

Text 01

1.1 tar mun akáká , ka zenda buk az néla diwa poxtóna dák ,
tar mun a- káká ka zenda buk az néla di =wa poxtóna dák
GEN me the uncle COMP alive be.PST 1SG presence from =3 question do.PST
ka tar máx aqawm góda di erzâke ?
ka tar máx a- qawm góda di er- zâk -e
COMP GEN 1PL the tribe where from DIR.1 come.PST PSTPRF

When my (paternal) uncle was alive, I asked him: "Where did our tribe (people) come from?".

1.2 kákâm yok , ka máx kânigrâm di erzâken .
kákâ =m yok ka máx kânigrâm di erzâk -en
uncle =1SG say.PST COMP 1PL Kaniguram from 1.come.PST 1PL

My grandfather said: "We came from Kaniguram".

2.1 az poxtóna dák ka ormór (òrmór) kók kib yóşe ?
az poxtóna dák ka ormór òrmór kók ki =b yóş -e
1SG question do.PST COMP Ormur Ormur who to =PROG say 3

I asked: "Who are these Ormuri?" (lit. 'Who are called Ormuri?').

2.2 afo eryok : kânigrâm ne tar máx eqawm kiwa sayéd yâ
afo er- yok kânigrâm ne tar máx e- qawm ki =wa sayéd yâ
that.NOM DIR.1 say.PST Kaniguram in GEN 1PL ACC tribe to =3 Sayyed or
stáná yok .
stáná yok
Stana say.PST

He said to me: "In Kaniguram our tribe was called "Sayyed" or "Stana".

3 ar waxt bu , ka ta wazir aw masud emendze ne jang
ar waxt bu ka ta wazir aw masud e- mendz -e ne jang
every time PROG COMP GEN Wazir and Mehsud ACC middle OBL in fight
şuk , ta ormoř emendz dib şe nafar ta afóin
*şuk ta ormoř e- mendz di =b şe nafar ta afóin
become.PST GEN Ormur ACC middle from =PROG one person GEN those.NOM
kumâmelâwab faysala dák , faqat ka kurówon ta jang
ku- mâmelâ =wa =b faysala dák faqat ka ku- rówon ta jang
ACC dispute =3 =PROG decision do.PST just COMP ACC fire GEN fight
wožnawé , endé di tar máx kuqawm žewa ormər nâm wotok , yâni '
wožnaw -é endé di tar máx ku- qawm že =wa ormər nâm wotok yâni
kill 3 here from GEN 1PL ACC tribe on =3 Ormur name put.PST or
ōr mər !
ōr mər
fire quench

Every time that disputes arose between the Wazirs and the Mehsuds, a man from the Ormur settled their quarrel, if only to put out the fire of war. Because of this they gave our tribe the name “Ormor”, i.e. “the one who quenched the fire”.

4.1 mǎx ta soltǎn mǎmud ewaxte ne kǎnigrǎm di awal yaznǐ ki aw
 mǎx ta soltǎn mǎmud e- waxt -e ne kǎnigrǎm dǐ awal yaznǐ ki aw
 1PL GEN Sultan Mehmud ACC time OBL in Kaniguram from first Ghazni to and
 yazni di logar ki erzǎken .
 yazni di logar ki erzǎk -en
 Ghazni from Logar to 1.come.PST 1PL

At the time of Sultan Mehmud [Ghaznevid] we came first to Ghazni and from Ghazni to Logar.

4.2 tar mǎx ta bǎbǎ anǎm mir barakatollǎ buk , ka šan bu
 tar mǎx ta bǎbǎ a- nǎm mir barakatollǎ buk ka šan bu
 GEN 1PL GEN ancestor the name Mir Barakatullah be.PST COMP today PROG
 baraki-barǎk tar mǎx ta bǎbǎ enǎm že yǎd se “ barakǐ ”
 baraki-barǎk tar mǎx ta bǎbǎ e- nǎm že yǎd *s -e barakǐ
 Baraki-Barak GEN 1PL GEN ancestor ACC name on knowledge become 3 Baraki
 b čawk ki yoše , mesǎl : baraki-děburǐ yǎ baraki-rǎjǎn , baraki-barak .
 =b čawk ki yoš -e mesǎl baraki-děburǐ yǎ baraki-rǎjǎn baraki-barak
 =PROG crossroads to say 3 example Baraki-Deburi or Baraki-Rajan Baraki-Barak

The name of our forefather (ancestor) was Mir Barakatullah, so Barakibarak is called after him. A crossroads is called (by the word) “Baraki”, e.g.: Barakideburi or Barakirajan, Barakibarak.

5 qesa gušǎ buk , ka mir barakatullǎ tsun nafar gađǐ kǎnigrǎm ta wazirestǎn
 qesa gušǎ buk ka mir barakatullǎ tsun nafar gađǐ kǎnigrǎm ta wazirestǎn
 story thus be.PST COMP Mir Barakatullah some person with Kaniguram GEN Waziristan
 ne xaleq gađǐ xafa šuk , aw ta xoy kuramáwa mox ne dǎk aw
 ne xaleq gađǐ xafa *šuk aw ta xoy ku- ramá =wa mox ne dǎk aw
 in people with angry become.PST and GEN ownself ACC herd =3 face in do.PST and
 yaznǐ ki erzǎkin .
 yaznǐ ki erzǎk -in
 Ghazni to 1.come.PST 3

There was a legend that Mir Barakatullah and some other people took offence at the inhabitants (here: ‘the people’) of Kaniguram and Waziristan, drove away their own flocks (here: ‘herd’) and came to Ghazni.

6.1 soltân māmud bu afo waxt hend gađi Ʒang drónok , ta mǎx
 soltân māmud bu afo waxt hend gađi Ʒang drónok ta mǎx
 Sultan Mehmud PROG that.NOM time India with fight have.PST GEN 1PL
 abâbâ alyok , ka “ mǎx bu tar tu easkári gađi
 a- bǎbâ al- Ʒok ka mǎx bu tar tu e- askár -i gađi
 the ancestor DIR.3 say.PST COMP 1PL PROG GEN 2PL ACC army pl with
 ŷejǎy hend gađi Ʒang ken ”.
 ŷe ǰǎy hend gađi Ʒang k -en
 one place India with fight make 1PL

Sultan Mehmud at that time was at war with India. Our grandfather said to him: “We will make war on India with your army”.

6.2 tar mǎx abâbâyen kučí buk .
 tar mǎx a- bǎbâ =yen kučí buk
 GEN 1PL the ancestor =1PL nomad be.PST

Our forefather was a nomad.

6.3 afo ta rama egardan newa zang awzân dǎk , ku ramawa ŷe
 afo ta rama e- gardan ne =wa zang awzân dǎk ku- rama =wa ŷe
 that.NOM GEN herd ACC neck in =3 bell hung do.PST ACC herd =3 one
 taraf rǎyí dǎk aw áin ta soltân easkári gađi be taraf di
 taraf rǎyí dǎk aw áin ta soltân e- askár -i gađi be taraf di
 direction sent do.PST and these.NOM GEN Sultan ACC army pl with other direction from
 amla dǎk .
 amla dǎk
 attacked do.PST

He hung little bells on the necks of his flock, drove the herd in one direction and he himself (here: they) with the soldiers of Sultan Mehmud attacked [the Indians] from another direction.

7 ta hend aaskar , ka tsarang rama že amlá dǎk , t’afóin
 ta hend a- askar ka tsa rang rama že amlá dǎk t’afóin
 GEN India the army COMP what manner herd on attacked do.PST those.GEN
 awasla ayéra xalás aw áin askare že amlá dǎk , kuayéra
 a- wasla ayéra xalás aw áin askar -e že amlá dǎk ku- ayéra
 the weapons all freed and these.NOM army OBL on attacked do.PST ACC all
 askara raw – raw nok aw fat^ha taréin anasib ŷuk .
 askar =a raw raw nok aw fat^ha taréin a- nasib *ŷuk
 army =3 soon soon take.PST and victory these.GEN the fate become.PST

When the Indian army attacked the flock, all their arrows (here: weapons) were exhausted (i.e. were used up on the herd), and [meanwhile] they (i.e. Mehmud’s soldiers) attacked the army [of the Indians], quickly took [as prisoners] the whole army and gained the victory (lit. ‘the victory fell to them’).

8 soltân māmud tar mǎx ebábâ ki logar ne jǎy alšuk , ka
 soltân māmud tar mǎx e- bábâ ki logar ne jǎy al- *šuk ka
 Sultan Mehmud GEN 1PL ACC ancestor to Logar in place DIR.3 give.PST COMP
 pírîb tar mǎx ta bábâ enam že yâd se .
 pírî =b tar mǎx ta bábâ e- nam že yâd *s -e
 now =PROG GEN 1PL GEN ancestor ACC name on knowledge become 3

Sultan Mehmud rewarded our forefather with land (lit. ‘gave him a place’) in Logar, which now bears the name of our forefather.

Text 02

1.1 bāzi xálæk bu yoše , ka ormoṛ ta soltân māmud ewaxte ne
 bāzi xálæk bu yoš -e ka ormoṛ ta soltân māmud e- waxt -e ne
 some people PROG say 3 COMP Ormur GEN Sultan Mehmud ACC time OBL in
 kânigrām ta wazirestân di ende ki erzâke .
 kânigrām ta wazirestân di ende ki erzâk -e
 Kaniguram GEN Waziristan from here to 1.come.PST PSTPRF

Some people say that the Ormuri [tribe] came here from Kaniguram, [which is] in Waziristan.

1.2 awal yazni ki erzâk .
 awal yazni ki er- *zâk
 first Ghazni to DIR.1 come.PST

First (they) came to Ghazni.

2.1 anafar mire barak nâm dórno .
 a- nafar mir e- barak nâm dórno
 the person Mir ezafe Barak name have.PST

This man [our ancestor] was called Mir Barak.

2.2 mire barak pa asl ormór buk aw wal tafoyn âdât e ,
 mir e- barak pa asl ormór buk aw wal tafoyn âdât e
 Mir ezafe Barak INSTR descent Ormur be.PST and there those.GEN custom COP
 ka mir bu afo nafar ki yoše , ka jang aw barxelâfi ta tsun
 ka mir bu afo nafar ki yoš -e ka jang aw barxelâfi ta tsun
 COMP Mir PROG that.NOM person to say 3 COMP fight and quarrel GEN some
 nafar emendze neb pa jerga faysala ke , ka ta mir
 nafar e- mendz -e ne =b pa jerga faysala k -e ka ta mir
 person ACC middle OBL in =PROG INSTR jirga decision make 3 COMP GEN Mir
 ta qawm etaraf di xalâs se .
 ta qawm e- taraf di xalâs *s -e
 GEN tribe ACC direction from freed become 3

Mir Barak was an Ormur by descent. And there [in Waziristan] it was their custom (lit. 'they have such a custom') that a man who settles conflicts and strife between a number of people by means of a jirga [i.e. at a meeting] is called a 'mir' and they cease, thanks to the chief of the tribe.

3 ʃango o barxelâfi ka mendz dib agle , ʃoše bu , ka “
 ʃango o barxelâfi ka mendz di =b *agl -e ʃoš -e bu ka
 fight and quarrel COMP middle from =PROG carry.off 3 say 3 PROG COMP
 rona wožnawók ”, min afyâni neb alyóše , ka “ormór e ”.
 ron =a wožnawók min afyâni ne =b al- ʃoš -e ka ormór e
 fire =3 kill.PST still Afghani in =PROG DIR.3 say 3 COMP Ormur COP

Since the quarrels and strife are eliminated, they say: “He put out the fire [of hostility]”. That is [why] the Pashtuns also say: “[He] is an Ormur’ (i.e. ‘an extinguisher of fire’, lit. Pashto ‘one having extinguished the fire’).

4.1 mire barak gađí masud , zaqúm ge erzák buk .
 mir e- barak gađí masud zaqúm ge er- *zák buk
 Mir ezafe Barak with Mehsud Zakum also DIR.1 come.PST be.PST

Together with Mir Barak (at that time) there also came Mehsud (and) Zakum.

4.2 aw ka ʃazní ki erzâkin , soltân māmud kereynab
 aw ka ʃazní ki erzák -in soltân māmud kereyn =a =b
 and COMP Ghazni to 1.come.PST 3 Sultan Mehmud these.OBL =3 =PROG
 ʃazni ne nak wótok .
 ʃazni ne nak wótok
 Ghazni in not put.PST

But when they came to Ghazni, Sultan Mehmud did not allow them into Ghazni.

4.3 áyn alyok , ka “ tos bu ka ar tsa ʃóšay , mǎx
 áyn al- ʃok ka tos bu ka ar tsa ʃoš -ay mǎx
 these.NOM DIR.3 say.PST COMP 2PL PROG COMP every what say 2 1PL
 bu eǵra ken ”.
 bu eǵra k -en
 PROG carried.out make 1PL

They said to him: “We will do all that you say”.

4.4 keréyn kiwa ʃok , “ ka tos ʃang ki tsay !”.
 keréyn ki =wa ʃok ka tos ʃang ki *ts -ay
 these.OBL to =3 say.PST COMP 2PL fight to go 2

He said to them: ‘Go and fight!’ (lit. ‘go to war’).

5.1 áyn šo nafar buk .
 áyn šo nafar buk
 these.NOM three person be.PST

There were three of them.

5.2 ta xoy kuramawa šom dāk , ta gardan newa zang o ar
 ta xoy ku- rama =wa šom dāk ta gardan ne =wa zang o ar
 GEN ownself ACC herd =3 in.front do.PST GEN neck in =3 bell and every
 šay banok , ka baĵaxânaye askarí yondak ĵoř dāk .
 šay banok ka baĵaxâna ye- askar -í yondak ĵoř dāk
 thing pour.PST COMP dump ezafe army pl like built do.PST

They drove their flock in front (of them) (and) on the necks of their sheep (here: 'flock') they hung bells and various articles, – as if making (something) like an arms dump.

5.3 afo došman wâžéra amla dāk , ta xoy kukartus aw
 afo došman wâžéra amla dāk ta xoy ku- kartus aw
 that.NOM enemy on.it attacked do.PST GEN ownself ACC cartridge and
 aslahawa ayéra wâžéra xalâs dāk .
 aslaha =wa ayéra wâžéra xalâs dāk
 weapons =3 all on.it freed do.PST

The enemy attacked them [i.e. the flocks of livestock] and expended all their weaponry on them.

5.4 be taraf di soltân mâmud wâžéra amla dāk , aw fátha ta soltân
 be taraf di soltân mâmud wâžéra amla dāk aw fátha ta soltân
 other direction from Sultan Mehmud on.it attacked do.PST and victory GEN Sultan
 mâmud nasib šuk .
 mâmud nasib *šuk
 Mehmud fate become.PST

Sultan Mehmud fell upon him [i.e. on the enemy] from another direction, – and the victory was won by Sultan Mehmud.

6.1 bewa keréyn barakí-barak ki , ka ende ayéra azâra buk , râyí dāk .
 be =wa keréyn barakí-barak ki ka ende ayéra azâra buk râyí dāk
 then =3 these.OBL Baraki-Barak to COMP here all Hazara be.PST sent do.PST

Then he (Sultan Mehmud) sent them to Barakibarak, where there were Hazaras everywhere.

6.2 be mire barak kere ĵây ki erzâk aw kerewa soltân
 be mir e- barak kere ĵây ki er- *zâk aw kere =wa soltân
 then Mir ezafe Barak this.OBL place to DIR.1 come.PST and this.OBL =3 Sultan
 mâmude yazniwí di šinok .
 mâmud e- yazniwí di šinok
 Mehmud ezafe Ghaznevid from buy.PST

Mir Barak came to that place and bought it from Sultan Mehmud Ghaznevid.

6.3 soltâne māmud kiwa yok , ka “ še post ta sar ta goy
 soltân e- māmud ki =wa yok ka še post ta sar ta goy
 Sultan ezafe Mehmud to =3 say.PST COMP one skin GEN head GEN cow
 kumun ki tos grām ne jây eršaway !”.
 ku- mun ki tos grām ne jây er- *šaw -ay
 ACC me to 2PL Gram in place DIR.1 give 2

He said to Sultan Mehmud: ‘Give me a plot of land (lit. ‘a place’) in Gram [i.e. in Barakibarak] [the size of] a hide from the head of a bull!’.

6.4 aw soltân māmud kere qâbul dâk .
 aw soltân māmud kere qâbul dâk
 and Sultan Mehmud this.OBL approved do.PST

Sultan Mehmud agreed.

6.5 ayn post ta sar ta goya nok , kfo šer târ nawólok ,
 ayn post ta sar ta goy =a nok kfo šer târ nawólok
 these.NOM skin GEN head GEN cow =3 take.PST that.OBL good string pull.out.PST
 bâd ta tsun waxt kfo wunisaydân di sange wardak tomnak
 bâd ta tsun waxt kfo wunisaydân di sang e- wardak tomnak
 after GEN some time that.OBL Unisaidan from Sang ezafe Wardak until
 kerewa dangawók .
 kere =wa dangawók
 this.OBL =3 extend.PST

They [i.e. Mir Barak] took the hide from the head of a bull, stretched it into a thin (lit. ‘good’) thread and then extended it [to enclose the space] from Unisaidan to Sang-e Vardak.

7 bazi bu yóse , ka grām , yâni barakí-barak ki dwâs qawm
 bazi bu yós -e ka grām yâni barakí-barak ki dwâs qawm
 some PROG say 3 COMP Gram or Baraki-Barak to twelve tribe
 erzâke : sangtoyí , torâxel , qâzixel , mâsud , gučór , qâderxel ,
 erzâk -e sangtoyí torâxel qâzixel mâsud gučór qâderxel
 1.come.PST PSTPRF Sangtoy Torakhel Qazi.Khel Mehsud Guchar Qader.Khel
 fâzuxel , šeyxânxel , qezelbâš , darweš , âyingarxel , xarmenjân (xermanjân).
 fâzuxel šeyxânxel qezelbâš darweš âyingarxel xarmenjân xermanjân
 Fazu.Khel Sheikhan.Khel Qizilbash Darwesh Ayingar.Khel Kharmenjan Kharmenjan

Some say that twelve tribes came to Gram, i.e. to Barakibarak: the Sangtoy, Tora Khel, Qazi Khel, Mehsud, Guchar, Qader Khel, Fazu Khel, Sheikhan Khel, Qizilbash, Darwesh, Ayingar Khel and Kharmenjan.

8 sangtoyi , yâ qawm ta ormoṛ , tar mâx ebaraki-barak neb zindagi
 sangtoyi yâ qawm ta ormoṛ tar mâx e- baraki barak ne =b zindagi
 Sangtoy or tribe GEN Ormur GEN 1PL ACC Baraki Barak in =PROG life
 ke aw ta čandâl aqala ne (yâ ta abdol-sammadxân aqala ne) aw
 k -e aw ta čandâl a- qala ne yâ ta abdol-sammadxân a- qala ne aw
 make 3 and GEN Chandal the fort in or GEN Abdulsamajan the fort in and
 ta nurullâxân aqala neb be .
 ta nurullâxân a- qala ne =b b -e
 GEN Nurullakhan the fort in =PROG be 3

The Sangtoy, or the tribe of the Ormuri, live in our Barakibarak and in Qala Chandal (or Qala Abdulsamajan) and in Qala Nurullakhan.

