complaint:2

hato ki mara bide, mi juloŷa bigiftə və vavərse: “zayjan, bugu bidinəm, agər bəxayəm kəlāntari-ja šəkayət bukunəm, kóŷa va bəšəm?”

As soon as she saw me, she blocked my way and asked, “Little child if I want to make a complaint at the police station, where must I go?”

Complaint:3

mən una bugóftəm: “mərjan, tu čuto xayi kəlāntəri-ja šəkayət bukuni?

I said to her, “Mother, why do you want to complain to the police?”

Complaint:4

hamə kəs xušanə šəkayəta uya bəridi!”

You know everybody goes [just] there to bring his complaints”

Complaint:5

pirəzənay jəváb bəda: “zay, ti ȳurban bəšəm!

The old woman answered, “Child, may I be your sacrifice!

Complaint:6

az malə dunyā i juft ȳaličə daštım.

Of all worldly goods I only had a couple of small rugs.

Complaint:7

itaya duzd bəbórdə, uytáŷa kəlāntəri mi-ja fagiftə ki az unə gul-u butə və nəȳšə-ja uydənəŷa peydā bukunə.

A thief took away one of them and the police took the other one in order to find the first one by looking at the pattern of the second one and making a drawing of it.

Complaint:8

una ki duzd bəbórdə bə jəhannəm!

The one that the thief pinched, the devil take him (lit. into the nether regions).

Complaint:9

aydanə ham ašan faandidi!”

But you know they have not even returned this one.”

A.14 Text 14 – A Child’s Prayer

Jəȳələ Duā

A Child’s Prayer

Prayer:1

“ay xudā! mi mārə asəbana un ȳədər ȳəvi bukun ki bətanə hamóŷa mi šeytānıŷa təhāmmul bukunə!”

“O, Lord! Strengthen my mother’s nerves so much that she can endure all my pranks.”

A.15 Text 15 – Please, One Minute

Lutfən Ita Dəyyə **Please, One Minute**

Minute:1

íta pirəmərday bə kántórə havâpeymâyî tiləfun bukadə.

One old man telephoned the office of Aeroflot.

Minute:2

tiləfunçi ki ita duxtar bu, guša usadə.

The operator (and she was a girl) picked up the receiver.

Minute:3

pirəmərday bugóftə: “duxtarǰan, xayəm havâpeymâ-amra mi zahakə-bija bə Nyu-York bəšəm.

The old man said, “Little girl, I want to go by airplane to New York to see my children.

Minute:4

mumkín-ə bigi, az áya či yədr tul kəše.”

Can you tell me how long [the flight] will last from here?”

Minute:5

tiləfunçi xasti dəftərčəyə rahnəmâ-ja (/rahnəmâ-ja) dəyiğ bidinə və jəváb bədə.

The telephonist really wanted to look in the flight directory and then answer.

Minute:6

mislə hamišə jəváb bədə: “ita dəyyə!”

As usual, she answered, “One minute!”

Minute:7

pirəmərday bugóftə: “bu xudâ, mən nánastim ki bə a nəzdikí-yə, vəgərnə xudəm piyâdə šoimi!” – guša bə zəmin bəna.

The old man said, “Really and truly, I did not know it was so near, otherwise I should have gone on foot” – and put down the receiver.

A.16 Text 16 – The Thief and the Judge

Duzd-u Yâzi **The Thief and the Judge**

Thief:1

yâzi ru bukadə bə duzd: “az duzdfi ki bukudi ma'lum-ə, dúzdə kuhnekâr-i.”

The judge addressed the thief, “By this theft that you have committed, it is obvious that you are an experienced thief.”

Thief:2

duzd: “bə janə šuma, avvəlin bâr bu ki duzdi bukadəm!”

The thief: “I swear by your soul, this was the first time I have stolen.”

Thief:3

yâzi: “agər avvəlin bâr bu, pəs čutor bətanəsti rāstə divara buğor biši?”

The judge: “If this was the first time, then how did you manage to climb up that sheer wall?”

A. Texts

Thief:4

duzd: “ixtiyar daridi, yurban! kārə niku kərdən az pur kərdən-ə.”

The thief: “As you like. Do as you are sure to do.”

A.17 Text 17 – A Story

Həkāyət

A Story

Story:1

íta sabmənsəb ajan bu.

There was one police officer.

Story:2

i šəb sâ'atə se bad az nîsfə šəb xiyâbânə Buzərjumerî-ja guzəştən dubu.

One night, at three o'clock in the middle of the night, he was walking along Buzerjumeri street.

Story:3

hato ki juloxânə məşjdə šāya farəse, anə čum dəkəftə bə məşjəd.

When he had approached the front of the Shah's mosque, his glance fell on the mosque.

Story:4

xu-re fikr bukudə ki bəd nə-xaye bostən ki səri ham bə məşjəd bəzənə və a kār zərər nəxaye daštən.

He thought to himself that it would not be a bad thing to call at the mosque for a minute and that no harm would come from this.

Story:5

hato ki fikr kudən dubu, az pilləkân bijir bamo varədə məşjəd bubóstə.

Thinking thus, he went down the steps and entered the mosque.

Story:6

havâ hala târik bu, ammə nəsimə xunəki vazei.

It was still dark, but a cool breeze was blowing.

Story:7

un kənârə hoz bušo, ita piče âb xu dima bəze.

He went to the edge of the pool and splashed a little water on his face.

Story:8

sórd âb xu təsîra bukudə.

The coldness of the water brought moral pressure to bear on him.

Story:9

sabmənsəb fikr bukudə ki xéyli vəxt-ə nəməz nəxandə.

The officer thought that it was already a long time since he had read part of the namaz.

Story:10

xób-ə ki xudāya fəramuš nukunə, du ruk'ət nəməz bəxanə.

It would be better if he did not forget God and read two ruk'ats³ of the namaz.

³ruk'at from the Arabic ركعت is part of the Muslim religious rite.

Story:11

vuzu bigíftə bušo sáhnə-miyan hato ki duta ruk'ət nəmáz bəxandə, una xáb bigíftə.
He performed the ritual ablution and went into the mosque. As soon as he had
done two ruk'ats of the namaz, he fell asleep.

Story:12

nimsaat nuguzəštə bu ki duta duzd uya bamo və una fandərəstidi və bəšnəxtidi ki
un sərkar nəyəb-ə.
Not even half an hour had gone by when two thieves arrived there, saw him and
recognized that this was a senior lieutenant.

Story:13

íta az ušan ki Abul nām dašti xu refeyə bugóftə: “xayi anə čəkməya az anə pā
birun bavərəm?”
One of them, who was called Abul, said to his friend, “Do you want me to pull his
boots off his feet?”

Story:14

unə refey jəváb bəda: “məgər divanə-i?
His friend answered, “What are you, mad?

Story:15

un amire bə kār aye.”
He will give it to us.”

Story:16

Abul jəváb bəda: “har hāl bəd šəkāri nīyə.
Abul answered, “Though that may be, this is not a bad gain (lit. not a bad game).

Story:17

čand fadi, unə čəkməya tara fadəm?”
How much will you give me if I give you his boots?”

Story:18

unə refey bugóftə: “pənja tuman fadəm.”
His friend said, “I will give fifty Tumans.”

Story:19

Abul bugóftə: “zud bāš fādən!
Abul said, “Give me them quickly!

Story:20

mən nəyd muāmələ kunəm.”
I shall make a bargain for cash down.”

Story:21

Abul pulə nuyrə az xu refey Akbər fagíftə və bad bušo nəyəbə sərə-jor.
Abul took the silver coins from his friend Akbar and then went up to the lieutenant.

Story:22

pulana səda bəda, buland buland Akbəra bugóftə: “Akbər, haya-haya!
He jingled the coins and then said in a very loud voice to Akbar, “Here you are –
here you are!

Story:23

xob jái-yə!
It is a good spot.

Story:24

tu a tərəfana nigā bukun, tå mən a šiš hizār tumana čāl bukunəm.”
You look in all directions while I bury six thousand Tumans there.”

A. Texts

Story:25

Abul pulana hey səda dayi, fukudi zəminə-ru tã nâyəb bişnəvə.

Abul continually jingled the money and struck them against the ground so that the lieutenant heard him.

Story:26

nâyəb az ašanə sər-u səda bidâr-a bubostə.

The lieutenant awoke because of their noise.

Story:27

yāvāšəki xu čuma vakudə və ušanə harfana guş bəda.

He quietly opened his eyes and listened to their words.

Story:28

Abul bugóftə: “pulana xob jái čâl bukudim.

Abul said, “We have buried the money in a good place.

Story:29

hasa tu xob fander, a nəzdikan hič kəs nésa”

Now you look well, to see whether anyone is nearby.”

Story:30

Akbər ita piče ara-uraya fanderéstə (/fandərəstə) və bad bugóftə: “ay vây, Abul, či kudən dəri?”

Akbar looked here and there for a little while and then said, “Oh Abul, what are you doing?”

Story:31

aya ita nâyəb xufte.

Here some kind of lieutenant is sleeping.

Story:32

bíya pulana birun bavərim və az áya usanim.”

Let us steal the money and take it from here.”

Story:33

Abul bugóftə: “bəłki un xufte və néštavəstə.

Abul said, “But surely he is asleep and cannot hear anything.

Story:34

bíya imtəhan bukunim, bidinim xuftə yâ na.”

Let us conduct a test; we shall see whether he is asleep or not.”

Story:35

Akbər bamo nâyəbə-sər-jor.

Akbar went up to the lieutenant.

Story:36

Abúl bugóftə: “mən hasa anə ita čəkməya birun avəram.

Abul said, “Now I shall pull one boot from him.

Story:37

agar təkan buxurdə, malum be, bidar-ə.”

If he moves, it will be clear that he is not asleep.”

Story:38

nâyəb ušanə harfa beštavəstə.

The lieutenant heard their words.

Story:39

xure fikr bukudə: “xudā šiš hizar tuman bi dərdə sər fərəsəbe.

He thought to himself, “God is sending me six thousand Tumans without any effort.

Story:40

xob-ə, hič təkən nuxurəm.”

All right, I will not move at all.”

Story:41

xura bə xab bəzə.

He pretended that he was asleep.

Story:42

Abul bamo, az anə íta čəkmə birun fakəšə.

Abul approached and took off one of the lieutenant’s boots.

Story:43

bəd Akbər bugóftə: “mən bāz-am bāvər nukunəm ki nāyəb xuftə.

Then Akbar said, “I still do not believe the lieutenant is asleep.

Story:44

bišim pulana az čālə usanim.”

Let us go; let us take the money from the hole.”

Story:45

Abul jəvəb bəda: “aǰəb tu ádómə šəkkak isi!

Abul answered, “You are an amazingly distrustful man.

Story:46

hasa mən uyta ləngə čəkmə ham az unə pə birun avərəm, bidinəm tu bāvər kuni ki bəndəyə xudā xufte yā na.”

Now I shall also take that boot from his leg and I shall see whether you then believe that God’s slave is asleep or not.”

Story:47

nāyəb xudəša bāz-em (//am) bə xāb bəze və xure bugóftə: “i juft čəkmə fidayə šiš hizār tuman pul.”

The lieutenant again pretended he was asleep and said to himself, “One pair of boots is the sacrifice for six thousand Tumans in cash.”

Story:48

Abul uyta ləngə čəkmə ham az nāyəbə pə birun bavərd.

Abul also took that boot from the lieutenant’s leg.

Story:49

və čəkməna usádidi və bušoidi.

They took the boots and went away.

Story:50

nāyəb íta piče sabr bukudə, virištə, bušo sutúnə-pušt.

The lieutenant waited a little then got up and went behind the pillar.

Story:51

har či bəgərdəstə, xākə tāzə nide.

No matter how far he walked, he did not see fresh earth.

Story:52

har či xāka ara-ura bukudə, hič či niyaftə.

However much he dug in the ground, he did not find anything.

A. Texts

Story:53

bamo xu čəkmə dukunə.

He went to put on his boots.

Story:54

bide, čəkman-am bəbərdidi.

He saw [that] they had made away with his boots too.

Story:55

ru bukuədə bə asəmān ki “ey xudāyə kərim, amara či kār bə nəmāz!

He turned his face to Heaven, “O great Lord, what do we care about the namaz because of this affair!

Story:56

nəmāz kārə əhlə hay-ə, ama əhlə hay-u hisāb.”

The namaz is the concern of genuine people, but we are people who take bribes.”

A.18 Text 18 – Poor

Poor:1

imruz, jəyəlan, ama bə sərguzəštə ita xānəvārə fəyir əšənā bim.

Today children, we shall get to know the story of one poor family.

Poor:2

a xānəvār ita nəmunəyə kučik az hizāran-hizār mərdúmə ame (//ami)
məm(ə)ləkət-ə.

This family is one of the representatives (lit. a small model) of the thousands and thousands of people in our country.

Poor:3

lābud šuma Rāštə kučə mahallana xob danidi, purdəarāya xob bələd-idi, ki koya na
(//naha).

Certainly you know the side-streets and districts of Rasht; you know very well where the Iraqi bridge is.

Poor:4

az a purd yək kəmi rədd-a bi, bərxuri bə čəntə kučəyə təng, bārik, kəsif, pur az
gil-u gul.

If you go a little way beyond the bridge, you will see (lit. you will meet) some crowded, narrow, dirty streets, full of dirt and mud.

Poor:5

du tərəfə a kučə hamišə xəndəy-ə, tə bəxayi kəsəfəst-ləjən darə.

Both sides of this street always have a [kind of] ditch, filled with refuse.

Poor:6

aslān a mahallānə-miyan mərdúmə əsrāf, bu yólə ama “ušanə sər bə ušanə pə
erze” zəndəgi nū-kunidi.

Distinguished people – whom we call, “worthy people” – do not live in these districts at all.

Poor:7

a jūr mahallānə-miyan mərdúmə kərgər, faalə və bu yólə muftxuran mərdúmə “bi
sər u pə” zəndəgi kunidi.

Working-class, toiling people, whom the rich parasites call “headless and footless people”, live in these districts.

Poor:8

mərdúmə a mahallan xānə apartaman, mobil-u yāli, kulfət-u nokər, dəm-u dəşkā nāridi.

The inhabitants of these districts do not have luxurious houses, or furniture and carpets, or female and male servants, or luxuries.

Poor:9

təyribən ušānə xānə bi šəbāhət bə muryə lānə ni-yə.

Their houses can be compared with birds' nests.

Poor:10

ammā a mərdum ki a jur jāya zəndəgi kunidi hojəbāzi, muftxori, kulāguzāri, kulāh-bərdāri nā-nidid či-yə.

But these people who live in such places do not know what cheating, scrounging, deceit or servility are.

Poor:11

dər muyābil a mərdumə sāddə, har yəd bəxayi, pākdil, rurāst, xušdil-idi.

On the contrary, these simple people are, if you like, pure in spirit, honest and kind.

Poor:12

šuma-ra dōrdə sər nō-dəm.

I do not want to bore you any more.

Poor:13

dər ha mahallə, dər ita az u kučānə-miyan ki šume-re sərḥ-u vəsf bukdəm, ita gālipuši xānə naha, ki haməš ita utāy darə.

In that district, on one of the streets I described to you there is a house with a thatched roof, consisting of only one room.

Poor:14

dōrə xānə pərčin dāre (/bubostə-yə).

Around the house there is [built] a fence.

Poor:15

ūni dər čubi-yə bəšəkəstə ki nə-šə ūni nāma dər nan.

The door – [this] is a broken piece of wood which cannot even be called a door.

Poor:16

a xānə-durun ki dāxil bi, ti čəšm bə čənta pāre-māre hasir, ita bəškəstə səmavər, i dəst šəndərə rəxtə xāb dəkəfe-u bəs.

If you go into the house, you will see some torn mats, a broken samovar and a broken bed – that is all.

Poor:17

an təməmə hast-u nistə Məryəm-Mirza Mamúdə zən-ə ki a xānə-miyan zəndəgi kuné.

This is the property of Maryam, Mirza Mamud's wife, who lives in this house.

Poor:18

Məryəm ita təbəje čənpā bəj xu-julo bəna, pāk kudən dərə.

Maryam has put a dish of rice in front of her and she is cleaning it.

Poor:19

gā-gāyi ham ārām-ārāmí xú-bijā šər, āvāz, mərsiyə xane.

From time to time she quietly hums a song to herself.

A. Texts

Poor:20

ki dané, šâyéd-əm bə yádə bədbəxtan dəkəfe, šâyéd-əm bə yádə xu mærd Mirza Mamud dəkəfe ki čənd sâl-piš žandarman úna bəkústidi.

Who knows, perhaps she is remembering the unhappy times; perhaps she is remembering her husband Mirza Mamud, whom the gendarmes killed several years before.

Poor:21

han yədər tanəm šume-re bəgəm ki dílə purí az zəmáno darə.

In any case, I can tell you that she has already had grief for a long time.

Poor:22

gáhi oyat un a šéra xané:

Sometimes, she sings this song,

Poor:23

“sərə kuyi bušom, bulbul bigirəm,

“I am just going along the street catching nightingales.

Poor:24

mi bala tir buxurd, tərsəm bimirəm,

An arrow has hit me in the arm; I am afraid I shall die.

Poor:25

bušu, yára bugu mærhəm bavərə.

Go and tell my friend; let him bring a bandage.

Poor:26

agər mærhəm nə-bə, tərsəm bimirəm.”

If there is no bandage, I am afraid I will die.”

Poor:27

Məryəm təyribən si haf-ašt sâl bištər na-re, ammâ uni yiyâfə nišan dihe (//dəhe) ki pənjasalə-yə.

Maryam is roughly thirty-seven or thirty-eight years old, not more, but in outward appearance she is a fifty-year-old.

Poor:28

yəm-u yussó, rúzi da saat kâr çayi báyân-u pabrus báyânə-sər, gušnəgi, təšnəgi az hamə bəttər ita šanzəsâlə pəsəre šəkəma ser-a kudən-ə, a zənakəya az ay-u vâý tavədə.

Grief and sorrow, ten hours' work a day in the tea and tobacco fields, hunger, thirst and, above all (lit. worst of all), the need to feed her sixteen-year-old son, have made this woman suffer.

Poor:29

hasa šume-re sərənəvištə Məryəma gəm, tå bədaníd, un čuto bə a ruz dəkəftə.

Now I shall tell you the story of Maryam, so that you will know how she got into such a situation.

Poor:30

Məryəm bist sâl-piš xeyli xuškil bu.

Twenty years ago, Maryam was very beautiful.

Poor:31

un aslən dihátfiyə duxtəri bu, belən-bálâ, siyačəšm-ə (//u) abru.

She was a real country girl, tall and with black eyes and black eyebrows.

Poor:32

múyə siyáyə girinjí dášti.
She had black, curly hair.

Poor:33

úni yəd-u andám míslə sərv bu.
Her figure was like a cypress.

Poor:34

Məryəm míslə áhúyə xərámán rá šoyi.
Maryam stepped on the ground like a slender gazelle.

Poor:35

ádəm duta čəšm dášti, duta čəšm-əm xastí yərz bukunə, únə yəd-u yəvərəya
təmášə bukunə.
Every man has two eyes and both [his] eyes craved for her appearance.

Poor:36

dihátə-miyan Məryəm bə xušgilí maaruf bu.
In the countryside Maryam was famous for her beauty.

Poor:37

án-əm bəgəm šumé-re ki Məryəm míslə u duxtəránə pəxmə-tənbəl nú-bu.
And in addition, I shall tell you that Maryam was not like those lazy girls.

Poor:38

un xeyli zərəng, kárí bu.
She was very dexterous and industrious.

Poor:39

hato ki bəjarkári, bərənjčíní sər rəsəyi, Məryəm “səra az pə təmiz nədayi.”
As soon as the time to work in the rice field and harvest the rice came, Maryam
toiled indefatigably (lit. did not distinguish her head from her feet).

Poor:40

har vəxt ki ušánə kár túmám-a bosti, Məryəm xu dəsxaxurán-amra i jayi xušánə
hamsáyána yavər (/yávər) kúdi.
Whenever their work was finished, Maryam and her female friends helped their
neighbors.

Poor:41

Məryómə mār az úni dəs bə-təng bamo bu.
Maryam's mother worried about her.

Poor:42

hamišə únə gúfti: “áxər záyiĵan ame bəjarkár ki tumán-a (təmán-a) bostə, tu ki az
hál dəkəftí, yək kəmi rāhət bukún!
She was always saying, “My child, you know our work in the rice field is finished
and you are very tired; rest a little.

Poor:43

rāhəti tə-ra xuš n-áye?”
Would not you like a rest?”

Poor:44

a harfan Məryómə sər furu nu-šoyi,
Such words did not have an effect on Maryam.

A. Texts

Poor:45

un haməš xəndə kudí, rəxs (/rəyâsî) kudi, har vəxt ki lâzəm bu, xušanə hamsâyána kumək kudi.

She was always laughing and dancing and when it was necessary, she helped her neighbors.

Poor:46

xulâsə Məryəm hatə ki pā bə bist bəná, úni mərdə bostánə vəxt bərəsé bu.

So when Maryam was twenty years old, the time came for her to get married.

Poor:47

Məryəm xátərxâ ziyad dāšti.

Maryam had many admirers.

Poor:48

pir, jəvân, har ki say kúdi úna az i ráhi bə dər bəbərə.

Young and old – everyone tried to get her.

Poor:49

az šuma či pinhân ki kedxudáyə a dihât Mulla Rəjəb-əm Məryəmə-re dəndân tiz-a kudə bu.

What can be hidden from you; the chief of this village, Mullah Rajab, also wanted her (lit. had sharpened teeth).

Poor:50

Mulla Rəjəb íta ádómə pənjasalə bu.

Mullah Rajab was a fifty-year-old man.

Poor:51

yəddə xəmidəyi dāšti.

His body was bent.

Poor:52

ani sərə mu ham fəbostə (/fubostə) bu.

The hair had fallen out of his head.

Poor:53

ay, čənt mu mislə kākúlə bābā-gəndum áni sərə-miyan ná bu.

Only a few small hairs were sticking up on his head, like small corn stems.

Poor:54

un az tərsə xudā ya (/yâ) az harāmzadəgi i pisxálə ríš-əm xure bəna bu ki gâ-gâyi hanâ nayi.

Out of piety or for the sake of propriety, he grew a small beard which, from time to time, he dyed with henna.

Poor:55

Mulla Rəjəb kedxudâ bu.

Mullah Rajab was the chief.

Poor:56

čən kəllə bəjar, du-səta gāv u vərza, mandə, čanta mury-u muryâbi, šələxt, íta galpuši xânəyə šəxsi dāšti.

He had several rice fields, two or three cows, bulls, calves, several hens, ducks, geese and his own thatched house.

Poor:57

un tâ bə an sen ki bərəse bu, čanta zən bəbərdə bu.

At his current age, he had already managed to get married several times.

Poor:58

ha alan xu xânó-miyan sêta zənə aydi dare.

Even now he has in his house three lawful wives.

Poor:59

Mulla Rəjəb bə osâf xâtərxâyə Məryəm bəbostə.

In spite of all this Mullah Rajab aspired to have Maryam's hand.

Poor:60

un a kârə-vasti az hiç hoyəbâzî furuguzâr nû-kudi: gâhi Məryəm perə vaada vəid dayi, gâyi ham uşâna taadid kudi.

He stopped at nothing to attain this end (lit. for the sake of this affair) sometimes he made extensive promises to Maryam's father; sometimes he threatened them.

Poor:61

xulâsə Mulla Rəjəb bəhânə-re gərdəsti tâ Məryəmə perə kulâh-siyaya çub bəzənə.

In short, Mullah Rajab sought grounds to create unpleasantness for Maryam's poor father (lit. to strike Maryam's poor father with a stick).

Poor:62

un məsələn mirâba kor-kor dayî ki aşâni çənta kəllə bəjâra âb fa-nə-də, yâ in ki har ruz avərdî ki “tu çərə sursât-u bədəhiyə parsala fâ-n-dəyi?” yâ “çərə imsâl muryə kəbâb-ə lăku, sir-u piyâza arbâbə-re der bəbərđi?”

For example, he incited the leader of the local community not to allow water to go to their few rice plots or pressed him as to why, in his words, are you not paying the landowner the previous year's duty in kind and the arrears or why, in his words, did you withhold from the landlord the duty in kind in the form of roast chickens, rice cakes and vegetables (lit. of onions and of garlic) this year?

Poor:63

Məryəmə per danəstî yəziyə az çi yərar-ə, ammâ çi tanəstî bukune?

Maryam's father knew what the reason was for all this, but what could he do?

Poor:64

un fəyət ita rā dāstî: dəndâna jəgərə-ru bənə, harf nə-zane.

He had one way out, to grudgingly keep silent.

Poor:65

âxər un nə-tanəstî dəst-dəstî xu duxtəra ki bist sâl uni-re xunə dil buxordə bə dəstə a gurg fadə.

You see how could he give up his daughter, whom he had cherished for twenty years, into the wolf's clutches with his own hands.

Poor:66

bâlâvə Məryəm úni xânə kârkun bu.

Besides, Maryam was a worker in his house.

Poor:67

xudəş ki pîr-a bostá bu, agər Məryəm-əm az dəst bədə, úni kâra ki vastî bukudi-bi?

As he himself was already old, who would begin to carry out her work, if he married off Maryam?

Poor:68

Məryəmə per-u mâr çən dəfa háttâ rāzi bubostə bid, Məryəmə Mulla Rəjəbə bədid.

Nevertheless, Maryam's parents had already agreed several times to give Maryam in marriage to Mullah Rajab.

A. Texts

Poor:69

an de az nâçâri bu âxər, uşani bədbəxti ki ita-dú ta nê-bu.

But this was in desperation, [because of] misfortunes, of which they had not a few.

Poor:70

Mirza Ahmadə arbâb mālîkə a dehât ita pəsər daştî.

Mirza Ahmad, the landowner of their village, had one son.

Poor:71

tâzə bu dorân dəkəftə.

He has appeared on the scene just now.

Poor:72

ûni nâm Xusruxân bu.

His name was Khusrukhan.

Poor:73

Xusruxân a jəvânə lus, nâzbârbəvərdə, aziz durdânə, bə Məryəm çəşm bədoxtə bu.

Khusrukhan, this self-satisfied, spoiled youth, the only son of his parents, noticed Maryam.

Poor:74

xaly dane, xudâ dane, kóya a pəsərə Məryəma bide bu.

[People know,] God knows where this lad had seen Maryam.

Poor:75

ún-am xastî bu, yólə yadimen az gulbây gúli biçinə bəşə.

He too, wanted, as the old men (lit. the ancients) say, to pluck the rose in the flower-garden.

Poor:76

Xusruxân gâh-gâhi xu səfidə ásba səvára bósti, ita şəláý-am bə dəst, á ra-ú ra furadi.

From time to time Khusrukhan sat on his white horse, with a whip in his hands and he drove it hard, first here, then there.

Poor:77

gâhi ham Məryəməşânə xânə-julo amói, manor dáyî, Məryəmə pera amr-u-nay kúdi.

Sometimes he even drove up to Maryam's house, caracoled [on the horse] and gave orders to Maryam's father.

Poor:78

hâni vastî bi ki Məryəmə per u âxərən râzi bəbósti bid ki Məryəma Mulla Rəjəbə zən bukunid və bə yólə ama xastid az mārə dəst bə aždəha pənâh bəbərîd.

That is why Maryam's father agreed in the end to Mullah Rajab's marriage to Maryam and, as they say here, wanted to find refuge from the dragon with the snake.

Poor:79

Məryəmə perə mâr çən dəfa Məryəma buguftidi: “biya, zay, az sərə şeytân bijir!

Maryam's parents said to Maryam several times, “Child, just save yourself from the anger of the devil.

Poor:80

Mulla Rəjəb kedxudâyə, xudâpərəst-ə.

Mullah Rajab is a village chief; he is pious.

Poor:81

vəxtə bivəxt amí-re bə dərd xure.

From time to time he will help us.

Poor:82

biya, ti díla rəzā bukun, tə-ra bədim Mulla Rəjəba.”

We have agreed that we should give you to Mullah Rajab.”

Poor:83

Məryəm avvəl-avvələn jəvāb nədayi sūrx-a bostí mislə ālaparčə.

At first Maryam did not answer and blushed like red calico.

Poor:84

u āxirən ki úni āb bə ləb bəmo, xu per-u mārā bugoftə: “agər mi sóra vabiníd, mən a dələšəkámə-re nə-xam bostəm!”

In the end, when this had already worried her to the limit, she said to her parents, “[Even] if you cut off my head, I will not become the wife of this glutton.”

Poor:85

az šuma či pinhān, Məryəmāšanə xānə íta jəvānək-əm kār kudí.

We cannot make secret the fact that a certain youth was working in Maryam’s house.

Poor:86

uni nəm Iskəndər bu.

His name was Iskander.

Poor:87

hālə ʔəziyə an bu ki təyribən í sāl-piš Məryəmə per təsmim giré, íta muzdur bigirə ki ušāni-re kumək bəbə.

This is how it happened: about a year before Maryam’s father made the decision to hire a worker who would help them.

Poor:88

íta ruz šə bāzār-sər.

One day he sets off for the market.

Poor:89

vəxti ki xu bāzārə sādóya tumān-a kudə, ára-úra gərdəstí.

When he had finished his trading, he was roaming here and there [in the market].

Poor:90

idəfai úni čəšm dəkəftə bə íta jəvānókə bist-u pənʃ sālə ki íta gāvə ālučə bəvərdə bu, bāzār bufurušə.

Suddenly, his eyes fell upon a twenty-five-year-old youth who had brought a few big cherry-plums to the market to sell them.

Poor:91

Məryəmə per bə a jəvān nəzdik-a be, az ára-úra gəb zənidi.

Maryam’s father approached the youth and had a talk about this and that.

Poor:92

jəvān zāhirən bəd nə-bu.

The youth was handsome in outward appearance.

Poor:93

səbzə, buləndbālā.

He was swarthy and tall.

A. Texts

Poor:94

xu-re kākul bēna bu ki hamišə āni dīmə-sər fubostí.

He let a forelock grow which continually came down onto his face.

Poor:95

Məryəmə per az Iskəndər vapurse: “ti nām či, bərar?”

Maryam’s father asked Iskander, “What is your name, brother?”

Poor:96

Iskəndər xeyli ādēmə kəmhosələ bu.

Iskander was a very impatient man.

Poor:97

háy-am daští.

But he even had grounds for that.

Poor:98

āxər a jəvānə dər tēmāmə xu umr rúzá xúša ni-dé.

You see, this youth had not seen a good day in all his life.

Poor:99

yək kəmi Iskəndər nək-u nuk bukudə bilāxərə buguftí: “ay per, tu mi nāma čire vapursi?”

Iskander wavered a little and then said, “Father, why are you asking me what my name is?”

Poor:100

mi nām nām na-re.”

My name does not have a name.”

Poor:101

Məryəmə per úna buguftə: “ay pəsər, ayb ná-re.

Maryam’s father said to him, “Oh son, that does not matter!

Poor:102

dunyā pəst-u bulənd dare.

In the world there are many misfortunes.⁴

Poor:103

duruzə dunyā ādēm an yədər yussə nə-xure.

In this fleeting world⁵ a man must not be sad.

Poor:104

az ašan guzəštə, ti əsli nāma bugu.

Let us drop this; tell me your present name.

Poor:105

kujāi?

Where are you from?

Poor:106

per-ə mār dari?”

Do you have a father and mother?”

Poor:107

jəvānə bilāxərə ge: “dani, per, mi nām Iskəndər-ə.

Finally, the youth says, “You know father, my name is Iskander.

⁴In the text: *dunyā pəst-u bulənd dare*. lit. The world has low and high.

⁵In the text: *duruzə dunyā*. lit. the two-day world.

Poor:108

du-sə sālǝ bum ki mi pér-ə mǎr bəmǎrdidi.

I was two or three years old when my parents died.

Poor:109

han yǝdǝr danǝm, hato ki čǝsm bǝ dunyǎ vakudǝm, nǝ pérǝ bidem, nǝ mǎra.

One thing I know – when I opened my eyes to the world, I saw neither father or mother.

Poor:110

tǎ čǝn(d) sǎl-piř-am gǎhi a dihǎtǐ, gǎhi u kǝdxudǎ, gǎhi u arbǎbǝ-re muzdurǐ kudim.

Until recently I worked as a farm laborer, first with a peasant, then for the village elder and then for the landowner.

Poor:111

u bǝlǎyǝ ki dǝr dunyǎ nǝ-na bi, mi sǝr bǝmo.

Whatever misfortune existed in the world, it would fall upon my head.

Poor:112

har kǎri bigi, bukudǝm: xǎnǝbǝrpayǐ, gǎvčǝrǎni, čǎrvǎdǎrǐ, muzduri.

I have done everything; whatever job you may talk about – the guarding of houses, the pasturage of cattle, looking after cattle and day-labor.

Poor:113

ǎxǝr sǝr de bǝ tǝng bamom.

In the end, I was already bored with everything.

Poor:114

tǝsmim bigiftǝm ǐta kǎr peydǎ bukunǝm ki de nǝ rǝngǝ arbǎba bidinǝm, nǝ foř-u čǝbǝ kǝdxudǎya buxurǝm.

I decided to find a sort of job where I would not see a landowner⁶ or endure the reproach and the stick of the village elder.

Poor:115

hanǝ ki dini, čǝnd sǎl-ǝ čǝnčukǝři kunǝm.

Now, as you can see, I have already been engaged in the trading of cheap objects⁷ for a few years.

Poor:116

gǎhi xuj, gǎhi be, gǎhi ǎlučǝ avǝrǝm bǎzǎr, furuřǝm.

I bring first pears, then quince and then cherry-plums to the market to sell them.

Poor:117

ǐjuri zǝndǝgiya guzǝranǝm.”

That is how I live.”

Poor:118

Mǝryǝmǝ per Iskǝndǝrǝ harfǎna guř kune.

Maryam's father listens to Iskander's words.

⁶In the text, lit. in order not to see the landowner's color.

⁷In the text lit. I bear the yoke.

A. Texts

Poor:119

bad xu dǽsta bə xu sər kəše, Iskəndára ge: “xob, zay, ame haməgi sərnəvištən
ijur-ə.

Then he scratches his head⁸ and says to Iskander, “All right child, fate is the same
for all of us.

Poor:120

ama dər əsəmānə a zəmānə ita sətārə ham na-rim.

In the modern sky we have no stars.

Poor:121

ayb na-re.

It does not matter.

Poor:122

ammā mən xayəm tərā ič čī bəgəm.

But I want to tell you something.

Poor:123

mən xānə ita pəlāxóra dərəm, ita duxtər.

I have a wife and a daughter at home.

Poor:124

hato ki dini, mən-am de pir-a bostən dərəm, az kār dəkəftən dərəm.

As you can see, I am already growing old; I am becoming a casualty.

Poor:125

biya-vu bišin mi-amra ame xānə, kār kunim.

Come and live with me in our home; we shall work.

Poor:126

mən-am ki pəsərə buzurg narəm, tu bə jāyə mi pəsər.”

Since I do not have a grown son, you will be a son for me instead.”

Poor:127

Iskəndər avvəl yi kəmi gəb nə-zəne.

At first, Iskander does not say a single word.

Poor:128

vəli bad dine: mīslə in ki pirəmərd ādəmə bədi nə-va bəbə.

But then he sees that the old man is probably not a bad man.

Poor:129

rāzī be.

He agrees.

Poor:130

har du bəham rā dəkəftidi.

They both set out on the journey.

Poor:131

yurub mahal fərəsidi bə xānə.

At sunset they arrive [arrived] home.

Poor:132

vəxtə ki Məryəm per Iskəndər-amra ayidi bə xānə, Məryəm bə xānə n-esa bu.

When Maryam’s father and Iskander arrived home, Maryam was not at home.

⁸In the text: *xu dǽsta bə xu sər kəše*. lit. He stretches out his hand to his head.

Poor:133

un xu dəsaxuran-amra birun kələgəb zeyí!
She was chatting with her girlfriends, on the street.

Poor:134

Məryəm vəxtə ki bə xənə ayə, idəfayi úni čəsm dəkəfe bə Iskəndər.
When Maryam arrives home, her eyes immediately fall on Iskander.

Poor:135

hato xu dəst-u pəya gum-a kune ki fəramuš-a kune, xu pəra səlam bukune.
She loses her presence of mind to such an extent that she forgets to greet her father.

Poor:136

Məryəm yək kəmi surx-a be, zərd-a be, bilâxərə xúdəša jəm-u jür kune, maşyúlə
xu kār be.
Maryam blushes a little, turns pale and finally controls herself and begins her work.

Poor:137

az háya Məryəm bə Iskəndər əsnâ bīdi.
From that time Maryam got to know Iskander.

Poor:138

ruzan-u šəban guzəştí.
Day after day slipped by.

Poor:139

Məryəm-u Iskəndər duş bə duşə ham kār kudidi.
Maryam and Iskander worked shoulder to shoulder.

Poor:140

bəjarkār vaĵin, pətəngzəní vəxt-hamišə hamdigərə-re kumək bīd
When harvesting the rice and when winnowing the grain, they always helped each other.

Poor:141

Məryəmə per az xu zəndəgi xeyli rāzi bu.
Maryam's father was very pleased with his life.

Poor:142

bad az muddəti bətanəstə bu, ita muzdur peydā bukunə ki úni-re mislə pəsər kār
bukunə.
After a long time he could at last, find a hired laborer who would work for him as a son.

Poor:143

az šuma či pinhân ki Məryəm-am bištər az xu per rāzi bu.
It is no secret that Maryam too was even more pleased than her father.

Poor:144

āxər ham Məryəm yār-u yāvər peydā bukudə bu, ham xu-bijə xu zəndəgíyə
āyəndə-re nəxšə bəkəše bu.
You see Maryam had just found her friend and painted for herself a picture of their future life.

Poor:145

fīkr kudi: šāyəd Iskəndər úni-re ita xurrəm mərd bəbə.
She thought perhaps Iskander will be her happy chosen one.⁹

⁹In the text: šāyəd Iskəndər uni-re ita xurrəm mərd bəbə lit. perhaps Iskander will become a joyful man for her.

A. Texts

Poor:146

muddəthā bu, ki Məryəm-ə Iskəndər mīslə ita bərar xaxur hamdigərə-amra gəb zəyidi, zəndəgi kudid(i).

Maryam and Iskander had already been living together for a long time and talked to each other as brother and sister.

Poor:147

Məryəm Iskəndəra bərarjan, Iskəndər Məryəma xaxur duxadī.

Maryam called Iskander brother and Iskander called Maryam sister.

Poor:148

ammā dər bātən (bātin) a du nəfər xuşani (/ə) dilə-miyan yeyr az mehr-u muhəbbətə bərar-xaxuri ita muhəbbətə digəram his kudidi, ammā jurat nə-kudid hamdigəra bigid.

However, in their hearts, apart from brotherly love these two felt another love in their hearts, but they did not dare to tell each other [about this].

Poor:149

şâyəd xəjālət kəşeyidi, şâyəd-am áyta muntəzər bu ki úyta xu dílə gəba zudtər bəge.

Perhaps they were ashamed, but perhaps both of them were waiting in order that the other one might make a declaration of love first.

Poor:150

xulāsə, har duta dər xudəšan ita muhəbbət yeyr az muhəbbəti áddi his kudid, ammā nə-xastid nişān bədid ki hamdigəra dust darid.

In short, both of them felt in themselves in addition to ordinary love, another kind of love, but they did not want to show that they loved each other.

Poor:151

i ruz, du ruz, i mǎ, du mǎ – bilāxərə hamişə de mumkin nu-bu ki uşan zir-ziriki hamdigəra dust bədarid, bilāxərə lāzəm bu, a mozu ruyi āb bəyə.

One day, two days; one month, two months – ultimately, it was impossible to love each other secretly forever; ultimately, it was necessary for this question to come to the surface.

Poor:152

rāst-am han-ə muntəhā har du muntəzərə bəhānə bid ki xušanə hārfə hisāba hamdigəra bəzənid.

To tell the truth, in the end they were both waiting for an occasion to say to each other words that were fitting for the occasion.

Poor:153

āxər uşan dihātə jəyəl-məyəl bid.

You see, they were children of the countryside.

Poor:154

uşan hanuz az a lusbāzén, hoyəbāzen, mǎrdumgulzəni ki bāzi ame šāhrə jəvānan az “təməddun” yād bigifti bid, xəbər nə-štīd.

They still did not have any idea of deception, trickery or cheating of which some of our city youths have learned thanks to “civilization.”

Poor:155

mǎrdúmə bisəvād, sǎddə, biyəll-u yəš.

They were illiterate, simple, ingenuous people.

Poor:156

uşáni işybâzi muhəbbət-am mîslə uşáni zəndəgi sâddəvu biriyâ bu. şâyəd xeyliyan tanəstid uşana gul bəzənîd.

And their courting and love, which were also like their lives, were simple and unfeigned. Possibly many people could have deceived them.

Poor:157

ammâ uşan hanuz mərdumgulzənen nanəstid.

But they had still not met (lit. did not know) any deceivers.

Poor:158

zəndəgiyə sâddə, dur az riyâ, mərdumgulzəni ham xudəş xuşbəxtiyə buzurg-idi.

A simple life, far from hypocrisy and deception, is already in itself a piece of great fortune.

Poor:159

bə har hâl Məryəm-ə Iskəndər bā pāki-yu sādəgiyə dihâti zəndəgi kudid.

In any case, Maryam and Iskander lived in rural purity and simplicity.

Poor:160

az qəzâyə ruzəgār žənə, ita təsâduf piş aye ki a təsâduf kumək ki uşan bilâxərə xuşani dilə gəba hamdigəra bəzənîd.

As fate willed, a fortuitous incident arises and this incident finally helps them to tell each other the secret (lit. the word) of their hearts.

Poor:161

dâstân az u qərar bu.

This was how it happened.

Poor:162

uşáni hamsâyi Məryəm ita dəsaxur daşti.

In their vicinity, Maryam had a female friend.

Poor:163

úni nâm Səlləmə bu.

Her name was Sallama.

Poor:164

Səlləmə duxtərə nəjib, sâddə, xeyli kâri bu.

Sallama was a noble, simple girl who was very hard-working.

Poor:165

un xu xâlə pəsərə xâtərxâ bu.

She was in love with her auntie's son.

Poor:166

úni xâlə pəsər-am úna xâtərxâ bu.

Her auntie's son was also in love with her.

Poor:167

bilâxərə uşani per-ə mâr rāzi bidi uşani-re arusi ra tavədidi.

In the end, their parents agreed to arrange their wedding.

Poor:168

şəbə arusi ham Məryəm, ham Iskəndər har du şidi təməşâ.

On the evening of the wedding Maryam and Iskander both went to watch the wedding.

Poor:169

Məryəm-u Iskəndər ham təməşâci bidi, ham uşana kumək kudidi.

Maryam and Iskander both looked on and helped them.

A. Texts

Poor:170

arusí dihâtə arusí bu.

The wedding was a rural wedding.

Poor:171

arúsa xob čakun-vakun kunidi.

They dressed the bride well.

Poor:172

arúsə pér-u mâr-əm bā čənta pırzənəkán-u rişsəfidanə dihât məşyúlə taayi kudən,
durust kudónə şám-u yəza bid.

The bride's parents and several old women and honorable old men from the village were occupied with the preparation of supper.

Poor:173

şume jâ xâli.

Your place is not occupied.

Poor:174

u şəb âbkəşpələ, čən jır xuruş az fusənjən-u yeymə, muryə kəbâb giriftə tã
burâni-vu turşə tərş arúsə xânə taayi kunidi.

That evening, in the bride's house, they prepared pilau and various dishes, beginning with roast duck and meat stuffing, roast chicken and including burani¹⁰ and marinade.

Poor:175

arúsə xânə bukob-bukob bu.

There was a buzz in the bride's house.

Poor:176

dəstə-dəstə arusə dəsxaxuran amoyidí, úna mubarəkbə guftidi.

The bride's female friends came in groups and congratulated her.

Poor:177

badən hamə sahrâ-miyan jəm-a bostid, čalpa zeyid, rəxs kudid, âvâz xandid.

Then they all assembled in the field, clapped their hands, danced and sang songs.

Poor:178

Məryəm-u Iskəndər-am uşani-miyan juş xurdid.

Maryam and Iskander also made merry in their midst.

Poor:179

Məryəm, ható ki şumə-re buguftóm, duxtərə gərm-u sulóyi bu.

Maryam, as I have already told you, was a passionate, lively girl.

Poor:180

ărâm (/aram) nəgifti.

She did not have any rest.

Poor:181

har vəxt ki uşani məjləs yək kəmi sər dəbostí, Məryəm xu dəsxaxurána fakəşéyi bə
miyan rəxs kudid.

Every time they had even a small evening-party, Maryam made her female friends stand in a circle and they danced.

¹⁰A kind of dish prepared from spinach or pumpkin and seasoned with fermented, baked milk.

Poor:182

Iskəndər de ita dil dašti, səd dil xātərxāyə Məryəm be.

You know Iskander had one heart; [it was as if] he [had fallen in love with] loved Maryam with a hundred hearts.

Poor:183

agər tå u ruz Iskəndər Məryəma fəyət dust dašti, az u şəb de un Məryəma mislə
ādəmə tur-u divanə az dil āšiy be.

If until this day Iskander had only a liking for Maryam, then from that evening he fell in love with Maryam with his whole heart, as a madman.

Poor:184

šāyəd-əm, u arusi, u bukob-bukob, u xuşhāli dər Iskəndər xeyli taasir bukudə bu.

Perhaps this wedding, this noise and this merriment had a great influence on Iskander.

Poor:185

un fikr-a ki “be ki Məryəma ūni-re bukunid.

He thought when will it be when they make Maryam his bride?

Poor:186

uşani arusi-re hato mərđum bayəd xuşi bukunid.”

At their wedding people must be happy in the same way.

Poor:187

hato ki Iskəndər gərmə a xiyālan bu, idəfayī Məryəm ūni bāla gire, fəryād kune:

“oy, Iskəndər, bərar, tu kōya iseyi?

While Iskander was occupied with such thoughts, suddenly Maryam takes him by the hand and exclaims, “Oh, Iskander, brother, where are you going?

Poor:188

təkan buxur!

Wake up!

Poor:189

dini, hamó rā dəkəftən dərīm, bişim dāmādə xānə.

You see we are all going away; we are making our way towards the bridegroom’s house.

Poor:190

ǰulo dəkəf, čərāya bigir!

