

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

Studia Iranica Upsaliensia

13

Koroshi

A Corpus-based Grammatical Description

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Erik Anonby, and Abbas Ali Ahangar



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Abstract

Nourzaei, M., Jahani, C., Anonby, E., and Ahangar, A. A., 2015. Koroshi. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description. *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Iranica Upsaliensia* 13. 315 pp. Uppsala. ISBN 978-91-554-9267-0.

The Korosh people are scattered across large areas of southern Iran, from Hormozgan all the way to Khuzestan, and onto the Iranian plateau. This group, which numbers over 10,000 people, is found in significant concentrations near Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province, in north-western Fars Province around Shiraz, and across the southern part of Fars Province.

Although oral accounts situate the provenance of the Korosh in Balochistan, and their language is closely related to southern varieties of Balochi, they have a distinct identity. Some affirm a historical and ethnic connection to the Baloch, but others view themselves as an autonomous tribe; in north-western Fars Province, members of the group maintain an affiliation with the larger Qaşqā'i tribal confederacy.

The present work contributes to the study of the Korosh through the lens of their language, Koroshi. The corpus for this study has been gathered among speakers of the dialect of Koroshi spoken around Shiraz. The book opens with a brief overview of the Korosh people and their culture. The main part of the study consists of an in-depth, corpus-based description of the phonology and morphosyntax of the Koroshi language; a corpus of seven glossed and translated texts of different genres; and a glossary of more than 1200 items. This documentation is supplemented with a CD containing soundfiles of the texts, a searchable PDF of the book, and images of the Koroshi community.

Keywords: Koroshi, Balochi, Iranian languages, language documentation, corpus linguistics, oral narratives.

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ISSN 1100-326X

ISBN 978-91-554-9267-0

urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-252421 (<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-252421>)

Printed in Sweden by Kph Trycksaksbolaget AB, Uppsala 2015.

Distributor: Uppsala University Library, Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden
www.uu.se, acta@ub.uu.se

To the Korosh

Namakēn wārta

Namakdūnā anabōrēnēn

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
[...]	omission of text in a glossed example
...	incomplete sentence
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
/	alternative forms
>	turns into
<	comes from
Ø	zero morpheme
A	agent of a transitive verb
ADD	additive particle
adj.	adjective
ADJZ	adjectiviser
adp.	adposition
adv.	adverb
advz. phr.	adverbialiser phrase
ADVZ	adverbialiser
affirm.	affirmative
alt. npst.	alternative non-past stem
ATTR	attributive
BACKG	backgrounding
C	consonant
card. num.	cardinal numeral
caus.	causative
CL/cl.	classifier
CLM	clause linkage marker
CMP	comparative
conj.	conjunction
coord. conj.	coordinating conjunction
COP/cop.	copula
DC	Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel
DEF	definite
dem.	demonstrative
dem. pn.	demonstrative pronoun

det.	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
echo	echo word
EMPH	emphasis
EZ	<i>ezāfe</i>
F	female
FLEx	Field Linguistics Explorer
frag.	fragmentary utterance
GA	Text 2: Goli and Ahmad
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperfective
IMP.k	imperfective k-
IMPV/impv.	imperative
IND/ind.	individuation clitic
indef. pn.	indefinite pronoun
INF	infinitive
interj.	interjection
interr. pn.	interrogative pronoun
ITER	iterative
K.	Koroshi
KD	Text 3: The King's Daughter
KS	Text 4: The King's Son
lit.	literally
M	male
m	minute
MIR	mirative
MM	Text 6: My Memories
n.	noun
n. prop.	proper name
NEG	negation
neg.	negated
NEG.SBJV	negative subjunctive
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
NPST/npst.	non-past
num.	numeral
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
ord. num.	ordinal numeral
P	patient of a transitive verb
P.	Persian
PC	person-marking clitic
pers. pron.	personal pronoun

phr.	phrase
phr. adv.	phrasal adverb
PL/pl.	plural
PN/pers. pn.	personal pronoun
postp.	postposition
PP	past participle
prep.	preposition
prep. phr.	prepositional phrase
PREV/prev.	preverb
PROH	prohibitive prefix
PROX	proximal deixis
part.	particle
PST/pst.	past
QUEST	question particle
recip. pn.	reciprocal pronoun
REFL/refl. pn.	reflexive pronoun
S	subject of an intransitive verb
s	second
SBJV	subjunctive
SD	Text 5: The Story of Dastan
SG/sg.	singular
subord. conj.	subordinating conjunction
Š.	<i>šamsi</i> (year in the Islamic solar calendar)
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
TOP	topicaliser
UT	Text 8: unpublished text
V	vowel
v.	verb
v. caus.	causative verb
VCL	verb clitic
v. compl.	complex verb
vd.	voiced
v. itr.	intransitive verb
var.	variant
vl.	voiceless
v. mod.	modal verb
v. prev.	preverbal verb
v. tr.	transitive verb
VOC	vocative
WK	Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

Acknowledgements

This book has been made possible through the collaboration of a large and dedicated group of contributors, colleagues and assistants, to whom we are most grateful.

First of all, we are infinitely thankful to the Korosh community, to all those who contributed with folktales and other texts, and particularly to Alamdar Samsanian, who shared his enormous talent as a storyteller so generously with us. Many thanks go to Hossein Gholi Bahman-Nia and Manuchehr Samsanian for guiding and helping Maryam Nourzaei extensively during her fieldwork. Without the help of our Korosh friends, this project would never have taken place.

We also want to thank Ron Lockwood, SIL International, who has conducted several workshops on the FLEx (Field Linguistics Explorer) program and taught us how to use this powerful tool for linguistic analysis. He has also helped us extensively during the finalisation of the book, both to resolve technical issues and to organize the data in a coherent and accessible way. In addition, we have discussed analytical problems with him and seen how he has tackled similar problems in another Iranian language, Gilaki, which he is working on.

We are grateful to Agnes Korn and Christian Rammer, Frankfurt, for providing the maps, and to Agnes Korn also for valuable suggestions on earlier versions of the manuscript and for providing references to some previously published articles on Koroshi that we were not aware of. Stephen H. Levinsohn, SIL International, has also provided useful comments on an earlier manuscript, for which we are very thankful. Likewise, we would like to thank Thomas Jügel, Frankfurt, for valuable input on the description of alignment in Koroshi. We also extend our thanks to Ali Hassouri, Stockholm, whose explanations about weaving and carpets helped us better understand the text about weaving.

We would like to thank Mohammad Mehdi Jabbari and Mohammad Hadi Fallahi of 'Olum va Taḥqiqāt University Fārs, Shiraz, for their supportive attitude towards Maryam Nourzaei during her time as an M.A. student at that university, and to Seyed Mostafa Assi for accepting the duty of external examiner at Maryam Nourzaei's M.A. defence. Many thanks also go to Ehsan Nourzaei, Maryam's brother, who accompanied her on her field trips.

Sincere thanks to the Vilhelm Ekman Foundation, the Editorial Committee of Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, and the Department of Linguistics and

Philology, Uppsala University, for financing the publication of this volume. We also extend sincere thanks to the Royal Society of Humanities at Uppsala for a travel grant that made it possible for Carina Jahani to travel to Germany to work with Ron Lockwood to finalize the corpus in FLE_x.

Now, may our Korosh friends experience the blessings that the camel, Ahmad, the king's daughter and the king's son experienced in the stories you are about to read. And may all the readers enjoy their reading!

Uppsala, Sweden, Ottawa, Canada, and Zahedan, Iran
June 11, 2015

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Erik Anonby, and Abbas Ali Ahangar*

1. Introduction

The diversity of languages in Iran makes this country a true paradise for linguists and at the same time a great challenge for those who are interested in language documentation. One of the language varieties in Iran that has intrigued researchers for a long time, and about which there was until recently very little information, is Koroshi, which was known to be spoken by about 40-50 families in Fars Province (Grimes 2000). Mahamedi (1979) gives a brief description of the Koroshi verb system, and Windfuhr (1989:248, 1992:29) mentions the Koroshi language and its special plural marker. Through the works of Salāmi (1383 Š. [2005], 1385 Š. [2006/07]) and ‘Emādi (1384 Š. [2005/06]), some information about the grammar and vocabulary of Koroshi was made accessible to readers of Persian, but a comprehensive study of this language based on a text corpus was still lacking.

The present project of documenting the way of life, oral traditions, and ethno-linguistic heritage of the Korosh came into being by one of those “fortuitous events” that often shape our path ahead. In 2008, Maryam Nourzaei lived in Marvdasht. On one occasion when she was travelling on a local bus between Shiraz and Marvdasht, she suddenly heard some ladies speaking what sounded like her own language, Balochi, to their children. As she started to talk to them, it turned out that they were Korosh.

It was in view of this turn of events that Maryam Nourzaei contacted and got to know Carina Jahani, Uppsala University, Sweden. In light of the need for further study of the Korosh and their language, the two decided to begin language documentation by collecting oral texts among the language community. From that time, the project took place under the supervision of Carina Jahani, and Abbas Ali Ahangar, University of Sistan and Baluchestan, Zahedan, Iran. Nourzaei started her work in Fars Province, where she was at the time doing her M.A. in Linguistics at the ‘Olum va Taḥqīqāt University Fārs. Once she started doing fieldwork among the Korosh in Fars Province, it became clear that this group is not limited to this province; there are, in fact, members of the Korosh community scattered throughout southern Iran, and the group is far larger than had previously been reported (see Grimes 2000, based on Mahamedi 1979).

The corpus for this study has been gathered among speakers of the dialect of Koroshi spoken around Shiraz in Fars Province. In the beginning of 2009, Nourzaei recorded a large number of texts from male and female speakers 40 years of age and older, and later the same year, during a visit to Uppsala, she

and Jahani transcribed and analysed six of these texts: one animal fable, three longer traditional oral tales, one life story and one procedural text. The contributions of four speakers, three men and one woman, are represented in this initial selection, which was the basis of Nourzaei's M.A. thesis, defended in 2010 (Nourzaei 1388 Š. [2010]).

Erik Anonby became involved in the project in 2011 within the context of his postdoctoral research at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University. Building on Anonby's existing work in Hormozgan Province, southern Iran (Anonby & Yousefian 2011), the research team widened the scope of activities to explore the sociolinguistic context and phonological structure of Koroshi in a systematic way.

In 2012, 2013, and 2014, Nourzaei did additional fieldwork among the Korosh and collected more oral texts, out of which she and Jahani later transcribed and translated four life stories and two folktales. Three speakers, one man and two women, provided these texts. One of the women had already contributed in 2009, which means that we have transcribed and translated texts from four men and two women altogether. Each of these contributors are between the age of 40 and 60 years and have little or no formal education.

Several publications have already appeared as a result of the present research project. In a volume in honour of Joy Edelman, Jahani and Nourzaei (2011) presented the story *Karok o oštorok* 'The Donkey and the Camel', which is here re-published with minor changes in the analysis. Koroshi language data have also been discussed in articles on impersonal constructions (Jahani *et al.* 2010), non-canonical subjects (Jahani *et al.* 2012) and the verb clitic =a/a= in Balochi (Nourzaei and Jahani 2013). A shorter phonological and grammatical description of Koroshi is being published as an encyclopaedia article (Nourzaei, Jahani, and Anonby, forthcoming). Nourzaei has also presented a number of conference papers on various aspects of Koroshi grammar.

This work provides a global overview of Koroshi through the lens of this text corpus, and is organised in three main parts: a comprehensive grammatical description based on the texts (Chapter 3); the texts themselves, glossed using FLEx (Chapter 4); and a glossary of the vocabulary found in the texts (Chapter 5).

Each of the researchers has made an essential contribution to the present book. Anonby and Nourzaei have written the overview of the culture and sociolinguistic situation of the Korosh people. Anonby and Jahani worked together on the phonological description, and Jahani and Nourzaei wrote the grammatical description in cooperation with the other two authors. Nourzaei has done all the recordings as well as preliminary transcriptions of the texts. She and Jahani have then finalized the transcription and analysed the texts using the program FLEx (Field Linguistics Explorer), translated the stories into English, and prepared the Koroshi lexicon.

The present study draws on all the texts so far transcribed for the phonological and grammatical description. Those that are analysed and published here in full have been selected mainly from the texts gathered in 2009. One text belongs to the additional texts recorded in 2014. These texts include four folk tales, two life stories, and one procedural text. One female and two male speakers, all belonging to the same extended family, are represented in this selection.

The female speaker, Mahtalat Samsanian, contributed a folktale, a third person life story (i.e., about a person other than herself), and a procedural text on weaving. She lives in Dehpiyāle, a suburb of Shiraz. One of the male speakers, Alamdar Samsanian, provided an animal fable and two folktales. He lives in Marvdasht, about 40 km to the north-east of Shiraz. The other male speaker, Darab Samsanian, provided a first person life story. He lives in Ahmadābād, which is another suburb of Shiraz.

For an introduction to the texts published in this volume, see Table 1. Additional texts will be published in Maryam Nourzaei's forthcoming doctoral thesis, to be defended at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University.

Table 1: Presentation of the corpus included in this volume

Text	Narrator	Length	Genre
<i>Karok o Oštorok</i> : The Donkey and the Camel (DC)	Alamdar Samsanian (M)	2m10s	Animal fable
<i>Goli o Ahmad</i> : Goli and Ahmad (GA)	Alamdar Samsanian (M)	5m23s	Folktale
<i>Šāhay Janek</i> : The King's Daughter (KD)	Mahtalat Samsanian (F)	4m27s	Folktale
<i>Šāhay Bač</i> : The King's Son (KS)	Alamdar Samsanian (M)	16m20s	Folktale
<i>Dāstānay Dāstān</i> : The Story of Dastan (SD)	Mahtalat Samsanian (F)	13m35s	Third person life story
<i>Manī Yād</i> : My Memories (MM)	Darab Samsanian (M)	6m27s	First person life story
<i>Korošobāray Gāfag</i> : The Weaving of the Korosh (WK)	Mahtalat Samsanian (F)	6m04s	Procedural text

One of the texts from the glossed corpus gathered in 2009 has not been published here due to the nature of the text and the fact that many individuals discussed there are mentioned by name. Still, some examples in the grammatical description have been taken from this text, and the vocabulary found in it is included in the glossary.

The division of texts in Chapter 4 is based on discourse units. As such, some units are as short as a single word, whereas other units are very long. The primary criterion for determining divisions in the text has been the separation of units where the text exhibits falling intonation followed by a pause.

There is one systematic difference between the way verb forms are translated in the grammatical description and in the corpus. The default tense of narration of past events in Koroshi is the non-past form, which is the unmarked form in the category of tense. This is evident from the stories in the corpus. Within the context of the glossed stories in Chapter 4, such verb forms have been translated into the past tense, which is the default tense of narration of past events in English. In the grammatical description, however, these verb forms are translated into the present tense in order to make the grammatical structure explicit for the reader.

In the glossary, only words and word meanings found in the corpus are given. We have selected the basic forms based on their frequency in the corpus, lack of contraction, and similarity to words in other varieties of Balochi.

For verbs, the infinitive is given as the main entry. The regular non-past stem, which can be derived by removing *-(y)ag* from the infinitive, is not given in the glossary. Forms in brackets after the infinitive consist of variants of the non-past stem, if any, and the past stem, with variants, if any.

A searchable PDF of this book, sound files of the texts, and pictures from the Korosh community are available on the accompanying CD as well as online at: <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:810250>.

2. The Korosh

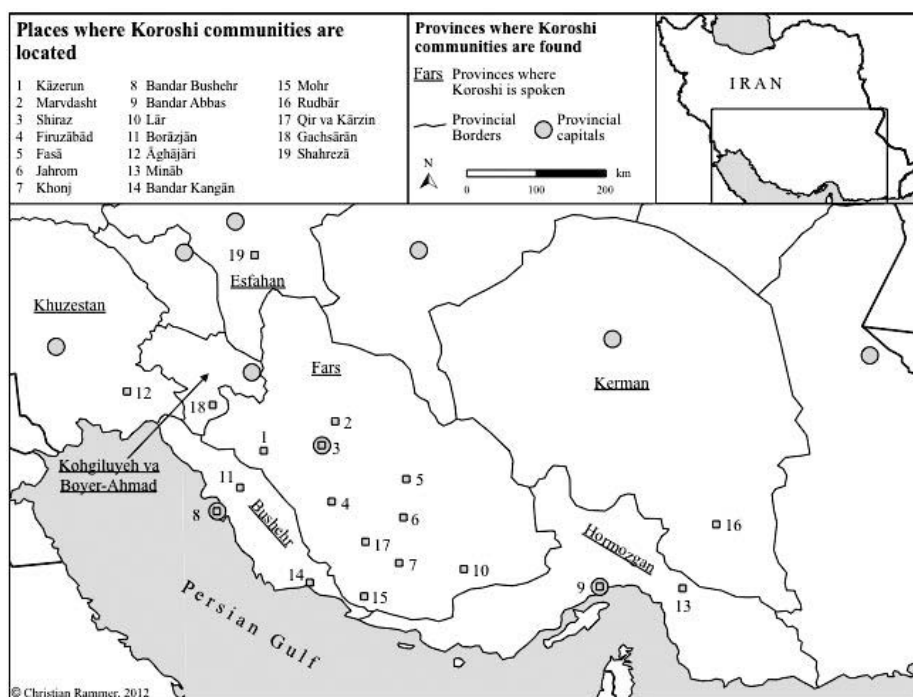
2.1. Geographical distribution

The Korosh tribe (*tāyefe*) is scattered across large areas of southern Iran, from Hormozgan all the way to Khuzestan, and onto the Iranian plateau. In general, Korosh communities are found in villages near large towns and cities, and in the suburbs of these cities. In total, the group probably numbers well over 10,000 people, but because they are typically distributed in small groups, and are located in many communities, it is difficult to give a precise figure. Three areas with significant concentrations of Korosh are Bandar Abbas, around Shiraz, and across the southern part of Fars Province (see Map 1).

Of these three areas, the one with the largest number of Korosh is that of Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province. There, Korosh are evenly divided between the city of Bandar Abbas, where they are mostly found in the eastern suburbs, and the villages between Bandar Abbas and Mināb. In many of these villages, such as Jallābi and Hassan Langi, they constitute the majority of the population. There are also some Korosh living in the city of Mināb and in villages to the south, as well as to the north-west in the Rudbār District of southern Kerman Province.

A second group of Korosh are found in pockets across the southern part of Fars Province, where they live in the districts of Lār, Lāmerd, Khonj, Mohr, Qir va Kārzin, Jahrom, Fasā, and Firuzābād. In most of these places, the Korosh live in small groups as parts of larger communities, but in the village of Galehdār, in Mohr district, they make up most of the population. There are also Korosh living near this area in several communities along the coast, from Bandar Kangān in southern Bushehr Province all the way to Bandar Bushehr, and in from the coast, in Borāzjān.

The third concentration of Korosh is centred in the north-western part of Fars Province, where they are located in the suburbs of Shiraz and in the districts of Marvdasht and Kāzerun; in the latter district, many live in the municipality of Gereh-Bālādeh. There are also some Korosh families living in the nearby district of Gachsārān (Dogombadān) in the province of Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad, and further away in Āghājāri (Khuzestan Province) and Shahrezā (Esfahan Province).



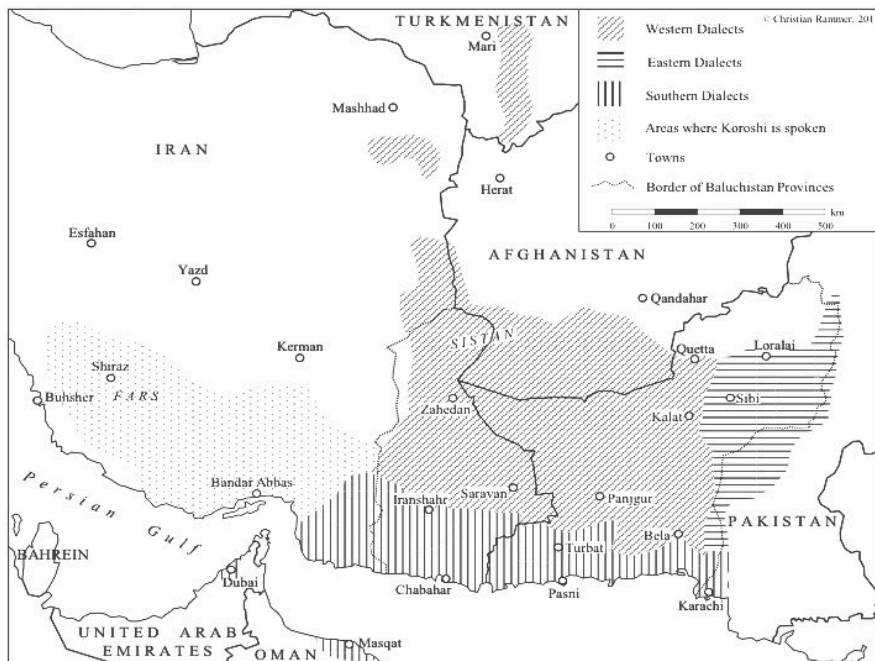
Map 1. Provinces where Koroshi is spoken and locations of field research

2.2. Origins and identity

The name Korosh (*Koroš*) and, consequently, the ultimate ancestry of the people, has been linked by some members of the tribe to the Qoreyshi tribe of Arabia or, variously, to Cyrus the Great (*Kuroš-e kabir*).

Some oral accounts state that, several hundred years ago, the Korosh came from Bampur, Dalgān, Irandegān and the Lāshār District (all of them near Irānshahr in Sistan and Baluchestan Province), travelling from there along the Makrān coast to the Bandar Abbas area, where a large portion of the tribe has settled. Another group that makes up the Korosh may have come to Bandar Abbas from Rudbār in Kerman Province. From Bandar Abbas, the Korosh then presumably spread out to Fars Province and neighbouring areas.

Although the provenance of the tribe is situated in Balochistan, and the language is closely related to southern varieties of Balochi (see Map 2), the Korosh have a distinct identity. Some of them confirm a historical and ethnic connection to the Baloch, but for some people in the southern Korosh communities, Korosh is seen as an autonomous tribe, and some of those in north-western Fars Province see the tribe as affiliated with the larger Qašqā’i *īl* (Koroshi *yei*; ‘tribal confederacy’) (see Windfuhr 1989a:248). Most Korosh clans among the various Qašqā’i tribes with whom they are associated are known to the Qašqā’i simply as *Koroš* or *Dārğa*.



Map 2. The Balochi language and its main dialect divisions

2.3. Culture and way of life

The traditional livelihood of the Korosh is animal husbandry, and camels have been an important part of this lifestyle. While those in southern areas worked for themselves as camel herders, the clans who migrated to the north-west as a result of drought eventually gained a place in the larger Qašqā'i society as camel herders for the *īl*. The place of animal husbandry and, in particular, camel herding, is diminishing. Many Korosh have taken up farming, and those who have relocated to cities are often employed in industry and trade.

The musical heritage of the Korosh, as with many aspects of their culture, varies according to the regions where they are found. Especially in the north, they play a type of flute they call *kalam* (and more widely known in the area as *nay šāhmīrzā*) when driving camels. This instrument is identical to the *nal* of Balochistan. Those living in Hormozgan have *sāz* clarinets and large *dohr/dohl* drums in common with neighbouring Bandari populations. Korosh women in the north are permitted to sing in the presence of men. This contrasts with the situation in the south, where gender segregation has until recently been prominent.

Korosh communities adhere to the Shi'ite branch of Islam. Until recently, Korosh weddings were distinctive, but in the north, Koroshi wedding traditions have now been replaced by those of the Qašqā'i, and in the south by those of Bandari city dwellers. Funerals and commemorations of deceased relatives are elaborate.

Korosh men do not wear regionally distinct clothing. Korosh women in the north wear the same colourful dress as Qašqā'i women, including a pleated dress covered by a long shirt, and a triangular scarf held on with a cloth headband. Until about the time of the Islamic revolution, Korosh women in the south wore clothes similar to those worn by the Baloch. Presently, they often wear a black *čādar* 'chador' and share the colourful *borka* 'face mask' (P. *neqāb*) in common with Bandari people.

Traditional crafts, as in other parts of Iran, include the weaving of carpets (*qālī*) and mats (*jājm*). Carpet and mat designs as well as colours are very similar to those of the Qašqā'i; for example, one of the patterns used by the Korosh, known as *māhī-dar-ham*, is a well-known Qašqā'i pattern. Names of other patterns include *korzakorzī*, *kalleaspī*, and *kallešīrī*. Games played by children include *kawkolābar* (P. *kolāhbāzi* 'hat game'), *hawaylayb* (P. *čubbāzi* 'stick game'), *jammāz* (P. *šotorbāzi* 'camel game'), and *alaxtar* (P. *bāzi bā yek pā* 'one-legged game').

2.4. Language use and vitality

Use of the Koroshi language varies greatly among the regions where it is spoken. In the south, where Korosh represent most of the population in their communities, the language is in vigorous use by all members of the community. Bandari and (to a smaller extent) Farsi are used as languages of wider communication when Koroshi speakers come in contact with speakers of these varieties. In contrast, Koroshi speakers here use their own language when communicating with members of Baloch communities.

At the north-western end of the Koroshi language area, which is the focus of this book, multilingualism is the norm: in addition to speaking Koroshi, the Korosh here speak Qašqā'i, Persian and, in the communities near Kāzerun and Gachsārān, Lori as well. Because they are a minority in this part of the language area, Koroshi tends to be limited to home domains; and among children here, Qašqā'i and Persian are replacing Koroshi as the primary language of communication.

3. Linguistic overview of Koroshi

From a linguistic point of view, Koroshi can be described as a distinct subgroup within the Balochi macro-language, although it shares many features with southern dialects of Balochi. Koroshi itself also displays internal dialect divergences: the Koroshi spoken in Fars province (the “northern” dialect) differs to some extent from varieties spoken in the south-eastern part of the language area near Bandar Abbas (the “southern” dialect). The description of phonology and morphosyntax given here is based on data gathered from the northern dialect. Even within the northern dialect, there is a significant amount of variation in the data, and this is taken into consideration throughout the description.

3.1. Phonology

3.1.1. Vowels

The Koroshi phoneme inventory includes eight vowels: three short ones (*a*, *e*, *o*), and five long ones (*ā*, *ī*, *ē*, *ū*, *ō*) (see Table 2). It is similar to that of Southern Balochi dialects spoken in Iran (Jahani and Korn 2009:642, Okati 2012:212), apart from the fact that *ā* is a back vowel, as in Persian. The sounds *ay* [ɛj] and *aw* [əw] are best analysed as VC sequences rather than diphthongs since, unlike vowels, they can never be followed by more than one consonant within a syllable. Nasalization, which is common in Southern Balochi dialects, is phonetically less salient in Koroshi.

Table 2: Koroshi vowels

	front	central	back
high	<i>ī</i>		<i>ū</i>
mid	<i>ē</i> , <i>e</i>		<i>ō</i> , <i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>

The Koroshi vowel system is, however, highly unstable. There is a strong tendency towards convergence with the Persian system, in which the long mid vowels *ē* and *ō* have merged with the long high vowels *ī* and *ū*: in Koro-

shi, *ē* and *ō* are often found in free variation with their high counterparts. There is, in fact, considerable variation among all front vowels, among all back vowels, and even between *ā* and *a*, e.g., *ēdā*, *ēda*, *eda*, *īdān*, *edān* ‘here’; *čōbān*, *čūbān*, *čobān* ‘shepherd’.

3.1.2. Consonants

There are several differences between the Southern Balochi consonant system (Jahani and Korn 2009:645) and that of Koroshi (see Table 3). The most salient ones are as follows: first, the fricatives *f*, *x*, and *ġ* occur frequently, both in loanwords and due to a diachronic process of spirantization, e.g., *ġāfel* ‘unaware’, *a=kaft(t)* ‘he/she falls’, *emšaf* ‘tonight’, *xodā* ‘God’, *tōxā* ‘in’. Second, *w* exhibits a fricative and/or labiodental articulation in some positions, e.g., *wad* [βad ~ vad ~ vad] ‘self’. Third, the glottal plosive is peripheral – in the data it is encountered only in the word *alʔān* ‘now’ – and has often been replaced by *h* (e.g., *mahlūm* ‘clear’). Fourth, the retroflex stops *ʈ* and *ɖ* are not attested in the data (they are replaced by *t* and *d*), and *ɽ* is marginal, being found in our corpus only in the word *leɽa* ‘camel’. Fifth, the stops *k* and *g* are palatalized in positions other than before back vowels, as in Persian (cf. Jahani and Paul 2008). Sixth, a velar nasal *ŋ* is found in place of the *ng* sequence.

Table 3: Koroshi consonants

		Labial	Dental / Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar / Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops /	(vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>		(ʔ)
Affricates	(vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives	(vl.)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>		<i>ġ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		
Lateral			<i>l</i>					
Flaps			<i>r</i>	(<i>ɽ</i>)				
Approximants		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

3.1.3. Phonological processes

Important historical phonological processes which have taken place include:

- spirantization of *p* and *k* after vowels: *āp* > *āf* ‘water’, *a=kafī* ‘he/she falls’ (the form *a=kapī* is also encountered in the data), *šap* > *šaf* ‘night’, *gōk* > *gōx* ‘cow’, *tōkā* > *tōxā* ‘inside’ (but note, for example, *čāk* ‘fat’, which has not undergone this process);
- progressive assimilation of a plosive to a homorganic fricative or nasal: *tolomba* > *tolomma* ‘water pump’, *a=gendīt* > *a=gennīt* ‘he/she sees’, *dast* > *dass* ‘hand’, *mozd* > *mozz* ‘wages’ (the *zd* > *zz* shift also being attested in other Balochi dialects). It seems that the sound shift *ng* (> *ŋŋ*) > *ŋ* also belongs in this category: *sangīn* > *saŋīn* ‘heavy’, *lang* > *laŋ* ‘lame’. In some cases the geminated consonant has been further reduced to a single consonant: *dorost* > *doross* > *doros* ‘right’;
- regressive assimilation of *šm* > *mm*: *čašm* > *čamm* ‘eye’ (also in other Balochi dialects);
- metathesis: *gasr* > *gars* ‘palace’, *tarh* > *tahr* ‘plan’;
- word-final devoicing (in common with other Balochi dialects; see Korn 2005:268–271): *az* > *as* ‘from’, *hodūd=e* > *hodūt=e* ‘approximately’; and, conversely,
- voicing (likely due to Persian influence): *wat* > *wad* ‘self’, *a=bīt* > *a=bīd* ‘he/she becomes’, *mētag* > *mēdag* ‘encampment’.

3.1.4. Stress and intonation¹

Normally, nouns and adjectives are stressed on the last syllable (*gar'den* ‘neck’, *ma'zan* ‘big’). Even in the vocative, stress usually stays on the last syllable of nouns (*ay dā'zan* ‘hey woman!’), but occasionally – as in Persian – it moves to the first syllable (*a'sī 'alamdār* ‘he says: “Alamdār!”). When the plural marker *-(o)bār* and the comparative suffix *-ter* are attached, they take on the word stress (*bozo'bār* ‘goats’, *gālī'bār* ‘carpets’; *mazan'ter* ‘bigger’). In monosyllabic items, there is a tendency to move word stress to case suffixes, but in polysyllabic words it remains on the stem (*bo'zay*, *bo'zā* ‘goat (genitive, oblique)’; *gar'denay*, *gar'denā* ‘neck (genitive, oblique)’).

Clitics are normally unstressed. This can be seen in copulas (*'boz=en* ‘it is a goat’, *ze'reng=ay* ‘you are clever’), person-marking clitics (*'wad=om* ‘myself’, *'bāg=aš* ‘their garden’) (see also Section 3.2.1.5.3, where stress on person-marking clitics is discussed), and the individuation clitic *=ī/=ē/=e* (*'bāg=ī* ‘a (certain) garden’, *de'raxt=e* ‘a (certain) tree’). In contrast, the attributive suffix

¹ As outlined in this section, stress placement is determined by higher-level phonological and discourse-related constraints rather than being a contrastive feature of word identity. The marking of stress is therefore limited to the present section, one section in 3.2.1.5.3 where stress is discussed, and the text corpus.

-*ēn/-en/-īn* and the definite suffix *-ok/-ak* (originally a diminutive suffix, see Section 3.2.1.1.3) are normally stressed (*syā'hēn 'mēš* ‘black sheep’, *bozorg-ta'ren go'nāh* ‘the greatest sin’, *ava'līn keš'nā* ‘the first neighing’; *ka'rok* ‘the donkey’, *kafta'rak* ‘the hyena’).

In verbs, stress on past forms is assigned by default to the final syllable of the stem (*'dīd=om* ‘I saw’, *a='kod=ad* ‘he/she did (imperfective)’), but if the negation prefix *na-* or prohibitive prefix *ma-* is added, it takes the word stress (*'nadīd=om* ‘I didn’t see’, *a='nakod=ad* ‘he/she didn’t (imperfective)’), *'madey* ‘don’t give’). Non-past forms tend to take stress on the personal ending (*a='nen'nī* ‘he/she sits’), but the negation and subjunctive prefixes, which are always stressed, override this pattern and take the main word stress (*a='nanennī* ‘he/she doesn’t sit’, *'benennī* ‘he/she may sit’). Complex predicates are stressed only on the non-verbal element if there is no negation on the verb (*hara'kat a=kant* ‘he/she moves (lit. makes movement)’). Negated complex predicates are stressed both on the non-verbal element and the negation prefix (*za'rar 'nakanān* ‘I should not make any loss’).

There is contrastive intonation in Koroshi: declarative sentences and sentences with question words are characterized by falling intonation on the final syllable of the sentence, whereas yes/no questions have rising intonation. Subordinate clauses with or without a clause-linking conjunction also have rising intonation if they precede the main clause.

Phrase and sentence level stress and intonation, as well as syllable length, interact with word stress assignment. Consequently, the stress patterns described here are not absolute.

3.2. Morphology and phrase level syntax

3.2.1. Nominal morphosyntax

3.2.1.1. Nouns

3.2.1.1.1. Basic inflection

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two number categories (singular, plural) and three cases (nominative, genitive, oblique) (see Table 4).

Table 4: Case and number system of Koroshi nouns (example: *ĵanek* ‘girl’)

	Nominative	Oblique	Genitive
Singular	<i>ĵanek-Ø</i>	<i>ĵanek-ā</i>	<i>ĵanek-ay</i>
Plural	<i>ĵanek-obār</i>	<i>ĵanek-obār-ā</i>	<i>ĵanek-obār-ay</i>

The oblique suffix is occasionally shortened to *-a*. It is realized as *-yā* or sometimes *-hā* after a vowel, and once as *-nā*. The genitive suffix is occasionally reduced to *-e*, and on personal names (as well as on pronouns; see Section 3.2.1.5) the form of the genitive suffix is *-ī*.²

3.2.1.1.2. *Number*

The basic plural marker is *-(o)bār*, e.g., *bozobār* ‘goats’, *gālībār* ‘carpets’. Contrary to most Balochi dialects, where the main distinction is between direct and oblique case forms, but in common with some other Balochi dialects in Iran (see, e.g., Jahani and Korn 2009:651–653), the basic distinction in the noun inflection is that of number: singular versus plural.

ĵoĝla *a=k-ay-∅* *pād* *∅-ay-∅*
boy VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-3SG
‘the boy is about to stand up’ (KS:41)³

ĵoĝla-bār *a=k-ōšt-ant*
boy-PL VCL=IMP.k=stop.NPST-3PL
‘the boys stop’ (KS:46)

ī *korräg-ay* *mūd -ā* *ās* *a=dā-d*
PROX foal-GEN hair-OBL fire VCL=give.NPST-3SG
‘he sets fire to a hair from this foal’ (KS:66)

yek=e *a* *ē* *mūd-obār-ā* *ās* *∅-day-∅*
one=IND from PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
‘set fire to one of these hairs’ (KS:56)

a=k-ay-∅ *ĵoĝla-ay* *ĵelo*
VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG boy-GEN in.front.of
‘it comes up to the boy’ (KS:18)

go *sīb-ā* *be-ĵan-t* *mā* *ĵoĝla-bār-ay* *sīnā*
with apple-OBL SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG in boy-PL-GEN chest.OBL
‘she should hit [one of] those boys in the chest with the apple’ (KS:74)

² This is also true of Turkmenistan Balochi, see, for example, Axenov (2006:73).

³ The information given in parentheses after each example indicates the text and unit where it is found.

Two other plural-type suffixes are used for adverbials: *-ān*⁴ and *-hā*⁵ (see also ‘Emādi 1384:41–42, who reports more frequent use of the plural suffix *-ān* than what is found in this corpus).

a=čed=ad=eš *tawsan-ān*
VCL=shear.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL summer-PL
‘they sheared [the sheep] in summertime’ (WK:54)

a=mān-ī *rū=ye* *ord-ā* *tā* *modat-hā=yī*
VCL=remain.NPST-3SG on=EZ camp-OBL until time-PL=IND
‘they stay (lit. it stays) back at the camp for a long time’ (DC:4)

Third person plural non-human subjects, as well as human subjects which denote a group, are treated as collective nouns and found with singular verb agreement.

oštor-obār *lāġar* *ma-bī-yag=en*
camel-PL thin IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
‘the camels are (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin)’ (KD:18)

oštor-obār *ma-raw-a* *mā* *īš-ī* *fekr-ā*
camel-PL IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX-GEN thought-OBL
‘the camels are entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought)’ (KD:28)

man-ī *nawkar-obār=om* [...] *mā* *ta-ī*
PN.1SG-GEN servant-PL=PC.1SG in PN.2SG-GEN
šahr=en
town=COP.NPST.3SG

‘my servants are (lit. is) in your town’ (KS:137)

Sometimes, this lack of plural marking for groups extends to the noun as well. In the following example both the noun and the verb appear in the singular to denote a group of human subjects.

bač=e *madrasa-ī* *a=nenn-ī* *rannay*
child=EZ school-ADJZ VCL=set.out.NPST-3SG after.PC.3SG
‘the schoolboys set out (lit. the schoolboy sets out) after him’ (KS:43)

⁴ The word *čūbān* ‘shepherd’ appears with *-ān* as a plural marker on one occasion, but normally it is found with *-obār* (*čūbānān*, *čūbānobār*).

⁵ The suffix *-hā* appears to be a copy from Persian. See also Windfuhr (1989b:533), who prefers to describe the function of this suffix as ‘‘amplification’’ rather than ‘‘plurality’’.

After numerals the singular form of the noun is used.

haf tabağ a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
 seven storey than king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
 ‘seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)

man šīš nawkar ass=en=om īdān
 PN.1SG six male.servant be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG here
 ‘I have (lit. to me there is) six servants here’ (KS:131)

3.2.1.1.3. Definiteness and indefiniteness

The individuation clitic =ī/=ē/=e, normally together with the numeral *ye/yeḡ/ya/yak* ‘one’, indicates singularity and specificity (‘a certain’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:43):

ya čāh=ī war a=k-ār-īt
 one well=IND PREV VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG
 ‘she digs a well’ (KS:18)

Indefiniteness is occasionally expressed only with the individuation clitic or only with the numeral:

rōč=ī āḡā ye kar=e=o ya oštor=e
 day=IND sir one donkey=IND=and one camel=IND
xarāb bod-a=Ø
 thin become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘one day, sir, a donkey and a camel have gotten thin’ (DC:2)

ye ādam=e bīčāra=en
 one human.being=EZ poor=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘there is a poor fellow’ (GA:26)

ye nafar a šāh-ay jan-ā a=š-īt
 one person to king-GEN wife-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG
 ‘someone (lit. a person) told the king’s wife...’ (KS:22)

The individuation clitic precedes the oblique and genitive case endings (see also Section 3.2.1.1.4):

ar=ra-Ø had=e ya čōbān=ē-yā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ one shepherd=IND-OBL
 ‘she goes to a shepherd’ (KD:5)

ta ye šāh=ī-ay bač=ay
PN.2SG one king=IND-GEN son=COP.NPST.2SG

‘you are the son of a king’ (KD:30)

The historical diminutive function of the suffix *-ok/-ak* has been weakened, and it contributes to a definite singular interpretation of the word to which it is attached (see also ‘Emādi 1384:42–43). Definite nouns are otherwise unmarked:

ham=ī kačal-ok-ā bokān=om
EMPH=PROX bald-DEF-OBL want=PC.1SG

‘I want this bald [girl]’ (KD:29)

kar-ok soṣṣ a=kan-t
donkey-DEF loose VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘the donkey slows down’ (DC:16)

kar a=š-ī
donkey VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘the donkey says...’ (DC:23)

oštor-obār lāḡar ma-bī-yag=en
camel-PL thin IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

‘the camels are (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin)’ (KD:18)

3.2.1.1.4. Case

The subject is expressed with the unmarked nominative case:

ḡāfela zorr a=g-ī
caravan.NOM⁶ turning VCL=take.NPST-3SG

‘the caravan turns around’ (DC:11)

aždahā ar=ra-∅
dragon.NOM VCL=go.NPST-3SG

‘the dragon goes’ (GA:22)

joḡla-bār a=k-ōšt-ant
boy-PL.NOM VCL=IMP.k-stop.NPST-3PL

‘the boys stop’ (KS:46)

⁶ The morphologically unmarked nominative (NOM) is only marked in the glosses when the nominative form is under discussion in the grammatical description.

joġla *ra-Ø* *madrasa*
 boy.NOM go.PST-3SG school

‘the boy went to school’ (KS:33)

The nominative case is also used for vocatives. In one instance, the vocative suffix *-yā* is found in a fixed expression adopted from Persian.

ay *čūbān*
 VOC shepherd.NOM

‘hey shepherd!’ (KS:57)

ay *man-ī* *janek-obār=om*
 VOC PN.1SG-GEN daughter-PL.NOM=PC.1SG

‘hey, my daughters!’ (KS:72)

xodā-yā
 God-VOC

‘dear God’ (SD:25)

The oblique case, marked by *-ā* (with variants), is used for definite direct objects as well as indirect objects:

ī *kār-ā* *ma-kan-Ø*
 PROX deed-OBL PROH-do.NPST-2SG

‘don’t do this’ (DC:9)

bann-ā *a=prēn-ī* *mā* *čāh-ā*
 rope-OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG into well-OBL

‘he throws the rope into the well’ (GA:13)

tamām=e *joġla-bār-ā* *gerd* *a=kan-ant*
 all=EZ boy-PL-OBL gathered VCL=do.NPST-3PL

‘they gather all the boys’ (KS:73)

korrag-ā *bāhā* *bo-koš-ay*
 foal-OBL must SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

‘you must kill the foal’ (KS:30)

pūl-ā *a=dā-Ø* *ālem-ok-ā*
 money-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG wise.man-DEF-OBL

‘she gives money to the doctor (lit. wise man)’ (KS:28)

Occasionally a definite direct object ending in *-ā* does not get the oblique suffix:

tā man ē aždahā Ø-bōj-ān
 in.order.that PN.1SG PROX dragon.NOM SBJV-open.NPST-1SG
 ‘... and I will (lit. so that I may) open up this dragon’ (GA:21)

When a person-marking clitic is attached to the direct object, the direct object usually appears in the (unmarked) nominative case in all forms but the 3rd person singular.⁷ There, the oblique case suffix merges with the person-marking clitic (*ā + ī > ay*, see also Section 3.2.1.5.3):

har do=nī a=bar-ant
 each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL
 ‘they take both of them’ (DC:13)

yek=e a ī mēš-obār=at be-day-Ø
 one=IND from PROX sheep-PL=PC.2SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
 ‘Give [me] one of these sheep of yours’ (KS:57)

yek kam=e gōžday a=war-ān
 one little=IND meat.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG
 ‘I will eat a little [of] its meat’ (KS:57)

Compare the following example where the oblique suffix is found in a similar context that lacks the person-marking clitic on the direct object:

yek=e a ē mūd-obār-ā ās Ø-day-Ø
 one=IND from PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
 ‘set fire to one of these hairs’ (KS:56)

In the case of the direct object, the type of differential object marking (DOM) found elsewhere in Balochi (see Jahani and Korn 2009:669–670) is encountered in Koroshi as well. An indefinite direct object is thus normally found in the nominative case.

⁷ There is one merger of the oblique case suffix and the 1st plural person-marking clitic in the data:

fekrayn < fekr-ā=en
 thought.OBL.PC.1PL
 ‘our thought’ (SD:67)

bāmard ya čāh=ī pēdā a=kan-t
 man one well=IND.NOM visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG
 ‘the man finds a well’ (GA:8)

ya barra=e be-day-Ø man
 one lamb=IND.NOM IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG
 ‘give me a lamb’ (KD:5)

oštor=o haywān=o eš-ān walm=e az=aš
 camel=and animal=and PROX-PL.NOM many=IND from=PC.3PL
a=ger-an
 VCL=take.NPST-3PL
 ‘they take a lot of camels and [other] animals and the like from them’
 (SD:24)

The nominative form can also be used for an indirect object that follows the verb:

ağd=ī a=kan-t a=dā-d=ī
 marriage=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
ahmad
 Ahmad
 ‘he marries her off, he gives her to Ahmad’ (GA:31)

In contrast to other Iranian languages, including other dialects of Balochi, and contrary to DOM, generic direct objects and the non-verbal element of complex predicates are often marked with the oblique case marking *-ā* (see also ‘Emādi 1384:58):

pūl-ā a=dā-Ø ālem-ok-ā
 money-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG wise.man-DEF-OBL
 ‘she gives money to the doctor (lit. wise man)’ (KS:28)

man bokā jan-ā be-ger-ān
 PN.1SG want wife-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-1SG
 ‘I want to get married (lit. take wife)’ (MM:41)

zahr-ā a=rēč-ī mā xorāk=ī
 poison-OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG into food=PC.3SG
 ‘she pours poison into his food’ (KS:17)

ham kalam-ā ma-ḵan-a ham šēr-ā
 both flute-OBL IMP-play.NPST-3SG both poetry-OBL

ma-gaš-a
 IMP-say.NPST-3SG

‘she is both playing the flute and reciting poetry’ (KD:28)

The oblique case is normally used after prepositions:

dawr=e ī mēdag-ā
 around=EZ PROX encampment-OBL

‘around this encampment’ (UT)

a rāh=ī-a mah-ā-Ø
 from way=IND-OBL IMP-come.NPST-3SG

‘he is coming from another direction (lit. a way)’ (MM:22)

go ī čōbān-obār-ā
 with PROX shepherd-PL-OBL

‘with these shepherds’ (UT)

ḵogla by-ay-Ø rū=ye ḡālī-yā
 boy SBJV-come.NPST-3SG on=EZ carpet-OBL

be-nenn-ī
 SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG

‘for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet...’ (KS:18)

The unmarked nominative case is sometimes found after prepositions (for specific instances of this phenomenon, see Section 3.2.1.4):

a=raf-t mā ya šāh-ay ḡars=o bārgāh
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG into one king-GEN palace=and royal.court.NOM

‘she goes to a king’s palace’ (KD:12)

go bozz-ay mūd=at-Ø
 with goat-GEN hair.NOM=COP.PST-3SG

‘they were (lit. it was) [made] of goat hair’ (WK:52)

The oblique form of a noun is used without a preposition to denote temporal or spatial location. Such adverbials are often placed after the verb, e.g., *ze-mestānā* ‘in the winter’, *āken lōgā* ‘we came home’.

ta ham ber-ra-Ø šekāl-ā
 PN.2SG ADD IMPV-go.NPST-2SG hunt-OBL
 ‘go hunting, you too’ (KS:85)

āk-ān kaft-ān šahr-ā
 come.PST-1SG fall.PST-1SG town-OBL
 ‘I came [and] ended up (lit. fell) in town’ (MM:24)

a=raft=ad-an kōh-ā zemestān-ā
 VCL=go.PST=COP.PST-3PL mountain-OBL winter-OBL
 ‘they used to go [up] into the mountains in winter’ (UT)

Note, however, that the nominative is sometimes used for place adverbials without a preposition that follow the verb.

joġla ra-Ø madrasa
 boy.NOM go.PST-3SG school
 ‘the boy went to school’ (KS:33)

The oblique suffix is placed at the end of an *eẓāfe* construction (see Section 3.2.1.2) rather than on the head noun (i.e., here it behaves like a clitic):

ar=ra-Ø ya šahr=e dyar-ā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG one town=EZ other-OBL
 ‘it goes to another town’ (GA:35)

The genitive case, marked with the suffix *-ay/-e/-ī* denotes possession or similar relations:

janek-ay mūd-ā
 girl-GEN hair-OBL
 ‘the girl’s hair’ (KD:41)

ē šāh-ay bač a=š-īt
 PROX king-GEN son VCL=say.NPST-3SG
 ‘the king’s son says...’ (KS:5)

koroš-obār-ay čok
 Korosh-PL-GEN child
 ‘the children of the Korosh’ (UT)

ma-raw-a *mā ī* *deraxt-e* *sāheg-ā*
 IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX tree-GEN shadow-OBL
 ‘she goes into the shadow of this tree’ (KD:23)

The genitive case is used for objective genitives:

yād=om *ma-hā-Ø* *sāz-ay*
 memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG clarinet-GEN

jan-ag=ī
 play.NPST-INF=PC.3SG

‘I remember how he used to play his clarinet (lit. his clarinet-playing)’
 (DC:10)

The genitive case is also used with postpositions:

čāh-ay *tōxā*
 well-GEN in
 ‘in the well’ (KS:18)

ar=r-ant *ahmad-ī* *rannā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL Ahmad-GEN behind
 ‘they go to find (lit. behind) Ahmad’ (GA:38)

The genitive suffix is placed at the end of an *ezāfe* construction (see Section 3.2.1.2) rather than on the head noun (i.e., here it behaves like a clitic):

haft *mēš=e* *syāh-ay* *lāš*
 seven sheep=EZ black-GEN carcass
 ‘the meat (lit. carcass) of seven black sheep’ (KS:10)

There is one instance in the corpus where an oblique ending is added to a noun in the genitive case to express location. This is a common feature in, for example, Turkmenistan Balochi (Buddruss 1988:48, Axenov 2006:80–82, see also Korn 2008).

mā *mēdag-ā* *negah* *a=na-dār-an* *mā*
 in encampment-OBL keeping VCL=NEG-hold.NPST-3PL in
koroš-obār-ay-ā
 Korosh-PL-GEN-OBL

‘they don’t keep [him] in the encampment, in that [encampment] of the Korosh’ (SD:53)

3.2.1.2. The *ezāfe* construction

The *ezāfe* construction is employed in Persian to link attributes, such as genitive attributes, attributive adjectives and objects of prepositions, to their headword. Although this construction is not part of inherited Balochi morphology, many Balochi dialects – especially those which are spoken in Iran – have copied it from Persian (see Jahani and Korn 2009:652).

In Koroshi, the *ezāfe* is realized as =e/=ye.⁸ The variant =e is found after a consonant, and =ye occurs after a vowel.

pošt=e mēdag-ā
behind=EZ encampment-OBL
'behind the encampment' (SD:73)

rū=ye ord-ā
on=EZ camp-OBL
'at the camp' (DC:4)

This construction binds together:

- noun + genitive attribute (limited to fixed expressions copied from Persian; normally the genitive attribute is placed before its head and takes the genitive case, see Section 3.2.1.1.4):

banne=ye xodā
servant=EZ God
'that fellow (lit. God's servant)' (SD:21)

rahmat=e xodā
mercy=EZ God
'God's mercy (used like the English expression 'may...rest in peace')'
(SD:26)

- noun + attributive adjective (frequently occurring, although there are also adjectives that precede the noun as in other Balochi dialects; see Section 3.2.1.3):

⁸ Twice the *ezāfe* is realized as =ay. One of the instances is as follows:

had=ay barra-obār-ā
to=EZ lamb-PL-OBL
'to the lambs' (SD:62)

ay del=e ġāfel
VOC heart=EZ unaware

‘you fool (lit. O unaware heart)’ (DC:9)

ye ādam=e bīčāra=en
one human.being=EZ poor=COP.NPST.3SG

‘there is a poor fellow’ (GA:26)

- preposition + prepositional object (frequently occurring, see also Section 3.2.1.4):

ar=ra-Ø had=e ya čōbān=ē-yā
VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ one shepherd=IND-OBL

‘she goes to a shepherd’ (KD:5)

ma-bar-ā bod-a čēr=e ya deraxt =e
IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP under=EZ one tree=IND

‘she keeps taking [them] under a tree’ (KD:17)

- various other head + attribute relations copied from Persian:

awāyel=e enġelāb
beginning.PL=EZ revolution

‘at the beginning of the revolution’ (UT)

tamām=e ĵoġla-bār-ā
all=EZ boy-PL-OBL

‘all the boys’ (KS:73)

por=e šamšīr
full=EZ sword

‘full of swords’ (KS:18)

īḡar=e šahr-ā
this.side=EZ town-OBL

‘on the outskirts (lit. at this side) of the town’ (KS:55)

mawred=e nazar
issue=EZ attention

‘that which you have in mind’ (lit. the issue of attention)’ (WK:41)

hodūt=e panjā=o haft sāl
about=EZ fifty=and seven year
'approximately fifty-seven years' (MM:7)

ya swār=e asp=ī
one rider=EZ horse=IND
'a rider on a horse' (KS:69)

sōb=e dōat
morning=EZ wedding
'the morning after (lit. of) the wedding' (KD:35)

nūr=e nūr
light=EZ light
'full of light (lit. light of light)' (KD:41)

be nām=e ahmad
by name=EZ Ahmad
'called Ahmad (lit. by the name of Ahmad)' (GA:37)

manūčēr=e samsānīyān
Manuchehr=EZ Samsanian
'Manuchehr Samsanian' (UT)

man=e yek=ī
PN.1SG=EZ one=IND
'as for me (lit. me of a one)' (UT)

3.2.1.3. Adjectives and adverbs

There is no number and case agreement between the adjective and the noun. Attributive adjectives are either linked to the noun by means of the *eẓāfe* construction (see Section 3.2.1.2) or they are placed before their noun and take the suffix *-ēn/-en/-īn*, as in other variants of Balochi (see, e.g., Jahani and Korn 2009:655) (see also 'Emādi 1384:65–66):

ye ādam=e bīčāra=en
one human.being=EZ poor=COP.NPST.3SG
'there is a poor fellow' (GA:26)

bōr-ēn pašm-ā a=rēs-ay
beige-ATTR wool-OBL VCL=spin.NPST-2SG

‘you spin the beige wool’ (WK:24)

syāh-ēn mēš-ay šīr-ā be-d-ay
black-ATTR sheep-GEN milk-OBL SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

‘you should give [it] milk from black sheep’ (KS:11)

ī kassān-o-ēn jānek sībay
PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG

a=na-prēn-ī
VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG

‘the (lit. this) youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

The comparative suffix *-ter/-tar* is used with adjectives (*bālādter* ‘higher’) as well as adverbs (*pēšter* ‘earlier, beforehand’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:51–52):

haf tabağ a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
seven storey than king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP

‘seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)

as oroğ kasān-ter alī.akbar=at-∅
than Oroğ small-CMP Ali.Akbar=COP.PST-3SG

‘[the one] after (lit. younger than) Oroğ was Ali Akbar’ (MM:10)

ya čātmā=ī pēšter as deraxt
one stand=IND before from tree

ā=bored=ad=eš
VCL=cut.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL

‘beforehand they had cut [beams for] a frame from a tree’ (WK:19)

Superlatives are formed by the adding the attributive suffix to the comparative form:

bozorg-tar-en gonāh
big-CMP-ATTR sin

‘the biggest sin’ (UT)

behtar-īn ālam
 better-ATTR world
 ‘the best world’ (UT)

Adjectives can also function as nouns and as adverbs:

rū mazan-ter-ay gap-ā a=dīd=ad=en
 on big-CMP-GEN word-OBL VCL=see.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL
zarar=en
 harm=COP.NPST.3SG

‘because of what the elders said, we realized it would be harmful’ (UT)

a=b-ī ke sāda ham be-gāf-ēn
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG CLM simple ADD SBJV-weave.NPST-1PL
 ‘we can also weave without any pattern (lit. simple)’ (WK:16)

A suffix *-o* is sometimes found with adjectives, and it is particularly common with the adjective *kas(s)ān* ‘small’. When an attributive adjective takes *-o*, this suffix is placed before the attributive suffix. The etymology and function of this suffix is unclear. However, in view of its phonetic similarity to the diminutive/definite suffix *-ok*, and its frequent, but not exclusive, use on the adjective *kas(s)ān* ‘small’, it is likely that *-o* comes from *-ok* historically. As such, it is tentatively glossed as a diminutive suffix.

ī kassān-o-ēn jānek sībay
 PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG
a=na-prēn-ī
 VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG

‘the (lit. this) youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

3.2.1.4. Adpositions

Prepositions and postpositions are both found in Koroshi. Like other dialects of Balochi in contact with Persian (see Jahani and Korn 2009:657), Koroshi has a preference for prepositions. The head of the prepositional object is normally found with the oblique case suffix (see also Section 3.2.1.1.4):

a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
 from king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
 ‘higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)

čamm=ī a=kaf-ī be ē ġars=o
 eye=PC.3SG VCL=fall.NPST-3SG to PROX palace=and
bārgāh-ā
 royal.court-OBL

‘his eyes fall (lit. his eye falls) on this palace’ (KS:119)

a rāh=ī-ā mah-ā-Ø
 from way=IND-OBL IMP-come.NPST-3SG

‘he is coming from another direction (lit. a way)’ (MM:22)

Sometimes the head noun of the prepositional object is in the unmarked nominative case; this happens frequently in the corpus if the head noun is followed by the individuation clitic or the copula (see also Section 3.2.1.1.4):

as oroj kasān-ter alī.akbar=at-Ø
 from Oroj small-CMP Ali.Akbar=COP.PST-3SG

‘[the one] after (lit. younger than) Oroj was Ali Akbar’ (MM:10)

ba ya xān=e [...] čōbān=ad-ān
 to one khan=IND.NOM shepherd=COP.PST-1SG

‘I was the shepherd of a khan’ (MM.18)

ġālī ham be ē šekl=en
 carpet ADD in PROX form.NOM=COP.NPST.3SG

‘so the carpet is [made] in this way’ (WK:50)

If a person-marking clitic is added to the prepositional object it is often in the nominative case, although there are also examples of mergers of the oblique suffix and the person-marking clitic (see Section 3.2.1.2):

ē jan=ī gō ē bač=ē xaylī bad
 PROX wife=PC.3SG with PROX child.NOM=PC.3SG very bad
bod-a=Ø
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘this wife of his was very mean to his son (lit. this son of his)’ (KS:3)

ya nax=e espēd=ī=am mā badan=ī
 one hair=IND white=IND=ADD in body.NOM=PC.3SG

na-b-īt
 NEG.SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

‘there should not be one [single] white hair on its body’ (KS:11)

ar=ra-Ø *had=e* *pedarzanay*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ father.in.law.OBL.PC.3SG
 ‘he goes to his father-in-law’ (KS:87)

There are also double prepositions:

a *rū* *šāh-ay* *sar-ā* *korrag* *mot* *a=kan-t*
 from on king-GEN head-OBL foal jump VCL=do.NPST-3SG
 ‘the foal jumps over (lit. from on) the king’s head’ (KS:52)

Prepositions that correspond to postpositions in other Balochi dialects generally employ the *ezāfe* construction in Koroshi:

ar=ra-Ø *had=e* *pedarzanay*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ father.in.law.OBL.PC.3SG
 ‘he goes to his father-in-law’ (KS:87)

oštōr [...] *a=ras-īt* *sar=e* *šay-ā*
 camel VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on=EZ slope-OBL
 ‘the camel arrives at the slope’ (DC:19)

Prepositions copied from Persian are normally, but not always, constructed as in Persian:

wad=am *a=pēč-ān* *dawr=e* *šāh-ay*
 REFL=PC.1SG VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ king-GEN
janek-ay *garden-ā*
 daughter-GEN neck-OBL
 ‘I will wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (P. *dawr=e* ‘around’) (GA:19)

gayr=e *xodā*
 except=EZ God
 ‘except for God’ (P. *gayr az* ‘except’) (GA:1)

(also attested as:)

gayr.az *xodā*
 except God
 ‘except for God’ (P. *gayr az* ‘except’) (DC:1)

Postpositions, whose objects are in the genitive case (see Section 3.2.1.1.4) are occasionally employed in Koroshi.

čāh-ay tōxā por=e šamšīr=o nayza a=kan-t
 well-GEN in full=EZ sword=and spear VCL=do.NPST-3SG
 ‘she fills the well with swords and spears’ (KS:18)

3.2.1.5. Pronouns

3.2.1.5.1. Personal pronouns

Typical personal pronouns are found for the singular and plural of the 1st and 2nd persons (Table 5). As in many Iranian languages, including other varieties of Balochi, the form of the nominative/oblique is historically that of the oblique which has also taken over the nominative domain. The 3rd person, however, is referred to using demonstrative pronouns (see Section 3.2.1.5.2 and Table 6) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:44, 47).