9.1 torâxel bu ta taqi aqala ne aw baraki-barak ne aw ta haydar aqala
 torâxel bu ta taqi a- qala ne aw baraki-barak ne aw ta haydar a- qala
 Torakhel PROG GEN Taki the fort in and Baraki-Barak in and GEN Haidar the fort
 ne zindagib ke .
 ne zindagi =b k -e
 in life =PROG make 3

The Tora Khel live in Qala Taqi and in Barakibarak and in Qala Haidar.

9.2 qâzixel xoy ta barakî-barak ne ye .
 qâzixel xoy ta barakî-barak ne y -e
 Qazi.Khel oneself GEN Baraki-Barak in COP 3

The Qazi Khel are in Barakibarak itself.

10 masud kere atrâf ne nak da ye , tanhâ pole jadid ne ,
 masud kere atrâf ne nak da y -e tanhâ pol e- jadid ne
 Mehsud this.OBL neighbourhoods in not EMPH COP 3 only Pol ezafe Jadid in
 ka ta nâlband aqala kib alyóše , afoyn bu wal
 ka ta nâlband a- qala ki =b al- yóš -e afoyn bu wal
 COMP GEN Naalband the fort to =PROG DIR.3 say 3 those.NOM PROG there
 zindegi ke .
 zindegi k -e
 life make 3

There are no Mehsud in this region (lit. 'neighbourhoods'); (they) only live in Pol-e Jadid, which they call Qala Naalband.

11.1 sangtoyí , yâni ormoṛ , pa ormoṛíb ksi ke .
 sangtoyí yâni ormoṛ pa ormoṛí =b ksi k -e
 Sangtoy or Ormur INSTR Ormuri =PROG speech make 3

(The tribe of) the Sangtoy, i.e. the Ormuri, speak Ormuri.

11.2 afoyn ta čanđál aqala ne ta samadxân aw ta nurullâxân
 afoyn ta čanđál a- qala ne ta samadxân aw ta nurullâxân
 those.NOM GEN Chandal the fort in GEN Samadkhan and GEN Nurullakhan
 aqála ne aw beyn grâm-baraki-barak ne be .
 a- qála ne aw beyn grâm baraki barak ne b -e
 the fort in and others Gram Baraki Barak in be 3

They are found in Qala Chandal (Samadkhan), Qala Nurullakhan and in other [qalas] in Gram, Barakibarak.

12.1 sarnawešt ta ormoř píri tomnak šer maalum nak e : bázib še ksi
 sarnawešt ta ormoř píri tomnak šer maalum nak e bází =b še ksi
 fate GEN Ormur now until good known not COP some =PROG one speech
 ke aw bázib be ksi ke .
 k -e aw bází =b be ksi k -e
 make 3 and some =PROG other speech make 3

The origin (lit. 'fate') of the Ormuri is not yet properly known: some say one thing (and) some another.

12.2 magar un maalum šúke , ka kânigrâm ta waziristân
 magar un maalum šúk -e ka kânigrâm ta waziristân
 however so.much known become.PST PSTPRF COMP Kaniguram GEN Waziristan
 di erzake aw hatmi aw zarurib ende be .
 di er- zak -e aw hatmi aw zaruri =b ende b -e
 from DIR.1 come.PST PSTPRF and without.fail and certainly =PROG here be 3

Only one thing is known, that they came from Kaniguram (from Waziristan) and always (lit. 'without fail and certainly') reside here.

12.3 píri tomnak šer sarnawešta maalum nak e .
 píri tomnak šer sarnawešt =a maalum nak e
 now until good fate =3 known not COP

Up to now their destiny is not known.

Text 03

1 keré txan bu , ka mâx xren , zot saxtí žeb dest ki
 keré txan bu ka mâx xr -en zot saxtí že =b dest ki
 this.OBL bread PROG COMP 1PL eat 1PL very difficulty on =PROG hand to
 erzéye .
 er- zéy -e
 DIR.1 come 3

The bread which we eat is obtained with great effort.

2 awal bu kubóma golba ke – dowâr , šowâr , ka máx bu
 awal bu ku- bóma golba k -e dowâr šowâr ka máx bu
 first PROG ACC earth ploughed make 3 two.times three.times COMP 1PL PROG
 dospára aw šospára ki alyóšen .
 dospára aw šospára ki al- yóš -en
 second.time and third.time to DIR.3 say 1PL

First of all the ground is ploughed up two or three times, – which we call dospara and shospara (the second and third ploughings).

3.1 bád tafob bóma ne kutoxəm tit ke .
 bád tafo =b bóma ne ku- toxəm tit k -e
 after that.GEN =PROG earth in ACC seeds scattered make 3

After this the seeds are sown (lit. 'scattered on the earth').

3.2 [mendze newa] bu ganom x̄in se , ka afo
 mendz -e ne =wa bu ganom x̄in *s -e ka afo
 middle OBL in =3 PROG wheat green become 3 COMP that.NOM
 kib maysa yóše .
 ki =b maysa yóš -e
 to =PROG maisa say 3

[Then] (the shoots) of wheat, which are called maisa, become green.

4 zómok bu yóš wažéra yóre aw ta yóš edzómab se .
 zómok bu yóš wažéra yór -e aw ta yóš e- dzóma =b *s -e
 winter PROG snow on.it rain 3 and GEN snow ACC below =PROG become 3

In the winter snow falls on them and they are under the snow.

5 aw bâr , ka yóš parók , ganom bu qarâ-qarâ stor se .
 aw bâr ka yóš parók ganom bu qarâ qarâ stor *s -e
 and Spring COMP snow melt.PST wheat PROG calmly calmly great become 3

In spring, when the snow melts, the wheat gradually [begins] to grow.

6 aw wóray bu kuganom draw ke aw xarmanab
 aw wóray bu ku- ganom draw k -e aw xarman =a =b
 and Summer PROG ACC wheat harvested make 3 and threshed =3 =PROG
 ke .
 k -e
 make 3

And in summer the wheat is harvested and laid on the threshing-floor.

7 xarman bu čapar že mayda ke .
 xarman bu čapar že mayda k -e
 threshed PROG buck.rake on small make 3

The grain is threshed with a rake.

8 bewab xará ke , bádab ke , xoša
 be =wa =b xará k -e bád =a =b k -e xoša
 then =3 =PROG piled make 3 winnowed =3 =PROG make 3 ear.of.grain
 ta ganom bu ywáši di jedá ke .
 ta ganom bu ywáši di jedá k -e
 GEN wheat PROG straw from separated make 3

Then it (the threshed grain) is laid in heaps, winnowed, the ears are separated from the straw.

9 tsarang ka xoša ganóm di jedá šuk ,
 tsa rang ka xoša ganóm di jedá *šuk
 what manner COMP ear.of.grain wheat from separated become.PST
 yobalab (joyolab) ke .
 yobal =a =b joyol =a =b k -e
 threshed =3 =PROG threshed =3 =PROG make 3

When the ears of wheat are separated (from the straw), it is (again) threshed.

10 bád tafób ganom gonđi di bád že jedá ke .
 bád tafó =b ganom di bád že jedá k -e
 after that.GEN =PROG wheat from winnowed on separated make 3

After this the grain (lit. 'the wheat') is winnowed, separated from the ears remaining on the threshing-floor.

11.1 kuganom bu ásyá ne mâr ke .
 ku- ganom bu ásyá ne mâr k -e
 ACC wheat PROG mill in flour make 3

Then the wheat is ground in a mill;

11.2 kumâr bu xamirá ke aw tandúr newab bižé .
 ku- mâr bu xamirá k -e aw tandúr ne =wa =b biž -é
 ACC flour PROG yeast make 3 and tandoor in =3 =PROG bake 3

from the flour dough is made and baked in a tandoor oven.

Text 04

1.1 goy ka zayok , kfob dišen .
 goy ka zayok kfo =b diš -en
 cow COMP birth.PST that.OBL =PROG milk 1PL

When a cow has calved we milk her.

1.2 awalan ka dišok , ta še roz ađipi tafo ayera dzok e .
 awal =an ka dišok ta še roz a- řipi tafo ayera dzok e
 first =1PL COMP milk.PST GEN one day the milk that.GEN all beestings COP

When we have milked for the first time, all the milk of the (first) day is beestings (dzok).

1.3 kudzok bu nase , šerab tok ke , båd
ku- dzok bu nas -e šer =a =b tok k -e båd
ACC beestings PROG take 3 good =3 =PROG hot make 3 after
tafob båd afo xoråk xre .
tafo =b båd afo xoråk xr -e
that.GEN =PROG INSTR that.NOM food eat 3

They take the dzok, boil it well and after that eat it with food.

2.1 wa båd ta še roz – do roz ŋipiwab pa ŋayi ŋipi nase , še
wa båd ta še roz do roz ŋipi =wa =b pa ŋayi ŋipi nas -e še
and after GEN one day two day milk =3 =PROG INSTR bowl milk take 3 one
deg neb ŋoš dawē .
deg ne =b ŋoš daw -e
vat in =PROG boiled do 3

They ladle out (lit. ‘take’) the milk (collected) over a day or two with a bowl (xayi) and boil it in a vat (deg).

2.2 kfo ne duřak tōpi bane .
kfo ne duřak tōpi ban -e
that.OBL in little buttermilk pour 3

They add to it a little buttermilk (tōpi).

2.3 ka tōpi banok – afob mǎya se .
ka tōpi banok afo =b mǎya *s -e
COMP buttermilk pour.PST that.NOM =PROG fermented become 3

They added the tōpi – it ferments.

3.1 båd tafo pikak bu nase , řag ne bane .
båd tafo pikak bu nas -e řag ne ban -e
after that.GEN thick.soured.milk PROG take 3 řag in pour 3

After this they take pikak (thick soured milk), pour it into a řag (an earthenware pitcher).

3.2 ta řag poř båd sarřagiband sarřagi že mǎkam – mǎkam taře (še beř yak řiřa
ta řag poř båd sarřagiband sarřagi že mǎkam mǎkam tař -e še beř yak
GEN řag lid INSTR lid.cord skin.lid on tight tight tie 3 one cord one
, ka afo kib sarřagiband řoře , kfo sar mǎkam – mǎkam taře
ka afo ki =b sarřagiband řoř -e kfo sar mǎkam mǎkam tař -e
COMP that.NOM to =PROG lid.cord say 3 that.OBL top tight tight tie 3
).

They tie down the lid of the pitcher, [covered on top] with a skin, extremely tightly with a (special) cord, which they call a sarřagiband.

4.1 kereb šor dawe .
 kere =b šor daw -e
 this.OBL =PROG stirred do 3

They stir it [to churn it into butter].

4.2 båd ta še sât - ta du sât afob pa topi aw maska
 båd ta še sât ta du sât afo =b pa topi aw maska
 after GEN one hour GEN two hour that.NOM =PROG INSTR buttermilk and butter
 badal se
 badal *s -e
 changed become 3

In two or three hours it (the thick soured milk) turns into buttermilk and butter (maska).

4.3 maska aw topib dest ki erzeye .
 maska aw topi =b dest ki er- zey -e
 butter and buttermilk =PROG hand to DIR.1 come 3

[In this way] they obtain topi and maska.

4.4 maskab jodâ se , topi jodâ se .
 maska =b jodâ *s -e topi jodâ *s -e
 butter =PROG separated become 3 buttermilk separated become 3

The maska (butter) separate, the topi (buttermilk, whey) separate.

5.1 topi jodâ xorâk se wa maskab nase , ta tsun
 topi jodâ xorâk *s -e wa maska =b nas -e ta tsun
 buttermilk separated food become 3 and butter =PROG take 3 GEN some
 amaskab yakjây ke .
 a- maska =b yak jây k -e
 the butter =PROG one place make 3

They drink the buttermilk separately but they take the butter [and] collect a certain quantity.

5.2 afob še stor dege ne još dawe - još dawe .
 afo =b še stor deg -e ne još daw -e još daw -e
 that.NOM =PROG one great vat OBL in boiled do 3 boiled do 3

They heat (lit. 'boil') it for a long time in a large vat.

5.3 kfo dib run dest ki erzeye ,
 kfo di =b run dest ki er- zey -e
 that.OBL from =PROG melted.butter hand to DIR.1 come 3
 kurunab bâ xorâk xre wo prâyeb ge .
 ku- run =a =b bâ xorâk xr -e wo prây -e =b ge
 ACC melted.butter =3 =PROG INSTR food eat 3 and sell 3 =PROG also

They eat the melted butter with [some sort of] food and also sell it.

Text 05

1 še kar bu žayok , ka ta še nājor poxtəna ki tsáwe .
še kar bu žayok ka ta še nājor poxtəna ki tsáw -e
one deaf.man PROG ask.PST COMP GEN one sick.man question to go 3

A deaf man decided to visit (lit. 'to go and ask about') a sick man.

2.1 zɾə newab xeyál dāk , ka “ tsam bu , poxtə nab
zɾə ne =wa =b xeyál dāk ka *ts -am bu poxtəna =b
heart in =3 =PROG thought do.PST COMP go 1SG PROG question =PROG
kam : ka tsa ahwál der ?”
*k -am ka tsa ahwál *der
make 1SG COMP what health have

He thought to himself: “I shall go (and) ask: ‘How are you?’”

2.2 albata yoše su , ka “ alhamdolellá !”.
albata yoš -e su ka alhamdolellá
obviously say 3 SBJV COMP praise.God

Obviously (he) will say: ‘Praise God!’.

3.1 aw bād ta afo poxtə nab kam : “ tsab xri ?”
aw bād ta afo poxtəna =b *k -am tsa =b xr -i
and after GEN that.NOM question =PROG make 1SG what =PROG eat 2

And then I will ask: ‘What do you eat?’

3.2 pa yaqin su yoše ka “ šorwá ” aw az su alyóšim , ka
pa yaqin su yoš -e ka šorwá aw az su al- yóš -im ka
INSTR faith SBJV say 3 COMP soup and 1SG SBJV DIR.3 say 1SG COMP
“ noše jǎn !”.
noš -e jǎn
enjoy 3 Jan

Doubtless (he) will say: ‘Soup’, and I will say: ‘Enjoy it!’.

4.1 aw be su poxtəna kam , ka “ tabibat kók e ?”
aw be su poxtəna *k -am ka tabib =at kók e
and again SBJV question make 1SG COMP doctor =2PL who COP

And again I will ask: ‘Who is your doctor?’

4.2 albatta yoše su : “ mirzâ felân ”.
albatta yoš -e su mirzâ felân
obviously say 3 SBJV Mirza so.and.so

He will of course say: ‘Mirza so-and-so’

4.3 yóšim su : “ xodây kuqadama mobârak ke !”.
 yóš -im su xodây ku- qadam =a mobârak k -e
 say 1SG SBJV God ACC footstep =3 blessed make 3

and then I will say: ‘God bless him!’”

5 tsa rang ka afó sařay kar buk , čandân goyab nak marok
 tsa rang ka afó sařay kar buk goy =a =b nak marok
 what manner COMP that.NOM man deaf be.PST ear =3 =PROG not hear.PST
 , řawâb ta sawâl bu zlæ ne mašq dâk .
 řawâb ta sawâl bu zlæ ne mašq dâk
 answer GEN question PROG heart in practised do.PST

As this man was deaf and could not hear at all (lit. ‘his ears did not hear’), he repeated to himself (lit. ‘practised) the questions and answers’.

6.1 tsun ka erzâk , ta nâjōř ta bâlexť sar ne nostok .
 tsun ka er- *zâk ta nâjōř ta bâlexť sar ne nostok
 some COMP DIR.1 come.PST GEN sick.man GEN bed front in sit.down.PST

As soon as he arrived [at the sick man’s], he sat down at the head of the bed [of his bed]

6.2 aw pořtænawab dâk ka “ ahwâlat tsa rang e ?”
 aw pořtæna =wa =b dâk ka ahwâl =at tsa rang e
 and question =3 =PROG do.PST COMP health =2PL what manner COP

and asked: ‘How are things?’

6.3 nâjōř alyok : “ mram bu ”.
 nâjōř al- yok mram -am bu
 sick.man DIR.3 say.PST die 1SG PROG

The sick man replied: ‘I am dying’.

6.4 kar yok : “ alhamdolellâ ”.
 kar yok alhamdolellâ
 deaf.man say.PST praise.God

The deaf man said: ‘Praise God!’.

7.1 bewa pořtæna dâk : “ xorâkat tsa ye ?”
 be =wa pořtæna dâk xorâk =at tsa y -e
 then =3 question do.PST food =2PL what COP 3

Again he asked: ‘What are you living on?’ (lit. ‘what is your food?’).

7.2 nâjōř alyok : “ zâre mâr ”.
 nâjōř al- yok zâr e- mâr
 sick.man DIR.3 say.PST venom ezafe snake

The sick man replied: ‘Snake venom’.

2.2 yoka : “ ka doâ ke , ka bârân yore , tare pârak ka
yok =a ka doâ k -e ka bârân yor -e tare pârak ka
say.PST =3 COMP prayer make 3 COMP rain rain 3 GEN for COMP
ayn begonâ ye aw doʷâwab raw qabul se ”.
ayn begonâ y -e aw doʷâ =wa =b raw qabul *s -e
these.NOM sinless COP 3 and prayer =3 =PROG soon approved become 3

(They) said: “To pray for rain, for they are without sin and their prayer will be heard sooner”.

3 faqir yok , “ ka tareyn (a-) doʷâb raw qabul ŝuk ,
faqir yok ka tareyn a- doʷâ =b raw qabul *ŝuk
fakir say.PST COMP these.GEN the prayer =PROG soon approved become.PST
bâyad ka ŝe nafar moallem ta boma emox ne nak ezok ”.
bâyad ka ŝe nafar moallem ta boma e- mox ne nak ezok
must COMP one person teacher GEN earth ACC face in not remain.PST

The fakir said: “If their prayer was heard sooner, then probably there would not be one teacher left on earth!”

Text 07

1 ŝe sařayye badsurat ŝe zarkaye ŝersurata dórnok .
ŝe sařay ye- badsurat ŝe zarka ye- ŝersurat =a dórnok
one man ezafe ugly one woman ezafe beautiful =3 have.PST

An ugly man had a pretty wife.

2 ŝe roz ta xoy nâk kiwa yok : “ yaqin darim , ka az aw tu
ŝe roz ta xoy nâk ki =wa yok yaqin dar -im ka az aw tu
one day GEN ownself wife to =3 say.PST faith have 1SG COMP 1SG and 2PL
ađugađ su ĵannat ki tsen ”.
a- đugađ su ĵannat ki *ts -en
the both SBJV heaven to go 1PL

One day he said to his wife: "I am sure that we shall both get to heaven!"

3 zarka yok ka “ tsa dib poy son ?”.
zarka yok ka tsa di =b poy *s -on
woman say.PST COMP what from =PROG understood become 2

The woman said: “How do you know [that]?”

4.1 yok , ka “ tub badsurát tar mun j̣u ǰ aw sa bæ r
yok ka tu =b badsurát mun juǰ aw sabər bu *k -i aw
say.PST COMP 2PL =PROG ugly me see and tolerance PROG make 2 and
bu ki aw az bu roxs â re ŝer , ar tu j̣ uǰ .
az bu roxsâr e- ŝer tu juǰ -im ŝokor bu *k -am
1SG PROG face ezafe good 2PL see 1SG thanks PROG make 1SG

He said: “You see my ugly appearance and [nevertheless] endure it, but I see your beautiful face [and] I thank [God].