Go on ahead; take the lamp!

Poor:191

dənbók-u təšt-u nəyārə bə səda aye.”

The drums and kettledrums are already sounding.”

Poor:192

arus səvārə asp ǰulo dəkəfə, ūni dəsaxurān-u familan ayəb.

The bride is riding in front, on horseback; her female friends and her relatives are riding behind.

Poor:193

uhoy-uhoy kuran rā dəkəfidi.

They all noisily set off on the journey.

A. Texts

Poor:194

avvəl arus yək kəmi gəryə kune ki az xu pér-ə mār jūdā bostən dəre, ammə úni dəsaxuran úna nāz-a didi (/nāz dehidi).

At first the bride cries a little, as she is parting with her parents, but her female friends comfort her.

Poor:195

rəxs kunān rā dəkəfidi dāmādə xānə.

Dancing, they set out on the journey to the bridegroom's house.

Poor:196

hato ki arusə familan fərəsidi dar dāmādə xānə, íta tir xāli be.

As soon as the bride's relatives approach the bridegroom's house, a shot rings out.

Poor:197

az har tərəf kəbāb, seb, pərdəxāl bə ára-urá tavədidi.

From all sides they bring kebabs, apples and oranges.

Poor:198

dāmādə mār bā čənta pirzənəkan áyidi ásbə sərə, giridí arúsa, bəridi bālāxāne.

The bridegroom's mother and several old women go up to the horse, take the bride and lead her into the upper room.

Poor:199

dubərə dāmādə xānə rəxs-u ávāz-u čəlpazən šuru be.

In the bridegroom's house, the dances, songs and clapping of hands begin again.

Poor:200

Məryəm de u šəb yərar ni-gidi.

Maryam does not rest any longer that evening.

Poor:201

tā yuvvət daští rəxs kune, ávāz xane.

She dances as long as her strength lasts and sings.

Poor:202

Iskəndər-am az Məryəm kəmi n-áye.

Nor does Iskander fail to keep up with Maryam.

Poor:203

gáhi čəráy bə dəhan, gáhi siní bə sər dihāti rəxs kune.

He dances the country dances firstly with the lamp in his mouth, then with a tray on his head.

Poor:204

xulāsə tā nəzdíkə sob dāmādə xānə bəkəb-bəkəb bu.

In short, there was noise in the bridegroom's house until morning.

Poor:205

nəzdikáyə sob Məryəm-u Iskəndər rā dəkəfidi bə tərəfə xānə.

Towards morning, Maryam and Iskander set off home.

Poor:206

rā-miyan avvəl yək kəmi az ará-urá gəb zənidi.

At first, they talk a little about this and that on the road.

Poor:207

bilāxərə Məryəm ru kune bə Iskəndər, ge: “xob, Iskəndər-bərar (/bərar), inšála ama ti arusí-re hato budó-bodó bukunim.”

Finally, Maryam turns to Iskander and says, “All right Iskander, brother, God willing we shall also celebrate your wedding noisily.”

Poor:208

Iskəndər avvəl yək kəmi jǎ xure, vǎli bad bə úni fikr rəsi ki aha alan de vǎxt-ə ki ba harf sərə Məryəm-ə-amra vakudən.

At first, Iskander stands still for a moment, but then he comes to the thought that here is the very time to begin a conversation with Maryam.

Poor:209

Iskəndər ru kune bə Məryəm ge: “aha Məryəm xaxur, tu rǎst gi.

Iskander turns to Maryam and says, “Oh Maryam, sister, what you say is true.

Poor:210

mən de alan pǎ bə bíst-u pənǰ nahan (/nəhan) dərəm.

I am already twenty-five years old.

Poor:211

lǎzəm-ə ki mən-am bə fikrə arusí bəbəm.

I too, must think about marriage.

Poor:212

ammǎ či bukunəm, Məryəmjan, mən ná-nəm, úni ki mən dus darəm, ún-am móra dus dare yǎ na?”

But what can I do, Maryam-jan I do not know whether the one I love loves me or not.”

Poor:213

Məryəm guman tǐz-a be.

Maryam’s thoughts are intensified.

Poor:214

úni dil təkən (/təkân) xure.

Her heart beats.

Poor:215

xu-bijǎ ge: “nu-kunə, ki Iskəndər i nəfərə digóra dus bədarə.

She thinks to herself, “It cannot be that Iskander loves someone else.

Poor:216

agər hatə bəbə, pəs mi kǎr či ba bəbə.”

If this is so, whatever will become of me?”

Poor:217

ǎxər Məryəm-am mudəti-yə Iskəndərə dus dare.

You see, Maryam has also already loved Iskander for a long time.

Poor:218

bər pədərə a xəjǎlət lanət!

May this diffidence be cursed!

Poor:219

un ki nə-tanəsti xu dílə góba tǎ a vǎxt Iskəndóra bəgə.

You see she had not been able to make a declaration of love to Iskander until now.

Poor:220

Məryəm hatə gərmə fikr kudən bu ki Iskəndər ru kune bə un, ge: “duroy gəm, Məryəmjan, yǎ na?

Maryam was absorbed in such thoughts when Iskander turns to her and says, “Am I telling lies, Maryam-jan, or not?

Poor:221

tu či fikr kuni?

What do you think?

A. Texts

Poor:222

mən či tanəm bukunəm, agər úni ki mən dus darəm, šâyəd aslən ná-ne ki mən úna
a ĵur az dil dus darəm?”

What can I do if the one whom I love perhaps does not even know at all that I love
her with my whole heart?”

Poor:223

Məryəm forən Iskəndəra ge: “tu az kóya dani?

Maryam hurriedly says to Iskander, “How do you know?”

Poor:224

šâyəd uni ki dus dari, ún-am tóra dus dare.”

Perhaps the one you love also loves you.”

Poor:225

bad bā ləbxənd ge: “xob, tu bugu, bidinəm, kiya dus darí.

Then she says with a smile, “All right, tell me whom you love.

Poor:226

šâyəd mən bəšnasəm.”

Perhaps I know her.”

Poor:227

Iskəndər ge: “az Ƴəzā ható-yə.

Iskander says, “It is just as you say.

Poor:228

tu, Məryəmjan u duxtəra ki mən dus darəm, xéyli xob šənasi.

You, Maryam-jan, know that girl that I love very well.

Poor:229

az mən-əm bətər šənasi.”

You know her better than I.”

Poor:230

Məryəm fame ki yaru xāye rástə gəba bəzənə.

Maryam understands that the boy wants to tell the truth.

Poor:231

bištər zur avəre: “xob bugu āxər, kí-yə.

She persists still more, “All right, tell me finally, who is she?

Poor:232

pəs čire ní-gi?”

Then why do you not say?”

Poor:233

Iskəndər de harf nə-zəne, fəƳət Məryómə čəšmāna nigā (/niga) kune.

Iskander does not say anything else; he only looks into Maryam’s eyes.

Poor:234

Məryəm avvəl multifit ní-be, bad fahme ki Iskəndər mudəti-yə (/ə) ki úni
čəšmana nigā kudən dərə.

At first, Maryam does not pay any attention, then she notices (lit. understands),
that Iskander has been looking into her eyes for a long time.

Poor:235

Məryəm ge: “xob, ti hárfa bəzən!

Maryam says, “All right, tell me!

Poor:236

čire nigā kuni?”

Why are you looking at me?”

Poor:237

Iskəndər de t̃ayət n-ávəre, ge: “mən de xayəm mi dīlə gába tire bəzənəm.

Iskander can no longer control himself and says, “I want to make a declaration of love to you.

Poor:238

dani Məryəm, rāstəša xayı?

Do you know Maryam, do you want the truth?

Poor:239

mən az u rúzə avvəl ki təra bidəm, bə tu dil dəbəstəm (//dəvəstəm):

From that very first day that I saw you, I fell in love with you.

Poor:240

hič nō-tanəm tóra fəramúš-a kunəm.

By no means can I forget you.

Poor:241

hasa xaye təra xuš bayə, xaye bəd baye, an rāstə gób-ə.”

Now whether you like it or not it is true.”

Poor:242

Məryəmə dil rošən-a be.

Maryam’s heart became happy.

Poor:243

Məryəm de az zoɣ ná-nasti, čuto rā bəšə.

Maryam did not feel her feet beneath her for joy.¹¹

Poor:244

vəli bə zāhir yək kómi xu axma bi zir avəre, bad bā ləbxənd ge: “xob, mən tóra dus ná-rəm!”

But outwardly she frowns slightly and then says with a smile, “All right, (but) you know I do not love you!”

Poor:245

a moɣə de ušan bə xušāni xānə fərəsə bid.

By that time they had already approached his house.

Poor:246

havā de rošən-a bostə bu.

Day had already broken.

Poor:247

xurusan xandidi.

The cocks were crowing.

Poor:248

Iskəndər-u Məryəm har kudam šidi xušani jāsər, xusidi.

Iskander and Maryam both left to go to their homes and went to bed.

¹¹ In the text: *na-nasti, čuto rā bəšə* (lit. She did not know how she was going along the road.)

A. Texts

Poor:249

ammâ har du nəfər dər bārôyê u gəbâni ki rā-miyan hamdigóra bəze bid, fikr kudidi.

However, both of them thought of those words that they had said to each other on the journey.

Poor:250

Iskəndər avvəl yək kəmi nārāhət be.

At first Iskander is a little worried.

Poor:251

ammâ bad bə yâd avêre ki Məryəm u agərsəri bā xəndə buguftə: “mən ki tēra dus nā-rəm!”

But then Iskander remembers that Maryam uttered [the sentence], “You know I do not love you!” with laughter.

Poor:252

u šəb rûyêhāmraftə Iskəndər nārāhət xuse.

This night, in short, Iskander sleeps uneasily.

Poor:253

un hanuz dudil bu, nānəsti ki Məryəmə gəba bāvər bukunə ya ūni nigāhāna ki har ita nigāhə-amra hizār çiz xasti bəgə.

He was still vacillating, not knowing whether to believe Maryam’s words to him or her looks at him, with each of which she wanted to express a thousand thoughts (lit. things).

Poor:254

az fərda bāz kār šuru be.

Work begins again the following morning.

Poor:255

Məryəm-u Iskəndər mīslə haməyə dihāten kār kudidi.

Maryam and Iskander were working, like all peasants.

Poor:256

Mulla Rəjəb (kedxudā) kəm-kəm bu bərə ki Məryəm sər bə koya bənd-ə.

Mullah Rajab [the village elder] guesses to some extent where Maryam’s thoughts are directed.

Poor:257

un fahme ki Məryəm-u Iskəndərə-miyan sər-u sirri nəha.

He realizes that there is a secret between Maryam and Iskander.

Poor:258

nə fəyət Mulla Rəjəb, bəlki dihāten uşāni hamsāyan ham danəstidi ki Məryəm-u Iskəndər mīslə in ki hamdigóra xātərxā-yidi.

Not only Mullah Rajab, but even the peasants and their neighbors also learned that Maryam and Iskander apparently love each other.

Poor:259

Mulla Rəjəb de dunbālə bəhānə gərdəsti ki yā Məryəmə pərə riša bigirə ya, har jūri isə, be Iskəndər hisāb bərəsə.

Mullah Rajab began to seek a reason [in order] either to seize Maryam’s father by the throat¹² or to get even with Iskander by any means.

¹²In the text: *ki yā Məryəmə pərə riša bigirə* lit. either to seize Maryam’s father by the beard.

Poor:260

Mulla Rəjəb rúz-u şəbərbəbə gúşə kun xandí ki “Məryəmə per ató-yə, utó-yə,
mahsúl-u maləljəryə der fade, sursáta čənsáló fá-n-de.

Day and night Mullah Rajab hummed in the landowner's ears, “Maryam's father is a so-and-so, he withholds the harvest and the rent; already for several years he has not paid the tax in kind.

Poor:261

az hamə bəttər-ita pəsərékə jəvána bavərdə xu xánə-miyan ki rúz-u şəb úni
duxtər-amra lās zəne.

And the worst of it is that he has brought a young lad into his house who day and night talks idly with his daughter.

Poor:262

axər dín-u məzhəb-u xudá ki isə.

You see, after all, there is faith, religion and God!

Poor:263

a pirəmerd míslə in ki xu dín-u məzhəba fəramúš-a kudə.

The old man, apparently, has forgotten his faith and religion.

Poor:264

az xudá-u axəré-t-am ná-təse.

He fears neither God nor the Day of Judgment.

Poor:265

ánam diyánət-ə ki ádəm íta ləndəyúla bavərə xu xánə-miyan və halə xu duxtərə
azəbə-amra ija zəndəgi bukunə?!

Is it piety if the man brings into his house some kind of rascal who now lives together with his unfortunate daughter?

Poor:266

bə jánə (/jānə) arab, bə sərə tu yəsəm.

I swear by the soul of an Arab, I swear by your head.

Poor:267

mən de nə-tanəm táyət bavəram.

I cannot endure this any longer!

Poor:268

a pirəmərdə ahməyā tu ba gušmali bədi.”

You must punish this old fool.”

Poor:269

az šuma či pinhān! kədxudā harāmzadə bu,ərbāb-am bisəvād-u ahməy.

What can be hidden from you! The village elder was a scoundrel and the landowner an ignoramus and a fool!

Poor:270

ərbāb dine ki Mulla Rəjəb pirəmərdə čənsáló ki úni kədxudā-yə.

The landowner can see that Mullah Rajab is an old man who, moreover, is his village elder.

Poor:271

agər či duroy ziyad ge, hojəbāz-ə, mərdúma bixud sər bə sər nahe, bigəri fəgire,
vəli bāz-am kədxudā-yə.

Although he tells many lies, [although] he is a rogue, wrongfully offends people and collects the corvée he is nevertheless the village elder.

A. Texts

Poor:272

bə arbāb či ki kedxudā biróhm-u dúzd-ə!

What does it matter to the landowner that the village elder is cruel and even a thief?

Poor:273

bə arbāb či ki kedxudā dihaténa (//dihaténa) yārət kune!

What does it matter to the landowner that the village elder robs the peasants?

Poor:274

āxər xūdə arbāb-am ha kārə-yə.

You see the landowner himself also acts in the same manner.

Poor:275

Mulla Rəjəb har pədərsoxtəgi bədarə, arbāb-re xob kār kune.

Although Mullah Rajab also performs all kinds of mean actions, he serves the landowner well.

Poor:276

arbāb-am hana xayə-u bəs.

This serves the landowner right.

Poor:277

gūrə pədər-ə Məryəm-u úni per!

Let Maryam's father and his father kick the bucket¹³.

Poor:278

tābəstān be.

It turns summer.

Poor:279

arbāb xu pəsərə-amra aye dihat gərdəš-u sərəkəši.

The landowner and his son are coming into the village to take a walk and be seen.

Poor:280

zimnən bə hisābə dihatən bərəsə.

He is beginning at once to settle accounts with the peasants.

Poor:281

bilāxərə nobə rəse bə Məryəmə per.

Finally, Maryam's father's turn came.

Poor:282

Məryəmə per ādémə xušhisābi bu.

Maryam's father was a diligent man.

Poor:283

xu maləlijarəya har sāl sərə vəxt fadayi.

He paid his rent on time every year.

Poor:284

vəli xob šuma danidi ki Mulla Rəjəb yəblən arbābə gúša púr-a kudu bu.

But you well know that Mullah Rajab had already slandered him beforehand when speaking to the landowner¹⁴.

¹³In the text: gūrə pədər-ə Məryəm-u úni per! lit. the grave of Maryam's father and of his father.

¹⁴In the text: arbābə guša púr-a kudi lit. filled the landowner's ears.

Poor:285

hato ki Məryəm per aye arbābə-biḡa səlam kune, arbāb avvəl ūni yǝddu bālāya
vərəndāz kune, yək kəmi kəḡ-kəḡ niḡa kune.

When Maryam's father approaches the landowner to greet him, the landowner examines him from head to foot and scowls at him.

Poor:286

“alekum səlam, nūrə kəfšə mən!

“Hello, light of my boots¹⁵.

Poor:287

xob, kəblāyi, bišənəvəstəm, tu sərə piri bə ḡakəši dəkəfti?

Well, kyablan,¹⁶ I have learned that you have been engaged in pimping in your old age.

Poor:288

mahsūla ki har sāl bə aḡəb tavədi, sursāta der fadi.

You are deferring payment of the tax on the harvest and you are withholding payment of the tax in kind.

Poor:289

bigāri moye ham ki ti ḡān bə ləb aye”

You know, at the time of the corvée you are at your last gasp!”

Poor:290

Məryómə per, hamóyə dihāten təḡub kunidi.

All the peasants were surprised at Maryam's father.

Poor:291

hamə danəstidi ki Məryómə per ādómə hisābi-yə.

They all knew that Maryam's father was a diligent man.

Poor:292

Məryómə per ge: “arbāb, ti sər ḡəsəm, mən aslən bədihi ná-rəm, án-am mi ḡəbz ...”

Maryam's father says, “Sir, I swear by your head, I do not have any arrears; here is the receipt ...”

Poor:293

arbāb de mohlət nə-de, sərə fōša vakune.

The landowner does not allow [him to speak]; he begins to quarrel.

Poor:294

“pədersoxtə, bidin, xəḡālət nə-kəši!

“Scoundrel, atheist, look (how) you ought to be ashamed of yourself!

Poor:295

ašan hamə ti sərə buxurə!

If only all this were knocked into your head!

Poor:296

a pəsərek ləndəyul kí-yə, tu ti xānə-miyan bavərđi?

Who is this lad, rascal whom you have brought into your house.

Poor:297

ani nām čí-yə?

What is his name?

¹⁵ nūrə kəfšə mən: “light of my boots” is scoffingly heard instead of nūrə čəšmə mən: “light of my eyes.”

¹⁶ A contraction of kyarbelyan.

A. Texts

Poor:298

Iskəndər-miskəndər?!

Iskander-miskander?

Poor:299

pirəmərd, hayâ bukun!

Old man, be ashamed!

Poor:300

tu i pā a dunyâ-i, i pā u dunyâ

You are in this world with one foot [but] with the other in the next world!

Poor:301

tu âxər duxtəre azəb dari!

You know you have an unmarried daughter in your house.

Poor:302

mərdum tēra çi gidi?!”

What will people say about you?”

Poor:303

ham Məryəmə per, ham dihaten de famidi, mətləb az çi yərār (/yərār)-ə.

Both Maryam’s father and the peasants already realize what the issue is.

Poor:304

famidi ki bāzen zīrə sōrə kedxudā Mulla Rəjəb-ə.

They realize that these are the machinations of the village elder, Mullah Rajab.

Poor:305

Məryəmə per yək kəmi sōrx-a be, xu sōra bijir-a kune, bilāxərə tàyət n-ávəre, ge:

“arbāb, vəlla bə xudā, ti sər yəsəm, a jəvānə mi muzdūr-ə, mərə kumək kune.

Maryam’s father blushes a little, hangs his head and then cannot contain himself and says, “Sir, really and truly, I swear by your head, this youth is my hired laborer – a peasant; he helps me.

Poor:306

alan du sāl-ə ki šəb-u ruz kār kune.

He has already been working night and day for two years.

Poor:307

haməyə mərdum danidi ki un xeyli pāk-u durüst-ə, harāmzadəgi nā-re, bədcəšm nī-yə ...”

All the people know that he is very honest and decent and that he does not have any dishonorable intentions; he is not a bad man ...”

Poor:308

a moye arbābə pəsər Xusruxān az xu jā virize, de mohlət nə-de ki Məryəmə per harf bəzənə, darx-durx tā tanəsti, Məryəmə pəra zəne.

At that moment, Khusrukhan, the landowner’s son, rises from his place, does not allow Maryam’s father to speak and, with all his strength, as soon as he can, strikes Maryam’s father.

Poor:309

Xusruxān-am šuru kune bə foš dan: “bišəraf, duroygu, pirəmərdə budin!

Khusrukhan also begins to quarrel, “Scoundrel, deceiver, old atheist (lit. godless old man)

Poor:310

a pisərəkə harāmzadəyə bədcəşma bavərđi ti xānə-miyan, hasa gi ki an xurəm
adəm-ə, pāk-ə!

You have brought a lad who is dishonorable and who has bad intentions into your house and now you say he is a good, honest man.

Poor:311

ha, imsāl ba bə úni hisáb bərəsi, úna az ti xānə birún-a kuni, və-illā ti bār-u kuča
dəvəd bušu har jəhənnəm dərrəi ki xayī.”

Well, this year you must settle accounts with him and turn him out of your house, or else get away from here with all your belongings and go to whatever ravine of hell you desire!”

Poor:312

dihāten ki úya isa bid, hamə Məryəm péra, əhtərām kudidi,

The peasants who were standing there all respected Maryam’s father.

Poor:313

uşan xob danəstid ki Məryəm-u Iskəndər ham har du bāadəb-u sərbizir-idi.

They well knew that Maryam and Iskander were both polite and modest.

Poor:314

dihāten xuşāni dílə-miyan arbāb-u úni pəsəra foş daid, kedxudā-re ham hatə nişān
bəkaşeid, çun uşan danəstid ki haməyə bāzen zírə sərə Mulla Rəjəb-ə.

The peasants abused the landowner and his son in their hearts and they also spoke [unkindly] of the village elder, because they knew that this was all the machinations of Mullah Rajab.

Poor:315

Məryəm pér-u dihāten rā dəkəfidí bə xānə.

Maryam’s father and the peasants set off home.

Poor:316

rā-miyan dihāten arbāb-u úni pəsər-u kedxudāya az dil nifrin kudidi, Məryəmə
péra diltəsəllai dayidi.

On the road they cursed the landowner, his son and the village elder and comforted Maryam’s father.

Poor:317

úna guftid: “ayb ná-re, bərar!

They said to him, “It does not matter, brother!

Poor:318

γusə nə-xur (//nú-xur)!

Do not be sad.

Poor:319

xudā ame intəyāma az a birəhman fəgirə, uşāni-re ato nə-mane.

God will take vengeance on this merciless man; he will not leave this unpunished.

Poor:320

míslí in ki ha diruz bu, ha Seid Rəzi arbāb ba çi hárt-u húrťi aman i dihāténi-miyan
xasti.

It is as if it were yesterday that this very landowner Seid Razi asked the peasants for mercy with such moaning.

A. Texts

Poor:321

diruz bimi šar.

Yesterday we were in the city.

Poor:322

uni pəsəra bidini ki bə gədaí dəkəftə.

You would have seen his son, who fell into poverty.

Poor:323

gúrgə biyábân!

What a wolf from the desert!

Poor:324

ame čəšm a kúnə dunyá-miyan čizhá bide.”

Our eyes have seen something else in this old world.”

Poor:325

dihâten ha gəbâna zeyidi, har kəs šon xu xânə.

The peasants spoke in this way [and] everybody departed [from them] for his own home.

Poor:326

Məryəm pər-am bə hálə giriftə, yəmgín aye xânə.

Maryam's father arrives home depressed and sad.

Poor:327

hayátə-miyan še ita gušə nišine, šuru kune bə gəryə kudən, ámmâ itor ki jəyələn nə-famid.

He goes into a small corner in the courtyard, sits down and begins to cry, but so that the children do not notice.

Poor:328

Məryəm-u Iskəndər məšyúlə pátəngzen bud.

Maryam and Iskander were busy with their work in the peeling mill.

Poor:329

Məryəm mār-am hayátə-miyan himə átəki bukudu bu (/bukudə bu), nəhâr hâzər kudən dubu.

Maryam's mother also [settled down] in the courtyard, lit a fire and prepared dinner.

Poor:330

Məryəm-u Iskəndər xušáni kára tumán-a kunidi.

Maryam and Iskander finish their work.

Poor:331

Məryəm xəndə kunân aye xu pərə-virja ge: “xob, ağan, imruz arbâb ti hisâb-kitâba bərəsə?”

Laughing, Maryam approaches her father and says, “All right, father, has the landowner settled accounts with you?”

Poor:332

ama ki bədekâr ní-bim!”

You know we are not debtors!”

Poor:333

Məryəm pər avvəl gəb nə-zəne, bad bə oyât təl x ge: “ay duxtər či vapursi?!”

At first, Maryam's father does not say anything and then he says with grief, “Oh daughter, what are you asking?”

Poor:334

tu ti kâra bukun!
Attend to your affairs!

Poor:335

bər pəðérə a zəndəgi laanət!”
May this life be cursed!”

Poor:336

Məryəm xob nigā kune, dine: mīslī in ki ūni pērə sōr-u surət sōrx-ə, zəxm-ə.
Maryam gets takes this in and sees that it seems as if her father’s face is red and wounded.

Poor:337

dəkəfə xu pērə bəyəl, bā bitābi az xu per duvarə vapurse: “aḵən, de bugu, mægər rā-miyan bəkəfti ya daavā bigifti?
She throws herself into her father’s chest and asks her father impatiently for the second time, “Father, what has happened to you. Have you fallen on the road or had a drop too much?

Poor:338

ti sōr-u surət čərə ato sōrx-ə?”
Why is your face so red?”

Poor:339

Məryómə per avvəl say kune, mətləba gayóm-a kunə.
At first, Maryam’s father tries to hide what has happened.

Poor:340

vəli bad dine de nə-ša gayóm-a kudən.
But then he sees that it is impossible to hide it any longer.

Poor:341

majbur bə təmāmə dəstānə u rúza mufəssəl ūni-re bəgə.
He was forced to tell her at great length about the events of that day.

Poor:342

dər a moye Məryómə mār-u Iskəndər-am nəzdík-a bidi.
Then Maryam’s mother and Iskander also approached.

Poor:343

se-nəfəri guš dəhidi.
All three of them listen.

Poor:344

Məryómə mār pirəzən bu.
Maryam’s mother was an old woman.

Poor:345

nətanəsti tāyət bavərə, biytəyār gəryə kudidi.
She could not bear this and she unintentionally burst into tears.

Poor:346

ašk Məryómə čəšmə-dor xalyə bəze bu.
Tears welled up in Maryam’s eyes.

Poor:347

say kudi xudəša bədarə.
Nevertheless, she tried to restrain herself.

A. Texts

Poor:348

Iskəndər-am mîsli in ki ûni per bəmərđ, xu zānu bəyəl bigiftə bu, az ûni sər-u ru yəm varəsti.

Iskander also acted as though his father had died, clasped his knees with his hands and thus gave vent to his grief.

Poor:349

âxər-səri Məryəmə per ge: “bəlla mən xudəm nā-nəm çi bukunəm!

In the end, Maryam’s father says, “Really and truly, I myself do not know what to do!

Poor:350

agər Iskəndəra jəvâb bədəm, mi kâr çi ba bəbə?

If I dismiss Iskander, who will help me with my work?

Poor:351

âxər xudāya xuš n-āye, a tîflək du sâl-ə amé-re kâr kudən dərə.

Evidently, God does not want this young lad who has already been working for us for two years.

Poor:352

agər-am a kâra nû-kunəm, a zâləman ame dudəməna bə bād dihidî.”

And if I do not do this, these tyrants will let the wind blow away our puffs of smoke.”

Poor:353

Iskəndər vəxti a harfāna šənəve, ûni dil dəkəfe.

When Iskander hears these words, his heart breaks.

Poor:354

virize, şe îta guşə nişine.

He gets up, goes away and sits in a small corner.

Poor:355

Iskəndər hizâr jûr fikr-u xəyâl kune.

Iskander thinks a thousand thoughts.

Poor:356

un ârəzûyə ziyad daşti.

He had many dreams.

Poor:357

un xasti Məryəmə-amra zəndəgi bukunə.

He wanted to live together with Maryam.

Poor:358

un xu dîl-u xəyālə-miyan îta âyəndəyə vəşəng-u xuš, zəndəgiyə sâdə-u zibâyə Məryəmə-amra hamişə deyî.

In his thoughts he always saw an excellent, pleasant future; a simple, beautiful life together with Maryam.

Poor:359

Məryəmə ha jûr fikr kudi.

Maryam thought the same thing.

Poor:360

ama alan dinidi ki har çi uşan bəbaftidi, arbâb-u kedxudâ pənbə bukudid.

But now they see that everything they had woven the landowner and the village elder were [again] turning into cotton.

Poor:361

Məryəm-u Iskəndər dil az a kâr xun bu.

Because of this, Maryam and Iskander's hearts were bleeding.

Poor:362

u ruz hiç kudam az uşan nəhâr nû-xuridi.

On that day, nobody in their house had dinner (lit. has dinner).

Poor:363

har kəs îta guşə nişte bu.

Each one sat in his own corner.

Poor:364

i nəfər fikr kudi, u îta gəryə kudi, îta digər nifrin kudi.

One of them mused, another cried and a third one cursed.

Poor:365

xulâsə xânə sâkît-u ârâm bu, ta ki şəb be.

In short, there was quiet and silence in the house until evening came.

Poor:366

şəb Iskəndər yək mähî-yu sôrdə pələ xure, rā dəkəfə ki bəşə bəjar kutāmə-sər.

In the evening, Iskander eats fish and cold pilau and sets out in order to go to the rice field.

Poor:367

vəxtə şon Məryəma duxane, tənhaî una ge: “Məryəmjan, agər tani, imşəb biya bəjar kutāmə-sər.

When he is going there, he calls Maryam and tells her in private, “Maryam-jan, if you can, come to the rice field tonight.

Poor:368

yək kəmi gəb bəzənim.”

We shall talk for a while.”

Poor:369

Məryəm avvəl kəmhəsələgi kune, vəli bad ge: “xob mən tå tanəm, say kunəm ki bayəm.”

At first, Maryam hesitates, then she says, “All right, I shall try to come as soon as I can.”

Poor:370

Iskəndər de matəl-a nî-be, rā dəkəfə.

Iskander does not stay any longer, but leaves.

Poor:371

rā-miyan az yəm-u yussə fikr kudi.

On the road he thought of his grief and sorrow.

Poor:372

gāhi bə yādə Məryəm dəkəfti, xû-biја xandi:

Sometimes he remembered Maryam and sang to himself,

Poor:373

ti yəm mərə pir kudə de dər jəvāni, jân-jānə Məryəm!

“Longing for you has already aged me in youth, dear Maryam.

Poor:374

bi tu de mən nō-tanəm kudəm zəndəgāni, jân-jānə Məryəm!”

I can no longer live without you, dear Maryam.”

A. Texts

Poor:375

Iskəndər hato ki âvâz xandi farəse bəjar kutāmə-sər.

Singing, Iskander approached the rice field.

Poor:376

šuru kune bə hây-u-hiy ki xukan bəjara xərâb nú-kunid.

He starts to shout, so that the wild swine will not spoil the rice field.

Poor:377

u šəb havâ xéyli sâf-u xob bu.

That night the weather was very clear and pleasant.

Poor:378

šəbə pânzəyə mǎ bu.

It was the evening of the fifteenth of the month.

Poor:379

nəsīmə xunək, mulâyómi az šəmāl amoyi.

A fresh, gentle light breeze was blowing from the north.

Poor:380

hattâ ita kučə tikə abr ham âsəmānə-miyan pedâ nú-bosti.

Not a single, small cloud was visible in the sky.

Poor:381

təbiat xéyli Ƴəšəng bu.

The countryside was very beautiful.

Poor:382

ammâ dunyâ-u hamə čiz mǐsli in ki Iskəndərə sərə-dor čərx ze.

But the whole world seemed to be turning around Iskander.

Poor:383

sətarānə âsəmān mǐsli in ki úna susu daidi, bə úni nākāmí-u bədbəxti bǎ məsxərə
ləbxənd zeidi.

It was as if the stars in the sky were winking at him and mocking his trouble and his grief.

Poor:384

šâyəd aslən ato nú-bu.

Perhaps this was not at all true.

Poor:385

sətarānə âsəmān-u təbiat Iskəndərə xastid bə úni âyənd-u umidvār bukunid.

The stars in the sky and the countryside wanted to give hope to Iskander.

Poor:386

šâyəd havâ bǎ xu nəsīmə mulâyəm xasti mərhami bə dílə purxúnə Iskəndər bənə.

Perhaps the air, by means of its own gentle, light breeze, wanted to apply medicine to Iskander's overflowing heart.

Poor:387

vəli Iskəndər u šəb hamə číza hamáyə dunyâya xú-amra muxâləf dei.

But that night, Iskander saw everything, the whole world [as] his enemy.

Poor:388

un fikr kudi de zəmín-u zəmān kəmər bə Ƴətlə un dəvəstidi.

He thought that the earth and time were preparing to kill him.

Poor:389

čən sâat Iskəndər bə fikr-u xəyâl bu.

Iskander was [absorbed] in such thoughts for several hours.

Poor:390

idəfaɪ bə ʊni yɑd aye ki imʃəb Məryəm ba bayə bəjar kutáməsər.

Suddenly he remembered that tonight Maryam was to come to the rice field.

Poor:391

Iskəndər xu-biʃa ge: “xob, az kóya šuru bukunəm, Məryómə-amra gəb bəzənəm?”

Iskander says to himself, “Good, how (lit. from where) shall I begin to speak to Maryam.

Poor:392

imʃəb de be har ʕi isə-u ni-yə Məryómə-amra dər miyan bənəm.

You see, tonight I must tell Maryam all that there is and is not.

Poor:393

har ʕi bādā-bād!”

Come what may.”

Poor:394

dər ha fīkr-u xəyāl bu.

He was absorbed in these thoughts.

Poor:395

iʃnave ki aləfānə rupāyə səda ara-aram aye.

He hears the sound of footsteps on the grass noiselessly reach his ears.

Poor:396

nigā kune xu púʃtə-səra, dine Məryəm amon dərə.

He looks back and sees [that] Maryam is coming.

Poor:397

Məryəm kəm-kəm nəzdīk-a be, tā farəse Iskəndərə-biʃa.

Maryam slowly approaches until she reaches Iskander.

Poor:398

har du hamdigəra pəhlu niʃinidi.

They both sit down side by side.

Poor:399

tā ʕənd dəyiʃə hiʕ gəb nə-zənidi, fəyət gəhgāhi zir-ziriki az zírə ʕəʃm hamdigəra nigā kudidi.

For a few minutes they did not say (lit. do not say) anything, only from time to time they stealthily cast glances at each other.

Poor:400

ki dane, uʃāni mənzur az nigāhan ʕi-yə.

Who knows what the purpose of these glances was.

Poor:401

vəli bixud ní-yə ki mərdum gidi: “gāhi ādəm bā nigāh xəyli ʕizāna tane bəgə ki bā harf nə-tane.”

But you know it is not for nothing that people say, “A man can sometimes say more with a glance than he can [say] with a word.”

Poor:402

ʃəyəd uʃān-am bā u nigāhan xəyli ʕizāna hamdigəra bəfahmaneyidi.

Perhaps they too, explained much to each other with these glances.

Poor:403

bilāxərə Iskəndər ge: “xob, Məryəmjan, hālə yəziyəyə tu ham imruz biʃnavəsti.

In the end, Iskander says, “Yes, Maryam-jan, today you even found out about your fate.

A. Texts

Poor:404

mən xastim imşəb tərə bəgəm, ama çi bukunim?

Today I wanted to tell you, but what we can do?

Poor:405

mən tã hasa tərə aşəkâr nû-guftəm, vâli alan de rurâst gəm ki tərə xéyli dus darəm,
hiç nê-tanəm bi tu zəndəgi bukunəm.

I have not spoken to you openly until now, but now I shall tell you point-blank that
I love you very much; I cannot live without you.

Poor:406

du sâl-ê ki mən a harfâna mi dîlê-miyan bədaştəm, vâli de nêtanəm tîyêt bavêrəm.”

I have already kept these words in my heart for two years, but I can no longer bear
[this].”

Poor:407

Iskəndər hato ki gəb zeyi, Məryəmê çəşmāna nigā kudi.

When Iskander said this, he looked in Maryam's eyes.

Poor:408

uni dil taptap zeyi.

His heart was beating.

Poor:409

muntəzər bu ki Məryəm ûna çi jəvâb dihe.

He waited to see how Maryam would answer him.

Poor:410

Məryəm xu sêra bizîr-a kudu bu, sôrx-a bostê bu.

Maryam hung her head and blushed.

Poor:411

avvêl hiç harf nê-zane bad bā xəjâlê ge: “tu ki xob dani, Iskəndər, mên-am yayr
az tu hiç kêsa nê-xayəm.

At first she does not say anything, then with embarrassment she says , “You know,
you know very well that I too do not want anyone else but you.

Poor:412

mən hamişê âruzu kudim ki ti-amra zəndəgi bukunəm.”

I have always dreamt of living with you.”

Poor:413

a moşê Məryəm îta âx kêşê bā yussê ge: “vêli xudê dini ki vèziyê çutô-yê.

Then Maryam sighs and says with sorrow, “But you can see for yourself what the
situation is.

Poor:414

hanuz ama zên-u şohar nû-bostim, mi pêra çûb-u çumây zênidi.

We have not become husband and wife yet and they are already beating my father
with sticks.

Poor:415

agêr zên-u şohar bibim, hatmên ûna kuşidi, amê ruzəgâr-am siyâ kunidi.

If we become husband and wife, they will certainly kill him and they will darken
our life (lit. fate).

Poor:416

âxêr agêr ama zên-u şohar bibim de nê-tanim a dihâtê-miyan zəndəgi bukunim.

Finally, if we become husband and wife, we shall no longer be able to live in this
village.

Poor:417

arbábə pəsər Mulla Rəjəb de amə-ra amān nə-did.”

You see, the landowner’s son [and] Mullah Rajab will not spare us.”

Poor:418

Iskəndər xéyli nārāhət be, hay-am dašti.

Iskander became very anxious and he had every reason for this.

Poor:419

āxər Məryəmə gəban du pəhlu bu.

You see, there were two sides to Maryam’s words.

Poor:420

Iskəndər bā hól-u hərəs dər hāli ki úni dəstan lərzistidi, Məryəmə dəsta gire, vapurse: “yāni tu xayı bigi ki mən-u tu nə-tanim zəndəgi bukunim.

In terror, Iskander takes Maryam’s hands with trembling hands and asks, “You must mean that you and I cannot live [together].

Poor:421

janı mən, bi mi péré gor, az yussə bimirəm!”

My dear, I swear by my father’s grave, I shall die of grief.”

Poor:422

Məryəm dine ki Iskəndər xéyli nārāhət-ə, kəra divanə bostən dərə, úna ge: “de na.

Maryam can see that Iskander is very alarmed and is going out of his mind and so she says to him, “But surely not.

Poor:423

tu čire ato dəspāčə bosti.

Why have you lost your head to such an extent?

Poor:424

mən ki uto nūguftəm.

You know I did not say such a thing.

Poor:425

mən təra buguftəm ki mən-am bi tu nətanəm zəndəgi bukunəm.

I told you that I too cannot live without you.

Poor:426

vəli ba yək kəmi fikr bukunim.”

But we must think for a while.”

A.19 Text 19 – News I

Goftəgu Conversation

From the newspaper “Ruznāmeje Čəlangər”, by Pəbərəhnəyə Rašti

News I:1

bāz bušo hut bamo bəhār dihāti,

The month of Khut has passed again; spring has set in, oh peasant!

bulbulə sahrā kune huzār dihāti.

The nightingale is singing in the field, oh peasant!

A. Texts

News I:2

bāz ti Rubāb və ti Kāsəgul və Alijan

Again your Rubab and your Kasagul and Alijan

va dəkəfə tå guli bə kār dihāti.

Must be absorbed up to their necks in work, oh peasant!

News I:3

va badəri čəf jəvəstai ki ti arbāb

You must swell from hunger and your master

hai bukunə jujə zahrə mār dihāti.

Continually devours chickens,¹⁷ oh, peasant!

News I:4

u xuse pərə yu miyani və ti zən-u zay

He sleeps on a swan's down, but your wife and children

gur(ə) xulə-ja še biyar kār dihāti.

Go to work in the field out of the opening of the grave, oh peasant!

News I:5

anhamə jan kəndən və aray fukudən hič

All these torments and this shedding of sweat is in vain!

na tire (/tere) šām be və na nəhār dihāti.

You will have neither dinner, nor lunch, oh peasant!

News I:6

mory-u jukul jāru və āyuz-u kəbābi

You will always bring hens and bundles of rice and nuts and roast chickens,

hai bəri dušāb təyār-təyār dihāti.

And grape juice in wash-tubs [to the master], oh peasant!

News I:7

səngə dila āb kune ti hāl vəzāyā

A stony heart is melted [at the sight of] your life (lit. condition);

kəs nare ti ruz ruzgār dihāti.

Nobody has your fate, oh peasant!

News I:8

arbābə zən-xuš buxordə, jan bukudə ku(h)

The master's wife fed herself on honey and grew stout like a mountain;

anə duta julan bubo āpār dihāti.

Her cheeks turned into round discs, oh peasant!

¹⁷In the text: bukunə jujə zahrə mār lit. does chickens with the poison of a snake.

News I:9

murvari bənda bidin dəbəstə xu gərdən

She has tied ten strings of pearls and beads around her neck

da dānə šad da yətar-yətar dihāti

In ten rows, oh peasant!

News I:10

məxmələ-ru nište hai xane kukora šim

She always sits in velvet; she always sings the kukora šim¹⁸

xu čək-u čānə dehe šəlār dihāti

And she moves her jaw and chin [in time with the song], oh peasant!

News I:11

ǰəyələ tišin nište pābərəndə mādərzād

[But] your child sits barefoot, as his mother gave him birth,

gərzənə gərzək xumə kənār dihāti.

Beside the nettle and the hornets' nest, oh peasant!

News I:12

ti kəmər-u kilə xaye borsəfə az bənd

Your waist and your back are ready to break in the joints;

arbābə gərdən āyuzdār dihāti.

The master's neck is like a walnut tree, oh peasant!

News I:13

an hamə ra pābərəndə ši tu bəjarkār

You walk along the whole road to your work in the field barefoot,

un bə xiyābān utulsəvar dihāti.

But he drives along the avenue in a car, oh peasant!

News I:14

šəb ayi ti kumə dəs dərāzta az pā

At night you come to your hut with your arms longer than your legs [from the hard work]

kār ki nibe anyəzər dədār dihāti.

Because there is no more back-breaking work, oh peasant!

News I:15

xuškə māhi yāziyān bubostə ti heykəl

Your stature has become like the dried fish of Gazian;

kəlləyə arbāb tišin udār dihāti.

And the master's head like your tree, oh peasant!

¹⁸kukora šim: “where are we going” – the beginning of a popular song.

A. Texts

News I:16

nāxuša bi, ši nišini āftābə-dimə

You will fall ill and go and sit in the sun;

gəryə gire az ti hāləzār dihāti

You would like to cry (lit. crying takes), because of your miserable existence, oh peasant!

News I:17

ti zən-u zakan mægər jə dār xulə bamo

Have not your wife and children fallen out of the hollow of a tree-trunk?

va vəbə hič vəxt nonəvār dihāti

Because nobody should be dressed in new clothes, oh peasant!

News I:18

soxtəsālə bəj agər tu fandi, arbāb

In a dry year, if you do not give up your rice, the master

vəkəfe tara mislə səgə xār dihāti.

Will seize you like a rabid dog, oh peasant!

News I:19

ge: “mara hāli nibe busoxtə nusoxtə

He says, “I do not care whether the rice in the field has been burnt up or not!

zud bətərk-u bimir-bəbar dihāti.”

Give it up immediately and die there if you like, oh peasant!”

News I:20

vāy jə arbāb-u mubāšəwə arbāb

Oh grief from the master and the master’s estate manager!

ti guli čāləka dihe fišār dihāti.

Asthma is compressing your throat, oh peasant!

A.20 Text 20 – News II

*From the newspaper “Ruznāmeje Čələngər”, 28 esf., 1331 by Pābərəhnəyə
Rašti*

News II:1

Tayi bugoftə xu mára:

Tagi said to his mother,

imru ná-yəm mən nəbára

I am not coming to dinner today.

News II:2

fəgɪr ʒə mən a yək ʋərean,
Take this one Rial from me

bíhin té-re nəhərə nən.
And buy some bread for yourself for dinner.

News II:3

šəyəd ki šəb nú-bo bayəm,
Perhaps I will not manage to come even tonight;

šəyed i šəb-du šəb n-áyəm.
Perhaps I will not come [home] for one or two nights.

News II:4

ʒə mən agər n-ámo xəbər,
If there is no news from me,

bixud nazan ti sinə-sər.
Do not beat yourself in the breast in vain.

News II:5

agər n-ámom ʋurúbə-re
If I do not come before sunset,

núgu: “mi zay namo če-re?”
Do not say, “Why has my son not come?”

News II:6

me-re núkun budob-budob,
Do not dream (lit. do not run)

núgu: “če-re namo tá sob?”
Do not say “Why has he not come until morning?”

News II:7

šəba bigir te-re, buxus!
Avail yourself of the night (lit. take the night for yourself) and sleep!

nú-kun me-re vavurs-vavurs.
Do not make inquiries about me.

News II:8

nú-šu hačín ára-úra,
Do not go first here and then there in vain!

zallə na-ba (/na-va) kudən tə-ra
You should not weary yourself!

News II:9

mār ki a harfa bəštavəst,
When his mother heard this,

bičərə az xu ʒə bəʒəst.
The poor woman jumped up from her place.

A. Texts

News II:10

holholəki bəze havar:

She cried out in consternation,

“axər čere n-ayi, bərar?

“Why do you not ever come, brother?

News II:11

bāz či xəbər bubo məgər,

Has something happened again?

xāyi mára nigī, pəsər.

[If] you do not want to, do not tell me, sonny.

News II:12

harf bəzəi dujur-muḵur,

[But] you speak so vaguely,

bāz-əm mi dil dəkəftə šur.”

And my heart has become anxious.”

News II:13

Təḡi ḵəvāb bəda ki bāz

Tagi answered, again

a lākitāb, hoḡḡəbāz

This atheist, swindler

News II:14

i var de kārḵānə-miyan

Has once again brought

bavərdə da nəfər aḵan.

Ten policemen into the factory.

News II:15

bugóftə: “kārḵānə mé-re

He said, “The factory

hič zərə mənəfat ná-re.

Is of no benefit to me at all.

News II:16

har ki bəḡə izāfə pul,

Everyone who demands a raise,

nukunə mi hukma ḡubul,

[Who] does not obey my orders

News II:17

har ki bukunə eetəsāb,

Everyone who will go on strike

hu sááta dəhəm ḵəvāb.

I shall immediately fire.

News II:18

ni-be ki har du ruz bə sər
You must not

ra tavədid šur-u šər.
Arrange a rebellion every other day.