Table 5: Personal pronouns in Koroshi

		Nominative/Oblique	Object	Genitive
SG	1 st	<i>man</i>	<i>man-ā</i>	<i>man-ī</i>
	2 nd	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta-rā</i>	<i>ta-ī</i>
PL	1 st	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā-rā</i>	<i>mā-ī</i>
	2 nd	<i>šomā</i>	<i>šomā-rā</i>	<i>šomā-ī / šomay</i>

Koroshi is pro-drop; agreement is marked with person-marking suffixes or person-marking clitics.

gašt=om nana=m xodā bozorg=en
 say.PST=PC.1SG mother=PC.1SG God big=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘I said, “Mother, God will help us (lit. God is great)”’ (MM:70)

a=š-ī xayle xob ber-r-en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well SBJV-go.NPST-1PL
 ‘she says, “Very well, let’s go”’ (GA:6)

Personal pronouns appear as a marked construction:

man gašt=om ta gōš=et ke
 PN.1SG say.PST=PC.1SG PN.2SG ear=PC.2SG do.PST
 ‘I told [you]; did you listen?’ (DC:24)

man=o ta ham ber-r-en
 PN.1SG=and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

‘let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’ (GA:5)

The nominative/oblique form of personal pronouns is used as the subject:

ta kay=ay
 PN.2SG who=COP.NPST.2SG

‘who are you’ (KS:129)

mā ā zamān ītaw nay-ad-en
 PN.1PL DIST time like.this NEG-COP.PST-1PL

‘we were not like this in those days’ (UT)

The nominative/oblique form is also used as the object of a preposition (see Section 3.2.1.4) and as an indirect object⁹ (a structure also found in, and possibly copied from spoken Persian; in other Balochi dialects the object form of a personal pronoun is used for the indirect object; see, for example, Jahani 2003:116, Axenov 2006:105, and Barjasteh Delforooz 2010:386):

dawr=e man
 around=EZ PN.1SG

‘around me’ (UT)

bahr=e mā a=gašt=ad=ī
 for=EZ PN.1PL VCL=say.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG

‘he kept telling us...’ (UT)

be-day-Ø man
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG

‘give [her] to me’ (GA:28)

Indirect objects can additionally be constructed with a preposition + person-marking clitic or only with the person-marking clitic (see 3.2.1.5.3):

harčī=et bokā bahr=at a=d-ān
 whatever=PC.2SG want for=PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG

‘I will give you whatever you want’ (GA:16)

⁹ Note that the nominative form of a noun can also be used to denote an indirect object (see section 3.2.1.1.4). Both the personal pronoun and the noun are in this function placed after the verb.

man raxt=o lebās=om gō telā=m
 PN.1SG clothes=and clothes=PC.1SG with gold=PC.1SG

me-d-ān=te

IMP-give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

‘I will give my clothes along with my gold to you’ (KD:5)

The object form of a personal pronoun is used to denote a direct object:

īš-ān man-ā rešxan ma-kan-ay=ant
 PROX-PL PN.1SG-OBJ ridiculing IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL

‘they are ridiculing me’ (KS:112)

bāhāt=en [...] šomā-rā pajāh bīy-ār-ān
 must=COP.NPST-3SG PN.2PL-OBJ recognizing SBJV-bring.NPST-1SG

‘I must [be able to] recognize you’ (KS:101)

The genitive form of personal pronouns is used to express possession or similar relations:

man-ī nawkar-obār=om [...] mā ta-ī
 PN.1SG-GEN male.servant-PL=PC.1SG in PN.2SG-GEN

šahr=en

town=COP.NPST.3SG

‘my servants [...] are (lit. is) in your town’ (KS:137)

mā-ī mazan-ter
 PN.1PL-GEN big-CMP

‘our elders’ (UT)

The 1st person plural pronoun (or the 1st plural person-marking clitic, see also Section 3.2.1.5.3) can be used in place of the 1st person singular, particularly for a modest reference to oneself:

garār=en marō mā-rā bo-koš-ant
 agreement=COP.NPST.3SG today PN.1PL-OBJ SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

‘the plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today’ (KS:35)

gō xān-ā wel=en ko
 with khan-OBL loose=PC.1PL do.PST

‘I (lit. we) left the khan’ (MM:44)

gašt=en *čašm*
 say.PST=PC.1PL okay
 ‘I (lit. we) said: “fine”’ (UT)

In the folktales in the corpus, the 2nd person singular (whether a full pronoun or a verb ending) is always used for a singular referent, even if this happens to be a person of high status such as the king. In the life stories, there are occasional uses of the 2nd person plural pronoun in expressions of politeness; this convention is copied from Persian.

ta *ye* *šāh=ī-ay* *bač=ay*
 PN.2SG one king=IND-GEN son=COP.NPST.2SG
 ‘you are the son of a king’ (KD:30)

arz *Ø-kan-ān* *xedmat=e* *šomā*
 statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG service=EZ PN.2PL
 ‘let me tell you (lit. let me make statement at your service)’ (MM:8)

3.2.1.5.2. *Demonstratives*

Koroshi has two-way deixis (proximal/distal) marked by demonstratives. Demonstrative determiners are uninflected for number and case and consist of *ī/ē* (proximal deixis) and *ā* (distal deixis).

mā *ē* *čāh-ā*
 into PROX well-OBL
 ‘into this well’ (GA:8)

go *ē* *koroš-obār-ā*
 with PROX Korosh-PL-OBL
 ‘with these Korosh’ (SD:67)

mā *ī* *deraxt-e* *sāheg-ā*
 into PROX tree-GEN shadow-OBL
 ‘into the shadow of this tree’ (KD:23)

ā *sāhat*
 DIST hour
 ‘at that time (lit. hour)’ KS:100)

Demonstrative pronouns are inflected for case and number (Table 6).

Table 6: Demonstrative pronouns in Koroshi

	Nominative	Oblique	Genitive	Object
Proximal	SG	<i>ī/e/ēš</i>	<i>ēšī/īšī/ešī</i>	
	PL	<i>ēšān/īšān/ ešān/šān</i>	<i>ēšānī/īšānī/ ešānī</i>	<i>ēšānā</i>
Distal	SG	<i>ā</i>	<i>āhī/āī/āšī</i>	
	PL	<i>āšān</i>	<i>āšānī</i>	<i>āšānā</i>

Demonstrative pronouns are used in place of 3rd person personal pronouns. Nominative forms (except *ēš*) are used for subjects.

ē saray patī ma-kan-a
 PROX head.OBL.PC.3SG bare IMP-do.NPST-3SG
 ‘she is unveiling herself’ (KD:28)

ham=ā mānt-a=∅
 EMPH=DIST remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘he is left (lit. has remained)’ (KS:78)

īš-ān man-ā rešxan ma-kan-ay=ant
 PROX-PL PN.1SG-OBJ ridiculing IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL
 ‘they are ridiculing me’ (KS:112)

The nominative form *ēš* is only used as a predicate in this corpus:

moškel=ēn ēš=en
 problem=PC.1PL PROX=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘this is our problem’ (UT)

When demonstrative pronouns denote direct objects, however, several different strategies are used, and a singular/plural distinction is found. In the singular, the most common form for a direct object is the oblique, but occasionally the nominative is also used. In the plural, secondary object marking with the suffix *-ā* is found.

na-bāhāt=a-∅ ēš-ī ∅-prēn-ān mā čāh-ā
 NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG PROX-OBL SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into well-OBL
 ‘I should not have thrown her into the well’ (GA:10)

ham=ā-hī *ham* *bīy-ār-et*
 EMPH=DIST-OBL ADD IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

‘bring him, too’ (GA:27)

ī=am *bīy-ār-et*
 PROX=ADD IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

‘bring him, too’ (KS:79)

ēš-ān-ā *ke* *jedā=ēn* *ko*
 PROX-PL-OBJ CLM separated=PC.1PL do.PST

‘when we have separated them’ (WK:4)

Demonstratives in the oblique case, which in the singular are identical to the genitive/object and in the plural to the nominative, are also used for the object of a preposition:

bāhād [...] *ba* *īš-ī* *be-b-ed* *nawkar=o*
 must for PROX-OBL SBJV-become.NPST-2PL male.servant=and
kanīz
 maidservant

‘you must [...] become servants for him’ (KS:139)

man *ba* *īš-ān* *lonk=ī* *nayan*
 PN.1SG to PROX-PL piece=IND bread

ma-dī-yag=ān
 IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

‘I provide for their basic needs (lit. I give them a piece of bread)’ (MM:27)

Demonstratives in the genitive case denote possession, possession-like relations, objective genitive, etc. The genitive form of demonstratives is also used for objects of postpositions:

āšī *lōg-ā* *ham* *jedā=en* *ko*
 DIST.GEN house-OBL ADD separated=PC.1PL do.PST

‘we arranged a separate house for him as well (lit. we separated his house as well)’ (MM:34)

oštor-obār *ma-rav-a* *mā* *īš-ī* *fekr-ā*
 camel-PL IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX-GEN thought-OBL

‘the camels are entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought)’ (KD:28)

āšān-ī *čok-obār*
 DIST.PL-GEN child-PL
 ‘their children’ (UT)

ar=raf-t *ēš-ī* *rannā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG PROX-GEN after
 ‘she goes to find (lit. behind) him’ (UT)

Demonstratives are often preceded by the particle *ham* for emphasis.

ham=ī *kačal-ok-ā* *bokān=om*
 EMPH=PROX bald-DEF-OBL want=PC.1SG
 ‘I want [to marry] this very bald [girl]’ (KD:29)

ham=ā *waz=en*
 EMPH=DIST situation=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘the situation is the same [as before] (lit. it is that same situation)’ (KD:37)

There is a preference in discourse for proximal demonstratives, which shows that narrators put themselves inside the story rather than outside it (English, in contrast, normally prefers distal deixis; see also Roberts 2009:233 and Barjasteh Delforooz 2010:159–160).

ar=r-an *ham=ī* *sahrā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX wilderness
 ‘they go [out] into the (lit. this) wilderness’ (GA:7)

ī *korrag* *a=k-ay-t* *jelo=ē*
 PROX foal VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG in.front.of=PC.3SG
 ‘the (lit. this) foal comes up to him’ (KS:17)

ī *kassān-o-ēn* *janek* *sībay*
 PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG

a=na-prēn-ī
 VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG
 ‘the (lit. this) youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

The nominative/oblique plural form is sometimes used to denote a group of associated persons. Note also that the combination of the conjunction =*o* ‘and’ + the nominative/oblique plural form *ēšān/īšān/ešān/šān* is frequently used as a filler.

ya rō šāh=o īš-ān a=k-ā-yant
 one day king=and PROX-PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

‘one day the king and his men (lit. they) come’ (KS:65)

ber-r-et šekāl=o īšān ba man
 IMPV-go.NPST-2PL hunt=and like.this for PN.1SG

‘go hunting, like this, for me’ (KS:84)

xayle ġašaṅ=en=o īšān
 very beautiful=COP.NPST.3SG=and like.this

‘she is very beautiful, you know’ (KD:39)

3.2.1.5.3. Person-marking clitics

The person-marking clitics in Koroshi are presented in Table 7 (see also ‘Emādi 1384:45–46).

Table 7: Person-marking clitics in Koroshi

SG	1 st	=on/=om/=am/=em/=m
	2 nd	=et/=at/=te
	3 rd	=ī /=e/=ay
PL	1 st	=ēn/=en/=n
	2 nd	=ō
	3 rd	=eš/=aš

In the corpus, there is one example of a 3rd singular person-marking clitic realized as =nī and one of a 2nd plural person-marking clitic realized as =nō after a vowel:¹⁰

har do=nī a=bar-ant
 each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL

‘they take both of them (lit. it)’ (DC:13)

har do=nō gō tīr-ā a=jan-ān
 each two=PC.2PL with bullet-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-1SG

‘I will shoot both of you’ (SD:57)

¹⁰ As in Bakhtiari and Southern Luri, the latter of which is a contact language to Koroshi, the *n* here has an epenthetic function (see also Anonby and Asadi 2014:88–89).

The person-marking clitics attach to:

- nouns:

mazon-ēn berād=on oroĵ=at-∅
big-ATTR brother=PC.1SG Oroj=COP.PST-3SG
'my oldest brother was Oroj' (MM:10)

- adjectives:

bōr=ay jedā a=kan-en
beige=PC.3SG separated VCL=do.NPST-1PL
'we set aside the (lit. its) beige [yarn]' (WK:3)

- adverbs:

ya kojī ham gēš=en ā=gā
one beam ADD more=PC.1PL VCL=weave.PST
'we also wove one extra beam [into the warp] (WK:47)

- reflexive pronouns:

hālā wad=et be-ge-∅
now REFL=PC.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG
'stop (lit. take yourself) now' (DC:21)

- interrogative / indefinite pronouns:

kodom=ī a=ger-ay
which=PC.3SG VCL=buy.NPST-2SG
'which one of them (lit. it) will you buy?' (UT)

har kodom=ī a=ĵan-t
each which=PC.3SG VCL=hit.NPST-3SG
'each one of them (lit. her) hits [someone]' (KS:75)

- numerals:

har do=nī a=bar-ant
each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL
'they take both of them (lit. it)' (DC:13)

- verbs:

gašt=eš

say.PST=PC.3PL

‘they said’ (SD:32)

- preverbs:

dar=om a=gēk=a

PREV=PC.1SG VCL=take.out.PST=COP.PST

‘I would take [them] out’ (MM:74)

- the non-verbal element of a complex predicate:

bār=ī ko

load=PC.3SG do.PST

‘he loaded up’ (UP)

- prepositions:

dāstānay

be-gaš-ān

bahr=ō

story.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-say.NPST-1SG for=PC.2PL

‘I should tell you (lit. for you) her story’ (SD:2)

When a person-marking clitic attaches to a noun in the oblique case, or to a postposition, it merges with the oblique suffix *-ā*; in such instances the clitic is often part of the syllable that carries the word stress, e.g., *-’ā + =at > ’at*. The realization *=ay* in the 3rd person singular can often, but not always, be considered the result of such a merger.

ran’nat (< ran’nā=at)

ma-gard-a

after.PC.2SG

IMP-go.around.NPST-3SG

‘she is looking for you’ (GA:52)

a=nenn-ī

ran’nay (< ran’nā=ī)

VCL=set.out.NPST-3SG after.PC.3SG

‘they set (lit. he sets) out after him’ (KS:43)

a ka’nīzay (< ka’nīzā=ī)

a=š-īt

to maidservant.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘she says to her maidservant...’ (SD:14)

The 3rd singular person-marking clitic can also merge with the *-a* of the past participle (see also Section 3.2.2.2):

ya berād=e ham bod-ay (<bod-a=ī)
 one brother=IND ADD become.PST-PP.PC.3SG

‘she had a brother, too’ (SD:4)

When the head word to which the 3rd singular person-marking clitic =*ay* attaches does not have an oblique function, there is no reason to assume that =*ay* is the result of a synchronic merger of *-ā* + =*ī*.

bowā=ay a=š-ī ādam=e
 father=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG human.being=EZ

xūb=ī=en
 good=IND=COP.NPST.3SG

‘her father says, “He is a nice person”’ (SD:22)

Person marking clitics have diverse syntactic functions in Koroshi. They are employed to:

- mark verb agreement for transitive verbs in the past temporal field (see also Section 3.2.2.6.3):

man gašt=om ta gōš=et ke
 PN.1SG say.PST=PC.1SG PN.2SG ear=PC.2SG do.PST

‘I told [you]; did you listen?’ (DC:24)

bowā=yam gaš-ay=ad=ī bāhā
 father=PC.1SG say.NPST-INF=COP.PST=PC.3SG must

be-mer-ay
 SBJV-die.NPST-2SG

‘my father had said, “You must die”’ (UT)

marō zarh=eš rētk-a mā xorāk=at
 today poison=PC.3PL pour.PST-PP into food=PC.2SG

‘they have poured poison into your food today’ (KS:17)

- denote a non-canonical (dative) subject (see also Section 3.2.2.8 and Jahani *et al.* 2012):

ya paygām=e ass=en=om bahr=at
 one message=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG for=PC.2SG

‘I have (lit. there is to me) a message for you’ (GA:50)

a=š-ī *ahmad* *čōn=en=et*
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Ahmad how=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

‘[someone] says, “Ahmad, how are you [feeling] (lit. how is it to you)?”’ (GA:43)

- denote a possessor:¹¹

mā *bāġat*
 in garden.OBL.PC.2SG

‘in your garden’ (KS:78)

ta *hōn=ī* *man* *be-kaš-ān* *badan=am*
 in.order.that blood=PC.3SG PN.1SG SBJV-rub.NPST-1SG body=PC.1SG

‘...for me to rub its blood on my body’ (KS:30)

lāšay *ham* *be-zo-Ø*
 carcass.OBL.PC.3SG ADD IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

‘take its meat (lit. carcass)’ (KD:7)

- denote a direct object:

bāmard *loh=e* *a=dā-Ø*
 man pushing=PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG

‘the man pushes her’ (GA:9)

nābūd=en *a=kan-t*
 annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘he will destroy us’ (KS:126)

¹¹ Note that the person-marking clitic is attached to the head of the noun phrase rather than to the genitive attribute, which is its semantic host. This is evident in the following example:

doī-ay *badan=at*
 mother-GEN body=PC.2SG

‘your mother’s body’ (KS:32)

The person-marking clitic is also attached to the copula rather than to the noun preceding the copula:

janek=en=et
 daughter=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

‘she is your daughter’ (KS:107)

a=war-ān=et
VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG
'I will eat you' (GA:32)

- denote an indirect object:

be-day-Ø=om
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG
'give [her] to me' (GA:21)

a=d-ān=et
VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG
'I will give [her] to you' (GA:30)

a=d-ān=ō
VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2PL
'I will give [it] to you' (KS:95)

- denote the object of a preposition:

panj nafar hojūm=e ko bahr=am
five person attack=PC.3SG do.PST for=PC.1SG
'five persons attacked me (lit. made attack for me)' (MM:21)

gōn=et jay Ø-kan-Ø
with=PC.2SG war SBJV-do.NPST-3SG
'[if he wants] to go to war with you' (KS:121)

ber-r-en had=ī
SBJV-go.NPST-1PL to=PC.3SG
'let's go to him' (KS:126)

- specify the referent of a reflexive pronoun (see Section 3.2.1.5.4).

3.2.1.5.4. Reflexive pronoun

There is one reflexive pronoun, *wad*, in Koroshi. It is often combined with a person-marking clitic that specifies the person, and it can be used as subject, object, or object of a preposition (see also 'Emādi 1384:49):

wad=ī saray a=borr-ī
REFL=PC.3SG head.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=cut.NPST-3SG
'he himself slaughters [these animals] (lit. cuts its head)' (KS:97)

wad=e *a=pēč-ī* *dawr=e* *šāh-ay*
 REFL=PC.3SG VCL=twist.NPST-3SG around=EZ king-GEN
janek-ay *garden-ā*
 daughter-GEN neck-OBL

‘[the dragon] wraps itself around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (GA:22)

lāšay *ham* *be-zo-Ø* *ba* *wad=et*
 carcass.OBL.PC.3SG ADD IMPV-take.NPST-2SG for REFL=PC.2SG
 ‘take its meat (lit. carcass) for yourself’ (KD:7)

The reflexive pronoun has the genitive form *wadī*, which is not specified for person, e.g., *wadī badan* ‘own body’ (i.e., my/your/his/her/our/their body). It is used when the subject and the possessor is the same person.

wad-ī *doī=om* *košt=om*
 REFL-GEN mother=PC.1SG kill.PST=PC.1SG
 ‘I killed my mother’ (SD:66)

wad-ī *bolīz=en* *be-ger-en*
 REFL-GEN sweater=PC.1PL SBJV-take.NPST-1PL
 ‘we should take our sweaters’ (UT)

wad-ī *taḡsīr=eš* *ham* *nay-ad-Ø*
 REFL-GEN fault=PC.3PL ADD NEG-COP.PST-3SG
 ‘it wasn’t their fault either’ (UT)

3.2.1.5.5. Reciprocal pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun is *ham* or *hamdegar* ‘each other’. Only *hamdegar* is attested with case endings; the oblique form is *hamdegarā* and the genitive form *hamdegaray* (see also ‘Emādi 1384:48):

ḡālī *wad=e* *gelīm* *dār* *kan-ag=ī* *čō*
 carpet with=EZ gelim wooden.frame do.NPST-INF=PC.3SG like
ham=en
 each.other=COP.NPST.3SG

‘The carpet and (lit. with) the gelim, tying them to the frame is [done] in the same way’ (WK:39)

mašadī dāstān wad=o amū hosayn hamdegar-ā
 Mashhadi Dastan REFL=and uncle Hosayn each.other-OBL
bokān=eš a=b-ī
 want=PC.3PL VCL=become.NPST-3SG

‘Mashhadi Dastan herself and Hosayn like (lit. want) each other’ (SD:16)

xayle hamdegar-ay xāter=en bokā
 much each.other-GEN mind=PC.1PL want

‘we take good care of each other (lit. we want each other’s mind a lot)’ (MM:65)

3.2.1.5.6. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The interrogative pronouns found in the corpus are *kay* ‘who’ and *čē/če/čī/ča* ‘what’ (see also ‘Emādi 1384:48). These pronouns use the nominative form also after prepositions, but adds *-ā* to denote a direct object. There are no genitive forms of interrogative pronouns in the corpus.

janek-ā ba kay bokān=et
 girl-OBL for who want=PC.2SG

‘for whom do you want the girl?’ (SD:29)

če xabar=en
 what news=COP.NPST.3SG

‘what is happening (lit. what news is there)?’ (UT)

čī-yā be-gaš-ān
 what-OBJ SBJV-say.NPST-1SG

‘what should I say?’ (GA:41)

ē čē=ē barg ma-šan-a
 PROX what=IND flash IMP-hit.NPST-3SG

‘what is that (lit. this) [thing] shining?’ (GA:8)

The indefinite pronouns found in the corpus are *harkas/harka/harke* ‘whoever’, *harčī/harče* ‘whatever’, *hīčka/heška/hīške/hīška* ‘nobody’, *hīčī/hečī* ‘nothing’, *čē/če* ‘something’, *tamām* ‘all’, *hāmmo* ‘all’ (see also ‘Emādi 1384:50). With *hīčka/heška/hīške/hīška* ‘nobody’ and *hīčī/hečī* ‘nothing’ the verb is negated.

harka bār=ī kod-ay=ad
 everybody load=PC.3SG do.PST-PP=COP.PST

‘everybody had loaded up (to migrate)’ (UT)

harčī *pakk-ag=et* *bīy-ār-Ø*
 however much cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG
 ‘bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked’ (KS:109)

man-ī *korrag-ā* *hīška* *a=na-twān-t*
 PN.1SG-GEN foal-OBL nobody VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-3SG
mazan *Ø-kan-t*
 big SBJV-do.NPST-3SG
 ‘my foal, nobody can raise [it]’ (KS:6)

man *hīčī=m* *na-bokā*
 PN.1SG nothing=PC.1SG NEG-want
 ‘I don’t want anything’ (KS:61)

ē *tamām* *hoḡe=yen*
 PROX all trick=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘all this is a trick’ (KD:32)

ta *ī* *hāmmo* *ba* *man* *ma-day-ag=ay*
 PN.2SG PROX all to PN.1SG IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG
 ‘you give all this to me’ (KD:8)

If the predicate of *hīčka/heška/hīške/hīška* ‘nobody’ is affirmative, the translation ‘anybody, anyone’ is more appropriate. This likely applies to *hīčī/hečī* ‘nothing’ as well, but there are no examples of *hīčī/hečī* ‘nothing’ occurring with an affirmative verb in the corpus.

hīška *ham* *mānt-a=Ø*
 nobody ADD remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘so is there anyone left?’ (GA:25)

The genitive form of *harkas* (*harkasay*) is the only inflected indefinite pronoun form found in the corpus.

rū *harkas-ay* *sar-ā* *ham* *korrag* *rapt-Ø*
 on whoever-GEN head-OBL ADD foal go.PST-3SG
ā=koš-ān=ī
 VCL=kill.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG
 ‘I will kill anyone whose head the foal jumps (lit. jumped) over’ (KS:50)

Interrogative and indefinite pronouns can also function as determiners.

če xabar=en

what news=COP.NPST.3SG

‘what is happening (lit. what news is there)?’ (UT)

hāmmo kas=e ke āk-an bōj-ag
all person=IND CLM come.PST-3PL open.NPST-INF

a=nayān bejōz ta
VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG

‘no matter who comes (lit. all persons who came), I will not unwrap [myself] except for you’ (GA:20)

There is sometimes case agreement between the interrogative/indefinite determiner and the noun (see also ‘Emādi 1384:49, who gives the example *kām-ā pīrāhom-ā* ‘which-OBL shirt-OBL’).

Ø=na-zān-ān [...] kām-ā mahal-ā ar=ra-Ø
VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG which-OBL place-OBL VCL=go.NPST-3SG

‘I don’t know [...] to what place he goes’ (SD:44)

3.2.1.6. Numerals and classifier

3.2.1.6.1. Numerals

The category of numerals includes cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals. Koroshi employs the decimal counting system. Cardinal numerals from zero to ten are as follows: *sefr* ‘zero’ *ye/ye/ya/yak* ‘one’, *do* ‘two’, *say* ‘three’, *čār* ‘four’, *pañ/pan* ‘five’, *šeš/šaš* ‘six’, *haft/haf* ‘seven’, *hašt/haš* ‘eight’, *noh* ‘nine’, *dah/da* ‘ten’.

Cardinal numerals from 11 to 19 are as follows: *yāzda(h)* ‘eleven’, *dawāzda(h)/dāwāzda(h)* ‘twelve’, *sīzda(h)* ‘thirteen’, *čārda(h)* ‘fourteen’, *pūnzda(h)* ‘fifteen’, *šūnzda(h)* ‘sixteen’, *hefda(h)* ‘seventeen’, *hīzda(h)/hažda(h)* ‘eighteen’, *nōzda(h)* ‘nineteen’.

Multiples of ten are as follows: *bīs* ‘twenty’, *sī* ‘thirty’, *čel* ‘forty’, *pañjā* ‘fifty’, *šast* ‘sixty’, *haftād* ‘seventy’, *haštād* ‘eighty’, *nawad* ‘ninety’.

Cardinal numerals from one to ten are connected to multiples of ten by means of the conjunction =o, e.g., *bīs=o pañj* ‘twenty-five’, *pañjā=o haft* ‘fifty-seven’.

The word for ‘hundred’ is *sad*. Cardinal numerals from 100 to 900 are copied from Persian: *dewīst*, *sīsad*, *čārsad*, *pūnsad*, *šešsad*, *hafsad*, *hašsad*, *nohsad*.

The word for ‘thousand’ is *hezār*. Thousands are formed by the numerals ‘two’ to ‘nine’ before ‘thousand’: *do hezār, say hezār, čār hezār, pañ hezār, šeš hezār* etc.

As already mentioned in Section 3.2.1.1.2, after numerals the singular form of the noun is used.

haf tabaġ a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
 seven storey from king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP
 ‘seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house)’ (KS:118)

The cardinal numeral *ye/yek/ya/yak* ‘one’ has two functions: it is the numeral ‘one’, and it is also used before a noun, with or without the individuation clitic =*ī*/=*ē*/=*e*, as an indefinite determiner (see also Section 3.2.1.1.3):

yak sāl ĵahl yak sāl bālād
 one year down one year up
 ‘one year less [or] one year more’ (MM:7)

ya čāh=ī war a=k-ār-īt
 one well=IND PREV VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG
 ‘she digs a well’ (KS:18)

In elliptic constructions, numerals function as nouns and can take the attributive suffix, case endings, the individuation clitic, or a person-marking clitic.

ē say-ēn-ā raġ a=kan-en
 PROX three-ATTR-OBL colour VCL=do.NPST-1PL
 ‘we colour these three’ (WK:5)

yek=ī kōr bod-a=∅
 one=IND blind become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘one was blind’ (KD:16)

har do=nī a=bar-ant
 each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL
 ‘they take both of them’ (DC:13)

Approximate quantity is expressed by using two cardinal numerals following one another:

pas.az čār pan rō
after four five day
'after four, five days' (GA:10)

Another way of expressing approximate quantity is to use an indefinite construction with *yak* in front of the numeral which is then followed by a noun with the individuation clitic (see also Section 3.2.1.1.3):

ya bīs rōč=ī
one twenty day=IND
'for about twenty days' (SD:54)

Ordinal numerals are scarce in the corpus. Only the three ordinals *awalīn* 'first', *domī* 'second', and *sewomī* 'third' are found. Except *awalīn* 'the first', which is a borrowing from Arabic and common in Iranian languages, ordinals are formed by adding *=(o)mī* (or *=(o)mīn*; see 'Emādi 1384:54) to a cardinal numeral. In elliptic constructions, ordinal numerals function as nouns and can take a case ending.

sewomī-yā dya man-ā košt-ag=eš
third-OBL then PN.1SG-OBJ kill.PST-PP=PC.3PL
'on the third [neighing], then they [will] have killed me' (KS:36)

Many determiners are also used to denote certain indefinite or definite quantities:

tamām=e joġla-bār-ā
all=EZ boy-PL-OBL
'all the boys' (KS:73)

hāmmo mardom
all people
'all the people' (GA:5)

koll=e koroš-obār-ā
all=EZ Korosh-PL-OBL
'all the Korosh' (SD:84)

sawgāt=e zīyād-ā
gift=EZ many-OBL
'many gifts' (SD:85)

bazī mawge
some time
'sometimes' (UT)

hīč kār=ī
no deed=IND
'nothing (lit. no deed)' (UT)

3.2.1.6.2. Numeral classifier

There is only one numeral classifier in the present corpus, *tā*, which is probably copied from Persian (see also 'Emādi 1384:53, who in addition to *tā*, also found the classifier *dāna*, which is common in other dialects of Balochi. There seems to be no distinction in the function of the two, according to the examples 'Emādi presents). The classifier *tā* is optionally added to a numeral when a noun follows, or in an elliptic numeral construction, both for animate and inanimate nouns.

čel-tā tofaṇčī
forty-CL gunman
'forty gunmen' (SD:69)

ya do-tā kōh=om=am wārt kōh=om=am jat
one two-CL stone=PC.1SG=ADD eat.PST stone=PC.1SG=ADD hit.PST
'I was both hit by a couple of stones and I threw [a couple of] stones too'
(MM:21)

haywān=am a=zād=ad-Ø da-tā pūnzda-tā
animal=ADD VCL=give.birth.PST=COP.PST-3SG ten-CL fifteen-CL
'so the animals (lit. animal) gave birth to some ten, fifteen [offspring]' (UT)

hodūd=e bīs nax
about=EZ twenty thread
'about twenty threads' (WK:10)

mā haft berād=en
PN.1PL seven brother=COP.NPST.1PL
'we are seven brothers' (MM:9)

3.2.2. Verb morphosyntax

Koroshi verbs are either simple, constructed with a preverb (e.g., *dar kafag* ‘to leave’), or complex.

Simple verbs comprise two classes depending on their transitivity. Examples of intransitive verbs are, *kafag* ‘to fall’, *rawag* ‘to go’, and *bayag* ‘to become, to be’. Examples of transitive verbs are *kanag* ‘to do’, *warag* ‘to eat’, and *barag* ‘to take’. The number of simple verbs is limited in Koroshi.

Some verbs are constructed using a combination of a simple verb and one of five lexical preverbs: *ber(r)* (e.g., *berr dayag* ‘to throw down’), *ēr* (*ēr kanag* ‘put down, put into’), *dar* (*dar kafag* ‘to come out’), *pīš* (*pīš āyag* ‘happen’; copied from Persian), and *war* (*war ārag* ‘to dig’). These preverbs are derivational, and either expand the lexical meaning of the verb or change it completely.

Complex predicates have a noun or an adjective as their non-verbal element. Examples include *rāh kafag* ‘to set out’ (lit. ‘to fall road’), *bār kanag* ‘to load’ (lit. ‘to make load’), *mazan kanag* ‘to raise (person or animal) (lit. ‘to make big’), *soss kanag* ‘to loosen, to slow down’ (lit. to make loose’). Verbs constructed with preverbs and complex predicates both retain the transitivity of the simple verb.

3.2.2.1. Verb stems

Each Koroshi verb has either an unmarked core (e.g., *nenn-* ‘sit down’, *čar-* ‘to graze’) or a causative core, which adds *-ēn* to the unmarked core (e.g., *nennēn-* ‘to place, to put someone in a place’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:73). With some verbs, the vowel in the core is lengthened when the causative suffix is added (e.g., *čārēn-* ‘pasture (v.), allow to graze’). The core constitutes the non-past stem of the verb.

Like in many other Iranian languages, and in all other dialects of Balochi, the Koroshi verb has two stems. These are: a) the unmarked non-past stem (e.g., *kaf-* ‘fall’, *kan-* ‘do’, *war-* ‘eat’), which is used for non-finite forms, indicative non-past forms, subjunctive forms and imperatives; and b) the marked past stem (*kaft-*, *kod-*, *wārt-*), which is reserved for indicative past forms (see also ‘Emādi 1384:67).

3.2.2.2. Non-finite verb forms

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ag* to the non-past stem (*kanag* ‘to do’, *kafag* ‘to fall’, *warag* ‘to eat’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:62). In periphrastic verb constructions that make use of the infinitive, the suffix is frequently realized as *-ay* (*makanay=and/makanag=and* ‘they do’). The infinitive is employed to construct imperfective forms with the copula (see Section 3.2.2.6.4) and it is also used as a verbal noun (e.g., *xarag* ‘buying’). It can be part of a passive verb form as well (see Section 3.2.2.7).

Another non-finite form is a verbal adjective (or “gerundive”) which adds *-ī* to the infinitive and denotes what can/should be done (e.g., *gašagī* ‘say-able’) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:54).

The past participle is formed by adding *-a(g)/-ay* to the past stem (*koda(g)/koday* ‘done’, *boda(g)/boday* ‘been’). It is used in the present and past perfect formation (see Section 3.2.2.6.5), to form a backgrounding imperfective form (see Section 3.2.2.6.4), and to form passives (see Section 3.2.2.7).

3.2.2.3. Person-marking suffixes

The basic set of person-marking suffixes (personal endings), shown in Table 8 below, is used for indicative and subjunctive non-past forms, and for past forms of intransitive verbs (for past forms of transitive verbs, see Section 3.2.2.6.3) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:71).

In the 3rd person singular, non-past and past suffixes differ, but for the rest of the suffixes there is no tense distinction.

Table 8: Basic set of person-marking verb suffixes

	Person-marking non-past suffix	Non-past copula	Past copula
1SG	<i>-ān/-on</i>	<i>=on/=ān</i>	<i>=ad-ān</i>
2SG	<i>-ay/-ē</i>	<i>=ay</i>	<i>=ad-ay</i>
3SG non-past	<i>-ī/-īt/-īd/-t/-d/-a</i>	<i>=en(t)/=ēn</i>	—
past	<i>-Ø</i>	—	<i>=ad-Ø/=at-Ø/=a-Ø</i>
1PL	<i>-ēn/-en</i>	<i>=en/=em</i>	<i>=ad-en</i>
2PL	<i>-et/-ēt/-ed</i>	<i>=et</i>	<i>=ad-et</i>
3PL	<i>-an(t)</i>	<i>=an(t)</i>	<i>=ad-an(t)</i>

3.2.2.4. TAM prefixes and clitic

Finite verbs are marked for person and TAM (tense, aspect, mode). There are three prefixes and one clitic with TAM functions (also described by ‘Emādi 1384:72–77, except for the *k-* prefix).

Imperfective aspect is marked with the verb clitic *a=/ā=/ar=/az=*, which appears in the non-past indicative construction as well as in the imperfective past construction. The form *ar=* occurs in variation with *a=* with the verb *rawag* ‘to go’ (*ar=ra/a=ra* ‘he/she/it goes’), the form *az=* occurs in this corpus with the verb *zorag* ‘to take, to buy’.¹² The form *ā=* occurs in free variation with *a=*, especially when the imperfective prefix *k-* has been insert-

¹² Technically, the epenthetic *r* and *z* in these allomorphs are a copy of the initial stem consonant, filling an empty consonantal slot in the clitic.

ed before a vowel-initial verb stem ($\bar{a}=k\bar{o}\bar{s}t\bar{i}$ ‘he/she/it stops’; verb stem: *ošt*). The default form is $a=$ ($a=kayt$ ‘he/she/it comes’, $a=\bar{s}it$ ‘he/she/it says’).

The imperfective aspectual meaning of the $a=$ prefix (with variants) seems to have been bleached in the non-past temporal field, where it is now a general marker of the indicative mood; there, other constructions are employed for marked imperfective forms (see Section 3.2.2.6.4).

There is also another imperfective prefix, $k-$, which appears on vowel-initial verbs stems in the non-past indicative affirmative form ($\bar{a}=k\bar{o}\bar{s}t\bar{i}$ ‘he/she/it stops’, $\bar{a}=k\bar{a}rant$ ‘they bring’; see also Axenov 2006:166–167).

A third marker, the prefix $ma-/me-/m-/mah-/m\bar{a}h-$, appears to be a copy from the Persian imperfective prefix $mi-$. It is used in an alternative non-past indicative formation as well as in non-past and past marked imperfective forms, all of which are discussed below. The default form is $ma-$ ($makana$ ‘he/she/it does’, $maz\bar{a}n\bar{o}\bar{a}n$ ‘I know’), but $me-$ occurs occasionally as a free variant ($med\bar{a}n$ ‘I give’). The form $m-$ is sometimes found on the verb *ellag* ‘to leave’ ($namel\bar{a} boda$ ‘he/she/it didn’t allow’), and $mah-$ is found in free variation with the infrequent form $m\bar{a}h-$ on the verb $\bar{a}yag$ ‘to come’ ($mah\bar{a}/m\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ ‘he/she/it comes’).

The highly variable subjunctive/imperative (irrealis) prefix $be-/bo-/b\bar{i}-/b\bar{i}y-/by-/b-/ber-/bez-/m-$ is used in the formation of subjunctive and imperative forms. The alternation between allomorphs is phonologically conditioned. While $be-$ is the default ($bega\bar{s}\bar{a}n$ ‘I should say’), $bo-$ is found in free variation with $be-$ when the first stem vowel is o ($boborr\bar{a}n$ ‘I should cut’, $bezo$ ‘take (2sg. = ay)’), and $b\bar{i}-$ is used in free variation with $be-$ for stems in which the first vowel is \bar{i} ($b\bar{i}b\bar{i}/beb\bar{i}$ ‘may it be’). The form $b\bar{i}y-$ is found with $\bar{a}-$ and $a-$ initial stems ($b\bar{i}y\bar{a}ret$ ‘bring (2pl. impv.)’ $b\bar{i}y\bar{a}skon\bar{a}n$ ‘I may hear’), and on the verb ‘to come’ it is sometimes shortened to $by-$ ($b\bar{i}y\bar{a}/by\bar{a}$ ‘come (2sg. impv.)’, $byayt$ ‘he should come’). Other vowel-initial stems and stems in initial $w-$ take $b-$ (bel ‘let (2sg. impv.)’, $b\bar{o}\bar{s}t\bar{a}n$ ‘I may stand up’, $bw\bar{a}$ ‘he/she should eat’). The form $ber-$ is frequently, though not always, used with the verb ‘to go’ ($berray$ ‘you (sg.) should go’), but not with other stems starting in $r-$ ($ber\bar{e}say$ ‘you (sg.) should spin [wool]’); and the form $bez-$ is optionally used with stems starting in $z-$ ($bezzey$ ‘it should give birth’, $bezo$ ‘take (2sg. impv.)’, $bozoray$ ‘you (sg.) should take’).¹³ One verb, *gennag* ‘to see’, sometimes takes the $be-$ prefix, but sometimes the prefix appears as $m-$ together with a reduced non-past stem ($begenay/mennay$ ‘you (sg.) should see’).

¹³ As is the case for the clitic $a=$, the epenthetic r and z in these allomorphs are a copy of the initial stem consonant, filling an empty consonantal slot in the prefix.

The subjunctive/imperative (irrealis) prefix is frequently omitted, particularly on verbs with preverbs and with complex predicates, but is sometimes also omitted on simple verbs (*dar kan* ‘take out (2sg. impv.)’ *say kan* ‘look’ (2sg. impv), *prēnān* ‘I should throw’).

3.2.2.5. Negation prefixes

Koroshi has two negation prefixes, *na-/nā-/nay-* and *ma-* (see also ‘Emādi 1384:73). All finite verb forms except the imperative are negated by the prefix *na-* (with variants). The variant *nā-* is rare and occurs in free variation with the default form *na-*. The variant *nay-* occurs, although not totally consistently, with vowel initial stems, and the form *n-* has only been observed in contracted 1sg. non-past forms of the verb ‘to come’ (*a=nayān* (< *a=nayāyān*)).

dya na-gašt=om nay-ā-ay
 well NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-2SG
 ‘well, didn’t I tell you not to come?’ (GA:47)

na a=nayān¹⁴ dīga
 no VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG well
 ‘well, no, I won’t come’ (GA:33)

nā-bokān=ī ray Ø-kan-ay
 NEG-need=PC.3SG colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG
 ‘you don’t need to colour [it]’ (WK:23)

The imperative is negated with the prohibitive prefix *ma-*:

xorāk-ā ma-wa-Ø
 food-OBL PROH-eat.NPST-2SG
 ‘don’t eat the food’ (KS:18)

bowā ma-koš-et=e
 father PROH-kill.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG
 ‘father, don’t kill it’ (KS:49)

¹⁴ Most negated forms of the verb ‘to come’ contain a merger of the negation prefix and the verb stem. The form occurring in the corpus is (*a=nayān* (< *a=nayāyān*)). The 3rd person singular form (*nay-ay-t/nay-ay-Ø*) is, however, not merged.

3.2.2.6. Finite verb forms

3.2.2.6.1. The copula

The copula is enclitic when it is not negated. Negated forms, however, are not enclitic (Tables 9–10) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:85).

Table 9: Non-past forms of the copula

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	= <i>on</i> /= <i>ān</i>	<i>nay-on/nay-ān</i>
2SG	= <i>ay</i>	<i>nay-ay</i>
3SG	= <i>en(t)</i>	<i>na-en(t)</i>
1PL	= <i>ēn</i> /= <i>en</i>	<i>nay-ēn/nay-en</i>
2PL	= <i>et</i>	<i>nay-et</i>
3PL	= <i>an(t)</i> /= <i>and</i>	<i>nay-an(t)/nay-and</i>

ta *ye šāh=i-ay* *bač=ay*
 PN.2SG one king=IND-GEN son=COP.NPST.2SG

‘you are the son of a king’ (KD:30)

man-ī *nawbat=en*
 PN.1SG-GEN turn=COP.NPST.3SG

‘it is my turn’ (DC:21)

man *xān* *nay-ān*
 PN.1SG khan NEG-COP.NPST.1SG

‘I am not the khan’ (SD:8)

ta *kačal* *nay-ay*
 PN.2SG bald NEG-COP.NPST.2SG

‘you are not bald’ (KS:112)

Table 10: Past forms of the copula

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	= <i>ad-ān</i>	<i>nay-ad-ān</i>
2SG	= <i>ad-ay</i>	<i>nay-ad-ay</i>
3SG	= <i>a(d)-∅</i>	<i>nay-a(d)-∅</i>
1PL	= <i>ad-en</i>	<i>nay-ad-en</i>
2PL	= <i>ad-et</i>	<i>nay-ad-et</i>
3PL	= <i>ad-an(t)</i>	<i>nay-ad-an(t)</i>

hodūt=e pūnzda sāl-a=ad-ān
 about=EZ fifteen year-ADJZ=COP.PST-1SG
 ‘I was about fifteen years old’ (MM:20)

šahr-ī=ad-an
 town-ADJZ=COP.PST-3PL
 ‘they were townspeople’ (UT)

taḡsīr=eš ham nay-ad-∅
 fault=PC.3PL ADD NEG-COP.PST-3SG
 ‘it was not their fault either’ (UT)

ā zamān ītaw nay-ad-en
 DIST time like.this NEG-COP.PST-1PL
 ‘in those days we were not like this’ (UT)

3.2.2.6.2. Verb forms based on the non-past stem

The non-past indicative and the subjunctive are the two basic non-past finite verb forms. Distinct imperative forms are found for the 2nd person (Table 11).

Table 11: Non-past indicative, subjunctive and imperative verb forms in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’; the most frequent person-marking suffixes are shown here)

	Indicative		Subjunctive		Imperative	
	affirm.	neg.	affirm.	neg.	affirm.	neg.
1SG	<i>a=kan-ān</i>	<i>a=na-kan-ān</i>	<i>(be-)kan-ān</i>	<i>na-ka-nān</i>		
2SG	<i>a=kan-ay</i>	<i>a=na-kan-ay</i>	<i>(be-)kan-ay</i>	<i>na-kan-ay</i>	<i>(be-)kan-Ø</i>	<i>ma-kan-Ø</i>
3SG	<i>a=kan-t</i>	<i>a=na-kan-t</i>	<i>(be-)kan-t</i>	<i>na-kan-t</i>		
1PL	<i>a=kan-en</i>	<i>a=na-kan-en</i>	<i>(be-)kan-en</i>	<i>na-kan-en</i>		
2PL	<i>a=kan-et</i>	<i>a=na-kan-et</i>	<i>(be-)kan-et</i>	<i>na-kan-et</i>	<i>(be-)kan-et</i>	<i>ma-kan-et</i>
3PL	<i>a=kan-ant</i>	<i>a=na-kan-ant</i>	<i>(be-)kan-ant</i>	<i>na-kan-ant</i>		

Non-past indicative with *a=* clitic

The non-past indicative is formed by the imperfective clitic *a=* (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem + person-marking suffix (see also ‘Emādi 1384:75–77 and Mahamedi 1979:287):

ahmad-ā *ā=k-ār-ant*
 Ahmad-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL
 ‘they bring Ahmad’ (GA:28)

man *emšaf* *ar=r-ān* *wad=am*
 PN.1SG tonight VCL=go.NPST-1SG REFL=PC.1SG
a=pēč-ān *dawr=e* *šāh-ay* *janek-ay* *garden-ā*
 VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ king-GEN daughter-GEN neck-OBL
 ‘tonight I will go and wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter’
 (GA:19)

In contrast to previously described Balochi dialects, where the imperfective aspect clitic is found as an enclitic (=a) and omitted under certain conditions, for example, clause-initially and after the individuation clitic (Buddruss 1977:9–13, 1988:62–65, Axenov 2006:166–170), in Koroshi it is a proclitic and is normally retained in all positions (see also Nourzaei and Jahani 2013).

ar=r-an *ham=ī* *sahrā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX wilderness
 ‘they go [out] into the (lit. this) wilderness’ (GA:7)

nārāhat *a=b-ī* *ya* *bann=e* *a=zo-∅*
 troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG one rope=IND VCL=take.NPST-3SG
 ‘he becomes troubled [and] takes a rope’ (GA:11)

The non-past indicative is negated by the negation prefix *na-* (with variants), which is inserted between the imperfective verb clitic and the non-past stem.

xorāk-ā *a=na-wā-∅*
 food-OBL VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG
 ‘he doesn’t eat the food’ (KS:18)

ī *kassān-o-ēn* *janek* *sībay*
 PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG
a=na-prēn-ī
 VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG
 ‘this youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

Only rarely is the verb clitic omitted. This occasionally happens with negative forms of the two verbs *zānag* ‘to know’ and *bayag* ‘to become, to be’:

hālā *∅=na-zān-ān*
 now VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG
 ‘well, I don’t know’ (SD:25)

a=š-ī *∅=na-b-ē*
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=NEG-become.NPST-2SG
 ‘it said, “You won’t be [shattered]”’ (DC:24)

The non-past indicative is employed to denote:

- states or events occurring at the present time. Both in traditional folktales and, sometimes, in accounts of real events – although not in the first-person accounts in this corpus – narrators normally put themselves inside the framework of the story by using the non-past tense not only in dialogue but also in narrative parts of the story, and also by employing proximal deixis on demonstratives (see Section 3.2.1.5.2) and on time and place adverbials. In the grammatical descriptions, these non-past tense verbs are translated using the English present tense. In the text

corpus, however, the narrations are translated into the past tense, which is the default tense for narration of past events in English.

oštor hamē.ke a=ras-īt sar=e šay-ā
 camel as.soon.as VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on=EZ slope-OBL
a=š-īt ay kar
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC donkey

‘as soon as the camel arrives at the slope it says, “Hey there, donkey”’ (DC:19)

ahmad ham ar=ra-Ø mā aždahā-ay gōš-ā
 Ahmad ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG in dragon-GEN ear-OBL
ye cē a=š-īd
 one thing VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘then Ahmad goes [and] whispers (lit. says) something in the dragon’s ear’ (GA:31)

- habitual events in the non-past temporal field without a specific time reference:

mēš-ā a=čēn-en pašm-ok-ā a=rēs-en
 sheep-OBL VCL=shear.NPST-1PL wool-DEF-OBL VCL=spin.NPST-1PL
 ‘we shear the sheep, we spin the wool’ (WK:2)

pašm=e xūb-ā a=zor-ay
 wool=EZ good-OBL VCL=take.NPST-2SG
 ‘you take the good wool’ (WK:42)

- future time reference:

man aždahā-ā ā=bōj-ān
 PN.1SG dragon-OBL VCL=open.NPST-1SG
 ‘I will unwrap the dragon’ (GA:43)

a=kaf-ay mā čāh-ā a=mer-ay
 VCL=fall.NPST-2SG into well-OBL VCL=die.NPST-2SG
 ‘you will fall into the well [and] die’ (KS:20)

a=š-ī a=k-ā-yān
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG
 ‘[the boy] says, “I will come”’ (KS:39)

Non-past indicative with *ma-* prefix

In addition to the basic indicative non-past indicative with the *a=* clitic described above, there is a non-past indicative construction consisting of the prefix *ma-* (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem + person-marking suffixes (*makanna* ‘he laughs’). This construction is negated by adding the negation prefix *na-* (with variants) before *ma-* (*namačārēna* ‘she doesn’t take [the camels] grazing’). This non-past indicative form seems to be a recent copy from the Persian non-past indicative structure, a possibility also supported by the fact that the 3rd person singular suffix in this construction is *-a* (cf. colloquial P. *-e*) rather than the *-ī(t)/-īd/-t/-d* found in the non-past indicative formation with the *a=* clitic. (For other TAM-forms with the *ma-* prefix, see Section 3.2.2.6.4)

ē *čē=ē* *barġ* *ma-ĵan-a*
PROX what=IND flash IMP-hit.NPST-3SG
‘what is that (lit. this) [thing] shining?’ (GA:8)

ahmad=ī *ke* *xayle* *nārāhat=a-Ø* *hālā*
Ahmad=IND CLM very troubled=COP.PST-3SG now
ma-kann-a
IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG

‘Ahmad, who was very worried [before], is now laughing’ (GA:42)

oštor-obār *ma-raw-a* *mā* *īš-ī* *fekr-ā*
camel-PL IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX-GEN thought-OBL
‘the camels are entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought)’ (KD:28)

There is no obvious aspectual distinction between the two indicative non-past formations, as both are employed for iterative and durative actions. The construction with *ma-* is, however, more restricted and is not used for future time reference in the corpus.

ta *ba.če* *ma-raw-ay* *korrag=at*
PN.2SG why IMP-go.NPST-2SG foal=PC.2SG
ma-prēn-ē *mā* *daryā-hā*
IMP-throw.NPST-2SG into sea-OBL

‘why do you go and throw your foal into the sea?’ (iterative) (KS:5)

ta *na-ma-tān-ay* *ē* *joġlā*
 PN.2SG NEG-IMP-be.able.NPST-2SG PROX boy.OBL

bo-koš-ay
 SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

‘you cannot kill this boy’ (durative) (KS:24)

Subjunctive

The subjunctive is formed by the prefix *be-* (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem + person-marking suffixes. The prefix can be omitted and is, as in Persian, often left out in complex predicates (see also ‘Emādi 1384:77–78).

a=na-twān-t *bār-ā* *be-bā-Ø*
 VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-3SG load-OBL SBJV-carry.NPST-3SG

‘it cannot carry the load’ (DC:17)

man=o *ta* *ham* *ber-r-ēn*
 PN.1SG=and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

‘let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’ (GA:5)

joġla *by-ay-Ø* *rū=ye* *ġālī-yā*
 boy SBJV-come.NPST-3SG on=EZ carpet-OBL

be-nenn-ī *be-kaf-ī* *mā* *čāh-ā*
 SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG into well-OBL

be-mer-īt
 SBJV-die.NPST-3SG

‘...for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die’ (KS:18)

na-bāhāt=a-Ø *čō* *Ø-kan-ān* *na-bāhāt=a-Ø*
 NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG like.this SBJV-do.NPST-1SG NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG

ēš-ī *Ø-prēn-ān* *mā* *čāh-ā*
 PROX-OBL SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into well-OBL

‘I shouldn’t have done like this, I shouldn’t have thrown her into the well’ (GA:10)

Contrary to other dialects of Balochi, where the subjunctive is negated by *ma-*, in Koroshi the negation *na-* (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.5) is used, possibly due to Persian influence.¹⁵ The negation replaces the prefix *be-* (with variants):

rū=yē *gālī-yā* *na-nenn-ay*
 on=EZ carpet-OBL NEG.SBJV-sit.down.NPST-2SG
 ‘you shouldn’t sit down on the carpet’ (KS:20)

The subjunctive is employed to denote irrealis modality in a number of irrealis contexts, for example:

- to denote volition/intention/necessity/prospective aspect (see also Jahani, forthcoming) with the verb *bokā-/bokān-/bokār-* ‘to want’ which always occurs in the 3rd person singular. There is no infinitive form of this verb. To mark past tense, the past copula is added to the stem. This verb normally takes a non-canonical (dative) subject (see Section 3.2.2.8). When the verb denotes volition/intention/prospective aspect, the person-marking clitic denoting the non-canonical subject and the person-marking suffix on the verb agree in person and number.

bokān=eš *bo-koš-ant=ī*
 want=PC.3PL SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG
 ‘they are going to kill it’ (KS:48)

bokān=et *čobān-ī* *na-kan-ay*
 want=PC.2SG shepherd-NMLZ NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-2SG
 ‘don’t you want to be a shepherd (i.e., do you want to quit being a shepherd)?’ (UT)

agar *bokār=ad=om* *ba* *wad=om* *kār*
 if want=COP.PST=PC.1SG for REFL=PC.1SG work
Ø-kan-ān
 SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

‘if I had wanted to work for myself (i.e., have my own business)...’ (UT)

¹⁵ The interlinearization focuses this divergence between Koroshi and other Balochi dialects by glossing *na-* as NEG when it negates non-subjunctive TAM-forms and as NEG.SBJV when it negates the subjunctive TAM-form.

When the verb denotes necessity, the person-marking clitic is invariably in the 3rd person singular:

nā-bokān=ī *raṅ* *Ø-kan-ay*
 NEG-need=PC.3SG colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

‘you don’t need (lit. it is not necessary for you) to colour it’ (WK:23)

- to denote prospective aspect with the verb *āyag* ‘to come’ (see also Jahani, forthcoming). This construction is only found in the non-past tense in the corpus.

a=k-ā-yant *korrāg-ā* *bo-koš-ant*
 VCL=IMP.k.come.NPST-3PL foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

‘they set out to kill the foal’ (KS:40)

joḡla *a=k-ay-Ø* *pād* *Ø-ay-Ø*
 boy VCL=IMP.k.come.NPST-3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

‘the boy is about to stand up’ (KS:41)

a=k-ay-Ø *as* *asp-ā* *wad=ay* *pert*
 VCL=IMP.k.come.NPST-3SG from horse-OBL REFL=PC.3SG thrown

Ø-kan-Ø *be-ḡerg-ī*
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG SBJV-flee.NPST-3SG

‘she is about to throw herself from the horse in order to run back’ (SD:49)

- to denote obligation with the verb *bāhā/bahā/bāhāt/bāhād/bāhās/bāyat* ‘must, have to’, which always occurs in the 3rd person singular with or without an added copula in the non-past tense but with the past copula in the past tense. The stem that occurs with the past copula in the corpus, *bāhāt*, also occurs with the non-past copula, which shows that it cannot be a marked past stem. There is, however, a special past stem copied from Persian, *bāese*, which does not add the past copula and does not occur in the non-past tense.

bāhā *be-mer-ay*
 must SBJV-die.NPST-2SG

‘you must die’ (UT)

bāhāt=en *hafte-ī* *haft* *mēš=e* *syāh-ay*
 must=COP.NPST.3SG week-ADVZ seven sheep=EZ black-GEN

lāš *be-d-ay* *b-wā-Ø*
 carcass SBJV-give.NPST-2SG SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG

‘you must give [it] the meat (lit. carcass) of seven black sheep per week to eat’ (KS:10)

na-bāhāt=a-Ø *ēš-ī* *Ø-prēn-ān* *mā*
 NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG PROX-OBL SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into

čāh-ā
 well-OBL

‘I should not have thrown her into the well’ (GA:10)

bāese *ya* *kār=ē* *be-kan-an*
 must.PST one work=IND SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

‘they should have done something (lit. a work)’ (UT)

- to denote ability with the verb *twānag* (with variants) ‘to be able’:

a=tān-ay *šāh-ay* *janek-ā* *bahr=am*
 VCL=be.able.NPST-2SG king-GEN daughter-OBL for=PC.1SG

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

‘can you get the king’s daughter for me?’ (GA:17)

man-ī *korrāg-ā* *hīška* *a=na-twān-t*
 PN.1SG-GEN foal-OBL nobody VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-3SG

mazan *Ø-kan-t*
 big SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

‘my foal, nobody can raise [it]’ (KS:6)

- to denote possibility with the adverb *šāya* ‘maybe’:

šāya *ba* *man* *janek-ā* *na-d-ant*
 maybe to PN.1SG girl-OBL NEG.SBJV-give.NPST-3PL

‘maybe they won’t give the girl to me’ (SD:19)

- for hortatives other than 2nd person imperatives:

man=o ta ham ber-r-en
 PN.1SG=and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

‘let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’ (GA:5)

- for wishes (optative mood):

došman=en Ø-b-ī čō ham=ā kar-ā
 enemy=PC.1PL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG like EMPH=DIST donkey-OBL

‘may it happen to our enemy as to the donkey’ (DC:26)

- to denote doubt and hesitation:

man četaw Ø-kan-ān
 PN.1SG how SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

‘what should I do?’ (GA:40)

- in a number of subordinate clauses (see Section 3.3.3).

Imperative

The imperative is formed similarly to the subjunctive, with the prefix *be-* (with variants; see Section 3.2.2.4) + non-past stem without any person marking in the 2nd person singular, but with the person-marking suffix in the 2nd person plural (see also ‘Emādi 1384:74). While the negation prefix *na-* (with variants) is used to negate the subjunctive, the prohibitive prefix *ma-* negates the imperative.

by-ā-Ø man=o ta ham ber-r-en
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.1SG=and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

‘come on, let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too’ (GA:5)

wel Ø-day-Ø ī kār-ā ma-kan-Ø
 loose IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PROX deed-OBL PROH-do.NPST-2SG

‘forget it (lit. give loose), don’t do this’ (DC:9)

ber-r-et ham=ā-hī ham bīy-ār-et
 IMPV-go.NPST-2PL EMPH=DIST-OBL ADD IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

‘go [and] bring him, too’ (GA:27)

3.2.2.6.3. *Verb forms based on the past stem*

The marked past tense system has limited use in traditional oral tales, which have the unmarked non-past as their basic tense. In accounts of real-life events, especially those which are recent and/or autobiographical, the past is the basic tense.

In the past tense, the main distinction is aspectual, namely between the perfective past, which does not contain the imperfective aspect clitic, and the imperfective past, which contains the imperfective aspect clitic *a=* (with variants).

had=e iš-ī čōbān bod-ān
 by=EZ PROX-OBL shepherd become.PST-1SG
 ‘I became his shepherd’ (perfective aspect) (MM:45)

harjāh āšoġ a=bod=ad-Ø
 everywhere in.love VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG
 ‘he used to fall in love with many girls (lit. everywhere)’ (imperfective aspect) (UT)

Alignment for verb forms based on the past stem

A key distinction that must be taken into account for verb forms based on the past stem is that the agreement markers for transitive verbs in the past tense are normally the person-marking clitics (see Section 3.2.1.5.3) rather than the person-marking suffixes.

kam.kam god bod-en
 little.by.little big become.PST-1PL
 ‘little by little we grew up’ (MM:33)

man nay-āk-ān be-gaš-ān bōj-ag
 PN.1SG NEG-come.PST-1SG SBJV-say.NPST-1SG open.NPST-INF
b-ay-Ø
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

‘I didn’t come to tell you to unwrap yourself (lit. to say: “unwrap yourself”)’ (GA:48)

pañ nafar hojūm=e ko bahr=am
 five person attack=PC.3SG do.PST for=PC.1SG
 ‘five persons attacked me (lit. made attack for me)’ (MM:21)

haywān-ā *geft=om* *na-tānt=ī*
 animal-OBL take.PST=PC.1SG NEG-be able.PST=PC.3SG

be-bā-Ø
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

‘I took the animals (lit. animal) [back], he couldn’t take [them]’ (MM:23)

Occasionally the person-marking clitic as an agreement marker is missing in the past tense for the 3rd person singular on a transitive verb. (An intransitive verb would have the -Ø person-marking suffix.)

harčī *ga=Ø* *gašt=en* *čašm*
 whatever say.PST=PC.3SG say.PST=PC.1PL okay

‘whatever [my father] said, I (lit. we) said: “fine”’ (UT)

The person-marking clitic as an agreement marker on transitive verbs is normally attached either to the verb or, in the case of complex predicates, to the non-verbal element of the complex predicate. The following example illustrates both possibilities.

man *gašt=om* *ta* *gōš=et* *ke*
 PN.1SG say.PST=PC.1SG PN.2SG ear=PC.2SG do.PST

‘I told [you]; did you listen?’ (DC:24)

Only rarely are there intervening words or clitics between the agreement marker and the verb.

yāzdah=e *šab* *haywān=om* *šawkan* *a=dād=a*
 eleven=EZ night animal=PC.1SG night.grazing VCL=give.PST=COP.PST

‘I would take the animals out grazing at eleven at night’ (MM:79)

ya *do-tā* *kōh=om=am* *wārt* *kōh=om=am* *jat*
 one two-CL stone=PC.1SG=ADD eat.PST stone=PC.1SG=ADD hit.PST

‘I was both hit by a couple of stones and I threw [a couple of] stones too’ (MM:21)

Alignment in Koroshi is normally non-ergative. The case marking on both nouns and pronouns groups the agent (A) of transitive verbs and subject (S) of intransitive verbs together over against the patient (P) of transitive verbs. Person and number agreement is between the S/A and the verb, even if the agreement marker is not always attached to the verb itself. As mentioned above, it is important to note that the agreement markers differ between intransitive and transitive verbs. For intransitive verbs they are person-marking suffixes and for transitive verbs person-marking clitics.

šāh (S) *ham* *a=k-ay-Ø* *bālād*
 king ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG up
 ‘the king comes up as well’ (KS:124)

kākol (A) *ba* *man* *ītawr=ī* *ga*
 Kakol.NOM to PN.1SG this.way=PC.3SG say.PST
 ‘Kakol told me like this’ (SD:36)

xān-ay *haywān-ā* (P) *ham* *dād=om* *dassay*
 khan-GEN animal-OBL ADD give.PST=PC.1SG hand.OBL.PC.3SG
 ‘I returned the khan’s animals (lit. animal) to him’ (MM:44)

When a person-marking clitic attaches to the P of past transitive verbs, and in fact when it attaches to any P (see Section 3.2.1.1.4), the P takes no case suffix even if it is a definite noun. This means that in these instances S=A=P; in other words, such sentences demonstrate neutral alignment.

talab=am *na-dād=eš* *janek=eš*
 claim.NOM=PC.1SG NEG-give.PST=PC.3PL girl.NOM=PC.3PL
ham *xo* *na-dād*
 ADD well NEG-give.PST
 ‘they neither gave [back] my claim (i.e., that which they owed me), nor did they give the girl’ (SD:32)

Perfective past

The perfective past is formed with the past stem + person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs, and the past stem + person-marking clitic for transitive verbs. The person-marking suffixes always attach to the verb, but the person-marking clitics either attach to the verb or to the non-verbal element of a complex predicate (see Section 3.2.2.6.3). This applies to all finite verb forms based on the past stem. Negation is expressed with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the stem (Table 12) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:79, 82 and Mahamedi 1979:287).