4.2 man jǎy ta sǎberǎn aw šǎkerǎn jǎnnat ne ye ”.
 man jǎy ta sǎberǎn aw šǎkerǎn jǎnnat ne y -e
 then place GEN tolerant and thankful heaven in COP 3

And the place for the tolerant and the thankful is in heaven!”

Text 08

1.1 še badqawǎra sařay ta bǎzǎr esar ne darok buk .
 še badqawǎra sařay ta bǎzǎr e- sar ne darok buk
 one ugly man GEN bazaar ACC front in stand.PST be.PST

An ugly man stood in the middle of the bazaar.

1.2 še zarka mox kiwa erzǎk aw alšóstoka .
 še zarka mox ki =wa er- *zǎk aw alšóstok =a
 one woman face to =3 DIR.1 come.PST and weep.PST =3

A [some] woman came up to him and burst into tears.

2.1 zarka ka zot bu aldek , sařay pořtǎna dǎk ka “ ay zarka !
 zarka ka zot bu al- dek sařay pořtǎna dǎk ka ay zarka
 woman COMP very PROG DIR.3 see.PST man question do.PST COMP O woman

As the woman looked at him closely (lit. ‘very much’) and for a long time, the man asked: “O woman!

2.2 tsa maqsad der aw tsimit mun ki noke , tez tar mun
 tsa maqsad *der aw tsi mi =t mun ki nok -e tez mun e- mox
 what intention have and eye =2 me to take.PST PSTPRF fast me ACC face
 emo x kib ?”.

ki =b juř
 to =PROG see

Why have you fixed your eyes on me and [so] intently (lit. ‘keenly’) look at my face?”

3.1 zarka yok : “ tsimim stor gonǎ dǎk buk .
 zarka yok tsi mi =m stor gonǎ dǎk buk
 woman say.PST eye =1SG great sin do.PST be.PST

The woman said: “My eyes are very sinful (lit. ‘have committed [in the past] great sin’).

3.2 řayim bu , ka afo pa azǎb kam - ba tsa řay
 řay -im bu ka afo pa azǎb *k -am ba tsa řay
 ask 1SG PROG COMP that.NOM INSTR punishment make 1SG INSTR what thing
 ka badtar afo di nak da be .
 ka badtar afo di nak da b -e
 COMP worse that.NOM from not EMPH be 3

[And now] I want to torment them with something worse than anything else.

3.3 heč badtar afo dim nak dek , ka ta r tu emo
 heč badtar afo di =m nak dek ka tu e- mōx ki =m
 any worse than.NOM from =1SG not see.PST COMP 2PL ACC face to =1SG
 °x ”.
 dek
 see.PST

I have never seen anything worse than your face”.

Text 09

1 še sařay ka zot baxil buk , dičeye nowa šinók , rāy neb
 še sařay ka zot baxil buk diče ye- now =a šinók rāy ne =b
 one man COMP very stingy be.PST shoes ezafē new =3 buy.PST road in =PROG
 altsok .
 al- tsok
 DIR.3 go.PST

A man who was very miserly bought some new shoes (and) walked along the road.

2 aw še jāy ki ka rasók , ka xār aw gapa (gipiwa) zot
 aw še jāy ki ka *rasók ka xār aw gap =a gipi =wa zot
 and one place to COMP arrive.PST COMP thorn and stone =3 stones =3 very
 dornok , dičēwa pāy di nawolok , ta xoy dāman newa pečawók .
 *dornok dičē =wa pāy di nawolok ta xoy dāman ne =wa pečawók
 have.PST shoes =3 foot from pull.out.PST GEN oneself hem in =3 wrap.PST

And, when he reached a place where there were many thorns and stones, he took the shoes off his feet [and] put (lit. wrapped) [them] in the hem [of the shirt].

3 dáfatán še xār epāy newa alisok , ka be taraf di
 dáfatán še xār e- pāy ne =wa al- isok ka be taraf di
 suddenly one thorn ACC foot in =3 DIR.3 pierce.PST COMP other direction from
 nayók .
 nayók
 go.out.PST

Suddenly a thorn pierced him in the foot – (so) that it came out on the other side of the foot.

4 yoka : alhamdolelā ka dičém pāy nem nak da buk (nak
 yok =a alhamdolelā ka dičē =m pāy ne =m nak da buk nak
 say.PST =3 praise.God COMP shoes =1SG foot in =1SG not EMPH be.PST not
 dāk buk), kini afob ko šuk .
 dāk buk kini afo =b ko *šuk
 do.PST be.PST otherwise that.NOM =PROG become.PST

He said: “Praise God that my shoes were not on my feet; otherwise they would have been pierced!”

Text 10

1.1 še saɾay ta xoy dost ki yok : “ tsimim bu dimi .
še saɾay ta xoy dost ki yok tsi mi =m bu dim -i
one man GEN ownself friend to say.PST eye =1SG PROG ache pl

A man said to his friend: “My eye hurts.

1.2 elâja tsá ye ?”.
elâj =a tsá y -e
cure =3 what COP 3

What am I to do? (lit. ‘what is the way out of the situation?’).

2.1 yoka : “ prasol tar mun agišib dimók .
yok =a prasol tar mun a- giši =b dimók
say.PST =3 last.year GEN me the tooth =PROG ache.PST

He said: “Last year my tooth ached.

2.2 náwolokam – xalâs šúkom ”.
náwolok =am xalâs šúk -om
pull.out.PST =1SG freed become.PST 1SG

I pulled it out – [and] was delivered [from the pain]”.

Text 11

1.1 moazen azân ta nemâžab dâk , yókab aw dangók
moazen azân ta nemâž =a =b dâk yók =a =b aw dangók
muezzin calling GEN prayers =3 =PROG do.PST say.PST =3 =PROG and run.PST

bu .

bu

PROG

A muezzin calling to prayer was shouting (lit. ‘saying’) and running [at one and the same time].

1.2 poxtəna dâk , ka “ keb dang ?”.
poxtəna =wa dâk ka ke =b dang
question =3 do.PST COMP why =PROG run

They asked [him]: “Why are you running?”

2 yoka : “ yóše bu , ka âwâz tar mun dur di šér e aw
yok =a yóš -e bu ka âwâz tar mun dur di šér e aw
say.PST =3 say 3 PROG COMP voice GEN me distance from good COP and
dángim bu , ka ta xoy ku âwâz dur di marim ”.
dáng -im bu ka ta xoy ku- âwâz dur di mar -im
run 1SG PROG COMP GEN ownself ACC voice distance from hear 1SG

He said: “They say that my voice is [very] pleasant at a distance. So I am running to hear my voice at a distance”.

Text 12

1 še ǎlem diwa poǔtəna dǎk ka “ tsen waxt az ta češma
 še ǎlem di =wa poǔtəna dǎk ka tsen waxt az ta češma
 one wise.man from =3 question do.PST COMP which time 1SG GEN spring
 esar ki rasim aw žayim , ka ʏosəl kam , ta xoy
 e- sar ki *ras -im aw žay -im ka ʏosəl *k -am ta xoy
 ACC front to arrive 1SG and wish 1SG COMP ablutions make 1SG GEN ownself
 kumox tsen taraf ki kam ?”.
 ku- mox tsen taraf ki *k -am
 ACC face which direction to make 1SG

A wise man was asked: “If I go to a spring and want to perform my ablutions, in which direction should I face?”

2 ǎlem ʏok , ka “ ta xoy kumox ta kǎli etaraf ki
 ǎlem ʏok ka ta xoy ku- mox ta kǎli e- taraf ki
 wise.man say.PST COMP GEN ownself ACC face GEN clothes ACC direction to
 kon , ka dozda nak aglé ”.
 k -on ka dozd =a nak *agl -é
 make 2 COMP thief =3 not carry.off 3

The wise man said: “Face your clothes, lest a thief take them!”

Text 13

1.1 še sařay dǎktar ki altsok .
 še sařay dǎktar ki al- tsok
 one man doctor to DIR.3 go.PST

A man went to the doctor;

1.2 ʏoka : “ nasom bu dime ”.
 ʏok =a nas =om bu dim -e
 say.PST =3 stomach =1SG PROG ache 3

he said (to him): “My stomach hurts”.

2.1 dǎktar poǔtəna dǎk : “ tsat xoloke ?”
 dǎktar poǔtəna dǎk tsa =t xolok -e
 doctor question do.PST what =2 eat.PST PSTPRF

The doctor asked: “What have you eaten?”.

2.2 ʏok , ka “ soxta txanom xoloke ”.
 ʏok ka soxta txan =om xolok -e
 say.PST COMP burnt bread =1SG eat.PST PSTPRF

He said: "I ate some burnt bread".

3.1 tabib ta xoy šâgerd ki yok : " ta tsimi dawâ erwar !"
tabib ta xoy šâgerd ki yok ta tsimi dawâ er- *war
doctor GEN ownself pupil to say.PST GEN eye salve DIR.1 bring

The doctor said to his pupil: "Bring the eye salve!".

3.2 sařay alyok : " nasom bu dime .
sařay al- yok nas =om bu dim -e
man DIR.3 say.PST stomach =1SG PROG ache 3

The man said to him: "My stomach hurts.

3.3 ta tsimi dawâ tsa mânâ daré ?"
ta tsimi dawâ tsa mânâ dar -é
GEN eye salve what sense have 3

What is the sense of eye salve?"

4 dâktar yok : " ka ta r tu a tsimi rořa n buk on sox ta
dâktar yok ka tu a- tsimi rořan buk -on soxta txan =at su
doctor say.PST COMP 2PL the eye clear be.PST PSTPRF burnt bread =2PL SBJV
txa nat s ?"
nak xolok
not eat.PST

The doctor said: "If your eyes had been clear, you probably would not have eaten burnt bread".

Text 14

1.1 do zarka še klanak že řang dornok aw šâyeda nak dornok .
do zarka še klanak že řang *dornok aw šâyed =a nak *dornok
two woman one boy on fight have.PST and witness =3 not have.PST

Two woman quarrelled over a boy, but they had no witness.

1.2 ađugađa qâzi ki altsokin , ka keré pa ensâf hal
a- đugađ =a qâzi ki al- tsok -in ka keré pa ensâf
the both =3 qazi to DIR.3 go.PST 3 COMP this.OBL INSTR justice
ke .
k -e
make 3

They both went to the qazi so that [he] would justly resolve [their dispute].

2 qâzi kuqasâba žayók aw yóka , ka keré klanak
 qâzi ku- qasâb =a žayók aw yók =a ka keré klanak
 qazi ACC executioner =3 call.PST and say.PST =3 COMP this.OBL boy
 dujây kon aw ađugađ zarkiyiwa ki alšer .
 du jây k -on aw a- đugađ zarkiyi =wa ki al- šer
 two place make 2 and the both women =3 to DIR.3 give

The qazi called the executioner and said: “Divide this boy into two pieces!”

3.1 še zarka ka kere ksi marók , qarâr šuk aw be zarka
 še zarka ka kere ksi marók qarâr *šuk aw be zarka
 one woman COMP this.OBL speech hear.PST calm become.PST and other woman
 yâlmayâl dâk , ka ta xodây pârak tar mun kukl anak du
 yâlmayâl dâk ka ta xodây pârak mun ku- klanak du jây
 noisy do.PST COMP GEN God for me ACC boy two place
 jây .
 ma- k -on
 NEG make 2

One woman, hearing this, remained calm, but the other woman began to shout (lit. ‘made a noise’);
 “For God’s sake, do not divide the boy into two pieces!”

3.2 ka arađam ensâf be , kuklanak bu nak žaim .
 ka a- rađam ensâf b -e ku- klanak bu nak ža -im
 COMP the type justice be 3 ACC boy PROG not ask 1SG

If this is justice, then I do not want the boy!”

4.1 qâzi pa yaqin poy šuk , ka mâwa ta klanak á zarka
 qâzi pa yaqin poy *šuk ka mâwa ta klanak á zarka
 qazi INSTR faith understood become.PST COMP mother GEN boy this woman
 ye .
 y -e
 COP 3

The qazi was immediately convinced that this [very] woman was the mother of the boy.

4.2 kuklanak kere zarka ki alšuk , afo bewa
 ku- klanak kere zarka ki al- *šuk afo be =wa
 ACC boy this.OBL woman to DIR.3 give.PST that.NOM other =3
 padorrá dzok aw aya dâk .
 pa dorrá dzok aw ay =a dâk
 INSTR whip beat.PST and do.PST

He gave this woman the boy and that one, the other, he whipped and sent away.

Text 15

1 še saɾay xaw ne dek ka afo kib mayda paysab
še saɾay xaw ne dek ka afo ki =b mayda paysa =b
one man sleep in see.PST COMP that.NOM to =PROG small money =PROG
alšáwe aw afob nak náse , telá aw noqrawab
al- *šáw -e aw afo =b nak nás -e telá aw noqra =wa =b
DIR.3 give 3 and that.NOM =PROG not take 3 gold and silver =3 =PROG
x^wáheš dâk .
x^wáheš dâk
demanded do.PST

A man dreamt that he was given some small coins but did not take them. He demanded gold and silver coins.

2 tsa rang ka xaw di bedâr šuk , poy šuk , ka “
tsa rang ka xaw di bedâr *šuk poy *šuk ka
what manner COMP sleep from awake become.PST understood become.PST COMP
xawom deke ”.
xaw =om dek -e
sleep =1SG see.PST 3

As soon as he awoke, he understood. “It seems I dreamed it”.

3 pešemân šuk , ka “ kem kumayda paysawa nak nok ?!”.
pešemân *šuk ka ke =m ku- mayda paysa -wa nak nok
upset become.PST COMP why =1SG ACC small money pl not take.PST

He was upset: “And why did I not take the small coins?”

4.1 bewa ta xoy xaw ne banok tsi mi wa ta xoy poṭ dâk .
be =wa ta xoy xaw ne banok tsi mi =wa ta xoy poṭ dâk
then =3 GEN ownself sleep in throw.PST eye =3 GEN ownself forehead do.PST

He tried to fall asleep again (lit. ‘sank into sleep’), shut his eyes,

4.2 ta xoy kudesta drâḡ dâk , ka “ pa afo mayda
ta xoy ku- dest =a drâḡ dâk ka pa afo mayda
GEN ownself ACC hand =3 extended do.PST COMP INSTR that.NOM small
paysa râzi yom , eršera ”.
paysa râzi y -om er- šer =a
money agreed COP 1SG DIR.1 give =3

stretched out his hand: “I agree even to this small change, give it to me!”.

5.1 har tsawa žayok , fâyedawa nak dâk .
har tsa =wa žayok fâyeda =wa nak dâk
every what =3 ask.PST availed =3 not do.PST

However much he asked, it was no good.

5.2 zota armân dâk , ka kewa kumayda paysa xoy di ela
 zot =a armân dâk ka ke =wa ku- mayda paysa xoy di ela
 much =3 upset do.PST COMP why =3 ACC small money ownself from released
 dâk .
 dâk
 do.PST

He began to be very upset that he had let the small coins slip out of his hand.

Text 16

1 še roz faqír šâer dawlatmand saráy ki altsók , gušá nezdék wagađiwa
 še roz faqír šâer dawlatmand saráy ki al- tsók gušá nezdék wagađi =wa
 one day fakir poet rich man to DIR.3 go.PST thus near together =3
 nóstok , ka tafóyin emendzi ne še blest jây buk .
 nóstok ka tafóyin e- mendz -i ne še blest jây buk
 sit.down.PST COMP those.GEN ACC middle OBL in one inch place be.PST

One day a poor poet went to a rich man [and] sat down so close to him that between them there was [a distance of] one inch.

2 dawlatmand keré kâr di zot qâr šuk aw pořtónawa dâk ,
 dawlatmand keré kâr di zot qâr *šuk aw pořtóna =wa dâk
 rich.man this.OBL action from very anger become.PST and question =3 do.PST
 ka : “ ta r tu aw xar em end ze n e ?” .
 ka tu aw xar e- mendz -e ne tsa farq e
 COMP 2PL and ass ACC middle OBL in what difference COP

The rich man became very angry [with him] at this and asked: “What is the difference between you and an ass?”

3 šâer alýók ka : “ tar mu n aw ta xar em end ze ne
 šâer al- ýók ka mun aw ta xar e- mendz -e ne še blest
 poet DIR.3 say.PST COMP me and GEN ass ACC middle OBL in one inch
 še b ” .
 jây
 place

The poet said to him: “Between me and an ass there is only one inch”.

4.1 worza žayok .
 worz =a žayok
 forgiveness =3 ask.PST

he asked forgiveness.

4.2 dawlatmand kere ksi di šarmok .
 dawlatmand kere ksi di šarmok
 rich.man this.OBL speech from shame.PST

The rich man was shamed by these words

Text 17

1 še šâér kudawlatmanda zot sefât dâk – madhwa nawešta dâk ,
še šâér ku- dawlatmand =a zot sefât dâk madh =wa nawešta dâk
one poet ACC rich.man =3 very praised do.PST eulogy =3 wrote do.PST
mágar dawlatmand baxšéšiwa nák alšuk .
mágar dawlatmand baxšéši =wa nák al- *šuk
however rich.man reward =3 not DIR.3 give.PST

A poet very much praised a rich man (in verse) – he wrote a eulogy to him, however the rich man did not reward him (for it).

2 be wâr ahóywawa nawešta dâk , dawlatman afó ki hetsa nak
be wâr a- hójwa =wa nawešta dâk dawlatman afó ki hets =a nak
other time the satire =3 wrote do.PST rich.man that.NOM to any =3 not
yok .
yok
say.PST

The second time he wrote a satire on him, (but) the rich man said nothing to him.

3 be roz šâer altsok ta dawlatman ener ki aw wal nóstok .
be roz šâer al- tsok ta dawlatman e- ner ki aw wal nóstok
other day poet DIR.3 go.PST GEN rich.man ACC house to and there sit.down.PST

The next day the poet went to the rich man's house [and] sat down there.

4.1 dawlatman yok : “ šâer !
dawlatman yok šâer
rich.man say.PST poet

The rich man said: “Poet!

4.2 tu sefatnâmat nawešta dâk , az hets šay kutu ki nak daršuk
tu sefatnâma =t nawešta dâk az hets šay ku- tu ki nak dar- šuk
2PL eulogy =2 wrote do.PST 1SG any thing ACC 2PL to not DIR.2 give.PST
, bet hójwa nawešta dâk , az hets nak yok , píri tsa ki kumun ki
be =t hójwa nawešta dâk az hets nak yok píri tsa ki ku- mun ki
again =2 satire wrote do.PST 1SG any not say.PST now what to ACC me to
erzâkon ?” .
er- zâk -on
DIR.1 come.PST 2

You wrote a eulogy; I gave you nothing. then you wrote a satire (on me); I said nothing. Why have you come to me now?”

5 šãer aɣok : “ píri bu az dárim , ka tsun tu umron ,
 šãer al- ɣok píri bu az *dár -im ka tsun tu umr -on
 poet DIR.3 say.PST now PROG 1SG have 1SG COMP some 2PL die 2
 beb fâte^hânámá nawešta kam ”.
 be =b fâte^hânámá nawešta *k -am
 then =PROG epitaph wrote make 1SG

The poet said to him: “Now I will wait until you die and then I shall write an epitaph”.