News II:19

ge ha i kələmə gəba:
They repeat (lit. he says) one and the same thing over and over again,

‘ziyad bukun məvəjəba.’
‘Increase the wages!’

News II:20

har či dare xure hisáb
Everyone has his account;

harfə hisáb ná-re jəváb.
A true word takes no denial (lit. answer).

News II:21

jərəng-jərəng pul fadəmə,
I count out (lit. give out) money,

šuma hamaš gidi: ‘kam-ə!’”
[And] you say, ‘not enough!’”

News II:22

xulāsə ki a hojbāz
In short, this charlatan

bukudə xu duma dərāz.
showed his true colours.

News II:23

kune hamišə gušbəzan
He always eavesdrops

bə an-u, bə un-u an.
On this and that; on that and this.

News II:24

me-re hamaš kəsâdî-yə
I have a drop in trade all the time;

divist nəfər ziyadi-yə.
[I have] two hundred spare men.

News II:25

māre, bədan ki ruzəgār
Oh, mother, know that fate

hato n-aye me-re bə kār.
Does not favor me.

A. Texts

News II:26

hamaš kunim dəvandəgi

We toil all the time,

ná-rim i xurdə zəndəgi.

[But] we do not have a normal (lit. a little) life.

News II:27

hizâr nəfər bəkəndə jân

A thousand men suffer, as if in agony,

bə xâtərə i luymə nân.

for their daily bread.

News II:28

a mærdəkə šikəmkuluft

This pot-bellied man

ami hayya buxurdə muft.

Has misappropriated what was due to us.

News II:29

hasa ki xob kulúft-a bo,

Now, when he has greatly put on weight,

səvarə mālə múfta bo,

[when] he has taken possession of free property;

News II:30

hasa ki xeyli pul dare,

Now, when he has a lot of money,

xânə dare, utul dare,

He has a house and he has a car;

News II:31

hasa ki xob bəze bə jib

Now, when he has filled his pocket,

hamaš xane amman yuĵib.

He is continually reading the “Amman Yujib.”

News II:32

hey ami-re gire irad:

He continually finds fault with us,

“a mixa ki aya bigad?

“Who threw this nail here?

News II:33

i dānə bəškəne fənar

This one has broken the springs,

uy dānə ham ná-re hunər.

That one does not have a trade.

News II:34

íta du dəyə der bamo

This one is two minutes late!

u ita čere biĵir bamo.”

Why has that one gone downstairs!”

News II:35

bå ha bəhånə tun-butun

On this pretext – the devil take him!

da nəfəra bukud birun.

He has dismissed ten men!

News II:36

xiyâl kune ki kårægər

He thinks that

kətrai šə zə ĵå bə dər.

One should fire a worker for a trifle!

News II:37

u ita haftə matləb bə aya bərəse bu ki Təyi xu mǎra bugoftə: “šâyəd imšəb bə xånə nǎ-mom.”

That week the following thing happened: Tagi said to his mother, “Perhaps I will not come home tonight.”

News II:38

vəxtí anie mǎr vavərse “čere”, ĵəváb bəda ki “zəndəgi amišin xob ní-yə və kårxånə sahəb bånə birun bavərdə ki kår kəsǎd-ə və kårægəran ziyad və xayə divist nəfəra bə ha bəhånə birún-a kunə.”

When his mother asked, “Why?” he answered, “Things are (lit. life is) bad; the master of the factory has declared that trade (lit. work) is slack and there are too many workers; and that, on those grounds, he wants to dismiss two hundred men.”

B. Interlinear Texts

Abbreviations

ACC/DAT	accusative or dative case
ADJLZ	adjectivalizer
ADVLZ	adverbializer
AUX	auxiliary verb
BE	copular verb
BEN	benefactive case
CAUS	causative
CMPL	complementizer
CMPR	comparative degree
DEF	definite
DIST	distal deixis
EMPH	emphasis
EZ	ezafe
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
IMP	imperative mood
IND	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
ORD	ordinal
PC	pronominal clitic
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural number
POSR	possessor
POSS	possessive
PSPT	past participle
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal deixis
PRPT	present participle
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense

B. Interlinear Texts

Q	question particle
SBJV	subjunctive mood
SG	singular number
SUPR	superlative degree
TOP	topic
VPFX	verbal prefix
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
1	first person
2	second person
2/3	second or third person
3	third person

B.1 Interlinear Text 1 – Greeting

Greeting:1

səlam aleykum

hello to.you

Hello!

Greeting:2

aleykum səlam

to.you hello

Hello!

Greeting:3

ti ahvål čutor =ə

2SG.GEN condition how=BE.PRS.3SG

How are you? (lit. How is your condition?)

Greeting:4

mi ahvål xob =ə

1SG.GEN condition good=BE.PRS.3SG

Fine. (lit. My condition is good.)

Greeting:5

či kun-i či kår kun-i

what do.PRS-2SG what work do.PRS-2SG

What are you doing? How are you getting on?

Greeting:6

bəd n-i-yəm

bad NEG-BE.PRS-1SG

I am not bad.

Greeting:7

šime zak-an či kun-idi

2PL.GEN child-PL what do.PRS-2/3PL

What are your children doing?

Greeting:8

alhamdullā bəd n-i-idi dərs xan-idi kār
 praise.God bad NEG-BE.PRS-2/3PL lesson read.PRS-2/3PL work

kun-idi
 do.PRS-2/3PL

Praise God, they are not bad. They are studying and working.

Greeting:9

koya šo-on dər-i
 where go.PST-INF have.AUX-2SG
 Where are you going?

Greeting:10

šime xānə biḡa ita məḡāzə tāzə va = Ø-bost-ə
 2PL.GEN house side one store recently VPFX=PFV-become.PST-3SG

uyə šo-on dər-əm
 there go.PST-INF have.AUX-1SG

A new store has opened near your house. I am going there.

Greeting:11

a məḡāzə či məḡāzə is-ə
 this store what store BE.PST-3SG

What sort of store is it? (lit. This store, what store is it?)

Greeting:12

mən ni-Ø-d-emə g-idi xob
 1SG.NOM NEG-PFV-see.PST-1SG.PFV say.PRS-2/3PL good

məḡāzə = yə hamə či dar-e
 store=BE.PRS.3SG everything have.PRS-3SG

I have not seen it. They say, “It is a good store. It has everything.”

Greeting:13

xa-yəm bə-š-əm uyə ipiče zak-an = əre čiz = o miz
 want.PRS-1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG there a.bit child-PL=BEN thing=and thing

bi-hin-əm
 SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG

I want to go there and buy something for the children.

Greeting:14

heyf mən nə-tan-əm b-a-yəm ipiče kār
 pity 1SG.NOM NEG-able.PRS-1SG SBJV-come.PRS-1SG a.bit work

dar-əm vəillā ti amara amo-i-m
 have.PRS-1SG otherwise 2SG.GEN with come.PST-IPFV-1SG

It is a pity that I cannot come. I have a bit of work [to do], otherwise I would come with you.

B. Interlinear Texts

Greeting:15

tu bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm mi abji či
2SG.NOM IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG 1SG.GEN mother what

kun-e
do.PRS-3SG

Can you tell me what my mother is doing?

Greeting:16

məgər tu n-Ø-an-i mi mår
Q 2SG.NOM NEG-SBJV-know.PRS-2SG 1SG.GEN mother

nåxuš = ə
unwell=BE.PRS.3SG

Do you not know that my mother is ill?

Greeting:17

na xudå nu-Ø-kun-ə
no God NEG-SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
No, God forbid.

Greeting:18

una či bu-bost-ə
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST what PFV-become.PST-3SG

What has happened to her?

Greeting:19

bale alan du mår = yə ki nåxuš = ə
yes presently two month=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL unwell=BE.PRS.3SG
Yes, it is now two months that she is unwell.

Greeting:20

xaxur = jan tu mara bə-baxš-Ø
sister=dear 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC/DAT IMP-forgive.PRS-2SG.IMP
Dear sister, forgive me!

Greeting:21

mən n-anəst-i-m vəillå a vəxt = ə yədər hizår
1SG.NOM NEG-know.PST-IPFV-1SG otherwise this time=EZ much 1000

vår b-amo-Ø bu-m
instance PFV-come.PST-PSPT be.AUX-1SG

I did not know, otherwise I should have come a thousand times.

Greeting:22

xudå tara amere bə-dar-ə
God 2SG.ACC/DAT 1PL.BEN SBJV-keep.PRS-3SG
May God keep you for us.

Greeting:23

mən hamišə g-əmə mi zahra = jan xeyli
1SG.NOM always say.PRS-1SG.FUT 1SG.GEN Zahra=dear very

mehrəbån = ə
kind=BE.PRS.3SG

I will always say, "My dear Zahra is very kind."

Greeting:24

xudâ hâfez

goodbye

Goodbye.

B.2 Interlinear Text 2 – Niece**Niece:1**

xaxur=jan bi-ya-Ø

bi-ya-Ø

sister=dear IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP

Dear sister, come, come!

Niece:2

bi-din-Ø

ki

ame

biĵa

amo-n

dər-ə

IMP-see.PRS-2SG.IMP who 1PL.GEN side come.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG

Look who is coming to us!

Niece:3

ti

xaxur-za

kubrâ

xânəm

amo-n

dər-ə

2SG.GEN sister-child Kubra madam come.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG

Your niece, Miss Kubra is coming!

Niece:4

ti

yurban

bə-š-əm

2SG.GEN sacrifice SBJV-become.PRS-1SG

Greetings to you (lit. may I be your sacrifice)!

Niece:5

čutor bu-bost-ə

ki

amara

yâd

bu-kud-i

how PFV-become.PST-3SG CMPL 1PL.ACC/DAT memory PFV-do.PST-2SG

How did you come to remember us?

Niece:6

či

yədər

ârzu

kud-i-m

tara

bi-din-əm

what much desire do.PST-IPFV-1SG 2SG.ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-1SG

ammâ mi

zak-an=ə

ahvâl

xob

nu-bu-Ø

but 1SG.GEN child-PL=GEN condition good NEG-BE.PST-3SG.PST

na-tanəst-i-mi

NEG-able.PST-IPFV-1SG

How I wanted to see you, but my children were unwell, and I could not.

Niece:7

kor

fâtəmə aya

bi-ya-Ø

daughter Fatima here IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP

Daughter Fatima, come here!

B. Interlinear Texts

Niece:8

zud bāš səmavər = a âtəš bu-kun-Ø xarbəzə xaj
early be samovar=ACC/DAT fire IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP melon cut

bu-kun-Ø b-avər-Ø
IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-bring.PST-2SG.IMP

Hurry up! Put on the samovar, cut up the melon and bring it!

Niece:9

baxčə bija ɣali pan = a kun-Ø
small.garden side carpet wide=IMP do.PRS-2SG.IMP
Spread out the carpet beside the garden.

Niece:10

uyə bə-š-əm uyə xunək = ə
there SBJV-go.PRS-1SG there cool=BE.PRS.3SG
I might go there; it is cool there.

Niece:11

utây = ə durun mi zaak = a gərm = a b-e
room=GEN inside 1SG.GEN child=ACC/DAT warm=PFV become.PRS-3SG
In the room my child might get hot.

Niece:12

xālə = jan ti yurban bə-š-əm mən
aunt.maternal=dear 2SG.GEN sacrifice SBJV-become.PRS-1SG 1SG.NOM

xarbəzə na-tan-əm bu-xur-əm
melon NEG-able.PRS-1SG SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG

Aunty, thank you very much, (lit. may I be your sacrifice) [but] I cannot eat the melon.

Niece:13

čire mægər xudā na-Ø-xast-ə ti ahvāl xob
why Q God NEG-PFV-want.PST-3SG 2SG.GEN condition good

n-i-yə tu nāxuš = i
NEG-BE.PRS-3SG 2SG.NOM unwell=BE.PRS.2SG

Why not? God forbid that you are unwell. Are you ill?

Niece:14

na fəɣət ita piče xud-əm = a bəd his kun-əm
no only one little self-1SG=ACC/DAT unwell do.PRS-1SG
No, I only feel a little unwell.

Niece:15

ita tirišə xarbəzə hiči nu-kun-e
one piece melon nothing NEG-do.PRS-3SG
One piece of melon will not do anything.

Niece:16

bu-xur-Ø kubra ti šəkəm = a yurban
 IMP-eat.PRS-2SG.IMP Kubra 2SG.GEN stomach=ACC/DAT sacrifice

bə-š-əm
 SBJV-become.PRS-1SG

Eat, Kubra! Please, my dear (lit. may I be the sacrifice of your stomach).

Niece:17

bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm ti mərdəy či
 IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG 2SG.GEN husband what

kun-e
 do.PRS-3SG

Tell me what your husband is doing?

Niece:18

ti amara čujur rəftār kun-e
 2SG.GEN with what.way behavior do.PRS-3SG

How does he treat you?

Niece:19

ti amara xob is-ə
 2SG.GEN with good BE.PST-3SG

Is he good to you?

Niece:20

bale xələ = jan mara xeyli dust dar-e
 yes aunt.maternal=dear 1SG.ACC/DAT very.much friend have.PRS-3SG

Yes Aunt, he loves me very much.

Niece:21

a yəder xob = ə ki bi ijəzə = yə mən
 this much good=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL without permission=EZ 1SG.NOM

əb nu-xur-e
 water NEG-eat.PRS-3SG

He is so good that without my permission he will not even drink water.

Niece:22

vəxti ki xu kār = a təmām kun-e yəksər bə
 when CMPL self work=ACC/DAT finished do.PRS-3SG straight.away to

xānə a-ye
 house come.PRS-3SG

When he finishes his work he immediately comes home.

Niece:23

zəhak = ə amara məşyul = a b-e
 child=GEN with busy=PFV become.PRS-3SG

He is busy with the children.

B. Interlinear Texts

Niece:24

bad agər vəxt dašt-ə b-im š-imi ita piče
later if time have.PST-PSPT be.AUX-1PL go.PRS-1PL one little

sabzəmeydān gərdəš kun-imi
Sabze-meidan walk do.PRS-1PL

Then, if we have time, we go for a little walk on Sabze-meidan.

Niece:25

bad va = Ø-gərd-imi bə xānə
later VPFX=SBJV-return.PRS-1PL to house
Then we might return home.

Niece:26

mən unə ja xeyli rāzi = yəm
1SG.NOM 3SG.GEN.DIST from very satisfied=BE.PRS.1SG
I am very pleased with him.

Niece:27

alhamdullā xušbəxt bi-b-i
praise.God happy SBJV-become.PRS-2SG
God grant that you will be happy.

B.3 Interlinear Text 3 – Birthday

Birthday:1

diruz mi xaxur-za = yə təvəllud bu-Ø
yesterday 1SG.GEN sister-child=GEN birthday BE.PST-3SG.PST
Yesterday was my niece's birthday.

Birthday:2

ami xiš u yoman hamə ušan = ə xānə jəm
1PL.GEN relatives all 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN house group

bu-bost-idi
PFV-become.PST-2/3PL

All our relatives gathered in their home.

Birthday:3

mi xaxur-za mohtərəm xānəm imsāl tāzə mədrəsə = ya
1SG.GEN sister-child Mohtaram madam this.year recently school=ACC/DAT

təmām = a kud-ə diplom fa = Ø-gift-ə
finished=PFV do.PST-3SG diploma VPFX=PFV-get.PST-3SG

My niece Miss Mohtaram just finished school this year. She received her diploma.

Birthday:4

māšālla gul = ə man-e xeyli xušgil = ə
thank.God flower=GEN like.PRS-3SG very attractive=BE.PRS.3SG

xuš-yəd = ə xuš-yāmət = ə
good-stature=BE.PRS.3SG good-figure=BE.PRS.3SG

Thank God, she is like a flower, very beautiful, with a good height and a fine

figure.

Birthday:5

anə ĵul-an məxməl = a man-e anə
3SG.GEN.PROX cheek-PL velvet=ACC/DAT like.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.PROX

ćum-an âhu = yə ćum-an anə abru misl = ə kəmān
eye-PL deer=GEN eye-PL 3SG.GEN.PROX eyebrow like=GEN bow

Her cheeks are like velvet, her eyes are like the eyes of a deer, her eyebrows are like a bow.

Birthday:6

ləb = ə yeytāni dar-e misl = ə ləb = ə lal
lip=EZ thin have.PRS-3SG like=GEN lip=EZ ruby

She has thin lips, like lips of ruby.

Birthday:7

âftāb = a de birun na-va amo-n
sunshine=ACC/DAT no.longer outside NEG-it.is.necessary come.PST-INF

mən kərə birun a-yəm
1SG.NOM PROG outside come.PRS-1SG

The sun does not need to shine, when she comes (lit. the sun does not need to go out. I am going out.)

Birthday:8

anə vasi xeyli kəs-an una dust dar-idi
for.this.reason many person-PL 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST friend have.PRS-2/3PL

misl = ə pərvānə unə dor u bər ĵəm = a
like=GEN butterfly 3SG.GEN.DIST around group=PFV

b-idi
become.PRS-2/3PL

Because of this, many people love her and like butterflies, they gather around her.

Birthday:9

in yədər xastəkār dar-e ki xudā dan-e
so.much suitor have.PRS-3SG CMPL God know.PRS-3SG

She has so many suitors that only God knows [how many].

Birthday:10

mi mohtərəm xānəm diruz xu dəsxaxur-an və
1SG.GEN Mohtaram madam yesterday self female.friend-PL and

dəsbərar-an = a xu biĵa da'vət bu-kud-ə
male.friend-PL=ACC/DAT self side invitation PFV-do.PST-3SG

Yesterday, my Miss Mohtaram invited her female and male friends to her house.

B. Interlinear Texts

Birthday:11

ašanə pille tinibi dəhab bə sər az mehmān-an pur
3PL.GEN.PROX big room *** to head from guest-PL full

bu-Ø

BE.PST-3SG.PST

Their large room was filled with guests from end to end.

Birthday:12

har ki bə-tanəst-ə b-amo-Ø har ki
everyone PFV-able.PST-3SG PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST everyone

nə-Ø-tanəst-ə telgərâf fa = Ø-da-Ø
NEG-PFV-able.PST-3SG telegraph VPFX=PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST

kārtu pustāl fa = Ø-da-Ø unə ruz = ə
postcard VPFX=PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST 3SG.GEN.DIST day=EZ

təvəllud = a təbrik bu-goft-ə
birthday=ACC/DAT congratulation PFV-say.PST-3SG

Everyone who could come, and everyone who could not sent a telegram or sent a postcard and wished her a happy birthday.

Birthday:13

ita āləm una hədyə fa = Ø-da-idi
a world 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST gift VPFX=PFV-give.PST-2/3PL

They gave her many presents (lit. they gifted her a world).

Birthday:14

ušanə pille tinibi dəhab bə sər az mehmān-an pur
3PL.GEN.DIST big room *** to head from guest-PL full

bu-Ø

BE.PST-3SG.PST

Their large room was filled with guests from end to end.

Birthday:15

az a sər = ə tinibi tå u sər = ə tinibi səfrə pahn = a
from this head=EZ room until that head=EZ room tablecloth wide=PFV

bu-kud-ə b-id
PFV-do.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL

From one end of the room to the other a tablecloth had been spread.

Birthday:16

pəlå āb bə-kəşe-Ø b-id
pilau water PFV-pull.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL

They had prepared pilau.

Birthday:17

čand ĵur yātoŷ bə-pəxt-ə b-id
several sort stew PFV-cook.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL

Several types of stew had been prepared.

Birthday:18

ti dil har či xa-ye az mivə širini
2SG.GEN heart every what want.PRS-3SG from fruit sweets

ājil uyə nah-a bu-Ø
dried.fruit.and.nuts there put.PST-3SG be.AUX-3SG.PST

Everything that your heart would desire; fruits, sweets, dried fruit with nuts had been put there.

Birthday:19

xuləsə či bə-g-əm
briefly what SBJV-say.PRS-1SG

In short, what can I say?

Birthday:20

har či bə-g-əm kəm bu-goft-əm
every what SBJV-say.PRS-1SG little PFV-say.PST-1SG

Whatever I might say, it would be insufficient (lit. I said little).

Birthday:21

bad az yəza rəys və əvəz bə miyan b-amo-Ø
later from food dance and voice to inside PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST

After eating, dancing and singing began.

Birthday:22

duxtər-an və pəsər-an rəys bu-kud-idi
girl-PL and boy-PL dance PFV-do.PST-2/3PL

The girls and boys danced.

Birthday:23

či dərd=ə sər bə-d-əm tå nisf=ə şəb bəzən bukub
what pain=EZ head SBJV-give.PRS-1SG until half=GEN night noise

bu-Ø yiyamət bu-Ø
BE.PST-3SG.PST tumult BE.PST-3SG.PST

Talking for such a long time (lit. what headache I might give) - until midnight there was noise and tumult.

Birthday:24

xeyli xuş bu-guzəşt-ə
very good PFV-pass.PST-3SG

[The birthday] went (lit. passed) very well.

Birthday:25

bad mehmân-an yāvâş yāvâş bu-šo-yidi
then guest-PL slowly PFV-go.PST-2/3PL

Then the guests gradually went away.

Birthday:26

ita piçe xəlvət=a bu-Ø
one little quiet=PFV BE.PST-3SG.PST

It became a little quiet.

B. Interlinear Texts

Birthday:27

mən = am unə ʃa xudā hāfez-i bu-kud-əm bə
1SG.NOM=TOP 3SG.GEN.DIST from goodbye-NMLZ PFV-do.PST-1SG to

xānə b-amo-m
house PFV-come.PST-1SG

I too, said goodbye to her and went home.

B.4 Interlinear Text 4 – The Seashore

Dəryā Kənar

The Seashore

Seashore:1

imsāl tābəstān havā xeyli gərm bu-Ø
this.year summer weather very warm BE.PST-3SG.PST

This year it was very hot in the summer.

Seashore:2

zak-an = ə mār mara bu-goft-ə tu
child-PL=GEN mother 1SG.ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG 2SG.NOM

dan-i mi dil či xa-ye
know.PRS-2SG 1SG.GEN heart what want.PRS-3SG

My wife (lit. the children's mother) said to me, "Do you know what I want?"

Seashore:3

mən bu-goft-əm na n-an-əm
1SG.NOM PFV-say.PST-1SG no NEG-know.PRS-1SG

I said, "No, I do not know."

Seashore:4

bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm ti dil či xa-ye
IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG 2SG.GEN heart what want.PRS-3SG

Tell me, what do you want?"

Seashore:5

un va = Ø-vərse-Ø har či bə-xa-yəm
3SG.NOM.DIST VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST whatever SBJV-want.PRS-1SG

tu mi xātər = ə vasi bə ʃā avər-i
2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN sake=GEN for to place bring.PRS-2SG

She asked, "Will you do whatever I want for my sake?"

Seashore:6

mən bu-goft-əm albattə agər ti meyl = a bə
1SG.NOM PFV-say.PST-1SG of.course if 2SG.GEN wish=ACC/DAT to

ʃā n-Ø-avər-əm ki meyl = a bə ʃā
place NEG-SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG who wish=ACC/DAT to place

b-avər-əm

SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG

I said, “Of course. If I do not fulfill your wishes, then whose wishes shall I fulfill?”

Seashore:7

zən-ay vəxti bə-fahməst-ə ki xu harf = a
 woman-DEF when PFV-understand.PST-3SG CMPL self word=ACC/DAT

piš bər-e bu-goft-ə ki mi dil
 before carry.PRS-3SG PFV-say.PST-3SG CMPL 1SG.GEN heart

xa-ye zak-an = a u = Ø-san-im
 want.PRS-3SG child-PL=ACC/DAT VPFX=SBJV-pick.up.PRS-1PL

dəryā kənār = a bi-š-im a mā = ya tā āxər
 seashore=ACC/DAT SBJV-go.PRS-1PL this month=ACC/DAT until end

uyə b-es-im
 there SBJV-remain.PRS-1PL

When the woman realized that she would accomplish her desire (lit. her words) she said, “I want us to take our children, go to the seaside and stay there until the end of this month.”

Seashore:8

mən bi-de-m bəd ni-g-e
 1SG.NOM PFV-see.PST-1SG bad NEG-say.PRS-3SG

I saw that she was speaking sensibly (lit. she was not speaking badly).

Seashore:9

zak-an = ə dəst = a bi-gift-əm yəksər Bəndər = ə
 child-PL=GEN hand=ACC/DAT PFV-take.PST-1SG straight.away port=EZ

anzali bu-šo-im
 Anzali PFV-go.PST-1PL

I collected my children and we immediately set off for the port of Anzali.

Seashore:10

ti čašm-an ruz = ə bəd = a ni-Ø-din-ə
 2SG.GEN eye-PL day=EZ bad=ACC/DAT NEG-SBJV-see.PRS-3SG

May your eyes not see the bad day!

Seashore:11

suzən ta = Ø-vəd-i biʃir n-Ø-a-ye
 needle VPFX=SBJV-drop.PRS-2SG down NEG-SBJV-come.PRS-3SG

[There] if you drop a needle, it will not fall down.

Seashore:12

har ʃā bi-š-i misl = ə mur = u mələx ādəm
 every place SBJV-go.PRS-2SG like=GEN ant=and locust person

isa-idi
 stand.PST-2/3PL

Wherever you go the people are like ants and locusts.

B. Interlinear Texts

Seashore:13

in yədər šuluy = ə ki xər xu sahəb = a
so.much noisy=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL donkey self owner=ACC/DAT

na-Ø-šinas-e

NEG-SBJV-recognize.PRS-3SG

There is so much noise that a donkey might not recognize its master's voice.

Seashore:14

a-ra bə-gərd-Ø u-ra bə-gərd-Ø
this-way IMP-turn.PRS-2SG.IMP that-way IMP-turn.PRS-2SG.IMP

ana va = Ø-vərs-Ø una
3SG.ACC/DAT.PROX VPFX=IMP-ask.PRS-2SG.IMP 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST

va = Ø-vərs-Ø ita jǎ nə-tanəst-Ø-im peydā
VPFX=IMP-ask.PRS-2SG.IMP one place NEG-able.PST-IPFV-1PL found

bu-kun-im

SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

Turn here, turn there, ask this one, ask that one, we could not find a place.

Seashore:15

an bu-goft-ə ustatər utāy = ə xāli nah-a
this PFV-say.PST-3SG over.there room=EZ empty exist.PRS-3SG

This one said, "Over there, there is a free room."

Seashore:16

un bu-goft-ə ustatər bu-šu-Ø jǎ
3SG.NOM.DIST PFV-say.PST-3SG over.there IMP-go.PRS-2SG.IMP place

koya nah-a tara fa = d-im
where exist.PRS-3SG 2SG.ACC/DAT VPFX=give.PRS-1PL

That one said, "Go over there, where there is a place; we shall give it to you."

Seashore:17

məgər a vəxt jǎ peydā b-e
Q this time place found become.PRS-3SG

At this time is there a place to be found?

Seashore:18

mi sər = a bijir ta = Ø-vəda-m kərə šuo-n
1SG.GEN head=ACC/DAT down VPFX=PFV-drop.PST-1SG PROG go.PST-INF

dər-ə bu-m
have.AUX-3SG be.AUX-1SG

I had been walking with my head hung down.

Seashore:19

i dəfə i = nəfər mi pušt = a tungulə
suddenly one= person 1SG.GEN back=ACC/DAT flick

bə-ze-Ø

PFV-hit.PST-3SG.PST

Suddenly, someone flicked me on the back.

Seashore:20

və = Ø-gərdəst-əm mi zāmā = ya
VPFX=PFV-return.PST-1SG 1SG.GEN brother-in-law=ACC/DAT

bi-de-m

PFV-see.PST-1SG

I turned round (and) saw my wife's brother.

Seashore:21

jəyəl-an vəxti una bi-de-idi az xušhāli
child-PL when 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-see.PST-2/3PL from happiness

jīy bə-kəše-idi

laugh PFV-pull.PST-2/3PL

When the children saw him, they squealed with joy.

Seashore:22

avvəl unə ja va = Ø-vərse-m tu tan-i
first 3SG.GEN.DIST from VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-1SG 2SG.NOM able.PRS-2SG

amere utāy peydā bu-kun-i

1PL.BEN room found SBJV-do.PRS-2SG

At first we asked him, "Can you find a room for us?"

Seashore:23

bu-goft-ə a tərəf-an peydā ni-b-e
PFV-say.PST-3SG this direction-PL found NEG-become.PRS-3SG

He said, "In these places there are none to be found (lit. these directions it does not become found)."

Seashore:24

jəx tan-i u tərəf = ə yāziyān yā xānəmhuriyə bija
perhaps able.PRS-2SG that direction=GEN Gazian or Khanum-khurie side

peydā bu-kun-i

found SBJV-do.PRS-2SG

Perhaps you will find one on that side of Gazian or Khanum-khurie.

Seashore:25

unə harf = a guš bu-kud-əm
3SG.GEN.DIST word=ACC/DAT ear PFV-do.PST-1SG

I listened to him (lit. his words).

Seashore:26

lotkə fa = Ø-gift-əm yāziyān bu-šo-m
boat VPFX=PFV-take.PST-1SG Gazian PFV-go.PST-1SG

I took a boat and went to Gazian.

B. Interlinear Texts

Seashore:27

i = nəfər = ə ĵa va = Ø -vərse-m šuma dan-idi
one= person=GEN from VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-1SG 2PL.NOM know.PRS-2/3PL

xânə = yə xâli koya nah-a
house=EZ empty where exist.PRS-3SG

I asked one man, “Do you know where there is a free room?”

Seashore:28

ita xânə amara nišan bə-da-Ø
one house 1PL.ACC/DAT sign PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST

He pointed out to us one house.

Seashore:29

uyə bu-šo-im
there PFV-go.PST-1PL

We went there.

Seashore:30

ita duxtərbəçə dər-ə biĵa bâzi kud-i-Ø
a little.girl door-3SG side game do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

A little girl was playing by the door.

Seashore:31

vəxti bi-de-Ø ušan = ə xânə š-imi
when PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN house go.PRS-1PL

bu-goft-ə ame xânə hič kəs n-es-ə
PFV-say.PST-3SG 1PL.GEN house no person NEG-BE.PRS-3SG

When she saw that we were going into their house, she said, “There is nobody at our house.

Seashore:32

xâli mən bə xânə is-am
only 1SG.NOM to house BE.PRS-1SG

I am the only person at home.

Seashore:33

hasa mi per a-yə
now 1SG.GEN father come.PRS-3SG

Presently, my father will come.

Seashore:34

hamsâyə biĵa bu-šo-Ø
neighbor side PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST

He went to the neighbor’s house.”

Seashore:35

bu-goft-əm ama aya is-imi tu
PFV-say.PST-1SG 1PL.NOM here remain.PRS-1PL 2SG.NOM

bu-šu-Ø ti per = a
IMP-go.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.GEN father=ACC/DAT

du = Ø-xan-Ø

VPFX=IMP-read.PRS-2SG.IMP

I said, “We shall stay here, you go and call your father!”

Seashore:36

ita dəyiə nu-Ø-guzəšt-ə mərday b-amo-Ø

one minute NEG-PFV-pass.PST-3SG man PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST

Not a minute had passed when the man came.

Seashore:37

amara bə xānə durun bə-bərd-ə

1PL.ACC/DAT to house inside PFV-take.PST-3SG

He took us into the house.

Seashore:38

unə ja yək-māh-ə du=ta utāy kərayə

3SG.GEN.DIST from one-month-ADVLZ two=CLF room rent

bu-kud-im

PFV-do.PST-1PL

We rented two rooms from him for a month.

Seashore:39

a xānə xeyli təmiz bu-Ø tāzəsāz bu-Ø

this house very clean BE.PST-3SG.PST newly.built BE.PST-3SG.PST

This house was very clean and was newly built.

Seashore:40

dəryā kənār nəzdik bu-Ø

seashore near BE.PST-3SG.PST

The seashore was nearby.

Seashore:41

dəryā səda=ya išnavəst-Ø-im

sea sound=ACC/DAT hear.PST-IPFV-1PL

We heard the sound of the sea.

Seashore:42

sobh=u asr dəryā šo-Ø-im

morning=and evening sea go.PST-IPFV-1PL

In the mornings and evenings we went to the sea.

Seashore:43

šənā kud-Ø-im furš=ə ru āftāb=ə dimə dərāz

swimming do.PST-IPFV-1PL sand=GEN on sunshine=GEN under long

kəše-Ø-im

pull.PST-IPFV-1PL

We swam and sunbathed on the sand.

Seashore:44

a yək mā jəyəl-an=a xeyli xuš bu-guzəšt-ə

this one month child-PL=ACC/DAT very good PFV-pass.PST-3SG

The children enjoyed this month very much (lit. This one month for the children passed very well).

B. Interlinear Texts

Seashore:45

šime ĵā xāli = Ø
2PL.GEN place empty =BE.PRS.3SG
Wish you had been there (lit. your place was empty).

B.5 Interlinear Text 5 – The Traveler

Musāfər The Traveler

Traveler:1

diruz tehrān = ə ĵa telgəraf fa = Ø-gift-əm
yesterday Tehran=GEN from telegraph VPFX=PFV-get.PST-1SG
Yesterday I received a telegram from Tehran.

Traveler:2

mohsən bi-nivīšt-ə bu-Ø eyd = əre rašt
Mohsein PFV-write.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST festival=BEN Rasht

a-yəm
come.PRS-1SG

Mohsein wrote, “For the [New Year’s] holidays I am coming to Rasht.

Traveler:3

da pānzde ruz muraxxəsi dar-əm xa-yəm a
ten fifteen day leave have.PRS-1SG want.PRS-1SG this

ruz-an = a rašt = ə miyan šime biĵa
day-PL=ACC/DAT Rasht=GEN inside 2PL.GEN side

bu-guzər-an-əm
SBJV-pass.PRS-CAUS-1SG

I have ten to fifteen days’ vacation; I want to spend these days with you in Rasht.”

Traveler:4

mən xeyli xušhāl bu-bost-əm
1SG.NOM very happy PFV-become.PST-1SG

I was very glad.

Traveler:5

mən danəst-i-m mohsən = ə dil rašt = əre tang = a
1SG.NOM know.PST-IPFV-1SG Mohsein=GEN heart Rasht=BEN tight=PFV

bu-bost-ə
PFV-become.PST-3SG

I knew [that] Mohsein missed Rasht (lit. Mohsein’s heart became tight for Rasht).

Traveler:6

čən sāl = ə ki rašt = a ni-Ø-de-Ø
several year=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL Rasht=ACC/DAT NEG-PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST
It was already (lit. it is) several years since he had seen Rasht.

Traveler:7

xa-ye rašt = a bə-gərd-ə
 want.PRS-3SG Rasht=ACC/DAT SBJV-return.PRS-3SG
 He wants to return to Rasht.

Traveler:8

anə vasi mən = am čən ruz muraxxəsi fa = Ø-gift-əm
 for.this.reason 1SG.NOM=also several day leave VPFX=PFV-get.PST-1SG
 tā mohsən tənha nə-Ø-b-ə və
 in.order.that Mohsein alone NEG-SBJV-become.PRS-3SG and

una səxt nu-Ø-guzər-ə
 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST difficult NEG-SBJV-pass.PRS-3SG
 In view of this, I too, took a few days' vacation so that Mohsein would not be alone and so that he would not be bored (or, so that he would not be offended).

Traveler:9

durust du ruz dašt-im bə eyd mohsən b-amo-Ø
 just two day have.PST-1PL to festival Mohsein PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST
 We had just two days before New Year, then Mohsein came.

Traveler:10

tā dər = a va = kud-i-m jəyəl-an
 to.the.point door=ACC/DAT VPFX=do.PST-IPFV-1SG child-PL
 vi = Ø-rišt-idi bu-dovəst-idi unə bəyəl
 VPFX=PFV-rise.up.PST-2/3PL PFV-run.PST-2/3PL 3SG.GEN.DIST embrace
 As soon as I opened the door, the children ran and threw themselves (lit. ran) into his arms.

Traveler:11

una bə-časbəst-idi və unə sər = u
 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-stick.PST-2/3PL and 3SG.GEN.DIST head=and
 dim = a hey mači bu-kud-idi
 face=ACC/DAT continuously kissing PFV-do.PST-2/3PL
 They clung to him and were continuously kissing his head and his face.

Traveler:12

axər mən ušana bu-goft-əm vast = a
 finally 1SG.NOM 3PL.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-say.PST-1SG end=IMP
 kun-id
 do.PRS-2PL.IMP
 Finally, I said to them, "Enough!"

B. Interlinear Texts

Traveler:13

b-es-id ama ita piče una
IMP-wait.PRS-2PL.IMP 1PL.NOM one little 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST

bi-din-im
SBJV-see.PRS-1PL

Stop and let us look at him a little.”

Traveler:14

bu = zur mohsən = a ušan = ə dəst = ə ĵa
to=force Mohsein=ACC/DAT 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN hand=GEN from

xəlās bu-kud-əm
delivered PFV-do.PST-1SG

By force I freed Mohsein from them.

Traveler:15

bi-ništ-imi az a tərəf u tərəf gəb bə-ze-im
PFV-sit.PST-1PL from this direction that direction talk PFV-hit.PST-1PL
We sat down and talked about this and that.

Traveler:16

mən una bu-goft-əm xob bu-kud-i
1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-say.PST-1SG good PFV-do.PST-2SG

imsāl ti muraxxəsi = ya rašt b-amo-i
this.year 2SG.GEN leave=ACC/DAT Rasht PFV-come.PST-2SG

I said to him, “You have done well to come to Rasht for your holiday this year.

Traveler:17

mən = əm ti vasi muraxxəsi fa = Ø-gift-əm
1SG.NOM=also 2SG.GEN for leave VPFX=PFV-get.PST-1SG

tā tu tək = u tənha kučə = u xiyâbân = ə miyan
in.order.that 2SG.NOM isolated=and alone lane=and street=GEN inside

âvârə ni-b-i
homeless NEG-BE.PST-2SG

I too, took vacation for your sake, so that you would not feel alone and homeless on the streets and alleys.”

Traveler:18

mohsən = a xeyli xuš b-amo-Ø
Mohsein=ACC/DAT very.much good PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST

Mohsein was very pleased [with this].

Traveler:19

vəxti bə-fəhməst-ə mən = am muraxxəsi dar-əm
when PFV-understand.PST-3SG 1SG.NOM=also leave have.PRS-1SG

unə rəngə ru va = Ø-vost-ə mara
3SG.GEN.DIST complexion VPFX=PFV-become.PST-3SG 1SG.ACC/DAT

bəyəl = a kud-ə mači bə-da-Ø
 embrace=PFV do.PST-3SG kissing PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST
 When he found out that I too was taking vacation, his face lit up (lit. his
 complexion opened) and he embraced me and gave me a kiss.

Traveler:20

a ĵur va anə amara xu təšəkkor = a
 this sort and 3SG.GEN.PROX with self thanks=ACC/DAT

bə-rəs-an-ə
 PFV-arrive.PST-CAUS-3SG

In this way and with this [embrace and kiss] he showed his thanks.

Traveler:21

mohsən = a bu-goft-əm tu az rā
 Mohsein=ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-1SG 2SG.NOM from road

b-amo-i tara višta = yə
 PFV-come.PST-2SG 2SG.ACC/DAT hungry=BE.PRS.3SG

I said to Mohsein, “You have [just] come from a journey. You are hungry.

Traveler:22

bi-š-im səfrə sər ham bu-xor-im ham gəb
 IMP-go.PRS-1PL tablecloth head also SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL also talk

bə-zən-im
 SBJV-hit.PRS-1PL

Let us go to the table (lit. to the tablecloth); let us both eat and talk.

Traveler:23

tu ti nəyšə = ya mire bu-gu-Ø či
 2SG.NOM 2SG.GEN plan=ACC/DAT 1SG.BEN IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP what

xa-yi bu-kun-i koya xa-yi bi-š-i
 want.PRS-2SG SBJV-do.PRS-2SG where want.PRS-2SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG

ki = ya xa-yi bi-din-i tā mən
 who=ACC/DAT want.PRS-2SG SBJV-see.PRS-2SG in.order.that 1SG.NOM

tərtib = ə kār = a bə-d-əm
 order=EZ work=ACC/DAT SBJV-give.PRS-1SG

You tell me about your plans: what you want to do, where you want to go, and
 whom you want to see so that I can arrange all these things.”

Traveler:24

mohsən bu-goft-ə tere ki məxfi n-i-ye mən
 Mohsein PFV-say.PST-3SG 2SG.BEN who secret NEG-BE.PRS-3SG 1SG.NOM

ki = yəm či xa-yəm və či ĵur fikr kun-əm
 who=BE.PRS.1SG what want.PRS-1SG and what sort thought do.PRS-1SG
 Mohsein said, “For you it is not a secret who I am, what I want and how I think.

B. Interlinear Texts

Traveler:25

tu dan-i mere ita rā nah-a
2SG.NOM know.PRS-2SG 1SG.BEN one road exist.PRS-3SG
You know that for me there is one way.

Traveler:26

un = əm u rā = yə ki mi per
3SG.NOM.DIST=TOP that road=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 1SG.GEN father

bu-šo-Ø mi pile bərar bu-šo-Ø
PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST 1SG.GEN big brother PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST
It is that road along which my father and my older brother went.

Traveler:27

mən = əm h-u rā = ya vasti bə-š-əm
1SG.NOM=also same-that road=ACC/DAT it.is.necessary SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
I must also go along that same road.

Traveler:28

yəyin dar-əm mi zak-an = əm h-a rā = ya
certainty have.PRS-1SG 1SG.GEN child-PL=also same-this road=ACC/DAT

xa-idi šo-on
FUT.AUX-2/3PL go.PST-INF
I am sure that my children will also go along the same road.”

Traveler:29

mən mi bija fikr bu-kud-əm pənd = u nəsihət
1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN side thought PFV-do.PST-1SG counsel=and advice

unə guš-a furu ni-Ø-š-e hato ki
3SG.GEN.DIST ear-PL into NEG-SBJV-go.PRS-3SG in.the.same.way CMPL

unə per = ə guš-a furu nu-Ø-šo-Ø
3SG.GEN.DIST father=GEN ear-PL into NEG-PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST
I thought, “Advice and admonitions will not work on (lit. will not go into the ears of) him just as it did not work on his father.

Traveler:30

bəhtər = ə ki una mǎne
better=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST hindrance

nə-Ø-b-əm
NEG-SBJV-become.PRS-1SG
It is better that I do not hinder him.”

Traveler:31

una bu-goft-əm mohsən = jan tu
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-say.PST-1SG Mohsein=dear 2SG.NOM

dan-i či zəməñ = i = yə
know.PRS-2SG what time=IND=BE.PRS.3SG
I said, “Dear Mohsein, you know what time it is [now].

Traveler:32

tu mara šənas-i mən nə-tərs-əm
 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC/DAT know.PRS-2SG 1SG.NOM NEG-fear.PRS-1SG
 You know me; I am not afraid.

Traveler:33

ammā xeyli vasti məvəzəb bu-on
 but very.much it.is.necessary careful BE.PST-INF
 But we must be very careful!”

Traveler:34

mohsən bu-goft-ə ki tu kāmīlən durust g-i
 Mohsein PFV-say.PST-3SG CMPL 2SG.NOM completely right say.PRS-2SG
 Mohsein said, “You are speaking quite rightly.

Traveler:35

vəxti ki amo-n du-bu-m refey-an mara
 when CMPL come.PST-INF PST.DEF-be.AUX-1SG friend-PL 1SG.ACC/DAT

bu-goft-idi və mara bə imruz=ə vaz’ə vared
 PFV-say.PST-2/3PL and 1SG.ACC/DAT to today=GEN situation entry

bu-kud-idi
 PFV-do.PST-2/3PL

When I was preparing to come, my friends spoke to me about this and informed me about the present state of affairs.”

Traveler:36

mən ita piçe az a=ya xəbər dar-əm
 1SG.NOM one little from this=ACC/DAT news have.PRS-1SG
 I [already] have a little information about this.”

Traveler:37

xeyli xob
 very good
 “Very good.

Traveler:38

bəfərma bi-š-im pələ yəx kun-e
 please IMP-go.PRS-1PL pilau ice do.PRS-3SG
 Please, let us go the pilau is going cold.”

Traveler:39

ame yəzaxori yek du saat tul bə-kəşe-Ø
 1PL.GEN eating one two hour length PFV-pull.PST-3SG.PST
 Our meal lasted one or two hours.

Traveler:40

mohsən=ə dil va=Ø-vost-ə mire
 Mohsein=GEN heart VPFX=PFV-become.PST-3SG 1SG.BEN

dərdə dil bu-kud-ə və har çi
 sharing.from.the.heart PFV-do.PST-3SG and whatever

B. Interlinear Texts

xast-i-Ø bu-goft-ə
want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST PFV-say.PST-3SG

Mohsein open his heart and shared with me and everything he wanted to say, he said.

Traveler:41

danəst-i-Ø az mən hič çi birun dərz
know.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST from 1SG.NOM nothing outside seam

nu-Ø-kun-e
NEG-SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

He knew that I would not give away anything (lit. from me nothing would spread outside).

Traveler:42

mən mohsən = ə pile bərar huseyn = a xeyli dust
1SG.NOM Mohsein=GEN big brother Hussein=ACC/DAT very friend

dašt-i-m
have.PST-IPFV-1SG

I liked Mohsein's older brother Hussein very much.

Traveler:43

tâ çəhâr = ə ebtedai ita mədrəsə miyan dərs
until four=GEN primary.school one school inside lesson

bə-xand-im
PFV-read.PST-1PL

From the fourth year of primary school we studied in the same school.

Traveler:44

bad de nə-Ø-tanəst-ə dərs bə-xan-ə
later no.longer NEG-PFV-able.PST-3SG lesson SBJV-read.PRS-3SG

Subsequently, he could not study any longer.

Traveler:45

dərs = a vel = a kud-ə
lesson=ACC/DAT loose=PFV do.PST-3SG

He discontinued his studies .

Traveler:46

kâr = ə dumbâl bu-šo-Ø
work=GEN following PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST

He sought work.

Traveler:47

jəyəl-an una siya huseyn du = Ø-xad-idi
child-PL 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST black Hussein VPFX=PFV-call.PST-2/3PL

The people called him black Hussein.

Traveler:48

jəvân = i bu-Ø bulənyəd xuş-yâmət çəhârsânə
youth=IND be.AUX-3SG.PST tall good-figure broad-shouldered

He was a tall youth of fine physique and broad-shouldered.