Table 12. Perfective past in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.); only the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

	<i>kod-</i> ‘do.PST’	<i>raft-</i> ‘go.PST’
1SG	<i>(na-)kod=om</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ān</i>
2SG	<i>(na-)kod=et</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ay</i>
3SG	<i>(na-)kod=ī</i>	<i>(na-)raft-∅</i>
1PL	<i>(na-)kod=en</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ēn</i>
2PL	<i>(na-)kod=ō</i>	<i>(na-)raft-et</i>
3PL	<i>(na-)kod=eš</i>	<i>(na-)raft-an(t)</i>

had=e *īš-ī* *čōbān* *bod-ān*
 by=EZ PROX-OBL shepherd become.PST-1SG

‘I became his shepherd’ (MM:45)

gōš=ī *na-ge*
 ear=PC.3SG NEG-take.PST

‘he didn’t listen’ (UT)

raft-en *kōbīn* *eǰāra=en* *ko*
 go.PST-1PL combine.harvester rent=PC.1PL do.PST

‘we went [and] rented a combine harvester’ (MM:71)

The perfective past denotes:

- single past events viewed in their entirety:

dōī=n=am *ke* *šas* *sāl-a* *rahmat=e* *xodā*
 mother=PC.1PL=ADD TOP sixty year-ADJZ mercy=EZ God
raft-Ø
 go.PST-3SG

‘my (lit. our) mother, may God have mercy on her, died at the age of sixty’
 (MM:55)

be *man* *ētawr=eš* *ga* *talab=am*
 to PN.1SG this.way=PC.3PL say.PST claim=PC.1SG
na-dād=eš *janek=eš* *ham* *xo* *na-dād*
 NEG-give.PST=PC.3PL girl=PC.3PL ADD well NEG-give.PST

‘they told me like this; they neither gave [back] my claim (i.e., that which they owed me), nor did they give the girl’ (SD:32)

- relative past tense for backgrounded events in temporal, conditional, and general relative clauses which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (see also Sections 3.3.3.3, 3.3.3.4.1, and 3.3.3.4.4):

har *waxt* *saxt=et* *bo-Ø* *yek=e* *a*
 each time difficult=PC.2SG become.PST-3SG one=IND from
ē *mūd-obār-ā* *ās* *Ø-day-Ø*
 PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

‘set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem (lit. whenever it was difficult to you)’ (KS:56)

aga *dād=et* *ke* *xūb=en* *gol-ā*
 if see.PST=PC.2SG CLM good=COP.NPST.3SG flower-OBL
be-rēč-Ø
 IMPV-pour.NPST-2SG

‘if you see that it is good, pour out the flowers’ (KD:38)

rū *harkas-ay* *sar-ā* *ham* *korrag* *rapt-Ø*
 on whoever-GEN head-OBL ADD foal go.PST-3SG
ā=koš-ān=ī
 VCL=kill.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

‘I will kill anyone whose head the foal jumps over’ (KS:50)

- Imminent events presented as though they have already happened:

man raft-ān
PN.1SG go.PST-1SG

‘I am leaving right away (lit. I went)’ (GA:32)

Imperfective past

The imperfective past is formed with the verb clitic $a=/\bar{a}=/ar=$ + past stem + past copula with a person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs, and $a=/\bar{a}=/ar=$ + past stem + past copula stem + a person-marking clitic for transitive verbs. Negation is expressed with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which is placed between the clitic $a=$ (with variants) and the stem (Table 13) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:81–82). (For imperfective forms with the copula, see 3.2.2.6.4.)

Table 13: Imperfective past in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.); the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

	<i>kod-</i> ‘do.PST’	<i>raft-</i> ‘go.PST’
1SG	$a=(na-)kod=ad=om$	$a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{a}n$
2SG	$a=(na-)kod=ad=et$	$a=(na-)raft=ad-ay$
3SG	$a=(na-)kod=ad=\bar{i}$	$a=(na-)raft=a(d)-\emptyset$
1PL	$a=(na-)kod=ad=en$	$a=(na-)raft=ad-\bar{e}n$
2PL	$a=(na-)kod=ad=\bar{o}$	$a=(na-)raft=ad-et$
3PL	$a=(na-)kod=ad=e\check{s}$	$a=(na-)raft=ad-an(t)$

harjā āšog a=bod=ad-∅
everywhere in.love VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG
‘he used to fall in love with many girls (lit. everywhere)’ (UT)

tawār=e a=na-kod=ad
sound=PC.3SG VCL=NEG-do.PST=COP.PST
‘he would keep quiet (lit. he would not make sound)’ (UT)

čādorsyāh-bār=en ā=gāft=a
black.tent-PL=PC.1PL VCL=weave.PST=COP.PST
‘we used to weave black tents’ (WK:51)

The imperfective past is used to denote habitual events in the past tense:

a=raft=ad-en *čūbān-ī-yā* *dawr=et*
 VCL=go.PST=COP.PST-1PL shepherd-NMLZ-OBL around=PC.2SG

čok-obār *gerd* *ā=bod=a-Ø*
 child-PL gathered VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG

‘We used to go out with the animals (lit. shepherding). The friends (lit. children) were all together (lit. gathered around you).’ (UT)

haywān-ā *masan* *sāhat=e* *čār* *man* *dar=om*
 animal-OBL in.fact hour=EZ four PN.1SG PREV=PC.1SG

a=gēk=a *a=bort=ad=om*
 VCL=take.out.PST=COP.PST VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

a=čārēnt=ad=om
 VCL=take.grazing.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

sāhat=e *čār* *ke* *a=bort=ad=om*
 hour=EZ four CLM VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

tagrīban *dawāzdah=e* *zohr* *a=k-āwūrt=ad=om*
 around twelve=EZ noon VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

a=došt=ad=en *šīr-ā* *garm=en*
 VCL=milk.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL milk-OBL warm=PC.1PL

ā=kod=ad
 VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

‘The animals, you know, I would take them out at four o’clock [in the morning], I took [them] grazing. When I took [them grazing] at four, [then] I brought them at about twelve noon. We milked [them]. We heated up the milk.’ (MM:74–77)

3.2.2.6.4. Imperfective forms with the copula

There are two types of imperfective forms that make use of the copula (see also ‘Emādi 1384:78–79, and Mahamedi 1979:288); one used to denote progressive, continuous, or iterative aspect, and the other one for background information. The copula marks these constructions as stative, that is, they refer to a state rather than to an event.¹⁶

The first imperfective form with the copula consists of the prefix *ma-* + infinitive + non-past copula for the non-past tense. This form is negated with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the *ma-* prefix.

¹⁶ In a manuscript for a conference presentation on the Greek verb (Tyndale House, Cambridge, 10–11 July 2015) which Stephen H. Levinsohn kindly has put to our disposal, he points out that if a language has two imperfectives and one of them involves the copula, the norm is for the copular form to be more stative than the other, and that the copular imperfective is particularly suitable for presenting iterative events.

oštor-obār lāgar ma-bī-yag=en
 camel-PL thin IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘the camels are (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin)’ (KD:18)

oštor-ā azīyat ma-kan-ag=en
 camel-OBL trouble IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
na-mayl-ag=en be-čār-ī
 NEG-IMP.let.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG SBJV-graze.NPST-3SG
 ‘she is giving the camels (lit. camel) a hard time, she is not letting them graze’
 (KD:20–21)

kākol amū gō janek-ā sawladawla-ī mēdag-ā
 Kakol uncle with girl-OBL Sawladawla-GEN encampment-OBL
xoš ma-kan-ag=en
 happy IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘uncle Kakol is enjoying himself with the girl in Sawladawla’s encampment’
 (SD:70)

ta ēdān čōn ma-kan-ag=ay
 PN.2SG here how IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG
 ‘what are you doing here’ (KS:128)

In the past tense, this imperfective form consists of the prefix *ma-* + infinitive + past copula for the past tense. It is negated with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the *ma-* prefix:

ēš-ī ma-šašt-ay=ad-ant rū gīrat-ā
 PROX-OBL IMP-attribute.NPST-INF=COP.PST-3PL on zeal-OBL
 ‘they attributed this [behaviour] to [their] zeal’ (UT)

na-ma-tān-ay=ad-ān ber-r-ān
 NEG-IMP-be.able.NPST-INF=COP.NPST-1SG SBJV-go.NPST-1SG
 ‘I could not go’ (UT)

This imperfective form denotes progressive, continuous, or iterative aspect in the non-past and past tense. The same type of construction has also been reported for Lashari Balochi (see Yusefiān 1383:181). Transitivity in this construction is determined by the finite auxiliary verb, which is intransitive, rather than by the non-finite form of the main verb. Alignment is therefore non-ergative regardless of the transitivity of the main verb, which means that this construction always takes person-marking suffixes and never person-marking clitics as agreement markers.

The second type of imperfective with the copula consists of the prefix *ma-* + non-past stem + *-ā* (3sg.) / *-ēn* (3pl.) + *boda* (past participle of ‘to become, to be’).¹⁷ It is negated with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the *ma-* prefix. Since the finite verb in this construction is based on the non-past stem, it exhibits non-ergative alignment.

This second form is used is used for background information in narratives, both traditional tales and accounts of real events, where the non-past is the main tense. Longer examples are given here in order to illustrate the backgrounding function of this verb form:

<i>xolāsa</i>	<i>ar=r-ant</i>		<i>ahmad-ī</i>		<i>rannā</i>
in.short	VCL=go.NPST-3PL		Ahmad-GEN		behind
<i>ahmad</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aždahā</i>	<i>zal=ay</i>
Ahmad	ADD	CLM	from	dragon	gall.bladder=PC.3SG
<i>ma-raw-ā</i>			<i>bod-a</i>		<i>nā-mah-ā-Ø</i>
IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG			become.PST-PP		NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG
<i>bod-a</i>					
become.PST-PP					
<i>xolāsa</i>	<i>šāh</i>	<i>a=š-ī</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bahā</i>	<i>ber-r-ay</i>
in short	king	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	no	must	SBJV-go.NPST-2SG

‘So they go to find (lit. behind) Ahmad. But Ahmad, who is dead scared of (lit. whose gall bladder is going from) the dragon doesn’t [want to] come. Anyway, the king says, “No, you must go”.’¹⁸ (GA:38–39)

¹⁷ The verb ‘to come’, whose non-past stem already ends in *-ā*, does not add any extra *-ā* 3SG suffix after the stem (there are no examples of the corresponding plural form in the corpus).

¹⁸ Although this is an account of past events, the narration is in the non-past tense. Therefore also the backgrounding verb forms are translated in the non-past tense here. This also applies to the two following examples.

<i>ē</i>	<i>hosayn</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>mawǧeī</i>	<i>ma-raw-ā</i>	
PROX	Hosayn	uncle	when	IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG	
<i>bod-a</i>		<i>gō</i>	<i>xān-ā</i>	<i>ma-raw-ā</i>	
become.PST-PP	with	khan-OBL		IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG	
<i>bod-a</i>		<i>gō</i>	<i>asp-ā</i>	<i>ma-raw-ēn</i>	
become.PST-PP	with	horse-OBL		IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL	
<i>bod-a</i>	<i>ošter-ay</i>	<i>xarag-ā</i>	<i>ham=ī</i>	<i>sarkašī</i>	
become.PST-PP	camel-GEN	buying-OBL	EMPH=PROX	visiting	
<i>mēdag-ā</i>	<i>āṇa</i>	<i>īṇa</i>			
encampment-OBL	there	here			
<i>be.har.sūrat</i>	<i>ar=r-ant</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>rō</i>	<i>darašolī-ay</i>
anyway	VCL=go.NPST-3PL		one	day	Darreshuri-GEN
<i>mēdag-ā</i>					
encampment-OBL					

‘This Uncle Hosayn, when he goes with the khan – he goes with [his] horse, they go to buy camels, to visit the encampment, and things like that. In any case, one day they go to the Darreshuri encampment.’ (SD:7)

3.2.2.6.5. Perfect verb forms

In addition to basic non-past and past forms, there are two perfect verb forms. They are based on the past participle of the main verb. (For the formation of the past participle, see Section 3.2.2.2) The use of present perfect and past perfect verb forms is limited in the corpus.

Present perfect

The present perfect consists of the past participle + non-past copula with a person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs and the past participle + person marking clitic for transitive verbs. Negation is expressed with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the stem (Table 14) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:80, 83, 86, and Mahamedi 1979:287–288).

Table 14: Present perfect in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.); the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

	<i>kod-</i> ‘do.PST’	<i>raft-</i> ‘go.PST’
1SG	<i>(na-)kod-ag</i> ¹⁹ = <i>om</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ag</i> = <i>ān/on</i>
2SG	<i>(na-)kod-ag</i> = <i>et</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ag</i> = <i>ay</i>
3SG	<i>(na-)kod-ag</i> = <i>ī</i>	<i>(na-)raft-a(g)</i> = \emptyset
1PL	<i>(na-)kod-ag</i> = <i>en</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ag</i> = <i>en</i>
2PL	<i>(na-)kod-ag</i> = <i>ō</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ag</i> = <i>et</i>
3PL	<i>(na-)kod-ag</i> = <i>eš</i>	<i>(na-)raft-ag</i> = <i>an(t)/and</i>

The present perfect denotes:

- present states at the time of narration (or when past events are narrated using the non-past tense, at some indefinite time in the past):

hīška ham mānt-a= \emptyset
 nobody ADD remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

“so is there anyone left?” (GA:25)

kačal=en go janay īdān
 bald=COP.NPST.3SG with wife.OBL.PC.3SG here

nešt-a= \emptyset
 sit.down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘it is the bald [one] who is sitting there (lit. here) with his wife’ (KS:127)

- past events still relevant at the time of speech (or in past events narrated using the non-past tense, at some indefinite time in the past):

harčī pakk-ag=*et bīy-ār*= \emptyset
 however.much cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

‘bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked’ (KS:109)

man ġōl=en dād-a bahr=*ay*
 PN.1SG promise=PC.1SG give.PST-PP for=PC.3SG

‘I have promised him’ (UT)

¹⁹ The form *koday* is an alternative throughout the paradigm. Variation between *g* and *y* in this context applies to other verbs as well (see also section 3.2.2.2).

The present perfect of the verb *bayag* ‘to become, to be’ is also used in the introductions of non-past tense based narratives to set the scene for the story:

yek *dāzan=ē* *bod-a=∅* *nām=e*
 one woman=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG name=PC.3SG
golī *bod-a=∅* *xaylī* *ham* *bad*
 Goli become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG very ADD bad
bod-a=∅
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

‘there is (lit. has been) a woman, her name is (lit. has been) Goli, she is (lit. has been) very bad’ (GA:2–3)

Past perfect

The past perfect consists of the past participle or past stem²⁰ + past copula with a person-marking suffix for intransitive verbs and the past participle or past stem + 3sg. past copula + person-marking clitic for transitive verbs. Negation is expressed with the prefix *na-* (with variants), which precedes the stem (Table 15) (see also ‘Emādi 1384:80, 83, and Mahamedi 1979:288).

Table 15: Past perfect in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.); the most frequent person-marking clitics and suffixes are shown here)

	<i>kod-</i> ‘do.PST’	<i>raft-</i> ‘go.PST’
1SG	<i>(na-)kod(-ag)</i> ²¹ = <i>ad=om</i>	<i>(na-)raft(-ag)</i> = <i>ad-ān/on</i>
2SG	<i>(na-)kod(-ag)</i> = <i>ad=et</i>	<i>(na-)raft(-ag)</i> = <i>ad-ay</i>
3SG	<i>(na-)kod(-ag)</i> = <i>ad=ī</i>	<i>(na-)raft(-ag)</i> = <i>ad-∅</i>
1PL	<i>(na-)kod(-ag)</i> = <i>ad=en</i>	<i>(na-)raft(-ag)</i> = <i>ad-en</i>
2PL	<i>(na-)kod(-ag)</i> = <i>ad=ō</i>	<i>(na-)raft(-ag)</i> = <i>ad-et</i>
3PL	<i>(na-)kod(-ag)</i> = <i>ad=eš</i>	<i>(na-)raft(-ag)</i> = <i>ad-an(t)/and</i>

²⁰ These two variants are found side by side also in other Balochi dialects; see, e.g., Jahani and Korn 2009:673–674.

²¹ The form *koday* is an alternative throughout the paradigm. Variation between *g* and *y* in this context applies to other verbs as well (see also section 3.2.2.2).

The past perfect denotes:

- in past tense based narrations, past events still relevant at a later time in the past:

harka *bār=ī* *kod-ay=ad* *dar*
everybody load=PC.3SG do.PST-PP=COP.PST PREV
kaft-ay=ad-Ø *kanek=ī*
fall.PST-PP=COP.PST-3SG side=IND

‘everybody had loaded up [to migrate] and ended up somewhere’ (UT)

a *dass=eš* *namak=en* *wārt=ad*
from hand=PC.3PL salt=PC.1PL eat.PST=COP.PST

‘we had been helped by them (lit. we had eaten salt from their hand)’ (UT)

- counterfactual past (rarely attested):

mā=am *be* *ī* *waz* *na-rased-ay=ad-en*
PN.1PL=ADD to PROX situation NEG-arrive.PST-PP=COP.PST-1PL

‘then we would not have found ourselves in (lit. reached) this situation’ (UT)

3.2.2.6.6. *Marked evidential form*

There is one construction in Koroshi which consists of the present perfect form of the main verb + the perfect participle of the verb *bayag* ‘to become, to be’ (*boda*). This form is very rare in the corpus, and it is only attested in the 3rd person. The finite verb in this construction, rather than *bayag*, is the main verb and takes the transitive or intransitive agreement marker. There are no negated forms in the present corpus.

This construction seems to be a marked evidential form, denoting non-eyewitnessed events (see also ‘Emādi 1384:80–81, who calls it “reported past perfect”). In the following example, the first verb is in the non-past indicative and the rest of the verbs employ the construction under discussion. The form *jadeš* must be seen as a merger (<*jad-a=eš*).

<i>ya</i>	<i>tīr=e</i>	<i>a=na-g-ī</i>	<i>eš-ān</i>	<i>wale</i>
one	bullet=IND	VCL=NEG-get.NPST-3SG	PROX-PL	but
<i>haywān=o</i>	<i>oštor=o</i>	<i>masalan</i>	<i>jad-eš</i>	<i>bod-a</i>
animal=and	camel=and	for.example	hit.PST-PP.PC.3SG	become.PST-PP
<i>gālag</i>	<i>šerr=ī</i>	<i>wārt-a</i>	<i>bod-a</i>	<i>berenj</i>
sack	overturned=PC.3SG	eat.PST-PP	become.PST-PP	rice
<i>rekk-a=Ø</i>		<i>bod-a</i>	<i>sahrā</i>	
pour.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG		become.PST-PP	ground	

‘not a single bullet hits them, but they (reportedly) shoot animals and camels, you know, [and] the sacks are overturned and the rice is poured out on the ground’ (SD:73)

This form is also used when the narrator adds explanations which are not part of the actual narrative. In the following example, the inserted explanation starts with *ī=am* and ends with *zortay boda*.

<i>a=š-ī</i>	<i>bī-b-ī</i>	<i>ī=am</i>	<i>wad=ī</i>
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	SBJV-become.NPST-3SG	PROX=ADD	REFL=PC.3SG
<i>bod-a=Ø</i>	<i>xo</i>		
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	well		
<i>ā</i>	<i>sāhat</i>	<i>komā</i>	<i>a</i>
DIST	hour	stomach.OBL	from
			<i>rū</i>
			on
			<i>saray</i>
			head.OBL.PC.3SG
<i>zort-ay</i>	<i>boda</i>		
take.PST-PP.PC.3SG	become.PST-PP		
<i>tā</i>	<i>bad=am</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>lāš-ā</i>
then	afterwards=ADD	TOP	carcass-OBL
			<i>ā=k-ā-yant</i>
			VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
<i>be-bar-ant</i>			
SBJV-take.NPST-3PL			

‘He says, “Fine!” – Well, it was him. At that time, he had removed the stomach from his head, [you know]. – Then, afterwards, they will come to get the meat (lit. carcass) [from him].’ (KS:99–101)

3.2.2.7. Passive voice

There are a few examples of passive voice in the corpus (see also Jahani and Korn 2009:662–663). The passive voice is either formed with the infinitive of the main verb + a finite form of the verb *āyag* ‘to come’, or with the past participle of the main verb + a finite form of the verb *bayag* ‘to become, to be’.

man *bōj-ag* *a=k-ā-yān*
PN.1SG open.NPST-INF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

‘I will unwrap [myself] (lit. come open, be opened)’ (GA:21)

ādām=e *čī=ye* *košt-a*
human.being=IND thing=IND kill.PST-PP

nā-bod-ay=Ø

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

‘no person, nothing, has been killed’ (SD:82)

Most instances of an unknown or non-specified human agent employ a 3rd person plural construction (see also Jahani *et al.* 2010).

marō *zahr=eš* *rētk-a* *mā* *xorāk=at*
today poison=PC.3PL pour.PST-PP into food=PC.2SG

‘they have poured poison into your food today (i.e., there has been poison poured into your food today)’ (KS:17)

axbār-ā *a=d-ant* *bahr=ay*
news.PL-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL for=PC.3SG

‘he gets the news (lit. they give the news to him)’ (SD:55)

3.2.2.8. Non-canonical subject constructions

Several verbs are constructed with non-canonical (dative) subject (see Jahani *et al.* 2012). One such dative construction expresses possession ‘to have’ (see also Emādi 1384:87–88). The possessor is expressed by a person-marking clitic added to the existential verb in the 3rd person singular *assen/assad* ‘there is / there was’ or to a copula form. In complex predicates the person-marking clitic is added to the non-verbal element (Table 16).

Table 16: Possession in Koroshi

	Affirmative non-past	Negative non-past	Affirmative past	Negative past
1SG	<i>(ass=)en=om</i>	<i>nēss=en=om</i>	<i>ass=ad=om</i>	<i>nēss=ad=om</i>
2SG	<i>(ass=)en=et</i>	<i>nēss=en=et</i>	<i>ass=ad=et</i>	<i>nēss=ad=et</i>
3SG	<i>(ass=)en=ī</i>	<i>nēss=en=ī</i>	<i>ass=ad=ī</i>	<i>nēss=ad=ī</i>
1PL	<i>(ass=)en=en</i>	<i>nēss=en=en</i>	<i>ass=ad=en</i>	<i>nēss=ad=en</i>
2PL	<i>(ass=)en=ō</i>	<i>nēss=en=ō</i>	<i>ass=ad=ō</i>	<i>nēss=ad=ō</i>
3PL	<i>(ass=)en=eš</i>	<i>nēss=en=eš</i>	<i>ass=ad=eš</i>	<i>nēss=ad=eš</i>

faġat ya payġām=e ass=en=om bahr=at
 only one message=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG for=PC.2SG
 ‘I only have a message for you (lit. there is only one message to me for you)’
 (GA:50)

mā say oštor=en=en
 PN.1PL three camel=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1PL
 ‘we have three camels (lit. we, there are three camels to us)’ (KD:15)

ya arbāb=ē ass=ad-Ø=om
 one boss=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG=PC.1SG
 ‘I had a boss (lit there was a boss to me)’ (UT)

The person-marking clitic may also be attached to the word preceding the verb:

xabar=om nēss=en
 news=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘I don’t know (lit. there is no news to me)’ (UT)

The verb ‘to want’ is normally constructed with a non-canonical subject in the form of a person-marking clitic, with or without the presence of a co-referential personal pronoun (see also Section 3.2.2.6.2):

man ham=īš-ī bokān=om
 PN.1SG EMPH=PROX-OBL want=PC.1SG
 ‘I want [to marry] this very [girl]’ (KD:29)

harčī=et bokā bahr=at a=d-ān
 whatever=PC.2SG want for=PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG

‘I will give you whatever you want’ (GA:16)

harčī=t bokān Ø-b-ī ē korrag
 whatever=PC.2SG want SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PROX foal
a=tān-t barh=at farāham Ø-kan-t
 VCL=be.able.NPST.3SG for=PC.2SG provided SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

‘this foal can provide you with whatever you may want’ (KS:12)

bokār=ad=om ba wad=om kār Ø-kan-ān
 want=COP.PST=PC.1SG for REFL=PC.1SG work SBJV-do.NPST-1SG
 ‘I wanted to work for myself (i.e., be my own boss)’ (UT)

man hīčī=m na-bokā
 PN.1SG nothing=PC.1SG NEG-want

‘I don’t want anything’ (KS:61)

Once in the corpus, a personal pronoun denotes the canonical subject (without a person-marking suffix on the verb) of ‘to want’:

ta ke ham ya komay bokān
 PN.2SG TOP ADD one stomach.OBL.PC.3SG want

‘well, you only want its stomach’ (KD:8)

A number of physical and mental states with a passive experiencer rather than an active instigator as the subject are also constructed with non-canonical subjects. The experiencer (i.e., the non-canonical subject) is invariably expressed by a person-marking clitic.

man hāl=om nēss=en
 PN.1SG health=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

‘I am not well (lit. I, to me there is not health)’ (KD:31)

ahmad čōn=en=et
 Ahmad how=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

‘Ahmad, how are you [feeling]? (lit. how is it to you?)’ (GA:43)

yād=om *mah-ā-Ø* *sāz-ay*
 memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG clarinet-GEN

jan-ag=ī
 play.NPST-INF=PC.3SG

‘I remember (lit. memory comes to me) how he used to play his clarinet’
 (DC:10)

har *waxt* *saxt=et* *bo-Ø* *yek=e* *a*
 each time difficult=PC.2SG become.PST-3SG one=IND from
ē *mūd-obār-ā* *ās* *Ø-day-Ø*
 PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

‘set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem (lit. whenever it was difficult to you)’ (KS:56)

3.3. Clause and sentence level syntax

3.3.1. Clause constituent order

The basic constituent order in the Koroshi clause is subject-object-verb (SOV):

bāmard *ya* *čāh=ī* *pēdā* *a=kan-t*
 man one well=IND visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘the man finds a well’ (GA:8)

man *aždahā-ā* *a=bōj-ān*
 PN.1SG dragon-OBL VCL=open.NPST-1SG

‘I will unwrap (lit. open) the dragon’ (GA:43)

Koroshi is pro-drop. The subject is therefore often found only as the person-marking verb suffix or person-marking clitic:

a=š-ī *a=d-ān=ō* *walī* *be* *šart=ī*
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2PL but to condition=IND

ke *wad=om* *saray* *bo-borr-ān*
 CLM REFL=PC.1SG head.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-cut.NPST-1SG

‘I will give [it to] you, but on the condition that I myself can slaughter it’
 (KS:95)

koroš-obār-ā *pēdā=om* *na-ko* *walī* *wad-ī*
 Korosh-PL-OBL visible=PC.1SG NEG-do.PST but REFL-GEN
doī=om *košt=om*
 mother=PC.1SG kill.PST=PC.1SG

‘I didn’t find the Korosh [to kill them], but I killed my mother’ (SD:66)

In ditransitive verbs, the recipient normally follows the verb. If a recipient is a full noun, sometimes it is in the nominative case, and sometimes in the oblique case. Pronouns take the nominative/oblique case.

pūl-ā *a=dā-Ø* *ālem-ok-ā*
 money-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG wise.man-DEF-OBL
 ‘she gives money to the doctor (lit. wise man)’ (KS:28)

janek-ā *a=d-ant* *amū* *hosayn*
 girl-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL uncle Hosayn
 ‘they give the girl to Uncle Hosayn’ (SD:24)

yek=e *a* *ī* *mēš-obār=at* *be-day-Ø* *man*
 one=IND from PROX sheep-PL=PC.2SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG
 ‘give me one of these sheep of yours’ (KS:57)

If the recipient is expressed by means of a prepositional construction, it usually precedes the verb, but it may also follow it:

šāya *ba* *man* *janek-ā* *na-d-ant*
 maybe to PN.1SG daughter-OBL NEG.SBJV-give.NPST-3PL
 ‘maybe they won’t give the girl to me’ (SD:19)

axbār-ā *a=d-ant* *bahr=ay*
 news.PL-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL for=PC.3SG
 ‘he gets the news (lit. they give the news to him)’ (SD:55)

Adverbials of time and manner precede the verb phrase whereas place adverbials most commonly follow the verb phrase:

marō *zahr=eš* *rētk-a* *mā* *xorāk=at*
 today poison=PC.3PL pour.PST-PP into food=PC.2SG
 ‘they have poured poison into your food today’ (KS:17)

yehaw *fēkr=ī* *kār* *a=kan-t*
 suddenly thought=PC.3SG work VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘suddenly he gets an idea (lit. suddenly his thought works)’ (GA:40)

alamdār *šām-ī* *ēš-ān-ā* *ā=bā-∅*
 Alamdar dinner-ADVZ PROX-PL-OBJ VCL=take.NPST-3SG

kōh-ā
 mountain-OBL

‘in the evening (lit. at dinner-time) Alamdar takes them to the mountain’ (UT)

An object can be preposed to topicalise it. In the example “my foal” is known information, and “nobody can raise” is new information:

man-ī *korrāg-ā* *hīška* *a=na-twān-t*
 PN.1SG-GEN foal-OBL nobody VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-3SG

mazan *∅-kan-t*
 big SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

‘my foal, nobody can raise [it]’ (KS:6)

Nominal clauses lack a verb. Only in instances when the verb would have been the 3rd person affirmative copula do nominal clauses occur. This clause type is rare in the corpus:

ē *čē=ē*
 PROX what=IND

‘what is this?’ (GA:8)

man *ma-zān-ān* *ē* *čōn-ēn=ē*
 PN.1SG IMP-know.NPST-1SG PROX how-ATTR=IND

‘I know what kind [of person] she is’ (KD:32)

3.3.2. Coordination

Clauses in Koroshi are coordinated through juxtaposition (asyndetic coordination) of clauses or the use of coordinating conjunctions (syndetic coordination).

3.3.2.1. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is a common means of coordinating clauses to associate them. Such events are not portrayed as distinct, but as part of a whole; the one flows into the next. Rising intonation at the end of each clause is the only means by which the coordinated structure can be recognized:

<i>ar=raf-t</i>	<i>ar=ra-Ø</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>šahr=e</i>	<i>dýar-ā</i>
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	one	town=EZ	other-OBL
<i>a=pěč-ī</i>	<i>dawr=e</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>šāh=e</i>	<i>dýar-ay</i>
VCL=twist.NPST-3SG	around=EZ	one	king=EZ	other-GEN
<i>janek-ay</i>	<i>garden-ā</i>			
daughter-GEN	neck-OBL			

‘it went [its way], it went to another town [and] wrapped itself around the neck of another king’s daughter’ (GA:35)

<i>joġla</i>	<i>by-ay-Ø</i>	<i>rū=ye</i>	<i>ġālī-yā</i>	
boy	SBJV-come.NPST-3SG	on=EZ	carpet-OBL	
<i>be-nenn-ī</i>	<i>be-kaf-ī</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>čāh-ā</i>	
SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG	SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG	into	well-OBL	
<i>be-mer-īt</i>				
SBJV-die.NPST-3SG				

‘...for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die’ (KS:18)

<i>ma-raw-ā</i>	<i>bod-a</i>	<i>korrag=ī</i>	
IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	foal=PC.3SG	
<i>ma-prēn-ā</i>	<i>bod-a</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>daryā-hā</i>
IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG	become.PST-PP	into	sea-OBL

‘it goes [and] throws its foal into the sea’ (KS:4)

3.3.2.2. Syndetic coordination

Syndetic coordination, that is, coordination with conjunctions, is also found in Koroshi. Typically, it associates distinct events rather than events viewed as part of a whole (see Section 3.3.2.1). The most common conjunction is the enclitic =*o* (occasionally with the variant =*wo* after a vowel) ‘and’. It normally has a conjunctive function (‘and’).

ar=r-ant=o *ī=am* *ā=k-ār-ant*
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL=and PROX=ADD VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL
 ‘they go and bring him as well’ (KS:80)

korrāg-ay *dawrā* *geft-ag=eš=o* *bokān=eš*
 foal-GEN around take.PST-PP=PC.3PL=and want=PC.3PL

bo-koš-ant=ī
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

‘[the king’s men] have surrounded the foal and they are going to kill it’ (KS:48)

dobāra *a=raf-t* *joġla* *madrese=wo*
 again VCL=go.NPST-3SG boy school=and

a=k-ay-Ø *joġla-ay* *ĵelo*
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG boy-GEN in.front.of

‘again the boy goes to school and [the foal] comes up to the boy’ (KS:18)

Occasionally, the conjoined events are in an adversative relationship (‘but’):

a=ĵan-ant=o *ī* *kassān-o-ēn* *ĵanek*
 VCL=hit.NPST-3PL=but PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl

sībay *a=na-prēn-ī*
 apple.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG

‘they hit [some boys], but this youngest girl doesn’t throw her apple’ (KS:76)

There is also a non-enclitic variant of the conjunctive coordinating conjunction, *wa* ‘and’. Its non-enclitic character is clear since it occurs clause-initially, after rising intonation and a pause. This variant may be a copy from Persian.

yek kam=e gōžday a=war-ān wa
 one little=IND meat.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG and
komay ham bokān=om
 stomach.OBL.PC.3SG ADD need=PC.1SG

‘I will eat a little [of] its meat, and I also need its stomach’ (KS:57)

Other coordinating conjunctions are the disjunctive coordinator *walī/wale* ‘but’ and the adversative coordinator *yā* ‘or’.

koroš-obār-ā pēdā=om na-ko walī wad-ī
 Korosh-PL-OBL visible=PC.1SG NEG-do.PST but REFL-GEN
doī=om košt=om
 mother=PC.1SG kill.PST=PC.1SG

‘I didn’t find the Korosh [to kill them], but I killed my mother’ (SD:66)

ādam=e xūb=ī=en wale hayf ke
 human.being=EZ good=IND=COP.NPST.3SG but alas CLM
koroš=en
 Korosh=COP.NPST.3SG

‘he is a nice person, but too bad that he is Korosh’ (SD:22)

bīy-ā-Ø ber-r-en ba talabayn yā
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL for claim.OBL.PC.1PL or
ke ber-r-en m-enn-en janek-ā
 CLM SBJV-go.NPST-1PL SBJV-see.NPST-1PL girl-OBL

a=d-ant=en
 VCL=give.NPST-3PL=PC.1PL

‘let’s go for our claim (i.e., to get the bridal gift back) or go [and] see [if] they give us the girl’ (SD:27)

In addition to syndetic ccoordination that makes use of a single conjunction (monosyndetic coordination), use of a double conjunction (bisyndetic coordination) with *yā* [...] *yā* ‘either [...] or’ and *ham* [...] *ham* ‘both [...] and’ is also attested:

yā *bīs* *nax=en* *yā* *masalan* *čel*
 or twenty thread=COP.NPST.3SG or for.example forty
nax=en
 thread=COP.NPST.3SG

‘it is either twenty threads or it is, for example, forty threads’ (WK:11)

meškī *ham* *ham* *a=b-ī* *ābī*
 black ADD both VCL=become.NPST-3SG blue
Ø-kan-ay *ham* *meškī.ray* *Ø-kan-ay*
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG both black.colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

‘the black [wool], you can both dye (lit. make) it blue and dye (lit. make) it black’ (WK:7)

3.3.3. Subordination

3.3.3.1. Subordinating conjunctions

Koroshi makes use of the general subordinating conjunction *ke* to introduce complement clauses (also called nominal clauses), relative clauses and adverbial clauses. A number of compound conjunctions, composed of nouns or other elements plus *ke*, such as *mawǧeī ke* ‘when’, *beǧāī ke* ‘instead of’, *hamī/hamē ke* ‘as soon as’ and *be šartī ke* ‘on the condition that’, are also used. Additional subordinating conjunctions include *tā/ta* ‘until, so that’ and *aga/aya* ‘if’. As in other dialects of Balochi, subordination in Koroshi closely follows the basic pattern of Persian and copies its compound conjunctions (see also Jahani and Korn 2009:678).

3.3.3.2. Complement clauses

There are two types of nominal complement clauses in Koroshi: predicative complements and direct object complements. They normally follow the main clause and are either linked to it by asyndetic subordination (juxtaposition) without any overt marker of subordination other than rising intonation, or with the subordinating conjunction *ke*.²²

<i>a=genn-an</i>	<i>bale</i>	<i>aždahā=am</i>	<i>pīk-ay=Ø</i>
VCL=see.NPST-3PL	yes	dragon=ADD	twist.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
<i>dawr=e</i>	<i>šāh-ay</i>	<i>ĵanek-ay</i>	<i>garden-ā</i>
around=EZ	king-GEN	daughter-GEN	neck-OBL

‘they see [that] indeed the dragon is wrapped around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (GA:44)

<i>be-zān-ān</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sarmas</i>	<i>lōg-ā</i>
SBJV-know.NPST-1SG	CLM	Sarmas	house-OBL
<i>na-b-ī</i>			
NEG.SBJV-become.NPST-3SG			

‘I should know that Sarmas will not be at home’ (SD:43)

A predicative complement clause occurs with the verb *bayag* ‘to become, to be’ or with the copula:

<i>bāz</i>	<i>ham=ī</i>	<i>a=b-ī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sāda</i>	<i>ham</i>
again	EMPH=PROX	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	CLM	simple	ADD
<i>be-gāf-ēn</i>					
SBJV-weave.NPST-1PL					

‘we can also weave in a plain way (i.e., without any pattern) (lit. it also becomes that we weave simple)’ (WK:16)

<i>ġarār=en</i>	<i>marō</i>	<i>mā-rā</i>	<i>bo-koš-ant</i>
agreement=COP.NPST.3SG	today	PN.1PL-OBJ	SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

‘the plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today’ (KS:35)

²² Levinsohn (2013:154) argues that in another dialect of Balochi (Sistani Balochi) this subordinator marks interpretive use, i.e., “that the following speech is to be understood not as a description of what has been said on a particular occasion, but rather as a representation of an utterance or thought” and that it is sometimes used to background the question or proposal it introduces, “thereby highlighting the following answer or execution of the proposal.” In an unpublished paper dated 10/08/2005 Farrell also posits an interpretive use for *ke* in Southern Balochi.

A direct object complement clause acts as the direct object of the main clause:

a=genn-ī *ya* *pīremard=e* *īdānākō=en*
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG one old.man=IND right.here=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘he sees [that] there is an old man right there (lit. right here)’ (KS:59)

xān *gašt=∅* *ke* *āgā* *ta* *joz* *man-ī*
 khan say.PST=PC.3SG CLM sir PN.2SG part PN.1SG-GEN
awlād *a=b-ay*
 child.PL VCL=become.NPST-2SG
 ‘the khan said: “Young man (lit. sir), you will be [like] one of my children’
 (MM:36)

In a few instances the direct object complement clause precedes the main clause, in which case it is linked to the main clause by asyndetic subordination (juxtaposition);

harčī=et *bokā* *bahr=at* *a=d-ān*
 whatever=PC.2SG want for= PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG
 ‘I will give you whatever you want’ (GA:16)

The complement clause after a speech verb is always reported in the form of direct speech without any modification of pronouns or verb forms from the actual or imagined speech act.

a=š-īt *ke* *garār=en* *marō*
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM agreement=COP.NPST.3SG today
mā-rā *bo-koš-ant*
 PN.1PL-OBJ SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

‘[the foal] says, “The plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today”’ (KS:35)

aždahā *a=š-īt* *bann-ā* *wel* *ma-day-∅*
 dragon VCL=say.NPST-3SG rope-OBL loose PROH-give.NPST-2SG
harčī=et *bokā* *bahr=at* *a=d-ān*
 whatever=PC.2SG want for= PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG

‘the dragon says, “Don’t let go of the rope, I will give you whatever you want”’ (GA:16)

Asyndetic subordination is occasionally found with clauses where the head noun is the direct object of the relative clause:

har kār=ī bokān=ī Ø-b-ī
 each deed=IND want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG
be-kan-t a dassay a=k-ay-t
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG from hand.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
 ‘he can do whatever he wants (lit. each deed he wants to do)’ (KS:122)

In restrictive (defining, identifying) relative clauses the head noun is marked by the individuation clitic =ī/=ē (analogous to the marking of the head noun with the individuation clitic =ī in Persian), often in combination with a demonstrative or a numeral:

ham=ā kačal=ī ke mā bāgat kār
 EMPH=DIST bald=IND CLM in garden.OBL.PC.2SG work
ma-kan-a ham=ā mānt-a=Ø
 IMP-do.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
 ‘that bald [fellow] who is working in your garden, he is left (lit. has remained)’ (KS:78)

The presence of an individuation clitic on a head noun that can already be identified signals that the relative clause should be interpreted as restrictive. In the following example, there are “two different Ahmads” to choose between and the relative clause tells which one is intended by the head noun:

ahmad=ī ke xayle nārāhat=a-Ø hālā
 Ahmad=IND CLM very troubled=COP.PST-3SG now
ma-kann-a
 IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG
 ‘Ahmad (i.e., that Ahmad) who was very worried [before], is now laughing (i.e., a “different” Ahmad)’ (GA:42)

The head of a relative clause can also be a demonstrative or an adverb, neither of which take the individuation clitic:

ā ke kōr bod-a=Ø gōš=e
 DIST CLM blind become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG ear=PC.3SG
mēškon-ā bod-a
 IMP.hear.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP
 ‘the one that was blind was hearing’ (KD:24)

ōdān ke bāese yak kār=ē be-kan-an
 there CLM must.PST one work=IND SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

nā-kod=eš
 NEG-do.PST=PC.3PL

‘they didn’t do anything at the time when (lit. there where) they should have’ (UT)

If there is an open restriction, an indefinite pronoun introduces or takes the place of the head noun:

har kār=ī bokān=ī Ø-b-ī
 each deed=IND want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

be-kan-t a dassay a=k-ay-t
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG from hand.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

‘he can do whatever he wants (lit. each deed he wants to do)’ (KS:122)

harčī pakk-ag=et bīy-ār-Ø
 however.much cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

‘bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked’ (KS:109)

In clauses with an open restriction where the deictic centre is in the main clause, the perfective past is used as a relative past tense for backgrounded events which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (cf. Sections 3.3.3.4.1 and 3.3.3.4.4):

hāmmo kas=e ke āk-an bōj-ag
 all person=IND CLM come.PST-3PL open.NPST-INF

a=nayān bejōz ta
 VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG

‘no matter who comes (lit. all a person who came), I will not unwrap (lit. open) [myself] except for you’ (GA:20)

Non-restrictive (i.e., descriptive) relative clauses provide additional information about the head noun rather than identifying it. There is no marking of the head noun with the individuation clitic in non-restrictive relative clauses:

as ā-ī kasān-ter sarferāz=en ke
 from DIST-OBL small-CMP Sarferaz=COP.NPST.3SG CLM
ašāyer=en
 nomad=COP.NPST.3SG

‘the one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Sarferaz, who is a nomad’ (MM:13)

ahmad ham ke a aždahā zal=ay
 Ahmad ADD CLM from dragon gall.bladder=PC.3SG
ma-raw-ā bod-a
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKGR.3SG become.PST-PP
nā-mah-ā-Ø bod-a
 NEG-IMP-come.NPST-BACKGR.3SG become.PST-PP

‘but Ahmad, who is dead scared of (lit. whose gall bladder is going from) the dragon, doesn’t [want to] come’ (GA:38–39)

3.3.3.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial (or adjunct) clauses express the same types of functions as adverbs: temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, concessional and consecutive. While most kinds of adverbial clauses follow the main clause, there are some that precede it.

Many adverbial clauses are relative clauses that have taken on new semantic relations. Structurally, they keep the pattern of the relative clause, including the marking of the head noun with the individuation clitic:

hāmmo kas=e ke āk-an bōj-ag
 all person=IND CLM come.PST-3PL open.NPST-INF
a=nayān bejōz ta
 VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG

‘no matter who comes (lit. all a person who came), I will not unwrap (lit. open) [myself] except for you’ (relative clause) (GA:20)

ta ke āk-ay man bōj-ag
 PN.2SG CLM come.PST-2SG PN.1SG open.NPST-INF

a=k-ā-yān
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

‘when you come (or: you who come) I will unwrap [myself]’ (temporal clause) (GA:21)

be.jā=ī.ke be-gaš-ī allāho.akbar
 instead.of (lit. in.place=IND.CLM) SBJV-say.NPST-3SG Allah.is.greater

a=š-ī allāh=o haf marg
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Allah=and seven death

‘instead of saying “Allah is greater” he says, “Allah, damn it (lit. and seven deaths)”’ (replacive clause) (KS:119)

3.3.3.4.1. Temporal clauses

One frequently occurring adverbial clause type is temporal. Temporal clauses are most frequently connected to the main clause with the general subordinator *ke*. This type of temporal clause normally precedes the main clause. The subordinator *ke* occurs after the first phrase in the clause.

sōb-ī ke pād a=k-ā-yan
 morning-ADVZ CLM foot VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

a=genn-an bale aždahā dawr=e šāh-ay
 VCL=see.NPST-3PL yes dragon around=EZ king-GEN

janek-ay garden=en
 daughter-GEN neck=COP.NPST.3SG

‘in the morning, when they get up, they see that, oh dear (lit. yes), the dragon is [wrapped] around the neck of the king’s daughter’ (GA:23)

īḡar=e šahr-ā ke a=ras-ī dya pīyāda
 here=EZ town-OBL CLM VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG then on.foot

a=b-īd
 VCL=become.NPST.3SG

‘when he arrives on the outskirts (lit. at this side) of the town, he dismounts’ (KS:55)

Occasionally a temporal clause introduced with *ke* follows the main clause to highlight its contents,²³ in which case *ke* occurs as the first element in the subordinate clause.

ham=īdān *bokān=eš* *bod-a* *b-wasp-an*
 EMPH=here want=PC.3PL become.PST-PP SBJV-sleep.NPST-3PL

ke *tīr=o* *tofaŋ* *a=b-īt*
 CLM bullet=and gun VCL=become.NPST-3SG

‘they are about (lit. right here they want) to go to sleep when there is shooting (lit. bullet and gun)’ (SD:72)

Temporal clauses can also be linked to the main clause by means of a compound conjunction, sometimes with a more specific meaning than *ke*, e.g., *waxtī (ke)* ‘when’, *mawġeī (ke)* ‘when’, *hamē/hamī ke* ‘as soon as’, *har waxt* ‘whenever’. These clauses precede the main clause, and are sometimes found with a left-dislocated subject.

waxtī.ke *rass=en* *espēd=ī* *jedā*
 when spin.PST=PC.1PL white=PC.3SG separated

a=kan-en
 VCL=do.NPST-1PL

‘when we have spun [it], we set aside the (lit. its) white [yarn]’ (WK:3)

ē *hosayn* *amū* *mawġeī* *ma-raw-ā*
 PROX Hosayn uncle when IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG

bod-a *gō* *xān-ā* *ma-raw-ā*
 become.PST-PP with khan-OBL IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG

bod-a *gō* *asp-ā* *ma-raw-ēn*
 become.PST-PP with horse-OBL IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL

bod-a *ošter-ay* *xarag-ā* *ham=ī* *sarkašī*
 become.PST-PP camel-GEN buying-OBL EMPH=PROX visiting

mēdag-ā *āŋa* *īŋa* *be.har.sūrat* *ar=r-ant*
 encampment-OBL there here anyway VCL=go.NPST-3PL

ya *rō* *darašolī-ay* *mēdag-ā*
 one day Darreshuri-GEN encampment-OBL

‘This Uncle Hosayn, when he goes with the khan – he goes with [his] horse, they go to buy camels, to visit the encampment, and things like that. In any case, one day they go to the Darreshuri encampment.’ (SD:7)

²³ Hwang (1990:69) notes that this is a common cross-linguistic feature of post-nuclear subordinate clauses (see also Levinsohn 2007:73).

hamī.ke *ā=k-ār-ant* *āḡā* *kassān-o-ēn*
 as.soon.as VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL sir small-DIM-ATTR
ḡanek *go* *sīb-ā* *a=ḡan-t* *mā* *sīnay*
 daughter with apple-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-3SG in chest.OBL.PC.3SG
 ‘as soon as they bring [him], sir, the youngest daughter hits him in the chest
 with the apple’ (KS:80)

har *waxt* *bokān=ī* *bod-a* *bez-zay-Ø*
 each time want=PC.3SG become.PST-PP SBJV-give.birth.NPST-3SG
ma-raw-ā *bod-a* *korrag=ī*
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP foal=PC.3SG
ma-prēn-ā *bod-a* *mā* *daryā-hā*
 IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP into sea-OBL
 ‘whenever [the horse] was giving birth it went [and] threw its foal into the
 sea’ (KS:4)

In temporal clauses where the deictic centre is in the main clause, the perfective past is used as a relative tense to denote relative past tense for backgrounded events which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (cf. Sections 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.4.4):

ta *ke* *āk-ay* *man* *bōḡ-ag*
 PN.2SG CLM come.PST-2SG PN.1SG open.NPST-INF
a=k-ā-yān
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG
 ‘when you come (lit. came), I will unwrap [myself]’ (GA:21)

har *waxt* *saxt=et* *bo-Ø* *yek=e* *a*
 each time difficult=PC.2SG become.PST-3SG one=IND from
ē *mūd-obār-ā* *ās* *Ø-day-Ø*
 PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG
 ‘set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem (lit. whenever it was difficult to you)’ (KS:56)

The subordinator *tā/ta* ‘until’ introduces temporal clauses that denote the limit of an event. This type of temporal clause follows the main clause.

ar=r-ant *ta* *a=ḡan-ant* *ye* *sarābālāi-yā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL until VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG one hill-OBL
 ‘they go until they arrive at a hill’ (DC:15)

ar=ra-Ø *tā* *a=ras-ī* *rū* *čāh-ā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG until VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on well-OBL

‘he goes until he arrives at the well’ (GA:12)

b-el-Ø *ta* *ham=ī* *ber-r-ān* *ba*
 IMPV-let.NPST-2SG that EMPH=PROX SBJV-go.NPST-1SG to
koroš-ā *tā* *ya* *bār=e* *deya* *ē* *sarkoft-ok=om*
 Korosh-OBL until one time=EZ other PROX taunt-DEF=PC.1SG
nay-aškant-a
 NEG-hear.PST-PP

‘let me go to the Korosh before I hear this taunt one more time’ (SD:41)

3.3.3.4.2. Causal clauses

Causal (or reason) clauses set the scene for the main clause. Causal clauses that follow the main clause are connected to it with the general subordinator *ke*, which occurs as the first element in the subordinate clause:

harčē=ī *bokān* *bahr=ay* *be-d-en*
 whatever=PC.3SG want for=PC.3SG SBJV-give.NPST-1PL
ke *ē* *nābūd=en* *a=kan-t*
 CLM PROX annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘let’s give him whatever he wants, because [otherwise] he will destroy us’ (KS:126)

Causal clauses can be introduced by the compound conjunctions *be xātere ke* ‘because, since’, *hālā ke* ‘now that, since’, or *na (ke)* ‘since (lit. no that)’. These causal clauses precede the main clause:

be.xātere.ke *ay* *dar=ī* *fāyeda* *nē* *tawār=e*
 because from in=PC.3SG use NEG.be.NPST.3SG sound=PC.3SG
a=na-kod=ad
 VCL=NEG-do.PST=COP.PST

‘because there was nothing to gain (lit. there is no use) from it, he would not say anything’ (UT)

hālā *ke* *ētawr=en* *man* *janek-ā*
 now CLM this.way=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG girl-OBL
ā=k-ār-ān
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG

‘now that it is like this, I will bring the girl’ (SD:46)

na rašīd bod-ag=en=o ġašay
 since tall become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG=and beautiful
bod-a=Ø eš-ān ba xāl=eš
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX-PL to thought=PC.3PL
ham=ī ē xān=en
 EMPH=PROX PROX khan=COP.NPST.3SG

‘since he was tall and handsome, they thought (lit. to their thought) he was the khan’ (SD:10)

3.3.3.4.3. Purposive (final) clauses

Purposive clauses, also called final clauses, follow the main clause and are usually linked to it by means of the conjunctions *ke* or *tā/ta*. The verb in purposive clauses is always in the subjunctive:

ya ġālī ham a=prēn-ī rū čāh-ā ke
 one carpet ADD VCL=throw.NPST-3SG on well-OBL CLM
joġla by-ay-Ø rū=ye ġālī-yā be-nenn-ī
 boy SBJV-come.NPST-3SG on=EZ carpet-OBL SBJV-sit.down.NPST-3SG
be-kaf-ī mā čāh-ā be-mer-īt
 SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG into well-OBL SBJV-die.NPST-3SG

‘she also spreads out a carpet over the well, for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die’ (KS:18)

zahr-ā a=rēč-ī mā xorāk=ī ke
 poison-OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG into food=PC.3SG CLM
bo-koš-īd=ī
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

‘she pours poison into his food to kill him’ (KS:17)

be man ya kār=ē be-d-et tā
 to PN.1SG one work=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2PL in.order.that
man ham kār Ø-kan-ān ham=īdān
 PN.1SG ADD work SBJV-do.NPST-1SG EMPH=here

‘give me a job, so that I can work here’ (KD:14)

ay goli bann-ā aga zenne=y
 VOC Goli rope-OBL if alive=COP.NPST.2SG

be-ge-Ø ta man
 IMPV-take.NPST-2SG in.order.that PN.1SG

be-keš-ān=et bālād
 SBJV-pull.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG up

‘hey, Goli, if you are alive, take hold of the rope, so that I can pull you up’
 (note also the embedded conditional clause in the main clause) (GA:13)

Purposive clauses can also be connected to the main clause by juxtaposition:

man nay-āk-ān be-gaš-ān bōj-ag
 PN.1SG NEG-come.PST-1SG SBJV-say.NPST-1SG open.NPST-INF

b-ay-Ø
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

‘I didn’t come to tell you to unwrap [yourself] (lit. to say, “unwrap yourself”)’ (GA:48)

3.3.3.4.4. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses, which normally precede the main clause, but are occasionally embedded in the main clause, are usually linked to it by means of the conjunction *aga/aya* ‘if’.

aga bokān=ī Ø-b-ī gōn=et jaṇ
 if want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG with=PC.2SG war

Ø-kan-Ø nābūd=et a=kan-t
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG annihilated=PC.2SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG

‘if he wants to go to war with you, he will destroy you’ (KS:121)

ay goli bann-ā aga zenne=y
 VOC Goli rope-OBL if alive=COP.NPST.2SG

be-ge-Ø
 IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

‘hey, Goli, if you are alive, take hold of the rope’ (GA:13)

Conditional clauses can also be linked to the main clause by juxtaposition:

ē bokān=ī Ø-b-īd nābūd=en
 PROX want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG annihilated=PC.1PL
Ø-kan-t nābūd=en a=kan-t
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG
 ‘[if] he wants to destroy us, he will’ (KS:139)

The verb in the conditional clause can be in either the indicative or the subjunctive. The indicative often indicates a strong likelihood that the condition will be fulfilled, thus approaching the semantics of a causal (reason) clause, whereas the subjunctive presents an irrealis condition that may or may not be fulfilled.

šāh aga jānek=at aḡd a=kan-ay
 king if daughter=PC.2SG marriage VCL=do.NPST-2SG
be-day-Ø=om
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG
 ‘[O] king, if/since you are going to marry off you daughter, give [her] to me’
 (GA:21)

aga a dass=eš namak=en wārt=ad dya
 if from hand=PC.3PL salt=PC.1PL eat.PST=COP.PST again
mā a=na-tān-en masalan ēš-ī
 PN.1PL VCL=NEG-be.able.NPST-1PL in.fact PROX-OBL
belaxara tehnā ēr Ø-kan-en
 anyway alone PREV SBJV-do.NPST-1PL
 ‘if/since they had shown kindness to us (lit. if we had eaten salt from their hand) then, anyway, we couldn’t leave such a person (lit. this one) alone, you know’ (UT)

aga be-tān-ay ē korrag-ā bo-koš-ay
 if SBJV-be.able.NPST-2SG PROX foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG
a=tān-ay šāh-ay bač-ā ham
 VCL=be.able.NPST-2SG king-GEN son-OBL ADD
bo-koš-ay
 SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG
 ‘if you manage to kill the foal, you will be able to kill the king’s son as well’
 (KS:25)

aya wad=e gabūl Ø-kan-Ø man
 if REFL=PC.3SG accepting SBJV-do.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

gabūl=ān

accepting=COP.NPST.1SG

‘if he himself agrees, I will agree’ (UT)

As in relative clauses with open restriction and in temporal clauses, the perfective past is also used in conditional clauses as a relative past tense for backgrounded events which take place, or are at least initiated, before the event in the main clause, and where the focus is in the main clause (cf. Sections 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.4.1):

hālā del=at kašt=ī bōr-ēn pašm-ā
 now heart=PC.2SG pull.PST=PC.3SG beige-ATTR wool-OBL

a=rēs-ay bahr=e reškay
 VCL=spin.NPST-2SG for=EZ warp.OBL.PC.3SG

‘now, [if] you like, you spin the beige wool for its warp’ (WK:24)

aga dīd=et ke xūb=en gol-ā
 if see.PST=PC.2SG CLM good=COP.NPST.3SG flower-OBL

be-rēč-Ø

IMPV-pour.NPST-2SG

‘if you see (lit. saw) that it is good, pour out the flowers (lit. flower)’ (KD:38)

3.3.3.4.5. *Concessive clauses*

Concessive clauses, which precede the main clause, are signalled by adverbs, such as *harčī* ‘however much/many’ or *hālā* ‘[...] *be har sūrat* ‘now [...] anyway’.

harčī ālem=o harčī āḡa īḡar
 however.many wise.man=and however.many there here

ā=k-ār-ant bōj-ag a=nay-ay-Ø
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL open.NPST-INF VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG

‘even though they bring all kinds of wise men (lit. however many wise men they bring), all kinds (lit. however many), [from] here and there, it doesn’t unwrap [itself]’ (GA:24)

harčī *a=gard-ī* *a=genn-ī* *hīčī*
 however.much VCL=go.around.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG nothing
gīr *na-māh-ā-Ø*
 grip NEG-IMP-come.NPST.3SG

‘however much they go (lit. he goes) around, they see [that] they get nothing (lit. nothing comes to grip)’ (KS:92).

hālā *man* *rašīd-ter=ān* *be.har.sūrat* *ā*
 now PN.1SG tall-CMP=COP.NPST.1SG anyway DIST

xān=en
 khan=COP.NPST.3SG

‘even if (lit. now) I am taller, anyway, he is the khan’ (SD:12)

3.3.3.4.6. Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses describe a consequence of the main clause. They follow the main clause and are connected to it with *ke*. The verb of a consecutive clause can take indicative or subjunctive form.

bāmard *loh=e* *a=dā-Ø* *ke* *dāzan*
 man push=PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG CLM woman
ar=ra-Ø *mā* *čāh-ā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG into well-OBL

‘the man pushes her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) falls into the well’ (GA:9)

heč *āšeg-ay* *pūl* *mā* *jībay*
 no in.love-GEN money into pocket.OBL.PC.3SG
na-raft-a=Ø *ke* *tī* *pūl* *mā*
 NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.2SG.GEN money into
jībat *be-raf-t*
 pocket.OBL.PC.2SG SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

‘no lover’s money has [ever] returned into his pocket (lit. into what lover’s pocket has money gone), [which means] that [you shouldn’t expect] your money to return (lit. go) into your pocket [either]’ (SD:32)

3.3.3.4.7. Replacive clauses

Replacive clauses, which precede the main clause, describe an alternative (irrealis) event that is replaced by another (realis) event. The verb in replacive clauses is in the subjunctive:

be.jāī.ke *be-gaš-ī* *allāho.akbar* *a=š-ī*
 instead.of SBJV-say.NPST-3SG Allah.is.greater VCL=say.NPST-3SG
allā=o *haf* *marg*
 Allah=and seven death

‘instead of saying “Allah is greater,” he says, “Allah, damn it (lit. and seven deaths)”’ (KS:119)

3.3.4. Tail-head linkage

In Koroshi, tail-head linkage is a device that operates on discourse level to create cohesion, highlight an event, or introduce a new narrative unit in a discourse (for further details, see Nourzaei, forthcoming). It consists of a repetition in the next sentence of part or all of the previous sentence. The first sentence ends with falling intonation, while the repeated segment in the second sentence has rising intonation. Tail-head linkage is very common in the traditional narrative genre, and is also present in accounts of real-life events.

har *do=nī* *a=bar-ant* *bār* *a=kan-ant*
 each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL load VCL=do.NPST-3PL
bār *a=kan-ant=o* *ar=r-an*
 load VCL=do.NPST-3PL=and VCL=go.NPST-3PL

‘They take both of them and load them up. They load them up and go.’ (DC:13–14)

bāmard *loh=e* *a=dā-Ø* *ke* *dāzan*
 man push=PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG CLM woman
ar=ra-Ø *mā* *čāh-ā*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG into well-OBL
ar=ra-Ø *mā* *čāh-ā* *a=k-ay-Ø*
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG into well-OBL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

‘The man pushes her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) falls into the well. She falls into the well [and] he comes [back home].’ (GA:9–10)

ēdānakō *dāstān* *nārāhat* *a=b-ī*
right.here Dastan troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG

nārāhat *a=b-ī* *a=š-ī*
troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

‘Then (lit. right here) Dastan gets upset. She gets upset [and] says...’
(SD:39–40)

4. Text Corpus

4.1. Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel

Karok o Oštorok
The Donkey and the Camel
recounted by Alamdar Samsanian

DC:1

'yekī	'asse		'yekī	'naya	'ğayr az xo 'dā
yek=ī	ass=e		yek=ī	nay-a-Ø	ğayr az xodā
one=IND	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	one=IND	NEG-COP.PST-3SG	except	God

'hīčka	'nayat
hīčka	nay-at-Ø
nobody	NEG-COP.PST-3SG

Once upon a time... (lit. There is one, there was no one, except for God there was no one.)

DC:2

'rōčī	'āğā	ye	'kare	o	ya	oš'tore	xa'rāb
rōč=ī	āğā	ye	kar=e	=o	ya	oštor=e	xarāb
day=IND	sir	one	donkey=IND	=and	one	camel=IND	thin

boda		a	mē'dagā	āmā'nīt
bod-a=Ø		a	mēdag-ā	ā=mān-īt
become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	from	encampment-OBL	VCL=remain.NPST-3SG	

One day, sir, a donkey and a camel had gotten thin [and were not strong enough to walk], they stayed (lit. it stays) behind at the encampment [at the time of migration].

DC:3

amā'nīt	'rūye	or'dā
a=mān-ī	rū=ye	ord-ā
VCL=remain.NPST-3SG	on=EZ	camp-OBL

They stayed back at the camp.

4. Text Corpus

DC:4

amā 'nī *'rūye or 'dā* *tā* *modat 'hāyī* *kam 'kam*
 a=mān-ī rū=ye ord-ā tā modat-hā=yī kam kam
 VCL=remain.NPST-3SG on=EZ camp-OBL until time-PL=IND little by little

'hawr aǧant *o* *ba 'hār* *abīt*
 hawr a=jan-t =o bahār a=b-īt
 rain VCL=hit.NPST-3SG =and greenery VCL=become.NPST-3SG

They stayed back at the camp for a long time, [then] slowly but surely it started to rain and the grass grew.

DC:5

'āḡa *'iḡa* *a 'laf* *o* *'āḡa* *ača 'rant* *ta* *'xūb*
 āḡa iḡa alaf =o āḡa a=čar-ant ta xūb
 there here grass =and there VCL=graze.NPST-3PL until good

abant *'čāk* *abant*
 a=b-ant čāk a=b-ant
 VCL=become.NPST-3PL fat VCL=become.NPST-3PL

They grazed here and there until they got well, they got fat.

DC:6

'čāk *abant* *tā* *ya* *ḡāfe 'laē*
 čāk a=b-ant tā ya ḡāfela=ē
 fat VCL=become.NPST-3PL then one caravan=IND

ma 'hā *boda* *'rad* *bī*
 mah-ā-Ø bod-a rad Ø-b-ī
 IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP trace SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

They got fat, then [one day] a caravan was about to pass by.