Text 18

1 še roz pãčã aw šãzãdá kumasxaráwa xoy gađí ǰkãr ki algóstok .
 še roz pãčã aw šãzãdá ku- masxará =wa xoy gađí ǰkãr ki al- góstok
 one day king and crown.prince ACC jester =3 ownself with hunt to DIR.3 took

One day the king and the crown prince took (lit. ‘drove’) a jester with them to the hunt.

2 tsarang ka awã tok šuk , pãčã aw šãzãdá ta xoy
 tsa rang ka awã tok *šuk pãčã aw šãzãdá ta xoy
 what manner COMP air hot become.PST king and crown.prince GEN ownself
 kukãlíyiwa náwolok , ta masxara ešãnay žewa dãk .
 ku- kãlíyi =wa náwolok ta masxara e- šãna -y že =wa dãk
 ACC clothes =3 pull.out.PST GEN jester ACC shoulder OBL on =3 do.PST

Since the weather became warm, the king and the crown prince took off their (outer) garments and laid them on the jester’s shoulder.

3.1 pãčã ɣok : “ ay masxara !
 pãčã ɣok ay masxara
 king say.PST O jester

The king said: “Hey, jester!

3.2 ta še xar abãr ta r tu eš ã na ?”.
 ta še xar a- bãr tu e- šãna -y ne y -e
 GEN one ass the load 2PL ACC shoulder OBL in COP 3

You have the burden of one ass on your shoulder!”

4 masxara ǰawãb newa ɣok : “ ta do xar abãr ”.
 masxara ǰawãb ne =wa ɣok ta do xar a- bãr
 jester answer in =3 say.PST GEN two ass the load

In reply the jester said: “Of two asses”.

Text 19

1 še kor pa ǰo tǎrikí ne čerǎy adest ne aw garay ašǎna že
še kor pa ǰo tǎrikí ne čerǎy a- dest ne aw garay a- šǎna že
one blind.man INSTR night dark in torch the hand in and pitcher the shoulder on
bǎzǎr ki rǎyí buk .
bǎzǎr ki rǎyí buk
bazaar to sent be.PST

One dark night a blind man went to the bazaar with a torch in his hand and a pitcher on his shoulder.

2.1 še saráy néla diwa poǰtǎna dǎk ka “ ay dewǎna !
še saráy néla di =wa poǰtǎna dǎk ka ay dewǎna
one man presence from =3 question do.PST COMP O madman

A man asked him: “Madman!

2.2 xo aw roz tsími kit še ye .
xo aw roz tsími ki =t še y -e
night and day eye to =2 one COP 3

[You know], for you (lit. for your eyes) day and night are both alike.

2.3 čerǎy kutu ki tsa fǎy dá dare ?”
čerǎy ku- tu ki tsa fǎy dá dar -e
torch ACC 2PL to what use have 3

Of what use to you is the torch?”

3 kor xaní dǎk aw ʏoka : “ a čerǎy tar mun epa °rak n , ‘k
kor xaní dǎk aw ʏok =a a čerǎy mun e- pǎrak nák e tu
blind.man laughed do.PST and say.PST =3 this torch me ACC for not COP 2PL
e, tar t , ep á rak e, ka pa ǰ o etǎrik í ne gar ”.
e- pǎrak e ka pa ǰo e- tǎrikí ne garáy =am nak mizéw
ACC for COP COMP INSTR night ACC dark in pitcher =1SG not break

The blind man laughed and said: “This torch is not for me, but for you, so that in the dark night you will not break my pitcher”.

Text 20

1 še saray kǎteb ki altsok , ka “ kumun ki xat nawešta kon !”.
še saray kǎteb ki al- tsok ka ku- mun ki xat nawešta k -on
one man scribe to DIR.3 go.PST COMP ACC me to letter wrote make 2

A man went to a scribe [and asked him]: “Write a letter for me!”

2 kǎteb alyok , ka “ tar mun a pa °y bu ”.
kǎteb al- ʏok ka mun a- pǎy bu dí m -e
scribe DIR.3 say.PST COMP me the foot PROG ache 3

The scribe said to him: “My foot hurts”.

3 sařáy alyok : “ kutub góda ráyí nákam (nak kam),
 sařáy al- yok ku- tu =b góda ráyí nák -am nak *k -am
 man DIR.3 say.PST ACC 2PL =PROG where sent not 1SG not make 1SG
 ka guša wozrat šom dâk ”.
 ka guša wozr =at šom dâk
 COMP thus in.front do.PST

The man said to him: “I am not sending you anywhere that you should think up such an excuse”.

4 kâteb alyok : “ tub aráxa yoš , mágar ar waxt bu
 kâteb al- yok tu =b a- ráxa yoš mágar ar waxt bu
 scribe DIR.3 say.PST 2PL =PROG the truth say however every time PROG
 ka kok ki xat nawešta kam , kumun bu žaye , ka kuxat
 ka kok ki xat nawešta *k -am ku- mun bu žay -e ka ku- xat
 COMP one to letter wrote make 1SG ACC me PROG ask 3 COMP ACC letter
 awim , – taré pârak , ka tar mun ax at bu ko k aw ók n ”.
 aw -im taré pârak ka mun a- xat bu kok awók nák *inč -e
 read 1SG GEN for COMP me the letter PROG one read.PST not able 3

The scribe said to him: “You are speaking the truth. Yet every time that I write someone a letter I am asked to read (this) letter, because nobody can read what I have written” (lit. ‘my letter’).

Text 21

1 še sařáy kutotíwa tarbiya dâk , kufârsíwa yâd
 še sařáy ku- totí =wa tarbiya dâk ku- fârsí =wa yâd
 one man ACC parrot =3 kept do.PST ACC Persian =3 knowledge
 alšuk
 al- *šuk
 DIR.3 give.PST

A man kept a parrot [and] taught [it] Persian.

2 totíb ar kisí ki še jawâb alšuk : “ keré ne tsa šak
 totí =b ar kisí ki še jawâb al- *šuk keré ne tsa šak
 parrot =PROG every speech to one answer DIR.3 give.PST this.OBL in what doubt
 e ?”.
 e
 COP

The parrot gave one answer to every word: “What doubt can there be of that?” (lit. ‘what doubt is in this?’).

3 še roz afó sařáy kutotíwa bázár ki algóstok , ka
 še roz afó sařáy ku- totí =wa bázár ki al- góstok ka
 one day that.NOM man ACC parrot =3 bazaar to DIR.3 took COMP
 praýewa ; su ropé bayáwa wótok .
 praý -e =wa su ropé bayá =wa wótok
 sell 3 =3 hundred rupee price =3 put.PST

One day the man took the parrot to the bazaar to sell it [and] fixed the price at 100 rupees.

4 še be sařáy néla diwa pořtána dák : “ mágar su ropé báya
 še be sařáy néla di =wa pořtána dák mágar su ropé báya
 one other man presence from =3 question do.PST however hundred rupee price
 daré ?”
 dar -é
 have 3

A man asked him: “Does (it) really cost 100 rupees?”

5 totí yok , ka “ keré ne tsa šák e ?”
 totí yok ka keré ne tsa šák e
 parrot say.PST COMP this.OBL in what doubt COP

The parrot said: “What doubt can there be of that?”

6 sařáy xoř šuk , kutotíwa šinók , ner kiwa algóstok .
 sařáy xoř *šuk ku- totí =wa šinók ner ki =wa al- góstok
 man happy become.PST ACC parrot =3 buy.PST house to =3 DIR.3 took

The man was satisfied [with the answer], bought the parrot [and] took it home.

7 ar tsawab ka totí ki yok , afob še řawáb
 ar tsa =wa =b ka totí ki yok afo =b še řawáb
 every what =3 =PROG COMP parrot to say.PST that.NOM =PROG one answer
 alšuk , ka “ keré ne tsa šák e ?”
 al- *šuk ka keré ne tsa šák e
 DIR.3 give.PST COMP this.OBL in what doubt COP

Whatever was said to the parrot, it gave one reply: “What doubt can there be of that?”

8 řaxer a sařáy qâr šuk aw yoka : “ az xar búkum , ka
 řaxer a sařáy qâr *šuk aw yok =a az xar búk -um ka
 in.the.end this man angry become.PST and say.PST =3 1SG ass be.PST 1SG COMP
 kutum šinók !”
 ku- tu =m šinók
 ACC 2PL =1SG buy.PST

Finally this man became angry and said: “[Now what] an ass I was to buy you!”

9 toti alyok , ka “ keré ne tsa šak e ?”.
 toti al- yok ka keré ne tsa šak e
 parrot DIR.3 say.PST COMP this.OBL in what doubt COP

The parrot said to him: “What doubt can there be of that?”

10 a sařay xanıwa dâk aw kutotıwa ela dâk .
 a sařay xanı =wa dâk aw ku- totı =wa ela dâk
 this man laughed =3 do.PST and ACC parrot =3 released do.PST

The man burst out laughing and let the parrot go (free).

Text 22

1 ũe waxt temore lang paãã ũe welâyat ki altsok aw
 ũe waxt temor e- lang paãã ũe welâyat ki al- tsok aw
 one time Timur ezafe lame king one province to DIR.3 go.PST and
 kusâzendawa ta xoy nér ki žayók aw yok “ az
 ku- sâzenda =wa ta xoy nér ki žayók aw yok az
 ACC musician =3 GEN ownself house to call.PST and say.PST 1SG
 maróke , ka tar tos ewela °y at n e ũer sâ ze ”.
 marók -e ka tos e- welâyat ne ũer sâzendi yi y -e
 hear.PST PSTPRF COMP 2PL ACC province in good musicians COP 3

One day Tamerlane went to a province and summoned musicians to his house and said: “I have heard that there are good musicians in your province”.

2 ũe kor robâbí erzâk aw robâba dzok .
 ũe kor robâbí er- *zâk aw robâb =a dzok
 one blind rubab.player DIR.1 come.PST and rubab =3 beat.PST

A blind rubab player came [to him] and began to play on the rubab.

3 paãã zot xoſhâl ũuk aw pořtánawa dâk , ka “ ta r tu anâ
 paãã zot xoſhâl *ũuk aw pořtána =wa dâk ka tu a- nâm tsá
 king very pleased become.PST and question =3 do.PST COMP 2PL the name what
 m ?”.
 y -e
 COP 3

The king was very pleased [with the playing] and asked: “What is your name?”.

4 ðom řawâb newa alyok , ka “ tar m un a nâm d a ”.
 ðom řawâb ne =wa al- yok ka mun a nâm dawlat e
 musician answer in =3 DIR.3 say.PST COMP me this name wealth COP

The musician told him in reply; “My name is Dawlat”.

5 paãã yok , ka “ dawlat bu ge kor se ?”.
 paãã yok ka dawlat bu ge kor *s -e
 king say.PST COMP wealth PROG also blind become 3

The king said: "Surely wealth (dawlat) is not blind as well?".

6 ɖom ʃawâb alʃuk (ʃawâb newa ɣok): " ka góda dawlat kor
ɖom ʃawâb al- *ʃuk ʃawâb ne =wa ɣok ka góda dawlat kor
musician answer DIR.3 give.PST answer in =3 say.PST COMP where wealth blind
nak bukon (nak be), ta lang ener kib nak
nak buk -on nak b -e ta lang e- ner ki =b nak
not be.PST PSTPRF not be 3 GEN lame ACC house to =PROG not
erzâk ".
er- *zâk
DIR.1 come.PST

The musician said to him: "If wealth were not blind, it would not have come to the home of a lame man".

7 pãčã keré kisí di zot xoř Ńuk aw zot en'âma alʃuk .
pãčã keré kisí di zot xoř *ʃuk aw zot en'âma al- *ʃuk
king this.OBL speech from very happy become.PST and very reward DIR.3 give.PST

Such a reply pleased the king and he generously rewarded the musician.

Text 23

1 Ńe yãspwâlã yíspiwa pãčã ki algóstok (alřãma dâk).
Ńe yãspwâlã yíspi =wa pãčã ki al- góstok al- řãm =a dâk
one horse.dealer horses =3 king to DIR.3 took DIR.3 present =3 do.PST

A horse-dealer took some horses to the king [to show him].

2 pãčã kuyãspiwa ɣorřawók (yãspí ta pãčã ɣorřok) aw Ńinóka .
pãčã ku- yãspi =wa ɣorřawók yãspí ta pãčã ɣorřok aw Ńinók =a
king ACC horses =3 choose.PST horses GEN king please.PST and buy.PST =3

The king chose [several] horses (//the king liked the horses) and bought them.

3 azâr ropéwa wãžéra alʃuk , ka ta xoy molk di be
azâr ropé =wa wãžéra al- *ʃuk ka ta xoy molk di be
thousand rupee =3 on.it DIR.3 give.PST COMP GEN oneself country from other
yãspi erware .
yãspi er- *war -e
horses DIR.1 bring 3

On top of that he gave him a thousand rupees so that he would bring other horses that he possessed.

4 yãspwâlã altsok .
yãspwâlã al- tsok
horse.dealer DIR.3 go.PST

The horse-dealer went away.

5 tsun roz bād pāčā wazír kiwa yok : “ ta woláyat ta dewáníyi kunám
 tsun roz bād pāčā wazír ki =wa yok ta woláyat ta dewáníyi ku- nám
 some day after king vizier to =3 say.PST GEN province GEN madmen ACC name
 nawešta kon !”.
 nawešta k -on
 wrote make 2

After some days the king said to the vizier: “Write down for me the names of all the fools in the province!”.

6 wazír alyok , ka “ šom ta r tu e ki sí di aw
 wazír al- yok ka šom tu e- kisi di awal =am ta
 vizier DIR.3 say.PST COMP in.front 2PL ACC speech from first =1SG GEN
 alam ta al āhazr at kunā m naw ”.
 alāhazrat ku- nám nawešta dāk -e
 your.majesty ACC name wrote do.PST PSTPRF

The vizier said to him: “Before your order (lit. ‘word’) I had already written first your majesty’s name”.

7 pāčā poxtónawa dāk : “ ke ?”.
 pāčā poxtóna =wa dāk ke
 king question =3 do.PST why

The king asked: “Why?”

8 wazir alyok : “ ka ta yāspwālā kujāyat poxtóna nak
 wazir al- yok ka ta yāspwālā ku- jāy =at poxtóna nak
 vizier DIR.3 say.PST COMP GEN horse.dealer ACC place =2PL question not
 dāk aw šom dit ropé alšuk , ajāy ta dewānagi ye
 dāk aw šom di =t ropé al- *šuk a- jāy ta dewānagi y -e
 do.PST and in.front from =2 rupee DIR.3 give.PST the place GEN madness COP 3
 ”.

The vizier said to him: “Because you did not ask where the horse-dealer lived (lit. ‘about the [dwelling] place of the horse-dealer’) and gave him money in advance, [that is] madness”.

9 pāčā yok : “ ka góda yāspwālā kuyāspi erwáre , afo
 pāčā yok ka góda yāspwālā ku- yāspi er- *wár -e afo
 king say.PST COMP where horse.dealer ACC horses DIR.1 bring 3 that.NOM
 waxt bu tsa ki ?”.
 waxt bu tsa k -i
 time PROG what make 2

The king said: “[Well,] but if the horse-dealer brings some horses, what will you say then? (lit. ‘what will you do?’)”

10 wazír alyok ka : “ afo waxt bu ta pãčã kunãm
wazír al- yok ka afo waxt bu ta pãčã ku- nãm
vizier DIR.3 say.PST COMP that.NOM time PROG GEN king ACC name
gol kam aw ta yaspwãlã kunãm bu wãžera nawešta
gol *k -am aw ta yaspwãlã ku- nãm bu wãžera nawešta
extinguished make 1SG and GEN horse.dealer ACC name PROG on.it wrote
kam ”.
*k -am
make 1SG

The vizier said to him: “Then I will cross out the king’s name and above [it] I will write the name of the horse-dealer”.

Text 24

1.1 še roz molã nasrodín mombar že nayok aw yók : “ Ay xalq !
še roz molã nasrodín mombar že nayok aw yók Ay xalq
one day mullah Nasruddin rostrum on go.out.PST and say.PST O people

One day mullah Nasruddin mounted the rostrum and said: “O people!

1.2 poy bu say , ka az bu šan kutos ki tsa yošim
poy bu *s -ay ka az bu šan ku- tos ki tsa yoš -im
understood PROG become 2 COMP 1SG PROG today ACC 2PL to what say 1SG
?”.

Do you know what I will say to you today?”

2 xalqin alyókin : “ na , nak bu poy sen ”.
xalqin al- yók -in na nak bu poy *s -en
people DIR.3 say.PST 3 no not PROG understood become 1PL

The people answered “No, we do not know”.

3 molã qãr šuk aw yok , ka “ tos wun tomuak dewãna yay ,
molã qãr *šuk aw yok ka tos wun tomuak dewãna y -ay
mullah angry become.PST and say.PST COMP 2PL so.much until madman COP 2
hets bu nak daryóšim ”.
hets bu nak dar- yóš -im
any PROG not DIR.2 say 1SG

The mullah became angry and said: “You are so stupid that I will not say anything to you.”

4 sabãwa že molã be mombar že nayók aw ta prãn
sabã =wa že molã be mombar že nayók aw ta prãn
tomorrow =3 on mullah again rostrum on go.out.PST and GEN yesterday
kusawãla tekrãr dãk .
ku- sawãl =a tekrãr dãk
ACC question =3 repeated do.PST

The next day the mullah again mounted the rostrum and repeated his previous day's question.

5 xalq ta xoy emendze ne mašwarawa dâk , ka " šan
 xalq ta xoy e- mendz -e ne mašwara =wa dâk ka šan
 people GEN ownself ACC middle OBL in do.PST COMP today
 bu ĵawâb newa yošen , ka wâya , ka molâb tsa yóše
 bu ĵawâb ne =wa yoš -en ka wâya ka molâ =b tsa yóš -e
 PROG answer in =3 say 1PL COMP yes COMP mullah =PROG what say 3
 ?".

The people discussed amongst themselves: "Today we shall give him the answer: 'Yes'. What will the mullah [then] say?"

6 mola alyók : pírib ka poy say , âjat tar mun
 mola al- yók píri =b ka poy *s -ay âjat mun nak
 mullah DIR.3 say.PST now =PROG COMP understood become 2 need me not
 n
 e
 COP

The mullah said to them: "Now, if you know (everything), I have no need [to speak]."

7 mombar di dzom šuk aw altsok
 mombar di dzom *šuk aw al- tsok
 rostrum from below become.PST and DIR.3 go.PST

He came down from the rostrum and went away.

8 be roz xalq ta xoy emendzi ne faysala dâk , ka awâr
 be roz xalq ta xoy e- mendz -i ne faysala dâk ka awâr
 other day people GEN ownself ACC middle OBL in decision do.PST COMP slowly
 góda molâ be ta xoy kusawâl tekrâr ke , nimayí tar ma
 góda molâ be ta xoy ku- sawâl tekrâr k -e nimayí mǎx bu
 where mullah again GEN ownself ACC question repeated make 3 half 1PL PROG
 °x bu al " ošen ", â ya", aw nimayíb , ly " š ".
 al- yoš -en wâya aw nimayí =b al- yoš -en ka na
 DIR.3 say 1PL yes and half =PROG DIR.3 say 1PL COMP no

The next day, the people decided amongst themselves [thus]: "If the mullah again repeats (his) question, half of us will say (literally: '(we) shall say') 'Yes', and half will say 'No'".