Traveler:49

ådəm=ə pāk=u sâf=u sādə bu-Ø
 person=EZ pure=and smooth=and simple BE.PST-3SG.PST
 He was a pure, honorable and simple man.

Traveler:50

səbijir bāhayā zahmātkəš bu-Ø
 modest shy diligent BE.PST-3SG.PST
 He was modest, shy and diligent.

Traveler:51

mi dil xeyli xast-i-Ø huseyn=ə
 1SG.GEN heart very.much want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Hussein=EZ

sərguzəšt=a bə-dan-əm
 life.history=ACC/DAT SBJV-know.PRS-1SG

I very much wanted to know what had happened to Hussein (lit. wanted to know the story of Hussein).

Traveler:52

unə vasi mohsən=ə ja va=Ø-vərse-m
 3SG.GEN.DIST for Mohsein=GEN from VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-1SG

huseyn=ə ja či xəbər dar-i
 Hussein=GEN from what news have.PRS-2SG

Therefore I asked Mohsein, “What news do you have of Hussein?”

Traveler:53

tu tan-i unə sərguzəšt=a mire
 2SG.NOM able.PRS-ADJLZ 3SG.GEN.DIST life.history=ACC/DAT 1SG.BEN

bi-g-i
 SBJV-say.PRS-2SG

Can you tell me what has happened to him?”

Traveler:54

mohsən āh bə-kəše-Ø bu-goft-ə hasa ki šuma
 Mohsein sigh PFV-pull.PST-3SG.PST PFV-say.PST-3SG now CMPL 2PL.NOM

xa-idi bə čəšm itāat kun-əm šimere g-əm
 want.PRS-2/3PL I.will.do.it obedience do.PRS-1SG 2PL.BEN say.PRS-1SG

Mohsein sighed and said, “Now, since you so wish I shall gladly obey you and tell you.

Traveler:55

huseyn nə-Ø-tanəst-ə rašt=ə miyan b-es-ə
 Hussein NEG-PFV-able.PST-3SG Rasht=GEN inside SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG
 Hussein could not remain in Rasht.

B. Interlinear Texts

Traveler:56

dah sâl=ə ja bištər bu-Ø ki huseyn rašt=ə
ten year=GEN from more BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL Hussein Rasht=GEN

ja bu-šo-Ø
from PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST

It was more than ten years ago that Hussein left Rasht.

Traveler:57

uyə kârxânə=yə parčəbâfi miyan kâr fa=Ø-gift-ə və kâr
there factory=EZ weaving inside work VPFX=PFV-get.PST-3SG and work

kud-i-Ø
do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

He got a job there in a weaving mill and was working.

Traveler:58

šuma dan-idi ki huseyn xeyli bâhuş bu-Ø
2PL.NOM know.PRS-2/3PL CMPL Hussein very intelligent BE.PST-3SG.PST
You know that Hussein was very intelligent.

Traveler:59

mašin=ə amra zud âşənâ bu-bo-Ø və
car=GEN with quickly acquainted PFV-become.PST-3SG.PST and

una səvar=a bo-Ø
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST mounted=PFV become.PST-3SG.PST

He quickly became acquainted with cars and started to drive.

Traveler:60

zud kârəgər=ə sâdə ja ustakâr bu-bo-Ø
quickly worker=EZ simple from foreman PFV-become.PST-3SG.PST

From a simple worker he quickly became a foreman.

Traveler:61

huseyn ruz-an kâr kud-i-Ø şəb-an dərs
Hussein day-PL work do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST night-PL lesson

xand-i-Ø ruznâmə xand-i-Ø
read.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST newspaper read.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Hussein worked in the daytime and studied and read newspapers in the evening.

Traveler:62

xu=re bäsəvâd və kitâbxân bu-bost-ə bu-Ø
self=BEN literate and well-read PFV-become.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

He had become literate and well-read.

Traveler:63

parčəbâfi kârxânə miyan hamə una dust
weaving factory inside all 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST friend

dašt-Ø-idi
have.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Everybody in the weaving mill loved him.

Traveler:64

kârəgər-an=ə vasi və ušan=ə huyuy=əre sər
 worker-PL=GEN for and 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN rights=BEN head

iškene-i-Ø

break.PRS-IPFV-3SG.PST

He took risks (lit. broke his head) for the sake of the workers and their rights.

Traveler:65

anə vasi kârəgər-an=ə miyan bā-nufuz bu-bost-ə
 for.this.reason worker-PL=GEN inside with-influence PFV-become.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø

be.AUX-3SG.PST

For this reason, he had become influential among the workers.

Traveler:66

har jâ šo-i-Ø unə puštə sər ita iddə
 every place go.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST 3SG.GEN.DIST following one group

kârəgər šo-Ø-idi

worker go.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Wherever he went a group of workers followed him.

Traveler:67

har ruz kârəgər-an=a xu dərəbər jam
 every day worker-PL=ACC/DAT self around gathering

kud-i-Ø

ušanire

ruznâmə kitâb

do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST 3PL.BEN.DIST newspaper book

xand-i-Ø

read.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Every day he gathered the workers around him and was reading newspapers and books.

Traveler:68

ušana xeyli sâdə hâli kud-i-Ø ki
 3PL.ACC/DAT.DIST very simple understand do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL

ruznâmə

çi

xa-ye

bə-g-ə

newspaper what want.PRS-3SG SBJV-say.PRS-3SG

He explained to them very simply what the newspaper was saying.

Traveler:69

huseyn=ə kâr bə jâ=i bə-rəs-e bu-Ø
 Hussein=EZ work to place=IND PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

ki

tanəst-i-Ø

kârəgər-ân=a

râ=u

CMPL able.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST worker-PL=ACC/DAT way=and

B. Interlinear Texts

čâ = ya nišân bə-d-ə
way=ACC/DAT sign SBJV-give.PRS-3SG

Hussein's work progressed to the place that he could point the way to the workers.

Traveler:70

huseyn danəst-i-Ø čire unə per = a
Hussein know.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST why 3SG.GEN.DIST father=ACC/DAT

bi-gift-idi
PFV-take.PST-2/3PL

Hussein knew why they took his father.

Traveler:71

šuma dan-idi huseyn = ə per kârəgər = ə čâpxânə
2PL.NOM know.PRS-2/3PL Hussein=GEN father worker=EZ printing.house

bu-Ø
BE.PST-3SG.PST

You know that Hussein's father was a worker in a printing house."

B.6 Interlinear Text 6 – A Conversation between Friends

Refeyanə Kələgəb

A Conversation between Friends

Friends:1

xeyli vəxt = i bu-Ø ki mi dil
many time=IND BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL 1SG.GEN heart

xast-i-Ø hasan = a bi-din-əm
want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Hassan=ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-1SG

For a long time I have wanted to see Hassan.

Friends:2

imruz una bi-de-m
today 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-see.PST-1SG

Today I saw him.

Friends:3

unə amara kâfe bu-šo-m
3SG.GEN.DIST with café PFV-go.PST-1SG

I went with him to the café.

Friends:4

ita piçe bi-ništ-im kələgəb bə-ze-im
one little PFV-sit.PST-1PL talk PFV-hit.PST-1PL

I sat with him for a little while and we talked.

Friends:5

una va = Ø-vərse-m ruz-an či kun-i
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-1SG day-PL what do.PRS-2SG

ki vəxt nu-kun-i mi biğa b-a-yi
CMPL time NEG-do.PRS-2SG 1SG.GEN side SBJV-come.PRS-2SG

I asked him, “What are you doing during these [days] that you do not find time to visit me?”

Friends:6

bu-goft-ə ay bərar=jan mən hasa tere təmām=ə
PFV-say.PST-3SG oh brother=dear 1SG.NOM now 2SG.BEN all=GEN

mi kâr=a g-əm tå bə-dan-i
1SG.GEN work=ACC/DAT say.PRS-1SG in.order.that SBJV-know.PRS-2SG

ki mən hiç vəxt nu-kun-əm a-ra u-ra
CMPL 1SG.NOM no time NEG-do.PRS-1SG this-way that-way

bə-ş-əm hattå ti biğa b-a-yəm
SBJV-go.PRS-1SG even 2SG.GEN side SBJV-come.PRS-1SG

He said, “Ah, dear brother! I shall now tell you about all my affairs so that you might know that I have no time to go here and there, let alone to visit you.

Friends:7

mən saat=ə haft xâb=ə ja vi=riz-əm mi
1SG.NOM hour=EZ seven sleep=GEN from VPFX=rise.up.PRS-1SG 1SG.GEN

sər=ə surət=a şor-əm ipçe vərzəş kun-əm
head=and face=ACC/DAT wash.PRS-1SG a.little exercise do.PRS-1SG

yâlinahâr xor-əm
breakfast eat.PRS-1SG

I get up at seven o’clock, wash my face, do some exercise and eat breakfast.

Friends:8

bad libâs du=kun-əm xânə ja birun ş-əm
later clothing VPFX=do.PRS-1SG house from outside go.PRS-1SG

Then I get dressed and leave the house.

Friends:9

tu dan-i ki ame şahr hamişə bārəş bar-e
2SG.NOM know.PRS-2SG CMPL 1PL.GEN city always raining rain.PRS-3SG

You know that in our town it is always raining.

Friends:10

ame xânə ja tå idârə xeyli rā=yə
1PL.GEN house from until institution many way=BE.PRS.3SG

It is quite far from our house to the institution.

B. Interlinear Texts

Friends:11

xiyåbån isfält n-i-yə
street asphalt NEG-BE.PRS-3SG
The street is not paved.

Friends:12

mašin nə-Ø-na-Ø
car NEG-PFV-exist.PST-3SG.PST
There are no cars.

Friends:13

piyådə š-əm
on.foot go.PRS-1SG
I go on foot.

Friends:14

bu = zur saat = ə noh idārə = ya fa = Ø-rəs-əm
to=force hour=EZ nine institution=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-arrive.PST-1SG
With difficulty I reach the institution at nine o'clock.

Friends:15

tå saat = ə yək idārə miyan kår kun-əm
until hour=EZ one institution inside work do.PRS-1SG
I work in the institution until one o'clock.

Friends:16

har ruz yək saat vəxt fa = d-idi tā nahår
every day one hour time VPFX=give.PRS-2/3PL in.order.that lunch

bu-xor-im
SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL

Every day they give us one hour to eat lunch.

Friends:17

mən š-əm
1SG.NOM go.PRS-1SG
I go.

Friends:18

u nəzdiki ita dukan nah-a
that vicinity one store exist.PRS-3SG
There is a shop nearby.

Friends:19

uyə nahår xor-əm
there lunch eat.PRS-1SG
I have lunch there.

Friends:20

ita piče istərâhat kun-əm ita piče ruznâmə xan-əm
a little rest do.PRS-1SG a little newspaper read.PRS-1SG
I rest a little and I read the newspaper a little.

Friends:21

bad va = gərd-əm idārə a-yəm
then VPFX=return.PRS-1SG institution come.PRS-1SG
Then I return and come back to the institution.

Friends:22

bāz = əm tā sāat = ə šiš kār kun-əm
again=also until hour=EZ six work do.PRS-1SG
And again I work until six o'clock.

Friends:23

tāzə a vəxt mi kār-ān təmām = a ni-b-e
even.now this time 1SG.GEN work-PL finished=SBJV NEG-become.PRS-3SG
Even at this point my work is not finished.

Friends:24

vasti bə-š-əm zak-an = ere čiz bi-hin-əm
it.is.necessary SBJV-go.PRS-1SG child-PL=BEN thing SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG
I need to go and buy something for the children.

Friends:25

tā čəšm va = gərd-ən = i ruz təmām = a
to.the.point eye VPFX=turn.PRS-INF=IND day finished=PFV

b-e šəb a-ye
become.PRS-3SG night come.PRS-3SG

In the blink of an eye the day is done and evening comes.

Friends:26

šəb = əm mi kār təmām = a ni-b-e
night=TOP 1SG.GEN work finished=PFV NEG-become.PRS-3SG
In the evening, my work is not finished.

Friends:27

tā zak-an = ə mār šām hāzer kun-e mən
until child-PL=GEN mother supper ready do.PRS-3SG 1SG.NOM

vasti zak-an = ə amara səru kəllə bə-zən-əm
it.is.necessary child-PL=GEN with occupied SBJV-hit.PRS-1SG

ušan = ə dərs = a va = Ø -vərs-əm
3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN lesson=ACC/DAT VPFX=SBJV-ask.PRS-1SG

While my wife (lit. the children's mother) prepares supper, I must occupy myself with the children and ask them about their lessons.

Friends:28

bad šām xor-imi və xus-imi
then supper eat.PRS-1PL and sleep.PRS-1PL
Then we eat supper and go to bed.

Friends:29

an mi kār = ə
this 1SG.GEN work=BE.PRS.3SG
Such is my work.

B. Interlinear Texts

Friends:30

mere man-e ita jum'a un = əm hizâr = ta kâr
1SG.BEN remain.PRS-3SG one Friday 3SG.NOM.DIST=also 1000=CLF work

piš a-ye
before come.PRS-3SG

There remains for me only Friday; also on that [day] a thousand jobs come up.

Friends:31

an = ə ki mən nə-tan-əm a-ra u-ra
this=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 1SG.NOM NEG-able.PRS-1SG this-way that-way

bə-š-əm ti biğa b-a-yəm unə biğa
SBJV-go.PRS-1SG 2SG.GEN side SBJV-come.PRS-1SG 3SG.GEN.DIST side

bə-š-əm
SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

That is why I cannot go here and there, and come visit you or someone else (lit. that one).

Friends:32

xeyli mi dil xa-ye vəli çi bu-kun-əm
very.much 1SG.GEN heart want.PRS-3SG but what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

I want (lit. my heart wants) to very much, but what do I do?

Friends:33

vəxt n-ar-əmə
time NEG-have.PRS-1SG.FUT

I have no time.

Friends:34

inşâla tu mara baxš-i
God.willing 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC/DAT forgive.PRS-2SG
God grant that you will forgive me.”

B.7 Interlinear Text 7 – The Pool

Istəxr

The Pool

Pool:1

ahməd = jan səlam
Ahmad=dear hello
Hello, Ahmed!

Pool:2

ba a tund-i koya şuo-n dər-i
with this fast-ADVLZ where go.PST-INF have.AUX-2SG
Where are you going so hurriedly?

Pool:3

xa-yəm bə-š-əm âbtəni bu-kun-əm
want.PRS-1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG bathing SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
I want to go and swim.

Pool:4

či as sər-i zəməstān ābtəni
 what from head-ADJLZ winter bathing
 What? Swim in winter?

Pool:5

bale mægər tu n-an-i jəyəl-an dəstə dəstə
 yes Q 2SG.NOM NEG-know.PRS-2SG child-PL in.groups
 š-idi
 go.PRS-2/3PL

Yes, do you not know? People are going there in droves.

Pool:6

bi-ya-Ø tu ham mi amra bi-š-im
 IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.NOM also 1SG.GEN with IMP-go.PRS-1PL
 Come! Let us go together.

Pool:7

či g-i bābā
 what say.PRS-2SG daddy
 What are you saying, man?

Pool:8

vəlla rāst g-əmə bi-yə-Ø bi-š-im
 truly right say.PRS-1SG.FUT IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-go.PRS-1PL
 Truly, I am telling the truth. Come! Let us go.

Pool:9

alan mən yəksər uyə šuo-n dər-əm
 presently 1SG.NOM straight.away there go.PST-INF have.AUX-1SG
 I am going there now.

Pool:10

uyə koya is-ə hoz=ə rutxānə=yə
 there where BE.PRS-3SG pond=BE.PRS.3SG river=BE.PRS.3SG
 Where is it? Is it a pond, a river?

Pool:11

nə hoz=ə nə rutxānə =Ø
 no pond=BE.PRS.3SG no river =BE.PRS.3SG
 It is neither a pond nor a river.

Pool:12

ita pille istəxr=ə ame dānəškədə bija nah-a
 one big swimming.pool=BE.PRS.3SG 1PL.GEN college side exist.PRS-3SG
 It is a big pool near our college.

Pool:13

sərbāz =Ø xeyli yəšəng=ə
 open =BE.PRS.3SG very nice=BE.PRS.3SG
 It is [in the] open air. It is very nice.

B. Interlinear Texts

Pool:14

vəxt = a tələf nu-Ø-kun-Ø bi-ya-Ø
time=ACC/DAT waste NEG-IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP

bi-š-im
IMP-go.PRS-1PL

Do not waste time! Come! Let us go!

Pool:15

bi-din-Ø keyf bu-kun-Ø
IMP-see.PRS-2SG.IMP pleasure IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP
Look! Enjoy!

Pool:16

bi-š-im bådâ båd har çi b-e
IMP-go.PRS-1PL may.it.be whatever become.PRS-3SG

bə-ba-Ø
IMP-become.PRS-2SG.IMP

Let us go! Come what may!

Pool:17

hiç çi ni-b-ə
nothing NEG-become.PRS-3SG
Nothing will happen.

Pool:18

agər zātəjəm bu-kun-əm ti gərdən = ə
if pneumonia SBJV-do.PRS-1SG 2SG.GEN neck=BE.PRS.3SG
If I catch pneumonia, you will be to blame (lit. it is on your neck).

Pool:19

xəyli xob zātəjəm nu-kun-i hiç çi ti gərdən
very good pneumonia NEG-do.PRS-2SG nothing 2SG.GEN neck

kuluft-ər = a b-e
thick-CMPR=PFV become.PRS-3SG

Very well. You will not catch pneumonia; you will become healthier (lit. your neck will become fatter).

Pool:20

amad = ə amara ita xiyâbân = a bu-šo-im tâ
Ahmad=GEN with one street=ACC/DAT PFV-go.PST-1PL to.the.point

fa = Ø-rəse-im bə ita meydân ki az unə
VPFX=PFV-arrive.PST-1PL to one square CMPL from 3SG.GEN.DIST

ja buxâr bulənd = a bost-i-Ø
from steam tall=PFV become.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Ahmed and I went along one street until we reached a square, from which steam was rising.

Pool:21

vəxti nəzdik-tər fa = Ø-rəs-əm ti čəšm ruz = ə
 when near-CMPR VPFX=PFV-arrive.PST-1SG 2SG.GEN eye day=EZ

bəd = a ni-Ø-din-ə či din-i
 bad=ACC/DAT NEG-SBJV-see.PRS-3SG what see.PRS-2SG

I came a little nearer, may your eyes not see the bad day, what did we see?

Pool:22

misl = ə in ki vəsət = ə tåbəstån = ə
 like=GEN this.that middle=GEN summer=BE.PRS.3SG

It is like the middle of summer.

Pool:23

zən = u mærd havâ = yə âzâd = ə miyan šənâ kud-Ø-idi
 woman=and man sky=EZ free=GEN inside swimming do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL
 Women and men were swimming under the open sky (lit. in the free air).

Pool:24

jäyəl-an a-ra dovəst-Ø-idi u-ra dovəst-Ø-idi
 child-PL this-way run.PST-IPFV-2/3PL that-way run.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

People were running this way and that.

Pool:25

ita az a jor vaz kud-i-Ø âb = ə miyan ita
 one from this above jump do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST water=GEN inside one

jərgə âb = ə miyan ləp = ə amra bâzi kud-Ø-idi
 group water=GEN inside ball=GEN with game do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

One person was jumping from up high and a group was playing ball in the water.

Pool:26

ingår nə ingår zəməstån = ə
 as.if no as.if winter=BE.PRS.3SG

It was as if it was not winter.

Pool:27

un = əm mosko miyan da dərəjə səfr = ə jir
 that=also Moscow inside ten degree zero=GEN below

[And] this also in the middle of Moscow, [with the temperature] ten degrees below zero.

Pool:28

aməd mara bu-goft-ə yâalla zud bâš maatal
 Ahmad 1SG.ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG hurry quickly be delayed

na-va bost-ən
 NEG-it.is.necessary become.PST-INF

Ahmed said to me, "Hurry up, do not be late!"

Pool:29

bi-ya-Ø bi-š-im
 IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-go.PRS-1PL

Come! Let us go!

B. Interlinear Texts

Pool:30

aya tere libās = ə šənā fa = Ø-gir-əm
here 2SG.BEN clothing=EZ swimming VPFX=SBJV-take.PRS-1SG
I will rent a bathing suit for you here.

Pool:31

loxt = a b-im də = Ø-kəf-im āb = e miyan
naked=IMP become.PRS-1PL VPFX=IMP-fall.PRS-1PL water=GEN inside
Let us undress and plunge into the water.”

Pool:32

mən bā tər = u lərz aməd = ə dumbāl rā
1SG.NOM with fear=and trembling Ahmad=GEN following road

də = Ø-kəft-əm
VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-1SG

In fear and trembling, I set out following Ahmed.

Pool:33

avvəl bu-šo-im du = ta bilit = ə vurud-i be-he-im
first PFV-go.PST-1PL two=CLF ticket=EZ entrance-ADJLZ PFV-buy.PST-1PL
At first we went and bought two entrance tickets.

Pool:34

uyə ja bu-šo-im jā = yə digər
there from PFV-go.PST-1PL place=EZ other
From there we went into another place.

Pool:35

tunukə = yə šənā fa = Ø-gift-im bu-šo-im ita numrə
trunk=EZ swimming VPFX=PFV-take.PST-1PL PFV-go.PST-1PL one booth

miyan
inside

We got our swimming trunks and went into a booth.

Pool:36

ame libās-an = a bə-kənd-im libās = ə
1PL.GEN clothing-PL=ACC/DAT PFV-take.off.PST-1PL clothing=EZ

šənā du = Ø-kud-im bu-šo-im āb = ə kənār
swimming VPFX=PFV-do.PST-1PL PFV-go.PST-1PL water=GEN side

We took off our clothes, put on swimsuits and went to the edge of the water.

Pool:37

aməd ita piče pəsāpəs bu-šo-Ø bə-pərəst-ə
Ahmad one little step.back PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST PFV-jump.PST-3SG

āb = ə miyan
water=GEN inside

Ahmed stepped back a little and jumped into the water.

Pool:38

işarə bu-kud-ə tu-nəm bə-pər-Ø
 indication PFV-do.PST-3SG 2SG.nom-also IMP-jump.PRS-2SG.IMP
 He gave me a signal, “You also jump in.”

Pool:39

mən xast-i-m bə-pər-əm vəli xurdə jâ
 1SG.NOM want.PST-IPFV-1SG SBJV-jump.PRS-1SG but bit place
 bu-xord-əm
 PFV-eat.PST-1SG

I wanted to jump in, but I was a bit paralyzed.

Pool:40

aməd va = Ø-vərse-Ø tərş = ire xâk bə ti sər
 Ahmad VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST fear.prs=BEN ash to 2SG.GEN head
 Ahmed asked, “You should be ashamed of your fear!”

Pool:41

məgər jəyəl-an = a ki ti ləng = ə
 Q child-PL=ACC/DAT CMPL 2SG.GEN leg/foot=GEN
 yəd = idi ni-din-i
 height=BE.PRS.2/3PL NEG-see.PRS-2SG

Cannot you see the children who are only as tall as your waist?

Pool:42

xəjälət nə-Ø-kəş-i
 shame NEG-SBJV-pull.PRS-2SG
 Are not you ashamed?

Pool:43

yâlla vaz bu-kun-Ø
 hurry jump IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP
 Hurry! Jump in!”

Pool:44

bu-goft-əm aməd = jan ita piçe səbər bu-kun-Ø
 PFV-say.PST-1SG Ahmad=dear one little patience IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP
 I said, “Dear Ahmed, have a little patience.

Pool:45

avvəl bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm pilekân koya nah-a
 first IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG ladder where exist.PRS-3SG
 Tell me first of all where the ladder is!

Pool:46

aya âb julf = ə və koya tək = ə
 here water deep=BE.PRS.3SG and where shallow=BE.PRS.3SG
 Here the water is deep; where is it shallow?

B. Interlinear Texts

Pool:47

yāvāš yāvāš az uyə a-yəm bad hamə çi durust = a
slowly from there come.PRS-1SG later everything right=SBJV

b-e

become.PRS-3SG

I will come slowly from there, then everything will be alright.”

Pool:48

bu-šo-i-m pillekân = ə dimə sər tå mi
PFV-go.PST-IPFV-1SG ladder=ACC/DAT down to.the.point 1SG.GEN

på-ya bə-na-m pille sər
leg/foot-PL PFV-put.PST-1SG stair head

I went down the ladder until my foot was at the top of the stairs.

Pool:49

mi på jil = Ø-iskəst-ə də = Ø-kəft-əm
1SG.GEN leg/foot VPFX=PFV-slip.PST-3SG VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-1SG

āb = ə miyan ita yuta bu-xord-əm
water=GEN inside one plunge PFV-eat.PST-1SG

My foot slipped and I fell into the water with a plunge.

Pool:50

aməd šuru bu-kud-ə kir kir xandə kud-ən
Ahmad beginning PFV-do.PST-3SG uncontrollably laughter do.PST-INF
Ahmed began to laugh uncontrollably.

Pool:51

b-amo-Ø mi bija
PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST 1SG.GEN side

He came up to me.

Pool:52

va = Ø-vərse-Ø tara çi bu-bost-ə
VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST 2SG.ACC/DAT what PFV-become.PST-3SG

He asked, “What happened to you?”

Pool:53

ti sər yå kəmə r pillekân = a nu-Ø-xord-ə ki
2SG.GEN head or back ladder=ACC/DAT NEG-PFV-hit.PST-3SG CMPL

You did not hit your head or your back against the ladder did you?”

Pool:54

bi-de-m aməd sər = ə keyf = ə xa-ye
PFV-see.PST-1SG Ahmad head=GEN pleasure=BE.PRS.3SG want.PRS-3SG

mi amra nəza bu-kun-ə
1SG.GEN with trick SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

I saw that Ahmed was amusing himself; he wanted to play a trick on me.

Pool:55

bu-goft-əm na aməd aŷa ame nobə fa=rəs-e
 PFV-say.PST-1SG no Ahmad sir 1PL.GEN turn VPFX=arrive.PRS-3SG
 I said, “No, dear Ahmed (lit. Sir Ahmed), our turn will come.”

Pool:56

āb čičal bu-Ø
 water lukewarm BE.PST-3SG.PST
 The water was lukewarm.

Pool:57

una ša tāyət avərd-ən
 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST it.is.possible patience bring.PST-INF
 It could be endured.

Pool:58

ammā har vəxt āb=ə ja birun amo-Ø-im
 but every time water=GEN from outside come.PST-IPFV-1PL

pərkəst-Ø-im
 shiver.PST-IPFV-1PL

But every time we came out of the water shivering.

B.8 Interlinear Text 8 – Who

Who:1

vay an ki=yə
 oh this who=BE.PRS.3SG
 Oh, who is this?

Who:2

āšənā=ya man=e
 acquainted=EZ 1SG.NOM=BE.PRS.3SG
 My acquaintance?

Who:3

an ki =Ø
 this who =BE.PRS.3SG
 Who is this?

Who:4

mi dəsxaxur ruŷiyə=yə mən=ə
 1SG.GEN female.friend Rugiya=EZ 1SG.NOM=BE.PRS.3SG
 My friend, is it my Rugiya?

Who:5

an tu=i
 this 2SG.NOM=BE.PRS.2SG
 Is it you?

Who:6

ti xaš=ə jan=a yurban
 2SG.GEN bone=BE.PRS.3SG soul=EZ sacrifice
 It is you, my dear (lit. it is your bone, sacrifice of the soul).

B. Interlinear Texts

Who:7

či kud-ən dər-i
what do.PST-INF have.AUX-2SG
What are you doing?

Who:8

fan = Ø-der-Ø bi-din-Ø či kud-ən
VPFX=IMP-look.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-see.PRS-2SG.IMP what do.PST-INF

dər-əm
have.AUX-1SG
Have a look; see what I am doing.

Who:9

ašxāl-an = a u = č-en dər-əm
trash-PL=ACC/DAT VPFX=pick.PST-INF have.AUX-1SG
I am taking out the trash.

Who:10

bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm či kun-i kuyə
IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG what do.PRS-2SG where

isa-Ø-i
stand.PST-IPFV-2SG
Tell me, what are you doing and what is your stance (lit. where were you standing)?

Who:11

aya ašanə bija kulfət-i kun-əm
here 3PL.GEN.PROX side servant-NMLZ do.PRS-1SG
Here I work for them as a servant.

Who:12

haf haš nəfər = ə kār = a vasti bu-kun-əm
seven eight person=GEN work=ACC/DAT it.is.necessary SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

tā ita luymə pələ bu-xur-əm
in.order.that one morsel pilau SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG
I need to do the work of seven or eight people in order to eat a morsel of pilau.

Who:13

ham vasi bāzār bə-š-əm ham vasi poxtəpəz
also it.is.necessary market SBJV-go.PRS-1SG also it.is.necessary cooking

bu-kun-əm ham vasi ašanə raxtə libās = a
SBJV-do.PRS-1SG also it.is.necessary 3PL.GEN.PROX clothes=ACC/DAT

bu-šor-əm
SBJV-wash.PRS-1SG

I not only have to go to market; I need to cook the food and wash their clothes too.

Who:14

de mi čum ni-din-e tiripiri š-e
no.longer 1SG.GEN eye NEG-see.PRS-3SG dark go.PRS-3SG
My eyes [can] no longer see; they are going dark.

Who:15

de rəməy = ə ja də = Ø - kəft - əm
 no.longer strength=GEN from VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-1SG
 I no longer have strength.

Who:16

hič kəs n-ar-əm unə amarə dardə dil
 no person NEG-have.PRS-1SG 3SG.GEN.DIST with sharing.from.the.heart
 bu-kun-əm
 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 I have nobody with whom I might share my heart.

Who:17

n-an-əm či bu-kun-əm kuya bə-š-əm
 NEG-know.PRS-1SG what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG where SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
 k = ere bə-g-əm ki = ya bi-din-əm
 who=BEN SBJV-say.PRS-1SG who=ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-1SG
 I do not know what to do, where to go, whom to tell or whom to see.

Who:18

dəsxaxur = jan pəxmə nu-Ø-bu-Ø ti
 female.friend=dear helpless NEG-IMP-be.imp-2SG.IMP 2SG.GEN
 čum = a va = Ø - kun - Ø
 eye=ACC/DAT VPFX=IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP
 Dear friend, do not be helpless, open your eyes!

Who:19

a biinsâf-an ami yəm = a nu-xor-idi
 this unjust-PL 1PL.GEN grief=ACC/DAT NEG-eat.PRS-2/3PL
 These unjust men do not feel sorry for us.

Who:20

ašanə amra vasti mubarəzə kud-ən
 3PL.GEN.PROX with it.is.necessary fighting do.PST-INF
 We need to fight them.

Who:21

alan de u zəmān-ān n-i-yə har či
 presently no.longer that time-PL NEG-BE.PRS-3SG every what
 xast-Ø-idi ami amra kud-Ø-idi
 want.PST-IPFV-2/3PL 1PL.GEN with do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL
 Now it is no longer like those days (lit. times) when they were doing whatever they wanted to us.

Who:22

alan de təşkilât nəh-ə
 presently already organization exist.PRS-3SG
 Now there is an organization.

B. Interlinear Texts

Who:23

bi-ya-Ø bi-š-im ti nām = a uyə
IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-go.PRS-1PL 2SG.GEN name=ACC/DAT there

bi-nivis-Ø
IMP-write.PRS-2SG.IMP

Come! Let us go and sign you up (lit. write your name) there.

Who:24

tənhā-yi n-Ø-əsa-Ø
alone-ADVLZ NEG-IMP-stand.PRS-2SG.IMP
Do not stand alone!

Who:25

vasi ijai piš šuo-n tā amə
it.is.necessary together before go.PST-INF in.order.that 1PL.GEN

hay = a fa = Ø-gir-im
right=ACC/DAT VPFX=SBJV-get.PRS-1PL

We need to go forward together in order to get our rights.

Who:26

tur = a bost-ə xu dəsxaxur = a
amazed=PFV become.PST-3SG self female.friend=ACC/DAT

fan = Ø-dərəst-ə
VPFX=PFV-look.PST-3SG

She was amazed and looked at her friend.

Who:27

vi = Ø-riz-Ø bi-š-im
VPFX=IMP-rise.up.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-go.PRS-1PL
Get up, let us go!

Who:28

imruz ti manəstən ādām-an hizār hizār i = jā jəm = a
today 2SG.GEN like person-PL 1000 1000 one=place group=PFV

b-idi
become.PRS-2/3PL

Today people like you gather by the thousands in one place.

Who:29

az uyə rā də = kəf-idi tā pille meydān = ə miyan
from there road VPFX=fall.PRS-2/3PL until big square=GEN inside
From there they are setting out for the big square.

Who:30

uyə is-idi nuty kun-idi tā hamə xob
there stand.PRS-2/3PL speech do.PRS-2/3PL in.order.that all good

bə-fahm-id ama či g-imi či
SBJV-understand.PRS-2/3PL 1PL.NOM what say.PRS-1PL what

xa-yimi
want.PRS-1PL

They are standing there and delivering speeches so that people might understand clearly what we are saying and what we want.

Who:31

məgər imruz či ruz=ə
Q today what day=BE.PRS.3SG
So what day is it today?

Who:32

n-an-i
NEG-know.PRS-2SG
Do you not know?

Who:33

imruz hašt-um=ə mår̥s=ə
today eight-ORD=GEN March=BE.PRS.3SG
Today is the eighth of March.

Who:34

imruz dunyâ miyan hamə jâ zənək-an xu=šan=ə
today world inside all place woman-PL self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN

hay=ə vasi jəm=a b-idi
right=GEN for group=PFV become.PRS-2/3PL

Today, women are gathering everywhere in the world for the sake of their rights.

Who:35

bi-š-im mən=əm a-yəm
IMP-go.PRS-1PL 1SG.NOM=also come.PRS-1SG
Let us go; I am coming too!

Who:36

ušan=ə amara a-yəm
3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN with come.PRS-1SG
I am coming with them.

B.9 Interlinear Text 9 – Conversation

Goftəgu Conversation

Conver:1

səlam aleykum âyâ
hello to.you sir
Hello, Sir!

Conver:2

aleykum səlam
to.you hello
Hello!

B. Interlinear Texts

Conver:3

ti ahvål ċutor = ə
2SG.GEN condition how=BE.PRS.3SG
How are you?

Conver:4

bəd n-i-yəm
bad NEG-BE.PRS-1SG
Not bad.

Conver:5

zəndə = im
living=BE.PRS.1PL
I am living.

Conver:6

šukr
praise
Praise God!

Conver:7

ċi kun-i
what do.PRS-2SG
What are you doing?

Conver:8

āy yāvāš yāvāš guzər-an-imi
oh slowly pass.PRS-CAUS-1PL
Oh, we are slowly passing the time.

Conver:9

zak-an ċutor = idi
child-PL how=BE.PRS.2/3PL
How are the children?

Conver:10

bəd n-i-idi xu = šan = ere buzurg = a bost-ən
bad NEG-BE.PRS-2/3PL self=3PL.PC.POSR=BEN big=PFV become.PST-INF

dər-idi
have.AUX-2/3PL
They are not bad, they are getting big.

Conver:11

xeqli vəxt = ə ki mi dil xast-i-Ø
many time=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 1SG.GEN heart want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

tara bi-din-əm
2SG.ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-1SG
I have (lit. my heart has) wanted to see you for a long time.

Conver:12

alhamdullā imruz tara bi-de-m və mi dil
praise.God today 2SG.ACC/DAT PFV-see.PST-1SG and 1SG.GEN heart

xunək = a bost-ə
cool=PFV become.PST-3SG

Praise God I saw you today and my mind has been put at ease (lit. my heart has become cool).

Conver:13

mi dil ham xast-ə tara bi-din-əm
1SG.GEN heart also want.PST-3SG 2SG.ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-1SG

I too, wanted to see you.

Conver:14

i = var b-amo-m šimi xânə n-Ø-esa-Ø
one=instance PFV-come.PST-1SG 2PL.GEN house NEG-PFV-remain.PST-PSPT

b-idi
be.AUX-2/3PL

One time I came to your house, [but] you were not there.

Conver:15

zak-an bu-goft-idi abji mâr = ə amra anzəli
child-PL PFV-say.PST-2/3PL mother mother=GEN with Anzali

bu-šo-idi
PFV-go.PST-2/3PL

The children said, “She went with her mother to Anzali.”

Conver:16

agər kâr = a vajib n-ar-i imruz bi-š-im
if work=EZ important NEG-have.PRS-2SG today IMP-go.PRS-1PL

bə-gərd-im
SBJV-turn.PRS-1PL

If you have no important business, let us go and take a stroll today.

Conver:17

ita piče a-ra u-ra bi-š-im bə-gərd-im ami
one little this-way that-way IMP-go.PRS-1PL IMP-turn.PRS-1PL 1PL.GEN

dil va = Ø-v-e
heart VPFX=SBJV-pour.PRS-3SG

Let us go here and there a little; let us take a stroll; let us amuse ourselves.

Conver:18

haməš ki kâr ni-b-e
all.of.it CMPL work NEG-become.PRS-3SG

After all, there is not always work.

Conver:19

ibče va dunyâ = ya de-en
a.bit it.is.necessary world=ACC/DAT see.PST-INF

We need to see the world a bit.

B. Interlinear Texts

Conver:20

bi = zud-i n-ə-yə ki g-idi ti
without=early-2SG NEG-BE.PRS-3SG CMPL say.PRS-2/3PL 2SG.GEN

čum = a va = Ø-kun-Ø dunyâ = ya
eye=ACC/DAT VPFX=IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP world=ACC/DAT

bi-din-Ø
IMP-see.PRS-2SG.IMP

Not without reasons is it said, "Open your eyes and look at the world!"

Conver:21

mən = am xeyli xušhâl = am ki tara
1SG.NOM=TOP very happy=BE.PRS.1SG CMPL 2SG.ACC/DAT

bi-de-m
PFV-see.PST-1SG

I too, am very pleased that I have seen you.

Conver:22

xeyli vəxt = a bu-Ø ki tara ni-d-e
many time=PFV BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL 2SG.ACC/DAT NEG-see.PST-PSPT

bu-m
be.AUX-1SG

It was a very long time since I had seen you.

Conver:23

na kâr = ə vəjəb = i n-ar-əm
no work=EZ important=IND NEG-have.PRS-1SG

No, I have no important business.

Conver:24

alan ta'til = ə tåbəstån = ə mən = am murəxəsi
presently holiday=EZ summer=BE.PRS.3SG 1SG.NOM=TOP leave

dar-əm
have.PRS-1SG

It is the summer holidays now and I have vacation.

Conver:25

tan-əm ti amra har jâ bi-g-i
able.PRS-1SG 2SG.GEN with every place SBJV-say.PRS-2SG

b-a-yəm
SBJV-come.PRS-1SG

I can come with you wherever you say.

Conver:26

bi-š-im i = xurdə bə-gərd-im
IMP-go.PRS-1PL a= bit IMP-turn.PRS-1PL

Let us go; let us take a little stroll.

Conver:27

koya bi-š-im
 where SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
 Where shall we go?

Conver:28

bəd n-i-yə ita piče gargar=dəx-im
 bad NEG-BE.PRS-3SG one little VPFX=wander.PRS-1PL
 It would not be bad to wander a little.

Conver:29

koya meyl dar-i bi-š-im
 where wish have.PRS-2SG SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
 Where do you wish to go?

Conver:30

bi meyl n-i-yəm
 without wish NEG-BE.PRS-1SG
 I have a desire (lit. I am not without desire).

Conver:31

bây=ə muhtəşəm bi-š-im
 garden=EZ Muhtasham IMP-go.PRS-1PL
 Let us go to the Muhtasham garden.

Conver:32

az ko ra bi-š-im
 from which way SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
 Which way shall we go?

Conver:33

az a ra tázə ita xiyâbân va=Ø-kud-idi
 from this way recently one street VPFX=PFV-do.PST-2/3PL
 They have recently opened a street along this way.

Conver:34

tu una bi-de-i
 2SG.NOM 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-see.PST-2SG
 Have you seen it?

Conver:35

na ni-Ø-d-em
 no NEG-PFV-see.PST-1SG
 No, I have not.

Conver:36

pəs az a ra bi-š-im
 so from this way IMP-go.PRS-1PL
 Then let us go along this road.

Conver:37

ham xəlvət=ə gərd=u xâk=ə mašin-an=a
 also uncrowded=BE.PRS.3SG dust=and dust=GEN car-PL=ACC/DAT

nu-Ø-xur-im və ham ki az səbzə=u čəmən guzər
 NEG-SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL and also CMPL from grass=and lawn passed

B. Interlinear Texts

kun-im
do.PRS-1PL

It is not only less crowded so we will not eat the dust from the cars, but we will pass the lawns and glades.

Conver:38

xeyli xob
very good
Very well.

B.10 Interlinear Text 10 – The Liar

Duroygu The Liar

Liar:1

ita tājər bu-Ø və ita pəsər dašt-i-Ø
a merchant BE.PST-3SG.PST and one son have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
There was a merchant and he had a son.

Liar:2

anə pəsər xeyli ayyaş bu-Ø və haməş
3SG.GEN.PROX son very pleasure-seeking BE.PST-3SG.PST and always

yərz və yol kud-i-Ø
debt and promise do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

His son was very much into seeking pleasure and was always getting in debt.

Liar:3

hiç fikr=u zikr=i n-ašt-Ø-i məgər ki per
no thought=and thought=IND NEG-have.PST-IPFV-2SG Q CMPL father

bi-mir-ə
SBJV-die.PRS-3SG

He never thought of anything except the death of his father.

Liar:4

per ham fikr=ə murd-ən n-ašt-Ø-i
father TOP thought=EZ die.PST-INF NEG-have.PST-IPFV-2SG

But his father was not even thinking of dying.

Liar:5

i= ruz pəsər-ə ita iddə xu refey-an=ə amra bə fikr
one= day son-DEF one group self friend-PL=GEN with to thought

də=Ø-kəft-ə ki yək jür=i per=ə
VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG CMPL one way=IND father=ACC/DAT

kələk=a bə-kən-ə və unə
trick=ACC/DAT SBJV-take.off.PRS-3SG and 3SG.GEN.DIST

amvâl = a bə dəst b-avər-ə və bə eyš = ə
possession=ACC/DAT to hand SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG and to pleasure=GEN

nuš bu-guzər-an-ə
drinking SBJV-pass.PRS-CAUS-3SG

One day, the lad, together with a group of his friends, thought of a way of tricking the father and taking possession of his property and giving himself over to pleasure and drinking.

Liar:6

ašanə kələ a fikr də = Ø-kəft-ə ki
3PL.GEN.PROX head this thought VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG CMPL

tājər = a zəndə zəndə čāl = ə kun-id
merchant=ACC/DAT living living hole=SBJV do.PRS-2/3PL

The thought that they might bury the merchant alive came into their heads.

Liar:7

i = ruz ki tājər tənha bə xānə isa-Ø
one= day CMPL merchant alone to house remain.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø fu = Ø-vost-idi unə sər və
be.AUX-3SG.PST VPFX=PFV-pour.PST-2/3PL 3SG.GEN.DIST head and

unə dəs = u pā = ya də = Ø-bəst-idi
3SG.GEN.DIST hand=and leg/foot=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-tie.PST-2/3PL

ta = Ø-vəda-idi tābut = ə miyan
VPFX=PFV-throw.PST-2/3PL coffin=GEN inside

One day, when the merchant had been alone in the house, they pounced on him, bound him hand and foot and threw him into a coffin.

Liar:8

tājər hič təkən nu-Ø-xurd-ə
merchant no shake NEG-PFV-hit.PST-3SG

The merchant did not stir.

Liar:9

bi-de-Ø agər jum bu-xur-ə unə
PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST if movement SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.DIST

kələk = a kən-idi
trick=ACC/DAT take.off.PRS-2/3PL

He realized that if he moved, they would destroy him.

Liar:10

bičārə taxt bi-gift-ə tābut = ə miyan
helpless.person bed PFV-take.PST-3SG coffin=GEN inside

bu-xuft-ə
PFV-sleep.PST-3SG

The poor fellow went to bed and slept in the coffin.

B. Interlinear Texts

Liar:11

tāḵər = a u = Ø-sad-idi yusl
 merchant=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-pick.up.PST-2/3PL ritual.washing

bə-da-idi və una kəfən
 PFV-give.PST-2/3PL and 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST shroud

du = Ø-kud-idi və ta = Ø-vəda-idi tābut = ə
 VPFX=PFV-do.PST-2/3PL and VPFX=PFV-throw.PST-2/3PL coffin=GEN

miyan
 inside

They picked up the merchant, did the ritual washing, put a shroud on him and threw him into the coffin.

Liar:12

tābut = a bu = duš bi-gift-idi bu-šo-idi
 coffin=ACC/DAT to= shoulder PFV-take.PST-2/3PL PFV-go.PST-2/3PL

pišnəmāz = ə biḵa ki un nəmāz = ə məyyət
 imam=GEN side CMPL 3SG.NOM.DIST Muslim.prayers=EZ dead

bə-xan-ə
 SBJV-sing.PRS-3SG

They placed the coffin on their shoulders and went to the imam so that he might chant the prayer of the dead.

Liar:13

hato ki pišnəmāz šuru bu-kud-ə allāh = u akbar
 as.soon.as CMPL imam beginning PFV-do.PST-3SG God=and great

bə-g-ə tāḵər xu sər = a tābut = ə ḵa
 SBJV-say.PRS-3SG merchant self head=ACC/DAT coffin=GEN from

birun b-avərd-ə pišnəmāz = a bu-goft-ə ay āyā
 outside PFV-bring.PST-3SG imam=ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG oh sir

mi dād fa = Ø-rəs-Ø
 1SG.GEN shout VPFX=IMP-reach.PRS-2SG.IMP

As soon as the imam began to say “God is great,” the merchant thrust his head out of the coffin and said to the imam “Oh sir, help me (lit. reach my shout)!”

Liar:14

mi pəsər xa-ye zəndə zəndə mara čāl = a
 1SG.GEN son want.PRS-3SG living living 1SG.ACC/DAT hole=SBJV

kun-ə tā mi sər vət = a bə dəst
 do.PRS-3SG in.order.that 1SG.GEN wealth=ACC/DAT to hand

b-avər-ə

SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG

My son wants to bury me alive, in order to take possession of my property.”

Liar:15

pišnəmāz ru kun-e bə anə pəsər və g-e an
 imam face do.PRS-3SG to 3SG.GEN.PROX boy and say.PRS-3SG this

či kār = i = yə

what work=IND=BE.PRS.3SG

The imam addresses his son and says, “What is this business?”