DC:7

ḡāfe 'laē *ma 'hā* *boda* *'rad*
 ḡāfela=ē mah-ā-Ø bod-a rad
 caravan=IND IMP-come.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP trace

bī
 Ø-b-īt
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

A caravan was about to pass by.

4.1. Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel

DC:8

ka 'rok a 'šīt ke 'ay dādobī 'dād 'man bo 'woay
kar-ok a=š-īt ke ay dādobidād man bowo-ay
donkey-DEF VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM VOC turmoil PN.1SG father-GEN

sā 'zay ja 'nagā 'yādom ma 'hā
sāz-ay jan-ag-ā yād=om mah-ā-Ø
clarinet-GEN play.NPST-INF-OBL memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG

The donkey said, “Goodness gracious, I remember how my father used to play his clarinet.”

DC:9

oš 'tor a 'šīt 'ay 'dele gā 'fel 'makan
oštor a=š-īt ay del=e gāfel ma-kan-Ø
camel VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC heart=EZ unaware PROH-do.NPST-2SG

'čō 'masāz 'čō 'mā mo 'datī en
čō ma-sāz-Ø čō mā modat=ī =en
like this PROH-make.NPST-2SG like this PN.1PL time=IND =COP.NPST.3SG

rā 'hat bodagēn 'bāren
rāhat bod-ag=ēn bār=en
comfortable become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL load=PC.1PL

'namakanīyan 'wel day 'ī
na-ma-kan-īy=an wel Ø-day-Ø ī
NEG-IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL loose IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PROX

kā 'rā 'makan
kār-ā ma-kan-Ø
deed-OBL PROH-do.NPST-2SG

The camel said, “You fool (lit. O unaware heart), don’t act like this, don’t do this, we have now been at ease for a long time. Nobody loads us up (lit. they don’t load us up), forget it, don’t do this!”

DC:10

a 'šī 'na 'yādom ma 'hā 'sāzay
a=š-ī na yād=om mah-ā-Ø sāz-ay
VCL=say.NPST-3SG no memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG clarinet-GEN

ja 'nagī
jan-ag=ī
play.NPST-INF=PC.3SG

[The donkey] said, “No, I remember how he used to play his clarinet.”

4. Text Corpus

DC:11

'āgā 'dar akafī 'āḡa 'hārray dī'yagā 'hā
āgā dar a=kaf-ī āḡa hārr-ay dī-yag-ā hā
sir PREV VCL=fall.NPST-3SG there hee haw-GEN give.NPST-INF-OBL yes

gāfe'la 'zorr agī
gāfela zorr a=g-ī
caravan turning VCL=take.NPST-3SG

Sir, [the donkey] started heeing and hawing there and then. Well, the caravan turned around.

DC:12

'zorr agī akay ham oš'torā
zorr a=g-ī a=k-ay-Ø ham oštor-ā
turning VCL=take.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG ADD camel-OBL

a'gīt o ham ka'rā
a=g-īt =o ham kar-ā
VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and ADD donkey-OBL

It turned around and came and took both the camel and the donkey.

DC:13

har 'donī aba'rant 'bār akanant
har do=nī a=bar-ant bār a=kan-ant
each two=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL load VCL=do.NPST-3PL

They took both of them and loaded them up.

DC:14

'bār akanant o ar'ran
bār a=kan-ant =o ar=r-an
load VCL=do.NPST-3PL =and VCL=go.NPST-3PL

They loaded them up and went.

DC:15

ar'rant ta aža'nant ye sarābālā'iyā
ar=r-ant ta a=žan-ant ye sarābālāi-yā
VCL=go.NPST-3PL until VCL=hit.NPST-3PL one hill-OBL

They went until they [had to] climb (lit. hit) at a hill.

4.1. Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel

DC:16

aža 'nant *ye sarābālā 'īyā ka 'rok* *'soss akant*
 a=žan-ant ye sarābālā-yā kar-ok soss a=kan-t
 VCL=hit.NPST-3PL one hill-OBL donkey-DEF loose VCL=do.NPST-3SG

They climbed a hill. The donkey slowed down.

DC:17

a 'natwānt *bā 'rā* *be 'bā* *'soss*
 a=na-twān-t bār-ā be-bā-Ø soss
 VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3SG load-OBL SBJV-carry.NPST-3SG loose

akant
 a=kan-t
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG

It could not carry the load, it slowed down.

DC:18

ka 'rokā *ham 'ēr* *akanant* *rū 'hamā*
 kar-ok-ā ham ēr a=kan-ant rū ham=ā
 donkey-DEF-OBL ADD PREV VCL=do.NPST-3PL on EMPH=DIST

ošto 'rokā
 oštor-ok-ā
 camel-DEF-OBL

So they put the donkey on the camel.

DC:19

oš 'tor ha 'mē ke ara 'sīt *'sare 'šayā* *a 'šīt*
 oštor hamē ke a=ras-īt sar=e šay-ā a=š-īt
 camel as soon as VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on=EZ slope-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'ay 'kar
 ay kar
 VOC donkey

As soon as the camel arrived at the slope it said, “Hey there, donkey!”

DC:20

a 'šīt *'bale*
 a=š-ī bale
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes

[The donkey] said, “What do you want (lit. yes)?”

4. Text Corpus

DC:21

hā 'lā 'wadet 'bege ma 'nī naw 'bat
hālā wad=et be-ge-Ø man-ī nawbat
 now REFL=PC.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-GEN turn

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

[The camel said,] “Stop (lit. take yourself) now, it is my turn.”

DC:22

a 'šī 'manī bo 'woay 'layt ka 'nagom ham
a=š-ī man-ī bowo-ay layt kan-ag=om ham
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN father-GEN game do.NPST-INF=PC.1SG ADD

'yādom ma 'hā 'haway layt ka 'nagī
yād=om mah-ā-Ø haw-ay layt kan-ag=ī
 memory=PC.1SG IMP-come.NPST-3SG a game-GEN game do.NPST-INF=PC.3SG

It continued (lit. said), “I remember how my father played, how he played haw (i.e., a game with sticks).”

DC:23

'kar a 'šī 'ay 'makan 'čō ē 'dā 'sare
kar a=š-ī ay ma-kan-Ø čō ēdā sar=e
 donkey VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC PROH-do.NPST-2SG like this here on=EZ

'šay en 'man 'xord abān
šay =en man xord a=b-ān
 slope =COP.NPST.1PL PN.1SG shattered VCL=become.NPST-1SG

The donkey said, “Hey there, don’t act like this, we are on a slope here, I will be shattered.”

DC:24

a 'šī 'nabē man 'gaštom
a=š-ī Ø=na-b-ē man gašt=om
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=NEG-become.NPST-2SG PN.1SG say.PST=PC.1SG

ta 'gōšet ke
ta gōš=et ke
 PN.2SG ear=PC.2SG do.PST

[The camel] said, “You won’t, [and, by the way,] I told [you] [not to stop the caravan]; did you listen?”

4.1. Text 1: The Donkey and the Camel

DC:25

xolā'sa oš'tor am 'āḡa ate'ḡī o 'īḡa
xolāsa oštor =am āḡa a=teḡ-ī =o īḡa
 in short camel =ADD there VCL=sway.NPST-3SG =and here

ate'ḡī ka'rā ā bā'lād 'berr adā
a=teḡ-ī kar-ā a bālād berr a=dā-Ø
 VCL=sway.NPST-3SG donkey-OBL from up PREV VCL=give.NPST-3SG

darmadā'ḡūn abī mā 'ē kohūlan'kīyā
darmadāḡūn a=b-ī mā ē kohūlankī-yā
 shattered VCL=become.NPST-3SG in PROX rocky landscape-OBL

Well, then the camel swayed to and fro [and] threw the donkey down from up there.
 It got shattered among the rocks.

DC:26

hā'lā ham doš'manen bī 'čō ha'mā
hālā ham došman=en Ø-b-ī čō ham=ā
 now ADD enemy=PC.1PL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG like EMPH=DIST

ka'rā 'dōssen ham 'čō ošto'rā
kar-ā dōss=en ham čō oštor-ā
 donkey-OBL friend=PC.1PL ADD like camel-OBL

Now, may it happen to our enemy as to the donkey and to our friend as to the camel.

4. Text Corpus

4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

Golī o Ahmad Goli and Ahmad

recounted by Alamdar Samsanian

GA:1

xolā 'sa 'yekī ad 'yekī 'nayad 'gayre
xolāsa yek=ī =ad-Ø yek=ī nay-ad-Ø ġayr=e
in short one=IND =COP.PST-3SG one=IND NEG-COP.PST-3SG except=EZ

xo 'dā 'heška 'naya
xodā heška nay-a-Ø
God nobody NEG-COP.PST-3SG

Well, once upon a time... (lit. Well, there was one, there was no one, except for God there was no one.)

GA:2

xolā 'sa dā 'zanē yek dā 'zanē boda
xolāsa dāzan=ē yek dāzan=ē bod-a=Ø
in short woman=IND one woman=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'nāme go 'lī boda
nām=e golī bod-a=Ø
name=PC.3SG Goli become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Well, a woman, there was a woman, her name was Goli.

GA:3

'xaylī ham 'bad boda behe 'sāb
xaylī ham bad bod-a=Ø behesāb
very ADD bad become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG actually

She was actually very bad.

GA:4

xey 'lī ham 'bad boda az 'zīyate 'šūay
xaylī ham bad bod-a=Ø azzīyat=e šū=ay
very ADD bad become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG trouble=EZ husband=PC.3SG

maka 'nā boda o 'āḡa 'īḡa
ma-kan-ā bod-a =o āḡa īḡa
IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and there here

She was actually very bad. She was giving her husband a hard time, you know.

GA:5

tā 'ya 'rōčē 'šūay a 'šī ke 'ay go 'lī
 tā ya rōč=ē šū=ay a=š-ī ke ay golī
 then one day=IND husband=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM VOC Goli

ī hām'mo mar'dom mara'wa saw'zā 'āḡa 'īḡa
 ī hāmmo mardom ma-raw-a sawzā āḡa īḡa
 PROX all people IMP-go.NPST-3SG herb.OBL there here

'byā 'man o ta ham 'berren
 by-ā-Ø man =o ta ham ber-r-en
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.1SG =and PN.2SG ADD SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

So, one day her husband said, “Hey, Goli, all the people go [to pick] green herbs here and there, come on, let the two of us (lit. me and you) go, too.”

GA:6

a 'šī 'xayle xob 'berren
 a=š-ī xayle xob ber-r-en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

She said, “Very well, let’s go.”

GA:7

ar'ran ha'mī sah'rā 'dya sow'zā
 ar=r-an ham=ī sahrā dya sawzā
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX wilderness well herb.OBL

mač'e'nēn boda o 'āḡa 'īḡa ar'ra
 ma-č'en-ēn bod-a =o āḡa īḡa ar=ra-Ø
 IMP-pick.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP =and there here VCL=go.NPST-3SG

'yak 'čāhī pē'dā akant
 yak čāh=ī pēdā a=kan-t
 one well=IND visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG

They went [out] into the (lit. this) wilderness, you know, they picked green herbs, like this. [The man] went [and] found a well.

4. Text Corpus

GA:8

bā'mard ya 'čāhī pē'dā akant a'sīt 'ay
bāpard ya čāh=ī pēdā a=kan-t a=š-ī ay
 man one well=IND visible VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC

dā'zan 'say kan mā 'ē čā'hā 'ē 'čēē
dāzan say Ø-kan-Ø mā ē čāh-ā ē čē=ē
 woman looking IMPV-do.NPST-2SG into PROX well-OBL PROX what=IND

'barǵ maǵana
barǵ ma-ǵan-a
 flash IMP-hit.NPST-3SG

The man found a well. He said, “Hey, my wife (lit. woman), look into this well, what is that (lit. this) [thing] shining?”

GA:9

dā'zan a'kay 'āǵā 'mā čā'hā 'say
dāzan a=k-ay-Ø āǵā mā čāh-ā say
 woman VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG sir into well-OBL looking

kan bā'mard 'lohe adā ke
Ø-kan-Ø bāpard loh=e a=dā-Ø ke
 SBJV-do.NPST-3SG man pushing=PC.3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG CLM

dā'zan ar'ra 'mā čā'hā
dāzan ar=ra-Ø mā čāh-ā
 woman VCL=go.NPST-3SG into well-OBL

The woman came, sir, to look into the well. The man pushed her [in such a way] that she (lit. the woman) fell into the well.

GA:10

ar'ra 'mā čā'hā a'kay 'pas az 'čār
ar=ra-Ø mā čāh-ā a=k-ay-Ø pas az čār
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG into well-OBL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG after four

'pan 'rō 'šūay a'sīt 'nabāhāt a
pan rō šū=ay a=š-īt na-bāhāt=a-Ø
 five day husband=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG

'čō kanān 'nabāhāt a ē'sī
 čō Ø-kan-ān na-bāhāt=a-Ø ēš-ī
 like this SBJV-do.NPST-1SG NEG-must=COP.PST-3SG PROX-OBL

'prēnān mā čā'hā mā'ī 'jan at
 Ø-prēn-ān mā čāh-ā mā-ī jan =at-Ø
 SBJV-throw.NPST-1SG into well-OBL PN.1PL-GEN wife =COP.PST-3SG

She fell into the well [and] he came [back home]. After four, five days her husband said, “I shouldn’t have done like this, I shouldn’t have thrown her into the well. She was my (lit. our) wife.”

GA:11

xolā'sa nārā'hat abī ya 'banne a'zo
 xolāsa nārāhat a=b-ī ya bann=e a=zo-Ø
 in short troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG one rope=IND VCL=take.NPST-3SG

ar'ra
 ar=ra-Ø
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG

Anyhow, he became troubled, took a rope [and] went.

GA:12

a'zo ar'ra tā ara'sī rū
 a=zo-Ø ar=ra-Ø tā a=ras-ī rū
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG until VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG on

čā'hā
 čāh-ā
 well-OBL

He took [it] [and] went until he arrived at the well.

4. Text Corpus

GA:13

ban 'nā aprē 'nī mā čā 'hā a 'šī 'ay 'golī
 bann-ā a=prēn-ī mā čāh-ā a=š-ī ay golī
 rope-OBL VCL=throw.NPST-3SG into well-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC Goli

ban 'nā aga zen 'ne y 'bege ta
 bann-ā aga zenne =y be-ge-Ø ta
 rope-OBL if alive =COP.NPST.2SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG in order that

'man 'bekešānet bā 'lād
 man be-keš-ān=et bālād
 PN.1SG SBJV-pull.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG up

He threw the rope into the well [and] said, “Hey, Goli, if you are alive, take hold of the rope, so that I can pull you up.”

GA:14

xolā 'sa 'hamītaw ban 'nā aka 'šī bā 'lād
 xolāsa ham=ītaw bann-ā a=kaš-ī bālād
 in short EMPH=this way rope-OBL VCL=pull.NPST-3SG up

agen 'nī 'ban sa 'ḡīn en
 a=genn-ī ban saḡīn =en
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG rope heavy =COP.NPST.3SG

Well, he pulled up the rope, like this. He noticed (lit. sees) the rope was heavy.

GA:15

aka 'šīd o aka 'šīd 'tā agen 'nī
 a=kaš-īd =o a=kaš-īd tā a=genn-ī
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG =and VCL=pull.NPST-3SG until VCL=see.NPST-3SG

ye 'haw ažda 'hā 'āk bā 'lād
 yehaw aždahā āk-Ø bālād
 suddenly dragon come.PST-3SG up

He pulled and pulled until he suddenly saw a dragon come up.

GA:16

ažda 'hā 'āk bā 'lād hawla 'kī abī ke
 aždahā āk-Ø bālād hawlakī a=b-ī ke
 dragon come.PST-3SG up panicking VCL=become.NPST-3SG CLM

ban 'nā ke 'wel dā ažda 'hā a 'šī
 bann-ā ke wel Ø-dā-Ø aždahā a=š-ī
 rope-OBL CLM loose SBJV-give.NPST-3SG dragon VCL=say.NPST-3SG

4.2. Text 2: Goli and Ahmad

ban 'nā 'wel 'maday har 'čēt 'bokā bah 'rat
 bann-ā wel ma-day-Ø harčēt=et bokā bahr=at
 rope-OBL loose PROH-give.NPST-2SG whatever=PC.2SG want for=PC.2SG

a 'dān
 a=d-ān
 VCL=give.NPST-1SG

A dragon came up. He was panicking [and wanted] to let go of the rope, [but] the dragon said, “Don’t let go of the rope, I will give you whatever you want.”

GA:17

bā 'mard a 'šī 'xo atā 'nay šā 'hay
 bāmard a=š-ī xo a=tān-ay šāh-ay
 man VCL=say.NPST-3SG well VCL=be able.NPST-2SG king-GEN

ja 'nekā bah 'ram 'begeray
 janek-ā bahr=am be-ger-ay
 daughter-OBL for=PC.1SG SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

The man said, “Fine, can you get the king’s daughter for me?”

GA:18

ažda 'hā a 'šī 'hā man bah 'rat age 'rān
 aždahā a=š-ī hā man bahr=at a=ger-ān
 dragon VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes PN.1SG for=PC.2SG VCL=take.NPST-1SG

The dragon said, “Yes, I will get her for you.”

GA:19

xolā 'sa 'ē a 'šī 'xayle xob 'man em 'šaf
 xolāsa ē a=š-ī xayle xob man emšaf
 in short PROX VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well PN.1SG tonight

ar 'rān 'wadam apē 'čān 'dawre šā 'hay
 ar=r-ān wad=am a=pēč-ān dawr=e šāh-ay
 VCL=go.NPST-1SG REFL=PC.1SG VCL=twist.NPST-1SG around=EZ king-GEN

ja 'nekay gar 'denā
 janek-ay garden-ā
 daughter-GEN neck-OBL

So [then] it said, “Very well, tonight I will go and wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter.

4. Text Corpus

GA:20

god'dā 'hāmmo 'kase ke ā'kan bō'jag
 goddā hāmmo kas=e ke āk-an bōj-ag
 then all person=IND CLM come.PST-3PL open.NPST-INF

a'nayān 'bejōz 'ta
 a=nayān bejōz ta
 VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG except PN.2SG

Then, no matter who comes (lit. all a person who came), I will not unwrap (lit. open) [myself] except for you.

GA:21

'ta ke ā'kay 'man bō'jag
 ta ke āk-ay man bōj-ag
 PN.2SG CLM come.PST-2SG PN.1SG open.NPST-INF

akā'yān o 'ta ham 'bega 'šāh 'aga
 a=k-ā-yān =o ta ham be-ga-Ø šāh aga
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG =and PN.2SG ADD IMPV-say.NPST-2SG king if

ja'nekāt 'aḡd akanay 'bedayom
 jānek=at aḡd a=kan-ay be-day-Ø=om
 daughter=PC.2SG marriage VCL=do.NPST-2SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG

'ta 'man 'ē aḡda'hā bō'jān
 ta man ē aḡdahā Ø-bōj-ān
 in order that PN.1SG PROX dragon SBJV-open.NPST-1SG

When you come, I will unwrap [myself]. Then say, “[O] king, if you are going to marry off you daughter, give [her] to me, and I will open up this dragon.”

GA:22

xolā'sa 'šāmī aḡda'hā ar'ra o 'wade
 xolāsa šām-ī aḡdahā ar=ra-Ø =o wad=e
 in short supper-ADVZ dragon VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and REFL=PC.3SG

apē'čī 'dawre šā'hay ja'nekay gar'denā
 a=pēč-ī dawr=e šāh-ay jānek-ay garden-ā
 VCL=twist.NPST-3SG around=EZ king-GEN daughter-GEN neck-OBL

Well, in the evening the dragon went and wrapped itself around the neck of the king's daughter.

GA:23

'sōbī ke 'pād akāyan agen 'nan
 sōb-ī ke pād a=k-ā-yan a=genn-an
 morning-ADVZ CLM foot VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL

'bale aзда hā 'dawre šā 'hay ja 'nekay gar 'den en
 bale aždahā dawr=e šāh-ay janek-ay garden =en
 yes dragon around=EZ king-GEN daughter-GEN neck =COP.NPST.3SG

In the morning, when they got up, they saw that, oh dear (lit. yes), the dragon was [wrapped] around the neck of the king's daughter.

GA:24

'harčī ā 'lem o 'harčī 'āḡa ṭḡar
 harčī ālem =o harčī āḡa ṭḡar
 however many wise man =and however many there here

ākā 'rant bo 'ḡag a 'nayay
 ā=k-ār-ant bōj-ag a=nay-ay-Ø
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL open.NPST-INF VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG

Even though they brought all kinds of wise men (lit. however many wise men they brought), all kinds (lit. however many), [from] here and there, it didn't unwrap [itself].

GA:25

a 'šant 'hīška ham mān 'ta
 a=š-ant hīška ham mānt-a=Ø
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL nobody ADD remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They said, “So is there anyone left?”

GA:26

a 'šī 'ye na 'fare ye ā 'dame bīčā 'ra
 a=š-ī ye nafar=e ye ādam=e bīčāra
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG one person=IND one human being=EZ poor

en 'nāme ham ah 'mad en 'ā
 =en nām=e ham ahmad =en ā
 =COP.NPST.3SG name=PC.3SG ADD Ahmad =COP.NPST.3SG DIST

mān 'ta
 mānt-a=Ø
 remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

[Someone] said, “There is one person, a poor fellow who is called Ahmad, he is left.”

4. Text Corpus

GA:27

a 'šī 'xob 'berret hamā 'hī ham
a=š-ī xob ber-r-et ham=ā-hī ham
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well IMPV-go.NPST-2PL EMPH=DIST-OBL ADD

'bīyāret
bīy-ār-et
IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

[The king] said, “Well, go [and] bring him, too!”

GA:28

ar 'rant ke mow 'ge ah 'madā ākā 'rant
ar=r-ant ke mawge ahmad-ā ā=k-ār-ant
VCL=go.NPST-3PL CLM when Ahmad-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

ah 'mad a šā 'hā a 'šī 'ay 'šāh 'aga 'ē
ahmad a šāh-ā a=š-ī ay šāh aga ē
Ahmad to king-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC king if PROX

ja 'nekat 'ağd akanay 'beday 'man
janek=at ağd a=kan-ay be-day-Ø man
daughter=PC.2SG marriage VCL=do.NPST-2SG IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG

ta 'man 'ē aзда 'hā bo 'jān a
ta man ē aždahā Ø-bōj-ān a
in order that PN.1SG PROX dragon SBJV-open.NPST-1SG from

gar 'denay
gardenay
neck.OBL.PC.3SG

They went [and] when they brought Ahmad, he said to the king, “O king, if you are going to marry off your daughter, give [her] to me, so that I can unwrap (lit. open) this dragon from her neck.”

GA:29

'šāh ham xo 'dya maj'būr abī a 'šī
 šāh ham xo dya majbūr a=b-ī a=š-ī
 king ADD well then forced VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'bībīd 'ağd akanān
 bī-b-īd ağd a=kan-ān
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG marriage VCL=do.NPST-1SG

a 'dānet
 a=d-ān=et
 VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

Well, then the king had no choice. He said, “Very well, I will marry her off, I will give [her] to you.

GA:30

'ağd akanān a 'dānet
 ağd a=kan-ān a=d-ān=et
 marriage VCL=do.NPST-1SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

I will marry her off, I will give [her] to you.”

GA:31

xolā'sa 'ağdī akant a 'dādī
 xolāsa ağd=ī a=kan-t a=dā-d=ī
 in short marriage=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

ah'mad o ah'mad ham ar'ra mā aзда'hāay gō'sā ye
 ahmad =o ahmad ham ar=ra-Ø mā aždahā-ay gōš-ā ye
 Ahmad =and Ahmad ADD VCL=go.NPST-3SG in dragon-GEN ear-OBL one

'čē a 'šīd o aзда'hā ar'ra
 čē a=š-īd =o aždahā ar=ra-Ø
 thing VCL=say.NPST-3SG =and dragon VCL=go.NPST-3SG

Anyway, he married her off, he gave her to Ahmad and then Ahmad went [and] whispered something in the dragon's ear and the dragon went [away].

GA:32

aзда'hā 'ēdān ke bo'jag akay be'sāb
 aždahā ēdān ke bōj-ag a=k-ay-Ø besāb
 dragon here CLM open.NPST-INF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG actually

'berra a 'šī ah'mad 'man 'raftān 'harjāh
 ber-ra-Ø a=š-ī ahmad man raft-ān harjāh
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG Ahmad PN.1SG go.PST-1SG wherever

4. Text Corpus

'pēkom 'dawre har 'kasay gar 'denā
 pēk=om dawr=e harkas-ay garden-ā
 twist.PST=PC.1SG around=EZ whoever-GEN neck-OBL

'nayāay 'ā 'dya gaza 'bī abān
 nay-ā-ay ā dya ġazabī a=b-ān
 NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-2SG EMPH then angry VCL=become.NPST-1SG

awa 'rānet
 a=war-ān=et
 VCL=eat.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

When the dragon unwrapped itself to go, well, it said, “Ahmad, I am leaving right away (lit. I went) [but] if I ever wrap myself around anybody’s neck, you should not come, you know! [If you do], then I will get angry [and] eat you.”

GA:33

a 'šī 'na a 'nayān dī 'ga
 a=š-ī na a=nayān dīga
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG no VCL=NEG.come.NPST.1SG well

He said, “Well, no, I won’t come.”

GA:34

xolā 'sa ar 'raft
 xolāsa ar=raf-t
 in short VCL=go.NPST-3SG

Anyhow, the dragon went [its way].

GA:35

ar 'raft ar 'ra ya 'šahre 'dyarā
 ar=raf-t ar=ra-Ø ya šahr=e dyar-ā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG one town=EZ other-OBL

apē 'čī 'dawre ya 'šāhe 'dyaray ja 'nekay
 a=pēč-ī dawr=e ya šāh=e dyar-ay janek-ay
 VCL=twist.NPST-3SG around=EZ one king=EZ other-GEN daughter-GEN

gar 'denā
 garden-ā
 neck-OBL

It went [its way], it went to another town [and] wrapped itself around the neck of another king’s daughter.

GA:42

agen 'nan ah 'madī ke 'xayle nārā 'hat a hā 'lā
 a=genn-an ahmad=ī ke xayle nārāhat =a-Ø hālā
 VCL=see.NPST-3PL Ahmad=IND CLM very troubled =COP.PST-3SG now

makan 'na o xoš 'hāl en
 ma-kann-a =o xošhāl =en
 IMP-laugh.NPST-3SG =and happy =COP.NPST.3SG

They saw that Ahmad, who was very worried [before], was now laughing and happy.

GA:43

a 'šī ah 'mad 'čōn enet a 'šī
 a=š-ī ahmad čōn =en=et a=š-ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Ahmad how =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'hečī 'berren 'man ažda 'hāā ābō 'jān
 hečī ber-r-en man aždahā-ā ā=bōj-ān
 never mind SBJV-go.NPST-1PL PN.1SG dragon-OBL VCL=open.NPST-1SG

[Someone] said, “Ahmad, how are you [feeling]?” He said, “Never mind, let’s go. I will unwrap the dragon.”

GA:44

ar 'rant o ar 'rant 'hamī 'ījare be 'sābe
 ar=r-ant =o ar=r-ant ham=ī ījar=e besāb=e
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL =and VCL=go.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX here=EZ actually=EZ

ma 'jlesā ke ara 'san agen 'nan 'bale ažda 'hā am
 majles-ā ke a=ras-an a=genn-an bale aždahā =am
 court-OBL CLM VCL=arrive.NPST-3PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL yes dragon =ADD

'pīkay 'dawre šā 'hay ja 'nekay gar 'denā
 pīk-ay=Ø dawr=e šāh-ay jānek-ay garden-ā
 twist.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG around=EZ king-GEN daughter-GEN neck-OBL

They went and went [and] when they approached (lit. arrived on this side of) the court, you know, they saw [that] indeed the dragon was wrapped around the neck of the king’s daughter.

GA:45

'šān ham mara 'wayant
 š-ān ham ma-raw-ay=ant
 PROX-PL ADD IMP-go.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL

So, they went [closer].

4. Text Corpus

GA:46

ažda 'hā 'čamme ke aka 'fī ah 'mad ġaza 'bī
aždahā čamm=e ke a=kaf-ī ahmad ġazabī
dragon eye=PC.3SG CLM VCL=fall.NPST-3SG Ahmad angry

abī

a=b-ī

VCL=become.NPST-3SG

When the dragon's eye fell on Ahmad, it got angry.

GA:47

a 'šī 'dya 'nagaštom 'nayāay
a=š-ī dya na-gašt=om nay-ā-ay
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well NEG-say.PST=PC.1SG NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-2SG

It said, “Well, didn't I tell you not to come?!”

GA:48

ah 'mad a 'šī 'man 'nayākān 'begašān
ahmad a=š-ī man nay-āk-ān be-gaš-ān
Ahmad VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG NEG-come.PST-1SG SBJV-say.NPST-1SG

bō 'jag 'bay 'ā 'nayākān
bōj-ag b-ay-Ø ā nay-āk-ān
open.NPST-INF IMPV-come.NPST-2SG EMPH NEG-come.PST-1SG

'begašān ke 'wel day 'berra
be-gaš-ān ke wel Ø-day-Ø ber-ra-Ø
SBJV-say.NPST-1SG CLM loose IMPV-give.NPST-2SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

Ahmad said, “I didn't come to tell you to unwrap [yourself] (lit. to say, ‘unwrap yourself’), actually. I didn't come to say ‘come loose, [and] go!’”

GA:49

a 'šī 'xo 'čī a 'šay
a=š-ī xo čī a=š-ay
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well what VCL=say.NPST-2SG

[The dragon] said, “So what do you [have to] say?”

GA:50

a 'šī fa 'ġat ya pay 'ġāme 'assenom
 a=š-ī faġat ya payġām=e ass=en=om
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG only one message=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

bah 'rat
 bahr=at
 for=PC.2SG

[Ahmad] said, “I only have a message for you.”

GA:51

a 'šī 'čī en
 a=š-ī čī =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG what =COP.NPST.3SG

[The dragon] said, “What is it?”

GA:52

a 'šī go 'lī a čā 'hā 'dar kafta
 a=š-ī golī a čāh-ā dar kaft-a=Ø
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG Goli from well-OBL PREV fall.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ran 'nat magar 'da
 rannat ma-gard-a
 after.PC.2SG IMP-go around.NPST-3SG

[Ahmad] said, “Goli has come out of the well [and] she is looking for you!”

GA:53

'āġā ažda 'hā ham az tor 'say bo 'jaġ
 āġā aždahā ham az torsay bōj-ag
 sir dragon ADD from fear.OBL.PC.3SG open.NPST-INF

akay 'haw 'boro ke 'raft
 a=k-ay-Ø haw bo-ro-Ø ke raft-Ø
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG yes IMPV-go.NPST-2SG CLM go.PST-3SG

Sir, the dragon unwrapped itself out of fear, [and] how it was running!

4. Text Corpus

GA:54

hā 'lā ham doš 'manen 'bebī 'čō go 'lī 'dōssen
hālā ham došman=en be-b-ī čō golī dōss=en
now ADD enemy=PC.1PL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG like Goli friend=PC.1PL

am 'čō ha 'mā ah 'mad
=am čō ham=ā ahmad
=ADD like EMPH=DIST Ahmad

Now, may our enemy experience what Goli did and our friend what Ahmad experienced.

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

Šāhay Ĵanek
The King's Daughter
recounted by Mahtalat Samsanian

KD:1

'yake	'assen	'yake	'nēssen
yak=e	ass=en	yak=e	nēss=en
one=IND	be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG	one=IND	NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

Once upon a time... (lit. There is one, there is no one.)

KD:2

be	'nāme	xo'dā	besmel'lāhe rah'māne ra'hīm
be	nām=e	xodā	besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm
to	name=EZ	God	in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful

In the name of God, in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful.

KD:3

xo'dā	bīyā'rīten
xodā	bīy-ār-īt=en
God	SBJV-bring.NPST-3SG=COP.NPST.3SG

May God bring [good fortune].

KD:4

ya	'šāhay	ĵa'nek	bodagen	belaxa'ra
ya	šāh-ay	ĵanek	bod-ag=en	belaxara
one	king-GEN	daughter	become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	anyway

ban'ne xo'dā	'nazānān	če'to	abī
banne xodā	Ø=na-zān-ān	četo	a=b-ī
God's servant	VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG	how	VCL=become.NPST-3SG

āwā'ra	abī	az	ō'dān
āwāra	a=b-ī	az	ōdān
homeless	VCL=become.NPST-3SG	from	there

There was a princess (lit. king's daughter) [and] anyhow, the poor girl (lit. God's servant), I don't know how it happened, she became homeless [and went away] from there.

4. Text Corpus

KD:5

ar'ra *'hade* *'ya* *čō'bānēyā* *a'sī* *'man*
 ar=ra-Ø had=e ya čōbān=ē-yā a=š-ī man
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ one shepherd=IND-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

'raxt *o* *le'bāsom* *gō* *'telām* *'medānte*
 raxt =o lebās=om gō telā=m me-d-ān=te
 clothes =and clothes=PC.1SG with gold=PC.1SG IMP-give.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

'ta *ya* *bar'rae* *'beday* *'man*
 ta ya barra=e be-day-Ø man
 PN.2SG one lamb=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG

She went to a shepherd, she said, “I will give my clothes along with my gold to you, you give me a lamb.

KD:6

'ya *bar'rae* *'beday* *'man* *'man* *barra'okā* *fa'gat*
 ya barra=e be-day-Ø man man barra-ok-ā fa'gat
 one lamb=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG PN.1SG lamb-DEF-OBL only

ko'may *bo'kānom* *ko'may* *be 'dardam*
 komay bokān=om komay be dard=am
 stomach.OBL.PC.3SG want=PC.1SG stomach.OBL.PC.3SG to pain=PC.1SG

āwā
 ā=wā-Ø
 VCL=eat.NPST-3SG

Give me a lamb, I only want the stomach of the lamb, I have use for its stomach.

KD:7

lā'say *ham 'bezo* *ba 'wadet*
 lāšay ham be-zo-Ø ba wad=et
 carcass.OBL.PC.3SG ADD IMPV-take.NPST-2SG for REFL=PC.2SG

Take its meat (lit. carcass) for yourself.”

KD:8

'bad *de'ga* *čōbā'nak* *am* *ga'būl* *akan*
 bad dega čōbān-ak =am gābūl a=kan-Ø
 then well shepherd-DEF =ADD accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG

a'sī *ke* *'xob* *'ta* *ke* *ham* *'ya* *ko'may*
 a=š-ī ke xob ta ke ham ya komay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM well PN.2SG TOP ADD one stomach.OBL.PC.3SG

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

bo 'kān 'ta ī hām 'mo ba 'man 'madayagay
 bokān ta ī hāmmo ba man ma-day-ag=ay
 want PN.2SG PROX all to PN.1SG IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG

e 'šān
 ešān
 like this

Anyway, the shepherd agreed [and] said, “Well, you only want its stomach, [and] you give all this to me, like this.”

KD:9

a 'šī 'bākē 'nē
 a=š-ī bāk=ē nē
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG fear=IND NEG.be.NPST.3SG

She said: “No problem!”

KD:10

'goddā go 'wadet bo 'kānom 'bīyāon lō 'gā
 goddā go wad=et bokān=om bīy-ā-on lōg-ā
 then with REFL=PC.2SG want=PC.1SG SBJV-come.NPST-1SG house-OBL

Then I want to come home with you.”

KD:11

a 'raft ta 'ē čobā 'nak ham 'ye do ī
 a=raf-t ta ē čobān-ak ham ye doī
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG MIR PROX shepherd-DEF ADD one mother

pīre 'zanē 'assenī
 pīrezan=ē ass=en=ī
 old woman=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

She went. Now, this shepherd had a mother too, an old woman.

KD:12

a 'ray 'ya mod 'date 'hade ī 'šān ko 'makay
 a=ray-Ø ya modat=e had=e īš-ān komak=ay
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG one time=IND by=EZ PROX-PL help=PC.3SG

akant e 'šān 'dya a 'raft 'bāz dobā 'ra
 a=kan-t ešān dya a=raf-t bāz dobāra
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG like this then VCL=go.NPST-3SG again again

4. Text Corpus

a'raft mā 'ya 'šāhay 'ġars o bār'gāh ḡdāna'kō
 a=raf-t mā ya šāh-ay ġars =o bārgāh ḡdānakō
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG into one king-GEN palace =and royal court right there

'bebī
 be-b-ī
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

She went [and] worked for them for some time, like this, [and] then she went, once again she went to a king's palace to stay there.

KD:13

mo'geī a'ra 'hade mā 'ġars o bār'gāhā
 moġe=ī a=ra-Ø had=e m=ā ġars =o bārgāh-ā
 time=IND VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ EMPH=DIST palace =and royal court-OBL

'ē koma'okā maka'sī sa'ray
 ē koma-ok-ā ma-kaš-ī saray
 PROX stomach-DEF-OBL IMP-pull.NPST-3SG head.OBL.PC.3SG

a'ra m'ā 'ġars o bār'gāhā ḡdāna'kō
 a=ra-Ø m=ā ġars =o bārgāh-ā ḡdānakō
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG EMPH=DIST palace =and royal court-OBL right there

When she went to that palace she pulled the stomach over her head, [then] she went to that palace there.

KD:14

a'raft a'sī 'ya 'kārē 'bedet be
 a=raf-t a=š-ī ya kār=ē be-d-et be
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG one work=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2PL to

'man 'ya 'kārē 'bedet 'tā 'man ham 'kār
 man ya kār=ē be-d-et tā man ham kār
 PN.1SG one work=IND IMPV-give.NPST-2PL in order that PN.1SG ADD work

kanān hamī'dān
 Ø-kan-ān ham=īdān
 SBJV-do.NPST-1SG EMPH=here

She went [and] said, “Give me a job. Give me a job, so that I can work here.”

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

KD:15

ē 'šān a 'šant 'mā 'say oš 'tor enen
ēš-ān a=š-ant mā say oštor =en=en
 PROX-PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL PN.1PL three camel =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1PL

'say oš 'torā 'bebar 'bečārēn
say oštor-ā be-bar-Ø be-čārēn-Ø
 three camel-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2SG IMPV-take grazing.NPST-2SG

'bīyār
bīy-ār-Ø
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

They said, “We have three camels. Take the three camels grazing [and] bring them [back].”

KD:16

'ē mawge... 'say oš 'tor 'yekī 'laṅ boda
ē mawge say oštor yek=ī laṅ bod-a=Ø
 PROX time three camel one=IND lame become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

'yekī 'kōr boda 'yekī ham 'kar
yek=ī kōr bod-a=Ø yek=ī ham kar
 one=IND blind become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND ADD deaf

boda
bod-a=Ø
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

At this time One of the three camels was lame, one was blind, and one was deaf.

KD:17

aba 'rant... maba 'rā boda 'čēre ya
a=bar-ant ma-bar-ā bod-a čēr=e ya
 VCL=take.NPST-3PL IMP-take.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP under=EZ one

de 'raxte hamo 'dān 'wade manen 'nā
deraxt=e ham=odān wad=e ma-nenn-ā
 tree=IND EMPH=there REFL=PC.3SG IMP-sit down.NPST-BACKG.3SG

4. Text Corpus

boda o ē'sān am mača'rēn
 bod-a =o ēš-ān =am ma-čar-ēn
 become.PST-PP =and PROX-PL =ADD IMP-graze.NPST-BACKG.3PL

boda be'sāb
 bod-a besāb
 become.PST-PP actually

They took... she kept taking them under a tree [and] there she herself sat down and they were grazing, so to speak.

KD:18

ē'sān agen'nant 'rōč pa 'rōč ī ošto'rok lā'gar
 ēš-ān a=genn-ant rōč pa rōč ī oštor-ok lāgar
 PROX-PL VCL=see.NPST-3PL day to day PROX camel-DEF thin

oštoro'bār lā'gar mabī'yagen
 oštor-obār lāgar ma-bī-yag=en
 camel-PL thin IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

[The owners of the camels] saw that these camels were (lit. is) getting thinner and thinner (lit. thin) day by day.

KD:19

lā'gar mabī'yagant
 lāgar ma-bī-yag=ant
 thin IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL

They were getting thin.

KD:20

hālā'kō tā a'sant 'čīyen a'sant
 hālākō tā a=š-ant čī=yen a=š-ant
 right now then VCL=say.NPST-3PL what=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL

ī 'namačārēna 'swāre oš'torā
 ī na-ma-čārēn-a swār=e oštor-ā
 PROX NEG-IMP-take grazing.NPST-3SG riding=EZ camel-OBL

'mabīyā oš'torā az'īyat maka'nagen
 ma-bī-ya oštor-ā azīyat ma-kan-ag=en
 IMP-become.NPST-3SG camel-OBL trouble IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

So now, [one day] they said, “What is going on?” They said, “She is not taking them grazing. She is riding the camels (lit. camel), she is giving the camels a hard time.

4. Text Corpus

maǰa 'nā *boda* *o* *ī'sān*
 ma-ǰan-ā bod-a =o īšān
 IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and like this

'nametānā *boda* *'bečarī*
 na-me-tān-ā bod-a be-čar-ī
 NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP SBJV-graze.NPST-3SG

As for the camels, the one that was blind was hearing her playing the flute, for example, and it could not graze.

KD:25

'ā ham ke 'kar bodagen *'čamme*
 ā ham ke kar bod-ag=en čamm=e
 DIST ADD CLM deaf become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG eye=PC.3SG

magen 'nā *boda* *'sayl* *e 'šī* *ǰaša 'ηtā*
 ma-genn-ā bod-a sayl eš-ī ǰašaǰī-ā
 IMP-see.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP looking PROX-GEN beauty-OBL

maka 'nā *boda*
 ma-kan-ā bod-a
 IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

And the one that was deaf was seeing, it was looking at her beauty.

KD:26

'ā ham ke 'laǰ boda *bāz* *'hamītū*
 ā ham ke laǰ bod-a=Ø bāz hamītū
 DIST ADD CLM lame become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG again like this

The same thing happened to the one that was lame.

KD:27

'laǰ boda *'čamme* *'mēško...* *'čamme*
 laǰ bod-a=Ø čamm=e mēško čamm=e
 lame become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG eye=PC.3SG FRAG eye=PC.3SG

magen 'nā *boda* *'gōšē* *ham*
 ma-genn-ā bod-a gōš=e ham
 IMP-see.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP ear=PC.3SG ADD

mēško 'nā *boda* *be har sū 'rat*
 mēškon-ā bod-a be har sūrat
 IMP.hear.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP anyway

It was lame [but] it was hear... (lit. its eye hear...) it was both seeing and hearing.

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

KD:28

šā 'hay 'bač a 'šī ke a 'raft o 'say
 šāh-ay bač a=š-ī ke a=raf-t =o say
 king-GEN son VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and looking

akant agen 'nī ta 'bale 'ē 'saray
 a=kan-t a=genn-ī ta bale ē saray
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR yes PROX head.OBL.PC.3SG

pa 'tī makana o ham ka 'lamā maǰa 'na ham
 paṭī ma-kan-a =o ham kalam-ā ma-ǰan-a ham
 bare IMP-do.NPST-3SG =and ADD flute-OBL IMP-play.NPST-3SG ADD

'šērā maga 'ša oštoro 'bār mara 'wa mā ī 'šī
 šēr-ā ma-gaš-a oštor-obār ma-raw-a mā īš-ī
 poetry-OBL IMP-say.NPST-3SG camel-PL IMP-go.NPST-3SG into PROX-GEN

fek 'rā 'namatānagen...
 fekr-ā na-ma-tān-ag=en
 thought-OBL NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

The story goes (lit. it says) that the king's son went and looked [and] saw that she was actually unveiling herself and she was both playing the flute and reciting poetry. The camels were entranced by her (lit. is going into her thought), they could not....

KD:29

a 'raft a 'ra a 'šī 'man
 a=raf-t a=ra-Ø a=š-ī man
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

hamī 'šī bo 'kānom hamī 'šī 'hamī šā...
 ham=īš-ī bokān=om ham=īš-ī ham=ī šā
 EMPH=PROX-OBL want=PC.1SG EMPH=PROX-OBL EMPH=PROX FRAG

'hamī kača 'lokā bo 'kānom
 ham=ī kačal-ok-ā bokān=om
 EMPH=PROX bald-DEF-OBL want=PC.1SG

He went, he went [and] said, "I want [to marry] this very [girl], this very [one]. I want this king's... this bald [girl]."

4. Text Corpus

KD:30

do 'tē 'āṇa 'iṇa šo 'loḡ akan ma 'rīz
 doT=ē āṇa iṇa šo 'loḡ a=kan-Ø marīz
 mother=PC.3SG there here agitated VCL=do.NPST-3SG ill

abī 'āṇa a 'šant ke ba 'čā 'čō hokā 'yat
 a=b-ī āṇa a=š-ant ke ba čā čō hokāyat
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG there VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM why what story

en četaw 'rī ta ī ka 'čal bo 'kāt 'ta ye
 =en četawrī ta ī kačal bokā=t ta ye
 =COP.NPST.3SG how PN.2SG PROX bald want=PC.2SG PN.2SG one

'šāhīay 'bač ay a 'šī 'hālā man
 šāh=ī-ay bač =ay a=š-ī hālā man
 king=IND-GEN son =COP.NPST.2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG now PN.1SG

hamē 'šī bo 'kānom
 ham=ēš-ī bokān=om
 EMPH=PROX-OBL want=PC.1SG

His mother made a big fuss, she fell ill [and] [people there] said, “Why, what kind of a story is this? How come you want this bald [girl]? You are the son of a king!” [But] he said, “Well, I want this very [girl].”

KD:31

be har sū 'rat 'ē ya 'rō a 'kayt o ke
 be har sūrat ē ya rō a=k-ay-t =o ke
 anyway PROX one day VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG =and CLM

'hamī ja 'nek 'ē kača 'lok a 'kay
 ham=ī jānek ē kačal-ok a=k-ay-Ø
 EMPH=PROX girl PROX bald-DEF VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

'wadī a 'jan marī 'zīyā a 'šī 'man
 wad=ī a=jān-Ø marīzī-yā a=š-ī man
 REFL=PC.3SG VCL=pretend.NPST-3SG illness-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG

'hālom 'nēssen o fe 'lān
 hāl=om nēss=en =o felān
 health=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG =and so and so

In any case, one day she came, this girl, this bald [girl] came [and] pretended to be ill. She said, “I am not well,” things like that.

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

KD:32

šā 'hay 'bač a 'šī ke 'ē ta 'mām ho 'ge
 šāh-ay bač a=š-ī ke ē tamām hože
 king-GEN son VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PROX all trick

yen o 'man 'mazānān 'ē čō 'nēnē
 =yen =o man ma-zān-ān ē čōn-ēn=ē
 =COP.NPST.3SG =and PN.1SG IMP-know.NPST-1SG PROX how-ATTR=IND

The king's son said, "All this is a trick and I know what kind [of person] she is."

KD:33

a 'raft a 'šī ī 'šī bo 'kānom 'dya
 a=raf-t a=š-ī īš-ī bokān=om dya
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PROX-OBL want=PC.1SG well

mo 'jett abī bah 'ray dō 'at akanan
 mojett a=b-ī bahr=ay dōat a=kan-an
 persistent VCL=become.NPST-3SG for=PC.3SG marriage VCL=do.NPST-3PL

go ī 'šī
 go īš-ī
 with PROX-OBL

He went [and] said, "I want her." Well, he persisted [and] they married him to this [girl].

KD:34

dō 'at akanan 'šāhay 'jan 'šāhay 'jan ke dū 'māday
 dōat a=kan-an šāh-ay jan šāh-ay jan ke dūmād-ay
 marriage VCL=do.NPST-3PL king-GEN wife king-GEN wife CLM groom-GEN

do ī bī a 'šī... ke 'xob 'sōbī...
 doī Ø-b-ī a=š-ī ke xob sōb-ī
 mother SBJV-become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM well morning-ADVZ

They married him [to her]. The king's wife, the king's wife, the mother of the groom said.... Well, in the morning....

4. Text Corpus

KD:35

'sōbe dō 'at boda ke 'jāye ga 'len
 sōb=e dōat bod-a=Ø ke jā=ye galen
 morning=EZ wedding become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM place=EZ bride

o dū 'mād mā haj' lā boda
 =o dūmād mā hajlā bod-a=Ø
 =and groom in bridal chamber.OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

It was the morning after (lit. of) the wedding, and the bride and the groom were in the bridal chamber.

KD:36

'yek 'taštī ye be har sū 'rat ye 'porī a 'dād
 yek tašt=ī ye be har sūrat ye por=ī a=dā-d
 one basin=IND one anyway one ashes=IND VCL=give.NPST-3SG

'dassay o 'yekī am 'gol ye 'taštī ham 'gol
 dass=ay =o yek=ī =am gol ye tašt=ī ham gol
 hand=PC.3SG =and one=IND =ADD flower one basin=IND ADD flower

A basin, she gave one, you know, one basin of ashes [to a maidservant] and, well, one of flowers too, one basin of flowers.

KD:37

a 'šī 'berra aga 'dīdet ke
 a=š-ī ber-ra-Ø aga did=et ke
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG if see.PST=PC.2SG CLM

'hamā 'waz en 'porā 'berēč
 ham=ā waz =en por-ā be-rēč-Ø
 EMPH=DIST situation =COP.NPST.3SG ashes-OBL IMPV-pour.NPST-2SG

byā
 by-ā-Ø
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

She said, “Go, if you see that the situation is the same [as before], pour out the ashes [and] come [back].”

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

KD:38

aga 'dīdet ke 'xūb en 'golā
 aga dīd=et ke xūb =en gol-ā
 if see.PST=PC.2SG CLM good =COP.NPST.3SG flower-OBL

'berēč 'byā
 be-rēč-Ø by-ā-Ø
 IMPV-pour.NPST-2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

If you see (lit. saw) that it is good, pour out the flowers (lit. flower) [and] come [back].”

KD:39

kanī'zok ke a'raft o agen'nī ta
 kanīz-ok ke a=raf-t =o a=genn-ī ta
 maidservant-DEF CLM VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and VCL=see.NPST-3SG MIR

panā war xo'dā ē kača'lok ye šoh'laē
 panā war xodā ē kačal-ok ye šohla=ē
 refuge with God PROX bald-DEF one flame=IND

boda ke yek as'san 'xayle ga'saṇ
 bod-a=Ø ke yek assan xayle gašaṇ
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM one actually very beautiful

en o ī'sān
 =en =o īšān
 =COP.NPST.3SG =and like this

The maidservant went and saw, goodness gracious, this bald [girl] was [beautiful like] a flame [of fire], she was a... she was very beautiful, you know.

KD:40

'dya zo'bānay agī hawla'kī abī
 dya zobān=ay a=g-ī hawlakī a=b-ī
 well tongue=PC.3SG VCL=catch.NPST-3SG panicking VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'por o 'golā har 'donī are'čīd o
 por =o gol-ā har do=nī a=reč-īd =o
 ashes =and flower-OBL each two=PC.3SG VCL=pour.NPST-3SG =and

a'kay
 a=k-ay-Ø
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

She became speechless (lit. her tongue catches), she got all excited, she poured out both the ashes and the flowers and came back.

4.3. Text 3: The King's Daughter

'wade ī'tawrī koda ke 'hīška
wad=e ītawr=ī kod-a ke hīška
REFL=PC.3SG this way=PC.3SG do.PST-PP CLM nobody

'nazānt
na-zān-t
NEG.SBJV-know.NPST-3SG

Then [the girl] said.... It became clear that she was a princess and had made herself [look] this way so that nobody would recognize [her].

4. Text Corpus

4.4. Text 4: The King's Son

Šāhay Bač The King's Son

recounted by Alamdar Samsanian

KS:1

'yekī at 'yekī 'nayat 'gayre xo 'dā
yek=ī =at-Ø yek=ī nay-at-Ø ġayr=e xodā
one=IND =COP.PST-3SG one=IND NEG-COP.PST-3SG except=EZ God

'hīške 'nayat
hīške nay-at-Ø
nobody NEG-COP.PST-3SG

Once upon a time.... (lit. There was one, there was no one, except God there was no one.)

KS:2

'ye 'šāhī 'āġā 'janē ame 'rīd ar 'ra 'ye
ye šāh=ī āġā jan=e a=mer-īd ar=ra-Ø ye
one king=IND sir wife=PC.3SG VCL=die.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG one

'jane 'dya a 'gī
jan=e dya a=g-ī
wife=EZ other VCL=take.NPST-3SG

A king, sir, his wife died, he went [and] took another wife.

KS:3

ye 'jane 'dya a 'gīt o 'ē 'janī gō
ye jan=e dya a=g-īt =o ē jan=ī gō
one wife=EZ other VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and PROX wife=PC.3SG with

'ē 'bače 'xaylī 'bad boda bo 'kānī
ē bač=e xaylī bad bod-a=Ø bokān=ī
PROX son=PC.3SG very bad become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG want=PC.3SG

4.4. Text 4: The King's Son

boda ke 'ē 'bač' 'bemerī 'harče ser'wat
 bod-a ke ē bač=ī be-mer-ī harče serwat
 become.PST-PP CLM PROX son=PC.3SG SBJV-die.NPST-3SG whatever wealth

en 'gīre 'wadī 'byay
 =en gīr=e wad=ī by-ay-Ø
 =COP.NPST.3SG grip=EZ REFL=PC.3SG SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

He took another wife and this wife of his was very mean to his son (lit. this son of his), she wanted his son to die, [so that] all the wealth would be hers.

KS:4

xolā'sa 'tā 'rōč'ī 'ya 'aspī am bo'dag'ī 'har
 xolāsa tā rōč=ī ya asp=ī =am bod-ag=ī har
 in short then day=IND one horse=IND =ADD become.PST-PP=PC.3SG each

'waxt bo'kān'ī boda bez'zay
 waxt bokān=ī bod-a bez-zay-Ø
 time want=PC.3SG become.PST-PP SBJV-give birth.NPST-3SG

marā'wā boda kor'rag'ī
 ma-raw-ā bod-a korrag=ī
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP foal=PC.3SG

maprē'nā boda mā dar'yāhā
 ma-prēn-ā bod-a mā daryā-hā
 IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP into sea-OBL

So, one day.... The king also had a horse. Whenever [the horse] was giving birth, it went [and] threw its foal into the sea.

KS:5

a'sīt... 'ē 'šāhay 'bač a'sīt 'ay 'ar
 a=š-īt ē šāh-ay bač a=š-īt ay ar
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PROX king-GEN son VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC donkey

'ta ba'če marā'way kor'ragat maprē'nē mā
 ta ba če ma-raw-ay korrag=at ma-prēn-ē mā
 PN.2SG why IMP-go.NPST-2SG foal=PC.2SG IMP-throw.NPST-2SG into

dar'yāhā
 daryā-hā
 sea-OBL

He said... the king's son said, "Hey there horse (lit. donkey), why do you go and throw your foal into the sea?"

4. Text Corpus

KS:6

a 'šīt 'manī kor 'ragā 'hīška a 'natwānt
a=š-ī man-ī korrag-ā hīška a=na-twān-t
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN foal-OBL nobody VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-3SG

ma 'zan kant
mazan Ø-kan-t
big SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

It said, “My foal, nobody can raise [it].”

KS:7

šā 'hay 'bač a 'šīt 'man ma 'zanē akanān
šāh-ay bač a=š-īt man mazan=e a=kan-ān
king-GEN son VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG big=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-1SG

The king’s son said, “I will raise it.”

KS:8

a 'šīt 'wāllā a 'natwānay a 'šīt
a=š-ī wāllā a=na-twān-ay a=š-ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG by.God VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

čē 'taw atwā 'non
četaw a=twān-on
how VCL=be able.NPST-1SG

It said, “By God, you cannot.” He said, “How [come]? I can.”

KS:9

a 'šīt 'xo jar 'yāne čī 'tār en ke
a=š-ī xo jaryān=e čītār =en ke
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well issue=PC.3SG how =COP.NPST.3SG CLM

a 'natwānon
a=na-twān-on
VCL=NEG-be able.NPST-1SG

He said, “Well, what is the issue that I cannot?”

KS:10

a 'šī *bā 'hāt en* *haf 'teī* *'haft* *'mēše*
 a=š-ī bāhāt=en hafta-ī haft mēš=e
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG must=COP.NPST.3SG week-ADVZ seven sheep=EZ

'syāhay *'lāš* *'beday* *'bwā*
 syāh-ay lāš be-d-ay b-wā-Ø
 black-GEN carcass SBJV-give.NPST-2SG SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG

It said, “You must give [it] the meat (lit. carcass) of seven black sheep per week to eat.

KS:11

hammī 'ša *'ham* *'šīr* *'dānī...* *'syāhēn* *mē 'še* *šī 'rā*
 hammīša ham šīr dānī syāh-ēn mēš-e šīr-ā
 always ADD milk FRAG black-ATTR sheep-GEN milk-OBL

'beday *'bwā* *'yānī* *'ya* *'naxe* *es 'pēdī*
 be-d-ay b-wā-Ø yānī ya nax=e espēd=ī
 SBJV-give.NPST-2SG SBJV-eat.NPST-3SG that is one hair=EZ white=IND

am *mā* *ba 'danī* *'nabīt* *'tā* *ma 'zan*
 =am mā badan=ī na-b-īt tā mazan
 =ADD in body=PC.3SG NEG.SBJV-become.NPST-3SG then big

bībī

bī-b-ī

SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

And always, you know, you should give [it] milk from black sheep to drink – which means that there should not be one [single] white hair on their bodies (lit. its body) – until it grows big.

KS:12

god 'dām *'harčīt* *bo 'kān* *bī* *'ē* *kor 'rag*
 goddām harčī=t bokān Ø-b-ī ē korrag
 then.ADD whatever=PC.2SG want SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PROX foal

a 'tānt *bah 'rat* *farā 'ham* *kant*
 a=tān-t bahr=at farāham Ø-kan-t
 VCL=be able.NPST-3SG for=PC.2SG provided SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

Then this foal can provide you with whatever you may want.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:13

a 'šī 'xo 'man ma 'zanī akanān
 a=š-ī xo man mazan=ī a=kan-ān
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.1SG big=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-1SG

He said, “Well, I will raise it.”

KS:14

mas 'an maw 'gēī ke 'ē 'asp a 'kay
 masan mawgēī ke ē asp a=k-ay-Ø
 in fact when PROX horse VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

'bezayt 'ē kor 'ragā a 'gī o
 be-zay-t ē korrag-ā a=g-ī =o
 SBJV-give birth.NPST-3SG PROX foal-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and

haf 'taī 'haft mē 'šay 'lāš madī 'yā... syā 'hēn
 hafta-ī haft mēš-ay lāš ma-dī-yā syāh-ēn
 week-ADVZ seven sheep-GEN carcass IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG black-ATTR

mē 'šay 'lāš madī 'yā boda o hammī 'ša
 mēš-ay lāš ma-dī-yā bod-a =o hammīša
 sheep-GEN carcass IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP =and always

'ham syā 'hēn mē 'šay šī 'rā madō 'šā
 ham syāh-ēn mēš-ay šīr-ā ma-dōš-ā
 ADD black-ATTR sheep-GEN milk-OBL IMP-milk.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda o madī 'yā boda kor 'rag
 bod-a =o ma-dī-yā bod-a korrag
 become.PST-PP =and IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP foal

mawa 'rā boda 'tā maz 'zan
 ma-war-ā bod-a tā mazzan
 IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP until big

abī
 a=b-ī
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG

So when this horse was about to give birth, you know, he took this foal and gave it the meat (lit. carcass) of seven ewes.... He gave the meat of seven black ewes every week, he also always milked the milk of black ewes and gave [the milk to the foal and] the foal drank [it] until it grew big.

KS:15

maz'zan abīd o a'sī 'xayle xob xolā'sa
 mazzan a=b-īd =o a=š-ī xayle xob xolāsa
 big VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well in short

'ē kor'rag hām'mo 'čīyā mazā'nā boda
 ē korrag hāmmo čī-yā ma-zān-ā bod-a
 PROX foal all thing-OBL IMP-know.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

It grew big and he said, “Very well.” Anyway, this foal knew everything.

KS:16

'ī šā'hay 'jan a'kayt be'sāb šā'hay 'bačā
 ī šāh-ay jan a=k-ay-t besāb šāh-ay bač-ā
 PROX king-GEN wife VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG actually king-GEN son-OBL

'bokošī
 bo-koš-ī
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG

Now, the king's [new] wife intended to kill the king's son.

KS:17

zah'rā arē'čī 'mā xo'rākī ke
 zahr-ā a=rēč-ī mā xorāk-ī ke
 poison-OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3SG into food=PC.3SG CLM

'bokošīdī 'ī kor'rag akayt
 bo-koš-īd=ī ī korrag a=k-ay-t
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG PROX foal VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

je'loē a'sī ma'rō 'zahreš 'rētkā 'mā
 jelo=ē a=š-ī marō zahr=eš rētk-a mā
 in front of=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG today poison=PC.3PL pour.PST-PP into

xo'rākat xo'rākā 'mawa
 xorāk=at xorāk-ā ma-wa-Ø
 food=PC.2SG food-OBL PROH-eat.NPST-2SG

She poured poison into his food to kill him, [but] the (lit. this) foal came up to him, [and] said, “They have poured poison into your food today. Don't eat the food.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:18

a 'šī *xo 'rākā* *'mawa* *'tā* *'ā* *'rōč*
 a=š-ī xorāk-ā ma-wa-Ø tā ā rōč
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG food-OBL PROH-eat.NPST-2SG then DIST day

'zohrī *xo 'rākā* *ā 'nawā* *o* *dobā 'ra*
 zohr-ī xorāk-ā ā=na-wā-Ø =o dobāra
 noon-ADVZ food-OBL VCL=NEG-eat.NPST-3SG =and again

a 'raft *joğ 'la* *ma 'drasa* *wo* *a 'kay*
 a=raf-t joğla madrasa =wo a=k-ay-Ø
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG boy school =and VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

joğ 'laay *je 'lo* *be 'sāb* *hamo 'dān* *ke* *joğ 'la*
 joğla-ay jelo besāb ham=odān ke joğla
 boy-GEN in front of actually EMPH=there CLM boy

manen 'nā *boda* *'ya* *'čāhī* *'war*
 ma-nenn-ā bod-a ya čāh-ī war
 IMP-sit down.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP one well=IND PREV

akārī *čā 'hay* *tō 'xā* *'pore* *šam 'šīr* *o* *nay 'za*
 a=k-ār-īt čāh-ay tōxā por=e šamšīr =o nayza
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG well-GEN in full=EZ sword =and spear

akant *'ya* *gā 'lī* *ham* *aprē 'nī* *rū* *čā 'hā* *ke*
 a=kan-t ya gālī ham a=prēn-ī rū čāh-ā ke
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG one carpet ADD VCL=throw.NPST-3SG on well-OBL CLM

joğ 'la *'byay* *rūye* *gā 'līyā* *'benennī*
 joğla by-ay-Ø rū=ye gālī-yā be-nenn-ī
 boy SBJV-come.NPST-3SG on=EZ carpet-OBL SBJV-sit down.NPST-3SG

'bekaft *mā* *čā 'hā* *'bemerīt*
 be-kaf-ī mā čāh-ā be-mer-īt
 SBJV-fall.NPST-3SG into well-OBL SBJV-die.NPST-3SG

It said, “Don’t eat the food.” So, that day at noon, he didn’t eat the food. Again the boy went to school and [the foal] came up to the boy, you know. Right where the boy would [usually] sit [the king’s wife] dug a well and filled it with swords and spears. She also spread out a carpet over the well, for the boy to come, sit down on the carpet, fall into the well, [and] die.