9 sâr molâ be mombar že nayok aw ta prân aw injân
 sâr molâ be mombar že nayok aw ta prân aw injân
 morning mullah again rostrum on go.out.PST and GEN yesterday and day.before.yesterday
 kusawâla tekrâr dâk .
 ku- sawâl =a tekrâr dâk
 ACC question =3 repeated do.PST

In the morning the mullah again mounted the rostrum and repeated his question of the previous day, and the day before that.

10 nimayi xalq yókin “ wâya ”, nimaí xálqin yókin “ na ”.
 nimayi xalq yók -in wâya nimaí xálqin yok -in na
 half people say.PST 3 yes half people say.PST 3 no

Half of the people said “Yes”, and half “No”.

11.1 molâ yok : “ zot šer !
 molâ yok zot šer
 mullah say.PST very good

The mullah said: “Very well!

11.2 afoyin , ka poy bu se , báyad afoy ki , ka nák
 afoyin ka poy bu *s -e báyad afoy ki ka nák
 those.NOM COMP understood PROG become 3 must those.NOM to COMP not
 bu poy se , yošon ”.
 bu poy *s -e yoš -on
 PROG understood become 3 say 2

The mullah said: “Very well! Let those [of you] who know tell those [of you] who do not know”.

Text 25

1.1 tar mâx xo šawa áđât e , ka awlâdan nere ne
 tar mâx xo ša =wa áđât e ka awlâd =an ner -e ne
 GEN 1PL indeed thus =3 custom COP COMP children =1PL house OBL in
 paydâ šuk – yâ klân , yâ duwa .
 paydâ *šuk yâ klân yâ duwa
 produced become.PST or boy or daughter

We have this custom, when children come into a home – either a son or a daughter.

1.2 klân ka buk , kfob tsun waxt mâwawa šipib
 klân ka buk kfo =b tsun waxt mâwa =wa šipi =b
 boy COMP be.PST that.OBL =PROG some time mother =3 milk =PROG
 aršawe .
 ar- *šaw -e
 DIR.1 give 3

When a son is born (lit. ‘was’) his mother breast feeds him (lit. ‘gives him milk’) for some time.

1.3 bád tafo ka do čân – yâ kem , ya ziyâd – ter šuk ,
 bád tafo ka do čân yâ kem ya ziyâd ter *šuk
 after that.GEN COMP two year or little or big passed become.PST
 kereb šipi di jodâ ke .
 kere =b šipi di jodâ k -e
 this.OBL =PROG milk from separated make 3

After two years have passed – whether he is smaller or bigger – she weans him from the breast (lit. ‘from milk’).

2.1 a ka ħipi di jodã šuk , beb nase , kere
 a ka ħipi di jodã *šuk be =b nas -e kere
 this COMP milk from separated become.PST then =PROG take 3 this.OBL
 kib tamãme roz ta xoy pa lawz ksi ke .
 ki =b tamãm e- roz ta xoy pa lawz ksi k -e
 to =PROG all ezafe day GEN ownself INSTR promise speech make 3

She has weaned him from the breast – (and) for days on end she speaks to him in her own language.

2.2 tsun waxt ka ter šuk , penčãna yã ħočãna ka šuk ,
 tsun waxt ka ter *šuk pen čãna yã ħo čãna ka *šuk
 some time COMP passed become.PST five years or six years COMP become.PST
 áb xãpořay kere di xalãs se , pa pãy bu gærzi .
 á =b xãpořay kere di xalãs *s -e pa pãy bu gærz -i
 this =PROG crawling this.OBL from freed become 3 INSTR foot PROG move 3

Some time has gone by, he has reached 5 or 6 years, he stops crawling, stands on his feet (lit. ‘moves around on his feet’).

3.1 pewa be , mãwawa be bayal newab nase ,
 pe =wa be mãwa =wa be bayal ne =wa =b nas -e
 father =3 again mother =3 again embrace in =3 =PROG take 3
 kereb sãrã ki agle , kereb wal nawe .
 kere =b sãrã ki *agl -e kere =b wal naw -e
 this.OBL =PROG field to carry.off 3 this.OBL =PROG there seat 3

And his father and mother take him in their arms, carry him into the field and seat him there.

3.2 a xoyab ge wal arneye .
 a xoy =a =b ge wal ar- ney -e
 this ownself =3 =PROG also there DIR.1 sit.down 3

He even sits down there himself.

3.3 akłanak bu gorgoř-gorgoř ke , kere kib maraka ke ,
 a- kłanak bu gorgoř gorgoř k -e kere ki =b k -e
 the boy PROG babble babble make 3 this.OBL to =PROG make 3
 tareb zot yorħe .
 tare =b zot yorħ -e
 GEN =PROG very please 3

The little boy babbles and prattles, they talk to him – he likes it very much.

4.1 be ab nase – yâb mollâyi ne bane , yâ
 be a =b nas -e yâ =b mollâyi ne ban -e yâ
 again this =PROG take 3 or =PROG mosque.school in send 3 or
 tâlebî ne , yâ maktâbe ne bane .
 tâlebî ne yâ maktâb -e ne ban -e
 mosque.school in or school OBL in send 3

Then they take him and send him either to the school attached to the mosque (mola^yi, talebi), or to the ordinary school (maktab).

4.2 a ka maktab di xalâs šuk , amolâyi di ge xalâs
 a ka maktab di xalâs *šuk a- molâyi di ge xalâs
 this COMP school from freed become.PST the mosque.school from also freed
 šuk , stor šuk , xâyeš bu ke , ka kerî ki nâk ke
 *šuk stor *šuk xâyeš bu k -e ka kerî ki nâk k -e
 become.PST great become.PST want PROG make 3 COMP this.OBL to wife make 3
 .

[And well], when he has finished ordinary school [or] the school attached to the mosque and become an adult, he wants to be married.

5.1 tsawe bu ta še di duwa ki , ta še saṛay duwa ki , ka
 tsaw -e bu ta še di duwa ki ta še saṛay duwa ki ka
 go 3 PROG GEN one from daughter to GEN one man daughter to COMP
 šenâxtawa be , kfo ki aryoše , ka “ erzey
 šenâxta =wa b -e kfo ki ar- yoš -e ka er- zey
 acquaintance =3 be 3 that.OBL to DIR.1 say 3 COMP DIR.1 come
 kumun gaḍi kere xešî kon !
 ku- mun gaḍi kere xešî k -on
 ACC me with this.OBL relationship make 2

[His father] goes to a man he knows well who has a daughter (lit. ‘to the daughter of [some] man who is his acquaintance’) and says to him: “Become related to me!

5.2 kuduwat tar mun aklân ki eršer !”.
 ku- duwa =t tar mun a- klân ki er- šer
 ACC daughter =2 GEN me the boy to DIR.1 give

Give your daughter to my son in marriage!”

6.1 afob awal aryoše , ka “ nak bu se .
 afo =b awal ar- yoš -e ka nak bu *s -e
 that.NOM =PROG first DIR.1 say 3 COMP not PROG become 3

At first, the other man says to him: “Well, no.

6.2 tsa rang e ?
 tsa rang e
 what manner COP

How can I [right away]?”

6.3 tsa rang e ?”
tsa rang e
what manner COP

How can I [right away]?”

6.4 âxer ka šuk , beb aryoše , ka “ šer e .
âxer ka *šuk be =b ar- yoš -e ka šer e
in.the.end COMP become.PST then =PROG DIR.1 say 3 COMP good COP

But in the end he says: “All right,

6.5 az bu daršam , lekin mârâ mâlum kon !”
az bu dar- *š -am lekin mâr =a mâlum k -on
1SG PROG DIR.2 give 1SG however bride.price =3 known make 2

I shall give her [to your son] but [first] fix her bride price!”

6.6 man mârâ ar tsun ka mâlum šuk , afob mâlum
man mâr =a ar tsun ka mâlum *šuk afo =b mâlum
then bride.price =3 every some COMP known become.PST that.NOM =PROG known
se .
*s -e
become 3

As soon as [the amount] of the bride price is fixed, everything is in place (literally: ‘it is fixed’).

7.1 bewab nase kere ki – še wo yâ âxt safedriš , ar tsa
be =wa =b nas -e kere ki še wo yâ âxt safedriš ar tsa
then =3 =PROG take 3 this.OBL to one seven or eight elders every what
ka wotok , – kufob erware inde tare ner ki .
ka wotok kufo =b er- *war -e inde tare ner ki
COMP put.PST that.OBL =PROG DIR.1 bring 3 here GEN house to

Then he brings seven or eight – [as many] as are decided – old men here, to him in the house.

7.2 txan bu aršawe , beb še šini arjor ke ,
txan bu ar- *šaw -e be =b še šini ar- jor k -e
bread PROG DIR.1 give 3 then =PROG one shini DIR.1 built make 3
kereb aršawe še čapo-xak gađi , ka “ az ta xoy
kere =b ar- *šaw -e še čapoxak gađi ka az ta xoy
this.OBL =PROG DIR.1 give 3 one with COMP 1SG GEN ownself
aduwa ta flâni klân ki aršuk ”.
a- duwa ta flâni klân ki ar- šuk
the daughter GEN so.and.so boy to DIR.1 give.PST

He (the girl’s father) arranges the food (lit. ‘gives bread’); [the girl] embroiders a shini (a sort of embroidery) for him [that is for the young man], [and her father] gives this [to the young man’s

father], together with a veil for her face (chapoxak). He says: "I have given my daughter (in marriage) to the son of such and such".

8.1 a ka še tsen waxta ter šuk , beb kere nase –
 a ka še tsen waxta ter *šuk be =b kere nas -e
 this COMP one which times passed become.PST then =PROG this.OBL take 3
 xosrâni ke
 xosrâni k -e
 matchmaking make 3

Some time passed – they arrange the matchmaking (xoshrani).

8.2 beb artsawe , ka “– erzey az o tu pâywâzi
 be =b ar- tsaw -e ka er- zey az o tu pâywâzi
 then =PROG DIR.1 go 3 COMP DIR.1 come 1SG and 2PL engagement
 ken !
 k -en
 make 1PL

[The young man’s father] goes [to his relatives]:– “Let us arrange the engagement (paywazi)”

8.3 – šer e besmellâ , pâywâzib ken .
 šer e- besmellâ pâywâzi =b k -en
 good ezafe beginning engagement =PROG make 1PL

“A good beginning. We shall arrange the paywazi

8.4 – tsen bu se ?
 tsen bu *s -e
 which PROG become 3

“How much will [the expenses] be?”

8.5 inun gâka , inun rîzan erwar , ka poxtawa ken ,
 inun gâka inun rîzan er- *war ka poxta =wa k -en
 this.much meat this.much cleaned.rice DIR.1 bring COMP cooked =3 make 1PL
 ka xalak ki aršu !”.
 ka xalak ki ar- *šu
 COMP people to DIR.1 give

“Bring this much meat and this much rice for cooking [and] to entertain the people”.

9.1 bewa kere ka arwolok , nafar bu a ge ta xoy
 be =wa kere ka ar- wolok nafar bu a ge ta xoy
 then =3 this.OBL COMP DIR.1 bring.PST person PROG this also GEN ownself
 žayi , afob ge ta xoy žayi (dāmāt bu ge žayi ,
 žay -i afo =b ge ta xoy žay -i dāmāt bu ge žay -i
 ask 3 that.NOM =PROG also GEN ownself ask 3 bridegroom PROG also ask 3
 xosor bu ge žayi).
 xosor bu ge žay -i
 father.in.law PROG also ask 3

When they have brought (all) this, the one invites his people, (and) the other his, (i.e.), both the bridegroom invites and the bride's father invites.

9.2 dāmāt ka žayok – ta dāmāt ener kib
 dāmāt ka žayok ta dāmāt e- ner ki =b
 bridegroom COMP ask.PST GEN bridegroom ACC house to =PROG
 erzeye , xosor ka žayok – ta xosor ener
 er- zey -e xosor ka žayok ta xosor e- ner
 DIR.1 come 3 father.in.law COMP ask.PST GEN father.in.law ACC house
 kib erzeye .
 ki =b er- zey -e
 to =PROG DIR.1 come 3

[Those whom] the bridegroom (the son in law) invited, come to the house of the bridegroom, (and those whom) the bride's father invited come to the house of the bride's father.

9.3 ab ayera-š aḍugaḍ šeĵây se – ta xosor
 a =b ayera -š a- ḍugaḍ še ĵây *s -e ta xosor
 this =PROG all the both one place become 3 GEN father.in.law
 enere ne .
 e- ner -e ne
 ACC house OBL in

[Then] they gather together in the bride's father's house.

9.4 kuklanak bu agle , pâywâzab ke , abeyn
 ku- klanak bu *agl -e pâywâz =a =b k -e a- beyn
 ACC boy PROG carry.off 3 free.feet =3 =PROG make 3 the others
 xo pâywâz e !.
 xo pâywâz e
 indeed free.feet COP

They lead the young man, make him a 'paywaz' (lit. 'with free feet') [i.e. admitted into the bride's house], for others were paywazi [long before] [i.e. admitted].

10.1 pâywâz dâk , xayr , řob ter se , ena ta xoy
 pâywâz dâk xayr řo =b ter *s -e ena ta xoy
 free.feet do.PST sex night =PROG passed become 3 so GEN ownself
 anâmzât bu řuře , ta xoy anâk bu řuře .
 a- nâmzât bu řuř -e ta xoy a- nâk bu řuř -e
 the betrothed PROG see 3 GEN ownself the wife PROG see 3

They have made (him) a paywaz; good, the night passes by, [and] so [she] sees her betrothed and he sees his wife.

10.2 du řob wagađi be .
 du řo =b wagađi b -e
 two night =PROG together be 3

For two nights they are together [in the bride's father's house].

10.3 beb ka ta xoy ener ki pets erzeye , be man
 be =b ka ta xoy e- ner ki pets er- zey -e be man
 then =PROG COMP GEN ownself ACC house to after DIR.1 come 3 again then
 axosorwab woste , a xořuwab woste -
 a- xosor =wa =b wost -e a xořu =wa =b wost -e
 the father.in.law =3 =PROG rise 3 this mother.in.law =3 =PROG rise 3
 ar tsun rořanřořiwa ka dâk , kfob arke .
 ar tsun rořanřoři =wa ka dâk kfo =b ar- k -e
 every some rořanjoshi =3 COMP do.PST that.OBL =PROG DIR.1 make 3

When he returns to his house, both the bride's father and the bride's mother give him [themselves] everything that they have baked (lit. 'however many pies – roganjoshi – they have made'),

10.4 dâmât kib ta xoy řer kâlib arke ,
 dâmât ki =b ta xoy řer kâli =b ar- k -e
 bridegroom to =PROG GEN ownself good clothes =PROG DIR.1 make 3
 eřânewab ke , ta xoy ner kiwab râyî
 e- řân -e =wa =b k -e ta xoy ner ki =wa =b râyî
 ACC body OBL =3 =PROG make 3 GEN ownself house to =3 =PROG sent
 ke .
 k -e
 make 3

they make good clothes for the bridegroom, put them on him, send him home.

11.1 a-a-a , ka tsun waxta ter šuk , be man ta klanak
 ka tsun waxta ter *šuk be man ta klanak
 COMP some times passed become.PST again then GEN boy
 apeb artsawe , ka “ az bu xo ta xoy
 a- pe =b ar- tsaw -e ka az bu xo ta xoy
 the father =PROG DIR.1 go 3 COMP 1SG PROG indeed GEN ownself
 atoy kam ”.
 a- toy *k -am
 the wedding make 1SG

Some time has passed – the young man’s father again goes [to the girl’s father] and says: “I am arranging the wedding at my house”.

11.2 tsun ser mâr bu ke , bewab yâ rîzan nase –
 tsun ser mâr bu k -e be =wa =b yâ rîzan nas -e
 some seer flour PROG make 3 then =3 =PROG or cleaned.rice take 3
 ar šay ka šuk – kereb nase , tare atoy bu
 ar šay ka *šuk kere =b nas -e tare a- toy bu
 every thing COMP become.PST this.OBL =PROG take 3 GEN the wedding PROG
 bâr ke (?).
 bâr k -e
 Spring make 3

They bake [pancakes] from several seers of flour; then they take rice – they take everything that there is and everything goes to the wedding.

12.1 ab ge žaye , afob ge žaye .
 a =b ge žay -e afo =b ge žay -e
 this =PROG also ask 3 that.NOM =PROG also ask 3

The one invites [guests] [and] the other invites.

12.2 ŋo ta henab ge dâmât ke .
 ŋo ta hena =b ge dâmât k -e
 night GEN henna =PROG also bridegroom make 3

The son-in-law arranges the food on the occasion of dyeing the hair and the palms of the hands with henna (lit. ‘makes the night of henna’).

12.3 sabâ ka šuk , ðol bu dzok se , tsawe bu ,
 sabâ ka *šuk ðol bu dzok *s -e tsaw -e bu
 tomorrow COMP become.PST drum PROG beat become 3 go 3 PROG
 kuârosa bu erware wal di ta xoy ner ki .
 ku- âros =a bu er- *war -e wal di ta xoy ner ki
 ACC bride =3 PROG DIR.1 bring 3 there from GEN ownself house to

(And) in the morning, they beat the drums, and (he) goes [into the bride’s house] and brings the bride from there to his home.

13.1 ab ka duka ye , ka xosrâniwab ke :
 a =b ka duka y -e ka xosrâni =wa =b k -e
 this =PROG COMP girl COP 3 COMP matchmaking =3 =PROG make 3
 duwâsčâna , šesčâna , tsaresčâna xosrâni ki se .
 duwâs čâna šes čâna tsares čâna xosrâni ki *s -e
 twelve years thirteen years fourteen years matchmaking to become 3

As regards girls, they arrange their engagement at the age of 12, 13, or 14.

13.2 pandzes čân ka šuk , řales čân , – kereb toy ke
 pandzes čân ka *šuk řales čân kere =b toy k -e
 fifteen year COMP become.PST sixteen year this.OBL =PROG wedding make 3

When [she] is 15 or 16 years old, they perform their wedding.

13.3 aklanak ka sen , geb pandzes čân , řales čân kere
 a- klanak ka *s -en ge =b pandzes čân řales čân kere
 the boy COMP become 1PL also =PROG fifteen year sixteen year this.OBL
 ki xosrâni ke .
 ki xosrâni k -e
 to matchmaking make 3

They arrange the engagements of young men at 15 or 16 years old,

13.4 awes – ařtese neb toya ke .
 awes ařtes -e ne =b toy =a k -e
 seventeen eighteen OBL in =PROG wedding =3 make 3

and at 17 or 18, they perform their wedding.

13.5 ta xoy toy ka ye , rízan bu poxta ke yâ
 ta xoy toy ka y -e rízan bu poxta k -e yâ
 GEN ownself wedding COMP COP 3 cleaned.rice PROG cooked make 3 or
 gâkab poxta ke , úna naware bu , xalak kib
 gâka =b poxta k -e ún =a nawar -e bu xalak ki =b
 meat =PROG cooked make 3 so.much =3 pull.out 3 PROG people to =PROG
 aršawe .
 ar- *šaw -e
 DIR.1 give 3

When the wedding takes place, they cook rice or meat, take it [out of the cooking pot], entertain people.