Liar:16

pəsər g-e ay āyā mi per duroygu = yə
 son say.PRS-3SG oh sir 1SG.GEN father liar=BE.PRS.3SG

The son says, “Oh sir, my father is a liar.

Liar:17

təmām = ə a mardum ki aya isa-Ø-idi šəhādət
 all=GEN this people CMPL here stand.PST-IPFV-2/3PL testimony

dəh-idi ki un bə-mərd-ə bu-Ø
 give.PRS-2/3PL CMPL 3SG.NOM.DIST PFV-die.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

ki una yusl kəfən bu-kud-im
 CMPL 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST ritual.washing shroud PFV-do.PST-1PL

All the people who are here will testify that he had died, that we did the ritual washing and put a shroud on him.”

Liar:18

pišnəmāz jəmāat = ə ja va = Ø-vərse-Ø šuma či
 imam crowd=GEN from VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST 2PL.NOM what

g-idi

say.PRS-2/3PL

The imam asked the crowd, “What do you say?”

Liar:19

hamə bu-goft-idi ama šəhādət diḥ-im ki
 all PFV-say.PST-2/3PL 1PL.NOM testimony give.PRS-1PL CMPL

un bə-mərd-ə bu-Ø
 3SG.NOM.DIST PFV-die.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

They all said, “We testify that he had died.”

Liar:20

pišnəmāz bu-goft-ə mən dər təməām = ə mi umr
 imam PFV-say.PST-3SG 1SG.NOM in all=GEN 1SG.GEN lifetime

murdə = yə duroygu ni-Ø-d-emə və ru bə
 dead.person=EZ liar NEG-PFV-see.PST-1SG.PFV and face to

B. Interlinear Texts

tājər bu-kud-ə və bu-goft-ə šuma təsdiy
 merchant PFV-do.PST-3SG and PFV-say.PST-3SG 2PL.NOM confirmation

kun-idi ki mən nə-tan-əm šəhādət = ə yək
 do.PRS-2/3PL CMPL 1SG.NOM NEG-able.PRS-1SG testimony=EZ one

iddə mardum = a nə-d-idi = ə
 group people=ACC/DAT NEG-give.PRS-2/3PL=ACC/DAT

bi-gir-əm və ti yol = a az hamə
 SBJV-take.PRS-1SG and 2SG.GEN quote=ACC/DAT from all

bâlâ-tər bə-dan-əm
 above-CMPR SBJV-recognize.PRS-1SG

Then the imam said, “In my whole life I have never seen a dead person who is a liar” and addressing the merchant, he said, “You agree that I cannot help take into account the testimony of the [whole] group of people and cannot consider your words to be of more weight (lit. higher).

Liar:21

pəs mən tara murdə = yə duroygu hisāb kun-əm
 so 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC/DAT dead.person=EZ liar account do.PRS-1SG

Therefore I consider you to be a dead person who is a liar.

Liar:22

behtər ki gəb nə-zən-i və ame kâr = a
 better CMPL talk NEG-hit.PRS-2SG and 1PL.GEN work=ACC/DAT

māne ni-Ø-b-i tâ mardum bə
 hindrance NEG-SBJV-become.PRS-2SG in.order.that people to

xu = šan = ə təkliif = ə šar-i aməl bu-kun-id
 self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN duty=EZ city-ADJLZ act SBJV-do.PRS-2/3PL

It is better that you do not talk and not hinder our work, so that the people can fulfill their civic duty.”

Liar:23

pišnəmāz de vəxt = ə etərāz tājər = a
 imam no.longer time=EZ protest merchant=ACC/DAT

fə = an-d-ə və hukm bu-kud-ə tâbut = ə
 VPFX=NEG-give.PRS-3SG and command PFV-do.PST-3SG coffin=GEN

sər = a də = Ø-bəd-id və šuru bə
 head=ACC/DAT VPFX=IMP-tie.PRS-2/3PL and beginning to

nəmāz = ə məyyət bu-kud-ə
 Muslim.prayers=EZ dead PFV-do.PST-3SG

The imam no longer gives the merchant time to object, he ordered, “Close the lid of the coffin!” and began the prayer of the dead.

Liar:24

və bad az nəməz una bâ təşrif-ât bə
and after Muslim.prayers 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST with honor-PL to

yəbrəstan bə-bard-idi və çâl = a kud-idi
cemetery PFV-carry.PST-2/3PL and hole=PFV do.PST-2/3PL
And after the prayer they carried him with honor to the cemetery and buried him.

B.11 Interlinear Text 11 – In the Boat**Lotkə Miyan****In the Boat****Boat:1**

musâfər lotkaçi = ya g-e şuma riyâzi
traveler boatman=ACC/DAT say.PRS-3SG 2PL.NOM mathematics

dan-idi
know.PRS-2/3PL

A passenger says to the boatman, “Do you know mathematics?”

Boat:2

lotkaçi n-an-əm
boatman NEG-know.PRS-1SG
Boatman: “I do not know [it].”

Boat:3

musâfər pəs ita çəhâr-um = ə ti zəndəgi = ya az dəst
traveler so one four-ORD=GEN 2SG.GEN life=ACC/DAT from hand

be-da-i
PFV-give.PST-2SG

Passenger: “Then you have wasted one quarter of your life.”

Boat:4

hasa bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm târix dan-i
now IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG history know.PRS-2SG
“Now tell me: Do you know history?”

Boat:5

lotkaçi n-an-əm
boatman NEG-know.PRS-1SG
Boatman: “I do not know [it].”

Boat:6

musâfər pəs yək haşt-um = ə ti zəndəgi jə dəs
traveler so one eight-ORD=GEN 2SG.GEN life from hand

bu-šo-Ø
PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST

Passenger: “Then you have wasted one eighth of your life.”

B. Interlinear Texts

Boat:7

h-a vəxt ita pille moĵ az vəsət=ə dəryå buland=a
same-this time one big wave from middle=GEN sea tall=PFV

bo-Ø və bə tərəf=ə ašanə lotkə
become.PST-3SG.PST and to direction=GEN 3PL.GEN.PROX boat

b-amo-Ø
PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST

At that moment a big wave arose in the middle of the sea and came toward their boat.

Boat:8

lotkači musâfər=a va=Ø-vərse-Ø šənå
boatman traveler=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST swimming

kud-ən dan-i
do.PST-INF know.PRS-2SG

The boatman asked the passenger, “Do you know how to swim?”

Boat:9

musâfər jəvåb bə-da-Ø n-an-əm
traveler answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST NEG-know.PRS-1SG

The passenger answered, “I do not.”

Boat:10

lotkači pəs təmām=ə šimi zəndəgi=ya az dəst
boatman so all=GEN 2PL.GEN life=ACC/DAT from hand

be-da-idi
PFV-give.PST-2/3PL

Boatman: “Then you have wasted all your life.”

B.12 Interlinear Text 12 – As You Please!

Ixtiyar Daridi!

As You Please!

Please:1

du=ta pişxədmət rəis=ə utāy=ə pušt murafø kud-ən
two=CLF servant boss=GEN room=GEN behind dispute do.PST-INF

di-b-id
PST.DEF-be.AUX-2/3PL

Two servants were quarreling behind the boss’s door.

Please:2

ita u-yta=ya goft-i-Ø az tu
 one that-one=ACC/DAT say.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST from 2SG.NOM

xər-tər ni-Ø-d-em
 donkey-CMPR NEG-PFV-see.PST-1SG

One was saying to the other, “I have never seen a bigger ass than you!”

Please:3

h-a vəxt rəis bā hālət=ə yeyz=u yəzəb dər=a
 same-this time boss with state=EZ anger=and fury door=ACC/DAT

va=Ø-kud-ə və bu-goft-ə mægər ni-din-idi
 VPFX=PFV-do.PST-3SG and PFV-say.PST-3SG Q NEG-see.PRS-2/3PL

mən aya is-am
 1SG.NOM here BE.PRS-1SG

At that moment the boss opened the door with irritation and said, “Can you not see that I am here?”

B.13 Interlinear Text 13 – A Complaint

Šəkayət**A Complaint****Complaint:1**

ita pirəzənay dula dula šuo-n du-bu-Ø
 one old.woman bent go.PST-INF PST.DEF-be.AUX-3SG.PST

An old woman was walking along bent over.

Complaint:2

hato ki mara bi-de-Ø mi
 as.soon.as CMPL 1SG.ACC/DAT PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST 1SG.GEN

julo=ya bi-gift-ə və va=Ø-vərse-Ø
 front=ACC/DAT PFV-take.PST-3SG and VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST

zay=jan bu-gu-Ø bi-din-əm ağər
 child=dear IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP SBJV-see.PRS-1SG if

bə-xa-yəm kəlāntari ja šəkayət bu-kun-əm
 SBJV-want.PRS-1SG police.station from complaint SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

koya va bə-š-əm
 where it.is.necessary SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

As soon as she saw me, she blocked my way and asked, “Dear child, tell me, if I want to make a complaint at the police station, where do I need to go?”

B. Interlinear Texts

Complaint:3

mən una bu-goft-əm mār =jan tu
1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-say.PST-1SG mother=dear 2SG.NOM

čuto xa-yi kəlantəri ja šəkayət bu-kun-i
how want.PRS-2SG police.station from complaint SBJV-do.PRS-2SG

I said to her, “Dear madam, why do you want to complain at the police station?”

Complaint:4

hamə kəs xu =šan =ə šəkayət = a uyə
all person self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN complaint=ACC/DAT there

bər-idi
carry.PRS-2/3PL

Everybody brings their complaints there.”

Complaint:5

pirəzənay jəvāb bə-da-Ø zay ti yurban
old.woman answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST child 2SG.GEN sacrifice

bə-š-əm
SBJV-become.PRS-1SG

The old woman answered, “Sweet child (lit. child, may I be your sacrifice)!”

Complaint:6

az mal =ə dunyā i = juft yāličə dašt-i-m
from possession=GEN world one= pair small.rug have.PST-IPFV-1SG

Of all worldly goods I only had a pair of small rugs.

Complaint:7

ita = ya duzd bə-bərd-ə u-yta = ya kəlantəri
one=ACC/DAT thief PFV-take.PST-3SG that-one=ACC/DAT police.station

mi ja fa = Ø-gift-ə ki az unə
1SG.GEN from VPFX=PFV-take.PST-3SG CMPL from 3SG.GEN.DIST

gulu butə və nəyşə ja uy = danə = ya peydā
pattern and diagram from that-one=unit=ACC/DAT found

bu-kun-ə
SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

One of them was stolen and the police took the other one in order to find the first one by looking at the pattern of the second one and making a drawing of it.

Complaint:8

una ki duzd bə-bərd-ə bə jəhannəm
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST CMPL thief PFV-take.PST-3SG to hell

The one that was stolen; to hell with it.

Complaint:9

ay = danə ham ašan fa = an-d-idi
this-one=unit TOP 3PL.NOM.PROX VPFX=NEG-give.PRS-2/3PL

They do not even return this one.”

B.14 Interlinear Text 14 – A Child's Prayer

Ǻǵǵǵ Duǵ**A Child's Prayer****Prayer:1**

ay xudǵ mi mǵr = ǵ asǵb-an = a un yǵdǵr yǵvi
oh God 1SG.GEN mother=GEN nerve-PL=ACC/DAT that much strong

bu-kun-ǵ ki bǵ-tan-ǵ hamǵ = ya mi
IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP CMPL SBJV-able.PRS-3SG all=ACC/DAT 1SG.GEN

ǵeytǵni = ya tǵhǵmmul bu-kun-ǵ
mischievousness=ACC/DAT endurance SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

“Oh, Lord! Strengthen my mother’s nerves so much that she can endure all my mischievousness.”

B.15 Interlinear Text 15 – Please, One Minute

Lutfǵn Ita Dǵyyǵ**Please, One Minute****Minute:1**

ita pir = ǵ-mǵrday bǵ kǵntǵr = ǵ havǵpeymǵyi tilǵfun bu-kud-ǵ
a old=GEN-man to office=EZ aviation telephone PFV-do.PST-3SG
An old man telephoned the airline office.

Minute:2

tilǵfunǵi ki ita duxǵtǵr bu-ǵ guǵ = a
operator CMPL one girl BE.PST-3SG.PST receiver=ACC/DAT

u = ǵ-sad-ǵ
VPFX=PFV-pick.up.PST-3SG

The operator, who was a girl, picked up the receiver.

Minute:3

pir = ǵ-mǵrday bu-goǵt-ǵ duxǵtǵr = ǵan xa-yǵm havǵpeymǵ
old=GEN-man PFV-say.PST-3SG girl=dear want.PRS-1SG airplane

amra mi zahak = ǵ biǵa bǵ Nyu York bǵ-ǵǵm
with 1SG.GEN child=GEN side to New.York SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

The old man said, “Little girl, I want to go by airplane to New York to see my child.

Minute:4

mumkin = ǵ bi-g-i az aya ǵiyǵdr tul
possible=BE.PRS.3SG SBJV-say.PRS-2SG from here how.much length

kǵǵ-e
pull.PRS-3SG

Can you tell me how long [the flight] will last from here?”

B. Interlinear Texts

Minute:5

tiləfunçi xast-i-Ø dəftərçə=yə rahnəmə ja dəyi
operator want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST notebook=EZ guide from precisely

bi-din-ə və jəvab bə-d-ə
SBJV-see.PRS-3SG and answer SBJV-give.PRS-3SG

The operator wanted to look in the flight directory and give a precise answer.

Minute:6

misl=ə hamişə jəvab bə-da-Ø ita dəyyə
like=GEN always answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST one minute
As usual, she answered, “One minute!”

Minute:7

pir=ə-mərday bu-goft-ə bu= xudā mən
old=GEN-man PFV-say.PST-3SG to= God 1SG.NOM

n-anəst-i-m ki bə a nəzdiki=yə vəğərnə
NEG-know.PST-IPFV-1SG CMPL to this vicinity=BE.PRS.3SG otherwise

xud=əm piyadə şo-i-mi guş=a bə zəmin
self=1SG.PC.POSR on.foot go.PST-IPFV-1SG receiver=ACC/DAT to floor

bə-na-Ø
PFV-put.PST-3SG.PST

The old man said, “Really and truly, I did not know it was so near, otherwise I would have gone by foot” and he put down the receiver.

B.16 Interlinear Text 16 – The Thief and the Judge

Duzd-u Yāzi

The Thief and the Judge

Thief:1

yāzi ru bu-kud-ə bə duzd az duzdi=i ki
judge face PFV-do.PST-3SG to thief from theft=IND CMPL

bu-kud-i ma'lum=ə duzd=ə kuhnəkār=i
PFV-do.PST-2SG obvious=BE.PRS.3SG thief=EZ experienced=BE.PRS.2SG

The judge addressed the thief: “From the theft that you committed, it is obvious that you are an experienced thief.”

Thief:2

duzd bə jan=ə şuma avvəlin bār bu-Ø ki
thief to soul=GEN 2PL.NOM first instance BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL

duzdi bu-kud-əm
theft PFV-do.PST-1SG

The thief: “I swear by your soul, this was the first time I have stolen.”

Thief:3

yāzi agər avvəlin bār bu-Ø pəs čutor bə-tanəst-i
 judge if first instance BE.PST-3SG.PST so how PFV-able.PST-2SG

rāst=ə divar=a bujor bi-š-i
 straight=EZ wall=ACC/DAT up SBJV-go.PRS-2SG

The judge: “If this was the first time, then how did you manage to climb up the sheer wall?”

Thief:4

duzd ixtiyar dar-idi yurban kār=ə niku kərd-ən az
 thief authority have.PRS-2/3PL sir work=EZ good do.PST-INF from

pur kərd-ən=ə
 full do.PST-INF=BE.PRS.3SG

The thief: “Your honor, if you want to be successful, you need to do your best (lit. you have authority, sir. The work of doing well is from doing full).”

B.17 Interlinear Text 17 – A Story

Həkəyət**A Story****Story:1**

ita sabmənsəb ajan bu-Ø
 a officer policeman BE.PST-3SG.PST

There was a police officer.

Story:2

i= šəb saat=ə sə bad az nisf=ə šəb xiyābān=ə buzərjumeri
 one= night hour=EZ three after half=GEN night street=EZ Buzerjumeri

ja guzəšt-ən du-bu-Ø
 from pass.PST-INF PST.DEF-be.AUX-3SG.PST

One night, at three o'clock in the morning, he was going along Buzerjumeri street.

Story:3

hato ki julo-xānə məsjəd=ə šā=ya
 as.soon.as CMPL front-house mosque=EZ Shah=ACC/DAT

fa=rəs-e anə čum də=Ø-kəft-ə bə
 VPFX=arrive.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.PROX eye VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG to

məsjəd
 mosque

When he reached the front of the Shah's mosque, his glance fell on the mosque.

Story:4

xu=re fikr bu-kud-ə ki bəd nə-xa-ye
 self=BEN thought PFV-do.PST-3SG CMPL bad NEG-fut.AUX-3SG

B. Interlinear Texts

bost-ən ki səri ham bə məşjəd bə-zən-ə və
become.PST-INF CMPL quickly also to mosque SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG and

a kår zərər nə-xa-ye dašt-ən
this work loss NEG-fut.AUX-3SG have.PST-INF

He thought to himself that it would not be bad to quickly visit the mosque and that no harm would come from this.

Story:5

hato ki fikr kud-ən du-bu-Ø az
as.soon.as CMPL thought do.PST-INF PST.DEF-be.AUX-3SG.PST from

pilləkân bijir b-amo-Ø varəd=ə məşjəd
steps down PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST entry=GEN mosque

bu-bost-ə
PFV-become.PST-3SG

Thinking thus, he went down the steps and entered the mosque.

Story:6

havâ hala târik bu-Ø am mâ nəsım=ə xunək=i
weather now dark BE.PST-3SG.PST but breeze=EZ cool=IND

va = ze-i-Ø
VPFX=hit.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

It was still dark, but a cool breeze was blowing.

Story:7

un kənâr=ə hoz bu-šo-Ø ita piçe âb xu
3SG.NOM.DIST side=GEN pond PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST one little water self

dim = a bə-ze-Ø
face=ACC/DAT PFV-hit.PST-3SG.PST

He went to the edge of the pool and splashed a little water on his face.

Story:8

sərd âb xu təsir = a bu-kud-ə
cold water self effect=ACC/DAT PFV-do.PST-3SG

The cold water had its effect on him.

Story:9

sabmənsəb fikr bu-kud-ə ki xeyli vəxt = ə
officer thought PFV-do.PST-3SG CMPL many time=BE.PRS.3SG

nəməz nə-Ø-xand-ə
Muslim.prayers NEG-PFV-sing.PST-3SG

The officer thought that it had been a long time since he had said the Muslim prayers.

Story:10

xob = ə ki xudā = ya fəramuš nu-Ø-kun-ə
 good=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL God=ACC/DAT forgetting NEG-SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

du ruk'ət nəmāz bə-xan-ə
 two rakat Muslim.prayers SBJV-sing.PRS-3SG

It would be better if he did not forget God and should say two rakats of the Muslim prayers.

Story:11

vuzu bi-gift-ə bu-šo-Ø sahn = ə miyan
 ablution PFV-take.PST-3SG PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST court=GEN inside

hato ki du = ta ruk'ət nəmāz bə-xand-ə
 as.soon.as CMPL two=CLF rakat Muslim.prayers PFV-read.PST-3SG

una xâb bi-gift-ə
 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST sleep PFV-take.PST-3SG

He performed the ritual ablution and went into the courtyard. As soon as he had said two rakats of the Muslim prayers, he fell asleep.

Story:12

nim sâat nu-Ø-guzəšt-ə bu-Ø ki du = ta duzd
 half hour NEG-PFV-pass.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST CMPL two=CLF thief

uyə b-amo-Ø və una
 there PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST and 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST

fan = Ø-dərəst-idi və bə-šnâxt-idi ki
 VPFX=PFV-look.PST-2/3PL and PFV-recognize.PST-2/3PL CMPL

un sər-kâr nâyəb = ə
 3SG.NOM.DIST senior lieutenant=BE.PRS.3SG

Not even half an hour had gone by when two thieves came there, looked at him and recognized that he was a senior lieutenant.

Story:13

ita az ušan ki abul nâm dašt-i-Ø xu
 one from 3PL.NOM.DIST CMPL Abul name have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST self

refey = a bu-goft-ə xa-yi anə
 friend=ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG want.PRS-2SG 3SG.GEN.PROX

čəkmə = ya az anə pā birun
 boot=ACC/DAT from 3SG.GEN.PROX leg/foot outside

b-avər-əm
 SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG

One of them, who was called Abul, said to his friend, “Do you want me to pull his boots off his feet?”

B. Interlinear Texts

Story:14

unə refey jəvāb bə-da-Ø mægər
3SG.GEN.DIST friend answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST Q

divanə = i

crazy=BE.PRS.2SG

His friend answered, "Are you crazy?"

Story:15

un amire bə kār a-ye
3SG.NOM.DIST 1PL.BEN to work come.PRS-3SG

He will give it to us."

Story:16

abul jəvāb bə-da-Ø har hāl bəd šəkār = i
Abul answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST in.any.case bad hunt=IND

n-i-yə

NEG-BE.PRS-3SG

Abul answered, "Regardless, it would be a good game (lit. it is not a bad hunt).

Story:17

čand fa = d-i unə čəkmə = ya
how.much VPFX=give.PST-2SG 3SG.GEN.DIST boot=ACC/DAT

tara

fa = Ø-d-əm

2SG.ACC/DAT VPFX=SBJV-give.PRS-1SG

How much will you give me if I give you his boots?"

Story:18

unə refey bu-goft-ə pənja tuman fa = d-əm
3SG.GEN.DIST friend PFV-say.PST-3SG 50 Tuman VPFX=give.PRS-1SG

His friend said, "I will give fifty Tumans."

Story:19

abul bu-goft-ə zud bāš fa = d-ən
Abul PFV-say.PST-3SG quickly be VPFX=give.PRS-2SG.IMP

Abul said, "Give me them quickly!"

Story:20

mən nəyd muāmələ kun-əm
1SG.NOM cash dealing do.PRS-1SG

I deal in cash."

Story:21

abul pul = ə nuyrə az xu refey akbər fa = Ø-gift-ə
Abul money=EZ silver from self friend Akbar VPFX=PFV-take.PST-3SG

və bad bu-šo-Ø

nâyəb = ə

sərə jor

and then PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST lieutenant=GEN beside

Abul took the silver coins from his friend Akbar and then went up beside the lieutenant.

Story:22

pul-an = a səda bə-da-Ø buland buland
 money-PL=ACC/DAT sound PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST loudly

akbər = a bu-goft-ə akbər h-aya h-aya
 Akbar=ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG Akbar same-here same-here

He jingled the coins and then said in a very loud voice to Akbar, “Right here – right here!

Story:23

xob ĵā = i = yə
 good place=IND=BE.PRS.3SG

It is a good spot.

Story:24

tu a tərəf-an = a nigā bu-kun-Ø
 2SG.NOM this direction-PL=ACC/DAT look IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP

tā mən a šiš hizār tuman = a čāl
 in.order.that 1SG.NOM this six 1000 Tuman=ACC/DAT hole

bu-kun-əm
 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

You look in this direction while I bury six thousand Tumans there.”

Story:25

abul pul-an = a hey səda da-yi-Ø
 Abul money-PL=ACC/DAT continuously sound give.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

fū = kud-i-Ø zəmin = ə ru tā nāyəb
 VPFX=do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST ground=GEN on in.order.that lieutenant

b-išnəv-ə
 SBJV-hear.PRS-3SG

Abul continually jingled the money and threw it on the ground so that the lieutenant would hear.

Story:26

nāyəb az ašanə səru səda bidār = a bu-bost-ə
 lieutenant from 3PL.GEN.PROX noise awake=PFV PFV-become.PST-3SG

The lieutenant awoke because of the noise.

Story:27

yāvāš-əki xu čum = a va = Ø-kud-ə və
 slow-ADVLZ self eye=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-do.PST-3SG and

ušan = ə harf-an = a guš bə-da-Ø
 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN word-PL=ACC/DAT ear PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST

He quietly opened his eyes and listened to their words.

B. Interlinear Texts

Story:28

abul bu-goft-ə pul-an=a xob ĵā=i čāl
Abul PFV-say.PST-3SG money-PL=ACC/DAT good place=IND hole

bu-kud-im
PFV-do.PST-1PL

Abul said, “We have buried the money in a good place.

Story:29

hasa tu xob fan=Ø-der-Ø a nəzdik-an hič
now 2SG.NOM good VPFX=IMP-look.PRS-2SG.IMP this near-PL no

kəs n-Ø-es-a
person NEG-SBJV-stand.PRS-3SG

Now take a good look, to make sure nobody is nearby.”

Story:30

akbər ita piče a-ra u-ra=ya fan=Ø-derest-ə və
Akbar one little this-way that-way=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-look.PST-3SG and

bad bu-goft-ə ay vāy abul či kud-ən dər-i
then PFV-say.PST-3SG oh oh Abul what do.PST-INF have.AUX-2SG

Akbar looked here and there and then said, “Oh Abul, what are you doing?

Story:31

aya ita nāyəb xuft-e =Ø
here a lieutenant sleep.PST-PSPT =BE.PRS.3SG

There is a sleeping lieutenant here.

Story:32

bi-ya-Ø pul-an=a birun b-avər-im
IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP money-PL=ACC/DAT outside SBJV-bring.PRS-1PL

və az aya u=Ø-san-im
and from here VPFX=SBJV-remove.PRS-1PL

Let us take the money and get out of here.”

Story:33

abul bu-goft-ə bəlki un xuft-e və
Abul PFV-say.PST-3SG rather 3SG.NOM.DIST sleep.PST-PSPT and

n-Ø-eštavəst-ə
NEG-PFV-hear.PST-3SG

Abul said, “But he is asleep and did not hear [anything].

Story:34

bi-ya-Ø imtəhan bu-kun-im bi-din-im
IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP examination SBJV-do.PRS-1PL SBJV-see.PRS-1PL

xuft-ə yā na
sleep.PST-PSPT or not

Let us conduct a test and see whether he is asleep or not.”

Story:35

akbər b-amo-Ø nāyəb=ə sər jor
 Akbar PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST lieutenant=GEN beside
 Akbar came up to the lieutenant.

Story:36

abul bu-goft-ə mən hasa anə ita čəkmə=ya
 Abul PFV-say.PST-3SG 1SG.NOM now 3SG.GEN.PROX one boot=ACC/DAT
 birun avər-əm
 outside bring.PRS-1SG

Abul said, “Right now I am going to take off this one boot.

Story:37

agar təkən bu-xurd-ə malum b-e bidar=ə
 if shake PFV-hit.PST-PSPT obvious become.PRS-3SG awake=BE.PRS.3SG
 If he moves, it will be clear that he is awake.”

Story:38

nāyəb ušan=ə harf=a b-eštavəst-ə
 lieutenant 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN word=ACC/DAT PFV-hear.PST-3SG
 The lieutenant heard their words.

Story:39

xu=re fikr bu-kud-ə xudā šiš hizar tuman bi
 self=BEN thought PFV-do.PST-3SG God six 1000 Tuman without
 dərdə sər fa=Ø-rəs-ə b-e
 headache VPFX=PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT become.PRS-3SG
 He thought to himself, “God is sending me six thousand tumans without any effort
 (lit. without headache).

Story:40

xob=ə hič təkən nu-xur-əm
 good=BE.PRS.3SG no shake NEG-hit.PRS-1SG
 All right, I will not move at all.”

Story:41

xu=ra bə xab bə-zə-Ø
 self=ACC/DAT to sleep PFV-hit.PST-3SG.PST
 He pretended that he was asleep.

Story:42

abul b-amo-Ø az anə ita čəkmə birun
 Abul PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST from 3SG.GEN.PROX one boot outside
 fa=Ø-kəše-Ø
 VPFX=PFV-pull.PST-3SG.PST
 Abul approached and pulled off one of his boots.

B. Interlinear Texts

Story:43

bad akbər bu-goft-ə mən bāz = am bāvər nu-kun-əm
then Akbar PFV-say.PST-3SG 1SG.NOM still=also belief NEG-do.PRS-1SG

ki nāyəb xuft-ə = Ø
CMPL lieutenant sleep.PST-PSPT =BE.PRS.3SG

Then Akbar said, “I still do not believe the lieutenant is asleep.

Story:44

bi-š-im pul-an = a az čālə u = Ø-san-im
IMP-go.PRS-1PL money-PL=ACC/DAT from hole VPFX=IMP-remove.PST-1PL
Let us go and take the money out of the hole.”

Story:45

abul jəvāb bə-da-Ø aǰəb tu ādəm = ə
Abul answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST amazing 2SG.NOM person=EZ

šəkkak is-i
distrustful BE.PRS-2SG

Abul answered, “You are an amazingly distrustful person.

Story:46

hasa mən u-yta ləngə čəkmə ham az unə
now 1SG.NOM that-one one.of.two boot also from 3SG.GEN.DIST

pā birun avər-əm bi-din-əm tu bāvər
leg/foot outside bring.PRS-1SG SBJV-see.PRS-1SG 2SG.NOM belief

kun-i ki bəndə = yə xudā xuft-e yā na = Ø
do.PRS-2SG CMPL slave=EZ God sleep.PST-PSPT or not =BE.PRS.3SG

Right now I will also take off the other boot from his leg and see whether you then believe that God’s slave is asleep or not.”

Story:47

nāyəb xud = əš = a bāz = em bə xāb
lieutenant self=3SG.PC.POSR=ACC/DAT again=also to sleep

bə-ze-Ø və xu = re bu-goft-ə i = juft čəkmə
PFV-hit.PST-3SG.PST and self=BEN PFV-say.PST-3SG one= pair boot

fida = yə šiš hizār tuman pul = Ø
ransom=EZ six 1000 Tuman money =BE.PRS.3SG

The lieutenant again pretended he was asleep and said to himself, “One pair of boots is the sacrifice for six thousand tumans in cash.”

Story:48

abul u-yta ləngə čəkmə ham az nāyəb = ə pā
Abul that-one one.of.two boot also from lieutenant=GEN leg/foot

birun b-avərd-Ø
outside PFV-bring.PST-3SG.PST

Abul also took that boot off of the lieutenant’s leg.

Story:49

və čəkm-an = a u = Ø-sad-idi və
and boot-PL=ACC/DAT VPFX=PFV-pick.up.PST-2/3PL and

bu-šo-idi
PFV-go.PST-2/3PL

And they picked up the boots and went away.

Story:50

nâyəb ita piče sabr bu-kud-ə vi = Ø-rišt-ə
lieutenant a little patience PFV-do.PST-3SG VPFX=PFV-rise.up.PST-3SG

bu-šo-Ø sutun = ə pušt
PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST column=GEN behind

The lieutenant waited a little, got up and went behind the pillar.

Story:51

har či bə-gərdəst-ə xāk = ə tǎzə ni-Ø-de-Ø
whatever PFV-turn.PST-PSPT soil=EZ fresh NEG-PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST
Wherever he turned, he did not see fresh soil.

Story:52

har či xāk = a a-ra u-ra bu-kud-ə hič či
whatever soil=ACC/DAT this-way that-way PFV-do.PST-3SG nothing

ni-Ø-yaft-ə
NEG-PFV-find.PST-3SG

However much he moved soil from one place to another, he found nothing.

Story:53

b-amo-Ø xu čəkmə du = Ø-kun-ə
PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST self boot VPFX=SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

He went to put on his boots.

Story:54

bi-de-Ø čəkm-an = am bə-bərd-idi
PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST boot-PL=also PFV-take.PST-2/3PL

He saw [that] they had taken his boots too.

Story:55

ru bu-kud-ə bə asəmān ki ey xudā = yə kərim
on PFV-do.PST-3SG to heaven CMPL oh God=EZ generous

amara či kār bə nəməz
1PL.ACC/DAT what work to Muslim.prayers

He turned his face to heaven, “O generous God, what have we to do with the Muslim prayers!

Story:56

nəməz kār = ə ahl = ə hay = ə ama ahl = ə
Muslim.prayers work=EZ native=EZ truth=BE.PRS.3SG 1PL.NOM native=EZ

hay = u hisāb
truth=and account

The Muslim prayers are for the righteous, but we are people who take bribes.”

B.18 Interlinear Text 18 – Poor

Poor:1

imruz jəyəl-an ama bā sərguzəšt=ə ita xānəvār=ə fəyir
today child-PL 1PL.NOM with life.history=EZ one family=EZ poor

āšənā b-im
acquainted become.PRS-1PL

Today, children, we shall get to know the story of one poor family.

Poor:2

a xānəvār ita nəmunə=yə kučik az hizār-an hizār mərdum=ə
this family a model=EZ small from 1000-PL 1000 people=EZ

ame məmləkət=ə
1PL.GEN country=BE.PRS.3SG

This family is representative (lit. a small model) of the thousands and thousands of people in our country.

Poor:3

lābud šuma rašt=ə kučə mahall-an=a xob
maybe 2PL.NOM Rasht=GEN lane area-PL=ACC/DAT good

dan-idi purd=ə-arāy=a xob
know.PRS-2/3PL bridge=GEN-Iraq=ACC/DAT good

bələd=idi ki koya nah-a
knowledgeable=BE.PRS.2/3PL CMPL where exist.PRS-3SG

Certainly you know the side streets and districts of Rasht. You know very well where the Iraqi bridge is.

Poor:4

az a purd yək kəm=i rədd=a b-i
from this bridge one little=IND beyond=PFV become.PRS-2SG

bərxur-i bə čən=tə kučə=yə təng bārik kəsif pur
encounter.PRS-2SG to several=CLF lane=EZ tight narrow dirty full

az gil=u gul
from mud=and mud

If you go a little way beyond the bridge, you will encounter several narrow, dirty streets, full of dirt and mud.

Poor:5

du tərəf=ə a kučə hamišə xəndəy=ə tā
two direction=GEN this lane always ditch=BE.PRS.3SG to.the.point

bə-xa-yi kəsāfət ləjən dar-ə
SBJV-want.PRS-2SG dirt slush have.PRS-3SG

Both sides of this street always have a [kind of] ditch, filled with refuse.

Poor:6

aslan a mahall-an=ə miyan mærdum=ə ašrâf bu = yol=ə
 at.all this area-PL=GEN inside people=EZ distinguished to= quote=EZ

ama ušan=ə sər bə ušan=ə på
 1PL.NOM 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN head to 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN leg/foot

erz=e zəndəgi nu-kun-idi
 worth=BE.PRS.3SG life NEG-do.PRS-2/3PL

Distinguished people - whom we call, “worthy from head to toe” - do not live in these districts at all.

Poor:7

a ĵur mahall-an=ə miyan mærdum=ə kârgər faal=ə və
 this sort area-PL=GEN inside people=EZ worker active=BE.PRS.3SG and

bu = yol=ə muftxur-an mærdum=ə bi sər =u på
 to= quote=EZ parasite-PL people=EZ without head =and leg/foot

zəndəgi kun-idi
 life do.PRS-2/3PL

Working-class, toiling people, to quote the [rich] parasites, people “without heads or feet,” live in these kind of districts.

Poor:8

mærdum=ə a mahall-an xânə apartaman mobil=u yâli
 people=EZ this area-PL house apartment furniture=and carpet

kulfət=u nokər dəmu dəskâ n-ar-idi
 servant=and servant household.items NEG-have.PRS-2/3PL

The people of these districts do not have houses and apartments, furniture and carpets, female and male servants or household items.

Poor:9

təyribən ušan=ə xânə bi šəbâhət bə mury=ə
 about 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN house without resemblance to chicken=GEN

lânə n-i-yə
 nest NEG-BE.PRS-3SG

Their houses are not unlike chicken coops (lit. chicken nests).

Poor:10

ammâ a mærdum ki a ĵur ĵâ=ya zəndəgi
 but this people CMPL this sort place=ACC/DAT life

kun-idi hoĵəbâzi muftxori kulâguzâri kulâhbərdâri
 do.PRS-2/3PL cheating mooching cheating swindling

n-an-idi ċi=yə
 NEG-know.PRS-2/3PL what=BE.PRS.3SG

But these people who live in such places do not know what cheating, mooching,

B. Interlinear Texts

deceit or swindling are.

Poor:11

dər muyâbil a mærdum = ə sâddə har yəd bə-xa-yi
in contrast this people=EZ simple however.much SBJV-want.PRS-2SG

pâkdil rurâst xuşdil = idi
pure.in.heart honest kind=BE.PRS.2/3PL

On the contrary, these simple people are more pure in heart, honest and kind than you can imagine.

Poor:12

şuma = ra dərdə sər nə-Ø-d-əm
2PL.NOM=ACC/DAT headache NEG-SBJV-give.PRS-1SG

I do not want to bore you any more (lit. may I not give you a headache).

Poor:13

dər h-a mahall = ə dər ita az u kuč-an = ə miyan
in same-this area=BE.PRS.3SG in one from that lane-PL=GEN inside

ki şum = ere şər h = u vəsf bu-kud-əm ita
CMPL 2PL.NOM=BEN explain=and describe PFV-do.PST-1SG one

gâlipuşi xânə nah-a ki haməş ita utây dar-ə
thatched house exist.PRS-3SG CMPL all.of.it one room have.PRS-3SG

In this district, on one of the streets I described to you, there is a house with a thatched roof that consists of only one room.

Poor:14

dor = ə xânə pərçin dar-e
around=GEN house fence have.PRS-3SG

Around the house there is a fence.

Poor:15

uni dər çub-i = yə bə-şəkəst-ə ki
3SG.GEN.DIST door wood-ADJLZ=EZ PFV-break.PST-PSPT CMPL

nə-şə uni nâm = a dər na-n
NEG-it.is.possible 3SG.GEN.DIST name=ACC/DAT door put.PST-INF

Its door is a broken piece of wood, which cannot even be called a door.

Poor:16

a xânə durun ki dâxil b-i ti çəşm bə
this house inside CMPL inside become.PRS-2SG 2SG.GEN eye to

čən = ta pârə mârə hasir ita bə-şəkəst-ə səmavər i = dəst
several=CLF torn torn mat a SBJV-break.PST-PSPT samovar a= set

şəndərə rəxtə xâb də = Ø-kəf-e = u bəs
worn.out bed VPFX=SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG=and that.is.all

When you go into the house, you will see several torn mats, a broken samovar and a set of worn-out beds - that is all.

Poor:17

an təmām=ə hastu nist=ə meryəm mirza mamud=ə
 this all=GEN all.one.has=EZ Maryam Mirza Mamud=GEN

zən=ə ki a xānə miyan zəndəgi kun-e
 wife=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL this house inside life do.PRS-3SG

These are all the possessions of Maryam, Mirza Mamud's wife, who lives in this house.

Poor:18

meryəm ita təbəj=ə čənpā bəj xu julo bə-na-Ø pāk
 Maryam one dish=EZ chanpa rice self front PFV-put.PST-3SG.PST clean

kud-ən dər-ə
 do.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG

Maryam has put a dish of rice in front of her and she is washing it.

Poor:19

gāgāyi ham ārām ārāmi xu bija šər āvāz məršiyə xan-e
 sometimes also quietly self side poem song lament sing.PRS-3SG

From time to time she quietly sings a song, a lament to herself.

Poor:20

ki dan-e šāyəd=əm bə yād=ə bədbəxt-an
 who know.PRS-3SG maybe=also to memory=EZ unhappy-PL

də=Ø-kəf-e šāyəd=əm bə yād=ə xu mərd mirza
 VPFX=SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG maybe=also to memory=EZ self man Mirza

mamud də=Ø-kəf-e ki čənd sāl piš žandarm-an
 Mamud VPFX=SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG CMPL several year before gendarme-PL

una bə-kušt-idi
 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-kill.PST-2/3PL

Who knows, perhaps she is remembering the unhappy times; perhaps she is remembering her husband Mirza Mamud, whom the gendarmes killed several years before.

Poor:21

han yəder tan-əm šum=ere bə-g-əm ki dil=ə
 in.any.case able.PRS-1SG 2PL.NOM=BEN SBJV-say.PRS-1SG CMPL heart=EZ

pur=i az zəmānə dar-ə
 full=IND from period have.PRS-3SG

In any case, I can tell you that she has already had [known] grief (lit. has a full heart) for a long time.

Poor:22

gāhi oyat un a šer=a xan-e
 sometimes 3SG.NOM.DIST this poem=ACC/DAT sing.PRS-3SG

Sometimes, she sings this song,

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:23

sər = ə kuh = yi bu-šo-m bulbul bi-gir-əm
on=GEN mountain=IND PFV-go.PST-1SG nightingale SBJV-take.PRS-1SG
“I climbed a mountain to catch a nightingale.

Poor:24

mi bāl = a tir bu-xurd-Ø tərš-əm
1SG.GEN wing=ACC/DAT arrow PFV-hit.PST-PSPT fear.PRS-1SG

bi-mir-əm
SBJV-die.PRS-1SG

An arrow has hit me in the wing; I am afraid I will die.

Poor:25

bu-šu-Ø yār = a bu-gu-Ø mərħəm
IMP-go.PRS-2SG.IMP friend=ACC/DAT IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP ointment

b-avər-ə
SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG

Go and tell my friend to bring ointment.

Poor:26

agər mərħəm nə-b-ə tərš-əm bi-mir-əm
if ointment NEG-BE.PST-3SG fear.PRS-1SG SBJV-die.PRS-1SG

If there is no ointment, I am afraid I will die”.

Poor:27

məryəm təyribən si haf ašt sāl = Ø bištər
Maryam about 30 seven.or.eight year =BE.PRS.3SG more

n-ar-e amma uni yiyâfə nišan diħ-e
NEG-have.PRS-3SG but 3SG.GEN.DIST appearance sign give.PRS-3SG

ki pənja salə = yə
CMPL 50 years.old=BE.PRS.3SG

Maryam is roughly thirty seven or thirty eight years old, not more, but in outward appearance she is a fifty-year-old.

Poor:28

yəm = u yussə ruz-i da saat kār çayi bāy-ân = u pabrus
grief=and sorrow day-ADJLZ ten hour work tea field-PL=and tobacco

bāy-ân = ə sər gušnəgi təšnəgi az hamə bət-tər ita
field-PL=GEN head hunger thirst from all bad-CMPR one

šanzə-sālə pəsər = ə šəkəm = a ser = a
sixteen-years.old son=GEN stomach=ACC/DAT full-up=ACC/DAT

kud-ən = ə a zənək-ə = ya az āyu vāy
do.PST-INF=BE.PRS.3SG this woman-DEF=ACC/DAT from complaining

ta = Ø-vədə

VPFX=PFV-throw.pst

Grief and sorrow, ten hours' work a day in the tea and tobacco fields, hunger, thirst and, above all (lit. worst of all), the need to feed her sixteen-year-old son, have made this woman suffer.

Poor:29

hasa şum = ere sərənəvišt = ə mərəyəm = a g-əm
now 2PL.NOM=BEN fate=EZ Maryam=ACC/DAT say.PRS-1SG

tā bə-dan-id un čuto bə a ruz
in.order.that SBJV-know.PRS-2/3PL 3SG.NOM.DIST how to this day

də = Ø-kəft-ə

VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG

Now I will tell you the story of Maryam, so that you will know how she got into this situation (lit. fell to this day).

Poor:30

mərəyəm bist sāl piš xeyli xuşkil bu-Ø
Maryam 20 year before very beautiful BE.PST-3SG.PST
Twenty years ago, Maryam was very beautiful.

Poor:31

un aslən dihâti = yə duxtər = i bu-Ø
3SG.NOM.DIST at.all rural.person=GEN girl=IND BE.PST-3SG.PST

bulənbâlâ siya-čəşm = u abru = Ø
tall black-eye=and eyebrow =BE.PRS.3SG

She was a real country girl, tall with black eyes and eyebrows.

Poor:32

mu = yə siya = yə girinji dašt-i-Ø
hair=EZ black=EZ curly have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
She had black, curly hair.

Poor:33

uni yəd = u andām misl = ə sərɐv bu-Ø
3SG.GEN.DIST stature=and body like=GEN cypress.tree BE.PST-3SG.PST
Her figure was like a cypress.

Poor:34

mərəyəm misl = ə âhu = yə xərāmān rā šo-i-Ø
Maryam like=GEN deer=EZ graceful road go.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
Maryam walked like a graceful deer.

Poor:35

âdəm du = ta čəşm dašt-i-Ø du = ta čəşm = əm
person two=CLF eye have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST two=CLF eye=TOP

xast-i-Ø yərz bu-kun-ə unə yəd = u
want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST debt SBJV-do.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.DIST stature=and

B. Interlinear Texts

yəvərə = ya təməşşə bu-kun-ə
figure=ACC/DAT watching SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

Every person has two eyes, and they would want to borrow two more eyes to look at her figure.

Poor:36

dihāt = ə miyan məryəm bə xuşgil-i maaruf
rural.area=GEN inside Maryam to attractive-NMLZ well-known

bu-Ø
BE.PST-3SG.PST

In the area Maryam was famous for her beauty.

Poor:37

an = əm bə-g-əm şum = ere ki məryəm misl = ə u
this=also SBJV-say.PRS-1SG 2PL.NOM=BEN CMPL Maryam like=GEN that

duxter-an = ə pəxmə tənbel nu-bu-Ø
girl-PL=EZ helpless lazy NEG-BE.PST-3SG.PST

Let me tell you also that Maryam was not like those helpless, lazy girls.

Poor:38

un xeyli zərəng kârî bu-Ø
3SG.NOM.DIST very clever hard-working BE.PST-3SG.PST

She was very clever and industrious.

Poor:39

hato ki bəjar-kâr-i bərənjçini sər
as.soon.as CMPL rice.field-work-NMLZ rice.harvest head

rəsə-yi-Ø məryəm sər = a az pā təmiz
arrive.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam head=ACC/DAT from leg/foot clean

nə-da-yi-Ø
NEG-give.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

As soon as the time came to work in the rice field and harvest the rice, Maryam toiled, indefatigably (lit. she was not cleaning her head from her foot).

Poor:40

har vəxt ki uşan = ə kâr tumân = a
every time CMPL 3PL.NOM.DIST=GEN work finished=PFV

bost-i-Ø məryəm xu dəsxaxur-an amra
become.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam self female.friend-PL with

i = ja = yi xu = şan = ə hamsây-an = a yavər
one=place=IND self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN neighbor-PL=PFV assistant

kud-i-Ø
do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Whenever their work was finished, Maryam and her female friends helped their neighbors.