KS:19

a 'šī *'xayle xob*
 a=š-ī xayle xob
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well

He said, “Very well!”

KS:20

dobā 'ra kor 'rag a 'kayt *je 'loē*
 dobāra korrag a=k-ay-t jelo=ē
 again foal VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG in front of=PC.3SG

a 'šī *rūye gā 'līyā* *'nanennay* *'ā*
 a=š-ī rū=ye gālī-yā na-nenn-ay ā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG on=EZ carpet-OBL NEG.SBJV-sit down.NPST-2SG EMPH

čē 'ray *'čāh en* *aka 'fay* *mā čā 'hā*
 čēray čāh =en a=kaf-ay mā čāh-ā
 under.PC.3SG well =COP.NPST.3SG VCL=fall.NPST-2SG into well-OBL

ame 'ray
 a=mer-ay
 VCL=die.NPST-2SG

So again the foal came up to him [and] said, “Hey, you shouldn’t sit down on the carpet. There is a well under it. You will fall into the well [and] die.”

KS:21

xolā 'sa šā 'hay *jan 'harēī* *maka 'nā* *boda*
 xolāsa šāh-ay jan harēī ma-kan-ā bod-a
 in short king-GEN wife whatever IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

'namatānā *boda* *'ē* *jo 'glā*
 na-ma-tān-ā bod-a ē joglā
 NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP PROX boy.OBL

'bokošt
 bo-koš-īt
 SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG

So, whatever the king’s wife did she couldn’t kill this boy.

4. Text Corpus

KS:22

'tā 'ye na'far a šā'hay ja'nā a'sīt ke
tā ye nafar a šāh-ay jan-ā a=š-īt ke
then one person to king-GEN wife-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM

'felānī
felān-ī
so and so-NOMZ

Then someone told the king's wife, "Hey there!"

KS:23

a'sīt 'bale
a=š-īt bale
VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes

She said, "Yes?"

KS:24

a'sīt 'ī ke ta 'namatānay 'ē
a=š-īt ī ke ta na-ma-tān-ay ē
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PROX CLM PN.2SG NEG-IMP-be able.NPST-2SG PROX

jōg'lā 'bokošay hām'mo 'ē kor'rag 'bahrī
jōglā bo-koš-ay hāmmo ē korrag bahr=ī
boy.OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG all PROX foal for=PC.3SG

maga'sa
ma-gaš-a
IMP-say.NPST-3SG

[That person] said, "The [reason] why you cannot kill this boy [is that] this foal is telling him everything.

KS:25

aga 'betānay 'ē kor'ragā 'bokošay
aga be-tān-ay ē korrag-ā bo-koš-ay
if SBJV-be able.NPST-2SG PROX foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

atā'nay šā'hay ba'čā ham 'bokošay
a=tān-ay šāh-ay bač-ā ham bo-koš-ay
VCL=be able.NPST-2SG king-GEN son-OBL ADD SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG

If you manage to kill the foal, you will be able to kill the king's son as well."

KS:26

a 'šī *'xayle xob*
 a=š-ī xayle xob
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well

She said, “Very well!”

KS:27

xolā 'sa a 'rapt *ba dok 'tore* *o 'ē* *wa 'dī*
 xolāsa a=rap-t ba doktor=e =o ē wad-ī
 in short VCL=go.NPST-3SG for doctor=IND =and PROX REFL-GEN

ba 'dane *a 'kant* *xā 'lī* *zardačū 'a*
 badan=e a=kan-t xālī zardačūa
 body=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG all over turmeric

So she went to a doctor and she rubbed turmeric on her whole body.

KS:28

zardačū 'a dok 'tor ham ke ma 'san pū 'lā *a 'dā*
 zardačūa doktor ham ke masan pūl-ā a=dā-Ø
 turmeric doctor ADD TOP in fact money-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3SG

āle 'mokā *a 'šī* *'bega* *korra 'gokay*
 ālem-ok-ā a=š-ī be-ga-Ø korrag-ok-ay
 wise man-DEF-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG foal-DEF-GEN

'hōn dar 'mān enī
 hōn darmān =en=ī
 blood cure =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

Turmeric; so the doctor, you know, she gave money to the doctor (lit. wise man) [and] said, “Say [that] the blood from the foal is its remedy.”

KS:29

a 'kay *a 'šīt* *ma 'nī* *dar 'mān*
 a=k-ay-Ø a=š-īt man-ī darmān
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN cure

korra 'gokay *'hōn en* *'šāh*
 korrag-ok-ay hōn =en šāh
 foal-DEF-GEN blood =COP.NPST.3SG king

She came [back] [and] said, “My remedy is the blood from the foal, [O] king.

4. Text Corpus

KS:30

kor'ragā bā'hā 'bokošay ta 'hōnī 'man
 korrag-ā bāhā bo-koš-ay ta hōn=ī man
 foal-OBL must SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG in order that blood=PC.3SG PN.1SG

'bekašān ba'danam 'xūb bān
 be-kaš-ān badan=am xūb Ø-b-ān
 SBJV-rub.NPST-1SG body=PC.1SG good SBJV-become.NPST-1SG

You must kill the foal, for me to rub its blood on my body [and] get well.”

KS:31

be xā'tere ke 'betānt kor'ragā 'bokošī šā'hay
 be xātere ke be-tān-t korrag-ā bo-koš-ī šāh-ay
 since SBJV-be able.NPST-3SG foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG king-GEN

ba'čā ham 'bokošī
 bač-ā ham bo-koš-ī
 boy-OBL ADD SBJV-kill.NPST-3SG

[She said this] in order to be able to kill the foal and also kill the king's son.

KS:32

xolā'sa 'hay 'šāh maga'sā boda
 xolāsa hay šāh ma-gaš-ā bod-a
 in short ITER king IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

'byā kor'ragā 'bokošen o 'bad 'bahre
 by-ā-Ø korrag-ā bo-koš-en =o bad bahr=e
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL =and then for=EZ

do'tay ba'danat o šān 'xūb en 'ē ham
 doī-ay badan=at =o šān xūb =en ē ham
 mother-GEN body=PC.2SG =and like this good =COP.NPST.3SG PROX ADD

'name'lā boda joğ'la ham rezā'yat
 na-m-el-ā bod-a joğla ham rezāyat
 NEG-IMP-let.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP boy ADD approval

'namadayā boda 'bokošant
 na-ma-day-ā bod-a bo-koš-ant
 NEG-IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

So, the king kept saying, “Come, let's kill the foal, like this, it is good for your mother's body, you know, it is good [for her].” But the boy didn't allow [this], he wouldn't consent to them killing [the foal].

KS:33

'ta 'ya 'rōčē nax'sa ārē'čant ke jōg'la 'ra
 ta ya rōč=ē naxša ā=rēč-ant ke jōgla ra-Ø
 until one day=IND plan VCL=pour.NPST-3PL CLM boy go.PST-3SG

madra'sa 'bokošantī
 madrasa bo-koš-ant=ī
 school SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

Then one day they made a plan that they would kill it when the boy went to school.

KS:34

a'sī 'xayle xob
 a=š-ī xayle xob
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well

He thought (lit. says), “Very well!”

KS:35

ī kor'rag am a'sīt ke ga'rār en
 ī korrag =am a=š-īt ke gārār =en
 PROX foal =ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM agreement =COP.NPST.3SG

ma'rō 'mārā 'bokošant
 marō mā-rā bo-koš-ant
 today PN.1PL-OBJ SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

Well, the foal told [the boy]: “The plan is for me to be killed (lit. that they kill us) today.

KS:36

'aga mara'we madra'sā awa'līn keš'nāē
 aga ma-raw-e madrasā awalīn kešnā=ē
 if IMP-go.NPST-2SG school.OBL first neighing.OBL=IND

'kaštom 'nayākay 'tā 'say keš'nā
 kašt=om nay-āk-ay tā say kešnā
 pull.PST=PC.1SG NEG-come.PST-2SG until three neighing.OBL

4. Text Corpus

'kaštom 'nayākay sewo 'mīyā dya ma 'nā
kašt=om nay-āk-ay sewomī-yā dya man-ā
pull.PST=PC.1SG NEG-come.PST-2SG third-OBL then PN.1SG-OBJ

koš 'tageš
košt-ag=eš
kill.PST-PP=PC.3PL

If you go to school, when I neigh for the first time, [if] you don't come [it is all right], [but if] you don't come by the time I neigh the third time, on the third one, then they [will] have killed me."

KS:37

'ē jōg 'la ham 'ya jībe 'porre 'noḡl akant
ē jōgla ham ya jīb=e porr=e noḡl a=kan-t
PROX boy ADD one pocket=PC.3SG full=EZ sweets VCL=do.NPST-3SG

'ya jībe ham 'porre 'fād ar 'ra madra 'sā
ya jīb=e ham porr=e fād ar=ra-Ø madrasā
one pocket=PC.3SG ADD full=EZ salt VCL=go.NPST-3SG school.OBL

So this boy filled one of his pocket with sweets [and] one with salt, [and] he went to school.

KS:38

kor 'rag a 'šī ba madra 'sā om ḡada 'ḡaneš
korrag a=š-ī ba madrasā =om ḡadaḡan=eš
foal VCL=say.NPST-3SG in school.OBL =ADD forbidden=PC.3PL

koda ke 'naylan ke 'byāay 'ā
kod-a ke naylor ke by-ā-ay ā
do.PST-PP CLM NEG.SBJV.let.NPST-3PL CLM SBJV-come.NPST-2SG EMPH

The foal said, "At school they have actually forbidden your coming [out of the school], you know."

KS:39

a 'šī akā 'yān 'mators
a=š-ī a=k-ā-yān ma-tors-Ø
VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG PROH-fear.NPST-2SG

xā 'teret 'jam
xāter=et jam
mind=PC.2SG gathered

[The boy] said, "I will come, don't be afraid, be reassured [of that]."

KS:40

xolā'sa ar'ra *madra'sa o* *behe'sāb*
 xolāsa ar=ra-Ø madrasa =o behesāb
 in short VCL=go.NPST-3SG school =and actually

akā'yant *kor'ragā 'bokošant*
 a=k-ā-yant korrag-ā bo-koš-ant
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL foal-OBL SBJV-kill.NPST-3PL

So he went to school and, well, they set out to kill the foal.

KS:41

kor'rag awa'līn keš'nā *ke a'dā* *joġ'la*
 korrag awalīn kešnā ke a=dā-Ø joġla
 foal first neighing.OBL CLM VCL=give.NPST-3SG boy

a'kay *'pād ay* *moa'lem*
 a=k-ay-Ø pād Ø-ay-Ø moalem
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-3SG teacher

a'sī *'benen*
 a=š-ī be-nen-Ø
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-sit down.NPST-2SG

When the foal neighed the first time, the boy was about to stand up. The teacher said, "Sit down!"

KS:42

xolā'sa anen'nī *do'mī keš'nā* *ke*
 xolāsa a=nenn-ī domī kešnā ke
 in short VCL=sit down.NPST-3SG second neighing.OBL CLM

aka'sī *joġ'la hara'kat* *akant*
 a=kaš-ī joġla harakat a=kan-t
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG boy movement VCL=do.NPST-3SG

So he sat down, [but] when it neighed the second time the boy took off (lit. makes movement).

4. Text Corpus

KS:43

bačē madrasa 'ī anen 'nī ran 'nay ke
 bač=e madrasa-ī a=nenn-ī rannay ke
 boy=EZ school-ADJZ VCL=set out.NPST-3SG after.PC.3SG CLM

'begīī
 be-g-īt=ī
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

The schoolboys set (lit. the schoolboy sets) out after him, to catch him.

KS:44

anen 'nī ran 'nay 'begīī 'ī ham
 a=nenn-ī rannay be-g-īt=ī ī ham
 VCL=set out.NPST-3SG after.PC.3SG SBJV-take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG PROX ADD

hara 'kat akant aw 'wal noġ 'lā 'pešk
 harakat a=kan-t awwal noġl-ā pešk
 movement VCL=do.NPST-3SG first sweets-OBL throwing

adā
 a=dā-Ø
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG

They set out after him, to catch him. But the boy took off and first he threw out the sweets.

KS:45

aw 'wal noġ 'lā 'pešk adāt
 awwal noġl-ā pešk a=dā-t
 first sweets-OBL throwing VCL=give.NPST-3SG

First he threw out the sweets.

KS:46

joġla 'bār akōš 'tant noġ 'lā 'gerd kanant
 joġla-bār a=k-ōšt-ant noġl-ā gerd Ø-kan-ant
 boy-PL VCL=IMP.k-stop.NPST-3PL sweets-OBL gathered SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

ē 'šān 'gerd akanant dobā 'ra anen 'nan
 ēš-ān gerd a=kan-ant dobāra a=nenn-an
 PROX-PL gathered VCL=do.NPST-3PL again VCL=sit down.NPST-3PL

ran 'nay mara 'san ame 'dā dobā 'ra fā 'dā 'pešk
 rannay ma-ras-an am=edā dobāra fād-ā pešk
 after.PC.3SG IMP-arrive.NPST-3PL EMPH=here again salt-OBL throwing

4. Text Corpus

KS:49

a bo 'wāay a 'šī 'bowā 'makošete
 a bowāay a=š-ī bowā ma-koš-et=e
 to father.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG father PROH-kill.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

'man 'hamī ī may 'dānā 'ya 'swārē
 man ham=ī ī maydān-ā ya swār=e
 PN.1SG EMPH=PROX PROX square-OBL one riding=IND

'bān 'ya 'dawre 'bejanān 'goddā
 Ø-b-ān ya dawr=e be-ĵan-ān goddā
 SBJV-become.NPST-1SG one turn=IND SBJV-hit.NPST-1SG then

'bokošī
 bo-koš-Ø=ī
 IMPV-kill.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

He said to his father, “Father, don’t kill it. Let me take a ride in this square, let me take a ride, then kill it.”

KS:50

'šāh ham a 'šī 'xayle xob daw'ray 'begeret
 šāh ham a=š-ī xayle xob dawray be-ger-et
 king ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well around.PC.3SG IMPV-take.NPST-2PL

'āgā daw'ray hal'gā 'bejanet 'rū 'harkasay
 āgā dawray halgā be-ĵan-et rū harkas-ay
 sir around.PC.3SG circle.OBL IMPV-hit.NPST-2PL on whoever-GEN

sa'rā ham kor'rag 'rapt āko 'šānī
 sar-ā ham korrag rapt-Ø ā=koš-ān=ī
 head-OBL ADD foal go.PST-3SG VCL=kill.NPST-1SG=PC.3SG

So the king said, “Very well, encircle him, sir, make a circle around him, [if] the foal jumps over somebody’s head, I will kill him (lit. I will kill anyone whose head the foal jumped over).”

KS:51

ba ba'čay a 'šī 'xayle xob 'swār
 ba bačay a=š-ī xayle xob swār
 to boy.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well riding

be ye 'dawre 'bejan 'goddā
 Ø-be-Ø ye dawr=e be-ĵan-Ø goddā
 IMPV-become.NPST-2SG one turn=IND IMPV-hit.NPST-2SG then

āko 'šenī
 ā=koš-en=ī
 VCL=kill.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

He told his son, “Very well, mount [the foal], take a ride; then we will kill it.”

KS:52

'āgā 'ē 'bačī ham 'swār abī o 'hay
 āgā ē bač=ī ham swār a=b-īt =o hay
 sir PROX son=PC.3SG ADD riding VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and hey

akant a rū šā 'hay sa 'rā kor 'rag 'mot
 a=kan-t a rū šāh-ay sar-ā korrag mot
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG from on king-GEN head-OBL foal jump

akant
 a=kan-t
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG

Sir, so his son mounted and urged the horse on. The foal jumped over the king's head.

KS:53

ar 'rant
 ar=r-ant
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL

[The boy and the horse] went.

KS:54

ar 'ra ya 'šahrī 'dyarā
 ar=ra-Ø ya šahr=ī dyar-ā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG one town=IND other-OBL

He went to another town.

4. Text Corpus

KS:55

ar'ra hamī 'iḡare šah'rā ke
 ar=ra-Ø ham=ī iḡar=e šahr-ā ke
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX here=EZ town-OBL CLM

ara'sī 'dya pīyā'da abīd o
 a=ras-ī dya pīyāda a=b-īd =o
 VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG then on foot VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and

ar'rapt 'ya 'moštī a 'ī kor'ragay yā'lā
 ar=rap-t ya mošt=ī a ī korrag-ay yāl-ā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG one handful=IND from PROX foal-GEN mane-OBL

a'dādī
 a=dā-d=ī
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

He went [and] when he arrived on the outskirts (lit. at this side) of the town, he dismounted and [the foal] went [its way]. [Beforehand] it gave him a handful of [hair from] its mane.

KS:56

kor'rag yā'lay 'yek 'kamī a'dā
 korrag yālay yek kam=ī a=dā-Ø
 foal mane.OBL.PC.3SG one little=IND VCL=give.NPST-3SG

a'sī har 'waxt 'saxtet bo 'yeye
 a=š-ī har waxt saxt=et bo-Ø yek=e
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG each time difficult=PC.2SG become.PST-3SG one=IND

a 'ē mūdo'bārā 'ās day ara'sān
 a ē mūd-obār-ā ās Ø-day-Ø a=ras-ān
 from PROX hair-PL-OBL fire IMPV-give.NPST-2SG VCL=arrive.NPST-1SG

The foal gave a little of its mane, [and] said, “Set fire to one of these hairs whenever you encounter a problem, and I will show up.”

KS:57

ar'raw 'iḡar e'dān šah'rā ham ke ar'ra
 ar=raw-Ø iḡar edān šahr-ā ham ke ar=ra-Ø
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG here here town-OBL ADD CLM VCL=go.NPST-3SG

a'sī ay čū'bān a'sī 'bale
 a=š-ī ay čūbān a=š-ī bale
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC shepherd VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes

4.4. Text 4: The King's Son

a 'šī *'yeke* *a* *'ī* *mēšo 'bārat*
 a=š-ī yek=e a ī mēš-obār=at
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG one=IND from PROX sheep-PL=PC.2SG

'beday *'man* *'bexarrām* *bo 'kānom*
 be-day-Ø man be-xarr-ām bokān=om
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1SG SBJV-buy.NPST-1SG want=PC.1SG

'bokošān *'yek* *'kame* *gōž 'day* *awa 'rān* *wa*
 bo-koš-ān yek kam=e gōžday a=war-ān wa
 SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG one little=IND meat.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=eat.NPST-1SG and

ko 'may *ham* *bo 'kānom* *'dīga* *bā 'kī* *hām 'mo* *'čī* *ba*
 komay ham bokān=om dīga bākī hāmmo čī ba
 stomach.OBL.PC.3SG ADD need=PC.1SG other remaining all thing for

'wadet
 wad=et
 REFL=PC.2SG

So he went his way [and] when he got to the town, there, he said, “hey shepherd,” [and the shepherd] said, “Yes?” [The boy] said, “Give me one of these sheep of yours to buy, I want to slaughter [it]. I will eat a little [of] its meat, and I also need its stomach, all the rest is yours.”

KS:58

'xob *čō 'bān* *ham* *mē 'šā* *bā 'hā* *akant* *'ē* *ham*
 xob čobān ham mēš-ā bāhā a=kan-t ē ham
 well shepherd ADD sheep-OBL selling VCL=do.NPST-3SG PROX ADD

ākošī *'ya* *'kamē* *gōž 'day* *am* *a 'wā*
 ā=koš-ī ya kam=ē gōžday =am a=wā-Ø
 VCL=kill.NPST-3SG one little=IND meat.OBL.PC.3SG =ADD VCL=eat.NPST-3SG

o *ī 'šī* *ko 'mā* *am* *az 'zo* *a 'bā*
 =o īš-ī komā =am az=zo-Ø a=bā-Ø
 =and PROX-OBL stomach.OBL =ADD VCL=take.NPST-3SG VCL=take.NPST-3SG

4. Text Corpus

o ašō 'dī ta 'mīs akant o aka 'šī
 =o a=šōd-ī tamīs a=kan-t =o a=kaš-ī
 =and VCL=wash.NPST-3SG nicely VCL=do.NPST-3SG =and VCL=pull.NPST-3SG

rū sa 'ray ke hā 'lā 'yānī 'man ka 'čal ān
 rū saray ke hālā yānī man kačal =ān
 on head.OBL.PC.3SG CLM now that is PN.1SG bald =COP.NPST.1SG

Well, so the shepherd sold the sheep, and the boy (lit. this one) slaughtered [it]. He ate a little of its meat, too, and also got its stomach, took and washed [it] [and] cleaned it and [then] he pulled it over his head to pretend that he was bald (lit. now, that means I am bald).

KS:59

ar 'rapt ara 'sī 'ya 'bāgīyā
 ar=rap-t a=ras-ī ya bāg-ī-yā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=arrive.NPST-3SG one garden=IND-OBL

agen 'nī 'ya pīre 'marde īdānā 'kō en pā 'kan
 a=genn-ī ya pīremard=e īdānākō =en pākan
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG one old man=IND right here =COP.NPST.3SG cleaning

makana o 'kār makana
 ma-kan-a =o kār ma-kan-a
 IMP-do.NPST-3SG =and work IMP-do.NPST-3SG

He went, [and] arrived in a garden. He saw [that] there was an old man there (lit. right here), digging and cleaning out [around the trees] and working.

KS:60

a 'šī 'ay pīre 'mard a 'šī 'bale
 a=š-ī ay pīremard a=š-ī bale
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC old man VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes

[The boy] said, “Hey there, old man!” [The old man] said, “Yes?”

KS:61

a 'šī *'man* *'hīčīm* *'nabokā* *bel*
 a=š-ī man hīčī=m na-bokā b-el-Ø
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG nothing=PC.1SG NEG-want IMPV-let.NPST-2SG

'hamī *'hadet* *'kār* *kanān* *'mozzom* *ham*
 ham=ī had=et kār Ø-kan-ān mozz=om ham
 EMPH=PROX by=PC.2SG work SBJV-do.NPST-1SG wages=PC.1SG ADD

'nabokā
 na-bokā
 NEG-want

He said, “I don’t want anything, [just] let me work here alongside you. I don’t even want a salary.

KS:62

fa 'ġat *'hamē* *'ya* *wa 'ragī* *'bahram*
 faġat ham=ē ya warag=ī bahr=am
 only EMPH=PROX one food=IND for=PC.1SG

Just [give] me something to eat.”

KS:63

a 'šī *'xayle* *xob* *'bebī* *'bīyā*
 a=š-ī xayle xob be-b-ī bīy-ā-Ø
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well SBJV-become.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

'kār *kan*
 kār Ø-kan-Ø
 work IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

[The old man] said, “Fine, very well. Come [and] work.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:64

'hamīdān hay 'kār makanīyand o 'kār
 ham=idān hay kār ma-kan-īy=and =o kār
 EMPH=here ITER work IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL =and work

makanī'yand boda 'tā 'ya 'ro... šā'hay
 ma-kan-īy=and bod-a tā ya ro šāh-ay
 IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL become.PST-PP then one day king-GEN

be'hesāb... ā ham šā'hay 'bāg boda
 behesāb ā ham šāh-ay bāg bod-a=Ø
 actually DIST ADD king-GEN garden become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

The kept on working there until one day... the king's you know.... It was actually the king's garden.

KS:65

'ya 'rō 'šāh o ī'sān akā'yant taf'rīyā mā
 ya rō šāh =o īs-ān a=k-ā-yant tafri-yā mā
 one day king =and PROX-PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL leisure-OBL into

'ē bā'gā tā 'šāh ham 'haf ja'nekī a
 ē bāg-ā tā šāh ham haf janek=ī a
 PROX garden-OBL then king ADD seven daughter=PC.3SG be.NPST.3SG

One day the king and his men (lit. they) came to this garden for leisure. The king had seven daughters, in fact.

KS:66

'šāh ham 'haf ja'nekī 'assen o 'xayle xo
 šāh ham haf janek=ī ass=en =o xayle xo
 king ADD seven daughter=PC.3SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG =and very well

xolā'sa taf'rī akanant o ar'rant ē ham
 xolāsa tafri a=kan-ant =o ar=r-ant ē ham
 in short leisure VCL=do.NPST-3PL =and VCL=go.NPST-3PL PROX ADD

'hamīdān 'kār makanā boda 'tā 'ya 'rō
 ham=idān kār ma-kan-ā bod-a tā ya rō
 EMPH=here work IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP then one day

4. Text Corpus

akanay fereš'ta mā 'ē bā'gā zor'rā
 a=kan-ay ferešta mā ē bāg-ā zorr-ā
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG angel in PROX garden-OBL turning-OBL

mawara
 ma-war-a
 IMP-eat.NPST-3SG

She saw, dear Lord! There was a rider on a horse in this garden, he was riding around, it was as if there was an angel riding around in this garden.

KS:70

'pas a mod'datī ākōš'tī ākōš'tī
 pas a modat=ī ā=k-ōšt-ī ā=k-ōšt-ī
 after time=IND VCL=IMP.k-stop.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-stop.NPST-3SG

agen'nī 'bale pīyā'da bo ar'raft o
 a=genn-ī bale pīyāda bo-Ø ar=raf-t =o
 VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes on foot become.PST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG =and

ī am 'āk ha'mā koma'okā 'kaštī
 ī =am āk-Ø ham=ā koma-ok-ā kašt=ī
 PROX =ADD come.PST-3SG EMPH=DIST stomach-DEF-OBL pull.PST=PC.3SG

sa'ray agen'nī 'hā ha'mā ka'čal en
 saray a=genn-ī hā ham=ā kačal =en
 head.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes EMPH=DIST bald =COP.NPST.3SG

ke mā bā'gaš 'kār makana
 ke mā bāgaš kār ma-kan-a
 CLM in garden.OBL.PC.3SG work IMP-do.NPST-3SG

After a while he stopped, he stopped. She saw that he got off [the horse]. She went [towards him] and he came [towards her] too. He pulled that stomach over his head. She saw [that] it was that bald [one] who worked in their garden.

KS:71

a'sī 'xayle 'xob
 a=š-ī xayle xob
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well

She said, "Very well."

KS:72

'tā xolā'sa 'rūzī rūze'gārī 'šāh a'sīt ke 'ay
 tā xolāsa rūz=ī rūzegār=ī šāh a=š-īt ke ay
 then in short day=IND time=IND king VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM VOC

'manī jāneko'bārom 'dya maz'zan boda
 man-ī jānek-obār=om dya mazzan bod-a=Ø
 PN.1SG-GEN daughter-PL=PC.1SG well big become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

o mo'gaye 'šū enī 'ā
 =o moğa=ye šū =en=ī ā
 =and time=EZ husband =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG EMPH

Well, it so happened that one day the king said, “Hey, my daughters, now you have (lit. she has) grown up and it is time to get married, you know!”

KS:73

ta'māme jōgla'bārā 'gerd akanant
 tamām=e jōgla-bār-ā gerd a=kan-ant
 all=EZ boy-PL-OBL gathered VCL=do.NPST-3PL

[So] they gathered all the boys.

KS:74

'yekī ya 'sībī am a'dant jāneko'bāray
 yek=ī ya sīb=ī =am a=d-ant jānek-obār-ay
 one=IND one apple=IND =ADD VCL=give.NPST-3PL daughter-PL-GEN

das'sā a'sant 'harka 'harčī bo'kā... 'har ko'domay
 dass-ā a=š-ant harka harčī bokā har kodom=ay
 hand-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3PL whoever whatever want each which=PC.3SG

bo'kānī go sībā be'jant mā jōgla'bāray sī'nā
 bokān=ī go sīb-ā be-ĵan-t mā jōgla-bār-ay sīnā
 want=PC.3SG with apple-OBL SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG in boy-PL-GEN chest.OBL

They also gave an apple each to the daughters. They said, “Whatever each one wants.... Whomever she wants, she should hit that boy in the chest (lit. in the chest of those boys) with the apple.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:75

xolā'sa ā 'šīš gā'hārī har ko'domī a'jant
xolāsa ā šīš gāhār=ī har kodom=ī a=jan-t
 in short DIST six sister=PC.3SG each which=PC.3SG VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

'yekē masa'lan mā wa'zīray ba'čay sī'nā xolā'sa 'harka
yek=ē masalan mā wazīr-ay bač-ay sīnā xolāsa harka
 one=IND for example in vizier-GEN boy-GEN chest.OBL in short whoever

ma'san pūldāro'bārā
masan pūldār-obār-ā
 in fact rich-PL-OBL

So, those six sisters of hers, each one of them (lit. her) hit [someone], one, for example, [hit] the vizier's son in the chest. In short, each one hit a rich person, you know.

KS:76

a'janant o ī 'kassānoēn ja'nek sī'bay
a=jan-ant =o ī kassān-o-ēn janek sībay
 VCL=hit.NPST-3PL =but PROX small-DIM-ATTR girl apple.OBL.PC.3SG

a'naprēnī
a=na-prēn-ī
 VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG

They hit [some boys], but this youngest girl didn't throw her apple.

KS:77

a'naprēnī hay maprē'nā boda
a=na-prēn-ī hay ma-prēn-ā bod-a
 VCL=NEG-throw.NPST-3SG ITER IMP-throw.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

bā'lād o maḡā'pā boda
bālād =o ma-ḡāp-ā bod-a
 up =and IMP-catch.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

She didn't throw it, she kept throwing it up [into the air] and catching it.

KS:78

'tā 'šāh a'sī 'byā 'dya 'kay
tā šāh a=š-ī by-ā-Ø dya kay
 then king VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG other who

mānta če'tar en a'san 'āḡā
mānt-a=Ø četar =en a=š-an āḡā
 remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG how =COP.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL sir

4.4. Text 4: The King's Son

ha 'mā ka 'čalī ke mā bā'ġat 'kār makana
 ham=ā kačal=ī ke mā bāġat kār ma-kan-a
 EMPH=DIST bald=IND CLM in garden.OBL.PC.2SG work IMP-do.NPST-3SG

ha 'mā mānta
 ham=ā mānt-a=Ø
 EMPH=DIST remain.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Then the king said, “Come [on], who else is left? What is the problem (lit. how is it)?” They said, “Sir, that bald [fellow] who is working in your garden, he is left.”

KS:79

a 'šī 'xo 'berret o 'ī am
 a=š-ī xo ber-r-et =o ī =am
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well IMPV-go.NPST-2PL =and PROX =ADD

'bīyāret
 bīy-ār-et
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL

The king said, “Well, go and bring him, too.”

KS:80

ar 'rant o 'ī am ākā 'rant o
 ar=r-ant =o ī =am ā=k-ār-ant =o
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL =and PROX =ADD VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL =and

'hamī ke ākā 'rant 'āġā kassāno 'ēn ja 'nek go
 hamī ke ā=k-ār-ant āġā kassān-o-ēn janek go
 as soon as VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL sir small-DIM-ATTR daughter with

sī 'bā a 'jant 'mā sī 'nay
 sīb-ā a=jan-t mā sīnay
 apple-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-3SG in chest.OBL.PC.3SG

They went and brought him as well, and as soon as they brought [him], sir, the youngest daughter hit him in the chest with the apple.

4. Text Corpus

KS:81

a'sant 'na ešte 'bāh boda o
a=š-ant na eštebāh bod-a=Ø =o
VCL=say.NPST-3PL no mistake become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and

fo'lān bī'sān četaw'rī 'āgā 'bāz ham sī'bā a'dan
folān bīsān četawrī āgā bāz ham sīb-ā a=d-an
so and so so and so how sir again ADD apple-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL

das'say 'bāz am a'ǰant
dassay bāz =am a=ǰan-t
hand.OBL.PC.3SG again =ADD VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

They said, “No, there has been a mistake, you know, how come?” Sir, again they gave her the apple [and] again she hit [him].

KS:82

a'sī 'xayle xob hā'lā ke 'dya bo'kānī
a=š-ī xayle xob hālā ke dya bokān=ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well now CLM well want=PC.3SG

'bedetī
be-d-et=ī
IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

[The king] said, “Very well, since she wants [him], give [her] to him.”

KS:83

'āṇa ye bīyā'bānī am ya 'lōge a'dant behe'sāb
āṇa ye bīyābān=ī =am ya lōg=e a=d-ant behesāb
there one desert=IND =ADD one house=IND VCL=give.NPST-3PL actually

ka'čal hamo'dān 'berra zenne'gī kant
kačal ham=odān ber-ra-Ø zennegī Ø-kan-t
bald EMPH=there SBJV-go.NPST-3SG life SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

They also gave [him] a house there, [in] an uninhabited place, you know, for the bald [fellow] to go there [and] live [with his wife].

KS:84

zenne 'gī kan 'goddā 'šāh a 'šīt 'ay
 zennegī Ø-kan-Ø goddā šāh a=š-īt ay
 life SBJV-do.NPST-3SG then king VCL=say.NPST-3SG VOC

dūmādo 'bārom 'bīyed 'berret še 'kāl o
 dūmād-obār=om bīyed ber-r-et šekāl =o
 son in law-PL=PC.1SG IMPV.come.NPST.2PL IMPV-go.NPST-2PL hunt =and

ī 'šān ba 'man
 īšān ba man
 like this for PN.1SG

To live [there]. Then the king said, “Hey my sons-in-law, come [and] go hunting, like this, for me.”

KS:85

hām 'mo ākā 'yant ar 'rant 'kassānoēn
 hāmmo ā=k-ā-yant ar=r-ant kassān-o-ēn
 all VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL VCL=go.NPST-3PL small-DIM-ATTR

ja 'nekī am a šū 'ay a 'šīt
 jānek=ī =am a šūay a=š-ī
 daughter=PC.3SG =ADD to husband.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'bīyā 'ta ham 'berra še 'kālā
 bīy-ā-Ø ta ham ber-ra-Ø šekāl-ā
 IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG ADD IMPV-go.NPST-2SG hunt-OBL

They all came, [and] they went [hunting]. So, the king's youngest daughter said to her husband, “Come [on], go hunting, you too.

KS:86

a bo 'wāyam ya 'aspī 'čēye 'bege
 a bowā=yam ya asp=ī čē=ye be-ge-Ø
 from father=PC.1SG one horse=IND thing=IND IMPV-take.NPST-2SG

'berra še 'kālā
 ber-ra-Ø šekāl-ā
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG hunt-OBL

Get a horse or something from my father [and] go hunting.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:87

ar'ra *'hade pedar'zanay* *'hade šā'hā*
 ar=ra-Ø had=e pedarzanay had=e šāh-ā
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ father in law.OBL.PC.3SG to=EZ king-OBL

a'šī *'man am bo'kānom 'berrān ī'šān*
 a=š-ī man =am bokān=om ber-r-ān īšān
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG =ADD want=PC.1SG SBJV-go.NPST-1SG like this

He went to his father-in-law, to the king, [and] said, “I want to go, too.”

KS:88

ya ga'tere 'laṇī a'dantī o ya
 ya gater=e laṇ=ī a=d-ant=ī =o ya
 one mule=EZ lame=IND VCL=give.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG =and one

xor'jīnī am aprē'nant 'rūyay a'šī
 xorjīn=ī =am a=prēn-ant rū=yay a=š-ī
 saddlebag=IND =ADD VCL=throw.NPST-3PL on=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

xo 'berra
 xo ber-ra-Ø
 well IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

They gave him a lame mule and threw a saddlebag onto it as well. [The king] said, “Well, go.”

KS:89

ar'rant o ar'ra ī kō'hā o a
 ar=r-ant =o ar=ra-Ø ī kōh-ā =o a
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL =and VCL=go.NPST-3SG PROX mountain-OBL =and from

ī kor'ragay mū'dā 'dūd adā
 ī korrag-ay mūd-ā dūd a=dā-Ø
 PROX foal-GEN hair-OBL smoke VCL=give.NPST-3SG

They went, and he went to this mountain and he set fire to [one] of this foal's hairs.

KS:90

'ās adā kor'rag a'kay 'hadī
 ās a=dā-Ø korrag a=k-ay-Ø had=ī
 fire VCL=give.NPST-3SG foal VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to=PC.3SG

a'sī bo'kānom 'harčī 'ens o 'jens en
 a=š-ī bokān=om harčī ens=o jens =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG want=PC.1SG whatever prey =COP.NPST.3SG

'kop kanay ī'dān
 kop Ø-kan-ay īdān
 gathered SBJV-do.NPST-2SG here

He set fire to it and the foal came to him. He said, “I want you to gather all the prey there is [in the forest] here.”

KS:91

ā'ī kor'rag am 'harčī boda še'kāl
 ā-ī korrag =am harčī bod-a=Ø šekāl
 DIST-GEN foal =ADD whatever become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG hunt

'ens 'jens 'kop akant hām'mo ī'dān
 ens jens kop a=kan-t hāmmo īdān
 prey gathered VCL=do.NPST-3SG all here

So his foal gathered all there was, all the prey there (lit. here).

KS:92

'kop akant ī'dān o tā 'ī šīš dū'mādī
 kop a=kan-t īdān =o tā ī šīš dūmād=ī
 gathered VCL=do.NPST-3SG here =and then PROX six son in law=PC.3SG

am 'harčī agar'dī agen'nī 'hīčī
 =am harčī a=gard-ī a=genn-ī hīčī
 =ADD however much VCL=go around.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG nothing

'gīr 'namāhā
 gīr na-māh-ā-Ø
 grip NEG-IMP-come.NPST-3SG

It gathered it there, so these six sons-in-law, you know, however much they (lit. he) went around, they saw [that] they got nothing (lit. nothing comes to grip).

4. Text Corpus

KS:93

ar 'rant 'say *akanant* 'ye 'jāī ta 'bah
 ar=r-ant say a=kan-ant ye jā=ī ta bah
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL looking VCL=do.NPST-3PL one place=IND MIR oh dear

'harčī 'ens o 'jens en 'hade ī čā 'derā 'kop
 harčī ens=o jens =en had=e ī čāder-ā kop
 whatever prey =COP.NPST.3SG by=EZ PROX tent-OBL gathered

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

They went [and] saw [that] in one place, oh my! All the prey there was [to be found] was gathered next to that (lit. this) tent.

KS:94

ākā 'yant 'hade ī 'šī a 'šant ke
 ā=k-ā-yant had=e īš-ī a=š-ant ke
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL to=EZ PROX-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM

'yekī a 'ī šekālo 'bārat 'yekī ya še 'kālī ham
 yek=ī a ī šekāl-obār=at yek=ī ya šekāl=ī ham
 one=IND from PROX prey-PL=PC.2SG one=IND one prey=IND ADD

'beday 'mā
 be-day-Ø mā
 IMPV-give.NPST-2SG PN.1PL

They came to him [and] said, “Give each one of us one of these items from your prey.”

KS:95

a 'šī a 'dānō 'walī be 'šartī ke
 a=š-ī a=d-ān=ō walī be šart=ī ke
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG=PC.2PL but to condition=IND CLM

'wadam sa 'ray 'boborrān
 wad=om saray bo-borr-ān
 REFL=PC.1SG head.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-cut.NPST-1SG

He said, “I will give [it to] you, but on the condition that I myself can slaughter it.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:99

a 'šī *'bībī* *ī* *am* *'wadī*
 a=š-ī bī-b-ī ī =am wad=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PROX =ADD REFL=PC.3SG

boda *xo*
 bod-a=Ø xo
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG well

He said, “Fine!” – Well, it was him.

KS:100

'ā *sā 'hat* *ko 'mā* *ā* *rū* *sa 'ray* *zor 'tay*
 ā sāhat komā a rū saray zort-ay
 DIST hour stomach.OBL from on head.OBL.PC.3SG take.PST-PP.PC.3SG

boda
 bod-a
 become.PST-PP

At that time (lit. hour), he had removed the stomach from his head, [you know]. –

KS:101

tā *'bad* *am* *ke* *lā 'šā* *ākā 'yant*
 tā bad =am ke lāš-ā ā=k-ā-yant
 then afterwards =ADD TOP carcass-OBL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

'bebarant *a 'šī* *na* *ī 'taw* *man*
 be-bar-ant a=š-ī na ītaw man
 SBJV-take.NPST-3PL VCL=say.NPST-3SG well this way PN.1SG

bā 'hāt en *ī* *lā 'šā* *madī 'yān* *šo 'mā*
 bāhāt=en ī lāš-ā ma-dī-yān šomā
 must=COP.NPST.3SG PROX carcass-OBL IMP-give.NPST-1SG PN.2PL

šo 'mārā *pa 'jāh* *'bīyārān* *a 'šī* *'četar* *'āgā*
 šomā-rā pajāh bīy-ār-ān a=š-ī četar āgā
 PN.2PL-OBJ recognizing SBJV-bring.NPST-1SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG how sir

Then, afterwards, they were coming to get the meat (lit. carcass) [from him]. He said, “No, I must [be able to] to recognize you, you know, after all (lit. this way) I am going to give you the meat.” They said, “How, sir?”

KS:102

'yekī 'ya 'mohrī 'hay a 'jant mā šā'nageš
 yek=ī ya mohr=ī hay a=jan-t mā šānag=eš
 one=IND one tattoo=IND ITER VCL=hit.NPST-3SG in shoulder=PC.3PL

He made (lit. hit) a tattoo on each one's shoulder.

KS:103

xolā'sa 'yekī 'ya 'mohre ama 'janteš o 'wel
 xolāsa yek=ī ya mohr=e a=ma-ĵan-t=eš =o wel
 in short one=IND one tattoo=IND VCL=IMP-hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL =and loose

adā akā'yant lāšo'bārā ham
 a=dā-Ø a=k-ā-yant lāš-obār-ā ham
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL carcass-PL-OBL ADD

a'dā ākā'rant
 a=dā-Ø ā=k-ār-ant
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

So, he made a tattoo on each one of them and let them go. They came, he gave [them] the meat [and] they brought [it].

KS:104

'wadī am a ran'nā 'swār abī ga'ter o...
 wad=ī =am a rannā swār a=b-ī gater =o
 REFL=PC.3SG =ADD from after riding VCL=become.NPST-3SG mule =and

'šalay o kallapā'ča o mallapā'ča
 šal=ay =o kallapāča =o mallapāča
 lame=PC.3SG =and head and trotters =and head and trotters

ākā'rī
 ā=k-ār-ī
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

He himself mounted his mule and... his lame [mule] afterwards, too, and brought the heads and trotters.

KS:105

ākā'rī 'šāmī ī šīš dū'mādī 'āgā
 ā=k-ār-ī šām-ī ī šīš dūmād=ī āgā
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG supper-ADVZ PROX six son in law=PC.3SG sir

'harēī gož'da apa'çant aba'rant ba
 harēī gōžd-a a=pač-ant a=bar-ant ba
 however much meat-OBL VCL=cook.NPST-3PL VCL=take.NPST-3PL for

4. Text Corpus

šā 'hā 'šāh 'hay mawa 'rā boda
šāh-ā šāh hay ma-war-ā bod-a
 king-OBL king ITER IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

maga 'šā boda 'ī ma 'zeī
ma-gaš-ā bod-a ī maze=ī
 IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP PROX taste=PC.3SG

'nē
nē
 NEG.be.NPST.3SG

He brought [it] [and] at supper these six sons-in-law, sir, however much they cooked the meat [and] took it to the king, the king kept eating [and] saying, “It has no taste.”

KS:106

'tā kassāno 'ēn ja 'nekī bah 'ray kallapā 'ča
tā kassān-o-ēn janek=ī bahr=ay kallapāča
 then small-DIM-ATTR daughter=PC.3SG for=PC.3SG head and trotters

āpa 'čī ākā 'rīt 'hay
ā=pač-ī ā=k-ār-īt hay
 VCL=cook.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG ITER

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

Then his youngest daughter made a head-and-trotter dish for him [and] brought [it in]. He kept refraining from eating [it].

KS:107

'namawarā boda 'janī
na-ma-war-ā bod-a jan=ī
 NEG-IMP-eat.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP wife=PC.3SG

a 'šī 'xo hā 'lā ja 'nek enet
a=š-ī xo hālā janek =en=et
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well now daughter =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

4.4. Text 4: The King's Son

ā'wortī *go'nāh en* *ya 'kamī am*
 āwort=ī gonāh =en ya kam=ī =am
 bring.PST=PC.3SG sin =COP.NPST.3SG one little=IND =ADD

'bō
 b-ō-Ø
 IMPV-eat.NPST-2SG

He didn't eat [it]. His wife said, "Well, she is your daughter [after all], she has brought it. Take pity on her (lit. she is pitiful) and eat just a little."

KS:108

'šāh ye 'kamī a'wā *agen'nī* *'xaylī am*
 šāh ye kam=ī a=wā-Ø a=genn-ī xaylī =am
 king one little=IND VCL=eat.NPST-3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG very =ADD

xošma'za en
 xošmaza =en
 delicious =COP.NPST.3SG

The king ate a little [and] realized (lit. sees) it was actually very tasty.

KS:109

šo'rū akant a'sī *'berra*
 šorū a=kan-t a=š-ī ber-ra-Ø
 beginning VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-go.NPST-2SG

'harčī pak'kaget *'bīyār*
 harčī pakk-ag=et bīy-ār-Ø
 however much cook.PST-PP=PC.2SG IMPV-bring.NPST-2SG

He got going [and] said, "Go [and] bring all (lit. however much) you have cooked."

KS:110

ākā'rid o a'wā *'šāh*
 ā=k-ār-īd =o a=wā-Ø šāh
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG =and VCL=eat.NPST-3SG king

She brought it and he ate, the king.

4. Text Corpus

KS:111

a'wā 'ē šš gā'hārī 'hay ā'ī reš'xan
a=wā-Ø ē šš gāhār=ī hay ā-ī rešxan
VCL=eat.NPST-3SG PROX six sister=PC.3SG ITER DIST-OBL ridiculing

maka'nā *boda* *maga'sā*
ma-kan-ā bod-a ma-gaš-ā
IMP-do.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP IMP-say.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda *īnūnū* 'āṇa ī'ṇaray 'begen
bod-a īnūnū āṇa īṇar=ay be-gen-Ø
become.PST-PP this and that there here=PC.3SG IMPV-see.NPST-2SG

šal'loēn *ga'teray* 'begen
šall-o-ēn gateray be-gen-Ø
lame-DIM-ATTR mule.OBL.PC.3SG IMPV-see.NPST-2SG

He ate [and] these six sisters kept ridiculing her. They said, “Look at him (lit. his here and there), look at his lame mule.”

KS:112

ē 'kassānoēn *gā'hārī* *nārā'hat* *abīt*
ē kassān-o-ēn gāhār=ī nārāhat a=b-īt
PROX small-DIM-ATTR sister=PC.3SG troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG

'šāmī *ar'ra* 'hade šū'ay
šām-ī ar=ra-Ø had=e šūay
supper-ADVZ VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ husband.OBL.PC.3SG

a'sī 'man *mazā'nān* 'ta *ka'čal*
a=š-ī man ma-zān-ān ta kačal
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG IMP-know.NPST-1SG PN.2SG bald

'nayay 'man *mazā'nān* 'ta 'kay
nay-ay man ma-zān-ān ta kay
NEG-COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG IMP-know.NPST-1SG PN.2SG who

ay *ī'sān* 'manā *reš'xan*
=ay īš-ān man-ā rešxan
=COP.NPST.2SG PROX-PL PN.1SG-OBJ ridiculing

maka'nayant
ma-kan-ay=ant
IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3PL

This youngest sister got sad, in the evening she went to her husband and said, “I know that you are not bald, I know who you are, they are ridiculing me.

KS:113

'man am 'dya taha 'molom nē 'bāyat 'wadat
 man =am dya tahamol=om nē bāyat wad=at
 PN.1SG =ADD more patience=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG must REFL=PC.2SG

no 'šen day
 nošen Ø-d-ay
 sign SBJV-give.NPST-2SG

I can't take it any longer, you must reveal yourself."

KS:114

a 'šī 'xayle xob
 a=š-ī xayle xob
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG very well

He said, "Very well!

KS:115

'sab kan em 'šaf a 'šān bā 'hād ċe 'taw
 sab Ø-kan-Ø emšaf a=š-ān bāhād ċetaw
 patience IMPV-do.NPST-2SG tonight VCL=say.NPST-1SG must how

bī
 Ø-b-ī
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

Wait, tonight I will tell you how things should be."

KS:116

xolā 'sa 'šāmī kor 'ragay mū 'dā 'dūd adā
 xolāsa šām-ī korrag-ay mūd-ā dūd a=dā-Ø
 in short supper-ADVZ foal-GEN hair-OBL smoke VCL=give.NPST-3SG

So that night he set fire to [one of] the foal's hairs.

KS:117

kor 'rag akay a 'šī bo 'kānom ya
 korrag a=k-ay-Ø a=š-ī bokān=om ya
 foal VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG want=PC.1SG one

'ğars o bār 'gāhī ī 'dān 'besāzay ke 'haf ta 'bağ
 ġars =o bārgāh=ī īdān be-sāz-ay ke haf tabağ
 palace =and royal court=IND here SBJV-make.NPST-2SG CLM seven storey

4. Text Corpus

ā šā'hay 'ġars o bār'gāhā bālād'ter
ā šāh-ay ġars =o bārgāh-ā bālād-ter
 DIST king-GEN palace =and royal court-OBL high-CMP

bīt

Ø-b-īt

SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

The foal came [and] he said, “I want you to build a palace here that is seven storeys higher than the king’s palace.”

KS:118

'āġā kor'rag am ya emā'ratī asā'zī ke 'haf
āġā korrag =am ya emārat=ī a=sāz-ī ke haf
 sir foal =ADD one building=IND VCL=make.NPST-3SG CLM seven

ta'baġ a šā'hay lō'gā bālād'ter
tabaġ a šāh-ay lōg-ā bālād-ter
 storey than king-GEN house-OBL high-CMP

Sir, the foal constructed a building that was seven storeys higher than the king’s palace (lit. house).

KS:119

'sōbī azīn'bū pād akay 'berra
sōb-ī azīnbū pād a=k-ay-Ø ber-ra-Ø
 morning-ADVZ muezzin foot VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

rū bū'nā a'zūnā 'begašī 'hamī ke 'čammī
rū būn-ā azūn-ā be-gaš-ī hamī ke čamm=ī
 on roof-OBL prayer call-OBL SBJV-say.NPST-3SG as soon as eye=PC.3SG

aka'fī be 'ē 'ġars o bār'gāhā be 'jāī ke
a=kaf-ī be ē ġars =o bārgāh-ā be jāī ke
 VCL=fall.NPST-3SG to PROX palace =and royal court-OBL instead of

'begašī al'lāho ak'bar a'šī al'lāh o 'haf
be-gaš-ī allāho akbar a=š-ī allāh =o haf
 SBJV-say.NPST-3SG Allah is greater VCL=say.NPST-3SG Allah =and seven

'marg

marg

death

In the morning, the *muezzin* got up to go on the roof and give the call to prayer. As soon as his eyes (lit. his eye) fell on this palace, instead of saying “Allah is greater,” he said, “Allah, damn it (lit. and seven deaths)!”

KS:120

'šāh a 'šī 'begereī ē pedarsūx 'tā
 šāh a=š-ī be-ger-et=ī ē pedarsūxtā
 king VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG PROX brat.OBL

'bīyāret jah 'lād 'bokošetī 'ī 'čī
 bīy-ār-et jahlād bo-koš-et=ī ī čī
 IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL down IMPV-kill.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG PROX what

a 'šī sōbī 'gāh
 a=š-ī sōbīgāh
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG morning time

The king said, “Catch him, the brat, bring him down [and] kill him. What is he saying [at this time] in the morning?”

KS:121

a 'šī tasal 'lox kan 'šāh 'say
 a=š-ī tasallox Ø-kan-Ø šāh say
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG mercy IMPV-do.NPST-2SG king looking

kan 'begen 'čī en īdānā 'kō
 Ø-kan-Ø be-gen-Ø čī =en īdānākō
 IMPV-do.NPST-2SG IMPV-see.NPST-2SG what =COP.NPST.3SG right here

'ē 'harkas en 'aga bo 'kānī bī
 ē harkas =en aga bokān=ī Ø-b-ī
 PROX whoever =COP.NPST.3SG if want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

'gōnet 'jaṅ kan nā 'būdet akant
 gōn=et jaṅ Ø-kan-Ø nābūd=et a=kan-t
 with=PC.2SG war SBJV-do.NPST-3SG annihilated=PC.2SG VCL=do.NPST-3SG

[The *muezzin*] said, “King, have mercy [on me], look [and] see what there is, right here. Whoever that (lit this) is, if he wants to go to war with you, he will destroy you.

KS:122

'har kārī bo 'kānī bī be 'kant
 har kār=ī bokān=ī Ø-b-ī be-kan-t
 each deed=IND want=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

a das 'say akayt
 a dassay a=k-ay-t
 from hand.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

He can do whatever he wants (lit. each deed he wants to do).

4. Text Corpus

KS:123

'ē īdāna 'kō ē 'šī ya ša 'fa sāx 'tagī 'ē
ē īdānakō ēš-ī ya šaf-a sāxt-ag=ī ē
PROX right here PROX-OBL one night-ADJZ make.PST-PP=PC.3SG PROX

'ġars o bār 'gāhā
ġars =o bārgāh-ā
palace =and royal court-OBL

He has built this right here in one night, this palace.”

KS:124

xolā 'sa 'šāh ham a 'kay bā 'lād o
xolāsa šāh ham a=k-ay-Ø bālād =o
in short king ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG up =and

agen 'nī 'bale
a=genn-ī bale
VCL=see.NPST-3SG yes

So the king came up as well and saw [that it was] indeed [like this].

KS:125

ya 'ġars o bār 'gāhī 'assan gaša 'gī
ya ġars =o bārgāh=ī assan gaš-ag-ī
one palace =and royal court=IND actually say.NPST-INF-ADJZ

'naen
na-en
NEG-COP.NPST.3SG

[There was] a palace [there] [that was] actually beyond description.

KS:126

a 'šī *'xo* *'berren* *'hadī* *o* *'harčēī*
 a=š-ī xo ber-r-en had-ī =o harče=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well SBJV-go.NPST-1PL to=PC.3SG =and whatever=PC.3SG

bo 'kān *'bahray* *'beden* *ke* *'ē* *nā 'būden*
 bokān bahr=ay be-d-en ke ē nābūd=en
 want for=PC.3SG SBJV-give.NPST-1PL CLM PROX annihilated=PC.1PL

akant

a=kan-t

VCL=do.NPST-3SG

He said, “Well, let’s go to him and give him whatever he wants, because [otherwise] he will destroy us.”

KS:127

ar 'rant *ar 'ran* *ta* *agen 'nant* *'bah* *ka 'čal*
 ar=r-ant ar=r-an ta a=genn-ant bah kačal
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL VCL=go.NPST-3PL until VCL=see.NPST-3PL oh dear bald

en *go* *ja 'nay* *īd 'ān* *'nešta*
 =en go janay īdān nešt-a=Ø
 =COP.NPST.3SG with wife.OBL.PC.3SG here sit down.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They went [and] went until they saw that, oh my! It was the bald [one] who was sitting there (lit. here) with his wife.

KS:128

a 'šī *'ta* *ē 'dān* *'čōn* *maka 'nagay*
 a=š-ī ta ēdān čōn ma-kan-ag=ay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG here how IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.2SG

a 'šī *'lōg* *ma 'nī* *en* *'ğars* *o*
 a=š-ī lōg man-ī =en ğars =o
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG house PN.1SG-GEN =COP.NPST.3SG palace =and

bār 'gāh *ma 'nī* *en*
 bārgāh man-ī =en
 royal court PN.1SG-GEN =COP.NPST.3SG

The king said, “What are you doing here?” He said, “The house is mine, the palace is mine.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:129

a 'šī 'xob ta 'kay ay a 'šī
a=š-ī xob ta kay =ay a=š-ī
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG who =COP.NPST.2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

man fe 'lān šā 'hay 'bač on
man felān šāh-ay bač =on
PN.1SG so and so king-GEN son =COP.NPST.1SG

[The king] said, “Well, who are you?” He said, “I am the son of king so-and-so.”

KS:130

a 'šī 'xo 'čēt bo 'kā
a=š-ī xo čī=et bokā
VCL=say.NPST-3SG well what=PC.2SG want

[The king] said, “Well, what do you want?”

KS:131

a 'šī man 'šiš naw 'kar 'assenom
a=š-ī man šiš nawkar ass=en=om
VCL=say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG six male servant be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

ī 'dān
īdān
here

He answered, “I have six servants here.

KS:132

ā 'kagon šiš naw 'karam fa 'gat
āk-ag=on šiš nawkar=am fağat
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG six male servant=PC.1SG only

'bīyay mā lō 'gam 'kār kanant
bīy-ay-Ø mā lōgam kār Ø-kan-ant
SBJV-come.NPST-3SG in house.OBL.PC.1SG work SBJV-do.NPST-3PL

I have only come for my six servants to come and work in my house.”

KS:133

a 'šī ke nawkaro 'bāret ne 'šānī 'nāmī
 a=š-ī ke nawkar-obār=et nešān=ī nām=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM male servant-PL=PC.2SG sign=IND name=IND

'a
 a
 be.NPST.3SG

The king said, “Do your servants have any sign, any name?”

KS:134

a 'šī 'hā 'yekī ya 'mohrī
 a=š-ī hā yek=ī ya mohr=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG yes one=IND one tattoo=IND

'asseneš
 ass=en=eš
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3PL

He said, “Yes, each one has a tattoo.”

KS:135

a 'šī četaw 'rī 'yānī
 a=š-ī četawī yānī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG how that is

[The king] said, “How do you mean?”

KS:136

a 'šī 'hamī ke a 'šān 'āgā
 a=š-ī ham=ī ke a=š-ān āgā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX CLM VCL=say.NPST-1SG sir

He said, “Just like I am saying, sir.

KS:137

'manī nawkaro 'bārom šš 'mohrī a mā
 man-ī nawkar-obār=om šš mohr=ī a mā
 PN.1SG-GEN male servant-PL=PC.1SG six tattoo=IND be.NPST.3SG in

ta 'ī 'šahren
 ta-ī šahr=en
 PN.2SG-GEN town=COP.NPST.3SG

My six servants each have a tattoo, they are (lit. he is) in your town.”

4. Text Corpus

KS:138

xolā'sa ākā'yant 'say akanant ta 'bale
xolāsa ā=k-ā-yant say a=kan-ant ta bale
 in short VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL looking VCL=do.NPST-3PL MIR yes

'šāhay šīs dū'mād 'yekī ya 'mohrī a
šāh-ay šīs dūmād yek=ī ya mohr=ī a
 king-GEN six son in law one=IND one tattoo=IND be.NPST.3SG

So they came and saw that indeed each of the king's sons-in-law had a tattoo.

KS:139

'šāh a'sī 'xob bā'hād 'berret ba ī'sī
šāh a=š-ī xob bāhād ber-r-et ba īš-ī
 king VCL=say.NPST-3SG well must SBJV-go.NPST-2PL for PROX-OBL

'bebed naw'kar o ka'nīz 'ē bo'kānī
be-b-ed nawkar =o kanīz ē bokān=ī
 SBJV-become.NPST-2PL male servant =and maidservant PROX want=PC.3SG

bīd nā'būden kant
Ø-b-īd nābūd=en Ø-kan-t
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG annihilated=PC.1PL SBJV-do.NPST-3SG

nā'būden akant
nābūd=en a=kan-t
 annihilated=PC.1PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG

The king said, “Well, you must go and become servants for him, because [if] he wants to destroy us, he will.”

KS:140

xolā'sa ī šīs be'rād... o ī šīs behe'sāb ham'rīš o
xolāsa ī šīs berād =o ī šīs behesāb hamrīš =o
 in short PROX six brother =and PROX six actually brother in law =and

šīs gā'hār ar'rant ba kassāno'ēn gā'hārā
šīs gāhār ar=r-ant ba kassān-o-ēn gāhār-ā
 six sister VCL=go.NPST-3PL for small-DIM-ATTR sister-OBL

a'bant ka'nīz o naw'kar
a=b-ant kanīz =o nawkar
 VCL=become.NPST-3PL maidservant =and male servant

So these six brothers... Actually, these six brothers-in-law and six sisters went and became the servants of the youngest sister.

4.4. Text 4: The King's Son

KS:141

hā' lā am 'dōssen 'bebī čō ha' mā
hālā =am dōss=en be-b-ī čō ham=ā
 now =ADD friend=PC.1PL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG like EMPH=DIST

šā' hay ba' čā doš' manen am 'bebī čō
šāh-ay bač-ā došman=en =am be-b-ī čō
 king-GEN boy-OBL enemy=PC.1PL =ADD SBJV-become.NPST-3SG like

ha' mā šīš nawka' rā
ham=ā šīš nawkar-ā
 EMPH=DIST six male servant-OBL

Now, may our friend experience what the king's son did and our enemy what the six servants experienced.

4. Text Corpus

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

Dāstānay Dāstān
The Story of Dastan
recounted by Mahtalat Samsanian

SD:1

'xo besmel 'lāhe rah 'māne ra 'hīm
xo besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm
well in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful

Well, in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

SD:2

ba šo 'mā bo 'kānom tah 'rīf kanān maša 'dī dās 'tānī
ba šomā bokān=om tahrīf Ø-kan-ān mašadī dāstān-ī
for PN.2PL want=PC.1SG account SBJV-do.NPST-1SG Mashhadi Dastan-GEN

tah 'rīfā ham 'wadī dās 'tān en 'nāmī
tahrīf-ā ham wad=ī dāstān =en nām=ī
account-OBL ADD REFL=PC.3SG story =COP.NPST.3SG name=PC.3SG

dās 'tān en ham dās 'tānāy 'begašān
dāstān =en ham dāstānāy be-gaš-ān
Dastan =COP.NPST.3SG ADD story.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-say.NPST-1SG

bah 'rō
bahr=ō
for=PC.2PL

I want to tell you the story of Mashhadi Dastan. She herself was [called] Dastan, her name was [Dastan, which means “story”], [and] I should also tell you her story.

SD:3

dās 'tān az 'ī darašo 'līay ja 'nekā boda
dāstān az ī darašolī-ay janek-ā bod-a=Ø
Dastan from PROX Darreshuri-GEN girl-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

darašo 'lī ja 'nekā boda
darašolī janek-ā bod-a=Ø
Darreshuri girl-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Dastan was a girl from the [Turkish] Darreshuri [tribe], she was a Darreshuri girl.

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

SD:4

ya be'rāde ham 'boday 'nāmī sar'mas
 ya berād=e ham bod-ay nām=ī sarmas
 one brother=IND ADD become.PST-PP.PC.3SG name=PC.3SG Sarmas

boda

bod-a=Ø

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

She had a brother, too, whose name was Sarmas.

SD:5

maša'ī ho'sayn am ko'roš boda
 mašaī hosayn =am koroš bod-a=Ø
 Mashhadi Hosayn =ADD Korosh become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Now, Mashhadi Hosayn was a Korosh.