Text 26

1.1 mǎx bu nasen , ka ganəman draw dǎk , kukord
mǎx bu nas -en ka ganəm =an draw dǎk ku- kord
1PL PROG take 1PL COMP wheat =1PL harvested do.PST ACC field
kib wok aršeren .
ki =b wok ar- šer -en
to =PROG water DIR.1 give 1PL

When we have harvested the wheat, we irrigate the field.

1.2 a ka watar šuk , kereb nasen qolbawab
a ka watar *šuk kere =b nas -en qolba =wa =b
this COMP wet become.PST this.OBL =PROG take 1PL ploughed =3 =PROG
ken .
k -en
make 1PL

When it has become wet, we plough the field.

1.3 bewab mǎla ken .
be =wa =b mǎla k -en
then =3 =PROG harrowed make 1PL

Then we harrow it using a harrow (mala).

1.4 mǎlan ka dǎk , kere neb taxminan še – šewonim
mǎla =n ka dǎk kere ne =b taxminan še še wo nim
harrowed =1PL COMP do.PST this.OBL in =PROG about one one and half
mǎy ter se , kereb nasen duspârawa ken .
mǎy ter *s -e kere =b nas -en duspâra =wa k -en
month passed become 3 this.OBL =PROG take 1PL second.time =3 make 1PL

We have harrowed it – approximately one to one and a half months go by – [and] we plough (loosen) it a second time.

1.5 bewab rǎkol ken .
be =wa =b rǎkol k -en
then =3 =PROG harrowed make 1PL

Then we level it using a different harrow (rakol).

1.6 pets diwab sespâra ken , bewab qarâr
pets di =wa =b sespâra k -en be =wa =b qarâr
after from =3 =PROG third.time make 1PL then =3 =PROG calmly
gen mizân tumadi .
g -en mizân tumadi
put 1PL Mizan until

After this we plough it a third time [and] then we leave it until [the month of] Mizan.

2.1 mizâne neb ganəṃ nasen – šerab pāk ken
 mizān -e ne =b ganəṃ nas -en šer =a =b pāk k -en
 Mizan OBL in =PROG wheat take 1PL good =3 =PROG cleaned make 1PL
 : šawab pāk ken , ka ta xoy ta zle
 ša =wa =b pāk k -en ka ta xoy ta zle
 thus =3 =PROG cleaned make 1PL COMP GEN ownself GEN heart
 ašakan nela di arnise .
 a- šak =an nela di ar- nis -e
 the doubt =1PL presence from DIR.1 leave 3

In Mizan we take the wheat [and] clean it thoroughly [of weeds]: we clean it so that no doubt whatever remains (lit. 'so that doubt has left our heart').

2.2 kere be mizâne ne šorab ge kere ne banen – ta
 kere be mizān -e ne šora =b ge kere ne ban -en ta
 this.OBL again Mizan OBL in fertiliser =PROG also this.OBL in throw 1PL GEN
 xoy awatani , ta xarguĵa .
 xoy a- watani ta xarguĵa
 ownself the homeland GEN Kharguja

Also in Mizan we put fertiliser into it (the earth) – its country of origin being Kharguja.

2.3 kereb be nasen – titab ken
 kere =b be nas -en tit =a =b k -en
 this.OBL =PROG again take 1PL scattered =3 =PROG make 1PL
 kušorawa .
 ku- šora =wa
 ACC fertiliser =3

We take it [and] spread the fertiliser.

2.4 toxom bu tit ken , bewab nasen – max yešāwol
 toxom bu tit k -en be =wa =b nas -en max yešāwol
 seeds PROG scattered make 1PL then =3 =PROG take 1PL 1PL iron.rake
 daren , ta āyini – kereb nasen , māxab
 dar -en ta āyini kere =b nas -en māx =a =b
 have 1PL GEN these.NOM this.OBL =PROG take 1PL 1PL =3 =PROG
 yešāwol ken .
 yešāwol k -en
 iron.rake make 1PL

Then we take – we have [these] iron rakes (gheshawol) – we take them, level [the field] with them.

3.1 yešâwolan ka dâk , ka wok zot buk , – pafo sât wok bu
 yešâwol =an ka dâk ka wok zot buk pafo sât wok bu
 raked =1PL COMP do.PST COMP water very be.PST with.that hour water PROG
 aršeren , ka nakda buk , – ŋo ta xoy nawbat kib
 ar- šer -en ka nak da buk ŋo ta xoy nawbat ki =b
 DIR.1 give 1PL COMP not EMPH be.PST night GEN ownself turn to =PROG
 juŋen .
 juŋ -en
 look 1PL

We levelled the field with iron rakes – if there has been plenty of water, we give water (to the land) immediately, but, if there has been no [water] – we await our turn at night [to let water into our field from the channel].

3.2 ar waxt ka nawbatan ŋuk , kere kib wok
 ar waxt ka nawbat =an *ŋuk kere ki =b wok
 every time COMP turn =1PL become.PST this.OBL to =PROG water
 aršeren .
 ar- šer -en
 DIR.1 give 1PL

When our turn comes, we irrigate [our field].

3.3 keren ka wok aršuk , kere dib sen
 kere =n ka wok ar- ŋuk kere di =b *s -en
 this.OBL =1PL COMP water DIR.1 give.PST this.OBL from =PROG become 1PL
 xalâs !.
 xalâs
 freed

We have irrigated it – [and] there is an end to it!

4.1 aqrabe ne be mâx kereb ŋe wok yaxaw
 aqrab -e ne be mâx kere =b ŋe wok yaxaw
 Aqrab 3 in again 1PL this.OBL =PROG one water icy.melted.water
 aršeren .
 ar- šer -en
 DIR.1 give 1PL

In the month of Aqrab we do the watering yaxaw (lit. ‘the icy melted water’) once (lit. ‘one water’).

4.2 a yaxaw bu yezne , yezne , yezne – be man ʏoš
 a yaxaw bu yezn -e yezn -e yezn -e be man ʏoš
 this icy.melted.water PROG remain 3 remain 3 remain 3 again then snow
 bu ge se , bårån bu ge se , ar šay bu se –
 bu ge *s -e bårån bu ge *s -e ar šay bu *s -e
 PROG also become 3 rain PROG also become 3 every thing PROG become 3
 yezne , yezne esawr tumadi .
 yezn -e yezn -e e- sawr tumadi
 remain 3 remain 3 ACC Sawr until

The yaxaw remains for a very long time (lit. ‘remains, remains’), whether it snows or rains – whatever it is – until the month of Sawr.

4.3 tserang ta sawr amây dâxel šuk , bårån bu ge zot be ,
 tserang ta sawr a- mây dâxel *šuk bårån bu ge zot b -e
 as.soon.as GEN Sawr the month begun become.PST rain PROG also very be 3
 ta bårån awok bu nawaren , ta daryâw awok bu ela
 ta bårån a- wok bu nawar -en ta daryâw a- wok bu ela
 GEN rain the water PROG get 1PL GEN river the water PROG released
 ken
 k -en
 make 1PL

As soon as the month of Sawr has begun, [usually] there is plenty of rain – we use rainwater, and not river water (lit. ‘we leave alone the river water’).

4.4 be wok bu ta sawr epandzese ne aršeren .
 be wok bu ta sawr e- pandzes -e ne ar- šer -en
 again water PROG GEN Sawr ACC fifteen OBL in DIR.1 give 1PL

We give water again on the fifteenth of Sawr.

5.1 be wok bu ta jawzâ epandzese ne aršeren .
 be wok bu ta jawzâ e- pandzes -e ne ar- šer -en
 again water PROG GEN Jawza ACC fifteen OBL in DIR.1 give 1PL

Then we give water [only] on the fifteenth of Jawza.

5.2 man ka kok duř ... nafakaši di afob tsâr wok
 man ka kok duř nafakaši di afo =b tsâr wok
 then COMP one little excessive.zeal from that.NOM =PROG four water
 aršere , kok bu nak [da] be , afob šo wok
 ar- šer -e kok bu nak da b -e afo =b šo wok
 DIR.1 give 3 one PROG not EMPH be 3 that.NOM =PROG three water
 aršere .
 ar- šer -e
 DIR.1 give 3

Somebody will dodge somewhat (lit. 'from excessive zeal') [and] will water [his field] four times (lit. 'will give four waters'), but somebody who does not have [a disposition to deception] waters it [only] three times.

5.3 šo wok dib beg nak aršere .
 šo wok di =b beg nak ar- šer -e
 three water from =PROG raised not DIR.1 give 3

[Usually], they do not irrigate more than three times.

5.4 be ka dānawab mākam ken , eč wokwa nak
 be ka dāna =wa =b mākam k -en eč wok =wa nak
 again COMP opening =3 =PROG tight make 1PL any water =3 not
 tsawe .
 tsaw -e
 go 3

Then we cover the dana (the outlet from the main channel to the side ones), so that the water does not pass through it at all.

6 a wāda ka šuk , ta ganəṃ edrawe ne ,
 a wāda ka *šuk ta ganəṃ e- draw -e ne
 this appointed.time COMP become.PST GEN wheat ACC harvest OBL in
 kereb draw ken ... yāb xoy draw ken ,
 kere =b draw k -en yā =b xoy draw k -en
 this.OBL =PROG harvested make 1PL or =PROG ownself harvested make 1PL
 yāb drawgar kib aršeren : ka ta xoy dest
 yā =b drawgar ki =b ar- šer -en ka ta xoy dest
 or =PROG harvester to =PROG DIR.1 give 1PL COMP GEN ownself hand
 din pura buk , xoyan draw ken , ka ta
 di =n pura buk xoy =an draw k -en ka ta
 from =1PL complete be.PST ownself =1PL harvested make 1PL COMP GEN
 drawgári dest di pura buk , drawgari kib aršeren .
 drawgár -i dest di pura buk drawgar -i ki =b ar- šer -en
 harvester pl hand from complete be.PST harvester pl to =PROG DIR.1 give 1PL

The time for harvesting the wheat has come, we harvest it.... Either we harvest it ourselves or we hire harvesters (lit. 'we let the harvesters [harvest]'). If we ourselves are able to finish, then we ourselves harvest, but if [this] is possible [only with hired] harvesters, we hire harvesters.

7.1 beb kere ʔol ken gayendaye ne .
 be =b kere ʔol k -en gayenda -ye ne
 then =PROG this.OBL collected make 1PL barrow OBL in

Then we pile it (the sheaves of wheat) onto barrows (gayenda).

7.2 gayendayan ka ʔol dāk , kereb guša gâyendamâl
 gayenda =yan ka ʔol dāk kere =b guša gâyendamâl
 barrow =1PL COMP collected do.PST this.OBL =PROG thus ricks
 ken , beland .
 k -en beland
 make 1PL high.ones

We piled it onto barrows – [after this] we heap it into ricks (gayendamal), high ones!

7.3 gâyendamâlan ka dāk , ʕapar bu petsa diwa banen ,
 gâyendamâl =an ka dāk ʕapar bu petsa di =wa ban -en
 ricks =1PL COMP do.PST raked PROG after from =3 throw 1PL
 nargoyib tařen (nargoyi bu arwaren , ʕapar bu
 nargoyi =b tař -en nargoyi bu ar- *war -en ʕapar bu
 oxen =PROG tie 1PL oxen PROG DIR.1 bring 1PL buck.rake PROG
 tařen).
 tař -en
 tie 1PL

We heaped it into ricks – we tie a buck rake (chapar) behind [a pair of oxen], yoke the oxen (drive the oxen [and] tie the buck rake).

7.4 kereb ʕapar ken ken ken .
 kere =b ʕapar k -en k -en k -en
 this.OBL =PROG raked make 1PL make 1PL make 1PL

We thresh it (the wheat) for a very long time with the buck rake.

7.5 wâna xwârib kan : “ hâla , ku laba ben ” – o “
 xwâri =b *k an hâla ku- lab =a b -en o
 toil =PROG make 1SG go.on ACC be 1PL and
 gerzew !”
 gerz -ew
 turn

This is how we work [on the threshing floor]: “Go on then, throw [the straw] aside!” and “Turn it over!”

7.6 – o “ a kon !
 o a k -on
 and this make 2

and “Do this!”

7.7 jârob kon !”,
 jârob k -on
 sweep make 2

“Sweep!”

7.8 ka tã a mayda se .
 ka tã a mayda *s -e
 COMP until this small become 3

until it is threshed.

8.1 a ka mayda šuk , kere pets nasen
 a ka mayda *šuk kere =b pets nas -en
 this COMP small become.PST this.OBL =PROG after take 1PL
 ʈolab ken .
 ʈol =a =b k -en
 collected =3 =PROG make 1PL

When the threshing is finished, we take it again and gather it together.

8.2 ka ʈolan dâk , beb kere nasen ,
 ka ʈol =an dâk be =b kere nas -en
 COMP collected =1PL do.PST then =PROG this.OBL take 1PL
 bâdab ken : dâdawab mox ki arzeye ,
 bâd =a =b k -en dâna =wa =b mox ki ar- zey -e
 winnowed =3 =PROG make 1PL opening =3 =PROG face to DIR.1 come 3
 ywãšiwab pets ki bu tsawe .
 ywãši =wa =b pets ki bu tsaw -e
 straw =3 =PROG after to PROG go 3

We have gathered it together – we take it again and winnow it: the grain goes forward, but the straw remains. (lit. ‘goes’) behind.

8.3 be kere bâdi ka xalâs šuken , kuywãši ta xoy
 be kere bâdi ka xalâs šuk -en ku- ywãši ta xoy
 again this.OBL winnowing COMP freed become.PST 1PL ACC straw GEN ownself
 bu ner ki rwaren .
 bu ner ki r- *war -en
 PROG house to DIR.1 bring 1PL

We have finished winnowing — we transport the straw home.

8.4 kâdân bu alyošen , – a kâdâne neb banen .
 kâdân bu al- yoš -en a kâdân -e ne =b ban -en
 hayloft PROG DIR.3 say 1PL this hayloft OBL in =PROG throw 1PL

[In the barn which] we call a kadan (hayloft), we pile it into the kadan.

8.5 beb kere xoša tare ka yezok , še tsâr roz – pendz roz
 be =b kere xoša tare ka yezok še tsâr roz pendz roz
 then =PROG this.OBL ear.of.grain GEN COMP remain.PST one four day five day
 čapar ken .
 čapar k -en
 raked make 1PL

But we thresh its ears that remained with a buck rake for another four or five days.

9.1 beb kere ʔol ken .
 be =b kere ʔol k -en
 then =PROG this.OBL collected make 1PL

We rake it (the wheat) together [into a pile] again.

9.2 ka ʔolan dāk , xaran dāk , afo gaʃtan pa
 ka ʔol =an dāk xar =an dāk afo gaʃta =n pa
 COMP collected =1PL do.PST pile =1PL do.PST that.NOM time =1PL INSTR
 čărčăx bād dāk , a gaʃtab pa rāʃiwa bād
 čărčăx bād dāk a gaʃta =b pa rāʃi =wa bād
 pitchfork winnowed do.PST this time =PROG INSTR wooden.shovel =3 winnowed
 ken .
 k -en
 make 1PL

We have raked it together into a pile (xara), this time we winnow it with a pitchfork (charchax), and then with a wooden shovel (rashi).

9.3 kere bāde ne xalās Ńuken .
 kere bād -e ne xalās Ńuk -en
 this.OBL winnow OBL in freed become.PST 1PL

With this our winnowing is over.

10.1 beb gerzen ta nargoyi petsa .
 be =b gerz -en ta nargoyi petsa
 then =PROG turn 1PL GEN oxen after

Later, we follow [a team of] oxen.

10.2 nargoyib paydā ken .
 nargoyi =b paydā k -en
 oxen =PROG found make 1PL

We find the oxen.

10.3 ar tsunan ka paydā dāk , ganəm bu awār ke ,
 ar tsun =an ka paydā dāk ganəm bu awār k -e
 every some =1PL COMP found do.PST wheat PROG spread make 3
 kereb ʃoʃol ken .
 kere =b ʃoʃol k -en
 this.OBL =PROG threshed make 1PL

We have found the oxen, we level the wheat and thresh it using the oxen [which we drive around the threshing floor] (jogal dak).

10.4 žoyolan ka dâk , beb kere nasen –
 žoyol =an ka dâk be =b kere nas -en
 threshed =1PL COMP do.PST then =PROG this.OBL take 1PL
 ʔolab ken .
 ʔol =a =b k -en
 collected =3 =PROG make 1PL

We have threshed it, we again rake it into a pile

10.5 beb båd ken .
 be =b båd k -en
 then =PROG winnowed make 1PL

Then we winnow it.

11.1 bådān ka dâk , kereb erwaren , čeyel
 båd =an ka dâk kere =b er- *war -en čeyel
 winnowed =1PL COMP do.PST this.OBL =PROG DIR.1 bring 1PL sifted
 bu ken aw bāzi ganəm , ka xâke ne be , kfob
 bu k -en aw bāzi ganəm ka xâk -e ne b -e kfo =b
 PROG make 1PL and some wheat COMP ground OBL in be 3 that.OBL =PROG
 xâk di pa xâkbezi nawaren .
 xâk di pa xâkbezi nawar -en
 ground from INSTR small.sieve pull.out 1PL

We have finished winnowing – we bring it, winnow [throwing it] on a sieve (chegel), and we clean the part of the grain (of wheat), which is from off the ground, using a small sieve (xakbezi).

11.2 xâkbezin ka nawolok , kereb peymāna ken ()
 xâkbezi =n ka nawolok kere =b peymāna k -en
 small.sieve =1PL COMP pull.out.PST this.OBL =PROG measured make 1PL
 kokab tol ke , kokab peymāna ke) .
 kok =a =b tol k -e kok =a =b peymāna k -e
 one =3 =PROG collected make 3 one =3 =PROG measured make 3

We have finished winnowing with a sieve – we measure the quantity [of grain] using a special container (peyman). (Somebody weighs [the grain], and somebody measures with the container).

11.3 kereb be ner ki aglen .
 kere =b be ner ki *agl -en
 this.OBL =PROG again house to carry.off 1PL

[Then] we transport it home.

12.1 awaznab kumâx ki mâlum se , ka inun
 a- wazn =a =b ku- mâx ki mâlum *s -e ka inun
 the weight =3 =PROG ACC 1PL to known become 3 COMP this.much
 šuk .
 *šuk
 become.PST

Its weight is made known to us – that it is such an amount.

12.2 kereyn ka ner ki argostok , beb kere nasen še
 kereyn ka ner ki ar- gostok be =b kere nas -en še
 these.OBL COMP house to DIR.1 took then =PROG this.OBL take 1PL one
 andâza , ka ta xoy amónay tomadi .
 andâza ka ta xoy a- mónay tomadi
 part COMP GEN ownself the autumn until

We have transported it home – [and] then part of the amount of it – as much as will suffice until autumn

12.3 ar tsun ka kefâf buk , kfob påk ken ,
 ar tsun ka buk kfo =b påk k -en
 every some COMP be.PST that.OBL =PROG cleaned make 1PL
 mârab ken (âsyâ kab aglen ,
 mâr =a =b k -en âsyâ ka =b *agl -en
 flour =3 =PROG make 1PL mill COMP =PROG carry.off 1PL
 mârab ken).
 mâr =a =b k -en
 flour =3 =PROG make 1PL

we clean [from straw dust], grind, transport to the mill and grind.