Poor:41

məryəm = ə mår az uni dəs bə təŋg
 Maryam=GEN mother from 3SG.GEN.DIST hand to tight

b-amo-Ø bu-Ø
 PFV-come.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

Maryam's mother had not been able to take it because of her.

Poor:42

hamišə una guft-i-Ø åxər zayi = jan
 always 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST say.PST-2SG-3SG.PST finally child=dear

ame bəjar-kår ki tuman = a bost-ə tu
 1PL.GEN rice.field-work CMPL finished=PFV become.PST-3SG 2SG.NOM

ki az hāl də = kəft-Ø-i yək kəm = i rāhət
 CMPL from condition VPFX=fall.PST-IPFV-2SG one little=IND rest

bu-kun-Ø
 IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP

She was always saying, "Dear child, our work in the rice field is finished and you are very tired; rest a little.

Poor:43

rāhət = i tərə xuš n-Ø-a-ye
 rest=IND 2SG.ACC/DAT good NEG-SBJV-come.PRS-3SG
 Would you not like a rest?"

Poor:44

a harf-an məryəm = ə sər furu nu-šo-yi
 this word-PL Maryam=GEN head into NEG-go.PRS-2SG

Such words did not have an effect on Maryam (lit. did not go into Maryam's head).

Poor:45

un haməš xəndə kud-i-Ø rəxs
 3SG.NOM.DIST all.of.it laughter do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST dance

kud-i-Ø har vəxt ki lāzəm bu-Ø
 do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST every time CMPL necessary BE.PST-3SG.PST

xu = şan = ə hamsāy-an = a kumək kud-i-Ø
 self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN neighbor-PL=PFV help do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

She was always laughing and dancing and whenever it was necessary, she helped her neighbors.

Poor:46

xulāsə məryəm hato ki pā bə bist bə-na-Ø
 briefly Maryam as.soon.as CMPL leg/foot to 20 PFV-put.PST-3SG.PST

uni mərd = ə bost-ən = ə vəxt bə-rəs-e
 3SG.GEN.DIST man=GEN become.PST-INF=GEN time PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT

B. Interlinear Texts

bu-Ø

be.AUX-3SG.PST

In short, when Maryam was twenty years old, the time came for her to get married.

Poor:47

məryəm xətərxa ziyad dašt-i-Ø

Maryam suitor many have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Maryam had many suitors.

Poor:48

pir jəvân har ki say kud-i-Ø una az
old young every who try do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST from

i = rah = i bə dər bə-bər-ə

a = way = IND out SBJV-take.PRS-3SG

Young and old – everyone tried to get her.

Poor:49

az šuma çi pinhân ki kedxudâ = yə a dihât mulla
from 2PL.NOM what hidden CMPL chief = EZ this village mullah

rəjəb = əm məryəm = ərə dəndân tiz = a kud-ə

Rajab = also Maryam = BEN tooth sharp = PFV do.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø

be.AUX-3SG.PST

We cannot make a secret of the fact that the village chief, Mullah Rajab, also wanted Maryam (lit. had sharpened his tooth for Maryam).

Poor:50

mulla rəjəb ita âdəm = ə pənja-salə bu-Ø

mullah Rajab one person = EZ 50-years.old BE.PST-3SG.PST

Mullah Rajab was a fifty-year-old man.

Poor:51

yədd = ə xəmidə = yi dašt-i-Ø

stature = EZ bent = IND have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

His body was bent.

Poor:52

ani sər = ə mu ham fə = Ø-bost-ə

3SG.GEN.PROX head = GEN hair also VPFX = PFV-become.PST-3SG

bu-Ø

be.AUX-3SG.PST

The hair had fallen out of his head.

Poor:53

ay čənt mu misl = ə kâkul-ə bâbâ gəndum ani
oh several hair like = GEN forelock-ADJLZ daddy wheat 3SG.GEN.PROX

sər = ə miyan na-Ø bu-Ø

head = GEN inside put.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

Only a few small hairs were sticking up on his head, like corn stalks.

Poor:54

un az tər̥s = ə xudā yā az harāmzadəgi i =
 3SG.NOM.DIST from fear.prs=EZ God or from impropriety one=

pisxāl = ə riš = əm xu = re bə-na-Ø bu-Ø
 small=GEN beard=TOP self=BEN PFV-put.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

ki gāgāyi hanā na-yi-Ø
 CMPL sometimes henna put.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Out of piety or for the sake of propriety, he grew a small beard which, from time to time, he dyed with henna.

Poor:55

mulla rəjəb kedxudā bu-Ø
 mullah Rajab chief BE.PST-3SG.PST

Mullah Rajab was the village chief.

Poor:56

čən kəllə bəjar du sə = ta gāv = u vərza mandə čən = ta
 several field rice.field two three=CLF cow =and bull calf several=CLF

mury = u muryābi šəlxət ita galpuši xānə = yə šəxsi
 chicken=and duck goose one thatched house=EZ personal

dašt-i-Ø
 have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

He had several rice fields, two or three cows and bull calves, several hens, ducks and geese and a thatched house of his own.

Poor:57

un tā bə an sen ki bə-rəse-Ø
 3SG.NOM.DIST until to this age CMPL PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø čən = ta zən bə-bərd-ə bu-Ø
 be.AUX-3SG.PST several=CLF wife PFV-take.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

At this point in his life, he had already taken several wives.

Poor:58

ha alan xu xānə miyan sə = ta zən = ə aydi dar-e
 right.now self house inside three=CLF wife=EZ lawful have.PRS-3SG

Right now he has three wives at home.

Poor:59

mulla rəjəb bā osāf xātərxā = yə meryəm
 mullah Rajab with description.PL suitor=GEN Maryam

bə-bost-ə
 PFV-become.PST-3SG

In spite of all this Mullah Rajab aspired to have Maryam's hand.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:60

un a kâr = ə vasti az hič hoγəbāzi furuguzār
 3SG.NOM.DIST this work=GEN for from no cheating going.into

nu-kud-i-Ø gāhi meryəm per = a vaada
 NEG-do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST sometimes Maryam father=ACC/DAT promise

vəid da-yi-Ø gāyi ham ušana
 promise give.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST sometimes also 3PL.ACC/DAT.DIST

taadid kud-i-Ø
 threat do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Because of this, no form of cheating was below him. Sometimes he made promises to Maryam's father; sometimes he threatened them.

Poor:61

xulāsə mulla rəjəb bəhānə = re gərdəst-i-Ø tā
 briefly mullah Rajab excuse=BEN turn.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST in.order.that

meryəm = ə per = ə kulāh siya = ya čub bə-zən-ə
 Maryam=GEN father=GEN hat black=ACC/DAT stick SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG

In short, Mullah Rajab sought grounds to create unpleasantness for Maryam's father (lit. to strike Maryam's father's black hat with a stick).

Poor:62

un məsələn mirāb = a kor kor
 3SG.NOM.DIST for.example water.distributor=ACC/DAT instigation

da-yi-Ø ki ašani čən = ta kəllə
 give.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL 3PL.GEN.PROX several=CLF field

bəjar-a āb fa = n-ə-Ø-d-ə yā in ki har ruz
 rice.field-PL water VPFX=NEG-SBJV-give.PRS-3SG or this.that every day

avərd-i-Ø ki tu čəre sursāt = u bədəhi = yə
 bring.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL 2SG.NOM why tax=and indebtedness=EZ

parsal = a fa = n-də-yi-Ø yā čəre imsāl
 last.year=ACC/DAT VPFX=NEG-give.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST or why this.year

mury = ə kəbāb = ə lāku sir = u piyāz = a
 chicken=EZ grilled.meat=EZ bread garlic=and onion=ACC/DAT

arbāb = əre der bə-bərd-i
 landlord=BEN late PFV-take.PST-2SG

For example, he incited the leader of the local community not to allow water to go to their few rice plots or complained every day, "Why are you not paying the landowner the previous year's duty" or "Why have you withheld this year's duty of roast chickens, bread, garlic and onions?"

Poor:63

məryəm = ə per danəst-i-Ø yəziyə az çi
 Maryam=GEN father know.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST circumstance from what

yərar = ə amma çi tanəst-i-Ø
 arrangement=BE.PRS.3SG but what able.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

bu-kun-e
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

Maryam's father knew the reason for all this, but what could he do?

Poor:64

un fəyət ita rā dašt-i-Ø dəndān = a
 3SG.NOM.DIST only one road have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST tooth=ACC/DAT

jəgər = ə ru bə-n-ə harf nə-Ø-zan-e
 liver=GEN on SBJV-put.PRS-PSPT word NEG-SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG

He had only one choice, to grudgingly keep silent (lit. he would put tooth on liver and not talk).

Poor:65

āxər un nə-tanəst-Ø-i dəst dəsti xu duxtər-a
 finally 3SG.NOM.DIST NEG-able.PST-IPFV-2SG by.hand self daughter-PL

ki bist sāl un = ire xun = ə dil bu-xord-ə
 CMPL 20 year 3SG.NOM.DIST=BEN blood=GEN heart PFV-eat.PST-3SG

bə dəst = ə a gurg fa = Ø-d-ə
 to hand=EZ this wolf VPFX=SBJV-give.PRS-3SG

In the end he could not with his own hands give his daughter, whom he had cherished (lit. for her he had eaten the blood of the heart) for twenty years, into this wolf's clutches.

Poor:66

balāvə məryəm uni xānə kārkun bu-Ø
 in.addition Maryam 3SG.GEN.DIST house worker BE.PST-3SG.PST

In addition, Maryam was a worker in his house.

Poor:67

xud = əş ki pir = a bost-ə bu-Ø aqər
 self=3SG.PC.POSR CMPL old=PFV become.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST if

məryəm = əm az dəst bə-d-ə uni
 Maryam=also from hand SBJV-give.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.DIST

kār = a ki vasti bu-kud-i
 work=ACC/DAT who it.is.necessary PFV-do.PST-PSPT

b-i-Ø
 be.AUX-IPFV-3SG.PST

As he himself was already old, if were to lose Maryam too, who would do the

B. Interlinear Texts

work she had been doing?

Poor:68

məryəm = ə per = u mār čən dəfa hattā rāzi
Maryam=GEN father=and mother several instance even satisfied

bu-bost-ə b-id məryəm = ə mulla
PFV-become.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL Maryam=ACC/DAT mullah

rəjəb = a bə-d-id
Rajab=ACC/DAT SBJV-give.PRS-2/3PL

Maryam's parents had already agreed several times to give Maryam [in marriage] to Mullah Rajab.

Poor:69

an de az nāčār-i bu-Ø āxər ušani
this EMPH from compelled-NMLZ BE.PST-3SG.PST finally 3PL.GEN.DIST

bədbəxti ki ita du = ta nə-bu-Ø
misfortune CMPL one two=CLF NEG-BE.PST-3SG.PST

But this was in desperation, [because of] misfortunes, of which they had not a few.

Poor:70

mirza ahmad = ə arbāb mālīk = ə a dehāt ita pəsər
Mirza Ahmad=EZ landlord owner=EZ this village one son

dašt-i-Ø
have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Mirza Ahmad, the landowner of this village, had one son.

Poor:71

tāzə bu-Ø dorān də = Ø-kəft-ə
recently BE.PST-3SG.PST period VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG

He had recently appeared.

Poor:72

uni nām xusruxān bu-Ø
3SG.GEN.DIST name Khusrukhan BE.PST-3SG.PST

His name was Khusrukhan.

Poor:73

xusruxān a jəvān = ə lus nāzbārbəvərdə aziz durdānə bə
Khusrukhan this youth=EZ spoiled pampered dear very.dear to

məryəm čəšm bə-dox-t-ə bu-Ø
Maryam eye PFV-sew.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

Khusrukhan, this spoiled, pampered youth, the only son of his parents, had fixed his eye on Maryam.

Poor:74

xaly dan-e xudā dan-e koya a pəsər-ə
creation know.PRS-3SG God know.PRS-3SG where this son-DEF

məryəm = a bi-de-Ø bu-Ø
Maryam=ACC/DAT PFV-see.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

Creation knows, God knows where this lad had seen Maryam.

Poor:75

un = am xast-i-Ø bu = yol = ə yadim-en
3SG.NOM.DIST=TOP want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST to= quote=EZ ancient-PL

az gulbây gul = i bi-čin-ə bə-š-ə
from flower.garden flower=IND SBJV-pick.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG

He wanted, as the ancients say, to pluck a flower from the flower garden and leave.

Poor:76

xusruxân gâhgâhi xu səfid = ə asb-a səvar = a
Khusrukhan sometimes self white=GEN horse-PL mounted=PFV

bost-i-Ø ita šəlây = am bə dəst a ra u ra
become.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST one whip=also to hand this way that way

fu = rad-i-Ø
VPFX=drive.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

From time to time Khusrukhan would get on his white horse, with a whip in his hands and would drive it this way and that.

Poor:77

gâhi ham məryəm = əşân = ə xânə julo
sometimes also Maryam=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN house front

amo-i-Ø manor da-yi-Ø məryəm = ə
come.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST caracole give.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam=GEN

per = a amr u nay kud-i-Ø
father=ACC/DAT giving.orders do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Sometimes he would even come in front of Maryam's house, caracole [on the horse] and give orders to Maryam's father.

Poor:78

h-ani vasti bi-Ø ki məryəm = ə per u
same-for.this.reason BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL Maryam=GEN father that

âxərən râzi bə-bost-i b-id ki
in.the.end satisfied PFV-become.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL CMPL

məryəm = a mulla rəjəb = ə zən bu-kun-id və bə
Maryam=ACC/DAT mullah Rajab=GEN wife SBJV-do.PRS-2/3PL and to

B. Interlinear Texts

yol = ə ama xast-Ø-id az mār = ə dəst bə
quote=EZ 1PL.NOM want.PST-IPFV-2/3PL from snake=GEN hand to

aždəha pənāh bə-bər-id
dragon refuge SBJV-take.PRS-2/3PL

This is the very reason that Maryam's father agreed in the end to make Maryam Mullah Rajab's wife and, as we say, wanted to find refuge from the snake with the dragon.

Poor:79

məryəm = ə per = ə mār čən dəfa məryəm = a
Maryam=GEN father=and mother several instance Maryam=ACC/DAT

bu-guft-idi bi-ya-Ø zay az sər = ə šeytān
PFV-say.PST-2/3PL IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP child from head=GEN Satan

bižir
down

Maryam's parents said to Maryam several times, "Child, just save yourself from the anger of the devil (lit. come down from the head of Satan).

Poor:80

mulla rəjəb kedxudā = yə xudāpərəst = ə
mullah Rajab chief=BE.PRS.3SG pious=BE.PRS.3SG

Mullah Rajab is the village chief; he is pious.

Poor:81

vəxt = ə bi = vəxt amire bə dərd xur-e
time=GEN to=time 1PL.BEN suitable hit.PRS-3SG

From time to time he will help us.

Poor:82

bi-ya-Ø ti dil = a rəzā
IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.GEN heart=ACC/DAT resignation

bu-kun-Ø təra bə-d-im mulla
IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.ACC/DAT SBJV-give.PRS-1PL mullah

rəjəb = a
Rajab=ACC/DAT

Come, resign your heart. Let us give you to Mullah Rajab."

Poor:83

məryəm avvəl avvələn jəvāb nə-Ø-da-yi surx = a
Maryam at.the.very.first answer NEG-PFV-give.PST-2SG red=ACC/DAT

bost-i-Ø misl = ə āla-parčə
become.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST like=GEN bright.red-cloth

At first Maryam did not answer and blushed like bright red cloth.

Poor:84

u ǎxirən ki uni ǎb bə ləb b-əmo-Ø
 that in.the.end CMPL 3SG.GEN.DIST water to lip PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST

xu per=u mǎr=a bu-goft-ə agər mi
 self father=and mother=ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG if 1SG.GEN

sər=a va=Ø-bin-id mən a
 head=ACC/DAT VPFX=SBJV-cut.PRS-2/3PL 1SG.NOM this

dələǝkəm = ərə nə-xa-m bost-əm
 glutton=BEN NEG-want.PRS-1SG become.PST-1SG

In the end, when she could hold it in no longer (lit. her water came to the lip), she said to her parents, “[Even] if you cut off my head, I do not want to become [the wife] of this glutton.”

Poor:85

az ʃuma ći pinhǎn mǎryəm = ǝʃan = ǝ xǎnə ita
 from 2PL.NOM what hidden Maryam=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN house a

ǝvǎn-ək = ǝm kǎr kud-i-Ø
 youth-DEF=TOP work do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

We cannot make secret the fact that a certain youth was working in Maryam’s house.

Poor:86

uni nǎm iskəndər bu-Ø
 3SG.GEN.DIST name Iskander BE.PST-3SG.PST

His name was Iskander.

Poor:87

hǎl = ǝ ǝzɪyǝ an bu-Ø ki tǝyribən i =
 condition=GEN circumstance this BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL about one=

sǎl piʃ mǎryəm = ǝ per tǝsmim gir-e ita muzdur
 year before Maryam=GEN father decision take.PRS-3SG a hired.worker

bi-gir-ə ki uʃanire kumək bə-b-ə
 SBJV-take.PRS-3SG CMPL 3PL.BEN.DIST help SBJV-become.PRS-3SG

The circumstance was this: about a year before, Maryam’s father made the decision to hire a worker who would help them.

Poor:88

ita ruz ʃ-e bǎzǎr sər
 one day go.PRS-3SG market at

One day he goes to the market.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:89

vəxti ki xu bāzār = ə sādə = ya tumān = a kud-ə
when CMPL self market=EZ simple=ACC/DAT finished=PFV do.PST-3SG

a-ra u-ra gərdəst-i-Ø
this-way that-way wander.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

When he finished his normal trading, he was roaming here and there [in the market].

Poor:90

i = dəfa = i uni čəsm də = Ø-kəft-ə bə ita
a=instance=IND 3SG.GEN.DIST eye VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG to one

jävān-ək = ə bist = u pənĵ sālə ki ita gāv = ə
youth-DEF=EZ 20=and five years.old CMPL one container=GEN

ālučə b-əvərd-ə bu-Ø bāzār
cherry.plum PFV-bring.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST market

bu-furuš-ə
SBJV-sell.PRS-3SG

Suddenly, his eyes fell upon a twenty-five-year-old youth who had brought a container of cherry-plums to the market to sell.

Poor:91

məryəm = ə per bə a jävān nəzdik = a b-e az
Maryam=GEN father to this young near=PFV become.PRS-3SG from

a-ra u-ra gəb zən-idi
this-way that-way talk hit.PRS-2/3PL

Maryam's father approaches the youth and talks about this and that.

Poor:92

jävān zāhirən bəd nə-bu-Ø
young outwardly bad NEG-BE.PST-3SG.PST

The youth was not bad in outward appearance.

Poor:93

səbz = ə bulənd-bālā = Ø
green=BE.PRS.3SG long-high =BE.PRS.3SG

He was swarthy and tall.

Poor:94

xu = re kākul bə-na-Ø bu-Ø ki hamišə
self=BEN forelock PFV-put.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST CMPL always

ani dimə sər fu = bost-i-Ø
3SG.GEN.PROX down VPFX=become.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

He let a forelock grow, which continually came down onto his face.

Poor:95

məryəm = ə per az iskəndər va = purs-e ti nām
 Maryam=GEN father from Iskander VPFX=ask.PRS-3SG 2SG.GEN name

çi bərar
 what brother

Maryam's father asks Iskander, "What is your name, brother?"

Poor:96

iskəndər xeyli ādəm = ə kəm-hosələ bu-Ø
 Iskander very person=EZ little-patience BE.PST-3SG.PST
 Iskander was a very impatient man.

Poor:97

hay = am dašt-i-Ø
 right=also have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
 He also had a right to be.

Poor:98

āxər a jəvān-ə dər tēmām = ə xu umr ruz = ə
 you.see this youth-DEF in all=GEN self lifetime day=EZ

xuš = a ni-d-e
 good=ACC/DAT NEG-see.PST-3SG

You see, this youth had not seen a good day in all his life.

Poor:99

yək kəm = i iskəndər nəku nuk bu-kud-ə bilāxərə
 one little=IND Iskander wavering PFV-do.PST-3SG finally

bu-guft-i-Ø ay per tu mi
 PFV-say.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST oh father 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN

nām = a çire va = purs-i
 name=ACC/DAT why VPFX=ask.PRS-2SG

Iskander wavered a little and finally said, "Father, why are you asking about my name?"

Poor:100

mi nām nām n-ar-e
 1SG.GEN name name NEG-have.PRS-3SG
 My name does not have a name".

Poor:101

məryəm = ə per una bu-guft-ə ay pəsər ayb
 Maryam=GEN father 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST PFV-say.PST-3SG oh son defect

n-ar-e
 NEG-have.PRS-3SG

Maryam's father said to him, "Oh son, it does not matter!

Poor:102

dunyâ pəst = u bulənd dar-e
 world low=and tall have.PRS-3SG
 The world has highs and lows.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:103

du-ruz=ə dunyā ādām an yədər yussə nə-Ø-xur-e
two-day=GEN world person this much sorrow NEG-SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG
In this fleeting (lit. two-day) world a man must not be so sad.

Poor:104

az ašan guzəšt-ə ti asli nām = a
from 3PL.NOM.PROX pass.PST-3SG 2SG.GEN real name=ACC/DAT

bu-gu-Ø
IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP

Let us drop this; tell me your real name.

Poor:105

kuĵā = i
where=BE.PRS.2SG
Where are you from?

Poor:106

per = ə mār dar-i
father=and mother have.PRS-2SG
Do you have a father and mother?"

Poor:107

ĵəvān-ə bilāxərə g-e dan-i per mi nām
youth-DEF finally say.PRS-3SG know.PRS-2SG father 1SG.GEN name

iskəndər = ə
Iskander=BE.PRS.3SG

The youth finally says, "You know what Father? My name is Iskander.

Poor:108

du sə sālə bu-m ki mi per = ə mār
two three years.old BE.PST-1SG CMPL 1SG.GEN father=and mother

bə-mərd-idi
PFV-die.PST-2/3PL

I was two or three years old when my parents died.

Poor:109

han yədər dan-əm hato ki čəšm bə dunyā
in.any.case know.PRS-1SG as.soon.as CMPL eye to world

va = Ø-kud-əm nə per = a bi-de-m nə
VPFX=PFV-do.PST-1SG not father=ACC/DAT PFV-see.PST-1SG not

mār = a
mother=ACC/DAT

One thing I know - when I opened my eyes to the world, I saw neither father nor mother.

Poor:110

tā čən sāl piš=am gāhi a dihāti gāhi u
until several year before=TOP sometimes this rural.person sometimes that

kədxudā gāhi u arbāb=əre muzdur-i
chief sometimes that landlord=BEN hired.worker-NMLZ

kud-i-m
do.PST-IPFV-1SG

Up until a few years ago, I worked sometimes as a laborer for this villager,
sometimes for that village chief, sometimes that landowner.

Poor:111

u bələ=yə ki dər dunyā nə-Ø-na-Ø bi=
that calamity=ACC/DAT CMPL in world NEG-PFV-exist.PST-3SG.PST to=

mi sər b-əmo-Ø
1SG.GEN head PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST

That misfortune which does not exist in the world fell upon my head.

Poor:112

har kār=i bi-g-i bu-kud-əm xānə-bərpai
every work=IND SBJV-say.PRS-2SG PFV-do.PST-1SG house-guarding

gāv-čəraṇi čārvā-dāri muzdur-i
cow-grazing livestock-keeping hired.worker-NMLZ

Every job you can think of, I have done: guarding houses, grazing cows, watching
livestock and day labor.

Poor:113

āxər sər de bə təng b-amo-m
in.the.end EMPH to tight PFV-come.PST-1SG

In the end, I just could not take it anymore.

Poor:114

təsmim bi-gift-əm ita kār peydā bu-kun-əm ki
decision PFV-take.PST-1SG a work found SBJV-do.PRS-1SG CMPL

de nə rəng=ə arbāb=a bi-din-əm nə
no.longer no color=EZ landlord=ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-1SG no

foš=u čub=ə kədxudā=ya bu-xur-əm
reproach=and wood=EZ chief=ACC/DAT SBJV-encounter.PRS-1SG

I decided to find a job where I would not see the face of the landowner or endure
the reproach and the stick of the village chief.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:115

h-an=ə ki din-i čand sāl=ə
same-this=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL see.PRS-2SG several year=BE.PRS.3SG

čančukəši kun-əm
load.carrying do.PRS-1SG

Now, as you can see, for several years I have been carrying goods.

Poor:116

gāhi xuǰ gāhi be gāhi ālučə
sometimes wild.pear sometimes quince sometimes cherry.plum

avər-əm bāzār furuš-əm
bring.PRS-1SG market sell.PRS-1SG

Sometimes I bring pears, sometimes quince, sometimes cherry-plums to the market and sell them.

Poor:117

i=ǰur-i zəndəgi=ya guzər-an-əm
one=sort-ADJLZ life=ACC/DAT pass.PRS-CAUS-1SG

This is the kind of life I live.”

Poor:118

məryəm=ə per iskəndər=ə harf-an=a guš kun-e
Maryam=GEN father Iskander=GEN word-PL=ACC/DAT ear do.PRS-3SG

Maryam’s father listens to Iskander’s words.

Poor:119

bad xu dəst=a bə xu sər kəš-e iskəndər=a
then self hand=ACC/DAT to self head pull.PRS-3SG Iskander=ACC/DAT

g-e xob zay ame haməgi sərnəvišt-ən
say.PRS-3SG good child 1PL.GEN all fate-PL

i=ǰur=ə
one=sort=BE.PRS.3SG

Then he scratches his head and says to Iskander, “Well, child, all of our fates are unique.

Poor:120

ama dər əsəmān=ə a zəməno ita sətārə ham n-ar-im
1PL.NOM in sky=EZ this period one star also NEG-have.PRS-1PL

In the modern sky we also do not have one star.

Poor:121

ayb n-ar-e
defect NEG-have.PRS-3SG

It does not matter.

Poor:122

ammā mən xa-yəm tərə i=či bə-g-əm
but 1SG.NOM want.PRS-1SG 2SG.ACC/DAT one=thing SBJV-say.PRS-1SG

But I want to tell you one thing.

Poor:123

mən xānə ita pələxor = a dar-əm ita duxtər
 1SG.NOM house one wife=ACC/DAT have.PRS-1SG one girl
 I have a wife and a daughter at home.

Poor:124

hato ki din-i mən = am de pir = a
 in.the.same.way CMPL see.PRS-2SG 1SG.NOM=TOP already old=PFV

bost-ən dər-əm az kār də = kəft-ən
 become.PST-INF have.AUX-1SG from work VPFX=fall.PST-INF

dər-əm
 have.AUX-1SG

As you can see, I am already growing old; I am falling down on the job.

Poor:125

bi-ya-Ø vu bi-š-in mi amra ame
 IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP and IMP-go.PRS-2PL.IMP 1SG.GEN with 1PL.GEN

xānə kār kun-im
 house work do.PRS-1PL

Come and go with me; we will work in our home.

Poor:126

mən = am ki pəsər = ə buzurg n-ar-əm tu bə
 1SG.NOM=TOP CMPL son=EZ big NEG-have.PRS-1SG 2SG.NOM to

jā = yə mi pəsər = Ø
 place=GEN 1SG.GEN son =BE.PRS.3SG

Since I do not have a grown son, you will be a son for me instead.”

Poor:127

iskəndər avvəl yi kəm = i gəb nə-zən-e
 Iskander at.first a little=IND talk NEG-hit.PRS-3SG

At first, Iskander does not talk for a little while.

Poor:128

vəli bad din-e misl = ə in ki pir = ə-mərd ādəm = ə
 but later see.PRS-3SG like=GEN this.that old=GEN-man person=EZ

bəd = i nə-va bə-b-ə
 bad=IND NEG-it.is.necessary SBJV-become.PRS-3SG

But then he sees that the old man is probably not a bad man.

Poor:129

rāzi b-e
 satisfied become.PRS-3SG

He agrees.

Poor:130

har du bāham rā də = Ø-kəft-idi
 both together road VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-2/3PL

They both set out on the journey.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:131

yurub mahal fə=rəs-idi bə xānə
sunset area VPFX=arrive.PRS-2/3PL to house
At sunset they arrive home.

Poor:132

vəxt=ə ki meryəm=ə per iskəndər amra a-idi bə
time=IND CMPL Maryam=GEN father Iskander with come.PRS-2/3PL to

xānə meryəm bə xānə n-Ø-esa-Ø bu-Ø
house Maryam to house NEG-PFV-stand.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST
When Maryam's father and Iskander arrive home, Maryam had not been home.

Poor:133

un xu dəsxaxur-an amra birun kələgəb
3SG.NOM.DIST self female.friend-PL with outside talk

ze-yi-Ø
hit.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
She was out chatting with her girlfriends.

Poor:134

maryəm vəxt=ə ki bə xānə a-yə i=dəfa=yi
Maryam time=IND CMPL to house come.PRS-3SG one=instance=IND

uni çəşm də=kəf-e bə iskəndər
3SG.GEN.DIST eye VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG to Iskander
When Maryam arrives home, her eyes suddenly fall on Iskander.

Poor:135

hato xu dəst=u pā=ya gum=a kun-e
in.the.same.way self hand=and leg/foot=ACC/DAT lost=PFV do.PRS-3SG

ki fəramuš=a kun-e xu per=a səlam
CMPL forgetting=ACC/DAT do.PRS-3SG self father=ACC/DAT hello

bu-kun-e
SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
She loses her presence of mind (lit. her hand and foot) to such an extent that she forgets to greet her father.

Poor:136

maryəm yək kəm=i surx=a b-e zərd=a
Maryam a little=IND red=ACC/DAT become.PRS-3SG yellow=ACC/DAT

b-e bilāxərə xud=əş=a jəmu jür
become.PRS-3SG finally self=3SG.PC.POSR=ACC/DAT picked.up

kun-e maşyul=ə xu kār b-e
do.PRS-3SG busy=EZ self work become.PRS-3SG
Maryam blushes a little, turns pale and finally collects herself and busies herself with work.

Poor:137

az h-aya meryəm bā iskəndər ašnā b-idi
 from same-here Maryam with Iskander acquainted become.PRS-2/3PL
 This is where Maryam and Iskander become acquainted.

Poor:138

ruz-an = u šəb-an guzəšt-i-Ø
 day-PL=and night-PL pass.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
 Days and nights passed.

Poor:139

meryəm = u iskəndər duš bə duš = ə ham kār
 Maryam=and Iskander shoulder to shoulder=EZ one.another work

kud-Ø-idi
 do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Maryam and Iskander were working side by side.

Poor:140

bəjar-kār vājin pətəngzəni vəxt hamišə hamdigər = əre kumək
 rice.field-work weeding winnowing time always one.another=BEN help

b-id
 BE.PST-2/3PL

When weeding the rice and when winnowing [the rice], they always helped each other.

Poor:141

meryəm = ə per az xu zəndəgi xeyli rāzi bu-Ø
 Maryam=GEN father from self life very satisfied BE.PST-3SG.PST
 Maryam's father was very pleased with his life.

Poor:142

bad az muddət = i bə-tanəst-ə bu-Ø ita muzdur
 after period=IND PFV-able.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST one hired.worker

peydā bu-kun-ə ki un = ire misl = ə pəsər
 found SBJV-do.PRS-3SG CMPL 3SG.NOM.DIST=BEN like=GEN son

kār bu-kun-ə
 work SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

After a long time he had been able to find a laborer who would work for him as a son.

Poor:143

az šuma či pinhān ki meryəm = am bištər az xu per
 from 2PL.NOM what hidden CMPL Maryam=TOP more from self father

rāzi bu-Ø
 satisfied BE.PST-3SG.PST

We cannot make secret the fact that Maryam was even more pleased than her father.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:144

āxər ham meryəm yār=u yāvər peydā bu-kud-ə
you.see also Maryam friend=and assistant found PFV-do.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø ham xu biḵə xu zəndəgi=yə āyəndə=re nəxšə
be.AUX-3SG.PST also self side self life=EZ FUTURE=BEN plan

bə-kəše-Ø bu-Ø
PFV-pull.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

You see, Maryam had not only found a friend and helper; she also had planned out for herself her future life.

Poor:145

fikr kud-i-Ø šāyəd iskəndər un=ire ita
thought do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST maybe Iskander 3SG.NOM.DIST=BEN one

xurrəm mərd bə-b-ə
wonderful man SBJV-become.PRS-3SG

She thought perhaps Iskander would be a wonderful man for her.

Poor:146

muddət-hā bu-Ø ki meryəm=ə iskəndər misl=ə ita
period-PL BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL Maryam=and Iskander like=GEN one

bərar xaxur hamdigər=ə amra gəb zə-Ø-idi zəndəgi
brother sister one.another=GEN with talk hit.PST-IPFV-2/3PL life

kud-Ø-id
do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

It was now a long time that Maryam and Iskander were talking with each other and living together like brother and sister.

Poor:147

meryəm iskəndər=a bərar=jan iskəndər meryəm=a
Maryam Iskander=ACC/DAT brother=dear Iskander Maryam=ACC/DAT

xaxur du=xad-i-Ø
sister VPFX=call.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Maryam called Iskander brother and Iskander called Maryam sister.

Poor:148

ammā dər bātən a du nəfər xu=šan=ə dil=ə
but in interior this two person self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN heart=GEN

miyan yeyr az mehr=u muhəbbət=ə bərar xaxur-i ita
inside other from affection=and love=EZ brother sister-ADJLZ a

muhəbbət=ə digər=am his kud-Ø-idi ammā jurat
love=EZ other=also feeling do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL but courage

nə-kud-Ø-id hamdigər = a bi-g-id
 NEG-do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL one.another=ACC/DAT SBJV-say.PRS-2/3PL
 However, on the inside, apart from brotherly love, these two people felt another
 love in their hearts, but they did not have the courage to tell each other [about it].

Poor:149

šâyəd xəjâlət kəşe-Ø-idi šâyəd = am a-yta muntəzər
 maybe shame pull.PST-IPFV-2/3PL maybe=also this-one expectant

bu-Ø ki u-yta xu dil = ə gəb = a
 BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL that-one self heart=GEN talk=ACC/DAT

zud-tər bə-g-e
 early-CMPR SBJV-say.PRS-3SG

Perhaps they were ashamed, but perhaps one was waiting for the other to share his
 or her heart first.

Poor:150

xulâsə har du = ta dər xud = əşan ita muhəbbət yeyr az
 briefly every two=CLF in self=3PL.PC.POSR a love other from

muhəbbət = i âddi his kud-Ø-id amma
 love=IND ordinary feeling do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL but

nə-xast-Ø-id nişân bə-d-id ki
 NEG-want.PST-IPFV-2/3PL sign SBJV-give.PRS-2/3PL CMPL

hamdigər = a dust dar-idi
 one.another=ACC/DAT friend have.PRS-2/3PL

In short, both of them felt within themselves a love beyond an ordinary love, but
 they did not want to show that they loved each other.

Poor:151

i = ruz du ruz i = mâ du mâ bilâxərə hamişə de
 one= day two day one= month two month finally always no.longer

mumkin nu-bu-Ø ki uşan zir ziriki
 possible NEG-BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL 3PL.NOM.DIST secretly

hamdigər = a dust bə-dar-id bilâxərə lâzəm
 one.another=ACC/DAT friend SBJV-have.PRS-2/3PL finally necessary

bu-Ø a mozu ru = yi âb b-ə-yə
 BE.PST-3SG.PST this subject on=GEN water SBJV-come.PRS-3SG

One day, two days; one month, two months - ultimately, it was impossible to love
 each other secretly forever; ultimately, it was necessary for this subject to come
 to the surface.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:152

rāst = am h-an = ə muntəhā har du muntəzər = ə
truth=also same-this=BE.PRS.3SG however every two expectant=GEN

bəhānə b-id ki xu = šan = ə harf = ə
excuse BE.PST-2/3PL CMPL self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN word=GEN

hisāb = a hamdigər = a bə-zən-id
account=ACC/DAT one.another=ACC/DAT SBJV-hit.PRS-2/3PL

To tell the truth, however, they were both waiting for an excuse to say the right words to each other.

Poor:153

āxər ušan dihāt = ə jəyəl məyəl b-id
you.see 3PL.NOM.DIST rural.area=GEN child BE.PST-2/3PL
You see, they were children of the countryside.

Poor:154

ušan hanuz az a lusbāz-en hoyəbāz-en
3PL.NOM.DIST still from this spoiled.person-PL cheater-PL

mərdum-gulzəni ki bazi ame šahr = ə jəvān-an az
people-deceiving CMPL some 1PL.GEN city=GEN youth-PL from

təməddun yād bi-gift-i b-id xəbər
civilization memory PFV-get.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL news

n-əšt-id
NEG-have.PST-2/3PL

They still were not aware of spoiled, cheating, or deceptive people which some of our city's youth have learned to be thanks to "civilization."

Poor:155

mərdum = ə bisəvād sāddə bi = yəllu yəš
people=EZ illiterate simple without=hypocrisy
They were uneducated and simple; people without hypocrisy.

Poor:156

ušani išybəzi muhəbbət = am misl = ə ušani zəndəgi
3PL.GEN.DIST courtship love=also like=GEN 3PL.GEN.DIST life

sāddə-vu bi = riyā bu-Ø šāyəd xəyli-yan
simple-and without=deceit BE.PST-3SG.PST maybe many-PL

tanəst-Ø-id ušana gul bə-zən-id
able.PST-IPFV-2/3PL 3PL.ACC/DAT.DIST deception SBJV-hit.PRS-2/3PL

And their courtship love, like their lives, was simple and without deceit. Perhaps many people could have deceived them.

Poor:157

ammâ ušan hanuz mærdum-gulzæn-en n-anəst-Ø-id
 but 3PL.NOM.DIST still people-deceiver-PL NEG-know.PST-IPFV-2/3PL
 But they had still not met (lit. did not know) any deceivers.

Poor:158

zəndəgi = yə sâddə dur az riyâ mærdum-gulzəni ham
 life=EZ simple far from deceit people-deceiving also

xud = əş xušbəxt-i = yə buzurg = idi
 self=3SG.PC.POSR happy-NMLZ=EZ big=BE.PRS.2/3PL

A simple life, far from any deception and deceivers, is in itself a great blessing.

Poor:159

bə har hâl mæryəm = ə iskəndər bâ paki = yu sâdəgi = yə dihâti
 in.any.case Maryam=and Iskander with purity=and simplicity=EZ rural

zəndəgi kud-Ø-id
 life do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

In any case, Maryam and Iskander lived in rural purity and simplicity.

Poor:160

az yəzâ = yə ruzəgâr zən-e ita təsâduf piş a-ye
 from chance=EZ fortune hit.PRS-3SG a incident before come.PRS-3SG

ki a təsâduf kumək kun-ə ki ušan bilâxərə
 CMPL this incident help do.PRS-3SG CMPL 3PL.NOM.DIST finally

xu = şan = i dil = ə gəb = a hamdigər = a
 self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN heart=GEN talk=ACC/DAT one.another=ACC/DAT

bə-zən-id
 SBJV-hit.PRS-2/3PL

As fate wills, an incident arises and this incident finally helps them to share what is each other's hearts.

Poor:161

dâstân az u yərar bu-Ø
 story from that arrangement BE.PST-3SG.PST

The story is this:

Poor:162

uşani hamsâyî mæryəm ita dəsaxur daşt-i-Ø
 3PL.GEN.DIST neighbor Maryam one female.friend have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

In their neighborhood, Maryam had a female friend.

Poor:163

uni nâm səlləmə bu-Ø
 3SG.GEN.DIST name Sallama BE.PST-3SG.PST

Her name was Sallama.

Poor:164

səlləmə duxtər = ə nəjib sâddə xeyli kâri bu-Ø
 Sallama girl=EZ noble simple very hard-working BE.PST-3SG.PST

Sallama was a noble, simple girl who was very hard-working.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:165

un xu xālō pəsər = ə xātərxā bu-Ø
3SG.NOM.DIST self aunt.maternal son=GEN lover BE.PST-3SG.PST
She was in love with her aunt's son.

Poor:166

uni xālō pəsər = am una xātərxā
3SG.GEN.DIST aunt.maternal son=also 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST lover

bu-Ø
BE.PST-3SG.PST

Her aunt's son was also in love with her.

Poor:167

bilāxərə ušani per = ə mār rāzi b-idi
finally 3PL.GEN.DIST father=and mother satisfied BE.PST-2/3PL

ušanire arusi ra ta = Ø-vəd-idi
3PL.BEN.DIST wedding way VPFX=SBJV-throw.PRS-2/3PL

In the end, their parents agreed to arrange their wedding.

Poor:168

šəb = ə arusi ham meryəm ham iskəndər har du š-idi
night=EZ wedding also Maryam also Iskander both go.PRS-2/3PL

təmāšā
watching

On the evening of the wedding both Maryam and Iskander went to watch the wedding.

Poor:169

meryəm = u iskəndər ham təməšāči b-idi ham
Maryam=and Iskander also watcher BE.PST-2/3PL also

ušana kumək kud-Ø-idi
3PL.ACC/DAT.DIST help do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Maryam and Iskander both looked on and helped them.

Poor:170

arusi dihat = ə arusi bu-Ø
wedding rural.area=GEN wedding BE.PST-3SG.PST

The wedding was a rural wedding.

Poor:171

arus = a xob čakun vakun kun-idi
bride=ACC/DAT good dressed dressed do.PRS-2/3PL

They dressed the bride well.

Poor:172

arus = ə per = u mār = əm bā čən = ta pir-zənək-an = u
bride=GEN father=and mother=TOP with several=CLF old-woman-PL=and

rišsəfid-an = ə dihat məšyul = ə taayi kud-ən durust
elder-PL=EZ village busy=GEN preparation do.PST-INF right

kud-ən=ə šām=u yəza b-id
do.PST-INF=EZ supper=and food BE.PST-2/3PL

The bride's parents and several old women and honorable old men from the village were busy with the preparation of supper.

Poor:173

šume ĵā xāli = Ø
2PL.GEN place empty=BE.PRS.3SG

You should have been there (lit. your place is empty).

Poor:174

u šəb ābkəš-pəlā čən ĵur xuruš az fusənjən=u yeymə
that night strainer-pilau several sort stew from Fesenjan=and Gheime

mury=ə kəbāb giriftə tā burāni-vu turšə tərə arus=ə
chicken=EZ grilled.meat taken until Burani-and marinade bride=GEN

xānə taayi kun-idi
house preparation do.PRS-2/3PL

That evening, in the bride's house, they prepared pilau and various stews, from Fesenjan and Gheime, to chicken kebabs and Burani and marinade.

Poor:175

arus=ə xānə bukob bukob bu-Ø
bride=GEN house noise BE.PST-3SG.PST

There was a buzz in the bride's house.

Poor:176

dəstə dəstə arus=ə dəsxaxur-an amo-Ø-idi
in.groups bride=GEN female.friend-PL come.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

una mubarəkbā guft-Ø-idi
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST congratulations say.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

The bride's female friends came in groups and congratulated her.

Poor:177

badən hamə sahrā miyan ĵəm=a bost-id čalpa
later all field inside group=PFV become.PST-2/3PL clap

ze-Ø-yid rəxs kud-Ø-id āvāz xand-Ø-id
hit.PST-IPFV-2/3PL dance do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL song sing.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Later they all assembled in the field; they were clapping their hands, dancing and singing songs.

Poor:178

məryəm=u iskəndər=am ušani miyan ĵuš
Maryam=and Iskander=also 3PL.GEN.DIST inside boiling

xurd-Ø-id
hit.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Maryam and Iskander also made merry in their midst.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:179

məryəm hato ki şum = əre bu-guft-əm duxtər = ə
Maryam in.the.same.way CMPL 2PL.NOM=BEN PFV-say.PST-1SG girl=EZ

gərm = u şuloy = i bu-Ø
warm=and lively=IND BE.PST-3SG.PST

Maryam, as I have already told you, was a passionate, lively girl.

Poor:180

ărām nə-gift-i-Ø
rest NEG-take.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
She did not take any rest.

Poor:181

har vəxt ki uşani məjləs yək kəm = i sər
every time CMPL 3PL.GEN.DIST assembly a little=IND head

də = bost-i-Ø məryəm xu dəsxaxur-an = a
VPFX=become.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam self female.friend-PL=ACC/DAT

fa = kəşe-yi-Ø bə miyan rəxs kud-Ø-id
VPFX=pull.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST to inside dance do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Every time there was a small assembly gathered, Maryam was dragging her female friends to dance in the middle.

Poor:182

iskəndər de ita dil dašt-i-Ø səd dil
Iskander no.longer one heart have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST 100 heart

xâtərxâ = yə məryəm b-e
lover=GEN Maryam become.PRS-3SG

Iskander no longer had one heart; he loved Maryam with a hundred hearts.

Poor:183

agər tå u ruz iskəndər məryəm = a fəyət dust
if until that day Iskander Maryam=ACC/DAT only friend

dašt-i-Ø az u şəb de un
have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST from that night EMPH 3SG.NOM.DIST

məryəm = a misl = ə âdəm = ə tur = u divanə az dil
Maryam=ACC/DAT like=GEN person=EZ wild=and crazy from heart

âşiy b-e
in.love become.PRS-3SG

If up until this day Iskander had only a liking for Maryam, then from that evening on he fell in love with Maryam with his whole heart, as a madman.

Poor:184

šâyəd = əm u arusi u bukob bukob u xuşhâli dər iskəndər
 maybe=also that wedding that noise that happiness in Iskander

xeyli taasir bu-kud-ə bu-Ø
 very.much effect PFV-do.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

Perhaps also that wedding, that noise and that merriment had had a great effect on Iskander.

Poor:185

un fikr-a ki bə ki meryəm = a
 3SG.NOM.DIST thought-PL CMPL to when Maryam=ACC/DAT

un = ire bu-kun-id
 3SG.NOM.DIST=BEN SBJV-do.PRS-2/3PL

He thought, when will it be that they make Maryam his?

Poor:186

uşani arusi = re hato mərđum bayəd
 3PL.GEN.DIST wedding=BEN in.the.same.way people it.is.necessary

xuşi bu-kun-id
 happiness SBJV-do.PRS-2/3PL

For their wedding, people must be happy in the same way.