SD:6

e'shān... maša'ī e'shān ko'rošay fā'mīl
 eš-ān mašaī eš-ān koroš-ay fāmīl
 PROX-PL Mashhadi PROX-PL Korosh-GEN family

boda

bod-a=Ø

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG *'ā ham a darašo'līay fā'mīlā*
 ā ham a darašolī-ay fāmīl-ā
 DIST ADD from Darreshuri-GEN family-OBL

boda

bod-a=Ø

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

They... Mashhadi [and] his people (lit. they) were a Korosh family and those [other ones] were from a Darreshuri family.

SD:7

'ē ho'sayn a'mū 'mawgeī mara'wā boda gō
 ē hosayn amū mawgeī ma-raw-ā bod-a gō
 PROX Hosayn uncle when IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP with

xā'nā mara'wā boda gō as'pā
 xān-ā ma-raw-ā bod-a gō asp-ā
 khan-OBL IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP with horse-OBL

mara'wēn boda oš'teray xa'ragā
 ma-raw-ēn bod-a ošter-ay xarag-ā
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP camel-GEN buying-OBL

4. Text Corpus

'hamī sarka 'šī mē 'dagā 'āṇa 'īṇa be har sū 'rat
 ham=ī sarkašī mēdag-ā āṇa īṇa be har sūrat
 EMPH=PROX visiting encampment-OBL there here anyway

ar 'rant 'ya rō darašo 'līay mē 'dagā ya... hām 'mo...
 ar=r-ant ya rō darašōlī-ay mēdag-ā ya hāmmo
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL one day Darreshuri-GEN encampment-OBL one all

ya ban 'neye xo 'dāī e 'šī a 'šī ke tā 'rof
 ya banne=ye xodā=ī eš-ī a=š-ī ke tārof
 one servant=EZ God=IND PROX-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM politeness

kan as 'pay age 'rant ho 'saynī
 Ø-kan-Ø aspay a=ger-ant hosayn-ī
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG horse.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-3PL Hosayn-GEN

as 'pā age 'rant ho 'saynī as 'pā 'bebannan
 asp-ā a=ger-ant hosayn-ī asp-ā be-bann-an
 horse-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3PL Hosayn-GEN horse-OBL SBJV-tie.NPST-3PL

'jāye xā 'nā
 jā=ye xān-ā
 place=EZ khan-OBL

This Uncle Hosayn, when he would go with the khan – he used to go with [his] horse, they were going to buy camels, to visit the encampment, and things like that. In any case, one day they went to the Darreshuri encampment. One... all... a fellow (lit. servant of God) said, “Invite him.” They took his horse, they took Hosayn’s horse to tie it up, instead of the khan[’s horse].

SD:8

ho 'sayn ma 'šī ho 'sayn ešā 'ra akant ke 'ā 'xān
 hosayn mašī hosayn ešāra a=kan-t ke ā xān
 Hosayn Mashhadi Hosayn sign VCL=do.NPST-3SG CLM DIST khan

en 'man 'xān 'nayān
 =en man xān nay-ān
 =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG khan NEG-COP.NPST.1SG

Hosayn, Mashhadi Hosayn pointed out, “The other man is the khan, I am not the khan.

SD:9

ā 'šī as 'pā 'begeret 'bebannet
āšī asp-ā be-ger-et be-bann-et
 DIST.OBL horse-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL IMPV-tie.NPST-2PL

Take [and] tie up his horse.”

SD:10

a 'šant xo ta... de 'ya na ra 'šīd
a=š-ant xo ta deya na rašīd
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL well PN.2SG well since tall

bodagen o ġa 'šaŋ boda
bod-ag=en =o ġašaŋ bod-a=Ø
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and beautiful become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

e 'šān ba 'xāleš 'hamī 'ē 'xān en
eš-ān ba xāl=eš ham=ī ē xān =en
 PROX-PL to thought=PC.3PL EMPH=PROX PROX khan =COP.NPST.3SG

They said, “Well, you...” You know, since he was tall and handsome, they thought (lit. to their thought) he was the khan.

SD:11

a 'šīt ke 'ta ho ġašaŋ 'ter ay
a=š-īt ke ta ho ġašaŋ-ter =ay
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG TOP beautiful-CMP =COP.NPST.2SG

rašīd 'ter ay a xā 'nā
rašīd-ter =ay a xān-ā
 tall-CMP =COP.NPST.2SG from khan-OBL

[Someone] said, “Well, you are more handsome [and] taller than the khan.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:12

a 'šī *hā 'lā 'man* *rašīd 'ter ān* *be har sū 'rat*
 a=š-ī hālā man rašīd-ter =ān be har sūrat
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG now PN.1SG tall-CMP =COP.NPST.1SG anyway

'ā *'xān en* *ā 'šī* *as 'pā* *'begeret*
 ā xān =en āšī asp-ā be-ger-et
 DIST khan =COP.NPST.3SG DIST.GEN horse-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL

'bebannet
 be-bann-et
 IMPV-tie.NPST-2PL

He said, “Well, even if (lit. now) I am taller, anyway, he is the khan, take and tie up his horse.”

SD:13

'xob ēdānā 'kō ya dā 'zane *a 'zay* *'fašī*
 xob ēdānākō ya dāzan=e az=ay faš=ī
 well right here one woman=IND from=PC.3SG happy=PC.3SG

akay *e 'šān* *ja 'neke* *ham*
 a=k-ay-Ø eš-ān janek=e ham
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG PROX-PL daughter=IND ADD

boda *ke* *'hamī* *a 'bī*
 bod-a=Ø ke ham=ī a=b-ī
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM EMPH=PROX VCL=become.NPST-3SG

maša 'dī *dās 'tānī* *dō 'ī*
 mašadī dāstān-ī dōī
 Mashhadi Dastan-GEN mother

Well, there and then, a woman happened to like him, you know. She had a girl as well; she was the mother of Mashhadi Dastan.

SD:14

a ka'nīzay a'sī tā'rof kan
 a kanīzay a=š-ī tārof Ø-kan-Ø
 to maidservant.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG politeness IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

ta 'byayt tō'xā ya 'čāhē 'āfe ban'neye
 ta by-ay-t tōxā ya čāh=ē āf=e banne=ye
 in order that SBJV-come.NPST-3SG in one tea=IND water=IND servant=EZ

xo'dā 'bwā ā'dame 'xūbī en
 xodā b-wā-Ø ādam=e xūb=ī =en
 God SBJV-drink.NPST-3SG human being=EZ good=IND =COP.NPST.3SG

She said to her maidservant, “Invite the fellow to come in [and] have a [cup of] tea, [some] water, he is a good person.”

SD:15

kanī'zok ham a'kayt tā'rofe
 kanīz-ok ham a=k-ay-t tārof=e
 maidservant-DEF ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG politeness=PC.3SG

akant 'ē ham 'bade a'nayay
 a=kan-t ē ham bad=e a=nay-ay-Ø
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG PROX ADD bad=PC.3SG VCL=NEG-come.NPST-3SG

ar'ra anen'nīd o 'āfe 'čāhē
 ar=ra-Ø a=nenn-īd =o āf=e čāh=ē
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=sit down.NPST-3SG =and water=IND tea=IND

ha'mī maša'dī dās'tānī dō'ī 'gōnī ma'zāg
 ham=ī mašadī dāstān-ī dōī gōn=ī mazāg
 EMPH=PROX Mashhadi Dastan-GEN mother with=PC.3SG joke

akan mazā'gī 'gapā mājā'nā
 a=kan-Ø mazāg-ī gap-ā ma-ja-n-ā
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG joke-ADJZ word-OBL IMP-hit.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda o e'sān
 bod-a =o ešān
 become.PST-PP =and like this

So the maidservant came [and] invited him. He didn't dislike [the idea], he went [and] sat down and [had] some water and tea. Mashhadi Dastan's mother was joking with him, she was telling jokes, you know.

4. Text Corpus

SD:16

'tā ē 'šān ha 'mōdān hamde 'garā bo 'kāneš
 tā ēš-ān ham=ōdān hamdegar-ā bokān=eš
 then PROX-PL EMPH=there each other-OBL want=PC.3PL

a 'bī haḡī 'gat maša 'dī dās 'tān 'wad o a 'mū ho 'sayn
 a=bī-Ø haḡīgat mašadī dāstān wad =o amū hosayn
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG in fact Mashhadi Dastan REFL =and uncle Hosayn

hamde 'garā bo 'kāneš a 'bī 'wale 'mā de 'lā
 hamdegar-ā bokān=eš a=b-ī wale mā del-ā
 each other-OBL want=PC.3PL VCL=become.NPST-3SG but in heart-OBL

So, there and then they came to like (lit. want) each other. Actually, Mashhadi Dastan herself and Hosayn liked (lit. wanted) each other but [only] in secret (lit. in heart).

SD:17

'tā 'ya 'rō ja 'nek a 'zay a 'šī ke 'man ā 'šeḡe
 tā ya rō janek az=ay a=š-ī ke man āšēḡ=e
 then one day girl to=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG in love=EZ

ta bodagān a 'mū ho 'sayn ha 'mī
 ta bod-ag=ān amū hosayn ham=ī
 PN.2SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG uncle Hosayn EMPH=PROX

a 'šī ke 'man ham ha 'mī ā 'šeḡe 'ta
 a=š-ī ke man ham ham=ī āšēḡ=e ta
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG ADD EMPH=PROX in love=EZ PN.2SG

bodagān
 bod-ag=ān
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

Then, one day, the girl said to him, “I have fallen in love with you.” At that point Uncle Hosayn said, “I have fallen in love with you as well.”

SD:18

ē 'dān ā 'mū ho 'sayn a 'šī 'xo 'ta ba 'hā ba
 ēdān amū hosayn a=š-ī xo ta bahā ba
 here uncle Hosayn VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2SG must to

bo 'wāyat dō 'tat ba mē 'dagat 'begašay
 bowā=yat dōī=at ba mēdag=at be-gaš-ay
 father=PC.2SG mother=PC.2SG to encampment=PC.2SG SBJV-say.NPST-2SG

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

ta *'man* *'goddā* *'bīyān* *xāsegā' rī* *hā' lā*
 ta man goddā biyān xāsegārī hālā
 in order that PN.1SG then SBJV.come.NPST.1SG marriage proposal now

'man *ya* *ā' dame* *āborū' manne* *ān*
 man ya ādam=e āborūmann=e =ān
 PN.1SG one human being=EZ respectable=IND =COP.NPST.1SG

'bīyān *xāsegā' rī* *ta' ī* *'dōī* *bo' wā*
 biyān xāsegārī ta-ī dōī bowā
 SBJV.come.NPST.1SG marriage proposal PN.2SG-GEN mother father

'nadāt *a* *'man* *a' šant* *ko' roš*
 na-dāt-Ø a man a=š-ant koroš
 NEG-give.PST-3SG to PN.1SG VCL=say.NPST-3PL Korosh

Then (lit. here) Uncle Hosayn said, “Well, you must tell your father, your mother, your people (lit. encampment), so that I can then come and propose. Well, I am a respectable person. [It could happen that] I come to propose [and] your mother [and] father don’t give you [to me] and call me ‘Korosh’.

SD:19

šo' mā *ham* *dara' šolī* *et* *'šāya* *ba* *'man* *ja' nekā*
 šomā ham darašolī =et šāya ba man janek-ā
 PN.2PL ADD Darreshuri =COP.NPST.2PL maybe to PN.1SG girl-OBL

'nadant
 na-d-ant
 NEG.SBJV-give.NPST-3PL

You are Darreshuri.” [He thought,] “Maybe they won’t give the girl to me.”

SD:20

'xo *ja' nek* *a' šī* *'bebī* *az* *bo' wāem*
 xo janek a=š-ī be-b-ī az bowā=em
 well girl VCL=say.NPST-3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG to father=PC.1SG

a' šān *a* *dō' tam* *a' šān* *ta* *ba*
 a=š-ān a dōī=am a=š-ān ta ba
 VCL=say.NPST-1SG to mother=PC.1SG VCL=say.NPST-1SG in order that to

bo' wāem *a* *berādo' bāram* *'begašī*
 bowā=em a berād-obār=am be-gaš-ī
 father=PC.1SG to brother-PL=PC.1SG SBJV-say.NPST-3SG

Well, the girl said, “Fine, I will tell my father, I will tell my mother so she can tell my father [and] my brothers.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:21

'xo ja'nek a'sī a bo'wā... dō'īay
 xo janek a=š-ī a bowā dōīay
 well girl VCL=say.NPST-3SG to father mother.OBL.PC.3SG

dō'īay ham a'sī ā'dame 'xūbī
 dōīay ham a=š-ī ādam=e xūb=ī
 mother.OBL.PC.3SG ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG human being=EZ good=IND

en ke aga bo'wāay... bo'wāet 'bedād
 =en ke aga bowā=ay bowā=et be-dā-d
 =COP.NPST.3SG CLM if father=PC.3SG father=PC.2SG SBJV-give.NPST-3SG

ā'dame 'xūbī en ban'neye xo'dā
 ādam=e xūb=ī =en banne=ye xodā
 human being=EZ good=IND =COP.NPST.3SG servant=EZ God

Well, the girl told her fath... her mother, and her mother said, “He is a nice person; if your father gives [you to him], he is a nice person, that fellow.”

SD:22

'xo ja'nekā om... ja'nekay dō'ī ba bo'wāay
 xo janek-ā =om janek-ay dōī ba bowāay
 well girl-OBL =ADD girl-GEN mother to father.OBL.PC.3SG

a'sīd o bo'wāay a'sī ā'dame
 a=š-īd =o bowā=ay a=š-ī ādam=e
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG =and father=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG human being=EZ

'xūbī en 'wale 'hayf ke ko'roš en
 xūb=ī =en wale hayf ke koroš =en
 good=IND =COP.NPST.3SG but alas CLM Korosh =COP.NPST.3SG

Well, the girl... the girl's mother told her father and her father said, “He is a nice person, but too bad that he is Korosh.”

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

SD:23

a 'šī *'xob hā 'lā ā 'dame* *'xūbī* *en*
 a=š-ī xob hālā ādam=e xūb=ī =en
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well now human being=EZ good=IND =COP.NPST.3SG

a 'denī *ja 'nekā* *hā 'lā as fām 'īlayn* *o*
 a=d-en=ī janek-ā hālā as fāmīlayn =o
 VCL=give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG daughter-OBL now from family.OBL.PC.1PL =and

as āṅa īṅa 'šawr *akanen* *a 'denī*
 as āṅa īṅa šawr a=kan-en a=d-en=ī
 from there here consultation VCL=do.NPST-1PL VCL=give.NPST-1PL=PC.3SG

He said, “Well, since he is a nice man, we will give [our] daughter to him, now we will consult with our relatives and others, [then] we will give her.”

SD:24

'xo ja 'nekā be har sū 'rat ākā 'yant *xāsegā 'rī*
 xo janek-ā be har sūrat ā=k-ā-yant xāsegārī
 well girl-OBL anyway VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL marriage proposal

o ja 'nekā a 'dant *a 'mū ho 'sayn o a 'mū ho 'sayn...*
 =o janek-ā a=d-ant amū hosayn =o amū hosayn
 =and girl-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL uncle Hosayn =and uncle Hosayn

ham ākā 'yan *bāš 'loḡay* *abor 'rant*
 ham ā=k-ā-yan bāšloḡay a=borr-ant
 ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL bridal gift.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=cut.NPST-3PL

o ākā 'yan *ga 'pā* *aṅa 'nant*
 =o ā=k-ā-yan gap-ā a=jan-ant
 =and VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL word-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-3PL

bāš 'loḡay *abor 'rant* *be har sū 'rat oš 'tor o hay 'wān*
 bāšloḡay a=borr-ant be har sūrat oštor =o haywān
 bridal gift.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=cut.NPST-3PL anyway camel =and animal

o e 'šān 'walme a 'zaš *age 'ran* *be xā 'tere ke*
 =o eš-ān walm=e az=aš a=ger-an be xātere ke
 =and PROX-PL much=IND from=PC.3PL VCL=take.NPST-3PL since

a 'san ham ya xor 'da... fā 'mīle *ko 'roš*
 asan ham ya xorda fāmīl=e koroš
 actually ADD a little family=PC.3SG Korosh

4. Text Corpus

bodagen *o* *ā 'šān* *ham* *'tork*
 bod-ag=en =o āšān ham tork
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG =and DIST.PL ADD Turk

bodagan *hay 'wāne* *'walme* *age 'ran*
 bod-ag=en haywān=e walm=e a=ger-an
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL animal=EZ much=IND VCL=take.NPST-3PL

o 'store *'walme* *a 'zaš* *age 'ran*
 oštor=e walm=e az=aš a=ger-an
 camel=EZ much=IND from=PC.3PL VCL=take.NPST-3PL

Well, anyway, they came for the proposal and they gave the girl to Uncle Hosayn and.... So Uncle Hosayn... they also came and decided (lit. cut) the bridal gift and they came [and] talked and agreed on the bridal gift. In any case, they took a lot of camels and [other] animals and the like from them (i.e., Hosayn's family) because he was a bit... his family was Korosh and they were Turks (i.e. a Turkic speaking group in Iran). They took a lot of animals, they took a lot of camels from them.

SD:25

xo *e 'šān...* *hā 'lā* *'nazānān* *xo 'dāyā* *'šīš* *'māh* *'tūl*
 xo eš-ān hālā Ø=na-zān-ān xodā-yā šīš māh tūl
 well PROX-PL now VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG God-VOC six month length

akašī *yā* *ke* *'yek* *'sāl*
 a=kaš-ī yā ke yek sāl
 VCL=pull.NPST-3SG or CLM one year

Well they.... I do not remember (lit. know) now, dear God, [if] it took six month or one year.

SD:26

be har sū'rat *a 'mū* *ho 'sayn* *rah 'mate* *xo 'dā* *ar 'ra* *ma 'rīz*
 be har sūrat amū hosayn rahmat=e xodā ar=ra-Ø marīz
 anyway uncle Hosayn mercy=EZ God VCL=go.NPST-3SG ill

abī *rah 'mate* *xo 'dā* *ar 'raft*
 a=b-ī rahmat=e xodā ar=raf-t
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG mercy=EZ God VCL=go.NPST-3SG

In any case, Uncle Hosayn passed away (lit. went in God's mercy), he got sick, he passed away.

SD:27

<i>e 'šān</i>	<i>de 'ya</i>	<i>'hāmmo</i>	<i>ke...</i>	<i>e 'šān</i>	<i>ar 'ran</i>	<i>mē 'dag</i>	
eš-ān	deya	hāmmo	ke	eš-ān	ar=r-an	mēdag	
PROX-PL	well	all	CLM	PROX-PL	VCL=go.NPST-3PL	encampment	
<i>ar 'raft</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a 'kay</i>		<i>'goday</i>	<i>ā 'šān</i>	<i>kā 'kol</i>	
ar=raf-t	=o	a=k-ay-Ø		god=ay	āšān	kākol	
VCL=go.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		after=EZ	DIST.PL	Kakol	
<i>a 'mū</i>	<i>a 'kay</i>		<i>a 'šant</i>	<i>'xo</i>			
amū	a=k-ay-Ø		a=š-ant	xo			
uncle	VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG		VCL=say.NPST-3PL	well			
<i>'bīyā</i>	<i>'berren</i>	<i>ba ta 'labayn</i>	<i>yā ke</i>				
bīy-ā-Ø	ber-r-en	ba talabayn	yā ke				
IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	for claim.OBL.PC.1PL	or CLM				
<i>'berren</i>	<i>'mennen</i>	<i>ja 'nekā</i>	<i>a 'danten.</i>				
ber-r-en	m-enn-en	janek-ā	a=d-ant=en				
SBJV-go.NPST-1PL	SBJV-see.NPST-1PL	girl-OBL	VCL=give.NPST-3PL=PC.1PL				

Well, they all... they went. The encampment went [on their seasonal migration] and came [back]. After that, [Uncle Hosayn's brother] Uncle Kakol came. They said, "Well, come, let's go for our claim (i.e., to get the bridal gift back) or go [and] see [if] they give us the girl."

SD:28

<i>'xo</i>	<i>kā 'kol</i>	<i>a 'mū</i>	<i>'wadī</i>	<i>ar 'raft</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a 'šī</i>	
xo	kākol	amū	wad=ī	ar=raf-t	=o	a=š-ī	
well	Kakol	uncle	REFL=PC.3SG	VCL=go.NPST-3SG	=and	VCL=say.NPST-3SG	
<i>'mā</i>	<i>haġī 'gat</i>	<i>āk 'kayen</i>		<i>yā ba ta 'labayn</i>	<i>yā</i>		
mā	haġīgat	ākk-ay=en		yā ba talabayn	yā		
PN.1PL	in fact	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL		or for claim.OBL.PC.1PL	or		
<i>ba</i>	<i>ja 'nekā</i>						
ba	janek-ā						
for	girl-OBL						

Well, Uncle Kakol himself went [there] and said, "Actually, I (lit. we) have come either for my (lit. our) claim or for the girl."

4. Text Corpus

SD:29

a 'šan ja 'nekā ba 'kay bo 'kānet a 'šī ba
 a=š-an janek-ā ba kay bokān=et a=š-ī ba
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL girl-OBL for who want=PC.2SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG for

'wadam
 wad=om
 REFL=PC.1SG

They said, “For whom do you want the girl?” He said, “For myself.”

SD:30

'xo a 'šant ta ā 'dame do 'ros hesā 'bī
 xo a=š-ant ta ādam=e doros hesābī
 well VCL=say.NPST-3PL PN.2SG human being=EZ proper

'nayay 'mā ja 'nekā ba 'ta a 'naden
 nay-ay mā janek-ā ba ta a=na-d-en
 NEG-COP.NPST.2SG PN.1PL girl-OBL to PN.2SG VCL=NEG-give.NPST-1PL

Well, they said, “You are not a reliable (lit. proper) person. We won’t give the girl to you.

SD:31

'goddā om ta 'lab mā 'kām ā 'šegay jī 'bā
 goddā =om talab mā kām āšeg-ay jīb-ā
 then =ADD claim into which in love-GEN pocket-OBL

raf' ta ke mā ta 'ī jī 'bā
 raft-a=Ø ke mā ta-ī jīb-ā
 go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM into PN.2SG-GEN pocket-OBL

'beraft
 be-raf-t
 SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

And, besides, no lover’s money has [ever] returned into his pocket (lit. into what lover’s pocket has money gone), [which means] that [you shouldn’t expect] your money to return (lit. go) into your pocket [either].

SD:32

xo k̄a'kol a'mū ham a'kay *ba mē'dageš*
 xo k̄akol amū ham a=k-ay-Ø *ba mēdag=eš*
 well Kakol uncle ADD VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG to encampment=PC.3PL

a'sī a'sī be 'man ē'tawreš 'ga
 a=š-ī a=š-ī be man ētawr=eš ga
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG to PN.1SG this way=PC.3PL say.PST

ta'labam 'nadādeš ja'nekeš ham xo 'nadād
 talab=am na-dād=eš janek=eš ham xo na-dād
 claim=PC.1SG NEG-give.PST=PC.3PL girl=PC.3PL ADD well NEG-give.PST

ta'labam ham 'gašteš 'heč ā'segay 'pūl 'mā
 talab=am ham gašt=eš heč āšeg-ay pūl mā
 claim=PC.1SG ADD say.PST=PC.3PL no in love-GEN money into

jī'bay 'narafta ke 'tī 'pūl
 jībay na-raft-a=Ø ke tī pūl
 pocket.OBL.PC.3SG NEG-go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM PN.2SG.GEN money

mā jī'bat 'beraft
 mā jībat be-raft-t
 into pocket.OBL.PC.2SG SBJV-go.NPST-3SG

Well, so Uncle Kakol, came [back] [and] said to [the people at] his encampment, he said, “They told me like this; they neither gave [back] my claim, nor did they give the girl, and about the claim they said, ‘No lover’s money has [ever] returned (lit. gone) into his pocket, [which means] that [you shouldn’t expect] your money to return (lit. go) into your pocket [either].”

SD:33

a'kayt o a'sant če'taw
 a=k-ay-t =o a=š-ant četaw
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG =and VCL=say.NPST-3PL how

kanen šaw'rā arē'čant
 Ø-kan-en šawr-ā a=rēč-ant
 SBJV-do.NPST-1PL consultation-OBL VCL=pour.NPST-3PL

He came and they said, “What should we do?” They took counsel.

4. Text Corpus

SD:34

a'sant *xo* *bā'hāten* *yake* *rā'feyā* *pay'dā*
 a=š-ant xo bāhāt=en yak=e rāfe-yā paydā
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL well must=COP.NPST.3SG one=IND mediator-OBL visible

kanen *'berra* *maša'dī* *dās'tānā*
 Ø-kan-en ber-ra-Ø mašadī dāstān-ā
 SBJV-do.NPST-1PL SBJV-go.NPST-3SG Mashhadi Dastan-OBL

'begennī *aga* *'gōnen* *'māhā*
 be-genn-ī aga gōn=en māh-ā-Ø
 SBJV-see.NPST-3SG if with=PC.1PL IMP-come.NPST-3SG

'bozoren *'bejergen*
 bo-zor-en be-jerg-en
 SBJV-take.NPST-1PL SBJV-flee.NPST-1PL

They said, “Well, we must find someone [who can act as] a mediator to go and see Mashhadi Dastan: if she comes with us, [then] let’s take [her with us and] escape.”

SD:35

xo *dā'sān* *maša'dī* *dā'sān* *a'sī* *hā'lā* *ax'bārō*
 xo dāsān mašadī dāsān a=š-ī hālā axbār=ō
 well Dastan Mashhadi Dastan VCL=say.NPST-3SG now news.PL=PC.2PL

a'dān *ba* *ha'mā* *ā'dame* *ke*
 a=d-ān ba ham=ā ādam=e ke
 VCL=give.NPST-1SG for EMPH=DIST human being=IND CLM

āk'ka *boda* *be har sū'rat* *pa'yāmā*
 ākk-a=Ø bod-a be har sūrat payām-ā
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG become.PST-PP anyway message-OBL

'bebā
 be-bā-Ø
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

Well, in any case, Dastan, Mashhadi Dastan said, “I will let you know” to that man who had come to take the message [to Kakol], you know.

SD:36

a 'šī *'hamī* *ya* *pīla 'ware*
 a=š-ī ham=ī ya pīlawar=e
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG EMPH=PROX one pedlar=IND

boda *mara 'wā* *boda*
 bod-a=Ø ma-raw-ā bod-a
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3SG become.PST-PP

mē 'dageš *a* *pīlawā 'rokā...* *pīla 'war* *a 'šī* *ke*
 mēdag=eš a pīlawar-ok-ā pīlawar a=š-ī ke
 encampment=PC.3PL to pedlar-DEF-OBL pedlar VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM

kā 'kol *ba* *'man* *ī 'tawrī* *'ga* *'gaštī* *aga*
 kākol ba man itawrī=ī ga gašt=ī aga
 Kakol to PN.1SG this way=PC.3SG say.PST say.PST=PC.3SG if

ākā 'yay *ta* *aga* *bo 'kānet* *ta*
 ā=k-ā-yay ta aga bokān=et ta
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG if want=PC.2SG then

'bīyān *'bozorān* *'bejergānet*
 biyān bo-zor-ān be-jerg-ān=et
 SBJV.come.NPST.1SG SBJV-take.NPST-1SG SBJV-flee.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

They say (lit. (s)he says) there was a pedlar, he used to go to their encampment, to the pedlar ... the pedlar said, “Kakol told me like this, he said, ‘If you come, if you want, then I should come to take you [and] escape.’”

SD:37

a 'šī *'xo* *ax 'bāret* *a 'dān* *hā 'lā*
 a=š-ī xo axbār=et a=d-ān hālā
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well news.PL=PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG now

'berray *tā* *ax 'bāret* *a 'dān*
 ber-ray-Ø tā axbār=et a=d-ān
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG till news.PL=PC.2SG VCL=give.NPST-1SG

She said, “Well, I will let you know, go now until I let you know.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:38

be har sū'rat mā ha'mī fek'rā boda
 be har sūrat mā ham=ī fekr-ā bod-a=Ø
 anyway in EMPH=PROX thought-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

ke 'begašī 'če ar'rant ya 'rō go
 ke be-gaš-ī če ar=r-ant ya rō go
 CLM SBJV-say.NPST-3SG what VCL=go.NPST-3PL one day with

zankā'kāī rū ā'fā zankā'kāī be har sū'rat ya
 zankākā=ī rū āf-ā zankākā=ī be har sūrat ya
 sister in law=PC.3SG on water-OBL sister in law=PC.3SG anyway one

'bahsī abīdeš o e'šān
 bahs=ī a=b-īd=eš =o ešān
 dispute=IND VCL=become.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL =and like this

zankā'kāī bahray a'sī ke 'ta de'ya 'čī
 zankākā=ī bahr=ay a=š-ī ke ta deya čī
 sister in law=PC.3SG for=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.2SG well what

a'say 'korošobāray tahmon'na
 a=š-ay koroš-obār-ay tahmonna
 VCL=say.NPST-2SG Korosh-PL-GEN leftover

Anyway, she was thinking about (lit. in the thought that) what to say. One day, she went with her sister-in-law to the river. The sister-in-law, anyway, there was a quarrel between them, you know. Her sister-in-law said to her, “What do you [have to] say, you leftover from the Korosh.”

SD:39

ēdāna'kō 'dāstān nārā'hat abī
 ēdānakō dāstān nārāhat a=b-ī
 right here Dastan troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG

Then (lit. right here) Dastan got upset.

SD:40

nārā'hat abī a'sī 'xob 'bel
 nārāhat a=b-ī a=š-ī xob b-el-Ø
 troubled VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well IMPV-let.NPST-2SG

ta 'begašān 'hamī kā'kol 'bīyay
 ta be-gaš-ān ham=ī kākol bīy-ay-Ø
 that SBJV-say.NPST-1SG EMPH=PROX Kakol SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

'bebārtom 'man 'nabāhā 'ē sarkof' tokā ya
 be-bār-t=om man na-bāhā ē sarkoft-ok-ā ya
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG=PC.1SG PN.1SG NEG-must PROX taunt-DEF-OBL one

'jāye de 'ya 'bīyaškonān
 jā=ye deya bīy-aškon-ān
 place=EZ well SBJV-hear.NPST-1SG

She got upset [and] said [to herself], “All right, let me tell Kakol to come take me, I shouldn’t have to hear this taunt again (lit. in another place).”

SD:41

a 'šān ta 'bel ta 'hamī
 a=š-ān ta b-el-Ø ta ham=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-1SG MIR IMPV-let.NPST-2SG that EMPH=PROX

'berrān ba ko 'rošā 'tā ya 'bāre de 'ya 'ē
 ber-r-ān ba koroš-ā tā ya bār=e deya ē
 SBJV-go.NPST-1SG to Korosh-OBL until one time=EZ other PROX

sarkof' tokom 'nayaškonta
 sarkoft-ok=om nay-aškонт-a
 taunt-DEF=PC.1SG NEG-hear.PST-PP

I will say, ‘Look, let me go to the Korosh before I hear this taunt one more time.’”

SD:42

'xob 'ē ta 'mām abīd o a 'šī
 xob ē tamām a=b-īd =o a=š-ī
 well PROX finished VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and VCL=say.NPST-3SG

'berra as kā 'kol 'bega 'man
 ber-ra-Ø as kākol be-ga-Ø man
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG to Kakol IMPV-say.NPST-2SG PN.1SG

ākā 'yān
 ā=k-ā-yān
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

Well, this [issue] finished and she said, “Go tell Kakol, ‘I will come.

4. Text Corpus

SD:43

'man ākā'yān 'wale 'bel ta as
 man ā=k-ā-yān wale b-el-Ø ta as
 PN.1SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG but IMPV-let.NPST-2SG PN.2SG from

'wadom ax'bār 'bī 'bezānān ke
 wad=om axbār Ø-b-ī be-zān-ān ke
 REFL=PC.1SG news.PL SBJV-become.NPST-3SG SBJV-know.NPST-1SG CLM

sar'mas lō'gā 'nabī
 sarmas lōg-ā na-b-ī
 Sarmas house-OBL NEG.SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

I will come,' but let me myself inform [you], to be sure (lit. I should know) that Sarmas will not be at home."

SD:44

be har sū'rat ya 'rōčī sar'mas ar'raft čōgdā'rīyā 'dēm pa
 be har sūrat ya rōč=ī sarmas ar=raf-t čōgdārī-yā dēm pa
 anyway one day=IND Sarmas VCL=go.NPST-3SG trading-OBL towards

'nazānān hā'lā xo'dā 'kāmā ma'halā
 Ø=na-zān-ān hālā xodā kām-ā mahal-ā
 VCL=NEG-know.NPST-1SG now God which-OBL place-OBL

ar'ra čōgdā'rīyā dās'tān ham pay'gām adā
 ar=ra-Ø čōgdārī-yā dāstān ham paygām a=dā-Ø
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG trading-OBL Dastan ADD message VCL=give.NPST-3SG

a'sī 'bīyet ta 'man ġa'rār ba
 a=š-ī bīyet ta man ġarār ba
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG IMPV.come.NPST.2PL PN.2SG PN.1SG agreement to

'ē ġa'rār fe'lān 'jāh 'pošte raxte'xābā
 ē ġarār felān jāh pošt=e raxtexāb-ā
 PROX agreement so and so place behind=EZ bedding-OBL

waf'tagān 'pošte čī'hā wasā'elam ham
 waft-ag=ān pošt=e čī-hā wasāel=am ham
 sleep.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG behind=EZ thing-PL equipment.PL=PC.1SG ADD

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

bas 'sagom *āmā 'da ān* *felā 'nī* *'šaf*
 bass-ag=om āmāda =ān felānī šaf
 tie.PST-PP=PC.1SG ready =COP.NPST.1SG so and so night

'byayt *ta* *'berren*
 by-ay-t ta ber-r-en
 SBJV-come.NPST-3SG PN.2SG SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

In any case, one day, Sarmas went trading. Now I do not know, by God, to what place, he went trading. So Dastan sent a message. She said, “Come, on this arrangement, that I will be sleeping in such and such a place, behind the bedding, behind those things, and I will have tied up my stuff, I will be ready. Come on such and such a night for us to go.”

SD:45

ākā 'yant *ta* *dā 'sān* *ha 'mī* *'pošte* *čī 'hā*
 ā=k-ā-yant ta dāsān ham=ī pošt=e čī-hā
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL MIR Dastan EMPH=PROX behind=EZ thing-PL

waf' ta *wasā 'elay* *ham* *bas 'sagī*
 waft-a=Ø wasāel=ay ham bass-ag=ī
 sleep.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG equipment.PL=PC.3SG ADD tie.PST-PP=PC.3SG

ka 'nekaynī
 kanekayn=ī
 side.OBL.COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

They came [and saw] that Dastan was sleeping behind those things and had tied up her stuff. It was by her side.

SD:46

'ē *ya xor 'de* *'kākōl* *a 'mū* *ke* *malar 'zā*
 ē ya xorde kākōl amū ke ma-larz-ā
 PROX a little Kakol uncle CLM IMP-shake.NPST-BACKG.3SG

boda *o* *e 'šān* *o* *'dass* *o* *'pāday*
 bod-a =o ešān =o dass =o pād=ay
 become.PST-PP =and like this =and hand =and foot=PC.3SG

'nāboda *xāl 'ūay* *a 'šī* *'xob*
 nā-bod-a=Ø xālū=ay a=š-ī xob
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG uncle=PC.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG well

4. Text Corpus

hā' lā ke ē'tawr en 'man ja'nekā
hālā ke ētawr =en man janek-ā
 now CLM this way =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG girl-OBL

ākā'rān 'odān a'dān ta
ā=k-ār-ān odān a=d-ān ta
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-1SG there VCL=give.NPST-1SG PN.2SG

Since Uncle Kakol was a bit afraid (lit. was shaking), you know, he was not brave (lit. hand and foot were not for him), his uncle said, “Well, now that it is like this, I will bring the girl and give [her] to you there.”

SD:47

gā'būl akant
gābūl a=kan-t
 accepting VCL=do.NPST-3SG

He agreed.

SD:48

xā'lū ja'nekā be'lann akant kā'kol a'mū
xālū=ī janek-ā belann a=kan-t kākol amū-ī
 uncle=PC.3SG girl-OBL high VCL=do.NPST-3SG Kakol uncle-GEN

'janay... xā'lū ja'nekā be'lann a'kant
jan-ay xālū janek-ā belann a=kan-t
 wife-GEN uncle girl-OBL high VCL=do.NPST-3SG

ākā'rī anen'nēnī mā kot'tay
ā=k-ār-ī a=nennēn-ī mā kottay
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG VCL=place.NPST-3SG in lap.OBL.PC.3SG

maraw'ēn boda
ma-raw-ēn bod-a
 IMP-go.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP

His uncle picked the girl up, Uncle Kakol's wife... [his] uncle picked the girl up. He brought and placed her on his lap. They were riding.

SD:49

mī'yān rā'hā ke ja'nek agen'nī ke kāk'ol a'mū
 mīyān rāh-ā ke janek a=genn-ī ke kākol amū
 between way-OBL CLM girl VCL=see.NPST-3SG CLM Kakol uncle

'nayan a'kay as 'aspā
 nay-en a=k-ay-Ø as asp-ā
 NEG-COP.NPST.3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG from horse-OBL

'waday 'pert kan 'bejergī
 wad=ay pert Ø-kan-Ø be-jerg-ī
 REFL=PC.3SG thrown SBJV-do.NPST-3SG SBJV-flee.NPST-3SG

On the way, when the girl saw that it was not Kakol, she was about to throw herself from the horse in order to run back.

SD:50

kāk'ol a'mūay xāl'lū a'sī ke 'na 'wadat 'pert
 kākol amū-ay xālū a=š-ī ke na wad=at pert
 Kakol uncle-GEN uncle VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM no REFL=PC.2SG thrown

'makan kāk'ol 'hamī go 'mā en 'xob
 ma-kan-Ø kākol ham=ī go mā =en xob
 PROH-do.NPST-2SG Kakol EMPH=PROX with PN.1PL =COP.NPST.3SG well

'berra hade kāk'ol 'swār bay nārā'hat
 ber-ra-Ø had=e kākol swār Ø-bay-Ø nārāhat
 IMPV-go.NPST-2SG by=EZ Kakol riding IMPV-become.NPST-2SG troubled

'mabay
 ma-bay-Ø
 PROH-become.NPST-2SG

Uncle Kakol's uncle said, “No, don't throw yourself down, Kakol is with us, well, go and ride with Kakol, do not be worried.”

SD:51

xo ar'ra hade kāk'ol a'mū 'swār abī
 xo ar=ra-Ø had=e kākol amū swār a=b-ī
 well VCL=go.NPST-3SG by=EZ Kakol uncle riding VCL=become.NPST-3SG

de'ya ā'rām abī ē'sān
 deya ārām a=b-ī ēšān
 then calm VCL=become.NPST-3SG like this

Well, she went and rode with Kakol, then she became calm, you know.

4. Text Corpus

SD:52

ā'rām abī ar'raft hade kā'kol a'mū
 ārām a=b-ī ar=raf-t had=e kākol amū
 calm VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=go.NPST-3SG to=EZ Kakol uncle

ar'ra ākā'yant
 ar=ra-Ø ā=k-ā-yant
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

She became calm, she went to Uncle Kakol, she went. They came.

SD:53

ākā'yant a 'hamōdān ham ke
 ā=k-ā-yant a ham=ōdān ham ke
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL from EMPH=there ADD CLM

ākā'yant kā'kol a'mūā aba'rant ya
 ā=k-ā-yant kākol amū-ā a=bar-ant ya
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL Kakol uncle-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3PL one

'jāye 'amnī mā mē'dagā ne'gah a'nadāran
 jā=ye amn-ī mā mēdag-ā negah a=na-dār-an
 place=EZ secure=IND in encampment-OBL keeping VCL=NEG-hold.NPST-3PL

mā korošo 'bārayā aba'rant ya 'jāye 'amnī
 mā koroš-obār-ay-ā a=bar-ant ya jā=ye amn-ī
 in Korosh-PL-GEN-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3PL one place=EZ secure=IND

They came, and when they came from there, they brought Uncle Kakol to a safe place. They did not keep [him] in the encampment, in that [encampment] of the Korosh, they took him to a safe place.

SD:54

'xo ya 'bīs 'rōčī hamī'sān negahbā'nīyā adayant
 xo ya bīs rōč-ī ham=īš-ān negahbānī-yā a=da-yant
 well one twenty day=IND EMPH=PROX-PL guarding-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL

Well, for about twenty days, they were keeping watch.

SD:55

ē'sān xob ma'sāī kay a'kay dās'tānī
 ēš-ān xob mašāī kay a=k-ay-Ø dāstān-ī
 PROX-PL well Mashhadi who VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG Dastan-GEN

be'rād ke sar'mas boda as čōgdā'rīyā
 berād ke sarmas bod-a=Ø as čōgdārī-yā
 brother CLM Sarmas become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG from trading-OBL

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

ax' bārā a' dant 'bahray ke gā' hāret korošo' bār
 axbār-ā a=d-ant bahr=ay ke gāhār=et koroš-obār
 news.PL-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL for=PC.3SG CLM sister=PC.2SG Korosh-PL

bor' tageš a' kayt
 bort-ag=eš a=k-ay-t
 take.PST-PP=PC.3PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

They, well, Mashadi, what was his name (lit. who), came [back], Dastan's brother who was [called] Sarmas, came from his trading trip. He got the news (lit. they give the news to him) that the Korosh had taken his sister. He came [back].

SD:56

dō' ī ham 'hamīdān ke a' zānt sar' mas
 dōī ham ham=īdān ke a=zān-t sarmas
 mother ADD EMPH=here CLM VCL=know.NPST-3SG Sarmas

āk' ka čok' kā a' gī
 ākk-a=Ø čokk-ā a=g-ī
 come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG child-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG

ba' galay 'dar akafī sah' rā
 baḡalay dar a=kaf-ī sahrā
 bosom.OBL.PC.3SG PREV VCL=fall.NPST-3SG outdoors

When Sarmas' mother realized that Sarmas had come, she took up [his] child in her bosom and came out [of the house].

SD:57

'dar akafī sah' rā sar' mas a' šī ke
 dar a=kaf-ī sahrā sarmas a=š-ī ke
 PREV VCL=fall.NPST-3SG outdoors Sarmas VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM

čok' kā 'ēr kan degā' rā ke har do' nō gō
 čokk-ā ēr Ø-kan-Ø degār-ā ke har do=nō gō
 child-OBL PREV IMPV-do.NPST-2SG ground-OBL CLM each two=PC.2PL with

tī' rā aḡa' nān
 tīr-ā a=jan-ān
 bullet-OBL VCL=hit.NPST-1SG

She came out, Sarmas said, “Put the child on the ground, [otherwise] I will shoot both of you.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:58

'hā a'sī 'ko en mē'dag 'ko
 hā a=š-ī ko =en mēdag ko
 yes VCL=say.NPST-3SG where =COP.NPST.3SG encampment where

en gā'hārom 'ko en mē'dagay
 =en gāhār=om ko =en mēdag-ay
 =COP.NPST.3SG sister=PC.1SG where =COP.NPST.3SG encampment-GEN

bā'kīēn
 bākī-ēn
 remaining-ATTR

Yes, he said, “Where is my wife (lit. the encampment)? Where is my sister? Where are the rest of the encampment?”

SD:59

a'sī xo gā'hārat 'o korošo'bār 'bortī
 a=š-ī xo gāhār=at o koroš-obār bort=ī
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well sister=PC.2SG TOP Korosh-PL take.PST=PC.3SG

'janet ham raft'a ā'fā mē'dagay
 jan=et ham raft-a=Ø āf-ā mēdag-ay
 wife=PC.2SG ADD go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG water-OBL encampment-GEN

bā'kī ham agen'nay 'wadī lō'g anteš
 bākī ham a=genn-ay wad-ī lōg =ant=eš
 remaining ADD VCL=see.NPST-2SG REFL-GEN house =COP.NPST.3PL=PC.3PL

She said, “Well, the Korosh took your sister, your wife has gone for water, and the rest of the encampment, as you see, they are in their houses.”

SD:60

xo a'sī ke 'mage 'wadet bīxa'bar
 xo a=š-ī ke mage wad=et bīxabar
 well VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM QUEST REFL=PC.2SG uninformed

ay 'wadet 'wadī fet'na enet
 =ay wad=et wad-ī fetna =en=et
 =COP.NPST.2SG REFL=PC.2SG REFL-GEN conspiracy =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG

Well, he said, “So you don’t know (lit. are you without information, yourself)? It is your conspiracy.

SD:61

'wadī fet'na enet bo'kānom
 wad-ī fetna =en=et bokān=om
 REFL-GEN conspiracy =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.2SG want=PC.1SG

'bokošānet
 bo-koš-ān=et
 SBJV-kill.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

It is your conspiracy, I am going to kill you.”

SD:62

dā'zan hamīdānā'kō sar'masī dō'ī čo'kā a'zo
 dāzan ham=īdānākō sarmas-ī dōī čok-ā a=zo-Ø
 woman EMPH=right here Sarmas-GEN mother child-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG

ke hā'lā 'yanī mara'wagān haday barrao'bārā
 ke hālā yanī ma-raw-ag=ān had=ay barra-obār-ā
 CLM now that is IMP-go.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG to=EZ lamb-PL-OBL

o a 'hīčīyā 'xabarom nē a'šī
 =o a hīčī-yā xabar=om nē a=š-ī
 =and from nothing-OBL news=PC.1SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG VCL=say.NPST-3SG

čo'kā 'ēr kan de'gārā bo'kānom
 čok-ā ēr Ø-kan-Ø degār-ā bokān=om
 child-OBL PREV IMPV-do.NPST-2SG ground-OBL want=PC.1SG

'bejanānet
 be-jan-ān=et
 SBJV-hit.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

At that (lit. this) very time, the woman, Sarmas' mother, took the child as if she intended to go to the lambs and was not aware of anything. He said, “Put the child on the ground. I am going to shoot you.

SD:63

yā am ke 'čoket 'ēr 'nako de'gārā go čo'kā
 yā =am ke čok=et ēr na-ko degār-ā go čok-ā
 or =ADD CLM child=PC.2SG PREV NEG-do.PST ground-OBL with child-OBL

aǰa'nānet
 a=jān-ān=et
 VCL=hit.NPST-1SG=PC.2SG

And (lit. or) if you do not put the child on the ground, I will shoot you together with the child.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:64

xo do 'ṭay agen 'nī wāḡe 'an sar 'mas bo 'kānī
xo doī=ay a=genn-ī wāḡean sarmas bokān=ī
 well mother=PC.3SG VCL=see.NPST-3SG indeed Sarmas want=PC.3SG

'beḡante čo 'kā 'ēr akant ā 'ḡa
be-ḡan-t=e čok-ā ēr a=kan-t āḡa
 SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG child-OBL PREV VCL=do.NPST-3SG there

a 'šī xo hā 'lā 'beḡanom
a=š-ī xo hālā be-ḡan-Ø=om
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well now IMPV-hit.NPST-2SG=PC.1SG

Well, his mother saw that Sarmas was actually going to shoot her, she put the child down at a distance (lit. there) [and] said, “Well, shoot me now.”

SD:65

'sarmas ham az 'zōrē ke nārā 'hat boda
sarmas ham az zōr=ē ke nārāhat bod-a=Ø
 Sarmas ADD from force=IND CLM troubled become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

a 'sābe 'xord boda 'tīr
asāb=e xord bod-a=Ø tīr
 nerve.PL=PC.3SG shattered become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG bullet

akant 'rāss mā do 'ṭay de 'lay sa 'ray
a=kan-t rāss mā doī-ay del-ay saray
 VCL=do.NPST-3SG right into mother-GEN heart-GEN on.PC.3SG

a 'ḡant
a=ḡan-t
 VCL=hit.NPST-3SG

So Sarmas, since he was very angry, he was really upset, he shot right into his mother's heart.

SD:66

do 'ṭay de 'lay sa 'ray a 'ḡant o sar 'mas īdānā 'kō
doī-ay del-ay saray a=ḡan-t =o sarmas īdānākō
 mother-GEN heart-GEN on.PC.3SG VCL=hit.NPST-3SG =and Sarmas right here

ar 'ra be mē 'dagā a 'šī ke 'man
ar=ra-Ø be mēdag-ā a=š-ī ke man
 VCL=go.NPST-3SG to encampment-OBL VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM PN.1SG

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

om korošo 'bārā pē 'dāom 'nako 'walī 'wadī
 =om koroš-obār-ā pēdā=om na-ko walī wad-ī
 =ADD Korosh-PL-OBL visible=PC.1SG NEG-do.PST but REFL-GEN

do 'tom 'koštom
 doī=om košt=om
 mother=PC.1SG kill.PST=PC.1SG

He shot into his mother's heart, then (lit. right here) Sarmas went [and] said to the encampment, "Well, I didn't find the Korosh [to kill them], but I killed my mother."

SD:67

xo mē 'dagī 'gerd abīd o
 xo mēdag=ī gerd a=b-īd =o
 well encampment=PC.3SG gathered VCL=become.NPST-3SG =and

ākā 'yan do 'tay jēnā 'zayā azo 'ran
 ā=k-ā-yan doī-ay jēnāza-yā a=zor-an
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL mother-GEN corpse-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3PL

ar 'rant o kā 'homī a 'kanant o 'āṇa 'īṇa
 ar=r-ant =o kāhom=ī a=kan-ant =o āṇa īṇa
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL =and buried=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-3PL =and there here

'goddā a 'šant 'xo 'bīyāet ta
 goddā a=š-ant xo bīy-ā-et ta
 then VCL=say.NPST-3PL well IMPV-come.NPST-2PL in order that

fek 'rayn rū ham 'kanen 'mennen ta
 fekrayn rū ham Ø-kan-en m-enn-en ta
 thought.OBL.PC.1PL on each other SBJV-do.NPST-1PL SBJV-see.NPST-1PL MIR

ba 'hā če 'taw 'kanen go 'ē korošo 'bārā ke 'ē
 bahā četaw Ø-kan-en go ē koroš-obār-ā ke ē
 must how SBJV-do.NPST-1PL with PROX Korosh-PL-OBL CLM PROX

'naṇī 'ēr koda rū 'en
 naṇ=ī ēr kod-a rū=en
 disgrace=PC.3SG PREV do.PST-PP on=PC.1PL

Then, his encampment got together and they came [and] took his mother's corpse, they went and buried her, you know. Then they said, "Well, let's take counsel (lit. put our thought together) in order to see what we should do with these Korosh, who have brought this disgrace on us."

4. Text Corpus

SD:68

'hečī akā'yant o a'sant xo
 hečī a=k-ā-yant =o a=š-ant xo
 nothing VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL =and VCL=say.NPST-3PL well

'berren ba'hā 'bekašen 'berren 'rūeš
 ber-r-en bahā be-kaš-en ber-r-en rū=eš
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL must SBJV-pull.NPST-1PL SBJV-go.NPST-1PL on=PC.3PL

hā'lā ya ā'damā ba'hā 'bokošen de'ya
 hālā ya ādam-ā bahā bo-koš-en deya
 now one human being-OBL must SBJV-kill.NPST-1PL well

Well (lit. nothing), they came and said, “Well, let’s go, we should attack them (lit. we must pull, go on them), we must kill someone anyway.”

SD:69

ākā'yant ya 'čeltā tofang'čī pay'dā akanant
 ā=k-ā-yant ya čel-tā tofaŋčī paydā a=kan-ant
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL one forty-CL gunman visible VCL=do.NPST-3PL

a 'wadī mē'dageš ākā'yant
 a wad-ī mēdag=eš ā=k-ā-yant
 from REFL-GEN encampment=PC.3PL VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

aka'sant 'rū korošo'bāray mē'dagā
 a=kaš-ant rū koroš-obār-ay mēdag-ā
 VCL=pull.NPST-3PL on Korosh-PL-GEN encampment-OBL

They came [and] found some forty gunmen from their encampment, they came [and] attacked the encampment of the Korosh.

SD:70

ākā'yant 'ē 'korošobār ham 'bīs 'rō
 ā=k-ā-yant ē koroš-obār ham bīs rō
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX Korosh-PL ADD twenty day

boda ke negahbā'nīyā mada'yēn
 bod-a=Ø ke negahbānī-yā ma-day-ēn
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG CLM guarding-OBL IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3PL

boda 'hamī ga'tār a 'pošteš o
 bod-a ham-ī gātār a pošt=eš =o
 become.PST-PP EMPH=PROX cartridge belt to back=PC.3PL =and

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

negahbā 'nīyā mada 'yēn boda e 'šān 'ya 'rō
 negahbānī-yā ma-day-ēn bod-a ešān ya rō
 guarding-OBL IMP-give.NPST-BACKG.3PL become.PST-PP like this one day

'yake a 'šī ke xo hā 'lā sar 'mas mā lō 'gay
 yak=e a=š-ī ke xo hālā sarmas mā lōgay
 one=IND VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM well now Sarmas in house.OBL.PC.3SG

gō ja 'nay 'xoš 'makana kā 'kol a 'mū gō ja 'nekā
 gō janay xoš ma-kan-a kākōl amū gō janek-ā
 with wife.OBL.PC.3SG happy IMP-do.NPST-3SG Kakol uncle with girl-OBL

sawladaw 'laī mē 'dagā 'xoš 'makanagen
 sawladawla-ī mēdag-ā xoš ma-kan-ag=en
 Sawladawla-GEN encampment-OBL happy IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

mā e 'dān ġa 'tār 'pošten 'rō
 mā edān ġatār pošt=en rō
 PN.1PL here cartridge belt back=PC.1PL sun

'masōčēnagen o 'šaf ham ma 'hesk
 ma-sōčēn-ag=en =o šaf ham mahesk
 IMP-burn.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG =and night ADD fly

'mawaragenen ba mā 'če
 ma-war-ag=en=en ba mā če
 IMP-eat.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1PL for PN.1PL what

They came, and these Korosh, they had been keeping watch for about twenty days, with the cartridge belt over their shoulders, and they were watching, you know. One day, one [of them] said, “Well, now Sarmas is enjoying himself with his wife in his house [and] uncle Kakol is enjoying himself with the girl in Sawladawla’s encampment. We are here, the cartridge belt is on our shoulders, the sun is burning us, and the flies are eating us at night as well. This is none of our business (lit. for us what).”

SD:71

ar 'rant o age 'ran hā 'lā behe 'sāb
 ar=r-ant =o a=ger-an hālā behesāb
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL =and VCL=take.NPST-3PL now actually

'bwaspan
 b-wasp-an
 SBJV-sleep.NPST-3PL

They went [away] to go to sleep, you know.

4. Text Corpus

SD:72

'hamīdān bo 'kāneš boda 'bwaspan ke 'tīr
 ham=idān bokān=eš bod-a b-wasp-an ke tīr
 EMPH=here want=PC.3PL become.PST-PP SBJV=sleep.NPST-3PL CLM bullet

o to faḡ abīt
 =o tofaḡ a=b-īt
 =and gun VCL=become.NPST-3SG

They were about (lit. right here they want) to go to sleep when there was shooting (lit. bullet and gun).

SD:73

'tīr o to faḡ abīt aḡer 'gan ya dar 'wāe
 tīr =o tofaḡ a=b-īt a=jerg-an ya darwā=e
 bullet =and gun VCL=become.NPST-3SG VCL=flee.NPST-3PL one hole=IND

bodagen behe 'sāb ya 'gawde
 bod-ag=en behesāb ya gawd=e
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG actually one hole=IND

boda arē 'čan mā 'ē gaw 'dā
 bod-a=Ø a=rēč-an mā ē gawd-ā
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG VCL=pour.NPST-3PL in PROX pit-OBL

'pošte mē 'dagā kā 'hom aban 'čok o
 pošt=e mēdag-ā kāhom a=b-an čok =o
 behind=EZ encampment-OBL hidden VCL=become.NPST-3PL child =and

ma 'zan o ka 'sān o hām 'mo arē 'čan mā 'ē gaw 'dā
 mazan =o kasān =o hāmmo a=rēč-an mā ē gawd-ā
 big =and small =and all VCL=pour.NPST-3PL in PROX pit-OBL

kā 'hom aban ya 'tīre a 'nagī
 kāhom a=b-an ya tīr=e a=na-g-ī
 hidden VCL=become.NPST-3PL one bullet=IND VCL=NEG-get.NPST-3SG

e 'šān 'wale hay 'wān o oš 'tor o masa 'lan ja 'deš
 eš-ān wale haywān =o oštor =o masalan jad-eš
 PROX-PL but animal =and camel =and for example hit.PST-PP.PC.3SG

boda gā 'lag 'šerrī wār 'ta boda be 'renj
 bod-a gālag šerr=ī wārta-a bod-a berenj
 become.PST-PP sack overturned=PC.3SG eat.PST-PP become.PST-PP rice

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

<i>rek'ka</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>sah'rā</i>	<i>'gannom</i>
rek-k-a=Ø	bod-a	sahrā	gannom
pour.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	become.PST-PP	wilderness	wheat

<i>'šerrī</i>	<i>wār'ta</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>rek'ka</i>
šerr=ī	wārt-a	bod-a	rek-k-a=Ø
overturned=PC.3SG	eat.PST-PP	become.PST-PP	pour.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

<i>boda</i>	<i>sah'rā</i>	<i>'zekk</i>	<i>rōga'nī</i>	<i>'šerrī</i>	<i>wār'ta</i>
bod-a	sahrā	zekk	rōgan-ī	šerr=ī	wārt-a
become.PST-PP	ground	bag	lard-ADJZ	overturned=PC.3SG	eat.PST-PP

boda
bod-a
become.PST-PP

There was shooting, they fled. There was a pit, you know, there was a pit, they went (lit. poured) into this pit [and] hid behind the encampment. The children, the old, the young, all went into this pit in order to hide. Not a single bullet hit them, but they shot animals and camels, you know, [and] the sacks were overturned and the rice was poured out on the ground, the sacks of wheat were overturned and it was poured out on the ground, the goatskin containers with oil in them were overturned.

SD:74

<i>xo</i>	<i>e'šān</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>a'šant</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>na'fareš</i>
xo	eš-ān	ham	a=š-ant	xo	ya	nafar=eš
well	PROX-PL	ADD	VCL=say.NPST-3PL	well	one	person=PC.3PL

<i>a'šī</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>'lōget</i>	<i>'sokk</i>	<i>e'šānā</i>	<i>de'ya</i>
a=š-ī	ke	lōg=et	sokk-Ø	eš-ān-ā	deya
VCL=say.NPST-3SG	CLM	house=PC.2SG	burn.PST-3SG	PROX-PL-OBJ	well

<i>'koštō</i>	<i>hām'mo</i>	<i>e'šān</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>na'fareš</i>	<i>zor'ta</i>
košt=ō	hāmmo	eš-ān	ya	nafar=eš	zort-a
kill.PST=PC.2PL	all	PROX-PL	one	person=PC.3PL	take.PST-PP

<i>jer'geda</i>	<i>'byā</i>	<i>'zorr</i>	<i>geren</i>
jerged-a=Ø	by-ā-Ø	zorr	Ø-ger-en
flee.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	turning	SBJV-take.NPST-1PL

pa ran'nā
pa rannā
to behind

Well, so they said, you know, one of them said, “Damn it (lit. your house burnt), you killed all of them, you know, [whereas] they [only] took one person and escaped. Come let’s go back.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:75

xo zorr ageran pa ran'nā e'shān de'ya
 xo zorr a=ger-an pa rannā eš-ān deya
 well turning VCL=take.NPST-3PL to behind PROX-PL well

a'sant ke ē mē'dagā 'gerren koda
 a=š-ant ke ē mēdag-ā ġerr=en kod-a
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM PROX encampment-OBL destroyed=PC.1PL do.PST-PP

Well, they went back [and] said, “We have destroyed this encampment.”

SD:76

ya na'far... a'sant xo hā'lā 'ētaw mā'saren
 ya nafar a=š-ant xo hālā ētaw mā sar=en
 one person VCL=say.NPST-3PL well now this way on head=PC.1PL

ā'worteš 'berren 'mennen so... kā'kol ke
 āwort=eš ber-r-en m-enn-en so kākol ke
 bring.PST=PC.3PL SBJV-go.NPST-1PL SBJV-see.NPST-1PL FRAG Kakol CLM

sawladaw'laī 'lōg en 'četaw bodagen
 sawladawla-ī lōg =en četaw bod-ag=en
 Sawladawla-GEN house =COP.NPST.3SG how become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Then one of them... they (i.e., the Korosh) said, “Well, this is how they dealt with us (lit. brought on our head), but let’s go and see what has happened to Saw... to Kakol, who is in Sawladawla’s house.”

SD:77

ar'rant ta kā'kol a'mū 'heč xa'bare 'nē
 ar=r-ant ta kākol amū heč xabar=e nē
 VCL=go.NPST-3PL MIR Kakol uncle no news=PC.3SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG

ba sawladaw'la ham ax'bārā adan a'sant
 ba sawladawla ham axbār-ā a=d-an a=š-ant
 for Sawladawla ADD news.PL-OBL VCL=give.NPST-3PL VCL=say.NPST-3PL

haġī'gat sar'mas dō'sī ā'damī 'gerd koda 'čeltā
 haġīgat sarmas dōšī ādam=ī ġerd kod-a čel-tā
 in fact Sarmas last night human being=PC.3SG gathered do.PST-PP forty-CL

tofa'ḡī o rek'ka 'rū mē'dagā 'wale
 tofaḡī =o rekk-a=Ø rū mēdag-ā wale
 gunman =and pour.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG on encampment-OBL but

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

'šokre xo'dā 'hağ bā 'mā boda hečī
 šokr=e xodā hağ bā mā bod-a=Ø hečī
 praise=EZ God right with PN.1PL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG nothing

'nābodagen 'wale xesā'rate mā'līen 'xaylī
 nā-bod-ag=en wale xesārat=e mālī=en xaylī
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL but loss=EZ financial=PC.1PL very

dī'de
 dīd-e
 see.PST-PP

They went [there and saw that] nothing had happened to Uncle Kakol. They informed Sawladawla, as well, they said, “Actually, last night Sarmas gathered [some] people, forty gunmen and attacked the encampment, but thank God, [because] right was on our side nothing happened to us, but we lost a lot of property.”

SD:78

xo sawladaw'la ham a'sī ke hā'lā 'bākī
 xo sawladawla ham a=š-ī ke hālā bāk=ī
 well Sawladawla ADD VCL=say.NPST-3SG CLM now fear=IND

nē 'hağ bā šo'mā boda be'renĵ
 nē hağ bā šomā bod-a=Ø berenĵ
 NEG.be.NPST.3SG right with PN.2PL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG rice

jā'hay 'gīr akay 'māl 'gīr
 jāhay gīr a=k-ay-Ø māl gīr
 place.OBL.PC.3SG grip VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG livestock grip

akay hā'lā e'lāhī 'šokr ke 'wadō 'hīčī
 a=k-ay-Ø hālā elāhī šokr ke wad=ō hīčī
 VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG now God praise CLM REFL=PC.2PL nothing

nabodaged hā'lā
 na-bod-ag=ed hālā
 NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2.PL now

Well, so Sawladawla said, “No problem (lit. fear) now, right was on your side, the rice can be replaced (lit. is found in its place), livestock can be found, now thank God that nothing happened to you.”