12.4 kereyn ka mâr dâk , petsab arwaren
 kereyn ka mâr dâk pets =a =b ar- *war -en
 these.OBL COMP flour do.PST after =3 =PROG DIR.1 bring 1PL
 kanduye neb banen .
 kandu -ye ne =b ban -en
 big.container OBL in =PROG throw 1PL

We have ground it – we bring it (home), pour (lit. ‘throw’) it into the kandu (a big, clay or wooden container).

12.5 kanduye nen ka banok , kereb xren ,
 kandu -ye ne =n ka banok kere =b xr -en
 big.container OBL in =1PL COMP throw.PST this.OBL =PROG eat 1PL
 xren , ka tâ boy ta zâmak se .
 xr -en ka tâ boy ta zâmak *s -e
 eat 1PL COMP until near GEN winter become 3

We have poured it – we eat [the bread] until the approach of winter.

12.6 zəmak ka šuk , beb nasen še xarwâr – šewonim
 zəmak ka *šuk be =b nas -en še xarwâr še wo nim
 winter COMP become.PST then =PROG take 1PL one xarvar one and half
 xarwâr , ĵistu ser – ar tsun ka ta sařay nere ne be ,
 xarwâr ĵistu ser ar tsun ka ta sařay ner -e ne b -e
 xarvar twenty seer every some COMP GEN man house OBL in be 3
 kfob nase ta zəmak ku mâr bu ken ,
 kfo =b nas -e ta zəmak ku- mâr bu k -en
 that.OBL =PROG take 3 GEN winter ACC flour PROG make 1PL
 kanduye neb ĵây ken .
 kandu -ye ne =b ĵây k -en
 big.container OBL in =PROG place make 1PL

Winter has set in – we take one to one and a half xarvara [or] twenty seers [of grain] (as much as is needed for whoever there is at home) [and] grind for the winter (lit. ‘make the winter flour’), and put it into the kandu.

Text 27

1.1 mǎdgoy ka boyatalab šuk , etunđa kib nasen .
 mǎdgoy ka boyatalab *šuk e- tunđa ki =b nas -en
 female.cow COMP heat become.PST ACC young.bull to =PROG take 1PL

When its heat begins, they lead a cow to the bull.

1.2 tunda kin ka nok , tareb nə mây , nə roz , nə sât
 tunda ki =n ka nok tare =b nə mây nə roz nə sât
 young.bull to =1PL COMP take.PST GEN =PROG nine month nine day nine hour
 , nə gaři ka ter šuk , ab kumâx ki zaýi ;
 nə gaři ka ter *šuk a =b ku- mâx ki zaý -i
 nine minute COMP passed become.PST this =PROG ACC 1PL to be.born 3
 yâb nar arware , yâ mǎda .
 yâ =b nar ar- *war -e yâ mǎda
 or =PROG male DIR.1 bring 3 or female

We have led it to the bull – [and] when nine months have passed (lit. ‘nine months, nine days, nine hours, nine minutes’), it has a calf – either a bull (lit. ‘a male’), or a heifer (lit. ‘a female’).

1.3 a ka zayok , beb kere nasen – gawdišib
 a ka zayok be =b kere nas -en gawdiši =b
 this COMP birth.PST then =PROG this.OBL take 1PL milking.pail =PROG
 yošen – gawdišib arwaren , ta xoy zânuy neb
 yoš -en gawdiši =b ar- *war -en ta xoy zânuy ne =b
 say 1PL milking.pail =PROG DIR.1 bring 1PL GEN oneself knee in =PROG

tar mâx aza rki (i gen (mâx ab xoy ,
 mâx a- zarkiyi g -en mâx =a =b xoy =an nak k -en
 1PL the women put 1PL 1PL =3 =PROG ownself =1PL not make 1PL
 n nak ken , , ardab na k k), zarki
 mard =a =b nak k -e zarkiyi =b k -en kere =b
 men =3 =PROG not make 3 women =PROG make 1PL this.OBL =PROG
 yi b ken), kere b be nas .
 be nas -en zânuye sar =a =b g -en
 again take 1PL knees front =3 =PROG put 1PL

It has calved – we take the milking pail, our women stand it near the knees. (we ourselves, the men, do not do [this] – the women do it).

2.1 yoskak bu goy ki ela ke , ka sənak – sənak ena dzane , dzane
 yoskak bu goy ki ela k -e ka sənak sənak ena dzan -e dzan -e
 calf PROG cow to released make 3 COMP so beat 3 beat 3
 , ka tafo ħipi ela ke .
 ka tafo ħipi ela k -e
 COMP that.GEN milk released make 3

They allow the calf to approach the cow, so that it sucks and sucks and the cow begins to give milk.

2.2 nola kab dest ki arware , kereb dîşe .
 nola ka =b dest ki ar- *war -e kere =b dîş -e
 teat COMP =PROG hand to DIR.1 bring 3 this.OBL =PROG milk 3

[Then] they take the teats and milk it.

2.3 ka dişoka , kere ħipi begâwab nasen ,
 ka dişok =a kere ħipi begâ =wa =b nas -en
 COMP milk.PST =3 this.OBL milk evening =3 =PROG take 1PL
 kereb tok ke .
 kere =b tok k -e
 this.OBL =PROG hot make 3

They have milked it – they take [and leave] the milk until evening. In the evening they warm it (in the hearth).

2.4 kereya ka tok dâk , ab be fila se .
 kere =ya ka tok dâk a =b be fila *s -e
 this.OBL =3 COMP heated do.PST this =PROG again beestings become 3

When they have warmed it, it becomes fila (food made of the beestings).

3.1 beb kere nasen , dišewabu , sənək bu nase ,
 be =b kere nas -en diš -e =wa bu sənək bu nas -e
 then =PROG this.OBL take 1PL milk 3 =3 PROG PROG take 3
 yoskak bu agle .
 yoskak bu *agl -e
 calf PROG carry.off 3

They milk it again, lead the calf away [from the cow],

3.2 tsâr nolay neb kudest baní , kereb diší .
 tsâr nolay ne =b ku- dest ban -í kere =b diš -í
 four teats in =PROG ACC hand throw 3 this.OBL =PROG milk 3

take the cow by the teats (lit. 'put hands on four teats'), milk it,

3.3 gawdišib đak ke .
 gawdiši =b đak k -e
 milking.pail =PROG full make 3

fill [with milk] the milking pail (standing nearby).

3.4 ka đaka dâk – agle aw dege newa bane .
 ka đak =a dâk *agl -e aw deg -e ne =wa ban -e
 COMP full =3 do.PST carry.off 3 and vat OBL in =3 pour 3

They have filled it – they carry [it] away and pour it into a pot (jag, see 4 below).

3.5 begâ ka šuk , kereb tok ke .
 begâ ka *šuk kere =b tok k -e
 evening COMP become.PST this.OBL =PROG hot make 3

In the evening they warm it.

3.6 kereya ka tok dâk , beb kere nase , še be
 kere =ya ka tok dâk be =b kere nas -e še be
 this.OBL =3 COMP hot do.PST then =PROG this.OBL take 3 one other
 gortsok newab bane .
 gortsok -e ne =wa =b ban -e
 clay.pot OBL in =3 =PROG pour 3

They have warmed it – they pour it into a clay pot (gortsok).

4.1 be gortsok ne ka banok , kere neb be aše
 be gortsok -e ne ka banok kere ne =b be a- še
 other clay.pot OBL in COMP pour.PST this.OBL in =PROG again the one
 doγ paydâ ke , kere neb doγ bane .
 doγ paydâ k -e kere ne =b doγ ban -e
 buttermilk produced make 3 this.OBL in =PROG buttermilk pour 3

They have poured into the clay pot – they take (lit. 'find') the butter milk (dogh), they pour it into it.

4.2 a be mâya se , nâma ye – joryât .
 a be mâya *s -e nâm =a y -e joryât
 this again fermented become 3 name =3 COP 3 fermented.milk

It ferments – becomes jorghat (fermented milk, mast).

4.3 joryât bu se .
 joryât bu *s -e
 fermented.milk PROG become 3

becomes jorghat

4.4 kuĵag bu alyořawi , řirinab ke , tandure
 ku- ĵag bu al- yošaw -i řirin =a =b k -e tandur -e
 ACC ĵag PROG DIR.3 wash pl warm =3 =PROG make 3 tandoor OBL
 neab ge .
 ne =a =b g -e
 in =3 =PROG put 3

They wash the jag (a big clay pitcher with handles, see 3), temper it – they stand it in a tandoor.

4.5 ka a řirin řuk , kere joryât bu kere ĵage ne
 ka a řirin *řuk kere joryât bu kere ĵag -e ne
 COMP this warm become.PST this.OBL fermented.milk PROG this.OBL jag OBL in
 bane .
 ban -e
 pour 3

They have tempered it – they pour the jorghat into the jag.

5.1 kere ĵage ne a ka banok , mařk ta koči dib řini
 kere ĵag -e ne a ka banok mařk ta koči di =b řin -i
 this.OBL jag OBL in this COMP pour.PST skin GEN nomad from =PROG buy pl
 – sarĵagib ge (kere sarĵagi wažera ge).
 sarĵagi =b g -e kere sarĵagi wažera g -e
 skin.lid =PROG put 3 this.OBL skin.lid on.it put 3

They have poured it into the jag... (they buy a skin (sarjagi) from the nomads, they put it on top of it (that is, on the jag) [and tie it].

5.2 kereb nase – xol-tawia bu .
 kere =b nas -e xoltaw -i =a bu
 this.OBL =PROG take 3 twist 3 =3 PROG

[Then] they move it about.

5.3 wal bådkaš dari (aĵag ȳār e , kere ȳārab ke ,
 wal bådkaš dar -i a- ĵag ȳār e kere ȳār =a =b k -e
 there opening have 3 the jag hole COP this.OBL hole =3 =PROG make 3
 ka båd arnise).
 ka båd ar- nis -e
 COMP wind DIR.1 leave 3

There is an opening (badkash) there: a jag with a hole, they pierce it so that air comes out.

5.4 nâxun bu alisawi : tok e ȳâ yax e ?
 nâxun bu al- isaw -i tok e ȳâ yax e
 finger PROG DIR.3 pierce pl hot COP or cold COP

They test it with a finger (lit. 'they push a finger in'): is it warm or cold?

5.5 ka yax buk , tok wok bu bane , ka tok buk , yax wok bu
 ka yax buk tok wok bu ban -e ka tok buk yax wok bu
 COMP cold be.PST hot water PROG pour 3 COMP hot be.PST cold water PROG
 bane .
 ban -e
 pour 3

If [the finger] was cold, they pour in warm water; if it was hot, they pour in cold water.

5.6 kereb dzane .
 kere =b dzan -e
 this.OBL =PROG beat 3

They churn (the butter).

6.1 a ka dzok šuk , kere neb maska paydâ se .
 a ka dzok *šuk kere ne =b maska paydâ *s -e
 this COMP beat become.PST this.OBL in =PROG butter produced become 3

When it has been churned, there is butter in it (in the jag).

6.2 xâliwab ke deg .
 xâli =wa =b k -e deg
 emptied =3 =PROG make 3 vat

They empty the pot (jag) into the gortsok.

6.3 deg gortsok ne ka xâli dâk , kere maska pa
 deg gortsok -e ne ka xâli dâk kere maska pa
 vat clay.pot OBL in COMP emptied do.PST this.OBL butter INSTR
 destab ȳol ke , woke neb bane .
 dest =a =b ȳol k -e wok -e ne =b ban -e
 hand =3 =PROG collected make 3 water OBL in =PROG pour 3

They have emptied the pot - they collect the butter by hand, throw (put) it into [cold] water.

6.4 woke ne ka banok , beb kere nase , kokab
 wok -e ne ka banok be =b kere nas -e kok =a =b
 water OBL in COMP pour.PST then =PROG this.OBL take 3 one =3 =PROG
 xamirdân gađi , kokab ar šay gađi kfoyna ge .
 xamirdân gađi kok =a =b ar šay gađi kfoyn =a g -e
 kneading.trough with one =3 =PROG every thing with those.OBL =3 put 3

They have thrown it into the water – some put it in the kneading-trough (xamirdan) again, some into something else (lit. ‘into anything’).

6.5 še mây yâ ĵistu roz wotok , beb kere maska nase , dege
 še mây yâ ĵistu roz wotok be =b kere maska nas -e deg -e
 one month or twenty day put.PST then =PROG this.OBL butter take 3 vat OBL
 nea bane .
 ne =a ban -e
 in =3 pour 3

They have collected (lit. ‘put’) [a certain quantity] for a month or twenty days – then they take this butter (maska), put it in the pot,

6.6 kere wok ke , kere runab ke .
 kere wok k -e kere run =a =b k -e
 this.OBL water make 3 this.OBL melted.butter =3 =PROG make 3

melt it, make melted butter (run) [from it].

Text 28

1 amâr bu tseraqam sařay ĵur ke ?
 a- mâr bu tse raqam sařay ĵur k -e
 the flour PROG what type man mixed make 3

How is dough kneaded? (lit. ‘How does a person mix flour?’)

2.1 awal bu xamirdân nase , pâkab yošawe .
 awal bu xamirdân nas -e pâk =a =b yošaw -e
 first PROG kneading.trough take 3 cleaned =3 =PROG wash 3

First of all they take a kneading trough (xamirdan), they wash it clean.

2.2 beb ku xamira nase , wok bu wažera bane .
 be =b ku- xamira nas -e wok bu wažera ban -e
 then =PROG ACC yeast take 3 water PROG on.it pour 3

Then they take yeast, pour water into it.

2.3 beb kfo šer dzane , čangǎlab ke ,
 be =b kfo šer dzan -e čangǎl =a =b k -e
 then =PROG that.OBL good beat 3 smooth =3 =PROG make 3
 čangǎlab ke , ka tǎ afo ayera pǎk wane wok
 čangǎl =a =b k -e ka tǎ afo ayera pǎk wane wok
 smooth =3 =PROG make 3 COMP until that.NOM all cleaned in.it water
 se .
 *s -e
 become 3

Then they stir it thoroughly, knead it until it all entirely dissolves (lit. 'becomes water').

3.1 bǎd ekfo di woke neb mǎṛ bane .
 bǎd e- kfo di wok -e ne =b mǎṛ ban -e
 after ACC that.OBL from water OBL in =PROG flour pour 3

Then they add the flour to water [with the mixed yeast].

3.2 mǎṛ bu nase darxoye ta yakrangi .
 mǎṛ bu nas -e darxo ye- ta yak rang -i
 flour PROG take 3 dough ezafe GEN one manner OBL

They take the flour [in the quantity] necessary for [forming] the dough (lit. 'for smoothness of the dough').

3.3 ka yakrang se , afob čangǎl ke .
 ka yak rang *s -e afo =b čangǎl k -e
 COMP one manner become 3 that.NOM =PROG smooth make 3

When (it) becomes smooth,

3.4 beb kfo qarǎr-qarǎr-qarǎr mošt dzane , gaḡab
 be =b kfo qarǎr qarǎr qarǎr mošt dzan -e gaḡ =a =b
 then =PROG that.OBL calmly calmly calmly fists beat 3 together =3 =PROG
 ke .
 k -e
 make 3

they take it in their hands and very gently slap it with their hands, knead it.

3.5 wok bu aršawe : duǔ-duǔ-duǔ , ka afo tǎ lat
 wok bu ar- *šaw -e duǔ duǔ duǔ ka afo tǎ lat
 water PROG DIR.1 give 3 little little little COMP that.NOM until firm
 se .
 *s -e
 become 3

Little by little, they add water – while it can [still] be slapped [with their hands].

4 nemek bu ge bane ?
 nemek bu ge ban -e
 salt PROG also add 3

Do they add salt?

5.1 wāya , nemek bu tsarang nak bane ?
 wāya nemek bu tsa rang nak ban -e
 yes salt PROG what manner not add 3

Yes, how could they not add it?

5.2 be ta nemekab , xo , nak xre .
 be ta nemek =a =b xo nak xr -e
 without GEN salt =3 =PROG indeed not eat 3

They do not eat without salt,

5.3 nemek zarur e .
 nemek zarur e
 salt necessary COP

salt is necessary.

6 tsa waxt juxay , ka xamira šuke yā truš šuke
 tsa waxt jux -ay ka xamira šuk -e yā truš šuk -e
 what time see 2 COMP yeast become.PST PSTPRF or sour become.PST PSTPRF
 ?

And when do you determine that the dough is ready or has become sour?

7 afo waxt dare pa xoy .
 afo waxt dar -e pa xoy
 that.NOM time have 3 INSTR ownself

It takes a certain length of time (lit. 'for itself').

8 yāne truš šuke yā tsarang šuke ?
 yāne truš šuk -e yā tsa rang šuk -e
 that.means sour become.PST PSTPRF or what manner become.PST PSTPRF

That is, is it sour or what?

9 na , afob wažera poy sen : pafo waxt o
 na afo =b wažera poy *s -en pafo waxt o
 no that.NOM =PROG on.it understood become 1PL with.that time and
 wādawa že .
 wāda =wa že
 appointed.time =3 on

No, we shall find out about this in time.

10 tsa šay neb bižay ?
 tsa šay ne =b biž -ay
 what thing in =PROG bake 2

In what do you bake [bread]?

11.1 tandur ne .
 tandur ne
 tandoor in

In a tandoor.

11.2 run bu banen .
 run bu ban -en
 melted.butter PROG pour 1PL

We put in butter.

11.3 xâkestarab nawaren .
 xâkestar =a =b nawar -en
 ash =3 =PROG pull.out 1PL

We rake out the ashes.

Text 29

1 amâdgoy tar ma °x k , zaye , ta re az ok bu ,
 a- mâdgoy mâx ka zay -e tare a- zok bu ka nas -ay
 the female.cow 1PL COMP birth 3 GEN the beestings PROG COMP take 2
 a n asay, ts e r aqa ?
 tse raqam bu k -ay tos
 what type PROG make 2 2PL

When our cow calves and you obtain dzok (the first milk after calving) from her, what do you do [with it]?

2 agoyan ka šân-sar zayok , ta sabâ-sara
 a- goy =an ka šân sar zayok ta sabâ sar =a
 the cow =1PL COMP today morning birth.PST GEN tomorrow morning =3
 kere pendz čâšt ŋipiwab nasen , yakjâyb
 kere pendz čâšt ŋipi =wa =b nas -en yak jâyb =a =b
 this.OBL five time milk =3 =PROG take 1PL one place =3 =PROG
 ken .
 k -en
 make 1PL

If our cow has calved this morning, then we take milk from it five times until the following morning, we pour it [into one vessel].

3.1 båd ekfo dib be nasen , ta še ǰo-roz bu ǰipi
 båd e- kfo di =b be nas -en ta še ǰo roz bu ǰipi
 after ACC that.OBL from =PROG again take 1PL GEN one night day PROG milk
 be nasen .
 be nas -en
 again take 1PL

After this we take the milk [that has been collected] during the twenty four hours

3.2 tare di grefta , mǎyab kerey neb banen , kere
 tare di mǎya =b kere -y ne =b ban -en kere
 GEN from leaven =PROG this.OBL OBL in =PROG throw 1PL this.OBL
 dib dzok ǰor ken .
 di =b dzok ǰor k -en
 from =PROG beestings built make 1PL

[and] having taken the leaven (maya), we pour it into it – we prepare dzok from it.