Poor:187

hato ki iskəndər gərm = ə a xiyâl-an bu-Ø
 in.the.same.way CMPL Iskander warm=GEN this notion-PL BE.PST-3SG.PST

i = dəfa = yi meryəm uni bâl = a gir-e
 one=instance=IND Maryam 3SG.GEN.DIST arm=ACC/DAT take.PRS-3SG

fəryâd kun-e oy iskəndər bərar tu koya
 cry do.PRS-3SG oh Iskander brother 2SG.NOM where

ise-Ø-yi
 stand.PST-IPFV-2SG

While Iskander was occupied with such notions, suddenly Maryam takes him by the arm and exclaims, “Oh, Iskander, brother, where are you?”

Poor:188

təkan bu-xur-Ø
 shake IMP-hit.PRS-2SG.IMP

Wake up!

Poor:189

din-i hamə rā də = kəft-ən dər-im bi-ş-im
 see.PRS-2SG all road VPFX=fall.PST-INF have.AUX-1PL IMP-go.PRS-1PL

dâmmâd = ə xânə
 bridegroom=GEN house

You see we are all heading out; we are going to the bridegroom’s house.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:190

ǰulo də = Ø-kəf-Ø čəray = a bi-gir-Ø
front VPFX=IMP-fall.PRS-2SG.IMP lamp=ACC/DAT IMP-take.PRS-2SG.IMP
Go on ahead; take the lamp!

Poor:191

dənbək = u təšt = u nəyərə bə səda a-ye
drum=and basin=and kettle.drum to sound come.PRS-3SG
The drums, basins and kettledrums are already sounding.”

Poor:192

arus səvar = ə asp ǰulo də = kəf-e uni
bride mounted=GEN horse front VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.DIST

dəsxaxur-an = u famil-an ayəb
female.friend-PL=and relative-PL behind

The bride is going ahead on horseback; her female friends and her relatives are behind.

Poor:193

uhoy uhoy kun-an rā də = kəf-idi
ahoy ahoy do.PRS-PRPT road VPFX=fall.PRS-2/3PL
They all noisily set off.

Poor:194

avvəl arus yək kəm = i gəryə kun-e ki az xu
at.first bride one little=IND weeping do.PRS-3SG CMPL from self

per = ə mār ǰudā bost-ən dər-e ammə
father=and mother separate become.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG but

uni dəsxaxur-an una nāz
3SG.GEN.DIST female.friend-PL 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST comfort

deh-idi
give.PRS-2/3PL

At first the bride cries a little, because she is being parted from her parents, but her female friends comfort her.

Poor:195

rəxs kun-ān rā də = kəf-idi dāmād = ə xānə
dance do.PRS-PRPT road VPFX=fall.PRS-2/3PL bridegroom=GEN house
Dancing, they set out for the bridegroom's house.

Poor:196

hato ki arus = ə famil-an fə = rəs-idi dər
as.soon.as CMPL bride=GEN relative-PL VPFX=arrive.PRS-2/3PL door

dāmād = ə xānə ita tir xāli b-e
bridegroom=GEN house one shot empty become.PRS-3SG

As soon as the bride's relatives arrive at the bridegroom's house, a shot rings out.

Poor:197

az har tərəf kəbāb seb pərdəxāl bə a-ra u-ra
 from every direction grilled.meat apple orange to this-way that-way

ta = vəd-idi

VPFX=throw.PRS-2/3PL

From all sides they throw grilled meat, apples and oranges this way and that.

Poor:198

dāmād = ə mār bā čən = ta pir-zənək-an a-idi
 bridegroom=GEN mother with several=CLF old-woman-PL come.PRS-2/3PL

asb = ə sər = ə gir-idi arus = a
 horse=GEN head=ACC/DAT take.PRS-2/3PL bride=ACC/DAT

bər-idi bālâxâne
 carry.PRS-2/3PL attic

The bridegroom's mother and several old women come, hold the horse's head, and take the bride into the upper room.

Poor:199

dubārə dāmād = ə xânə rəxs = u âvâz = u čalpa-zə-n
 again bridegroom=GEN house dance=and song=and clap-hit.PST-INF

šuru b-e
 beginning become.PRS-3SG

In the bridegroom's house, the dances, songs and clapping of hands begin again.

Poor:200

məryəm de u šəb yərar ni-g-idi
 Maryam no.longer that night rest NEG-say.PRS-2/3PL

Maryam does not rest any longer that evening.

Poor:201

tâ yuvvət dašt-i-Ø rəxs kun-e âvâz
 to.the.point strength have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST dance do.PRS-3SG song

xan-e
 sing.PRS-3SG

She dances and sings as long as her strength lasts.

Poor:202

iskəndər = am az məryəm kəm = i n-a-ye
 Iskander=TOP from Maryam little=IND NEG-come.PRS-3SG

Iskander does not fail to keep up with Maryam.

Poor:203

gâhi čərây bə dəhan gâhi sini bə sər dihâti rəxs
 sometimes lamp to mouth sometimes tray to head rural dance

kun-e
 do.PRS-3SG

He dances the country dances sometimes with a lamp in his mouth, sometimes

B. Interlinear Texts

with a tray on his head.

Poor:204

xulāsə tā nəzdik=ə sob dāmād=ə xānə bəkob bəkob
briefly until near=GEN morning bridegroom=GEN house noise

bu-Ø

BE.PST-3SG.PST

In short, there was noise in the bridegroom's house until nearly morning.

Poor:205

nəzdikā=yə sob məryəm=u iskəndər rā də=kəf-idi bə
vicinity=GEN morning Maryam=and Iskander road VPFX=fall.PRS-2/3PL to

tərəf=ə xānə

direction=GEN house

Towards morning, Maryam and Iskander set off in the direction of home.

Poor:206

rā miyan avvəl yək kəm=i az a-ra u-ra gəb
road inside at.first one little=IND from this-way that-way talk

zən-idi

hit.PRS-2/3PL

On the way, at first, they talk a little about this and that.

Poor:207

bilāxərə məryəm ru kun-e bə iskəndər g-e xob
finally Maryam face do.PRS-3SG to Iskander say.PRS-3SG good

iskəndər bərar inşāla ama ti arusi=re
Iskander brother God.willing 1PL.NOM 2SG.GEN wedding=BEN

hato budo bodo bu-kun-im
in.the.same.way running SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

Finally, Maryam turns to Iskander and says, "All right Iskander, brother, God willing we will go to the same trouble for your wedding."

Poor:208

iskəndər avvəl yək kəm=i jā xur-e vəli bad bə
Iskander at.first one little=IND place hit.PRS-3SG but later to

uni fikr rəs-i-Ø ki aha alan
3SG.GEN.DIST thought arrive.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL oh presently

de vəxt=ə ki ba harf sər=a
EMPH time=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL with word beginning=ACC/DAT

məryəm=ə amra va=kud-ən
Maryam=GEN with VPFX=do.PST-INF

At first, Iskander is a bit paralyzed, but then he comes to the thought that oh, now is the very time to open a conversation with Maryam.

Poor:209

iskəndər ru kun-e bə məryəm g-e aha məryəm xaxur
 Iskander face do.PRS-3SG to Maryam say.PRS-3SG oh Maryam sister

tu rāst g-i
 2SG.NOM right say.PRS-2SG

Iskander turns to Maryam and says, “Oh Maryam, sister, what you say is true.

Poor:210

mən de alan pā bə bist=u pən̄ nah-an
 1SG.NOM EMPH presently leg/foot to 20=and five put.PST-INF

dər-əm
 have.AUX-1SG

I am already twenty-five years old (lit. the foot is setting on 25).

Poor:211

lāzəm=ə ki mən=am bə fikr=ə arusi
 necessary=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 1SG.NOM=also to thought=EZ wedding

bə-b-əm
 SBJV-become.PRS-1SG

I too, must think about marriage.

Poor:212

ammā ċi bu-kun-əm məryəm=jan mən n-an-əm
 but what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG Maryam=dear 1SG.NOM NEG-know.PRS-1SG

un=i ki mən dus dar-əm
 3SG.NOM.DIST=IND CMPL 1SG.NOM friend have.PRS-1SG

un=am mərə dus dar-e yā na
 3SG.NOM.DIST=also 1SG.ACC/DAT friend have.PRS-3SG or not

But what should I do, dear Maryam? I do not know whether the one I love loves me too or not.”

Poor:213

məryəm guman tiz=a b-e
 Maryam thought sharp=SBJV become.PRS-3SG

Maryam’s thoughts are intensified.

Poor:214

uni dil təkən xur-e
 3SG.GEN.DIST heart shake hit.PRS-3SG

Her heart beats.

Poor:215

xu biḡa g-e nu-Ø-kun-ə ki iskəndər i=
 self side say.PRS-3SG NEG-SBJV-do.PRS-3SG CMPL Iskander a=

nəfər=ə digər=a dus bə-dar-ə
 person=EZ other=ACC/DAT friend SBJV-have.PRS-3SG

She says to herself, “It cannot be that Iskander loves someone else.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:216

agər hato bə-b-ə pəs mi kār či
if in.the.same.way SBJV-become.PRS-3SG then 1SG.GEN work what

ba bə-b-ə
it.is.necessary SBJV-become.PRS-3SG

If this is so, whatever will become of me?"

Poor:217

āxər meryəm = am mudət = i = yə iskəndər = a dus
finally Maryam=TOP period=IND=BE.PRS.3SG Iskander=ACC/DAT friend

dar-e
have.PRS-3SG

You see, Maryam for some time has loved Iskander.

Poor:218

bər pədər = ə a xəjālət lanət Ø
on father=EZ this shame curse be.imp

May this shame be cursed (lit. curse be on the father of this shame)!

Poor:219

un ki nə-tanəst-Ø-i xu dil = ə
3SG.NOM.DIST CMPL NEG-able.PST-IPFV-2SG self heart=GEN

gəb = a tā a vəxt iskəndər = a bə-g-ə
talk=ACC/DAT until this time Iskander=ACC/DAT SBJV-say.PRS-3SG

To this point, she had not been able to share her heart with Iskander.

Poor:220

meryəm hato gərm = ə fikr kud-ən bu-Ø
Maryam in.the.same.way warm=GEN thought do.PST-INF BE.PST-3SG.PST

ki iskəndər ru kun-e bə un g-e duroy
CMPL Iskander face do.PRS-3SG to 3SG.NOM.DIST say.PRS-3SG lie

g-əm meryəm = jān yā na
say.PRS-1SG Maryam=dear or not

Maryam was lost in thought when Iskander turns to her and says, "Am I telling lies, dear Maryam, or not?"

Poor:221

tu či fikr kun-i
2SG.NOM what thought do.PRS-2SG

What do you think?

Poor:222

mən či tan-əm bu-kun-əm agər un = i
1SG.NOM what able.PRS-1SG SBJV-do.PRS-1SG if 3SG.NOM.DIST=IND

ki mən dus dar-əm šāyəd aslən
CMPL 1SG.NOM friend have.PRS-1SG maybe at.all

n-Ø-an-e ki mən una a ĵur
 NEG-SBJV-know.PRS-3SG CMPL 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST this sort

az dil dus dar-əm
 from heart friend have.PRS-1SG

What can I do if the one whom I love maybe does not even know at all that I love her in this way with my whole heart?"

Poor:223

məryəm forən iskəndər = a g-e tu az
 Maryam immediately Iskander=ACC/DAT say.PRS-3SG 2SG.NOM from

koya dan-i
 where know.PRS-2SG

Maryam immediately says to Iskander, "How do you know?"

Poor:224

şâyəd un = i ki dus dar-i
 maybe 3SG.NOM.DIST=IND CMPL friend have.PRS-2SG

un = am tərä dus dar-e
 3SG.NOM.DIST=also 2SG.ACC/DAT friend have.PRS-3SG

Maybe the one you love also loves you."

Poor:225

bad bā ləbxənd g-e xob tu bu-gu-Ø
 later with smile say.PRS-3SG okay 2SG.NOM IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP

bi-din-əm ki = ya dus dar-i
 SBJV-see.PRS-1SG who=ACC/DAT friend have.PRS-2SG

Then she says with a smile, "All right, tell me who you love.

Poor:226

şâyəd mən bə-şnas-əm
 maybe 1SG.NOM SBJV-know.PRS-1SG

Maybe I know [her]."

Poor:227

iskəndər g-e az yəzā hato = yə
 Iskander say.PRS-3SG from chance in.the.same.way=BE.PRS.3SG

Iskander says, "As luck would have it, it is just as you say.

Poor:228

tu məryəm = ĵan u duxtər = a ki mən dus
 2SG.NOM Maryam=dear that girl=ACC/DAT CMPL 1SG.NOM friend

dar-əm xeyli xob şənas-i
 have.PRS-1SG very good know.PRS-2SG

You, dear Maryam, know that girl that I love very well.

Poor:229

az mən = əm bətər şənas-i
 from 1SG.NOM=also better know.PRS-2SG

You know [her] better than I."

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:230

məryəm fam-e ki yāru xa-ye rāst = ə
Maryam understand.PRS-3SG CMPL guy want.PRS-3SG truth=EZ

gəb = a bə-zən-ə
talk=ACC/DAT SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG

Maryam understands that the guy wants to tell the truth.

Poor:231

bištər zur avər-e xob bu-gu-Ø āxər
more force bring.PRS-3SG good IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP finally

ki = yə
who=BE.PRS.3SG

She puts more pressure [on him], “All right, tell me finally, who is she?”

Poor:232

pəs čire ni-g-i
so why NEG-say.PRS-2SG
So why do you not say?”

Poor:233

iskəndər de harf nə-zən-e fəyət məryəm = ə
Iskander no.longer word NEG-hit.PRS-3SG only Maryam=GEN

čəšm-ān = a nigā kun-e
eye-PL=ACC/DAT look do.PRS-3SG

Iskander does not say anything else; he only looks into Maryam’s eyes.

Poor:234

məryəm avvəl multifit ni-b-e bad fəhm-e
Maryam at.first attentive NEG-become.PRS-3SG later understand.PRS-3SG

ki iskəndər mudət = i = yə ki uni
CMPL Iskander period=IND=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 3SG.GEN.DIST

čəšm-an = a nigā kud-ən dər-ə
eye-PL=ACC/DAT look do.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG

Maryam at first does not pay any attention, then she notices (lit. understands) that Iskander has been looking into her eyes for a while.

Poor:235

məryəm g-e xob ti harf = a bə-zən-Ø
Maryam say.PRS-3SG good 2SG.GEN word=ACC/DAT IMP-hit.PRS-2SG.IMP
Maryam says, “All right, tell me!”

Poor:236

čire nigā kun-i
why look do.PRS-2SG
Why are you looking [at me]?”

Poor:237

iskəndər de t̩əyət n-avər-e g-e mən
 Iskander no.longer patience NEG-bring.PRS-3SG say.PRS-3SG 1SG.NOM

de xa-yəm mi dil=ə gəb=a tire
 no.longer want.PRS-1SG 1SG.GEN heart=GEN talk=ACC/DAT 2SG.BEN

bə-zən-əm

SBJV-hit.PRS-1SG

Iskander can endure it no longer and says, “I want to share my heart with you.

Poor:238

dan-i mərəyəm rāst=əš=a xa-yi
 know.PRS-2SG Maryam right=3SG.PC.POSR=ACC/DAT want.PRS-2SG

Do you know Maryam? Do you want the truth?

Poor:239

mən az u ruz=ə avvəl ki təra bi-d-əm
 1SG.NOM from that day=EZ at.first CMPL 2SG.ACC/DAT PFV-see.PST-1SG

bə tu dil də=Ø-vəst-əm
 to 2SG.NOM heart VPFX=PFV-tie.PST-1SG

From that first day that I saw you, I fell in love with you.

Poor:240

hič nə-tan-əm təra fəramuš=a kun-əm
 no NEG-able.PRS-1SG 2SG.ACC/DAT forgetting=PFV do.PRS-1SG

By no means can I forget you.

Poor:241

hasa xa-ye təra xuš b-a-yə xa-ye
 now want.PRS-3SG 2SG.ACC/DAT good SBJV-come.PRS-3SG want.PRS-3SG

bəd b-a-yə an rāst=ə gəb=ə
 bad SBJV-come.PRS-3SG this truth=EZ talk=BE.PRS.3SG

Now whether you like it or not, it is true.”

Poor:242

mərəyəm=ə dil rošan=a b-e
 Maryam=GEN heart bright=PFV become.PST-3SG

Maryam’s heart soared (lit. became bright).

Poor:243

mərəyəm de az zoj n-anast-i-Ø čuto rā
 Maryam EMPH from joy NEG-know.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST how road

bə-š-ə
 SBJV-go.PRS-3SG

Maryam did not feel her feet beneath her (lit. know how to go the road) for joy.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:244

vəli bə zāhir yək kəm=i xu axm=a bi= zir
but to appearance one little=IND self frown=PFV to= under

avər-e bad bā ləbxənd g-e xob mən
bring.PRS-3SG then with smile say.PRS-3SG okay 1SG.NOM

təra dus n-ar-əm
2SG.ACC/DAT friend NEG-have.PRS-1SG

But outwardly she frowns slightly and then says with a smile, “All right, (but) I do not love you!”

Poor:245

a moyə de ušan bə xu=šan=i xānə
this time already 3PL.NOM.DIST to self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN house

fə=Ø-rəs-ə b-id
VPFX=PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL

By that time they had already arrived at their house.

Poor:246

havā de rošan=a bost-ə bu-Ø
weather already bright=PFV become.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

Day had already broken.

Poor:247

xurus-an xand-Ø-idi
rooster-PL call.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

The cocks are crowing.

Poor:248

iskəndər=u meryəm har kudam š-idi xu=šan=i
Iskander=and Maryam each.one go.PRS-2/3PL self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN

jā sər xus-idi
place on sleep.PRS-2/3PL

Iskander and Maryam both go to their rooms (lit. on place) and sleep.

Poor:249

ammā har du nəfər dərbārə=yə u gəb-an=i ki rā miyan
but both person about=GEN that talk-PL=IND CMPL road inside

hamdigər=a bə-ze-Ø b-id fikr
one.another=ACC/DAT PFV-hit.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL thought

kud-Ø-idi
do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

However, both of them were thinking about those words that they had said to each other on the journey.

Poor:250

iskəndər avvəl yək kəm=i nārāhət b-e
 Iskander at.first a little=IND unhappy become.PRS-3SG
 At first Iskander is a little unhappy.

Poor:251

ammā bad bə yād avər-e ki meryəm u agərsəri bā
 but then to memory bring.PRS-3SG CMPL Maryam that in.the.end with

xəndə bu-guft-ə mən ki tərə dus
 laughter PFV-say.PST-3SG 1SG.NOM CMPL 2SG.ACC/DAT friend

n-ar-əm
 NEG-have.PRS-1SG

But then he remembers that Maryam said that last part, “but I do not love you” with laughter.

Poor:252

u şəb ruyəhamrəftə iskəndər nārāhət xus-e
 that night all.in.all Iskander uncomfortable sleep.PRS-3SG
 In short, that night Iskander sleeps uneasily.

Poor:253

un hanuz dudil bu-Ø
 3SG.NOM.DIST still of.two.minds BE.PST-3SG.PST

n-anəst-i-Ø ki meryəm=ə gəb=a bəvər
 NEG-know.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL Maryam=GEN talk=ACC/DAT belief

bu-kun-ə yā uni nigāh-an=a ki har ita
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG or 3SG.GEN.DIST look-PL=ACC/DAT CMPL every one

nigāh=ə amra hizār čiz xast-i-Ø bə-g-ə
 look=GEN with 1000 thing want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST SBJV-say.PRS-3SG

He was still of two minds, not knowing whether to believe Maryam’s words to him or her looks [at him], each of which were wanting to express a thousand things.

Poor:254

az fərda bāz kār şuru b-e
 from tomorrow again work beginning become.PRS-3SG
 Work begins again the following morning.

Poor:255

meryəm=u iskəndər misl=ə hamə=yə dihāt-en kār
 Maryam=and Iskander like=GEN all=GEN rural.person-PL work

kud-Ø-idi
 do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

Maryam and Iskander were working, like all the villagers.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:256

mulla rəjəb kedxudā kəm kəm bu bər-e ki məryəm
mullah Rajab chief little.by.little smell take.PRS-3SG CMPL Maryam

sər bə koya bənd = ə
head to where bound = BE.PRS.3SG

Mullah Rajab (the village chief) gradually suspects (lit. smells) where Maryam's heart is committed.

Poor:257

un fahm-e ki məryəm = u iskəndər = ə
3SG.NOM.DIST understand.PRS-3SG CMPL Maryam = and Iskander = GEN

miyan sər u sirr = i nəh-a
inside secret = IND exist.PRS-3SG

He realizes that there is a secret between Maryam and Iskander.

Poor:258

nə fəyəť mulla rəjəb bəlki dihāt-en uşani hamsāy-an
no only mullah Rajab rather rural.person-PL 3PL.GEN.DIST neighbor-PL

ham danəst-Ø-idi ki məryəm = u iskəndər misl = ə
also know.PST-IPFV-2/3PL CMPL Maryam = and Iskander like = GEN

in ki hamdigər = a xātərxā = yidi
this.that one.another = ACC/DAT lover = BE.PRS.2/3PL

Not only Mullah Rajab, but even the villagers and their neighbors knew that Maryam and Iskander apparently love each other.

Poor:259

mulla rəjəb de dunbal = ə bəhānə gərdəst-i-Ø ki
mullah Rajab EMPH following = GEN excuse turn.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL

yā məryəm = ə per = ə riş = a bi-gir-ə yā
or Maryam = GEN father = GEN beard = ACC/DAT SBJV-take.PRS-3SG or

har ĵur = i is-ə bə iskəndər hisāb bə-rəs-ə
every sort = IND BE.PST-3SG to Iskander account SBJV-reach.PRS-3SG

Mullah Rajab was seeking an excuse either to seize Maryam's father by the throat (lit. beard) or to reckon with Iskander by any means.

Poor:260

mulla rəjəb ruz = u şəb arbāb = ə guş = ə kun
mullah Rajab day = and night landlord = GEN ear = ACC/DAT hum

xand-i-Ø ki məryəm = ə per ato = yə
sing.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST CMPL Maryam = GEN father this.way = BE.PRS.3SG

uto = yə mahsul = u maləlījarə = ya der
that.way = BE.PRS.3SG harvest = and rent.money = ACC/DAT late

fa = d-e sursât = a čən-sâl = ə
 VPFX=give.PRS-3SG tax=ACC/DAT several-year=BE.PRS.3SG

fa = n-d-e
 VPFX=NEG-give.PRS-3SG

Day and night Mullah Rajab whispered (lit. hummed) in the landowner's ears,
 "Maryam's father does this and that, he withholds the harvest and the field rent;
 for several years he has not been paying the tax.

Poor:261

az hamə bət-tər ita pəsər-ək = ə jəvân = a
 from all bad-CMPR one boy-DEF=EZ young=ACC/DAT

b-avərd-ə xu xânə miyan ki ruz = u šəb
 PFV-bring.PST-3SG self house inside CMPL day=and night

uni duxtər amra lās zən-e
 3SG.GEN.DIST girl with flirting hit.PRS-3SG

And worst of all he has brought a young lad into his house who flirts with his
 daughter day and night.

Poor:262

āxər din = u məzhab = u xudā ki is-ə
 you.see religion=and religion=and God CMPL BE.PST-3SG

You see, after all, there is faith, religion and God!

Poor:263

a pir = ə-mərd misl = ə in ki xu din = u məzhəb = a
 this old=GEN-man like=GEN this.that self religion=and religion=ACC/DAT

fəramuš = a kud-ə
 forgetting=ACC/DAT do.PST-3SG

The old man apparently has forgotten his faith and religion.

Poor:264

az xudā = u āxərət = am na-tərs-e
 from God=and day.of.judgment=also NEG-fear.PRS-3SG

He fears neither God nor the day of judgment.

Poor:265

an = am diyānət = ə ki ādəm ita ləndəyul = a
 this=TOP religion=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL person a rascal=ACC/DAT

b-avər-ə xu xânə miyan və halə xu duxtər = ə
 SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG self house inside and now self girl=EZ

azəb = ə amra i = ja zəndəgi bu-kun-ə
 unfortunate=GEN with one=place life SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

Is it religion if the man brings into his house a rascal who now lives together with
 his unfortunate daughter?

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:266

bə jan = ə arab bə sər = ə tu yəs-əm
to soul=EZ Arab to head=GEN 2SG.NOM swear.PRS-1SG
I swear on the soul of an Arab and on your head.

Poor:267

mən de nə-tan-əm t̩ayət b-avər-əm
1SG.NOM no.longer NEG-able.PRS-1SG patience SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG
I cannot endure this any longer!

Poor:268

a pir = ə-mərd = ə ahməy = a tu ba gušmali
this old=GEN-man=EZ fool=ACC/DAT 2SG.NOM it.is.necessary punishment

bə-d-i
SBJV-give.PRS-2SG

You must punish this old fool.”

Poor:269

az šuma či pinhân kədxudâ harâmzadê bu-Ø
from 2PL.NOM what hidden chief bastard BE.PST-3SG.PST

arbâb = am bisəvâd = u ahməy = Ø
landlord=TOP illiterate=and fool =BE.PRS.3SG

We cannot make secret the fact that the village elder was a scoundrel and the landowner an ignoramus and a fool!

Poor:270

arbâb din-e ki mulla rəjəb pir = ə-mərd = ə
landlord see.PRS-3SG CMPL mullah Rajab old=GEN-man=BE.PRS.3SG

čən-sâl = ə ki uni kədxudâ = yə
several-year=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 3SG.GEN.DIST chief=BE.PRS.3SG

The landowner can see that Mullah Rajab is an old man who has been his village chief for several years.

Poor:271

agər či duroy ziyad g-e hoʻyabâz = ə mərdum = a
although lie many say.PRS-3SG cheater=BE.PRS.3SG people=ACC/DAT

bixud sər bə sər nah-e bigâri fa = gir-e
unnecessarily head to head put.PRS-3SG corvée VPFX=take.PRS-3SG

vəli bâz = am kədxudâ = yə
but still=also chief=BE.PRS.3SG

Although he tells many lies, is a rogue, wrongfully offends people and collects the corvée, he is nevertheless the village chief.

Poor:272

bə arbâb či ki kədxudâ bi = rəhm = u duzd = ə
to landlord what CMPL chief without=mercy=and thief=BE.PRS.3SG
What does it matter to the landowner that the village chief is cruel and a thief?

Poor:273

bə arbåb çi ki kedxudå dihåt-en = a yåræt
to landlord what CMPL chief rural.person-PL=ACC/DAT plunder

kun-e
do.PRS-3SG

What does it matter to the landowner that the village chief robs the villagers?

Poor:274

åxər xud = ə arbåb = am h-a kår-ə = yə
you.see self=GEN landlord=TOP same-this work-ADJLZ=BE.PRS.3SG
You see the landowner himself also acts in the same manner.

Poor:275

mulla rəjəb har pədərsəxtəgi bə-dar-ə arbåb = əre xob
mullah Rajab every unlawfulness SBJV-have.PRS-3SG landlord=BEN good

kår kun-e
work do.PRS-3SG

Although Mullah Rajab performs all kinds of unlawfulness, he serves the landowner well.

Poor:276

arbåb = am h-an = a xa-yə = u bəs
landlord=TOP same-this=ACC/DAT want.PRS-3SG=and that.is.all
The landowner wants this and that is enough.

Poor:277

gur = ə pədər = ə məryəm = u uni per
grave=EZ father=EZ Maryam=and 3SG.GEN.DIST father
Let Maryam's father and his father kick the bucket.

Poor:278

tåbəstån b-e
summer become.PRS-3SG
It turns summer.

Poor:279

arbåb xu pəsər = ə amra a-ye dihåt gərdəş = u sərəkəşi
landlord self son=GEN with come.PRS-3SG village walk=and visitation
The landowner comes into the village with his son to tour and visit;

Poor:280

zimnən bə hisåb = ə dihåt-en bə-rəs-ə
incidentally to account=EZ rural.person-PL PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT
Ostensibly to settle accounts with the villagers.

Poor:281

bilåxərə nobə rəs-e bə məryəm = ə per
finally turn arrive.PRS-3SG to Maryam=GEN father
Finally, Maryam's father's turn comes.

Poor:282

məryəm = ə per ådəm = ə xuşhisåbi bu-Ø
Maryam=GEN father person=EZ prompt.paying BE.PST-3SG.PST
Maryam's father was a prompt paying man.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:283

xu maləlijarə=ya har səl sər=ə vəxt
self rent.money=ACC/DAT every year head=GEN time

fa=da-Ø-yi

VPFX=give.PST-IPFV-2SG

He would pay his rent on time every year.

Poor:284

vəli xob şuma dan-idi ki mulla rəjəb yəblən
but good 2PL.NOM know.PRS-2/3PL CMPL mullah Rajab previously

arbāb=ə guş-a pur=a kud-ə bu-Ø
landlord=GEN ear-PL full=ACC/DAT do.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

But you well know that Mullah Rajab had previously given him an earful.

Poor:285

hato ki meryəm per a-ye arbāb=ə bija səlam
as.soon.as CMPL Maryam father come.PRS-3SG landlord=GEN side hello

kun-e arbāb avvəl uni yədd=u bələ=ya
do.PRS-3SG landlord at.first 3SG.GEN.DIST stature=and high=ACC/DAT

vərəndāz kun-e yək kəm=i kəj kəj nigā kun-e
staring do.PRS-3SG one little=IND crooked crooked look do.PRS-3SG

When Maryam's father approaches the landowner and greets him, the landowner sizes up his height and gives him a strange little look.

Poor:286

alekum səlam nur=ə kəfš=ə mən
to.you hello light=EZ shoe=EZ 1SG.NOM

“Hello, light of my boots.

Poor:287

xob kəblāyi b-işənəvəst-əm tu sər=ə pir-i bə
okay title PFV-hear.PST-1SG 2SG.NOM head=GEN old-NMLZ to

jəkəşi də=kəft-Ø-i

pimping VPFX=fall.PST-IPFV-2SG

Well, sir, I have learned that you have been engaging in pimping in your old age.

Poor:288

mahsul=a ki har səl bə ayəb ta=vəd-i
harvest=ACC/DAT CMPL every year to behind VPFX=drop.PRS-2SG

sursāt=a der fa=d-Ø-i

tax=ACC/DAT late VPFX=give.PST-IPFV-2SG

You are behind every year in bringing in the harvest and you pay the tax late.

Poor:289

bigāri moye ham ki ti jǎn bə ləb a-ye
 corvée time also CMPL 2SG.GEN soul to lip come.PRS-3SG
 At the time of the corvée you will be taking your last gasp (lit. your soul comes to the lip)!”

Poor:290

məryəm = ə per hamə = yə dihāt-en təʔjub kun-idi
 Maryam=GEN father all=GEN rural.person-PL surprise do.PRS-2/3PL
 Maryam’s father and all the villagers were shocked.

Poor:291

hamə danəst-Ø-idi ki məryəm = ə per ādəm = ə
 all know.PST-IPFV-2/3PL CMPL Maryam=GEN father person=EZ

hisābi = yə
 dependable=BE.PRS.3SG

They all knew that Maryam’s father was a dependable man.

Poor:292

məryəm = ə per g-e arbāb ti sər yəs-əm
 Maryam=GEN father say.PRS-3SG landlord 2SG.GEN head swear.PRS-1SG

mən aslən bədih = i n-ar-əm an = am
 1SG.NOM at.all back.payment=IND NEG-have.PRS-1SG this=TOP

mi yəbz
 1SG.GEN receipt

Maryam’s father says, “Sir, I swear by your head, I do not have any arrears; here is the receipt ...”

Poor:293

arbāb de mohlət nə-d-e sər = ə
 landlord no.longer respite NEG-give.PRS-3SG beginning=GEN

foš = a va = kun-e
 reproach=ACC/DAT VPFX=do.PRS-3SG

The landowner does not allow [him to speak]: he begins to insult [him].

Poor:294

pədersoxtə bidin xəjālət nə-kəš-i
 law.breaker irreligious shame NEG-pull.PRS-2SG

“Scoundrel, atheist, do you not have any shame!

Poor:295

ašan hamə ti sər = a bu-xur-ə
 3PL.NOM.PROX all 2SG.GEN head=ACC/DAT SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG

All of these things have come on you (lit. have hit your head)!

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:296

a pəsər-ək ləndəyul ki=yə tu ti xənə miyan
this boy-DEF rascal who=BE.PRS.3SG 2SG.NOM 2SG.GEN house inside

b-avərd-i

PFV-bring.PST-2SG

Who is this rascal of a lad, whom you brought into your house?

Poor:297

ani nām či=yə
3SG.GEN.PROX name what=BE.PRS.3SG

What is his name?

Poor:298

iskəndər miskəndər

Iskander Iskander

Iskander miskander!

Poor:299

pir=ə-mərd hayā bu-kun-Ø
old=GEN-man shame IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP

Old man, be ashamed!

Poor:300

tu i= pā a dunyā=i i= pā u dunyā
2SG.NOM one= leg/foot this world=BE.PRS.2SG one= leg/foot that world

You have one foot in this world and one foot in the next world!

Poor:301

tu āxər duxtər=ə azəb dar-i
2SG.NOM you.see girl=EZ unfortunate have.PRS-2SG

You know you have an unfortunate daughter.

Poor:302

mərdum tərā či g-idi
people 2SG.ACC/DAT what say.PRS-2/3PL

What will people say about you?"

Poor:303

ham məryəm=ə per ham dihāt-en de
also Maryam=GEN father also rural.person-PL already

fam-idi

mətləb az či yərar=ə
understand.PRS-2/3PL issue from what arrangement=BE.PRS.3SG

Both Maryam's father and the villagers already know what the issue is.

Poor:304

fam-idi ki bāzen zir=ə sər=ə kedxudā mulla
understand.PRS-2/3PL CMPL again under=GEN head=GEN chief mullah

rəjəb=ə

Rajab=BE.PRS.3SG

They realize that these are the machinations of the village chief, Mullah Rajab.

Poor:305

məryəm=ə per yək kəm=i sorx=a b-e xu
 Maryam=GEN father one little=IND red=ACC/DAT become.PRS-3SG self

sər=a biḡir=a kun-e bilāxərə tāyət
 head=ACC/DAT down=ACC/DAT do.PRS-3SG finally patience

n-avər-e g-e arbāb vəlla bə xudā ti sər
 NEG-bring.PRS-3SG say.PRS-3SG landlord truly to God 2SG.GEN head

yəs-əm a ḡəvān=ə mi muzdur=ə
 swear.PRS-1SG this youth=ACC/DAT 1SG.GEN hired.worker=BE.PRS.3SG

məra kumək kun-e
 1SG.ACC/DAT help do.PRS-3SG

Maryam's father turns a little red, hangs his head and then unable to contain himself says, "Sir, truly, I swear by your head, this lad is my hired laborer; he helps me.

Poor:306

alan du sāl=ə ki šəb=u ruz kār kun-e
 presently two year=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL night=and day work do.PRS-3SG

He has already been working night and day for two years.

Poor:307

hamə=yə mərđum dan-idi ki un xeyli pāk=u
 all=GEN people know.PRS-2/3PL CMPL 3SG.NOM.DIST very pure=and

durust=ə harāmzadəgi n-ar-e bəddəšm
 right=BE.PRS.3SG impropriety NEG-have.PRS-3SG envious

n-i-yə
 NEG-BE.PRS-3SG

All the people know that he is very honest and decent and that he does not have any dishonourable intentions; he is not envious."

Poor:308

a moye arbāb=ə pəsər xusruxān az xu ḡā
 this time landlord=GEN son Khusrukhan from self place

vi=riz-e de mohlət nə-d-e ki
 VPFX=rise.up.PRS-3SG no.longer respite NEG-give.PRS-3SG CMPL

məryəm=ə per harf bə-zən-ə darx durx tā
 Maryam=GEN father word SBJV-hit.PRS-3SG slap.sound to.the.point

tanəst-i-Ø məryəm=ə per=a zən-e
 able.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam=GEN father=ACC/DAT hit.PRS-3SG

At this moment, Khusrukhan, the landowner's son, rises from his place, does not allow Maryam's father to speak and with all the strength he can muster slaps

B. Interlinear Texts

Maryam's father.

Poor:309

xusruxân = am šuru kun-e bə foš da-n
Khusrukhan=also beginning do.PRS-3SG to reproach give.PST-INF

bišəraf duroygu pir = ə-mərd = ə budin
dishonorable liar old=GEN-man=GEN irreligious

Khusrukhan also begins to insult him, "Dishonorable man, liar, godless old man!"

Poor:310

a pisər-ək = ə harāmzadə = yə bədcəšm = a b-avərd-i
this boy-DEF=GEN bastard=EZ envious=ACC/DAT PFV-bring.PST-2SG

ti xânə miyan hasa g-i ki an xur = əm
2SG.GEN house inside now say.PRS-2SG CMPL this donkey=also

ādəm = ə pāk = ə
person=EZ pure=BE.PRS.3SG

You have brought this scoundrel of a lad who has bad intentions into your house and now you say this ass is a good man?

Poor:311

h-a imsāl ba bə uni hisâb
same-this this.year it.is.necessary to 3SG.GEN.DIST account

bə-rəs-i una az ti xânə
SBJV-reach.PRS-2SG 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST from 2SG.GEN house

birun = a kun-i vəillâ ti bâr = u
outside=ACC/DAT do.PRS-2SG otherwise 2SG.GEN load=and

kuč = a də = Ø -vəd-Ø bu-šu-Ø har
migration=PFV VPFX=IMP-throw.PRS-2SG.IMP IMP-go.PRS-2SG.IMP every

jəhənnəm dərrə = i ki xa-yi
hell valley=IND CMPL want.PRS-2SG

Well, this year you must settle accounts with him and turn him out of your house.

Otherwise move away from here with your belongings and go to whatever ravine of hell you desire!"

Poor:312

dihât-en ki uyə isa-Ø b-id hamə meryəm
rural.person-PL CMPL there stand.PST-PSPT be.AUX-2/3PL all Maryam

per = a əhtərâm kud-Ø-idi
father=ACC/DAT respect do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

The villagers who had been standing there all respected Maryam's father.

Poor:313

ušan xob danəst-Ø-id ki məryəm=u iskəndər
 3PL.NOM.DIST good know.PST-IPFV-2/3PL CMPL Maryam=and Iskander

ham har du bāadəb=u sərbizir-idi
 also every two polite=and modest-2/3PL

They well knew that both Maryam and Iskander were polite and modest.

Poor:314

dihāt-en xu=šan=i dil=ə miyan arbāb=u
 rural.person-PL self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN heart=GEN inside landlord=and

uni pəsər=a foš da-Ø-id kədxudā=re
 3SG.GEN.DIST son=ACC/DAT reproach give.PST-IPFV-2/3PL chief=BEN

ham hato nišan bə-kəše-id čun ušan
 also in.the.same.way sign PFV-pull.PST-2/3PL because 3PL.NOM.DIST

danəst-Ø-id ki hamə=yə bāzen zir=ə sər=ə
 know.PST-IPFV-2/3PL CMPL all=GEN again under=GEN head=GEN

mulla rəjəb=ə
 mullah Rajab=BE.PRS.3SG

The peasants, in their hearts, hated the landowner and his son, and they also felt the same towards the village chief because they knew that this was again the machinations of Mullah Rajab.

Poor:315

məryəm per=u dihāt-en rā də=kəf-idi bə xānə
 Maryam father=and rural.person-PL road VPFX=fall.PRS-2/3PL to house
 Maryam's father and the peasants set off for home.

Poor:316

rā miyan dihāt-en arbāb=u uni pəsər=u
 road inside rural.person-PL landlord=and 3SG.GEN.DIST son=and

kədxudā=ya az dil nifrin kud-Ø-idi məryəm=ə
 chief=ACC/DAT from heart hate do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL Maryam=GEN

per=a diltəsəllāi da-Ø-idi
 father=ACC/DAT consoling give.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

On the road they cursed the landowner, his son and the village chief and comforted Maryam's father.

Poor:317

una guft-Ø-id ayb n-ar-e bərar
 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST say.PST-IPFV-2/3PL defect NEG-have.PRS-3SG brother
 They said to him, "It does not matter, brother!"

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:318

yusə nə-Ø-xur-Ø
sorrow NEG-IMP-eat.PRS-2SG.IMP
Do not be sad.

Poor:319

xudā ame intəyām = a az a bi = rəhm-an
God 1PL.GEN vengeance=ACC/DAT from this without=mercy-PL

fa = gir-ə ušanire ato nə-man-e
VPFX=take.PRS-3SG 3PL.BEN.DIST this.way NEG-remain.PRS-3SG
God will take vengeance on these merciless men. He will not leave them
unpunished (lit. it will not remain this way for them).

Poor:320

misl = i in ki h-a diruz bu-Ø h-a seid
like=GEN this.that same-this yesterday BE.PST-3SG.PST same-this Seid

rəzi arbāb ba či hart u hurt = i aman i =
Razi landlord with what moaning=IND 1PL.NOM one=

dihāt-en = i miyan xast-i-Ø
rural.person-PL=IND inside want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
It is as if it were yesterday that this very landowner, Seid Razi, asked the peasants
for mercy with such moaning.

Poor:321

diruz b-imi šar
yesterday BE.PST-1PL city
Yesterday we were in the city.

Poor:322

uni pəsər = a bi-din-i ki bə gəđai
3SG.GEN.DIST son=ACC/DAT SBJV-see.PRS-2SG CMPL to begging

də = Ø-kəft-ə
VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG
You should have seen his son, who was reduced to begging.

Poor:323

gurg = ə biyābān
wolf=EZ wilderness
What a wolf from the desert!

Poor:324

ame čəšm a kunə dunyā miyan čiz-hā bi-de-Ø
1PL.GEN eye this old world inside thing-PL PFV-see.PST-3SG.PST
Our eyes have seen things in this old world.”

Poor:325

dihât-en h-a gəb-ân = a ze-Ø-idi har
 rural.person-PL same-this talk-PL=ACC/DAT hit.PST-IPFV-2/3PL every

kəs šo-n xu xânə
 person go.PST-INF self house

The peasants spoke in this way as everybody was going to his own home.

Poor:326

məryəm = ə per = am bā hāl = ə giriftə yəmgin
 Maryam=GEN father=TOP with condition=EZ dejected sad

a-ye xânə
 come.PRS-3SG house

Maryam's father arrives home dejected and sad.

Poor:327

hayât = ə miyan š-e ita gušə nišin-e šuru
 courtyard=GEN inside go.PRS-3SG one corner sit.PRS-3SG beginning

kun-e bə gəryə kud-ən ammā i = tor ki jəyəl-an
 do.PRS-3SG to weeping do.PST-INF but a=way CMPL child-PL

nə-Ø-fam-id
 NEG-SBJV-understand.PRS-2/3PL

He goes into the courtyard, sits in a corner and begins to cry, but in a way that the children do not notice.

Poor:328

məryəm = u iskəndər məşyul = ə pātəngzen bud-Ø
 Maryam=and Iskander busy=GEN winnowing BE.PST-3SG.PST

Maryam and Iskander were busy with the winnowing work.

Poor:329

məryəm = ə mār = am hayât = ə miyan himə âteki
 Maryam=GEN mother=TOP courtyard=GEN inside firewood lighting

bu-kud-u bu-Ø nəhâr hâzər kud-ən
 PFV-do.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST lunch ready do.PST-INF

du-bu-Ø
 PST.DEF-be.AUX-3SG.PST

Maryam's mother had lit a fire in the courtyard, and was preparing lunch.

Poor:330

məryəm = u iskəndər xu = šan = i kâr = a
 Maryam=and Iskander self=3PL.PC.POSR=GEN work=ACC/DAT

tumân = a kun-idi
 finished=PFV do.PRS-2/3PL

Maryam and Iskander finish their work.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:331

məryəm xəndə kun-ân a-ye xu per=ə virja
Maryam laughter do.PRS-PRPT come.PRS-3SG self father=GEN side

g-e xob aĵan imruz arbâb ti hisâb
say.PRS-3SG good father today landlord 2SG.GEN account

kitâb = a bə-rəsə-Ø
book=ACC/DAT PFV-arrive.PST-3SG.PST

Laughing, Maryam approaches her father and says, “All right Father, has the landowner settled accounts with you?”

Poor:332

ama ki bədekâr ni-b-im
1PL.NOM CMPL evildoer NEG-BE.PST-1PL

After all, we are not evildoers!”

Poor:333

məryəm per avvəl gəb nə-zən-e bad bâ oĵât təlx
Maryam father at.first talk NEG-hit.PRS-3SG then with with.anger

g-e ay duxtər ĉi va=purs-i
say.PRS-3SG oh girl what VPFX=ask.PRS-2SG

At first, Maryam’s father does not say anything and then he says with anger, “Oh daughter, what are you asking?”

Poor:334

tu ti kâr = a bu-kun-Ø
2SG.NOM 2SG.GEN work=ACC/DAT IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP

Attend to your affairs!

Poor:335

bər pədər=ə a zəndəgi laanət Ø
on father=EZ this life curse be.imp

May this life be cursed!”

Poor:336

məryəm xob nigâ kun-e din-e misl = i in ki
Maryam good look do.PRS-3SG see.PRS-3SG like=GEN this.that

uni per=ə sər = u surət sorx = ə zəxmə
3SG.GEN.DIST father=GEN head=and face red=BE.PRS.3SG wounded

= Ø
=BE.PRS.3SG

Maryam looks closer and sees that apparently her father’s face is red and wounded.

Poor:337

də = kəf-ə xu per=ə bəyəl bâ bitâbi az xu
VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG self father=GEN embrace with impatiently from self

per duvarə va=purs-e aĵən de bu-gu-Ø
father again VPFX=ask.PRS-3SG father EMPH IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP

məgər rā miyan bə-kəft-i yā daavā bi-gift-i
 Q road inside PFV-fall.PST-2SG or fight PFV-take.PST-2SG
 She throws herself into her father's embrace and asks her father impatiently again,
 "Father, tell me, did you fall down on the road or get in a fight?"

Poor:338

ti sər = u surət čəre ato sorx = ə
 2SG.GEN head=and face why this.way red=BE.PRS.3SG
 Why is your face so red?"

Poor:339

məryəm = ə per avvəl say kun-e mətləb = a gayəm = a
 Maryam=GEN father at.first try do.PRS-3SG issue=ACC/DAT hidden=SBJV

kun-ə
 do.PRS-3SG

At first, Maryam's father tries to hide what has happened.