4. Text Corpus

SD:79

a 'šant *'mā* *bo 'kānen* *ǰarr* *kanen*
 a=š-ant mā bokān=en ǰarr Ø-kan-en
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL PN.1PL want=PC.1PL quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-1PL

'berren *ǰarr* *kanen* *go* *sar 'masī*
 ber-r-en ǰarr Ø-kan-en go sarmas-ī
 SBJV-go.NPST-1PL quarrel SBJV-do.NPST-1PL with Sarmas-GEN

mē 'dagā *go* *darašo 'līyā*
 mēdag-ā go darašolī-yā
 encampment-OBL with Darreshuri-OBL

They said, “We want to fight, to go to fight with Sarmas’ encampment, with the Darreshuri.”

SD:80

a 'šī *xo* *šo 'ma* *de 'ya* *ǰarr* *'makanet* *de 'ya*
 a=š-ī xo šomā deya ǰarr ma-kan-et deya
 VCL=say.NPST-3SG well PN.2PL well quarrel PROH-do.NPST-2PL well

ǰa 'nekay *ā 'wortagō* *'sabr* *kanet* *'tā*
 ǰanekay āwort-ag=ō sabr Ø-kan-et tā
 girl.OBL.PC.3SG bring.PST-PP=PC.2PL patience IMPV-do.NPST-2PL then

'mā *ā 'šānā* *'begennen* *'mennen* *ā 'šān* *'čī*
 mā āšān-ā be-genn-en m-enn-en āšān čī
 PN.1PL DIST.PL-OBJ SBJV-see.NPST-1PL SBJV-see.NPST-1PL DIST.PL what

ašant
 a=š-ant
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL

He said, “Well, don’t [go] fight, you have brought the girl, wait until we meet them [and] see what they are saying.”

SD:81

'ē *sawladaw 'la* *ā 'damā* *ā 'šaštī*
 ē sawladawla ādam-ā ā=šašt=ī
 PROX Sawladawla human being-OBL VCL=send.NPST=PC.3SG

This Sawladawla sent a person [to the Darreshuri].

SD:82

a'sant ke 'mā de'ya 'jarren nē
 a=š-ant ke mā deya 'jarr=en nē
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL CLM PN.1PL well quarrel=PC.1PL NEG.be.NPST.3SG

'haġ ba ā'sān boday hā'lā e'lāhī 'šokr am
 haġ ba āšān bod-ay=Ø hālā elāhī šokr =am
 right for DIST.PL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG now God praise =ADD

ā'dame 'čīye koš'ta 'nāboday
 ādam=e čī=ye košt-a nā-bod-ay=Ø
 human being=IND thing=IND kill.PST-PP NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They said, “Well we won’t fight again, right was on their side, and now thank God that no person, nothing, has been killed.

SD:83

'mā de'ya 'jarren nē 'mā de'ya 'sohl
 mā deya 'jarr=en nē mā deya sohl
 PN.1PL well quarrel=PC.1PL NEG.be.NPST.3SG PN.1PL well peace

akanen
 a=kan-en
 VCL=do.NPST-1PL

We won’t fight again, we will make peace.”

SD:84

xo e'sān ham... kā'kol a'mū o de'ya ya 'jašne
 xo eš-ān ham kākol amū o deya ya jašn=e
 well PROX-PL ADD Kakol uncle TOP well one celebration=IND

a'gīt o 'kolle korošo 'bārā be har sū'rat har tī'rayā
 a=g-īt =o koll=e koroš-obār-ā be har sūrat har tīra-yā
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and all=EZ Korosh-PL-OBL anyway each clan-OBL

dah'wat akant akā'yant
 dahwat a=kan-t a=k-ā-yant
 invitation VCL=do.NPST-3SG VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

So then, they... so Uncle Kakol threw a party and anyway, he invited all the Korosh families (lit. clans), they came.

4. Text Corpus

SD:85

'harka 'ekkada hay 'wānā ākā 'rī o o 'šterā
 harka ekkada haywān-ā ā=k-ār-ī =o ošter-ā
 whoever so many animal-OBL VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG =and camel-OBL

ākā 'rīd o be har sū 'rat saw 'gāte zī 'yādā
 ā=k-ār-īd =o be har sūrat sawgāt=e zīyād-ā
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG =and anyway gift=EZ many-OBL

ākā 'rī ke kā 'kol a 'mū de 'ya ham čo 'bānā
 ā=k-ār-ī ke kākol amū deya ham čobān-ā
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG CLM Kakol uncle well ADD shepherd-OBL

a 'gīt o ham naw 'karā a 'gīt o
 a=g-īt =o ham nawkar-ā a=g-ī =o
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and ADD male servant-OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and

ham dār 'gā a 'gīt o 'dya hām 'mo 'čī
 ham dārgā a=g-īt =o dya hāmmo čī
 ADD camel driver.OBL VCL=take.NPST-3SG =and well all thing

boda ē 'šānā ham a 'gīt
 bod-a=Ø ēš-ān-ā ham a=g-ī
 become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PROX-PL-OBJ ADD VCL=take.NPST-3SG

Everyone brought such a lot of animals, and they brought camels and in any case, they brought many gifts, and Uncle Kakol both employed (lit. took) a shepherd, and he also employed a servant, and he employed a camel-driver as well, and, you know, he bought everything there was [to get], too.

SD:86

a 'gīt 'sarmas ī 'dān ke agen 'nī 'ētawr
 a=g-ī sarmas īdān ke a=genn-ī ētawr
 VCL=take.NPST-3SG Sarmas here CLM VCL=see.NPST-3SG this way

en de 'ya dah 'wateš akant 'bahre
 =en deya dahwat=eš a=kan-t bahr=e
 =COP.NPST.3SG well invitation=PC.3PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG for=EZ

pāwāko 'nīyā
 pāwākonī-yā
 welcoming party-OBL

He bought [this], [and] when Sarmas saw that it turned out like this, you know, he invited them, for a welcoming party [after the wedding].

4.5. Text 5: The Story of Dastan

SD:87

dah 'wateš akant ba pāwāko 'nīyā 'ā ham ya
 dahwat=eš a=kan-t ba pāwākonī-yā ā ham ya
 invitation=PC.3PL VCL=do.NPST-3SG for welcoming party-OBL DIST ADD one

'aspe a 'dā kā 'kol a 'mū o ya 'aspē
 asp=e a=dā-Ø kākōl amū =o ya asp=ē
 horse=IND VCL=give.NPST-3SG Kakol uncle =and one horse=IND

a 'dād ma 'šī dās 'tān
 a=dā-d mašī dāstān
 VCL=give.NPST-3SG Mashhadi Dastan

He invited them for a welcoming party, and he gave a horse to Uncle Kakol and he gave a horse to Mashhadi Dastan.

SD:88

xo de 'ya xoš 'hāl o xor 'ram 'zorr ageran pa ran 'nā
 xo deya xošhāl =o xorram zorr a=ger-an pa rannā
 well now happy =and refreshed turning VCL=take.NPST-3PL to behind

Well, then they (i.e., Kakol and Dastan) returned back happy and rejoicing.

SD:89

hā 'lā 'ekkada ha 'mī 'kolle darašo 'līay
 hālā ekkada ham=ī koll=e darašōlī=ay
 now so many EMPH=PROX all=EZ Darreshuri=PC.3SG

gēš 'teroy 'hamī kā 'kol ā 'mūī 'sak o
 gēš-ter-o=ay ham=ī kākōl āmū-ī sak =o
 more-CMP-DIM=PC.3SG EMPH=PROX Kakol uncle-GEN offspring =and

so en
 so =en
 lineage =COP.NPST.3SG

Now so many, all these Darreshuri, most of them are from Uncle Kakol's lineage.

4.6. Text 6: My Memories

Manī Yād **My Memories**

recounted by Darab Samsanian

MM:1

besmel 'lāhe rah 'māne ra 'hīm

besmellāhe rahmāne rahīm

in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

MM:2

'man ko 'roš ān

man koroš =ān

PN.1SG Korosh =COP.NPST.1SG

I am a Korosh.

MM:3

asla...

asla

FRAG

Origi....

MM:4

as 'līam hājīhayda 'rī en

aslī=am hājīhaydarī =en

original=PC.1SG Hajihaydari =COP.NPST.3SG

My origin (lit. original) is Hajiheydari.

MM:5

mah 'sūmī 'bač ān

mahsūm-ī bač =ān

Mahsum-GEN son =COP.NPST.1SG

I am the son of Mahsum.

MM:6

'nāmom dā 'rāb en

nām=om dārāb =en

name=PC.1SG Darab =COP.NPST.3SG

My name is Darab.

4. Text Corpus

MM:7

'man ho'dūte pan'jā o 'haft 'sāl enom hā'lā
man hodūt=e panjā =o haft sāl =en=om hālā
PN.1SG about=EZ fifty =and seven year =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG now

ya yak 'sāl 'jahl yak 'sāl bā'lād da'gīg
ya yak sāl jahl yak sāl bālād daḡīg
one one year down one year up exactly

'namezānagān

na-me-zān-ag=ān

NEG-IMP-know.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

I am about fifty-seven years old, well, [maybe] one year less [or] one year more, I don't know exactly.

MM:8

'arz kanān xed'mate šo'mā do'tay 'nāmon
arz Ø-kan-ān xedmat=e šomā doī-ay nām=on
statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG service=EZ PN.2PL mother-GEN name=PC.1SG

gez'was en

gezwas =en

Ghezwas =COP.NPST.3SG

Let me tell you [that] my mother's name is Ghezwas.

MM:9

'mā 'haft be'rād en
mā haft berād =en
PN.1PL seven brother =COP.NPST.1PL

We are seven brothers.

MM:10

mazo'nēn be'radon o'roj at as o'roj kasān'ter
mazon-ēn berād=on oroj =at-Ø as oroj kasān-ter
big-ATTR brother=PC.1SG Oroj =COP.PST-3SG than Oroj small-CMP

a'lī ak'bar at e'sān om'ray dā'day ba šo'mā
alī-akbar =at-Ø eš-ān omray dād-ay ba šomā
Ali-Akbar =COP.PST-3SG PROX-PL life.OBL.PC.3SG give.PST-PP to PN.2PL

My oldest brother was Oroj, [the one] after (lit. younger than) Oroj was Ali Akbar. They are dead (lit. they have given his/her life to you).

MM:11

as ā'ī kasān'ter mah'mad a'lī en ke al'ʔān
 as ā-ī kasān-ter mahmad-alī =en ke alʔān
 than DIST-GEN small-CMP Mahmad-Ali =COP.NPST.3SG CLM now

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

Mahmad Ali, who is still [alive], is [the one] younger than Ali Akbar.

MM:12

as ā'ī kasān'ter 'panja'lī en 'assen
 as ā-ī kasān-ter panjalī =en ass=en
 than DIST-OBL small-CMP Panjali =COP.NPST.3SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

The one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Panjali. He is [alive].

MM:13

as ā'ī kasān'ter sarfe'rāz en ke ašā'yer
 as ā-ī kasān-ter sarferāz =en ke ašāyer
 than DIST-OBL small-CMP Sarferaz =COP.NPST.3SG CLM nomad

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

The one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Sarferaz, who is a nomad.

MM:14

as ā'ī kasān'ter ġorbāna'lī en ašā'yer
 as ā-ī kasān-ter ġorbānalī =en ašāyer
 than DIST-OBL small-CMP Ghorbanali =COP.NPST.3SG nomad

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

The one right after him (lit. younger than he) is Ghorbanali, [who] is a nomad.

MM:15

as ā'šān kasān'ter 'man ān o ya ġā'hārī
 as āšān kasān-ter man =ān =o ya ġāhār=ī
 than DIST.PL small-CMP PN.1SG =COP.NPST.1SG =and one sister=IND

After (lit. younger than) them there is me and a sister.

4. Text Corpus

MM:16

gā'hāren am bālā'deh en
gāhār=en =am bālādeh =en
sister=PC.1PL =ADD Baladeh =COP.NPST.3SG

Our sister is in Baladeh.

MM:17

'man šoġlom čōbā'nī at
man šoġl=om čōbān-ī =at-Ø
PN.1SG occupation=PC.1SG shepherd-NOMZ =COP.PST-3SG

I was a shepherd.

MM:18

ba ya 'xāne čō'bān ba 'nāme ša'pūr xān āmānolā'hī čō'bān
ba ya xān=e čōbān ba nām=e šapūr xān āmānolāhī čōbān
to one khan=IND shepherd by name=EZ Shapur Khan Amanolahi shepherd

adān
=ad-ān
=COP.PST-1SG

I was a shepherd of a khan called Shapur Khan Amanolahi.

MM:19

'noh 'sāl čō'bānay bodān
noh sāl čōbān=ay bod-ān
nine year shepherd=PC.3SG become.PST-1SG

I was his shepherd for nine years.

MM:20

'noh 'sāl čō'bānay bodān 'arz kanān
noh sāl čōbān=ay bod-ān arz Ø-kan-ān
nine year shepherd=PC.3SG become.PST-1SG statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG

xed'mate šo'mā ho'dūte pūnz'da sāl'la adān
xedmat=e šomā hodūt=e pūnzda sāl-a =ad-ān
service=EZ PN.2PL about=EZ fifteen year-ADJZ =COP.PST-1SG

I was his shepherd for nine years. Let me tell you [that] I was about fifteen years old.

MM:21

'dozz 'wade 'jadī hay'wānā 'panj na'far 'hojūme
 dozz wad=e jad=ī haywān-ā panj nafar hojūm=e
 thief REFL=PC.3SG hit.PST=PC.3SG animal-OBL five person attack=PC.3SG

ko bah'ram pūnz'da sāl'a adān ha'rīfom
 ko bahr=am pūnzda sāl-a =ad-ān harīf=om
 do.PST for=PC.1SG fifteen year-ADJZ =COP.PST-1SG opponent=PC.1SG

'nabod ya 'dotā 'kōhom am 'wārt 'kōhom
 na-bod-Ø ya do-tā kōh=om =am wārt kōh=om
 NEG-become.PST-3SG one two-CL stone=PC.1SG =ADD eat.PST stone=PC.1SG

am 'jat de'wīst o pan'jā hay'wān 'borreš
 =am jat dewīst =o panjā haywān borr=eš
 =ADD hit.PST two hundred =and fifty animal group=PC.3PL

dāda maba'rayad hay'wānā a
 dād=a ma-bar-ay=ad-Ø haywān-ā a
 give.PST=COP.PST IMP-take.NPST-INF=COP.PST-3SG animal-OBL from

das'sā 'geftom
 dass-ā geft=om
 hand-OBL take.PST=PC.1SG

The thief himself attacked the animals, five persons attacked me, I was fifteen years old, they couldn't resist me. I was both hit by a couple of stones and I threw a couple of stones too. They stole (lit. selected) two hundred and fifty animals [and] were taking them away. I took the animals [back] from them (lit. from hand).

MM:22

'sobī pa'dayš šū'ēnton 'bortom 'bortom
 sob-ī padayš šūēnt-on bort=om bort=om
 morning-ADVZ after.PC.3PL trace.PST-1SG take.PST=PC.1SG take.PST=PC.1SG

'bortom a'gennān a 'rāhā ma'hā
 bort=om a=genn-ān a rāh=ī-a mah-ā-Ø
 take.PST=PC.1SG VCL=see.NPST-1SG from way=IND-OBL IMP-come.NPST-3SG

az rā'hā 'čappī koda 'īḡa a'gennān
 az rāh-ā čapp=ī kod-a īḡa a=genn-ān
 from way-OBL overturned=PC.3SG do.PST-PP here VCL=see.NPST-1SG

'benze ā'worta ya 'gawdī at
 benz=e āwort-a ya gawd=ī =at-Ø
 Mercedes Benz=PC.3SG bring.PST-PP one pit=IND =COP.PST-3SG

4. Text Corpus

'benz 'jata mā gaw'dā ta
 benz jat-a=Ø mā gawd-ā ta
 Mercedes Benz hit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG into pit-OBL in order that

hay 'wānā 'bejant ben 'zā 'bebā
 haywān-ā be-jan-t benz-ā be-bā-Ø
 animal-OBL SBJV-hit.NPST-3SG Mercedes Benz-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

In the morning I traced them, I went [and] went [and] went (lit. took, took, took). I saw that he was coming from another direction (lit. a way), he had had an accident. I saw that he had brought a Mercedes Benz [pickup] there (lit. here), there was a pit [in the ground], he had driven (lit. hit) the Mercedes into the pit. [He had brought the Mercedes] in order to load up the animals onto it and take [them with him].

MM:23

xolā 'sa hay 'wānā 'geftom 'natānī
 xolāsa haywān-ā gef̄t=om na-tānt=ī
 in short animal-OBL take.PST=PC.1SG NEG-be able.PST=PC.3SG

'bebā
 be-bā-Ø
 SBJV-take.NPST-3SG

Well, I took the animals (lit. animal) [back], he could not take [them].

MM:24

'arz kanān xed'mate šo'mā 'dya belaxa'ra zamā'na
 arz Ø-kan-ān xedmat=e šomā dya belaxara zamāna
 statement SBJV-do.NPST-1SG service=EZ PN.2PL well anyway fate

bah'ram pe'sārī āwo marī'zī 'pīš āk
 bahr=am pešār=ī āwo marīzī pīš āk-Ø
 for=PC.1SG pressure=PC.3SG bring.PST illness PREV come.PST-3SG

bah'ram 'ākān 'kaftān šah'rā
 bahr=am āk-ān kaft-ān šahr-ā
 for=PC.1SG come.PST-1SG fall.PST-1SG town-OBL

Let me tell you, well, anyway life (lit. fate) put pressure on me, I fell ill (lit. illness came about for me), I came [and] ended up (lit. fell) in town.

MM:25

hā'lā 'man ya šer'kateā 'kār maka'nagān
 hālā man ya šerkat=e-ā kār ma-kan-ag=ān
 now PN.1SG one company=IND-OBL work IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

Now I am working in a company.

MM:26

'say 'bačom 'assen o do ja'nek 'bačak 'ham
 say bač=om ass=en =o do janek bačak ham
 three son=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG =and two daughter son ADD

'janom 'gefta 'janek 'yake ham 'šūā
 jan=om geft-a janek yak=e ham šū-ā
 wife=PC.1SG take.PST-PP daughter one=IND ADD husband-OBL

'dādagom fe'lan 'do 'bačom o ya ja'nek ham
 dād-ag=om felan do bač=om =o ya janek ham
 give.PST-PP=PC.1SG at present two son=PC.1SG =and one daughter ADD

az'zāb en
 azzāb =en
 unmarried =COP.NPST.3SG

I have three sons and two daughters. I have taken a wife for one (lit. the) son, I have also given one girl to a husband, right now two sons and one daughter are unmarried.

MM:27

man ba ī'sān 'lonkī na'yan madī'yagān
 man ba īš-ān lonk=ī nayan ma-dī-yag=ān
 PN.1SG to PROX-PL piece=IND bread IMP-give.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

I provide for their basic needs (lit. I give them a piece of bread).

MM:28

zenne gī maka 'nagān 'šokr
 zennegī ma-kan-ag=ān šokr
 life IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG praise

I am managing somehow (lit. I am living), thank God.

MM:29

'mā... mo'gae ke 'haf 'sāl adom
 mā moğa=e ke haf sāl =ad-Ø=om
 PN.1PL time=IND CLM seven year =COP.PST-PST-3SG=PC.1SG

be'rādom 'mord
 berād=om mord-Ø
 brother=PC.1SG die.PST-3SG

We... when I was seven years old my brother died.

4. Text Corpus

MM:30

'mā 'haf be'rād 'say as 'ya dō'īyā 'čār as 'ya
 mā haf berād say as ya dōī-yā čār as ya
 PN.1PL seven brother three from one mother-OBL four from one

dō'īyā
 dōī-yā
 mother-OBL

We, the seven brothers, three [are] from one mother, four from another mother.

MM:31

'may sarpa'rassen behe'sāb be'rāde 'assad
 may sarparass=en behesāb berād=e ass=ad-Ø
 PN.1PL.GEN supervisor=PC.1PL actually brother=IND be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

be 'nāme sarfe'rāz 'say be'rāday mazan'ter ad
 be nām=e sarferāz say berād-ay mazan-ter =ad-Ø
 by name=EZ Sarferaz three brother-GEN big-CMP =COP.PST-3SG

The one who took care of us, actually, was a brother called Sarferaz, he was the oldest of the three brothers.

MM:32

'ē 'mārā bela... ā'wortī rū kā'rā
 ē mā-rā bela āwort=ī rū kār-ā
 PROX PN.1PL-OBJ FRAG bring.PST=PC.3SG on work-OBL

He arranged jobs for us.

MM:33

'tā kam 'kam 'god boden o 'god boden
 tā kam kam god bod-en =o god bod-en
 then little by little big become.PST-1PL =and big become.PST-1PL

'yake 'raften dār'ga 'yake 'raften čōbā'nī
 yak=e raft-en dārğa yak=e raft-en čōbān-ī
 one=IND go.PST-1PL camel herding one=IND go.PST-1PL shepherd-NOMZ

4.6. Text 6: My Memories

ke ra'seden aw'wal ba sarfe'rāz 'bīs o 'pan sāl'a
 ke rased-en awwal ba sarferāz bīs =o pan sāl-a
 CLM arrive.PST-1PL first for Sarferaz twenty =and five year-ADJZ

'janen 'geft sarfe'rāzī lō'ga je'dāen 'ko
 jan=en gefť sarferāz-ī lōg-a jedā=en ko
 wife=PC.1PL take.PST Sarferaz-GEN house-OBL separated=PC.1PL do.PST

Then little by little we grew up, one of us went camel-herding, one of us went [and worked as] a shepherd, when we had a chance (lit. arrived), first we got Sarferaz a wife when he was twenty-five, we arranged a separate house for Sarferaz (lit. we separated Sarferaz' house).

MM:34

'āken ba ġorbāna'lī ke as sarfe'rāz kasānte'ro
 āk-en ba ġorbānalī ke as sarferāz kasān-ter-o
 come.PST-1PL for Ghorbanalī CLM from Sarferaz small-CMP-DIM

en ba... be'rād aden ba ā'sī 'janen
 =en ba berād =ad-en ba āsī jan=en
 =COP.NPST.3SG FRAG brother =COP.PST-1PL for DIST.OBL wife=PC.1PL

'ge ā'sī lō'gā ham je'dāen 'ko
 ge āsī lōg-ā ham jedā=en ko
 take.NPST DIST.GEN house-OBL ADD separated=PC.1PL do.PST

'māntān 'man
 mānt-ān man
 remain.PST-1SG PN.1SG

The the turn came (lit. we came) to Ghorbanali, who was younger than Sarferaz, we were brothers, we got him a wife, we arranged a separate house for him as well (lit. we separated his house as well), I was left.

MM:35

'man ham 'bīs o 'pan sāl'a ba ya 'xāne čō'bān
 man ham bīs =o pan sāl-a ba ya xān=e čōbān
 PN.1SG ADD twenty =and five year-ADJZ for one khan=IND shepherd

adān
 =ad-ān
 =COP.PST-1SG

Well, [when] I [was] twenty-five years old, I was a shepherd to a khan.

4. Text Corpus

MM:36

'xān 'gašt ke 'āgā ta 'joz ma'nī aw'lād
 xān gašt=Ø ke āgā ta joz man-ī awlād
 khan say.PST=PC.3SG CLM sir PN.2SG part PN.1SG-GEN child.PL

a'bay do'rōge a'bassa bah'ram
 a=b-ay dorōg=e a=bass=a bahr=am
 VCL=become.NPST-2SG lie=PC.3SG VCL=tie.PST=COP.PST for=PC.1SG

ma'salan ke mā'lay 'bečārēnān
 masalan ke mālay be-čārēn-ān
 in fact CLM livestock.OBL.PC.3SG SBJV-take grazing.NPST-1SG

The khan said, “Young man (lit. sir), you will be [like] one of my children.” He was lying to me, actually, so that I would take his sheep and goats grazing.

MM:37

'āgā ya 'haš 'sālī čō'bānī 'bodān
 āgā ya haš sāl-ī čōbān=ī bod-ān
 sir one eight year-NOMZ shepherd=PC.3SG become.PST-1SG

'gaštom 'ta ke ma'nī bō'ā bo'day hā'lā
 gašt=om ta ke man-ī bōā bod-ay hālā
 say.PST=PC.1SG PN.2SG CLM PN.1SG-GEN father become.PST-2SG now

'man nūmzā'dī 'bodagān
 man nūmzād-ī bod-ag=ān
 PN.1SG engaged-ADJZ become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

Sir, I was his shepherd for some eight years, [then] I said, “Now that you became my father, I have now reached [the age of] getting engaged.

MM:38

bo'kā ja'nā 'begerān
 bokā jan-ā be-ger-ān
 want wife-OBL SBJV-get.NPST-1SG

I want to get married.”

MM:39

dawāz 'da... 'šeš hezār 'toman owa 'kēn bās 'loğ 'šeš hezār
dawāzda šeš hezār toman owakēn bāšloğ šeš hezār
 twelve six thousand toman at that time bridal gift six thousand

'toman a
 toman =a-Ø
 toman =COP.PST-3SG

Twelve... six thousand *toman*, the bridal gift was six thousand *toman* at that time.

MM:40

owa 'kēn 'mozz masa 'lan 'sālī he 'zār toman
owakēn mozz masalan sāl-ī hezār toman
 at that time wages for example year-ADVZ thousand toman

a 'dādadeš be ya 'mozze kārega 'rīyā
a=dād=ad=eš be ya mozz=e kāregar-ī-yā
 VCL=give.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL as one wages=EZ worker-NOMZ-OBL

At that time, the wages, they gave for example a thousand *toman* per year as a salary to a labourer.

MM:41

'gaštom 'bowā 'man bo 'kā ĵa 'nā 'begerān
gašt=om bowā man bokā ĵan-ā be-ger-ān
 say.PST=PC.1SG father PN.1SG want wife-OBL SBJV-take.NPST-1SG

I said, “Father, I want to get married (lit. take wife).”

MM:42

zenne 'gī kanān ya āyan 'ne 'bebīdom
zennegī Ø-kan-ān ya āyanne be-b-īd=om
 life SBJV-do.NPST-1SG one future SBJV-become.NPST-3SG=PC.1SG

[I want] to get a life, to have a future.”

MM:43

xolā 'sa sarā 'sarī ko ĵar 'rī bodān gō xā 'nā
xolāsa sarāsar=ī ko ĵarr-ī bod-ān gō xān-ā
 in short quarrel=PC.3SG do.PST quarrel-ADJZ become.PST-1SG with khan-OBL

Anyway, he made a quarrel, I got into a quarrel with the khan.

4. Text Corpus

MM:44

gō xā'nā 'welen ko xā'nay hay'wānā ham
gō xān-ā wel=en ko xān-ay haywān-ā ham
 with khan-OBL loose=PC.1PL do.PST khan-GEN animal-OBL ADD

'dādom das'say 'ākān 'hade ya
dād=om dassay āk-ān had=e ya
 give.PST=PC.1SG hand.OBL.PC.3SG come.PST-1SG to=EZ one

šīrā zīyā ba 'nāme ā'gāye aska'rī bah'rāme aska'rī
šīrāz-ī-yā ba nām=e āgā=ye askarī bahram=e askarī
 Shiraz-ADJZ-OBL by name=EZ mister=EZ Askari Bahram=EZ Askari

ges'mate xūnaxa'wīs en hā'lā ham 'assen
gesmat=e xūnaxawīs =en hālā ham ass=en
 part=EZ Khunakhawīs =COP.NPST.3SG now ADD be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

'hade ī'sī čō'bān bodān
had=e īs-ī čōbān bod-ān
 by=EZ PROX-OBL shepherd become.PST-1SG

I (lit. we) left the khan, I returned the khan's animals (lit. animal) to him as well and I came to a person from Shiraz who was called Mr. Askari, Bahram Askari, he lives (lit. is) in the Khunakhavis part [of town], he is still [alive], I became his shepherd.

MM:45

'hade ī'sī čō'bān bodān
had=e īs-ī čōbān bod-ān
 by=EZ PROX-OBL shepherd become.PST-1SG

I became his shepherd.

MM:46

ē 'gaštī ke 'āgā hā'lā ke 'ta ya ā'dame...
ē gašt=ī ke āgā hālā ke ta ya ādam=e
 PROX say.PST=PC.3SG CLM sir now CLM PN.2SG one human being=EZ

bah'ram tah'rīfeš koda ya ā'dame ze'reṇē
bahr=am tahrīf=eš kod-a ya ādam=e zereṇ=e
 for=PC.1SG praise=PC.3PL do.PST-PP one human being=EZ smart=IND

4.6. Text 6: My Memories

ay o badar'xor ay 'man ne'gahat
 =ay =o badarxor =ay man negah=at
 =COP.NPST.2SG =and useful =COP.NPST.2SG PN.1SG keeping=PC.2SG

adārān
 a=dār-ān
 VCL=hold.NPST-1SG

He said, “Young man (lit. sir), now that you are a person..., they have told me that you are a smart person, and you are of good use [to me], I will keep you.

MM:47

bah'rat ja'nā ham age'rān
 bahr=at jan-ā ham a=ger-ān
 for=PC.2SG wife-OBL ADD VCL=get.NPST-1SG

I will get a wife for you as well.

MM:48

bāš'loḡat ham a'dān dō'atet ham
 bāšloḡ=at ham a=d-ān dōat=et ham
 bridal gift=PC.2SG ADD VCL=give.NPST-1SG wedding=PC.2SG ADD

aka'nān 'hamītawrī ham 'ko
 a=kan-ān hamītawr=ī ham ko
 VCL=do.NPST-1SG like this=PC.3SG ADD do.PST

I will both pay the bridal gift and make a wedding party for you.” So he did like this.

MM:49

bāš'loḡam 'šeš hezār tomanā dādī
 bāšloḡ=am šeš hezār toman-ā dād=ī
 bridal gift=PC.1SG six thousand toman-OBL give.PST=PC.3SG

He gave my bridal gift of six thousand *toman*.

MM:50

bāš'loḡ ha'mī šīrba'hā 'magošan
 bāšloḡ ham=ī šīrbahā ma-goš-an
 bridal gift EMPH=PROX bridal gift IMP-say.NPST-3PL

This bridal gift, *bashloḡh*, it is also called *shirbaha*.

4. Text Corpus

MM:51

bās 'logā šeš hezār to 'manā 'dādī
bāšlog-ā šeš hezār toman-ā dād=ī
bridal gift-OBL six thousand toman-OBL give.PST=PC.3SG

He gave the bridal gift, six thousand *toman*.

MM:52

dō 'aten am kod o belaxa 'ra ā je 'dā
dōat=en =am kod =o belaxara ā jedā
marriage=PC.1PL =ADD do.PST =and anyway DIST separated

bodan 'man ham je 'dā bodagān
bod-an man ham jedā bod-ag=ān
become.PST-3PL PN.1SG ADD separated become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

We also got married and [my brothers] got their separate families (lit. they were separated) and I got mine too (lit. I, too, was separated).

MM:53

hā 'lā 'gode ā 'šī dya a 'rūye 'wadī pā 'dān
hālā god=e āšī dya a rū=ye wad-ī pād-ān
now after=EZ DIST.OBL now from on=EZ REFL-GEN foot-PL

ōš 'adān
ōštād-ān
stand up.PST-1SG

Then after that I managed my life myself (lit. I stood on my own feet).

MM:54

'wadam al 'ʔān pan šeš 'čokom 'assen
wad=om alʔān pan šeš čok=om ass=en
REFL=PC.1SG now five six child=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

'lōgom 'assen zenne 'gī
lōg=om ass=en zennegī
house=PC.1SG be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG life

maka 'nagān
ma-kan-ag=ān
IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1SG

I myself have five or six children now, I have a wife (lit. house), I am living.

MM:55

dō 't̄n am ke 'šas s̄ā 'la rah 'mate xo 'dā 'raft
 dōt̄=n =am ke šas s̄āl-a rahmat=e xodā raft-Ø
 mother=PC.1PL =ADD TOP sixty year-ADJZ mercy=EZ God go.PST-3SG

My (lit. our) mother, may God have mercy on her, died at the age of sixty.

MM:56

bo 'wāem ke 'man 'haf s̄ā 'la adān rah 'mate
 bowā=em ke man haf s̄āl-a =ad-ān rahmat=e
 father=PC.1SG TOP PN.1SG seven year-ADJZ =COP.PST-1SG mercy=EZ

xo 'dā ra
 xodā ra-Ø
 God go.PST-3SG

My father, may God have mercy on him, died when I was seven years old.

MM:57

dō 't̄... bo 'wām do 'ros 'aḡlom a 'naraṣī ke
 dōt̄ bowā=m doros aḡl=om a=na-ras-ī ke
 mother father=PC.1SG right reason=PC.1SG VCL=NEG-arrive.NPST-3SG CLM

bo 'wā 'morta 'če 'čī en 'če 'tar
 bowā mort-a=Ø če čī =en 'četar
 father die.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG what thing =COP.NPST.3SG how

en 'saxt en
 =en saxt =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG difficult =COP.NPST.3SG

I don't really remember when my father died, what it meant, how it was, [how] difficult it was.

MM:58

'hā
 hā
 yes

Yes.

4. Text Corpus

MM:59

'dya kam 'kam 'god boden 'āken 'raften hā 'lā
dya kam kam god bod-en āk-en raft-en hālā
well little by little big become.PST-1PL come.PST-1PL go.PST-1PL now

'mā ya šer 'kateyā 'kār makanagēn
mā ya šerkat=e-yā kār ma-kan-ag=ēn
PN.1PL one company=IND-OBL work IMP-do.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.1PL

Then I (lit. we) grew up little by little, I came and went [between different places, jobs, etc.], now I am working in a company.

MM:60

'hā dya širā 'zī 'pūlī dā 'janom geft
hā dya širāz-ī pūl=ī dā jan=om geft
yes now Shiraz-ADJZ money=PC.3SG give.PST wife=PC.1SG take.PST

'dōatom 'ko
dōat=om ko
marriage=PC.1SG do.PST

Yes, well, the [man] from Shiraz paid, I got a wife, I got married.

MM:61

'yek ja 'neke 'geftom 'zolfī 'bōr 'čamm 'sos ġa 'šaṇ
yek janek=e geft=om zolf=ī bōr čamm sos ġašaṇ
one girl=IND take.PST=PC.1SG hairlock=PC.3SG beige eye green beautiful

I married a girl with light locks of hair [and] green eyes, beautiful.

MM:62

'hā 'geftom
hā geft=om
yes take.PST=PC.1SG

Yes, I married [her].

MM:63

'dya ha'mī brā'zāk rama'zān brā'zāken manū'čehr
 dya ham=ī brāzāk ramazān brāzāk=en manūčehr
 well EMPH=PROX nephew Ramazan nephew=COP.NPST.3SG Manuchehr

samsānī'yān brā'zāk enom alam'dār
 samsāniyān brāzāk =en=om alamdār
 Samsanian nephew =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG Alamdar

brā'zāken be'rāday 'bač enom
 brāzāk=en berād-ay bač =en=om
 nephew=COP.NPST.3SG brother-GEN son =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

Well, this nephew, Ramazan is [my] nephew, Manuchehr Samsanian is my nephew, Alamdar is [my] nephew, my brother's son.

MM:64

'ē šāhre'zā ā'mūay 'bač enom
 ē šāhrezā āmū-ay bač =en=om
 PROX Shahreza uncle-GEN son =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.1SG

This Shahreza is my cousin (i.e., paternal uncle's son).

MM:65

'mā tī'ra en 'xayle hamde'garay xā'teren bo'kā
 mā tīra =en xayle hamdegar-ay xāter=en bokā
 PN.1PL clan =PC.1PL much each other-GEN mind=PC.1PL want

We, our clan, we take good care of each other.

MM:66

maw'geī ke čō'bān bodān masa'lan hay'wān a ba'hār
 mawgeī ke čōbān bod-ān masalan haywān a bahār
 when shepherd become.PST-1SG for example animal from spring

ke ābo'dad 'xān hay'wān
 ke ā=bod=ad-Ø xān haywān
 CLM VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG khan animal

a'dādādī ta'rās
 a=dād=ad=ī tarās
 VCL=give.PST=COP.PST=PC.3SG scales

When I was a shepherd, you know, when spring came, the khan weighed the animals.

4. Text Corpus

MM:67

owa 'kī kī 'lū 'nēssad 'mann ad rō 'gen
owakī kīlū nēss=ad-Ø mann =ad-Ø rōgen
 at that time kilo NEG.be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG mann =COP.PST-3SG lard

rō 'gen 'mann ad
rōgen mann =ad-Ø
lard mann =COP.PST-3SG

In those days, it was not kilos, it was *mann*, the lard, the lard was [weighed] in *mann*.

MM:68

'mann rō 'gen haž 'da mann rō 'gen ta 'rāzon ko ā xā 'nā
mann rōgen hažda mann rōgen tarāz=on ko ā xān-ā
 mann lard eighteen mann lard scales=PC.1SG do.PST to khan-OBL

Mann, lard, I weighed up eighteen *mann* of lard for the khan.

MM:69

ke mā 'darom 'gaštī ke 'babam ġorbūnet haž 'da
ke mādar=om gašt=ī ke babam ġorbūn=et hažda
 CLM mother=PC.1SG say.PST=PC.3SG CLM oh dear offering=PC.2SG eighteen

'mann rō 'gena četa 'rī ta a 'day
mann rōgen-a četarī ta a=d-ay
 mann lard-OBL how PN.2SG VCL=give.NPST-2SG

My mother said, “Oh dear, my darling (lit. offering for you), how are you going to give eighteen *mann* of lard [to the khan]?”

MM:70

'gaštom 'nanam xo 'dā bo 'zorg en az xo 'dā
gašt=om nana=m xodā bozorg =en az xodā
 say.PST=PC.1SG mother=PC.1SG God big =COP.NPST.3SG from God

ī 'mīd 'bebī
īmīd be-b-ī
 hope SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

I said, “Mother, God will help us (lit. God is great), put your hope in God.”

MM:71

'raften kō'bīn eǰā'raen ko hīz'dah mann rō'genā
 raft-en kōbīn eǰāra=en ko hīzdah mann rōgen-ā
 go.PST-1PL combine harvester rent=PC.1PL do.PST eighteen mann lard-OBL

ke ta'rāz dāden 'dāden dāwāz'dah 'mann rō'gen ham
 ke tarāz dād=en dād=en dāwāzdah mann rōgen ham
 CLM scales give.PST=PC.1PL give.PST=PC.1PL twelve mann lard ADD

'bahre 'waden 'gerden ko
 bahr=e wad=en gerd=en ko
 for=EZ REFL=PC.1PL gathered=PC.1PL do.PST

We went [and] rented a combine harvester, when we had weighed up eighteen *mann* of lard, and given it [to the khan], we also gathered twelve *mann* of lard for ourselves.

MM:72

masa'lan sa'harī sā'hate... sā'hate taǰrī'ban ča'hāre 'sob
 masalan sahar-ī sāhat=e sāhat=e taǰrīban čahār=e sob
 in fact dawn-ADVZ hour=EZ hour=EZ around four=EZ morning

dō'tom bī'dārom... dō'tom bī'dārom
 dōī=om bīdār=om dōī=om bīdār=om
 mother=PC.1SG awake=PC.1SG mother=PC.1SG awake=PC.1SG

ākoda
 ā=kod=a
 VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

You know, in the morning, at about four in the morning my mother would wake me up.

MM:73

hī'zake a'manteda masa'lan 'dōg ya
 hīzak=e a=manted=a masalan dōg ya
 goatskin=PC.3SG VCL=churn.PST=COP.PST for example buttermilk one

ka'nekeyā 'gerday ākoda ne'mešk ya
 kanek=e-yā gerd=ay ā=kod=a nemešk ya
 side=IND-OBL gathered=PC.3SG VCL=do.PST=COP.PST butter one

ka'nekeyā dō'gay čōča'neken
 kanek=e-yā dōgay čōčanek=en
 side=IND-OBL buttermilk.OBL.PC.3SG dried whey=PC.1PL

4. Text Corpus

ākoda *'kašken* *ākoda*
 ā=kod=a kašk=en ā=kod=a
 VCL=do.PST=COP.PST dried whey=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

ba'hāen *ākoda* *ne'meškā* *ham* *rō'genen*
 bahā=en ā=kod=a nemešk-ā ham rōgen=en
 selling=PC.3SG VCL=do.PST=COP.PST butter-OBL ADD lard=PC.1PL

ākoda *bā'hāen* *ākoda* *'ham* *ba*
 ā=kod=a bāhā=en ā=kod=a ham ba
 VCL=do.PST=COP.PST selling=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST ADD for

wa'dī *wa'ray* *ham* *bā'hāen* *ākoda*
 wad-ī war-ay ham bāhā=en ā=kod=a
 REFL-GEN food-INF ADD selling=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

She churned [the milk] in the goatskin, you know, she collected the buttermilk on one side [and] the butter on another (lit. one) side. We made dried whey of the buttermilk, we sold [it], we made lard out of the butter, we sold [it], we [took it] both for our own food and we also sold it.

MM:74

hay'wānā *ma'san* *sā'hate* *'čār* *'man* *'darom*
 haywān-ā masan sāhat=e čār man dar=om
 animal-OBL in fact hour=EZ four PN.1SG PREV=PC.1SG

agēka *a'bortadom*
 a=gēk=a a=bort=ad=om
 VCL=take out.PST=COP.PST VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

ačā'rēntadom
 a=čārēnt=ad=om
 VCL=take grazing.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

The animals, you know, I would take [them] out at four o'clock [in the morning], I took [them] grazing.

MM:75

sā'hate *'čār* *ke* *a'bortadom* *tağrī'ban* *dawāz'dahe*
 sāhat=e čār ke a=bort=ad=om tağrīban dawāzdah=e
 hour=EZ four CLM VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG around twelve=EZ

'zohr *akā'wūrtadom*
 zohr a=k-āwūrt=ad=om
 noon VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

When I took [them grazing] at four, [then] I brought them at about twelve noon.

MM:76*a 'doštaden*

a=došt=ad=en

VCL=milk.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL

We milked [them].

MM:77*šī'rā 'garmen ākodad*

šīr-ā garm=en ā=kod=ad

milk-OBL warm=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

We heated up the milk.

MM:78*a 'jadaden mā'ya 'māsten ākodad*

a=jad=ad=en māya māst=en ā=kod=ad

VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL leavener yogurt=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

do 'bāra ba hay'wānā 'rōmen adāda

dobāra ba haywān-ā rōm=en a=dād=a

again to animal-OBL evening grazing=PC.1PL VCL=give.PST=COP.PST

a 'raftadān 'šāmī

a=raft=ad-ān šām-ī

VCL=go.PST=COP.PST-1SG supper-ADVZ

akā 'wūrtadom

a=k-āwūrt=ad=om

VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

We added (lit. hit) bacterial culture, we made yoghurt, again I (lit. we) took (lit. gave) the animals grazing in the evening, I went and [then] brought [the animals back] at supper.

MM:79*'šāmī ma'san be xā'tere ke hay'wān 'xūb 'bebīd*

šām-ī masan be xātere ke haywān xūb be-b-īd

supper-ADVZ for example since animal good SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

o za'rar 'nakanān o ābo'rūm 'xūb

=o zarar na-kan-ān =o āborū=m xūb

=and harm NEG.SBJV-do.NPST-1SG =and respect=PC.1SG good

'bebīd sā'hate ma'san yāz'dahe 'šab hay'wānom

be-b-īd sāhat=e masan yāzdah=e šab haywān=om

SBJV-become.NPST-3SG hour=EZ for example eleven=EZ night animal=PC.1SG

4. Text Corpus

šaw'kan adāda a'būrtadom
 šawkan a=dād=a a=būrt=ad=om
 night grazing VCL=give.PST=COP.PST VCL=take.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG

kō'hā ačā'rēntadom dobā'ra ma'san
 kōh-ā a=čārēnt=ad=om dobāra masan
 mountain-OBL VCL=take grazing.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG again for example

'yek o 'do ākā'wūrtadom gū'sā
 yek =o do ā=k-āwūrt=ad=om gūš-ā
 one =and two VCL=IMP.k-bring.PST=COP.PST=PC.1SG sheep pen-OBL

At supper, you know, in order for the animals to become well-nurtured (lit. good) and for me not to make any loss and to keep a good reputation, I would take the animals out grazing at, for example, eleven at night, I took [them] to the mountain to graze, then I brought them back again to the pen at around one or (lit. and) two.

MM:80

bar'ream a'mēčēntad a'naeštadān
 barre=am a=mēčēnt=ad a=na-ešt=ad-ān
 lamb=PC.1SG VCL=breastfeed.PST=COP.PST VCL=NEG-let.PST=COP.PST-1SG

ke 'barra 'pāmāl bī ke bah'ram 'saxt
 ke barra pāmāl Ø-b-ī ke bahr=am saxt
 CLM lamb trampled SBJV-become.NPST-3SG CLM for=PC.1SG difficult

'bebī
 be-b-ī
 SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

I got the lambs to nurse, I didn't let the lambs get trampled, which would make it hard for me.

MM:81

ma'san haš'sad hay'wānom edā'ra akoda
 masan hašsad haywān=om edāra a=kod=a
 for example eight hundred animal=PC.1SG management VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

You know, I managed eight hundred animals.

MM:82

haš'sad hay'wān sī'sad o pan'jāhī
 hašsad haywān sīsad =o panjāh=ī
 eight hundred animal three hundred =and fifty=PC.3SG

'zādād behe'sāb zā'ī... barra'dār
 zād=ad behesāb zāī barra-dār
 give birth.PST=COP.PST actually having given birth lamb-keeping

ad šanek'dār ad ša'nekī
 =ad-Ø šanek-dār =ad-Ø šanek=ī
 =COP.PST-3SG goat kid-keeping =COP.PST-3SG goat kid=PC.3SG

assad
 ass=ad-Ø
 be.NPST=COP.PST-3SG

Eight hundred animals, three hundred and fifty of them had given birth, you know, they had lambs, goat-kids, they had goat-kids.

4. Text Corpus

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

Korošobāray Gāfag
The Weaving of the Korosh
recounted by Mahtalat Samsanian

WK:1

'xo hā' lā aw' wal bo' kānen jā' jīmā 'begāfen
xo hālā awwal bokān=en jājīm-ā be-gāf-en
well now first want=PC.1PL jajim-OBL SBJV-weave.NPST-1PL

Well, now, first we want to weave the *jajim*.

WK:2

jā' jīmā aw' wal ban' nay arē' sen paš' mā ma' san
jājīm-ā awwal bannay a=rēs-en pašm-ā masan
jajim-OBL first warp.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=spin.NPST-1PL wool-OBL in fact

mē' šā ače' nen paš' mokā arē' sen
mēs-ā a=čen-en pašm-ok-ā a=rēs-en
sheep-OBL VCL=shear.NPST-1PL wool-DEF-OBL VCL=spin.NPST-1PL

The *jajim*, first we spin its warp, the wool, you know, we shear the sheep, we spin the wool.

WK:3

'waxtī ke 'rassen es' pēdī je' dā akanen
waxtī ke rass=en espēd=ī jedā a=kan-en
when spin.PST=PC.1PL white=PC.3SG separated VCL=do.NPST-1PL

'bōray je' dā akanen meš' kī je' dā
bōr=ay jedā a=kan-en meškī jedā
beige=PC.3SG separated VCL=do.NPST-1PL black separated

akanen ġawa' ī am je' dā akanen
a=kan-en ġawaī =am jedā a=kan-en
VCL=do.NPST-1PL brown =ADD separated VCL=do.NPST-1PL

When we have spun [it], we set aside the (lit. its) white [yarn], we set aside the beige, we set aside the black, we also set aside the brown.

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:4

ē 'šānā ke je'dāen ko es'pēdī ke es'pēd
 ēš-ān-ā ke jedā=en ko espēd=ī ke espēd
 PROX-PL-OBJ CLM separated=PC.1PL do.PST white=PC.3SG TOP white

en es'pēdī a'bī 'zard o
 =en espēd=ī a=b-ī zard =o
 =COP.NPST.3SG white=PC.3SG VCL=become.NPST-3SG yellow =and

kā'hī 'yā masa'lan portegā'lī ke a'sen nāran'jī
 kāhī yā masalan portegālī ke a=š-en nāranjī
 straw coloured or in fact orange CLM VCL=say.NPST-1PL orange

When we have separated them, well, the white is white, the white is dyed into (lit. becomes) yellow, straw colour or orange, you know, which is [also] called tangerine.

WK:5

'ē sa'yēnā 'raṅ akanen as es'pēdā
 ē say.NPST-ēn-ā raṅ a=kan-en as espēd-ā
 PROX three-ATTR-OBL colour VCL=do.NPST-1PL from white-OBL

age'ren
 a=ger-en
 VCL=get.NPST-1PL

We colour these three, we get [them] from the white [wool].

WK:6

'bad bō'ray 'ham masa'lan aka'nen ġer'mez ġer'mez
 bad bōray ham masalan a=kan-en ġermez ġermez
 then beige.OBL.PC.3SG ADD in fact VCL=do.NPST-1PL red red

abī 'bāz ha'mī nāran'jīā az ē
 a=b-ī bāz ham=ī nāranjī-ā az ē
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG again EMPH=PROX orange-OBL from PROX

abī 'begeray
 a=b-ī be-ger-ay
 VCL=become.NPST-3SG SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

Then, we dye (lit. make) the beige [part] of it red, you know, it is dyed (lit. becomes) red. You can also get this orange [yarn] from this [beige wool].

4. Text Corpus

WK:7

meš kī ham 'ham abī ā'bī kanay 'ham
 meškī ham ham a=b-ī ābī Ø-kan-ay ham
 black ADD both VCL=become.NPST-3SG blue SBJV-do.NPST-2SG both

meškī'raṅ kanay
 meškī-raṅ Ø-kan-ay
 black-colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

The black [wool], you can both dye (lit. make) it blue and dye (lit. make) it black.

WK:8

'raṅ akanay ta'wa ta'wa 'dārī
 raṅ a=kan-ay tawa tawa dār=ī
 colour VCL=do.NPST-2SG batch batch wooden frame=PC.3SG

akanay ta'wa ta'wa 'yā 'panš ta'wa 'yā 'haf ta'wa aksar'an
 a=kan-ay tawa tawa yā panš tawa yā haf tawa aksaran
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG batch batch or five batch or seven batch mostly

'haf ta'wa en jā'jīm
 haf tawa =en jājīm
 seven batch =COP.NPST.3SG jajim

You dye it, you tie [the warp] to the wooden frame batch by batch, either five batches or seven batches. The *jajim* is usually seven batches.

WK:9

ta'wa ha'mā ta'wa jā'jīm ke ta'wa agā'fay ta'wa
 tawa ham=ā tawa jājīm ke tawa a=gāf-ay tawa
 batch EMPH=DIST batch jajim CLM batch VCL=weave.NPST-2SG batch

ta'waē aka'nay masa'lan
 tawa=ē a=kan-ay masalan
 batch=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-2SG in fact

The batch, this batch, when you weave the *jajim* with batches, you make it batch by batch, you know.

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:10

'hā masa 'lan ho 'dūde 'bīs 'nax 'har ta 'wāē
 hā masalan hodūd=e bīs nax har tawa=ē
 yes in fact about=EZ twenty thread each batch=PC.3SG

mabī'yagen

ma-bī-yag=en

IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

Yes, actually, each batch becomes about twenty threads.

WK:11

'har ta 'wāē 'bīs 'nax mabī'yagen ke
 har tawa=ē bīs nax ma-bī-yag=en ke
 each batch=PC.3SG twenty thread IMP-become.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG CLM

'dār akanay ašamā'ray 'yā 'bīs 'nax
 dār a=kan-ay a=šamār-ay yā bīs nax
 wooden frame VCL=do.NPST-2SG VCL=count.NPST-2SG or twenty thread

en 'yā masa 'lan 'čel 'nax en
 =en yā masalan čel nax =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG or for example forty thread =COP.NPST.3SG

Each batch becomes twenty threads, when you put [the warp] on the wooden frame, you count, it is either twenty threads or it is, for example, forty threads.

WK:12

'har ka 'yeke goloy'nay agā'fay 'yakē masa 'lan
 har ka yek=e goloy'nay a=gāf-ay yak=ē masalan
 each FRAG one=IND goloy'nay VCL=weave.NPST-2SG one=IND in fact

a'šante 'če korzakor'zī
 a=š-ant=e če korzakorzī
 VCL=say.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG what korzakorzī

Anyone, someone, you weave the *goloy'nay* [pattern], you know, what do they call it, the *korzakorzi* [pattern].

4. Text Corpus

WK:13

'yēke goloy'nay agā'fay ma'san a'say
yek=e goloynay a=gāf-ay masan a=s-ay
one=IND goloynay VCL=weave.NPST-2SG for example VCL=say.NPST-2SG

bo'kānom 'bekašān čī'hāye jā'jīm
bokān=om be-kaš-ān čī-hā=ye jājīm
want=PC.1SG SBJV-draw.NPST-1SG thing-PL=EZ jajim

You weave a *goloynay*. You say, for example, I want to weave the patterns of the *jajim* (lit. draw the things of the *jajim*).

WK:14

čī'hāye jā'jīm masa'lan gūn'pūlā age'ray gūn'pūlā
čī-hā=ye jājīm masalan gūnpūl-ā a=ger-ay gūnpūl-ā
thing-PL=EZ jajim for example gūnpūl-OBL VCL=take.NPST-2SG gūnpūl-OBL

āgā'fay ī'sī ham' dārī
ā=gāf-ay īš-ī ham dār=ī
VCL=weave.NPST-2SG PROX-OBL ADD wooden frame=PC.3SG

akanay
a=kan-ay
VCL=do.NPST-2SG

The patterns of the *jajim*, you take the *gunpul* [pattern], for example, you weave the *gunpul*. You also put it up on the wooden frame.

WK:15

'hā' hamī čī'hāye jā'jīm
hā ham=ī čī-hā=ye jājīm
yes EMPH=PROX thing-PL=EZ jajim

Yes, these patterns of the *jajim*.

4. Text Corpus

sepā 'ye masa 'lan a 'bassadeš čār ko 'jī
 sepāye masalan a=bass=ad=eš čār kojī
 three legged stand in fact VCL=tie.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL four beam

en
 =en
 =COP.NPST.3SG

Now the four beams, the beams [for the weaving frame], you put a frame on them. Now, beforehand they used to cut [beams for] a frame from a tree. They tied together a stand, you know. There are four beams.

WK:20

čā... a 'gaštadeš čārko 'jī kojī 'bārā 'hay
 čā a=gašt=ad=eš čārkojī kojī-bār-ā hay
 FRAG VCL=call.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL weaving frame beam-PL-OBL ITER

a 'kaštaden pē 'šā 'yek 'raṇe...
 a=kašt=ad=en pēšā yek raṇ=e
 VCL=pull.PST=COP.PST-1PL before one colour=IND

ātān 'tadet 'begāfay dobā 'ra
 ā=tānt=ad=et be-gāf-ay dobāra
 VCL=be able.PST=COP.PST=PC.2SG SBJV-weave.NPST-2SG again

a 'jadadet pa ran 'nay 'ya 'tawre 'dya
 a=jad=ad=et pa rannay ya tawr=e dya
 VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.2SG to after.PC.3SG one manner=EZ other

aboda
 a=bod=a-Ø
 VCL=become.PST=COP.PST-3SG

Cha... they called it a *charkojin* (i.e., a kind of weaving frame with four beams). We pulled the beam towards us (lit. to the front). You could weave one colour. Then you pushed [the beam] back [and] it turned out a different way.

WK:21

'ē jā 'jīmay
 ē jājīm-ay
 PROX jajim-GEN

So much for the *jajim* (lit. this of the *jajim*).

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:22

ge'lim ham ha'mī sā'da en 'bāz 'raṇī
 gelīm ham ham=ī sāda =en bāz raṇ=ī
 gelim ADD EMPH=PROX easy =COP.NPST.3SG again colour=PC.3SG

'hamītaw ke 'raṇī 'farǧ a'nakan 'čō
 ham=ītaw ke raṇ=ī farǧ a=na-kan-Ø čō
 EMPH=this way CLM colour=PC.3SG difference VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG like

jā'jīmā bā'hā 'raṇ kanay 'walī reš'kay 'raṇ
 jājīm-ā bāhā raṇ Ø-kan-ay walī reškay raṇ
 jajim-OBL must colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG but warp.OBL.PC.3SG colour

a'nakanen
 a=na-kan-en
 VCL=NEG-do.NPST-1PL

The *gelim* is also easy. Again, its colour like this, its colour is no different. You must colour [the wool] like [for] the *jajim*. But we don't colour its warp.

WK:23

re'skī ke behe'sāb rī'se yenī 'dār
 rešk=ī ke behesāb rīše =yen=ī dār
 warp=PC.3SG CLM actually base =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG wooden frame

akanay 'nābokānī 'raṇ kanay
 a=kan-ay nā-bokān=ī raṇ Ø-kan-ay
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG NEG-need=PC.3SG colour SBJV-do.NPST-2SG

The warp, which is its base, so to speak, you tie it to the wooden frame. You don't need to colour [it].

WK:24

hā'lā 'delat 'kaštī 'bōrēn paš'mā
 hālā del=at kašt=ī bōr-ēn pašm-ā
 now heart=PC.2SG pull.PST=PC.3SG beige-ATTR wool-OBL

arē'say 'bahre reš'kay 'delat 'ham
 a=rēs-ay bahr=e reškay del=at ham
 VCL=spin.NPST-2SG for=EZ warp.OBL.PC.3SG heart=PC.2SG ADD

4. Text Corpus

'nakaštī es 'pēd abī 'hāmmo 'raḡe
na-kašt=ī espēd a=b-ī hāmmo raḡ=e
NEG-pull.PST=PC.3SG white VCL=become.NPST-3SG all colour=IND

abī ba ge 'līmā
a=b-ī ba gelīm-ā
VCL=become.NPST-3SG for gelim-OBL

Now, [if] you like, you spin the beige wool for its warp, [if] you don't feel like it, it will be white. Any colour works (lit. becomes) for the *gelim*.

WK:25

'dār akanay
dār a=kan-ay
wooden frame VCL=do.NPST-2SG

You tie it to the wooden frame.

WK:26

ge 'līm 'ham 'farḡ a 'nakant 'ā ke xā'may
gelīm ham farḡ a=na-kan-t ā ke xāma=y
gelim ADD difference VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG DIST CLM woof=PC.3SG

bo 'kānet 'begāfay bā'hā xā'may ta'mīs ḡa'saḡ
bokān=et be-gāf-ay bāhā xāma=y tamīs ḡašaḡ
want=PC.2SG SBJV-weave.NPST-2SG must woof=PC.3SG nicely beautifully

'berēsay
be-rēs-ay
SBJV-spin.NPST-2SG

The *gelim* is no different. That which you want to weave as its woof; you must spin the woof properly and well.

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:27

xā'may *kanay* 'goddām *ye* 'kamī *hay* 'soss
 xāma=y Ø-kan-ay goddām *ye* kam=ī hay soss
 woof=PC.3SG SBJV-do.NPST-2SG then.ADD one little=IND ITER loose

kanay 'hay 'bejanay *go'lā* *do'ros*
 Ø-kan-ay hay be-ĵan-ay gol-ā doros
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG ITER SBJV-hit.NPST-2SG flower-OBL right

akanay 'yā 'hawz *masa'lan*
 a=kan-ay yā hawz masalan
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG or hawz for example

You should make its woof. Then you [should] loosen it little by little [and] pound it several times. You make the flower, or the *hawz*, for example.

WK:28

'farġ *a'nakan* 'ya pā're 'čē 'assen
 farġ a=na-kan-Ø ya pāre čē ass=en
 difference VCL=NEG-do.NPST-3SG one piece what be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

šo'kālā *agā'fay* 'mānī šo'kālay *ak'sā*
 šokāl-ā a=gāf-ay mān=ī šokāl-ay aks-ā
 šokāl-OBL VCL=weave.NPST-2SG in=PC.3SG deer-GEN picture-OBL

aka'say 'mānī
 a=kaš-ay mān=ī
 VCL=pull.NPST-2SG in=PC.3SG

It makes no difference. There are a few things, you weave the *shokal* [pattern] (i.e., a deer's picture) in it. You weave (lit. draw) the picture of a deer in it.

WK:29

šo'kāl ā'hū
 šokāl āhū
 deer deer

Shokal [means] 'deer'.

4. Text Corpus

WK:30

'hā šo 'kālay ak 'sā aka 'šay masa 'lan 'dar
 hā šokāl-ay aks-ā a=kaš-ay masalan dar
 yes deer-GEN picture-OBL VCL=pull.NPST-2SG for example PREV

akāray 'mānī
 a=kār-ay mām=ī
 VCL=bring.NPST-2SG into=PC.3SG

Yes, you draw the picture of a deer, for example, you weave [it] (lit. bring in) into [the carpet].

WK:31

ē 'šānā... hā 'lā 'har 'raṇī ke 'wadet 'delet
 ēš-ān-ā hālā har raṇ=ī ke wad=et del=et
 PROX-PL-OBJ now each colour=IND CLM REFL=PC.2SG heart=PC.2SG

'kaštī ente 'xāb akanay hā 'lā 'yā 'zard 'yā es 'pēd
 kašt=ī entexāb a=kan-ay hālā yā zard yā espēd
 pull.PST=PC.3SG choice VCL=do.NPST-2SG now or yellow or white

'yā ġer 'mez
 yā ġermez
 or red

They... now, now you choose any colour that you like, now, whether yellow or white or red.

WK:32

'hā masa 'lan 'wadet 'dya ente 'xāb kanay ke masa 'lan
 hā masalan wad=et dya entexāb Ø-kan-ay ke masalan
 yes in fact REFL=PC.2SG well choice SBJV-do.NPST-2SG CLM in fact

nax 'šay 'bozoray 'ē nax 'šay
 naxša=y bo-zor-ay ē naxša=y
 pattern=PC.3SG SBJV-take.NPST-2SG PROX pattern=PC.3SG

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

abī *'hawz a 'šan* *'bahre haw'zā am*
a=b-ī hawz a=š-an bahr=e hawz-ā =am
VCL=become.NPST-3SG hawz VCL=say.NPST-3PL for=EZ hawz-OBL =ADD

mīyā 'nay *'dar ākāran*
mīyānay dar ā=k-ār-an
middle.OBL.PC.3SG PREV VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL

Yes, actually, well, you should choose yourself to make its pattern, you know. This will become its pattern. They call it *hawz*, and the *hawz*, they weave it (lit. bring it in) into the middle of it (i.e., the carpet).

WK:33

'āṅar īṅar em ke masa 'lan koṅjo 'bāray *'bāz 'čī*
āṅar īṅar =em ke masalan koṅj-obāray bāz čī
there here =ADD TOP for example corner-PL.OBL.PC.3SG many thing

āzo 'rant
ā=zor-ant
VCL=take.NPST-3PL

Here and there, too, for example in the corners, well, they put (lit. take) many things.

WK:34

'hamī korzakorz ī agā 'fan *ke hā 'lā 'yā 'say*
ham=ī korzakorzī a=gāf-an ke hālā yā say
EMPH=PROX korzakorzī VCL=weave.NPST-3PL CLM now or three

en *'yā 'do*
=en yā do
=COP.NPST.3SG or two

They weave this *korzakorzi* pattern, which is either three or two [forms in a pattern].

WK:35

agā 'fantī
a=gāf-ant=ī
VCL=weave.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

They weave it.

WK:36

'ē ham 'as ge 'līmā
ē ham as gelīm-ā
PROX ADD from gelim-OBL

So much for the *gelim* (lit. this too from the *gelim*).

4. Text Corpus

WK:37

ge'lim ke sā'da en
gelim ke sāda =en
gelim TOP easy =COP.NPST.3SG

The *gelim* is simple.

WK:38

fa'ğad 'ya ko'jīē 'assenī azo'ray
fağad ya kojī=ē ass=en=ī a=zor-ay
only one beam=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG VCL=take.NPST-2SG

'ya ko'jī
ya kojī
one beam

It only needs one beam. You take one beam.

WK:39

ğā'lı 'wade ge'lim 'dār ka'nagī 'çō 'ham
ğālī wad=e gelim dār kan-ag=ī çō ham
carpet with=EZ gelim wooden frame do.NPST-INF=PC.3SG like each other

en
=en
=COP.NPST.3SG

The carpet and (lit. with) the *gelim*, tying them to the frame is [done] in the same way.

WK:40

fa'ğat 'bennay 'če nax'se bo'kānet 'bozoray
fağat b-enn-ay çe naxše bokān=et bo-zor-ay
only SBJV-see.NPST-2SG what pattern want=PC.2SG SBJV-take.NPST-2SG

reš'kay ašomā'ray ke masa'lan 'kade
reškay a=šomār-ay ke masalan kad=e
warp.OBL.PC.3SG VCL=count.NPST-2SG CLM in fact height=EZ

nax'sat 'dar ay
naxša=t dar Ø-ay-Ø
pattern=PC.2SG PREV SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

You only need to imagine (lit. see) what pattern you want to choose. You count [the strings of] its warp, so that it will, you know, come out the same size (lit. height) as your pattern.

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:41

'haw gā'lī ham 'hamī paš'mā arē'say aw'wal
haw gālī ham ham=ī pašm-ā a=rēs-ay awwal
yes carpet ADD EMPH=PROX wool-OBL VCL=spin.NPST-2SG first

xā'may am je'dā akanay maw'rede na'zar mas'an
xāma=y =am jedā a=kan-ay mawred=e nazar masan
woof=PC.3SG =ADD separated VCL=do.NPST-2SG issue=EZ attention in fact

ba'hā 'pašme 'xūb be'bī
bahā pašm=e xūb be-b-ī
must wool=PC.3SG good SBJV-become.NPST-3SG

Yes, [for] the carpet, too, you spin the wool. First you also set aside its woof, that [wool] which you have in mind [for the woof] (lit. the issue of attention). Its wool must be good, you know.

WK:42

'pašme 'xūbā azo'ray 'bahre xā'may
pašm=e xūb-ā a=zor-ay bahr=e xāma=y
wool=EZ good-OBL VCL=take.NPST-2SG for=EZ woof=PC.3SG

arē'say
a=rēs-ay
VCL=spin.NPST-2SG

You take the good wool, you spin it for its woof.

WK:43

'bad 'reškī 'ham bā'hā 'sāf bī 'sāf
bad rešk=ī ham bāhā sāf Ø-b-ī sāf
then warp=PC.3SG ADD must smooth SBJV-become.NPST-3SG smooth

bī ke 'dya gā'lī 'bad 'dar
Ø-b-ī ke dya gālī bad dar
SBJV-become.NPST-3SG CLM well carpet bad PREV

'nayay 'čērī 'sāf 'dar ay
nay-ay-Ø čēr=ī sāf dar Ø-ay-Ø
NEG.SBJV-come.NPST-3SG under=PC.3SG smooth PREV SBJV-come.NPST-3SG

Then, its warp must also be smooth, be smooth so that the carpet will not turn out bad, you know, so that it will turn out smooth underneath it.

4. Text Corpus

WK:44

ġā'li ham masa 'lan māhīdar 'ham 'assen kallešī'rī
 ġālī ham masalan māhīdarham ass=en kallešīrī
 carpet ADD for example māhīdarham be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG kallešīrī

'assen kalleas 'pī 'assen šēr 'mohr 'dar
 ass=en kalleaspī ass=en šērmohr dar
 be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG kalleaspī be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG šērmohr PREV

ākārant naxčao 'bārī 'xaylī en 'ġālī
 ā=k-ār-ant naxča-obār=ī xaylī =en ġālī
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3PL pattern-PL=PC.3SG much =COP.NPST.3SG carpet

'ham
 ham
 ADD

As for the carpet, there is [the pattern] *mahidarham*, there is *kalleširi*, there is *kalleaspi*, they [also] weave (lit. bring in) *shermohr*. It has many patterns, the carpet, too.

WK:45

'harka 'dya 'har nax 'čāī ke 'delay 'bekašī
 harka dya har naxča=ī ke del=ay be-kaš-ī
 whoever well each pattern=IND CLM heart=PC.3SG SBJV-pull.NPST-3SG

maw'rede na 'zarī bī 'dar
 mawred=e nazar=ī Ø-b-ī dar
 issue=EZ attention=PC.3SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG PREV

ākārī
 ā=k-ār-ī
 VCL=IMP.k-bring.NPST-3SG

Well, anyone, you know, any pattern that she likes, which she has in mind, she weaves [it] (lit. brings it in).

WK:46

ġā'li 'ham 'hamīdaw reš 'kay 'dār
 ġālī ham ham=īdaw reškay dār
 carpet ADD EMPH=this way warp.OBL.PC.3SG wooden frame

akanay masa 'lan hā 'lā naġ 'šat 'mennay 'če
 a=kan-ay masalan hālā naġša=t m-enn-ay če
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG for example now pattern=PC.2SG SBJV-see.NPST-2SG what

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

nax 'ša bo 'kānet bī 'dār
 naxša bokān=et Ø-b-ī dār
 plan want=PC.2SG SBJV-become.NPST-3SG wooden frame

kanay 'tebge nax 'šat masa 'lan reš 'kat
 Ø-kan-ay tebg̃=e naxša=t masalan rešk=at
 SBJV-do.NPST-2SG according to=EZ pattern=PC.2SG in fact warp=PC.2SG

dā... annā 'za age 'ray 'yā domet 'rī 'yā se 'metrī 'yā ke
 dā annāza a=ger-ay yā dometrī yā semetrī yā ke
 FRAG size VCL=take.NPST-2SG or two-metre or three metre or CLM

masa 'lan gēs 'ter
 masalan gēs-ter
 in fact more-CMP

The carpet too, you tie its warp to the wooden frame. Now, for example, your pattern, you imagine (lit. see) what pattern you want. You tie [the warp] to the wooden frame. According to your pattern, you know, you measure your warp, either a two-[square-]metre [carpet] or a three-[square-]metre [one] or, in fact, bigger.

WK:47

'dārī akanay 'goddā ke 'dāret ko 'ya
 dār=ī a=kan-ay goddā ke dār=et ko ya
 wood=PC.3SG VCL=do.NPST-2SG then CLM wood=PC.2SG do.PST one

nax 'čāē ham azo 'ray hā 'lā 'yā kalleas 'pīā bo 'kānet
 naxča=ē ham a=zor-ay hālā yā kalleaspī-ā bokān=et
 pattern=IND ADD VCL=take.NPST-2SG now or kalleaspī-OBL want=PC.2SG

'begāfay 'tebge reš 'kat 'dār
 be-gāf-ay tebg̃=e reškat dār
 SBJV-weave.NPST-2SG according to=EZ warp.OBL.PC.2SG wooden frame

akanay 'ya ko 'jī ham 'gēšen āgā
 a=kan-ay ya kojī ham gēs=en ā=gā
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG one beam ADD more=PC.1PL VCL=weave.PST

You tie [the warp] to the wooden frame. Then when you have tied [it] to the wooden frame, you also choose (lit. take) its pattern. Now, you [may] either want to weave the *kalleaspi* [pattern]... You tie [warp onto the frame] according to your warp (the intended meaning is probably: according to your pattern). We also wove one extra beam [into the warp].

4. Text Corpus

WK:48

'dya ē'sī 'ham 'hamā 'raṇe ente'xāb
 dya ēš-ī ham ham=ā raṇ=e entexāb
 then PROX-OBL ADD EMPH=DIST colour=PC.3SG choice

akanay masa'lan 'har 'raṇē ke 'gēš bo'kānet
 a=kan-ay masalan har raṇ=e ke gēš bokān=et
 VCL=do.NPST-2SG in fact each colour=IND CLM more want=PC.2SG

estefā'da kanay 'ā 'raṇat 'gēš akanay
 estefāda Ø-kan-ay ā raṇ=at gēš a=kan-ay
 use SBJV-do.NPST-2SG DIST colour=PC.2SG more VCL=do.NPST-2SG

hā'lā 'yā 'zard 'yā ḡer'mez 'yā ke ez... 'har 'raṇē ābī
 hālā yā zard yā ḡermez yā ke ez har raṇ=e ābī
 now or yellow or red or CLM FRAG each colour=IND blue

aksar'an ḡālī'bāray za'mīnā ḡer'mez akanant
 aksaran ḡālī-bār-ay zamīn-ā ḡermez a=kan-ant
 mostly carpet-PL-GEN ground-OBL red VCL=do.NPST-3PL

Then you also choose its colour. Any colour that you want to use more, you know, you dye (lit. make) more [yarn in] that colour of yours, now, either yellow, or red, or any colour, blue.... They mostly make the base (i.e., the main colour) of the carpets red.

WK:49

'hā ḡer'mez akanant 'bad naxčao'bāray es'pēd
 hā ḡermez a=kan-ant bad naxča-obār=ay espēd
 yes red VCL=do.NPST-3PL then pattern-PL=PC.3SG white

en o 'zard en o ā'bī yen
 =en =o zard =en =o ābī =yen
 =COP.NPST.3SG =and yellow =COP.NPST.3SG =and blue =COP.NPST.3SG

o 'sabz en o e'sān en ē'sān go
 =o sabz =en =o eš-ān =en ēš-ān go
 =and green =COP.NPST.3SG =and PROX-PL =COP.NPST.3SG PROX-PL with

nax'če 'dar akay
 naxče dar a=k-ay-Ø
 pattern PREV VCL=IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

Yes, they make it red. Then its patterns are white and yellow and blue and green, and similar (lit. these) [colours]. These come with the pattern.

4.7. Text 7: The Weaving of the Korosh

WK:50

ġā'li ham be 'ē 'šekl en
 ġālī ham be ē šekl =en
 carpet ADD in PROX form =COP.NPST.3SG

So the carpet is [made] in this way.

WK:51

pēš'ter am 'mā masa'lan čādorsyāh'bāren
 pēšter =am mā masalan čādorsyāh-bār=en
 before =ADD PN.1PL in fact black tent-PL=PC.1PL

āġāfta ke a'jadaden sah'rā
 ā=gāft=a ke a=jad=ad=en sahrā
 VCL=weave.PST=COP.PST CLM VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL wilderness

In former times we actually used to weave black tents, too, you know, that we used to put up in the wilderness.

WK:52

'hā 'ā a'jadaden masa'lan sah'rā mā'nī
 hā ā a=jad=ad=en masalan sahrā mār=ī
 yes DIST VCL=hit.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL in fact wilderness in=PC.3SG

a'neštaden 'go boz'zay 'mūd at
 a=nešt=ad=en go bozz-ay mūd =at-Ø
 VCL=live.PST=COP.PST-1PL with goat-GEN hair =COP.PST-3SG

Yes, we put them up, you know, in the wilderness, we lived in them (lit. it), they were [made] of goat hair.

WK:53

'hā boz'zay mūd'dā a'čedadeš
 hā bozz-ay mūd-ā a=čed=ad=eš
 yes goat-GEN hair-OBL VCL=shear.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL

Yes, they sheared the goat's hair.

WK:54

a'čedadeš tawsa'nān a'ressaden
 a=čed=ad=eš tawsan-ān a=ress=ad=en
 VCL=shear.PST=COP.PST=PC.3PL summer-PL VCL=spin.PST=COP.PST=PC.1PL

They sheared them in summertime, we spun [the hair].

4. Text Corpus

WK:55

aw'wal 'fašen ākoda 'gerden
 awwal faš=en ā=kod=a gerd=en
 first proper=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST gathered=PC.1PL

ākoda 'ē mē'dagay zane'zol o masa'lan
 ā=kod=a ē mēdag-ay zanezol =o masalan
 VCL=do.PST=COP.PST PROX encampment-GEN womenfolk =and in fact

mar'dēn o ja'nēn hām'mo 'fašen ākoda
 mardēn =o janēn hāmmo faš=en ā=kod=a
 man =and woman all proper=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

First we prepared [the hair]. We gathered the womenfolk and, you know, the men and women of the encampment, we all prepared it.

WK:56

mas'an 'ya 'jāyī 'sāfen ākoda hām'mo
 masan ya jā=yī sāf=en ā=kod=a hāmmo
 for example one place=IND smooth=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST all

ā'neštaden 'fašen ākoda
 ā=nešt=ad-en faš=en ā=kod=a
 VCL=sit down.PST=COP.PST-1PL proper=PC.1PL VCL=do.PST=COP.PST

xo'rāken apakkad 'ya 'jašnē taḡrī'ban 'čō 'ya
 xorāk=en a=pakk=ad ya jašn=ē taḡrīban čō ya
 food=PC.1PL VCL=cook.PST=COP.PST one celebration=IND almost like one

'jašnē ad
 jašn=ē =ad-Ø
 celebration=IND =COP.PST-3SG

You know, we arranged a place, we all sat down, we prepared [the goat hair], we cooked food. A celebration, it was pretty much a celebration.

5. Glossary

ā

ā, *prt.* fine, right, well, okay (gives emphasis to the previous statement)

ā, *dem.* that, those (distal demonstrative)

ā, var. of **az**

ābī *adj.* blue

āborū *n.* respect, honour, reputation

āborūmann *adj.* respectable

ādā *adv.* over there

ādām *n.* human being, person

āf *n.* water

āgā *n.* 1) sir; 2) mister

āhū *n.* deer

āk, **ākk** *pst.* of **āyag**

ālam *n.* world

ālem *n.* wise man, doctor

āmāda *adj.* ready

āmū var. of **amū**

āṅār *n.* assumption

āṅār kanag *v. compl.* to assume, to believe

āṅa (**āṅar**) *adv.* there, in that direction

āṅar var. of **āṅa**

ārām *adj.* calm

ārag (*pst.* **āwort**, **āwürt**, **āwo**) *v. tr.* to bring

ās *n.* fire

ās dayag *v. compl.* to burn

āšeg (**āšoḡ**) *adj.* in love

āšoḡ var. of **āšeg**

āwāra *adj.* homeless, vagrant, errant

āwo, **āwort**, **āwürt** *pst.* of **ārag**

āyag (**ay**₂; *pst.* **āk**, **ākk**) *v. itr.* to come

āyanne *n.* future

a

a var. of **az**

a dass = e *phr.* because of, due to

aga (**aya**) *subord. conj.* if

agđ *n.* marriage contract preceding the wedding

agđ kanag *v. compl.* to give in marriage, to marry off

agl *n.* reason

ajīb *adj.* strange

ajīb ġarīb *phr. adj.* strange

aks *n.* picture

aksaran *adv.* mostly

alaf *n.* grass

alaki 1) *adj.* groundless, without any basis;

2) *adv.* for no reason

albata *adv.* of course

5. Glossary

allāho akbar *phr.* Allah is greater
alʔān *adv.* now
= **am** var. of **ham**₁
amn *adj.* secure
amū (**āmū**) *n.* paternal uncle
annāza *n.* size
ar var. of **kar**₁
arbāb *n.* boss
arz *n.* statement, saying
as var. of **az**
asāb *n.* nerves
asan var. of **assan**
asl *n.* basis
asli *adj.* original
asp *n.* horse
assan (**asan**) *adv.* 1) actually, as a matter of fact, indeed; 2) at all
ašayer *n.* nomad
aškon var. of **eškonag**
aškont *pst.* of **eškonag**

awāyel *adv.* beginning
awalīn *ord. num.* first
awlād *n.* children
awwal *ord. num.* first
axbār *n.* news
ay₁ *interj.* 1) hi, hi there, you there (vocative particle); 2) hey (attention-attracting discourse device)
ay₂ var. of **āyag**
aya var. of **aga**
az (**a**, **ā**₃, **as**) *prep.* 1) from, out of, of; 2) to, for; 3) than
azīnbū *n.* muezzin (the person calling to Islamic ritual prayer)
aziyat (**azziyat**) *n.* trouble
aziyat kanag *v. compl.* to trouble, to annoy, to give someone a hard time
azūn *n.* prayer call
azzāb *adj.* unmarried, single
azziyat var. of **aziyat**
aždahā *n.* dragon

b

b alt. npst. of **bayag**
bā₁ alt. npst. of **barag**
bā₂ *prep.* with
bābā var. of **bowo**
bāese *pst.* of **bāhā**₁
bāg *n.* garden
bāhā, (**bahā**, **bāhād**, **bāhāt**, **bāhās**, **bāyat**; *pst.* **bāese**) *v. mod.* must
bāhā, (**bahā**₂) *n.* selling
bāhā kanag *v. compl.* to sell
bāhād, **bāhās**, **bāhāt** var. of **bāhā**₁
bāk *n.* fear
bāki *adj.* remaining

bālād 1) *adj.* high; 2) *adv.* up, upwards (location, direction)
bāmard *n.* man
bār₁ *n.* load
bār₂ *n.* time, occasion
bār₃ alt. npst. of **barag**
bār kanag *v. compl.* to load something onto something/somebody, to load up
bārgāh *n.* royal court
bārikala *phr. adv.* bravo
bāšlog *n.* bridal gift, gift from the bridegroom to the bride's mother (Qashqai term; Persian term: **šīrbahā**)

- bāyat** var. of **bāhā**,
bāz₁ *adv.* again
bāz₂ *adj.* many
bāz ham (**bāz = am**) *phr. adv.* again
bāz = am var. of **bāz ham**
ba var. of **be**
ba čā var. of **ba če**
ba če (**ba čā**) *phr. adv.* why
babam *interj.* oh dear (expresses surprise and bewilderment)
bač *n.* 1) boy; 2) son
bačak *n.* son
bad₁ *adj.* bad
bad₂ *adv.* 1) then; 2) afterwards
bad az *phr. adv.* after
badan *n.* body
badarxor *adj.* useful
badfūr *adv.* badly, in a threatening way
bağal *n.* bosom
bah *interj.* oh, oh dear, wow (expresses great surprise)
bahā, var. of **bāhā**,
bahā, var. of **bāhā**,
bahār *n.* 1) spring (season); 2) greenery, pasture
bahr = e *prep.* for
bahs *n.* dispute
balat *adj.* acquainted with, familiar with
bale *prt.* yes
ban var. of **bann**
bann (**ban**) *n.* rope, cord, string, band
bannag (pst. **bass**) *v. tr.* to tie
banne *n.* servant, slave
banne xodā *phr.* person (generally someone one feels sympathy for), poor fellow, poor woman (lit. God's servant)
barā *prep.* to, for
barag (alt. npst. **bār₃**, **bā**; pst. **bort**, **būrt**) *v. tr.*
 1) to take, take away; 2) to carry
barğ *n.* flash, lightning, glitter
barğ janag *v. compl.* to shine
barra (**barre**) *n.* lamb
barradār *adj.* pregnant (of sheep)
barre var. of **barra**
bass pst. of **bannag**
bayag (alt. npst. **b**, **bī**; pst. **bod**, **bo**) *v. tr.*
 1) to become; 2) to be
bazī *adj.* some
be (**ba**) *prep.* 1) to; 2) for; 3) in; 4) by; 5) as
be dard warag *v. compl.* to be of use, to be useful
be har sūrat *phr. adv.* anyway, in any case
be hič waǰ *phr. adv.* not at all, by no means
be jāi ke *subord. conj.* instead of
beh *adj.* better
behesāb (**besāb**) *phr. adv.* so to speak, well, for instance, actually
bejoz *prep. phr.* except
belann *adj.* high
belann kanag *v. compl.* to lift up, to raise up
belaxara *adv.* 1) anyway; 2) finally
berād *n.* brother
berenǰ *n.* rice
berr *prev.* preverb denoting sudden downward movement
besāb var. of **behesāb**
be xāter = e *prep. phr.* for the sake of
be xāter = e ke *subord. conj.* 1) in order that; 2) since
bī alt. npst. of **bayag**
bičāra *adj.* poor
bidār *n.* awake
bis *card. num.* twenty
bisān *echo word* (of **felān/folān**) (so and so)

5. Glossary

bisawād *adj.* illiterate
bixabar 1) *adj.* uninformed, not knowing;
2) *adv.* without notice, without prior notification
biyābān *n.* desert
boġag (pst. **boġk**) *v. tr.* to open
bōr *adj.* beige, light brown, blonde
bōrēnag (pst. **bōrēnt**) *v. caus.* to break
bōrēnt pst. of **bōrēnag**
bod, bo pst. of **bayag**
bogū *n.* rumor
bokā var. of **bokān**
bokān (bokā, bokār) *v. tr.* 1) to want;
2) to need
bokār var. of **bokān**

čāder *n.* tent
čādorsyāh *n.* black tent made of goat's hair
čāh₁ *n.* well
čāh₂ *n.* tea
čāk *adj.* fat
čār (čahār) *card. num.* four
čārēnag (pst. **čārēnt**) *v. caus.* to take grazing
čārēnt pst. of **čārēnag**
čārkojī *n.* weaving frame
čātmā *n.* stand, a three-legged stand as part of the weaving frame
čahār var. of **čār**
čamm *n.* eye
čapp *adj.* overturned
čapp = o rāss *phr. adv.* whereabouts, circumstances, situation
čappī *adj./adv.* upside down
čarag *v. itr.* to graze

boliz *n.* sweater
bon *n.* fire
bored pst of **borragborr** *n.* group, division
borr dayag *v. compl.* to divide, to separate into groups
borrag (pst. **bored**) *v. tr.* to cut
bort pst. of **barag**
bowā var. of **bowo**
bowo (bowā, bābā) *n.* father, daddy
boz (bozz) *n.* goat
bozorg *adj.* big
bozz var. of **boz**
brāzāk *n.* nephew
būn *n.* roof
būrt pst. of **barag**

Č

čašm *interj.* fine, okay, sure, of course (affirms that the speaker is going to do what (s)he was asked to)
čē (čī) 1) *n.* thing; 2) *interj. pn.* what
čēr = e *prep.* under
če *det.* what
čed pst. of **čenag**
čel *num.* forty
čenag (pst. **čed**) *v. tr.* 1) to pick; 2) to shear
četa(h)r, četari var. of **četaw**
četaw (četawrī, četahr, četar, četari, čitār, četo, čtaw) *adv.* how
četawrī var. of **četaw**
četo var. of **četaw**
čī var. of **čē**
čitār var. of **četaw**
čiz *n.* thing
čō₁ (čo) 1) *prep.* like; 2) *adv.* like this, so, in this way

čō₂ *adj.* what
 čōbān (čūbān) *n.* shepherd
 čōčanek *n.* dried whey
 čōgdārī *n.* trading
 čōn *adv.* how
 čo var. of čō₁

čōbān *n.* shepherd
 čok (čokk) *n.* child
 čokk var. of čok
 čoxān *n.* flattery, exaggeration
 čtaw var. of četaw
 čūbān var. of čōbān

d

d alt. npst. of **dayag**
 dā₁ alt. npst. of **dayag**
 dā₂ pst. of **dayag**
 dād pst. of **dayag**
 dādobidād *n.* turmoil, uproar
 dār *n.* 1) wood; 2) wooden frame
 (for weaving)
 dārag (pst. **dāšt**) *v. tr.* to hold, to keep
 dārgā *n.* camel herding
 dāstān *n.* story
 dāšt pst. of **dārag**
 dāt pst. of **dayag**
 dāwāzdah var. of **dawāzda**
 dāzan *n.* woman
 da₁ var. of **dayag**
 da₂ *card. num.* ten
 daf *n.* mouth
 dagīg *adv.* exactly
 dahwat *n.* invitation
 dahwat kanag *v. compl.* to invite
 dar₁ *prep.* in
 dar₂ *prev.* preverb denoting movement out of
 dard *n.* pain, agony, affliction
 darmān *n.* cure, remedy
 darmadāgūn *adj.* shattered
 darwā *n.* deep hole, pit
 daryā *n.* sea

das var. of **dass**
 dass (das) *n.* hand
 dawāzda (dawāzdah; dāwāzdah) *card. num.*
 twelve
 dawāzdah var. of **dawāzda**
 dawr *n.* turn
 dawr gerag *v. compl.* to encircle
 dawr janag *v. compl.* to go around, to ride
 around
 dawrā *postp.* around
 dawr = e *prep.* around
 dayag (alt. npst. **dā₁**, **dī**, **d**; pst. **dād**, **dāt**, **dā₂**)
v. tr. to give
 dēm *n.* face
 dēm pa *prep. phr.* towards
 dēr *adv.* late
 degār *n.* ground
 dega var. of **dya**
 del *n.* heart
 deraxt *n.* tree
 dewist *card. num.* two hundred
 deya var. of **dya**
 dī alt. npst. of **dayag**
 did pst. of **gennag**
 dīga var. of **dya**
 dōat *n.* 1) marriage; 2) wedding

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dōat kanag *v. compl.* to marry someone off, to conduct a wedding ceremony for someone

dōg *n.* buttermilk (a savoury yoghurt-based beverage)

dōi var. of **doī**

dōss *n.* friend

dōšag (pst. **došt**) *v. tr.* to milk

dōši *adv.* last night

do *card. num.* two

dobāra *adv.* again

doī (**dōi**) *n.* mother

doktor *n.* doctor

dometri *adj.* two-metre, of two (square) metres

domi *ord. num.* second

donyā *n.* world

dorōg *n.* lie

dorōg bandag *v. compl.* to lie

doros (**doross**) *adj.* right

doros hesābī *phr. adj.* proper, honest

doross var. of **doros**

došman *n.* enemy

došt pst. of **dōšag**

dozz *n.* thief

dūd *n.* smoke

dūd dayag *v. compl.* to burn

dūmād *n.* 1) son-in-law; 2) groom

dya (**deya**; **dyar**; **dega**; **dīga**) 1) *adj.* other; 2) *adv.* well; 3) *adv.* then; 4) *adv.* now; 5) *adv.* more

dyar var. of **dya**

ē

ē (**i**) *dem.* this, these (proximal demonstrative)

ēdā (**ēdān**, **edān**, **edā**, **eda**, **idān**) *adv.* here (location)

ēdān var. of **ēdā**

ēdānakō (**ēdānakō**, **idānakō**, **idānakō**)

ēdānakō var. of **ēdānakō**

ēr *prev.* preverb denoting downward movement

ēš (**eš**, **iš**, **š**) *dem.* this (proximal demonstrative)

ēšān (**ešān**, **išān**, **šān**) *adv.* like this, in this way; well, you know

ētaw var. of **ētawr**

ētawr (**ētaw**, **itaw**, **itawr**, **itawri**) *adv.* in this way

e

edā var. of **ēdā**

edān var. of **ēdān**

edāra *n.* management

edāra kanag *v. compl.* to manage

eda var. of **ēdā**

edde *n.* group, number

ehemāl *n.* probability

ejāra *n.* rent

ekkada *det.* so many

elāhī *n.* God

elag (pst. **ešt**) *v. itr.* to let, to allow

emārat *n.* building

emsāl *adv.* this year

emšaf *adv.* tonight

engelāb *n.* revolution

enn alt. npst. of **gennag**

ens **ʃens** var. of **ens = o ʃens**

ens = o ʃens (**ens ʃens**) *n.* prey

entexāb *n.* choice

eslāt = e arzī *phr.* land reform

espēd *adj.* white

estefāda *n.* use

eš var. of **ēš**

ešān var. of **ēšān**

ešāra *n.* sign

eškonag (alt. npst. **aškon**; pst. **eškont**, **aškont**)

v. tr. to hear

eškont pst. of **eškonag**

ešt pst. of **elag**

eštebāh *n.* mistake

etefāg *n.* occurrence, happening

f

fād *n.* salt

fāmīl *n.* family, extended family

fāyeda (**fāyede**) *n.* use, benefit, profit

fāyede var. of **fāyeda**

faḡad var. of **faḡat**

faḡat (**faḡad**) *adv.* only

farāham *adj.* provided

farāham kanag *v. compl.* to provide

farḡ *n.* difference

farḡ kanag *v. compl.* to make a difference

fasl *n.* season

faš *adj.* 1) happy, content, satisfied; 2) proper, well prepared, ready (to be used)

fekr *n.* thought, mind

felān (**folān**, **felānī**) *adj.* so and so, a certain

felānī var. of **felān**

felan *adv.* at present, for the time being

ferešta *n.* angel

fetna *n.* conspiracy

folān var. of **felān**

g

g alt. npst. of **gerag**

gāfag (pst. **gāft**) *v. tr.* to weave

gāft pst. of **gāfag**

gāhār *n.* sister

gālag *n.* sack (for storing, e.g., wheat)

gār *n.* lost

ga₁ alt. npst. of **gašag**

ga₂ pst. of **gašag**

galen *n.* bride

gamān *n.* thought

gamān kanag *v. compl.* to think

gannom *n.* wheat

gap *n.* word

gardag *v. itr.* to go around

garden *n.* neck

garm *n.* warm

5. Glossary

garmasīr *n.* winter pasture

gašag (alt. npst. **goš**, **ga**₁, **š**₁; pst. **gašt**, **ga**₂)

v. tr. to say

gašt pst. of **gašag**

gawd *n.* deep hole, pit

gējag (pst. **gēk**) *v. tr.* to take out, to remove, to expel

gēk pst. of **gējag**

gēš *adv.* more

ge₁ alt. npst. of **gerag**

ge₂, **geft** pst. of **gerag**

geh *adj.* better

gelīm *n.* gelim, kilim, a kind of woven rug

gen alt. npst. of **gennag**

gennag (alt. npst. **gen**, **enn**; pst. **dīd**)

v. tr. to see

gerag (alt. npst. **g**, **ge**₁; pst. **geft**; pst. **ge**₂)

v. tr. 1) to take, to take hold of, to hold on to; 2) to get; 3) to catch

gerd *adj.* gathered, collected

gerd kanag *v. compl.* to gather, to collect

gīr *n.* grip

gīr āyag *v. compl.* 1) to be found, to be available; 2) to come into someone's possession

gō var. of **gōn**

gōn (**gon**, **gō**, **go**) *prep.* with

gōš *n.* ear

gōš gerag *v. compl.* to listen

gōš kanag *v. compl.* to listen

gōžd *n.* meat

go var. of **gōn**

god (**got**) *adj.* big, grown up, adult

goddā *adv.* then, afterwards

god=e *prep.* after

gol *n.* flower

goloynay *n.* name of a weaving pattern

gom *adj.* lost

gomān var. of **gamān**

gon var. of **gōn**

gonāh *n.* sin

goš alt. npst. of **gašag**

got var. of **god**

gūnpūl *n.* name of a weaving pattern with flowers

gūr *n.* grave

g̃

gābūl var. of **gābūl**

gāfel *adj.* negligent, unaware, inattentive, careless

gāfela *n.* caravan

gāli *n.* carpet

gāpag (pst. **gāpet**) *v. tr.* to catch

gāpet pst. of **gāpag**

gābūl (**gābūl**) *n.* accepting

gābul kanag *v. compl.* to accept

gādagan *adj.* forbidden

gālūn *adv.* in vain, with no use

garār *n.* agreement, appointment, resolution

garīb *adj.* strange

garībe *n.* stranger

gars *n.* palace

gašanj 1) *adj.* beautiful; 2) *adv.* beautifully

gašanji *n.* beauty

gatār *n.* cartridge belt, bandolier

ġater *n.* mule
ġawai *adj.* brown
ġayd *n.* thought
ġayr az *prep.* except, other than, apart from
ġayr = e *prep.* except, other than, apart from
ġazabī *adj.* angry
ġermez *adj.* red
ġerr *adj.* destroyed
ġerr kanag *v. compl.* to destroy

ġesmat *n.* part
ġirat *n.* zeal, bravery, jealousy, strict observation of honour code in social relations and war situations
ġōl *n.* promise
ġōl dayag *v. compl.* to promise
ġorbūn *n.* offering, sacrifice
ġorūb *n.* sunset
ġūš *n.* sheep pen

h

hā (**haw₂**) *prt.* yes (affirmative particle)
hāġi *n.* Haji (a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca)
hāl *n.* 1) health; 2) memory
hālā (**hāla**) *adv.* now
hālākō *adv.* right now
hāla var. of **hālā**
hāmmo *indef. pn.* all
hārr *n.* hee haw (the sound made by a donkey)
hārr dayag *v. compl.* to hee haw
had *n.* extent, limit, boundary
had = e *prep.* 1) by, with, at the side of; 2) to
haf var. of **haft**
haft (**haf**) *card. num.* seven
hafta *n.* week
haġ *n.* right
haġġat *adv.* in fact, actually
hajla *n.* bridal chamber
halġa *n.* circle
halġa janag *v. compl.* to encircle, to make a circle around
ham₁ (**= am**) **1** *prt.* so, then, well, also, too, as well (additive particle); **2** *adv.* both

ham₂ *recip. pn.* each other
hamdegar *recip. pn.* each other
hamē ke (**hami ke**) *subord. conj.* as soon as
hamēša *adv.* always
hami ke var. of **hamē ke**
hamitawr (**hamitū**) *adv.* like this
hamitū var. of **hamitawr**
hammiša var. of **hamēša**
hamriš *n.* brother-in-law (one of a group of men whose wives are sisters)
hančo *adv.* like this
har *det.* each, every
harakat *n.* movement
harakat kanag *v. compl.* to move
harče (**harčī**) **1** *indef. pn.* whatever;
2 *adv.* however much, however many
harčī var. of **harče**
harif *n.* opponent
harjāh *adv.* wherever
harka var. of **harkas**
harkas (**harka**) *indef. pn.* whoever
haš var. of **hašt**

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hašsad *card. num.* eight hundred
hašt (haš) *card. num.* eight
hattā *adv.* even
haw₁ *n.* a game played with sticks
haw₂ var. of **hā**
hawlakī *adj.* panicking, alarmed, agitated
hawr *n.* rain
hawr jānag *v. compl.* to rain
hawz *n.* name of a weaving pattern (lit. water-basin)
hay₁ *n.* urging an animal on (by making a certain sound)
hay₂ *adv.* continuously (iterative aspect marker)
hay kanag *v. compl.* to urge (an animal) on, to spur (an animal) on
hayf *adv.* alas
haywān *n.* animal
hažda (hīždah) *card. num.* eighteen
heč var. of **hīč**
heči var. of **hīči**
heška var. of **hīčka**

hetiyāt *n.* caution
hezār *card. num.* thousand
hīč (heč) *det.* no
hīči (heči) 1) *indef. pn.* nothing; 2) *adv.* never mind
hīčka (heška, hīške, hīška) *indef. pn.* nobody
hīlō *n.* swing
hīlō kanag *v. compl.* to swing
hīška, hīške var. of **hīčka**
hīzak *n.* goatskin
hīždah var. of **hažda**
hōn *n.* blood
hōš *n.* intelligence
ho (o) *prt.* topicalising particle
hodūd = e (hodūt = e) *prep.* about
hodūt = e var. of **hodūd = e**
hoḡe *n.* trick
hoḡūḡ *n.* salary
hojūm *n.* attack
hokāyat *n.* story
hokm *n.* order

ī

ī var. of **ē**
īdān var. of **ēdā**
īdān ke *subord. conj.* when
īdānākō, īdānākō var. of **ēdānākō**
īmid *n.* hope

īḡā var. of **īḡa**
īḡa (īḡā, īḡar) *adv.* here, in this direction
īḡar var. of **īḡa**
īš var. of **ēš**
īšān var. of **ēšān**
ītaw(r), ītawrī var. of **ētawr**

ĵ

ĵā (ĵāh) *n.* place
ĵāh var. of **ĵā**

ĵāĵim *n.* jajim, a kind of woven rug
ĵalād var. of **ĵahlād**

ĵān *n.* body

ĵad pst. of **ĵanag**

ĵahl *adv.* down

ĵahlād (**ĵālād**) *adv.* down

ĵam *adj.* gathered, collected

ĵan *n.* wife

ĵanag (alt. npst. **ĵan**; pst. **ĵad**, **ĵat**) *v. tr.* 1) to hit; 2) to play (an instrument); 3) to pretend

ĵanēn *n.* woman

ĵanek *n.* 1) girl; 2) daughter

ĵaŋ *n.* war

ĵaŋ kanag *v. compl.* to fight, to make war

ĵarr *n.* quarrel

ĵaryān *n.* issue, problem, matter

ĵašn *n.* celebration

ĵašn gerag *v. compl.* to celebrate

ĵat pst. of **ĵanag**

ĵebha *n.* warfront

ĵedā *adj.* separated

ĵelo *postp.* in front of

ĵenāza *n.* corpse

ĵens *n.* stuff

ĵergag (pst. **ĵerged**) *v. itr.* to flee, to run away

ĵerged pst. of **ĵergag**

ĵīb *n.* pocket

ĵoġla *n.* boy

ĵoz *n.* part

k

kāhī *adj.* straw coloured

kāhom *adj.* 1) buried; 2) hidden

kāhom kanag *v. compl.* to bury

kām *det.* which

kār *n.* 1) work, job; 2) deed, act

kār kanag *v. compl.* to work

kāregar *n.* worker, hired labourer

kačal *adj.* bald

kad *n.* height

kadxodā *n.* village elder

kafag (pst. **kaft**) *v. itr.* to fall

kaft pst. of **kafag**

kaftār *n.* hyena

kalām *n.* word

kalam *n.* flute

kalla *n.* head

kallapāča *n.* a dish cooked with the head and trotters of lambs (usually served for breakfast)

kalleaspī *n.* name of a weaving pattern (lit. horse-head)

kalleširi *n.* name of a weaving pattern (lit. lion-head)

kam *adj./adv.* little

kam kam *adv.* little by little, gradually

kanag (pst. **kod**, **ko**₁, **ke**₂) *v. tr.* to do

kanek *n.* side

kaniz *n.* maidservant

kannag (pst. **kanned**) *v. itr.* to laugh

kanned pst. of **kannag**

kar₁ (**ar**) *n.* donkey

kar₂ *adj.* deaf

kas *n.* person

kasān (**kassān**) *adj.* small

kassān var. of **kasān**

kašag (alt. npst. **keš**; pst. **kašt**) *v. tr.* 1) to pull; 2) to draw; 3) to rub

kašk *n.* dried whey

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kašt pst. of **kašag**
kay *interr. pn.* who
kayf *n.* pleasure, enjoyment, thrill
ke₁ *conj.* that, so that, when, who, in order to, where; **2) prt.** topic particle
ke₂ pst. of **kanag**
keš alt. npst. of **kašag**
kešna *n.* neighing
kilū *n.* kilo
kilūmetr *n.* kilometre
kōbīn *n.* combine harvester
kōh (**kūh**) *n.* 1) mountain; 2) stone
kōr *adj.* blind
ko₁ pst. of **kanag**
ko₂ *adv.* where
kod pst. of **kanag**
kodom *indef. pn.* which
kohūlankī *n.* rocky landscape, mountainous region
kojī var. of **kojīn**

kojīn (**kojī**) *n.* beam
koll *det.* all
kollan *adv.* generally, on the whole, actually
koma *n.* stomach, rumen
komak *n.* help
komak kanag *v. compl.* to help
konj *n.* corner
kop *adj.* gathered, collected, together, in one place, piled up
kop kanag *v. compl.* to pile up
koroš *n. prop.* Korosh (a person belonging to the Koroshi ethnic group)
korrag *n.* foal
korzai var. of **korzakorzī**
korzakorzī (**korzai**) *n.* name of a weaving pattern
košag (pst. **košt**) *v. tr.* to kill
košt pst. of **košag**
kott *n.* lap
kūh var. of **kōh**

l

lāgar *adj.* thin, slim, skinny
lāš *n.* carcass, dead body (of animal)
lahza *n.* moment
laṅ *adj.* lame
larzag *v. itr.* to shake
layb *n.* game, play
layt *n.* game, play
layt kanag *v. compl.* to play

lebās *n.* clothes
lōg (**log**) *n.* house
log var. of **lōg**
loh *n.* pushing, push
loh dayag *v. compl.* to push
lonk *n.* piece
lott *n.* piece

m

mā₁ *pers. pn.* we
mā₂ (**ma**) *prep.* 1) in, at; 2) into, to; 3) on

mādar *n.* mother
māh *n.* month

māhīdarham *n.* name of a weaving pattern
(lit. fish in each other)

māl *n.* livestock (particularly sheep and goats)

māli *adj.* financial

mānag (pst. **mānt**) *v. itr.* to remain
mānt pst. of **mānag**

māst *n.* yogurt

mātt *adj.* amazed

māya *n.* leavener
ma var. of **mā**₂

madrasa *n.* school

mage *adv.* indeed, really (negative interrogative adverb)

mahal *n.* place

mahesk *n.* fly

mahlūm *adj.* clear, obvious

majbūr *adj.* forced, obliged

majles *n.* court, meeting

mallapāča *echo word* (of **kallapāča**) head and trotters

man *pers. pn.* I

mann *n.* mann (weight measuring unit of about 6 kilos)

mantag (pst. **manted**) *v. tr.* to churn milk into butter using a goatskin
manted pst. of **mantag**

mardēn *n.* man

mardom *n.* people

marg *n.* death

mariz *adj.* ill

marizi *n.* illness

marō *adv.* today

masalan (**masan**) *adv.* 1) for example; 2) in fact, actually, as a matter of fact, you know
masan var. of **masalan**

masīr *n.* way

mašadi (**maši**; **mašai**) *n.* Mashhadi (a person who has been to pilgrimage in Mashhad, where the 8th Shiite Imam is buried)
mašai var. of **mašadi**
maši var. of **mašadi**

mawge (**moğa**, **moġe**) 1) *n.* time, moment 2) *subord. conj.* when

mawġei (**ke**) *subord. conj.* when

mawred *n.* issue

maydān *n.* town square

mazāġ *n.* joke

mazan (**mazon**, **mazzan**) *adj.* big

mazan bayag *v. compl.* to grow, to grow up, to get big

mazan kanag *v. compl.* to raise

maze *n.* taste

mazġ *n.* brain
mazon var. of **mazan**
mazzan var. of **mazan**

mēčēnag (pst. **mēčēnt**) *v. caus.* to breastfeed (a child), to help (e.g., a lamb) suckle
mēčēnt pst. of **mēčēnag**

mēdag *n.* encampment, camp, village

mēš *n.* ewe (female sheep)

merag (pst. **mord**, **mort**) *v. itr.* to die

meški *adj.* black

meškīraġ *adj.* black

mīš *n.* sheep

mīyān *prep.* between

moalem *n.* teacher

modat *n.* time
moġa, **moġe** var. of **mawġe**

mohr *n.* mark, stamp, seal, tattoo

mojett *adj.* insisting, persistent

mojett bayag *v. compl.* to insist, to be persistent

5. Glossary

mord, mort pst. of **merag**
moškel 1) *adj.* difficult; 2) *n.* problem
mošt *n.* handful
mot *n.* jump

nā *n.* date (fruit)
nābūd *adj.* annihilated
nābūd kanag *v. compl.* to annihilate, to destroy utterly
nām *n.* name
nārāhat *adj.* troubled, disturbed, bothered
nāranjī *adj.* orange (colour) (lit. tangerine coloured)
nāzok *adj.* thin
na 1) *prt.* no; 2) *adv.* well, actually, in fact, since
nafar *n.* person
nafarešt *n.* stew
nagan (nayan, nīyan) *n.* bread
 nağša var. of **naxša**
namak *n.* salt
namakdūn *n.* saltbox
nana *n.* mother
naŋ *n.* disgrace
nawbat *n.* turn
 nawešt pst. of **nawisag**
nawisag (pst. **nawešt**) *v. tr.* to write
nawkar *n.* male servant
nax *n.* 1) thread; 2) hair (a single hair)
 naxča var. of **naxša**
 naxče var. of **naxša**
naxša (naxče, naxča, naxše, nağša) *n.* 1) plan
 2) pattern

mot kanag *v. compl.* to jump
motaasefāna *adv.* unfortunately
moxālef *n.* disagreeing
mozz *n.* wages
mūd *n.* hair

n

naxša rečag *v. compl.* to plan, to make plans
 naxše var. of **naxša**
 nayan var. of **nagan**
nayza *n.* spear
nazar *n.* attention, opinion
nazzik = e 1) *adv.* nearly, almost;
 2) *prep.* close to
negah *n.* keeping
negahbānī *n.* guarding
nemešk *n.* butter
 nen alt. npst. of **nennag**
nennag (alt. npst. **nen, nn**; pst. **nešt**) *v. itr.*
 1) to sit down; 2) to set out
nennēnag (pst. **nennēt**) *v. caus.* to place, to show where to sit
 nennēt pst. of **nennēnag**
nešan (nošen) *n.* mark, sign
nešan dayag *v. compl.* to show, to make known
 nešt pst. of **nennag**
 nīyan var. of **nagan**
 nn alt. npst. of **nennag**
noğl *n.* sweets, sugar-coated almonds
noh *card. num.* nine
 nošen var. of **nešan**
nū *adv.* now
nūmzād *adj.* engaged
nūr *n.* light

ō

ō alt. npst. of **warag**,

ōdān var. of **odān**

ōdānakō *adv.* right there

ōštād pst. of **ōštag**

ōštag (pst. **ōštād**) *v. itr.* 1) to stand up;
2) to stop

o

o var. of **ho**

=o *coord. conj.* 1) and; 2) but

odān (**ōdān**) *adv.* there

omr *n.* 1) life

ord *n.* camp

orosi *n.* shoe

ošter var. of **oštor**

oštor (**ošter**) *n.* camel

otāg *n.* room

owakēn (**owakī**) *adv.* at that time

owakī var. of **owakēn**

p

pād *n.* foot, leg (from knee and down)

pād āyag *v. compl.* to get up

pāiz *n.* autumn

pākan *n.* cleaning out, removing vegetation

pākan kanag *v. compl.* to dig and clean up
around trees (in order to make them grow
better)

pāmāl *adj.* trampled

pāmāl bayag *v. compl.* to be trampled

pāre *n.* piece

pāwākonī *n.* welcoming party (given by the
bride's family after the wedding to
welcome the bridegroom into their
family)

pa *prep.* to, for

pačag (pst. **pakk**) *v. tr.* to cook

pad *n.* trace

padā *postp.* after

pajā var. of **pajāh**

pajāh (**pajā**) *adj.* recognizing

pajāh ārag *v. compl.* to recognize

pakk pst. of **pačag**

pan var. of **panj**

panā *n.* refuge

panā war xodā *phr.* dear Lord, oh dear,
goodness gracious (lit. refuge with God)

panj (**pan, panš**) *card. num.* five

panjā var. of **panjāh**

panjāh (**panjā**) *card. num.* fifty

panš var. of **panj**

pardāxt *n.* payment

pas a var. of **pas az**

pas az (**pas a**) *prep. phr.* after (temporal
sequence)

pašm *n.* wool

pašōl *n.* separated, dispersed, spread out

patī *adj.* to unveil, to uncover (one's hair)

5. Glossary

patī kanag *v. compl.* to unveil, to uncover
one's hair

paygīr *adj.* persistent, incessant

paygīr bayag *v. compl.* to persist, to
investigate thoroughly

paygām *n.* message

pēčag (pst. **pēk**; pst. **pīk**) *v. tr.* to twist

pēdā *adj.* visible, apparent, obvious

pēdā kanag *v. compl.* to find

pēk pst. of **pēčag**

pēšā *adv.* before

pēšter *adv.* before, in advance, formerly

pedarsūxta *n.* brat

pedarzan *n.* father-in-law (i.e., father of one's
wife)

perd (pert) *adj.* thrown

pert var. of **perd**

perx *n.* throwing

pešār *n.* pressure

pešk *n.* throwing

pešk dayag *v. compl.* to throw

pīk pst. of **pēčag**

pīlawar *n.* pedlar

pīremard *n.* old man

pīrezan *n.* old woman

pīš *prev.* preverb denoting face to face
encounter

piyāda *adj.* on foot, dismounted

piyāda bayag *v. compl.* to dismount, to get
off

pōst *n.* skin

por₁ (porr) *adj.* full

por₂ *n.* ashes

porr var. of **por₁**

portegālī *adj.* orange (colour) (lit. orange
(fruit) coloured)

pošt *n.* back

pošt = e *prep.* behind

prēnag (pst. **prēnt**) *v. tr.* to throw

prēnt pst. of **prēnag**

pūl *n.* money

pūldār *adj.* rich

pūnzda *card. num.* fifteen

Ī

r alt. npst. of **rawag**

rāfe *n.* mediator

rāh *n.* way, road

rāhat *adj.* comfortable, at ease

rāss *adv.* right

rāzī *adj.* satisfied

ra₁ pst. of **rawag**

ra₂ alt. npst. of **rawag**

rad *n.* trace

rad bayag *v. itr.* to pass by

raf alt. npst. of **rawag**

raft pst. of **rawag**

rahmat *n.* mercy

rannā 1) *postp.* behind, after; 2) *adv.* after,
afterwards 3) *adv.* behind

raṅ *n.* colour

rap alt. npst. of **rawag**

rapt pst. of **rawag**

rasag (pst. **rased**) *v. itr.* to arrive

rased pst. of **rasag**

rasm *n.* custom

rass pst. of **rēsag**

rašīd *adj.* tall
rawag (alt. npst. **r**, **ra**₂, **ro**₁, **raf**, **rap**, **ray**; pst. **ra**₁, **raft**, **rapt**) *v. itr.* to go
rawšen *adj.* light, bright
rawšeni *n.* light, brightness
raxt *n.* clothes
raxtexāb *n.* bedding
ray alt. npst. of **rawag**
rēčag (pst. **rētk**) *v. tr.* to pour, to make
rēsag (pst. **rass**, **ress**) *v. tr.* to spin
rētk pst. of **rēčag**
rečag (pst. **rekk**) *v. itr.* to pour
rekk pst. of **rečag**
ress pst. of **rēsag**
rešk *n.* warp (weaving)
rešxan *n.* laughing, ridiculing, teasing

rešxan kanag *v. compl.* to laugh at, to make fun of
rezāyat *n.* approval
rīše *n.* base
rō var. of **rōč**
rōč (**ro**₂, **rō**) *n.* 1) day; 2) sun
rōgan var. of **rōgen**
rōgen (**rōgan**) *n.* oil, tallow, lard, ghee
rōm *n.* evening grazing, taking the animals out grazing before sunset
rōxāna *n.* river
ro₁ alt. npst. of **rawag**
ro₂ var. of **rōč**
rū *prep.* on
rūstā *n.* village
rūz *n.* day (see also **rōč**)
rūzegār *n.* time

S

sāda 1) *adj.* easy; 2) *adj./adv.* simple, simply, in a simple way (without a pattern)
sāf *adj.* smooth
sāhat *n.* hour
sāheg *n.* shadow
sāl *n.* year
sāxt pst. of **sāzag**
sāz *n.* clarinet
sāzag (pst. **sāxt**) *v. tr.* to make, to construct
sab var. of **sabr**
sabr (**sab**) *n.* patience
sabr kanag *v. compl.* to wait
sabz var. of **sawz**
sahar *n.* dawn
sahrā 1) *n.* wilderness, field, desert; 2) *n.* ground 3) *adv.* outdoors

sak = o so *n.* offspring
sannoḡ *n.* box
sarjīn *adj.* heavy
sar *n.* head
sarā *postp.* on
sarābālāi *n.* steep uphill
sarāsar *n.* quarrel
sargarm *n.* amused
sargozašt *n.* narrative, account, story
sarkaši *n.* visiting
sarkoft *n.* taunt
sarkūb *adj.* suppressed
sarkūb kanag *v. compl.* to suppress, to repress
sarparass *n.* supervisor, person in charge
sar = e *prep.* on

5. Glossary

sawgāt *n.* gift

sawz (**sabz**, **sos**) *adj.* green

sawza *n.* herb, greenery, fresh vegetable

saxt *adj.* difficult

say₁ *card. num.* three

say₂ var. of **sayl**

sayl (**say**₂) *n.* looking

sayl kanag *v. compl.* to look

semetrī *adj.* three-metre, of three (square) metres

sepāye *n.* three-legged stand

serwat *n.* wealth

sewomī *ord. num.* third

sīb *n.* apple

sīna *n.* chest

sisad *card. num.* three hundred

sizda *card. num.* thirteen

sōb (**sob**) *n.* morning

sōbigāh *adv.* morning time, in the morning

sōčēnag (pst. **sōčēnt**) *v. caus.* to burn

sōčēnt pst. of **sōčēnag**

so, see **sak = o so**

sob var. of **sōb**

sočag (pst. **sokk**) *v. itr.* to burn

sohl *n.* peace

sokk pst. of **sočag**

sos var. of **sawz**

sooss *adj.* loose, slow, weak

sooss kanag *v. compl.* to slow down

sūrat *n.* form, face

swār 1) *n.* riding, tour (on horseback);

2) *adj.* riding 3) *n.* rider

swār bayag *v. compl.* to ride

syāh *adj.* black

Š

š₁ alt. npst. of **gašag**

š₂ var. of **eš**

šāh *n.* king

šām *n.* supper

šān var. of **ešān**

šānag *n.* shoulder

šāya *adv.* maybe

šab var. of **šaf**

šaf (**šab**) *n.* night

šahr *n.* town

šal (**šall**) *adj.* lame

šall var. of **šal**

šamār alt. npst. of **šomārag**

šamšīr *n.* sword

šanek *n.* goat kid

šanekdār *adj.* pregnant (of goats)

šarmanda *adj.* ashamed

šart *n.* condition

šas *card. num.* sixty

šaštād pst. of **šaštāg**

šaštāg (pst. **šaštād**) *v. tr.* 1) to send;

2) to attribute

šawkan *n.* night grazing, taking the animals out grazing at night

šawr *n.* consultation, counsel

šawr rečag *v. compl.* to take counsel

šay *n.* slope

šēr *n.* poetry

šēr gašag *v. compl.* to recite poetry, to compose (oral) poetry

šermohr *n.* name of a weaving pattern
(lit. lion-stamp)

šekāl *n.* 1) hunt; 2) prey

šekl *n.* form, shape

šerkat *n.* company

šerr *adj.* overturned

šeš (**šiš**)

šir *n.* milk

širbahā *n.* gift from the bridegroom to the
bride's mother (Persian term; Qashqai
term: bāšlog)

šiš var. of **šeš**

šōdag (pst. **šošt**) *v. tr.* to wash

šoḡl *n.* occupation, job

šohla *n.* flame

šokāl *n.* 1) deer; 2) name of a weaving pattern
(lit. deer)

šokr *n.* praise God, thank God

šolog *adj.* agitated, noisy, loud, busy

šolog kanag *v. compl.* to cause commotion,
to make a big fuss

šomā *pers. pn.* you (pl.)

šomārag (alt. npst. **šamār**; pst. **šomārt**)
v. tr. to count

šomārt pst. of **šomārag**

šorū *n.* beginning

šošt pst. of **šōdag**

šū *n.* husband

šūēnag (pst. **šūēnt**) *v. caus.* to trace someone,
to follow someone's footsteps (in order to
find him/her)

šūēnt pst. of **šūēnag**

t

tā (**ta**) 1) *prep.* until, till; 2) *subord. conj.*
until; 3) *subord. conj.* in order that, so
that; 4) *subord. conj.* that; 5) *adv.* then, so

tā ōdān ke *subord. conj.* as much as

tāḡ *n.* rattling noise, sound of knocking,
sound of teeth hitting each other

tākk *n.* single

tānag (alt. npst. **twān**; pst. **tānt**) *v. mod.* to be
able

tānt pst. of **tānag**

tārik *n.* dark

tārof *n.* politeness

tāyefa *n.* tribe

ta₁ *pers. pn.* you (sg.)

ta₂ *prt.* mirative particle

ta₃ var. of **tā**

tabaḡ *n.* storey, floor

tafri *n.* leisure

tafri kanag *v. compl.* to enjoy oneself

taḡriban *adv.* 1) around, approximately;
2) almost

taḡsir *n.* fault

tahamol *n.* patience

tahmonna *adj.* leftover

tahr *n.* pattern

tahrif *n.* 1) praise; 2) account

taht = e *prep.* under

takān *n.* movement

takān warag *v. compl.* to move

talab *n.* claim, sum outstanding to a person's
credit

tamām 1) *indef. pn.* all; 2) *adj.* finished

tamām bayag *v. compl.* to end, to finish

tamīs *adv.* nicely

5. Glossary

tamīs kanag *v. compl.* to clean
tan var. of **tānag**
tarās var. of **tarāz**
tarāz (**tarās**) *n.* scales
tarāz dayag *v. compl.* to weigh
tark *n.* leave
tasallox *n.* mercy
tasallox kanag *v. compl.* to have mercy
tašt *n.* basin, often brass, used, e.g., for washing clothes and dishes
tawār *n.* sound
tawa *n.* batch (unit for measuring wool)
tawr *n.* manner
tawsan *n.* summer
tebg = e *prep.* according to
tehnā *adj.* alone
telā *n.* gold
teṅag (pst. **teṅet**) *v. itr.* to sway
teṅet pst. of **teṅag**

tīr *n.* bullet
tīr kanag *v. compl.* to shoot
tīra *n.* clan
tōx var. of **tōxā**
tōxā (**tōx**) *postp.* in
tofaṅ *n.* gun
tofaṅčī (**tofaṅī**) *n.* gunman
tofaṅī var. of **tofaṅčī**
tolomma *n.* pump
toman *n.* toman
tork *n. prop.* Turk (a person belonging to a Turkic speaking group)
torsag (pst. **torsed**) *v. itr.* to fear
torsēnag (pst. **torsēnt**) *v. caus.* to scare
torsēnt pst. of **torsēnag**
torsed pst. of **torsag**
tū *prep.* in
tūl *n.* length
twān alt. npst. of **tānag**

W

wā alt. npst. of **warag₁**
wābasta *adj.* dependent
wāḡean *adv.* indeed
wāllā *phr. adv.* by God
wār alt. npst. of **warag₁**
wārt pst. of **warag₁**
wa₁ *conj.* and
wa₂ alt. npst. of **warag₁**
wad *refl. pn.* self, oneself
wada *n.* promise
wad = e *prep.* with
waft pst. of **waspag**
wale var. of **walī**

walī (**wale**) *conj.* but
walm *adj.* much, many, numerous
war *prev.* preverb denoting upward movement
war ārag *v. prev.* to dig, to dig up, to dig out
warag₁ (alt. npst. **ō**, **wā**, **wa₂**, **wār**; pst. **wārt**)
v. tr. 1) to eat 2) to drink
warag₂ *n.* food
wasāel *n.* equipment.PL
waspag (pst. **waft**) *v. itr.* to sleep
waxt *n.* time
waxtī (**ke**) *subord. conj.* when
waz *n.* situation
wazīr *n.* vizier

wel *adj.* loose, free, released

wel dayag *v. compl.* to leave, to forget about, to let go

wel kanag *v. compl.* to let go, to drop the issue, to forget about something

X

xāl *n.* thought

xāli *adv.* all over, covered with

xālū *n.* maternal uncle

xāma *n.* woof (weaving)

xān *n.* khan (title of a tribal chief)

xāsegāri *n.* marriage proposal

xāter *n.* mind

xāterāt *n.* memories

xabar *n.* 1) news, recent happening;
2) information

xarāb *adj.* thin, meagre, skinny

xarag *n.* buying

xarj *n.* expense

xarrag (pst. **xarred**) *v. tr.* to buy
xarred pst. of **xarrag**

xatarnāk *adj.* dangerous

xayle var. of **xayli**

xayle xob *phr. adv.* very well

xayli (**xayle**) 1) *adv.* very;
2) *adj.* much

xedmat *n.* service

xesārat *n.* loss, injury, damage

xo var. of **xob**

xob (**xo**) *adv.* well

xod ba xod *phr. adv.* spontaneously, automatically, by itself

xodā *n.* God

xodārā šokr *phr.* praise God

xolāsa *adv.* brief, in short, briefly, well, actually

xonawād *n.* family

xorāk *n.* food

xorāj *n.* food

xord *adj.* shattered

xorjīn *n.* saddlebag

xormā *n.* date (fruit)

xorram *adj.* refreshed

xoš *adj.* happy

xoš kanag *v. compl.* to enjoy oneself, to have a good time

xošhāl *adj.* happy

xošk *n.* dry

xošmaza *adj.* delicious

xūb *adj.* good

y

yā *coord. conj.* or

yād *n.* memory

yāl *n.* mane

yāni var. of **yani**

yāzdah *card. num.* eleven

ya var. of **yak**

ya xorda (**ya xorde**) *phr. adv.* a little

ya xorde var. of **ya xorda**

yak (**yek**; **ya**; **ye**) *card. num.* one

yani (**yāni**) *adv.* that is, it means

5. Glossary

yawāš yawāš *phr. adv.* slowly, gradually,
little by little
ye var. of **yak**

yehaw (yeho) *adv.* suddenly
yeho var. of **yehaw**
yek var. of **yak**

Z

zād pst. of **zāyag**
zāi *adj.* having recently given birth
zānag (pst. **zānt**) *v. tr.* to know
zānt pst. of **zānag**
zār *n.* rial (monetary unit in Iran) (lit. **hazār**
'a thousand')
zāyag (alt. npst. **zay**; pst. **zād**) *v. tr.* to give
birth
zahmat *n.* trouble, pain, hard work
zahmat kašag *v. compl.* to take trouble,
to work hard
zahr *n.* poison
zal *n.* gall bladder
zamān *n.* time
zamāna *n.* fate
zamīn *n.* ground
zan *n.* wife
zanezol *n.* womenfolk
zankākā *n.* sister-in-law
zanxāssī *n.* proposal
zarar *n.* harm, loss
zard *adj.* yellow
zardačūa *n.* turmeric

zarj *n.* pain, agony, hard labour
zay alt. npst. of **zāyag**
zehn *n.* mind
zekk *n.* goatskin bag for storing liquids
zemestān *n.* winter
zenne *adj.* alive
zennegī *n.* life
zennegī kanag *v. itr.* to live
zerej *adj.* smart, quick, clever, agile
zežt *adj.* ugly
ziyād *adj.* many
zōr *n.* force
zo alt. npst. of **zorag**
zobān *n.* tongue
zohr *n.* noon
zolf *n.* lock of hair, ringlet
zorag (alt. npst. **zo**; pst. **zort**) *v. tr.* 1) to take;
2) to buy
zorr *n.* turning
zorr gerag *v. compl.* to turn around
zorr warag *v. compl.* to move around
zort pst. of **zorag**

Ž

žan alt. npst. of **janag**

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