Poor:340

vəli bad din-e de nə-ša gayəm = a kud-ən
 but later see.PRS-3SG no.longer NEG-it.is.possible hidden=SBJV do.PST-INF
 But then he sees that it will not work to hide it any longer.

Poor:341

majbur bə tāmām = ə dāstān = ə u ruz = a mufəssəl
 obliged to all=GEN story=EZ that day=ACC/DAT detailed

un = ire bə-g-ə
 3SG.NOM.DIST=BEN SBJV-say.PRS-3SG

He is forced to tell her at great length about the events of that day.

Poor:342

dər a moye məryəm = ə mār = u iskəndər = am nəzdik = a
 in this time Maryam=GEN mother=and Iskander=TOP near=PFV

b-idi
 become.PRS-2/3PL

At this time Maryam's mother and Iskander also approach.

Poor:343

sə nəfər-i guš dəh-idi
 three person-ADJLZ ear give.PRS-2/3PL
 All three of them listen.

Poor:344

məryəm = ə mār pir = ə-zən bu-Ø
 Maryam=GEN mother old=GEN-woman BE.PST-3SG.PST
 Maryam's mother was an old woman.

Poor:345

nə-tanəst-Ø-i tāyət b-avər-ə biiytāyār
 NEG-able.PST-IPFV-2SG patience SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG unintentionally

gəryə kud-Ø-idi
 weeping do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

She could not bear this and she unintentionally bursts into tears.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:346

ašk mǎryəm = ə ǰəšm = ə dor xalyə bə-ze-Ø
tear(s) Maryam=GEN eye=GEN around ring PFV-hit.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø
be.AUX-3SG.PST

Tears had welled up in Maryam's eyes.

Poor:347

say kud-i-Ø xud = əš = a bə-dar-ə
try do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST self=3SG.PC.POSR=ACC/DAT SBJV-keep.PRS-3SG
She tried to restrain herself.

Poor:348

iskəndər = am misl = i in ki uni per bə-mərd-Ø
Iskander=TOP like=GEN this.that 3SG.GEN.DIST father PFV-die.PST-3SG.PST

xu zānu bəyəl bi-gift-ə bu-Ø az
self knee embrace PFV-take.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST from

uni sər = u ru yəm va = rəst-i-Ø
3SG.GEN.DIST head=and face grief VPFX=down.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Iskander also acted as though his father had died, he hugged his knees and his face was stricken with grief.

Poor:349

āxər səri mǎryəm = ə per g-e bəlla mən
in.the.end Maryam=GEN father say.PRS-3SG truly 1SG.NOM

xud = əm n-an-əm ǰi bu-kun-əm
self=1SG.PC.POSR NEG-know.PRS-1SG what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

In the end, Maryam's father says, "Truly, I myself do not know what to do!

Poor:350

agər iskəndər = a ǰəvāb bə-d-əm mi kār ǰi
if Iskander=ACC/DAT answer SBJV-give.PRS-1SG 1SG.GEN work what

ba bə-b-ə
it.is.necessary SBJV-become.PRS-3SG

If I dismiss Iskander, what will become of my work?

Poor:351

āxər xudā = ya xuš n-a-ye a tiflək du
you.see God=ACC/DAT good NEG-come.PRS-3SG this helpless.person two

sāl = ə amere kār kud-ən dər-ə
year=BE.PRS.3SG 1PL.BEN work do.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG

Evidently, God does not like this young lad who has been working for us for two years.

Poor:352

agər = am a kār = a nu-Ø-kun-əm a zāləm-an
 if=also this work=ACC/DAT NEG-SBJV-do.PRS-1SG this tyrant-PL

ame dudəmān = a bə bād dih-idi
 1PL.GEN dynasty=ACC/DAT to wind give.PRS-2/3PL

And if I do not do this, these tyrants will throw our family dynasty to the wind.”

Poor:353

iskəndər vəxti a harf-an = a šənəv-e uni dil
 Iskander when this word-PL=ACC/DAT hear.PRS-3SG 3SG.GEN.DIST heart

də = kəf-e
 VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG

When Iskander hears these words, his heart breaks.

Poor:354

vi = riz-e š-e ita gušə nišin-e
 VPFX=rise.up.PRS-3SG go.PRS-3SG one corner sit.PRS-3SG

He gets up, goes and sits in a corner.

Poor:355

iskəndər hizār ĵur fikr = u xəyāl kun-e
 Iskander 1000 sort thought=and notion do.PRS-3SG

Iskander thinks a thousand different thoughts.

Poor:356

un ārəzu = yə ziyad dašt-i-Ø
 3SG.NOM.DIST desire=EZ many have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

He had many dreams.

Poor:357

un xast-i-Ø mərəyəm = ə amra zəndəgi
 3SG.NOM.DIST want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam=GEN with life

bu-kun-ə
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

He wanted to live together with Maryam.

Poor:358

un xu dil = u xəyāl = ə miyan ita āyəndə = yə
 3SG.NOM.DIST self heart=and notion=GEN inside one FUTURE=EZ

yəšəng = u xuš zəndəgi = yə sādə = u zibā = yə
 nice=and good life=EZ simple=and beautiful=ACC/DAT

mərəyəm = ə amra hamišə de-Ø-yi
 Maryam=GEN with always see.PST-IPFV-2SG

In his heart and thoughts he always saw a good and pleasant future; a simple, beautiful life with Maryam.

Poor:359

mərəyəm = am h-a ĵur fikr kud-i-Ø
 Maryam=TOP same-this sort thought do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Maryam had the same kind of thoughts.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:360

ama alan din-idi ki har či ušan
but presently see.PRS-2/3PL CMPL every what 3PL.NOM.DIST

bə-baft-idi arbáb=u kedxudā pənbə bu-kud-id
PFV-weave.PST-2/3PL landlord=and chief cotton PFV-do.PST-2/3PL
But now they see that everything they had woven together, the landowner and the
village chief tore apart (lit. did cotton).

Poor:361

məryəm=u iskəndər dil az a kār xun bu-Ø
Maryam=and Iskander heart from this work blood BE.PST-3SG.PST
From all this, Maryam and Iskander's hearts were bleeding.

Poor:362

u ruz hič kudam az ušan nəhār nu-xur-idi
that day none.of.them from 3PL.NOM.DIST lunch NEG-eat.PRS-2/3PL
On that day, none of them eats lunch.

Poor:363

har kəs ita gušə ništ-e bu-Ø
every person one corner sit.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST
Each one sat in a corner.

Poor:364

i= nəfər fikr kud-i-Ø u ita gəryə
one= person thought do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST that one weeping

kud-i-Ø ita digər nifrin kud-i-Ø
do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST one other hate do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST
One of them mused, another cried and a third one cursed.

Poor:365

xulāsə xənə səkit=u ərām bu-Ø ta ki şəb
briefly house silent=and quiet BE.PST-3SG.PST until CMPL night

b-e
become.PRS-3SG

In short, there was silence in the house until it became night.

Poor:366

şəb iskəndər yək məhi=yu sərd=ə pələ xur-e rā
night Iskander one fish=and cold=GEN pilau eat.PRS-3SG road

də=kəf-e ki bə-ş-ə bəjar kutām=ə sər
VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG CMPL SBJV-go.PRS-3SG rice.field plot=GEN head
At night, Iskander eats fish and cold pilau and sets out to go to the rice field.

Poor:367

vəxt=ə şo-n məryəm=a du=xan-e tənha-i
time=EZ go.PST-INF Maryam=ACC/DAT VPFX=call.PRS-3SG alone-ADVLZ

una g-e məryəm=jan agər tan-i
3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST say.PRS-3SG Maryam=dear if able.PRS-ADJLZ

imšəb bi-ya-Ø bəjar kutām = ə sər
 tonight IMP-come.PRS-2SG.IMP rice.field plot=GEN head
 As he goes, he calls to Maryam and tells her in private, “Dear Maryam, if you can,
 come to the rice field tonight.

Poor:368

yək kəm = i gəb bə-zən-im
 one little=IND talk IMP-hit.PRS-1PL
 Let us talk a little.”

Poor:369

məryəm avvəl kəmhosələgi kun-e vəli bad g-e xob
 Maryam at.first impatience do.PRS-3SG but then say.PRS-3SG good

mən tã tan-əm say kun-əm ki
 1SG.NOM to.the.point able.PRS-1SG try do.PRS-1SG Cmpl

b-a-yəm
 SBJV-come.PRS-1SG

At first Maryam hesitates, but then she says, “All right, if I am able I will try to
 come.”

Poor:370

iskəndər de matəl = a ni-b-e rã
 Iskander no.longer delayed=SBJV NEG-become.PRS-3SG road

də = kəf-e
 VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG

Without any further delay, Iskander sets out.

Poor:371

rã miyan az yəm = u yussə fikr kud-i-Ø
 road inside from grief=and sorrow thought do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

On the way his thoughts were full of grief and sorrow.

Poor:372

gãhi bə yād = ə məryəm də = kəft-i-Ø xu bija
 sometimes to memory=EZ Maryam VPFX=fall.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST self side

xand-i-Ø
 sing.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Sometimes he remembered Maryam and sang to himself,

Poor:373

ti yəm mərə pir kud-ə de dər jəvân-i
 2SG.GEN grief 1SG.ACC/DAT old do.PST-3SG already in youth-NMLZ

=jân jânə məryəm
 =dear dear Maryam

“Your grief has already aged me in my youth, dear, dear Maryam.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:374

bi tu de mən nə-tan-əm kud-əm
without 2SG.NOM no.longer 1SG.NOM NEG-able.PRS-1SG do.PST-1SG

zəndəgāni jān jānə məryəm
course.of.life soul dear Maryam

I can no longer live without you, dear, dear Maryam.”

Poor:375

iskəndər hato ki avāz xand-i-Ø
Iskander in.the.same.way CMPL voice sing.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

fa=rəs-e bəjar kutām=ə sər
VPFX=arrive.PRS-3SG rice.field plot=GEN head

Singing in this way, Iskander arrives at the rice field.

Poor:376

šuru kun-e bə hāyuhiy ki xuk-an bəjar=a
beginning do.PRS-3SG to shouting CMPL pig-PL rice.field=ACC/DAT

xərāb nu-Ø-kun-id
spoiled NEG-SBJV-do.PRS-2/3PL

He starts to shout, so that the wild swine would not spoil the rice field.

Poor:377

u šəb havā xeyli sâf=u xob bu-Ø
that night weather very clear=and good BE.PST-3SG.PST

That night the weather was very clear and pleasant.

Poor:378

šəb=ə pānzə=yə mǎ bu-Ø
night=EZ fifteen=GEN month BE.PST-3SG.PST

It was the fifteenth night of the month.

Poor:379

nəsim=ə xunək mulāyəm=i az šəmāl amo-Ø-yi
breeze=EZ cool gentle=IND from north come.PST-IPFV-2SG

A fresh, gentle, light breeze was blowing from the north.

Poor:380

hattā ita kuč=ə tikə abr ham āsəmān=ə miyan pedā
even one small=GEN piece cloud also sky=GEN inside found

nu-bost-i
NEG-become.PST-2SG

Not even a single, small cloud was visible in the sky.

Poor:381

təbiat xeyli yəšəng bu-Ø
nature very nice BE.PST-3SG.PST

The countryside was very beautiful.

Poor:382

ammā dunyā=u hamə čiz misl=i in ki iskəndər=ə sər=ə
 but world=and all thing like=GEN this.that Iskander=GEN head=GEN

dor čərx ze-i-Ø
 around wheel hit.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

But the world and everything seemed to be spinning around Iskander's head.

Poor:383

sətar-ən=ə əsəmān misl=i in ki una susu
 star-PL=EZ heaven like=GEN this.that 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST twinkle

da-Ø-idi bə uni nākāmi=u bədbəxti
 give.PST-IPFV-2/3PL to 3SG.GEN.DIST disappointment=and misfortune

bā məsxərə ləbxənd ze-Ø-idi
 with mocking smile hit.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

It was as if the start in the sky were twinkling at him and were smiling in mockery at his misfortune and disappointment.

Poor:384

šāyəd aslən ato nu-bu-Ø
 maybe at.all this.way NEG-BE.PST-3SG.PST

Perhaps it was not this way at all.

Poor:385

sətar-ən=ə əsəmān=u təbiat iskəndər=a xast-Ø-id bə
 star-PL=EZ heaven=and nature Iskander=ACC/DAT want.PST-IPFV-2/3PL to

uni āyənd=u umidvār bu-kun-id
 3SG.GEN.DIST FUTure=and hopeful SBJV-do.PRS-2/3PL

The stars in the sky and nature might have wanted to give him hope and a future.

Poor:386

šāyəd havā bā xu nəsim=ə mulāyəm xast-i-Ø
 maybe weather with self breeze=EZ gentle want.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

mərhami bə dil=ə pur-xun=ə iskəndər bə-n-ə
 ointment to heart=EZ full-blood=GEN Iskander SBJV-put.PRS-3SG

Perhaps the weather with its gentle breeze wanted to apply ointment to Iskander's bleeding heart.

Poor:387

vəli iskəndər u šəb hamə čiz=a hamə=yə dunyā=ya
 but Iskander that night everything=ACC/DAT all=GEN world=ACC/DAT

xu amra muxâləf de-i-Ø
 self with opposed see.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

But that night, Iskander felt (lit. saw) everything; the whole world was opposed to him.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:388

un fikr kud-i-Ø de zəmin = u zəməñ
3SG.NOM.DIST thought do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST no.longer earth=and time

kəməɾ bə yətl = ə un də = Ø - vəst - Ø - idi
back to murder=EZ 3SG.NOM.DIST VPFX=PFV-tie.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

He thought that the earth and time were conspiring to kill him.

Poor:389

čən saat iskəndər bə fikr = u xəyāl bu-Ø
several hour Iskander to thought=and notion BE.PST-3SG.PST
Iskander was [absorbed] in such thoughts for several hours.

Poor:390

i = dəfa = i bə uni yād a-ye ki imšəb
a=instance=IND to 3SG.GEN.DIST memory come.PRS-3SG CMPL tonight

məryəm ba b-a-yə bəjar kutām = ə sər
Maryam it.is.necessary SBJV-come.PRS-3SG rice.field plot=GEN head
Suddenly he remembered that tonight Maryam was supposed to come to the rice field.

Poor:391

iskəndər xu bija g-e xob az koya šuru
Iskander self side say.PRS-3SG okay from where beginning

bu-kun-əm məryəm = ə amra gəb bə-zən-əm
SBJV-do.PRS-1SG Maryam=GEN with talk SBJV-hit.PRS-1SG
Iskander says to himself, "Good, how (lit. from where) shall I begin to speak to Maryam.

Poor:392

imšəb de bə har či is-ə = u n-i-yə
tonight EMPH to every what BE.PRS-3SG=and NEG-BE.PRS-3SG

məryəm = ə amra dər miyan bə-n-əm
Maryam=GEN with in inside SBJV-put.PRS-1SG
Tonight for certain I must inform Maryam of everything (lit. what is and is not).

Poor:393

har či bādā bād
whatever may.it.be
Come what may."

Poor:394

dər h-a fikr = u xəyāl bu-Ø
in same-this thought=and notion BE.PST-3SG.PST
He was absorbed in these thoughts

Poor:395

išnav-e ki aləf-ân=ə rupå=yə səda a-ra âram
 hear.PRS-3SG CMPL grass-PL=GEN footstep=GEN sound this-way quietly

a-ye

come.PRS-3SG

when he hears the quiet sound of footsteps in the grass.

Poor:396

nigå kun-e xu puštə sər=a din-e mæryəm
 look do.PRS-3SG self place.behind=ACC/DAT see.PRS-3SG Maryam

amo-n

dər-ə

come.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG

He looks back and sees Maryam coming.

Poor:397

mæryəm kəm kəm nəzdik=a b-e tå
 Maryam little.by.little near=SBJV become.PRS-3SG to.the.point

fa=rəs-e

iskəndər=ə bija

VPFX=arrive.PRS-3SG Iskander=GEN side

Maryam slowly approaches until she reaches Iskander.

Poor:398

har du hamdigər=ə pahlu nišin-idi
 both one.another=GEN beside sit.PRS-2/3PL

They both sit down beside each other.

Poor:399

tå čənd dəyiə hič gəb nə-zən-idi fəyət gāhgāhi zir ziriki
 until several minute no talk NEG-hit.PRS-2/3PL only sometimes secretly

az zir=ə

čəšm hamdigər=a

nigå kud-Ø-idi

from under=GEN eye one.another=ACC/DAT look do.PST-IPFV-2/3PL

For a few minutes they do not say anything; only from time to time they stealthily cast glances at each other.

Poor:400

ki dan-e ušani mənzur az nigāh-an
 who know.PRS-3SG 3PL.GEN.DIST purpose from look-PL

či=yə

what=BE.PRS.3SG

Who knows what the purpose of these glances was.

Poor:401

vəli bixud n-i-yə ki mærdum g-idi
 but unnecessarily NEG-BE.PRS-3SG CMPL people say.PRS-2/3PL

gāhi

ādəm

bå

nigāh

xeyli

čiz-an=a

tan-e

sometimes person with look many thing-PL=ACC/DAT able.PRS-3SG

B. Interlinear Texts

bə-g-ə ki bā harf nə-Ø-tan-e
 SBJV-say.PRS-3SG CMPL with word NEG-SBJV-able.PRS-3SG

But you know it is not for nothing that people say, “A person can sometimes say more with a glance than with a word.”

Poor:402

šâyəd ušan = am bā u nigâh-an xeyli çiz-an = a
 maybe 3PL.NOM.DIST=also with that look-PL many thing-PL=ACC/DAT

hamdigər = a bə-fahm-ane-idi
 one.another=ACC/DAT SBJV-understand.PRS-CAUS-2/3PL

Perhaps they too, explained many things to each other with these glances.

Poor:403

bilâxərə iskəndər g-e xob meryəm = jan hâl = ə
 finally Iskander say.PRS-3SG okay Maryam=dear condition=GEN

yəziyə = yə tu ham imruz b-işnavəst-i
 circumstance=EZ 2SG.NOM also today PFV-hear.PST-2SG

Finally Iskander says, “So, dear Maryam, today you also heard the circumstances.

Poor:404

mən xast-i-m imşəb təra bə-g-əm
 1SG.NOM want.PST-IPFV-1SG tonight 2SG.ACC/DAT SBJV-say.PRS-1SG

ama çi bu-kun-im
 1PL.NOM what SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

Today I was wanting to talk to you [about] what we might do.

Poor:405

mən tå hasa təra âşəkâr nu-Ø-guft-əm vəli
 1SG.NOM until now 2SG.ACC/DAT openly NEG-PFV-say.PST-1SG but

alan de rurâst g-əm ki təra xeyli
 presently no.longer honest say.PRS-1SG CMPL 2SG.ACC/DAT very.much

dus dar-əm hiç nə-tan-əm bi tu zəndəgi
 friend have.PRS-1SG no NEG-able.PRS-1SG without 2SG.NOM life

bu-kun-əm
 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

I have not spoken to you openly until now, but now I am telling you honestly that I love you very much. I cannot live without you.

Poor:406

du sâl = ə ki mən a harf-an = a mi
 two year=BE.PRS.3SG CMPL 1SG.NOM this word-PL=ACC/DAT 1SG.GEN

dil = ə miyan bə-daşt-əm vəli de nə-tan-əm
 heart=GEN inside PFV-keep.PST-1SG but no.longer NEG-able.PRS-1SG

tāyət b-avər-əm
patience SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG

I have kept these words in my heart for two years, but I can no longer restrain myself.”

Poor:407

iskəndər hato ki gəb ze-yi-Ø məryəm = ə
Iskander in.the.same.way CMPL talk hit.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST Maryam=GEN

čəšm-an = a nigā kud-i-Ø
eye-PL=ACC/DAT look do.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

While Iskander was saying this, he was looking into Maryam’s eyes.

Poor:408

uni dil tap tap ze-yi-Ø
3SG.GEN.DIST heart beating hit.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

His heart was beating.

Poor:409

muntəzər bu-Ø ki məryəm una či
expectant BE.PST-3SG.PST CMPL Maryam 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST what

jəvāb dih-e
answer give.PRS-3SG

He was waiting to see how Maryam would answer him.

Poor:410

məryəm xu sər = a bizir = a kud-u
Maryam self head=ACC/DAT under=ACC/DAT do.PST-PSPT

bu-Ø sorx = a bost-ə bu-Ø
BE.PST-3SG.PST red=ACC/DAT become.PST-PSPT BE.PST-3SG.PST

Maryam had hung her head and blushed.

Poor:411

avvəl hič harf nə-zan-e bad bā xəjālət g-e
at.first no word NEG-hit.PRS-3SG later with shame say.PRS-3SG

tu ki xob dan-i iskəndər mən = am yeyr
2SG.NOM CMPL good know.PRS-2SG Iskander 1SG.NOM=also other

az tu hič kəs-a nə-xa-yəm
from 2SG.NOM no person-PL NEG-want.PRS-1SG

At first she does not say anything, then she says shyly, “You know well that I too do not want anyone else but you.

Poor:412

mən hamišə āruzu kud-i-m ki ti amra zəndəgi
1SG.NOM always desire do.PST-IPFV-1SG CMPL 2SG.GEN with life

bu-kun-əm
SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

I have always desired to live with you.”

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:413

a moye meryəm ita ăx kəš-e bā yussə g-e
this moment Maryam one sigh pull.PRS-3SG with sorrow say.PRS-3SG

vəli xud=ət din-i ki vəziyət čuto=yə
but self=2SG.PC.POSR see.PRS-2SG CMPL situation how=BE.PRS.3SG

At this moment Maryam sighs and says with sorrow, “But you yourself see what the situation is.

Poor:414

hanuz ama zən=u šohar nu-Ø-bost-im mi
still 1PL.NOM wife=and husband NEG-PFV-become.PST-1PL 1SG.GEN

per=a čub=u čumây zən-idi
father=ACC/DAT stick=and club hit.PRS-2/3PL

We have not yet become husband and wife and they are already beating my father.

Poor:415

agər zən=u šohar bi-b-im hatmən una
if wife=and husband SBJV-become.PRS-1PL certainly 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST

kuš-idi ame ruzəgâr=am siyâ kun-idi
kill.PRS-2/3PL 1PL.GEN fortune=also black do.PRS-2/3PL

If we become husband and wife, they will certainly kill him and also will blacken our future.

Poor:416

ăxər agər ama zən=u šohar bi-b-im de
you.see if 1PL.NOM wife=and husband SBJV-become.PRS-1PL no.longer

nə-tan-im a dihât=ə miyan zəndəgi bu-kun-im
NEG-able.PRS-1PL this village=GEN inside life SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

You see, if we become husband and wife, we will no longer be able to live in this village.

Poor:417

arbâb=ə pəsər mulla rəjəb de aməra amân
landlord=GEN son mullah Rajab no.longer 1PL.ACC/DAT safety

nə-d-id
NEG-give.PRS-2/3PL

The landowner’s son and Mullah Rajab will not let us live in safety.”

Poor:418

iskəndər xeyli nărâhət b-e hay=am dašt-i-Ø
Iskander very unhappy become.PRS-3SG right=also have.PST-IPFV-3SG.PST

Iskander became very upset and he had a right too.

Poor:419

ăxər meryəm=ə gəb-an du pahlu bu-Ø
you.see Maryam=GEN talk-PL two side BE.PST-3SG.PST

You see, there were two sides to Maryam’s words.

Poor:420

iskəndər bə hol=u hərəs dər həl=i ki uni
 Iskander with fright=and terror in condition=IND Cmpl 3SG.GEN.DIST

dəs-tan lərzist-Ø-idi məryəm=ə dəst=a
 hand-PL tremble.PST-IPFV-2/3PL Maryam=GEN hand=ACC/DAT

gir-e va=purs-e yani tu xa-yi
 take.PRS-3SG VPFX=ask.PRS-3SG it.means 2SG.NOM want.PRS-2SG

bi-g-i ki mən=u tu nə-tan-im
 SBJV-say.PRS-2SG Cmpl 1SG.NOM=and 2SG.NOM NEG-able.PRS-1PL

zəndəgi bu-kun-im
 life SBJV-do.PRS-1PL

In terror, Iskander takes Maryam's hands with [his own] trembling hands and asks,
 "You are trying to say that you and I cannot live [together]."

Poor:421

yani mən bi= mi per=ə gor az yussə
 it.means 1SG.NOM to= 1SG.GEN father=GEN grave from sorrow

bi-mir-əm
 SBJV-die.PRS-1SG

This means I must die from sorrow on my father's grave."

Poor:422

məryəm din-e ki iskəndər xeyli nərəhət=ə kərə
 Maryam see.PRS-3SG Cmpl Iskander very unhappy=BE.PRS.3SG PROG

divanə bost-ən dər-ə una g-e
 crazy become.PST-INF have.AUX-3SG 3SG.ACC/DAT.DIST say.PRS-3SG

de na
 EMPH no

Maryam sees that Iskander is very upset and is going crazy so she says to him,
 "Surely not."

Poor:423

tu çire ato dəspəçə bost-i
 2SG.NOM why this.way looking.dejected become.PST-2SG
 Why are you so dejected?

Poor:424

mən ki uto nu-Ø-guft-əm
 1SG.NOM Cmpl that.way NEG-PFV-say.PST-1SG
 I did not say that.

B. Interlinear Texts

Poor:425

mən tərə bu-guft-əm ki mən = am bi
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-1SG CMPL 1SG.NOM=TOP without

tu nə-tan-əm zəndəgi bu-kun-əm
2SG.NOM NEG-able.PRS-1SG life SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

I told you that I too cannot live without you.

Poor:426

vəli ba yək kəm = i fikr bu-kun-im
but it.is.necessary a little=IND thought SBJV-do.PRS-1PL
But we must think a little.”

B.19 Interlinear Text 19 – News I

Goftəgu

News I

From the newspaper “Ruznâmeje Čələngər”, by Pâbərəhnəyə Rašti

News I:1

bâz bu-šo-Ø hut b-amo-Ø bəhâr dihâti
again PFV-go.PST-3SG.PST Khut PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST spring rural.person
The month of Khut has passed again; spring has come, oh peasant!

bulbul = ə sahrâ kun-e huzâr dihâti
nightingale=EZ field do.PRS-3SG mourning.sound rural.person
The nightingale is singing mournfully, oh peasant!

News I:2

bâz ti rubâb və ti kâsəgul və ali = jan
again 2SG.GEN Rubab and 2SG.GEN Kasagul and Ali=dear
Again your Rubab and your Kasagul and dear Ali

va də = Ø-kəf-ə tâ guli bə kâr dihâti
it.is.necessary VPFX=SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG until neck to work rural.person
Must be absorbed up to their necks in work, oh peasant!

News I:3

va badəri çəf javəstai ki ti arbâb
it.is.necessary swelling saturated hunger CMPL 2SG.GEN master
You must swell from hunger while your master

hai bu-kun-ə jujə zahr = ə mâr dihâti
continuously SBJV-do.PRS-3SG chick poison=GEN snake rural.person
Continually devours chickens, (lit. does chickens with the poison of a snake) oh peasant!

News I:4

u xus-e pər=ə yu miyani və ti
 3SG.NOM.DIST sleep.PRS-3SG feather=EZ swan inside and 2SG.GEN

zən = u zay
 wife=and child

He sleeps on a swan's down, and your wife and children

gur=ə xulə ja š-e biyar kâr dihâti
 grave=GEN hole from go.PRS-3SG rice.field work rural.person
 Go from the opening of a grave to work in the rice field, oh peasant!

News I:5

an-hamə jan kənd-ən və aray fu=kud-ən hiç
 this-all soul take.off.PST-INF and perspiration VPFX=do.PST-INF nothing
 All these torments and this shedding of sweat is in vain!

na tire şâm b-e və na nəhâr dihâti
 not 2SG.BEN supper become.PRS-3SG and not lunch rural.person
 You will have neither dinner, nor lunch, oh peasant!

News I:6

mory = u jukul jâru və âyuz = u kəbâb-i
 chicken=and raw.rice bundled and walnut=and grilled.meat-ADVZ
 Hens, bundles of rice, walnuts and grilled meat,

hai bər-i duşâb tøyâr tøyâr dihâti
 continuously carry.PRS-2SG grape.juice large.bowl large.bowl rural.person
 You continuously bring grape juice by the tubful [to the master], oh peasant!

News I:7

səng = ə dil = a âb kun-e ti hâl vəzâyâ
 stone=GEN heart=ACC/DAT water do.PRS-3SG 2SG.GEN condition situation
 A stony heart is melted [at the sight of] your life (lit. condition of situation);

kəs n-ar-e ti ruz ruzgâr dihâti
 person NEG-have.PRS-3SG 2SG.GEN day days rural.person
 Nobody has your fate, oh peasant!

News I:8

arbâb = ə zən xuş bu-xord-ə jan bu-kud-ə ku
 landlord=GEN wife good PFV-eat.PST-3SG soul PFV-do.PST-3SG mountain
 The master's wife has eaten well and grown stout like a mountain;

anə du = ta jul-an bu-bo-Ø âpâr
 3SG.GEN.PROX two=CLF cheek-PL PFV-become.PST-3SG.PST rock.disc

dihâti
 rural.person

Her cheeks have become full like round discs, oh peasant!

B. Interlinear Texts

News I:9

murvari bənd = a bi-din-Ø də = Ø-bəst-ə xu
pearl band=ACC/DAT IMP-see.PRS-2SG.IMP VPFX=PFV-tie.PST-3SG self

gərdən
neck

Look at the strings of pearls tied around her neck;

da dānə šad da yətār yətār dihâti
ten unit maybe ten one.after.another rural.person
Ten of them - one on top of the other, oh peasant!

News I:10

məxməl = ə ru ništ-e hai xan-e kuko-ra
velvet=GEN on sit.PST-PSPT continuously sing.PRS-3SG which-road

š-im
go.PRS-1PL

She sits on velvet; she continuously sings, “Which road will we take?”

xu čək = u čānə deh-e šəlār dihâti
self jaw=and chin give.PRS-3SG movement rural.person
And she moves her jaw and chin [in time with the song], oh peasant!

News I:11

jəyəl = ə ti = šin ništ-e pābərəndə mādərzād
child=EZ 2SG.GEN=POSS sit.PST-PSPT barefoot born
[But] your child sits barefoot, like the day he was born,

gərzənə gərzək xumə kənār dihâti
nettle wasp nest side rural.person

Beside the nettle and the wasp’s nest, oh peasant!

News I:12

ti kəmər = u kilə xa-ye borsəf-ə az bənd
2SG.GEN back =and thigh want.PRS-3SG rupture.PRS-3SG from band
Your back and your thighs are ready to break in the joints;

arbāb = ə gərdən āyuzdār dihâti
landlord=GEN neck walnut.tree rural.person

The master’s neck is like a walnut tree, oh peasant!

News I:13

an hamə ra pābərəndə š-i tu bəjar-kār
this all way barefoot go.PRS-2SG 2SG.NOM rice.field-work
You walk the whole way to the rice field barefoot,

un bə xiyābān utul-səvar dihâti
3SG.NOM.DIST to street car-mounted rural.person
But he drives along the street sitting in a car, oh peasant!

News I:14

šəb a-yi ti kumə dəš dərāz-tar az pā
 night come.PRS-2SG 2SG.GEN hut hand long-CMPR from leg/foot
 At night you come to your hut with your arms longer than your legs [from hard work];

kār ki ni-b-e an-γəzər dādār dihāti
 work CMPL NEG-become.PRS-3SG this-much *** rural.person
 There is no more back-breaking work than this, oh peasant!

News I:15

xušk=ə māhi γāziyān bu-bost-ə ti heykəl
 dry=GEN fish Gazian PFV-become.PST-3SG 2SG.GEN stature
 Your stature has become like the dried fish of Gazian;

kəllə=yə arbāb ti=šin u-dār dihāti
 head=EZ master 2SG.GEN=POSS that-tree rural.person
 And the master's head is like your tree, oh peasant!

News I:16

nāxuš=a b-i š-i nišin-i āftāb=ə dimə
 unwell=PFV become.PRS-2SG go.PRS-2SG sit.PRS-2SG sunshine=GEN under
 You fall ill and go and sit under the sun;

gəryə gir-e az ti hāl=ə-zār dihāti
 weeping take.PRS-3SG from 2SG.GEN condition=GEN-miserable rural.person
 You cry because of your miserable condition, oh peasant!

News I:17

ti zən=u zak-an mægər jə dār xulə b-amo-Ø
 2SG.GEN wife=and child-PL Q from tree hole PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST
 Have your wife and children come out of the hollow of a tree?

va və=b-ə hič vəxt nonəvār
 it.is.necessary VPFX=become.PRS-3SG nothing time good.situation

dihāti
 rural.person

It must be because the situation is never good, oh peasant!

News I:18

soxtəsālə bəj agər tu fa=n-d-i arbāb
 dry.year rice if 2SG.NOM VPFX=NEG-give.PRS-2SG master
 In a dry year, if you do not bring rice to the master,

və=kəf-e tara misl=ə səg=ə xār dihāti
 VPFX=fall.PRS-3SG 2SG.ACC/DAT like=GEN dog=EZ rabid rural.person
 He will seize you like a rabid dog, oh peasant!

B. Interlinear Texts

News I:19

g-e mara hâl=i ni-b-e
say.PRS-3SG 1SG.ACC/DAT condition=IND NEG-become.PRS-3SG

bu-soxt-ə nu-Ø-soxt-ə
PFV-burn.PST-3SG NEG-SBJV-burn.PST-3SG

He says, “I do not care whether [the rice in the field] has been scorched or not!

zud bə-tərk-Ø=u bi-mir-Ø
quickly IMP-burst.PRS-2SG.IMP=and IMP-die.PRS-2SG.IMP

bə-bar-Ø dihâti
IMP-take.PRS-2SG.IMP rural.person

Give it up, hurry and die, oh peasant!”

News I:20

vây jə arbâb=u mubâşər=ə arbâb
oh from landlord=and overseer=GEN master

Oh the grief from the master and the master’s estate manager!

ti guli çâl-ək=a dih-e fişâr dihâti
2SG.GEN neck hole-DEF=ACC/DAT give.PRS-3SG pressure rural.person
Your throat is being squeezed, oh peasant!

B.20 Interlinear Text 20 – News II

From the newspaper “Ruznâme-ye Čəlāngər”, 28 esf., 1331 by Pâbərāhnəyā Rašti

News II:1

taɣi bu-goft-ə xu mâr=a
Tagi PFV-say.PST-3SG self mother=ACC/DAT
Tagi said to his mother:

imru n-a-yəm mən nəhâr=a
today NEG-come.PRS-1SG 1SG.NOM lunch=ACC/DAT
I am not coming for lunch today.

News II:2

fa=Ø-gir-Ø jə mən a yək yərean
VPFX=IMP-take.PRS-2SG.IMP from 1SG.NOM this one Rial
Take this one Rial from me

bi-hin-Ø tere nəhâr=ə nân
IMP-buy.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.BEN lunch=GEN bread
And buy some bread for yourself for lunch.

News II:3

şâyəd ki şəb nu-bo-Ø b-a-yəm
maybe CMPL night NEG-become.PST-3SG.PST SBJV-come.PRS-1SG
Perhaps I will not manage to come tonight;

šâyəd i= šəb du šəb n-Ø-a-yəm
 maybe one= night two night NEG-SBJV-come.PRS-1SG
 Perhaps I will not come [home] for one or two nights.

News II:4

ǰə mən agər n-Ø-amo-Ø xəbər
 from 1SG.NOM if NEG-PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST news
 If there has been no news from me,

bixud na-Ø-zan-Ø ti sinə sər
 unnecessarily NEG-IMP-hit.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.GEN chest head
 Do not worry (lit. beat your breast) unnecessarily.

News II:5

agər n-Ø-amo-m yurub = əre
 if NEG-PFV-come.PST-1SG evening=BEN
 If I have not come in the evening,

nu-Ø-gu-Ø mi zay n-Ø-amo-Ø čere
 NEG-IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP 1SG.GEN child NEG-PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST why
 Do not say, “Why has my son not come?”

News II:6

mere nu-Ø-kun-Ø bu-dob-Ø
 1SG.BEN NEG-IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP PFV-run.PST-2SG.IMP

bu-dob-Ø
 PFV-run.PST-2SG.IMP
 On account of me do not run [around];

nu-Ø-gu-Ø čere n-Ø-amo-Ø tā sob
 NEG-IMP-say.PRS-2SG.IMP why NEG-PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST until morning
 Do not say, “Why has he not come until morning?”

News II:7

šəb = a bi-gir-Ø tere bu-xus-Ø
 night=ACC/DAT IMP-take.PRS-2SG.IMP 2SG.BEN IMP-sleep.PRS-2SG.IMP
 Avail yourself of the night (lit. take the night for yourself) and sleep!

nu-Ø-kun-Ø mere va = Ø-vurs-Ø
 NEG-IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP 1SG.BEN VPFX=IMP-ask.PRS-2SG.IMP

va = Ø-vurs-Ø
 VPFX=IMP-ask.PRS-2SG.IMP
 Do not make inquiries (lit. ask, ask) about me.

News II:8

nu-Ø-šu-Ø hačın a-ra u-ra
 NEG-IMP-go.PRS-2SG.IMP for.no.reason this-way that-way
 Do not go first here and there in vain!

B. Interlinear Texts

zallə na-va kud-ən təra
weary NEG-it.is.necessary do.PST-INF 2SG.ACC/DAT
You should not weary yourself!

News II:9

mār ki a harf=a b-əštavəst-Ø
mother CMPL this word=ACC/DAT PFV-hear.PST-3SG.PST
When [his] mother heard this,

bičārə az xu j̄a bə-ǰəst-Ø
helpless.person from self place PFV-jump.PST-3SG.PST
She jumped up, poor woman, from her place.

News II:10

holholəki bə-ze-Ø havar
in.a.hurry PFV-hit.PST-3SG.PST cry
She cried out quickly,

āxər čere n-a-yi bərar
finally why NEG-come.PRS-2SG brother
“Why do you not come, Brother?”

News II:11

bāz či xəbər bu-bo-Ø mægər
again what news PFV-become.PST-3SG.PST Q
Has something happened again?

xa-yi mara ni-g-i pəsər
want.PRS-2SG 1SG.ACC/DAT NEG-say.PRS-2SG son
Do you not want to tell me, Son?

News II:12

harf bə-ze-i duǰur muǰur
word PFV-hit.PST-2SG two.ways two.ways
[But] you speak so vaguely (lit. two ways),

bāz = əm mi dil də = Ø-kəft-ə šur
again=also 1SG.GEN heart VPFX=PFV-fall.PST-3SG emotion
And my heart has become anxious again.”

News II:13

təyi ǰəvāb bə-da-Ø ki bāz
Tagi answer PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST CMPL again
Tagi answered: Again

a lākitāb hoyyəbāz
this pagan cheater
This pagan, swindler.

News II:14

i var de kārẖānə miyan
once.again factory inside
Once again into the factory

b-avərd-ə da nəfər aǝan
 PFV-bring.PST-3SG ten person policeman
 He has brought ten policemen.

News II:15

bu-goft-ə kårxānə mere
 PFV-say.PST-3SG factory 1SG.BEN
 He said, “The factory for me

hič zərə mənəfat n-ar-e
 no bit benefit NEG-have.PRS-3SG
 Has no benefit to me at all.

News II:16

har ki bə-g-ə izāfə pul
 everyone SBJV-say.PRS-3SG extra money
 Everyone demands a raise.

nu-kun-ə mi hukm = a yubul
 NEG-do.PRS-3SG 1SG.GEN command=ACC/DAT acceptance
 They do not obey my orders.

News II:17

har ki bu-kun-ə e'təsāb
 everyone SBJV-do.PRS-3SG strike
 Everyone who goes on strike

h-u sāat = a dəh-əm ǝəvāb
 same-that hour=ACC/DAT give.PRS-1SG answer
 I shall immediately fire (lit. at that same hour I will give the answer).

News II:18

ni-b-e ki har du ruz bə sər
 NEG-become.PRS-3SG CMPL every two day to head
 It must not be that every two days

ra ta = vəd-id šur = u šər
 way VPFX=throw.PRS-2/3PL fervor=and evil
 You incite a rebellion.

News II:19

g-e h-a i = kələmə gəb = a
 say.PRS-3SG same-this one= word talk=ACC/DAT
 They say (lit. he says) this same thing,

ziyad bu-kun-Ø məvājəb = a
 many IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP wages=ACC/DAT
 ‘Increase the wages!’

News II:20

har či dar-e xu = re hisāb
 everyone have.PRS-3SG self=BEN account
 Everyone has his account;

B. Interlinear Texts

harf=ə hisåb n-ar-e jøvåb
word=ACC/DAT account NEG-have.PRS-3SG answer
A true word takes no denial (lit. answer).

News II:21

jərəŋg jərəŋg pul fa=d-əmə
with.jingling money VPFX=give.PRS-1SG.FUT
I will clank down money,

šuma hamaš g-idi kam=ə
2PL.NOM always say.PRS-2/3PL little=BE.PRS.3SG
[And] you always say, ‘It is not enough!’”

News II:22

xulāsə ki a hoybāz
briefly CMPL this cheater
In short, this cheater

bu-kud-ə xu dum=a dərāz
PFV-do.PST-3SG self tail=ACC/DAT long
Showed his true colors (lit. stretched out his tail).

News II:23

kun-e hamišə gušbəzan
do.PRS-3SG always eavesdropping
He always eavesdrops

bə an=u bə un=u an
to this=and to that=and this
On this and that.

News II:24

mere hamaš kəsād=i=yə
1SG.BEN always stagnant=IND=BE.PRS.3SG
“I always have stagnant [trade];

divist nəfər ziyad-i=yə
200 person many-NMLZ=BE.PRS.3SG
[I have] two hundred extra men.”

News II:25

mār=e bə-dan-Ø ki ruzəgār
mother=BE.PRS.3SG IMP-know.PRS-2SG.IMP CMPL fortune
Oh Mother, know that fate

hato n-Ø-a-ye mere bə kār
in.the.same.way NEG-SBJV-come.PRS-3SG 1SG.BEN to work
Does not favor me at work.

News II:26

hamaš kun-im dəvandəgi
always do.PRS-1PL chasing
We toil all the time,

n-ar-im i = xurdə zəndəgi
 NEG-have.PRS-1PL one= bit life
 [But] we do not have a normal (lit. a little) life.

News II:27

hizâr nêfêr bə-kənd-ə jân
 1000 person PFV-take.off.PST-3SG soul
 A thousand men suffer

bə xâtər=ə i = luymə nân
 to sake=GEN one= morsel bread
 For one morsel of bread.

News II:28

a mærd-ək=ə šikəm-kuluft
 this man-DEF=EZ stomach-thick
 This pot-bellied man,

ami hayy = a bu-xurd-ə muft
 1PL.GEN right=ACC/DAT PFV-eat.PST-PSPT free
 He has freely taken our rights.

News II:29

hasa ki xob kuluft = a bo-Ø
 now CMPL good thick=PFV become.PST-3SG.PST
 Now that he has become good and fat

səvar = ə māl-ə muft = a bo-Ø
 mounted=GEN possession-ADJLZ free=PFV become.PST-3SG.PST
 [When] he has acquired possessions for free;

News II:30

hasa ki xeyli pul dar-e
 now CMPL many money have.PRS-3SG
 Now that he has a lot of money

xânə dar-e utul dar-e
 house have.PRS-3SG car have.PRS-3SG
 He has a house and he has a car;

News II:31

hasa ki xob bə-ze-Ø bə jib
 now CMPL good PFV-hit.PST-3SG.PST to pocket
 Now that he has filled his pocket

hamaš xan-e amman yujib
 always read.PRS-3SG amman.yujib
 He is always reading the “Amman Yujib.”

News II:32

hey amire gir-e irad
 continuously 1PL.BEN take.PRS-3SG complaint
 He continually finds fault with us:

B. Interlinear Texts

a mix=a ki aya bigad
this nail=ACC/DAT who here throw.pst
“Who threw this nail here?”

News II:33

i= dānə bə-škən-e fənar
one= unit SBJV-break.PRS-3SG spring
This one has broken the springs;

uy= dānə ham n-ar-e hunər
that-one= unit also NEG-have.PRS-3SG craft
That one does not have any skill.

News II:34

ita du dəyə der b-amo-Ø
one two minute late PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST
This one comes two minutes late!

u ita čere bijir b-amo-Ø
that one why down PFV-come.PST-3SG.PST
Why has that one gone downstairs?”

News II:35

bā h-a bəhānə tun butun
with same-this excuse quickly
On this pretext quickly

da nəfər=a bu-kud-Ø birun
ten person=ACC/DAT PFV-do.PST-3SG.PST outside
He has dismissed ten men!

News II:36

xiyāl kun-e ki kārəgər
notion do.PRS-3SG CMPL worker
He thinks that the worker

kətrai š-ə zə jā bə dər
without.attention go.PRS-3SG from place out
Who is inattentive should be fired.

News II:37

u ita haftə matləb bə aya bə-rəs-e bu-Ø
that one week issue to here PFV-arrive.PST-PSPT be.AUX-3SG.PST

ki təyi xu mār=a bu-goft-ə šāyəd imšəb bə
CMPL Tagi self mother=ACC/DAT PFV-say.PST-3SG maybe tonight to

xānə n-Ø-amo-m
house NEG-PFV-come.PST-1SG

That is the issue of the week that had happened to cause Tagi to say to his mother,
“Perhaps I will not come home tonight.”

News II:38

vəxti anə mār va = Ø -vərse-Ø čere jəvāb
 when 3SG.GEN.PROX mother VPFX=PFV-ask.PST-3SG.PST why answer

bə-da-Ø ki zəndəgi ami = šin xob
 PFV-give.PST-3SG.PST CMPL life 1PL.GEN=POSS good

n-i-yə və kār xānə sahəb bānə birun b-avərd-ə
 NEG-BE.PRS-3SG and factory owner excuse outside PFV-bring.PST-3SG

ki kār kəsād = ə və kārəgər-an ziyad və
 CMPL work stagnant=BE.PRS.3SG and worker-PL many and

xa-ye divist nəfər = a bə h-a bəhānə
 want.PRS-3SG 200 person=ACC/DAT to same-this excuse

birun = a kun-ə
 outside=ACC/DAT do.PRS-3SG

When his mother asked, “Why?” He answered, “Our life is bad and the owner of the factory has given the excuse that trade (lit. work) is slack and there are too many workers, and he wants to use this excuse to dismiss two hundred men.”

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