4 kok dib ǰipi nasay ?
 kok di =b ǰipi nas -ay
 what from =PROG milk take 2

From what do you take milk [to prepare the dzok]?

5 guǰi kere ta še ǰo-roz ta goy dib – kere di , mǎya
 guǰi kere ta še ǰo roz ta goy di =b kere di mǎya
 only this.OBL GEN one night day GEN cow from =PROG this.OBL from leaven
 kerey ne banen .
 kere -y ne ban -en
 this.OBL OBL in pour 1PL

[We take milk] from the cow only for the first twenty-four hours and we pour leaven (maya) into it.

6 mǎya če ye ?
 mǎya če y -e
 leaven what COP 3

What is this maya?

7 agoy dib ka destí dišawen , kereb sǎten .
 a- goy di =b ka destí dišaw -en kere =b sǎt -en
 the cow from =PROG COMP hand milk 1PL this.OBL =PROG keep 1PL

As soon as we milk the cow, we do not use it up (lit. 'we keep it').

8 afo zok e ?
 afo zok e
 that.NOM beestings COP

Is it dzok?

9 afo dzok e , kere , baxto tãle , ka ar tsunan m̃aya
 afo dzok e kere baxto o ka ar tsun =an m̃aya
 that.NOM beestings COP this.OBL COMP every some =1PL fermented
 d̃ak , kere m̃aya kada tsen .
 d̃ak kere m̃aya kada *ts -en
 do.PST this.OBL leaven sour go 1PL

It is dzok. However much we have fermented, [that is how much] we make sour.

10.1 b̃ad ekfoy di tã wo roza ka p̃ak šuk ,
 b̃ad e- kfo -y di tã wo roz =a ka p̃ak *šuk
 after ACC that.OBL OBL from until seven day =3 COMP cleaned become.PST
 beb nasen , š̃ipib ŧol ken .
 be =b nas -en š̃ipi =b ŧol k -en
 then =PROG take 1PL milk =PROG collected make 1PL

After this, when seven whole days have gone by, we again take and collect milk [in one vessel].

10.2 š̃ipin ka ŧol d̃ak , beb šun-šun wok ge wáne
 š̃ipi =n ka ŧol d̃ak be =b šun šun wok ge wáne
 milk =1PL COMP collected do.PST then =PROG little little water also in.it
 banen .
 ban -en
 pour 1PL

We have collected [plenty of] milk – then we add a bit of water to it.

10.3 afob be nasen , m̃ayawab ken .
 afo =b be nas -en m̃aya =wa =b k -en
 that.NOM =PROG again take 1PL fermented =3 =PROG make 1PL

Then we take it [and] ferment it.

10.4 topi ta be saray ner di erwaren .
 topi ta be saray ner di er- *war -en
 buttermilk GEN other man house from DIR.1 bring 1PL

We bring buttermilk (topi) from somebody (lit. ‘from the house of another person’).

10.5 be ta topib m̃aya nak se .
 be ta topi =b m̃aya nak *s -e
 without GEN buttermilk =PROG fermented not become 3

Without buttermilk it does not ferment.

11.1 kfob nasen , m̃ayab wane banen .
 kfo =b nas -en m̃aya =b wane ban -en
 that.OBL =PROG take 1PL leaven =PROG in.it pour 1PL

We take it [the milk], pour the leaven into it,

11.2 gortsok ne šerab još ken kužipi
 gortsok -e ne šer =a =b još k -en ku- žipi
 clay.pot OBL in good =3 =PROG boiled make 1PL ACC milk

thoroughly boil this milk in a pot (gorchok).

11.3 be kere gorčoke neb banen , kfo topi
 be kere gorčok -e ne =b ban -en kfo topi
 other this.OBL clay.pot OBL in =PROG pour 1PL that.OBL buttermilk
 dib še čamča – nimčamča kere wáne banen , ka mǎya
 di =b še čamča nim čamča kere wáne ban -en ka mǎya
 from =PROG one ladleful half ladleful this.OBL in.it pour 1PL COMP fermented
 se
 *s -e
 become 3

Then we pour it into another pot, add a ladleful or half a ladleful (chamcha) of this buttermilk, so that (it) ferments.

12.1 kereb nasen , kužag bu ar-širin ken
 kere =b nas -en ku- žag bu ar širin k -en
 this.OBL =PROG take 1PL ACC jag PROG every warm make 1PL

Then we take and temper (in the fire) a jug (jag)

12.2 žag bu pak ʏošawen
 žag bu pak ʏošaw -en
 jag PROG cleaned wash 1PL

and wash it clean.

12.3 beb kere nasen , žage ne banen
 be =b kere nas -en žag -e ne ban -en
 then =PROG this.OBL take 1PL jag OBL in pour 1PL

Then we pour it (the milk) into the jug,

12.4 beb kere še sât – do sât yǎ šo sât , yǎ še wo nim sât
 be =b kere še sât do sât yǎ šo sât yǎ še wo nim sât
 then =PROG this.OBL one hour two hour or three hour or one and half hour
 kere dzánen
 kere dzán -en
 this.OBL beat 1PL

churn the butter (lit. 'stir up') for one, one and a half or two hours.

12.5 sarĵagib arâxa erwaren , kusarab tařen
 sarĵagi =b arâxa er- *war -en ku- sar =a =b tař -en
 skin.lid =PROG piece DIR.1 bring 1PL ACC top =3 =PROG tie 1PL
 wažéra .
 wažéra
 on.it

We bring a goat's or a lamb's skin (sarĵagi) and tie it up (the jug) on top.

13.1 sarĵagi poste wray dib ĵoř se , kočiwab
 sarĵagi post e- wray di =b ĵoř *s -e koči =wa =b
 skin.lid skin ezafe lamb from =PROG built become 3 nomad =3 =PROG
 erware , poy šokon ?
 er- *war -e poy šok -on
 DIR.1 bring 3 understood become.PST 2

They make a sarĵagi from a lamb's skin – nomads bring them – do you understand?

13.2 yâ ta boz .
 yâ ta boz
 or GEN goat

Or from a goat's skin.

13.3 sar ta ĵagan ka tařok , beb šuřa ge kere nola
 sar ta ĵag =an ka tařok be =b šuřa ge kere nol =a
 top GEN jag =1PL COMP tie.PST then =PROG corn.cob also this.OBL spout =3
 ta ĵage ne aršen , kuyâre newa .
 ta ĵag -e ne ar- *š -en ku- yâr -e ne =wa
 GEN jag OBL in DIR.1 give 1PL ACC hole OBL in =3

When the jug is tied on top, we stop up the spout of the jug – its opening – with a corn cob (shuta).

14 ayâr ta tsa šay ye ?
 a- yâr ta tsa šay y -e
 the hole GEN what thing COP 3

What is this opening for?

15 ta båd exâter di .
 ta båd e- xâter di
 GEN wind ACC from

To [let out] gas (air).

16 afo kib bådkaš yoše ?
 afo ki =b bådkaš yoš -e
 that.NOM to =PROG opening say 3

Do they call it a badkash (a ventilator)?

17.1 bǎdkaš .

bǎdkaš
opening

A badkash.

17.2 še – do saran ka kuĵag xoltawok , ab be bǎd
še do sar =an ka ku- ĵag xoltawok a =b be bǎd
one two top =1PL COMP ACC jag swing.PST this =PROG again wind
ke .
k -e
make 3

When you swing (lit. ‘we swing’) the jug two or three times, it lets out air.

17.3 beb kere šuĵan ka nawólok , bǎdab
be =b kere šuĵa =n ka nawólok bǎd =a =b
then =PROG this.OBL corn.cob =1PL COMP pull.out.PST wind =3 =PROG
ernise .
er- nis -e
DIR.1 leave 3

We pull the shuta [out of the spout] – air comes out.

18.1 beb ka kere še tsun sarab dzanen – dzanen
be =b ka kere še tsun sar =a =b dzan -en dzan -en
then =PROG COMP this.OBL one some front =3 =PROG beat 1PL beat 1PL
– dzanen , beb še kozalu yax wok wáne banen .
dzan -en be =b še kozalu yax wok wáne ban -en
beat 1PL then =PROG one small.jug cold water in.it pour 1PL

Then, when we swing it several times, we pour a small jug of cold water into it.

18.2 poy šokon ?
poy šok -on
understood become.PST 2

Do you understand?

19.1 wǎya .
wǎya
yes

Yes.

19.2 šorab daway yǎ pa moštáb dzánay ?
šor =a =b daw -ay yǎ pa mošt =a =b dzán -ay
stirred =3 =PROG do 2 or INSTR fists =3 =PROG beat 2

Do you swing it or shake it?

20.1 na , šawab xoltawen .
 na ša =wa =b xoltaw -en
 no thus =3 =PROG twist 1PL

No, this is how we shake it up.

20.2 a ka dzok suk , a na ?
 a ka dzok suk a na
 this COMP beestings become.PST this no

When [the butter] is churned,

20.3 gortsok bu pāk aryošawen .
 gortsok bu pāk ar- yošaw -en
 clay.pot PROG cleaned DIR.1 wash 1PL

we wipe the pot clean.

21.1 ta topi gortsok alāyedagi ye .
 ta topi gortsok alāyedagi y -e
 GEN buttermilk clay.pot separate COP 3

There is a separate pot for the buttermilk.

21.2 kerey nen ka banok , beb a koč dornok be
 kere -y ne =n ka banok be =b a koč *dornok be
 this.OBL OBL in =1PL COMP pour.PST then =PROG this butter have.PST again
 kfoy di .
 kfo -y di
 that.OBL OBL from

When we have poured [the contents] into it, butter (koch) is obtained from it.

21.3 kočab nasen , déstib pāk aryošawen ,
 koč =a =b nas -en désti =b pāk ar- yošaw -en
 butter =3 =PROG take 1PL hand =PROG cleaned DIR.1 wash 1PL
 kereb nasen ...
 kere =b nas -en
 this.OBL =PROG take 1PL

We take the koch [and] cool it at once in cold water (lit. 'we wipe it clean [in cold water]). We take it...

22 koč yā maska ?
 koč yā maska
 butter or butter

Is it koch or maska?

23.1 koč .
 koč
 butter

Butter.

23.2 kereb be še pāk kākay ne nasen -
kere =b be še pāk kāka -y ne nas -en
this.OBL =PROG again one clean cloth OBL in take 1PL
ṭolab ken .
ṭol =a =b k -en
collected =3 =PROG make 1PL

We take it from the water into a clean cloth, we gather it together.

23.3 kereb be še tsār woke ne ʷošawen , fekrat e ?
kere =b be še tsār wok -e ne ʷošaw -en fekr =at e
this.OBL =PROG again one four water OBL in wash 1PL thought =2PL COP

We wash it thoroughly in three or four lots of water. Do you grasp the meaning?

23.4 beb še ʰayi pāk bu nasen .
be =b še ʰayi pāk bu nas -en
then =PROG one bowl cleaned PROG take 1PL

Then we get a clean bowl (xayi) for it

23.5 kere nâte neb nemek pāš ken .
kere nāt -e ne =b nemek pāš k -en
this.OBL bottom OBL in =PROG salt sprinkled make 1PL

and sprinkle the bottom with salt.

23.6 beb kere koč wáne ṭapawen .
be =b kere koč wáne ṭapaw -en
then =PROG this.OBL butter in.it knead 1PL

Then we pile (lit. 'knead') the butter into it.

Text 30

1 ta še mard , ta še zarka kār tsen farq dare ?
ta še mard ta še zarka kār tsen farq dar -e
GEN one man GEN one woman action which difference have 3

Is there any difference between a man's work and a woman's?

2.1 farq dari , farq bu se , páre nesbat farq
farq dar -i farq bu *s -e páre nesbat farq
difference have pl difference PROG become 3 with.this relationship difference
bu se ta zarka wo ta mard , ka mard xodây paydâ
bu *s -e ta zarka wo ta mard ka mard xodây paydâ
PROG become 3 GEN woman and GEN man COMP man God found

dâke , nekrozi neb zâmatkaši ke , ka zâmat ta xoy
 dâk -e ne =b zâmatkaši k -e ka zâmat ta xoy
 do.PST PSTPRF in =PROG hard.work make 3 COMP work GEN ownself
 naware .
 nawar -e
 get 3

There is, (they) are different. There is a difference [in occupations] between a man and a woman in that a man lives in harmony with God (lit. 'has found God') and displays hard work.

2.2 aw kuzarkawa ka paydâwa ke , zâmat ka paydâ nak
 aw ku- zarka =wa ka paydâ =wa k -e zâmat ka paydâ nak
 and ACC woman =3 COMP found =3 make 3 work COMP found not
 šuke .
 šuk -e
 become.PST PSTPRF

But, if we consider a woman, (then) for her [such] an occupation (lit. 'work') has not been found.

3 tserang e , jân ?
 tse rang e jân
 what manner COP Jan

Why, Jan?

4.1 ena ye mard , juĥ ka tamâme adwâs mâyi čânâna .
 ena y -e mard juĥ ka tamâm e- a- dwâs mây -i čânâna
 so COP 3 man see COMP all ezafe the twelve month pl yearly

Here is a man, just look [at his work] for a year (lit. 'yearly').

4.2 šo mây ta zomak tar , âx , tar t os , ek
 šo mây ta zomak mâx tos be kâr -i y -e ka
 three month GEN winter 1PL 2PL without action pl COP 3 COMP
 âri y : , ka y .
 yoš -e =b zomak e
 say 3 =PROG winter COP

We have three winter months, for you, there is "no work" – they say: "It is winter [you know]".

4.3 kfo ne qarâr nak en .
 kfo ne qarâr nak e -n
 that.OBL in calm not COP 1PL

[But] even during that time we have no rest.

4.4 pa qarâriwa tserang e ?
 pa qarâri =wa tse rang e
 INSTR rest =3 what manner COP

What rest is there here?

5.1 awale bâr ka šuk , niâl bu nawî , bâd ta nawroz .
 awal e- bâr ka *šuk niâl bu naw -i bâd ta nawroz
 first ezafe Spring COMP become.PST shoot PROG plant pl after GEN Nawruz

From the beginning of spring they sow seedlings – after Nawruz (New Year).

5.2 še mâý be šâx , ðanð – kere ĵer bu naware , walab
 še mâý be šâx ðanð kere ĵer bu nawar -e wal =a =b
 one month again branch lake this.OBL clay PROG pull.out 3 there =3 =PROG
 kord ke (ka kord ki bane).
 kord k -e ka kord ki ban -e
 field make 3 COMP field to pour 3

Then for one month [they are occupied] with ditches and channels [to retain water], they take earth [soil, clay], they make vegetable patches [a kord is a plot of ground banked up] – they put earth on the plot.

5.3 asawr kerey ne ter šuk .
 a- sawr kere -y ne ter *šuk
 the Sawr this.OBL OBL in passed become.PST

[So] with this [activity] [the month of] Sawr has passed.

6.1 ĵawzâ mâý ka šuk , kere ĵer bu nase , kukordi
 ĵawzâ mâý ka *šuk kere ĵer bu nas -e ku- kord -i
 Jawza month COMP become.PST this.OBL clay PROG take 3 ACC field OBL
 neb bane , wok bâr šawe .
 ne =b ban -e wok bâr *šaw -e
 in =PROG add 3 water Spring give 3

The month of Jawza has come – they take earth, put it on the plots, they water them in the spring.

6.2 ka wáter se , ĵowâriwab kari : a ka wátar
 ka wáter *s -e ĵowâri =wa =b kar -i a ka wátar
 COMP wet become 3 maize =3 =PROG sow pl this COMP wet
 šuk , toxom ta ĵowârib naware , titab ke .
 *šuk toxom ta ĵowâri =b nawar -e tit =a =b k -e
 become.PST seeds GEN maize =PROG pull.out 3 scattered =3 =PROG make 3

When [the soil] becomes moist, they sow maize: when it is moistened they take the maize seeds [and] scatter them.

6.3 toxom ta ĵowârib tit ke , qolba pets bu nase ,
 toxom ta ĵowâri =b tit k -e qolba pets bu nas -e
 seeds GEN maize =PROG scattered make 3 plough after PROG take 3
 kereb qolba ke , mâlawab ke .
 kere =b qolba k -e mâla =wa =b k -e
 this.OBL =PROG ploughed make 3 harrowed =3 =PROG make 3

They scatter the maize seeds, take the plough again, plough them [into the earth], harrow it.

7.1 kok bu šospâr dzane , kok bu duspâr dzane .
 kok bu šospâr dzan -e kok bu duspâr dzan -e
 one PROG third.time beat 3 one PROG second.time beat 3

One man ploughs it three times, another – twice.

7.2 kereya ka karoka , amây ta jawzâ kerey ne
 kere =ya ka karok -a a- mây ta jawzâ kere -y ne
 this.OBL =3 COMP sow.PST PSTPRF the month GEN Jawza this.OBL OBL in
 ter šuk – ta mard .
 ter *šuk ta mard
 passed become.PST GEN man

They sowed it – in this men’s [occupation] the month of Jawza has passed.

7.3 arzâken kere ki , ka saratân amây šuk (jawzâ ,
 ar- zâk -en kere ki ka saratân a- mây *šuk jawzâ
 DIR.1 come.PST 1PL this.OBL to COMP Saratan the month become.PST Jawza
 xo , ter šuk , saratân arzâk , a na ?)
 xo ter *šuk saratân ar- zâk a na
 indeed passed become.PST Saratan DIR.1 come.PST this no

We have come to the point when the month of Saratan has begun (Jawza has already passed, Saratan has begun, hasn’t it?)

7.4 saratâne ne še šora ta xoy bu mard ke .
 saratân -e ne še šora ta xoy bu mard k -e
 Saratan OBL in one fertiliser GEN ownself PROG man make 3

In [the month of] Saratan a man fertilises [the earth].

7.5 še mây neb ela kere barâbar ke , ka narma
 še mây ne =b ela kere barâbar k -e ka narm =a
 one month in =PROG released this.OBL level make 3 COMP soft =3
 ke (kere taraf – kfo taraf bu barâbar ke).
 k -e kere taraf kfo taraf bu barâbar k -e
 make 3 this.OBL direction that.OBL direction PROG level make 3

The month levels it, so that [the earth] becomes soft.

7.6 še mây kerey neb ter se .
 še mây kere -y ne =b ter *s -e
 one month this.OBL OBL in =PROG passed become 3

[Another] month passes in this [activity].

8.1 še mây bêb xarmande ne , juġ , ter se , asad .
 še mây bê =b xarmand -e ne juġ ter *s -e asad
 one month other =PROG threshing.floor OBL in see passed become 3 Asad

[Another] month, you see, passes on the threshing floor – Asad.

8.2 sambola šodyâr neb ter se .
 sambola šodyâr ne =b ter *s -e
 Sonbola ploughing in =PROG passed become 3

[The month] of Sonbola is spent ploughing.

8.3 mizân ka arzâk , pets di aĵowari karok se , draw
 mizân ka ar- zâk pets di a- ĵowari karok *s -e draw
 Mizan COMP DIR.1 come.PST after from the maize sow.PST become 3 harvested
 se , ganum bu kešt se .
 *s -e ganum bu kešt *s -e
 become 3 wheat PROG cultivated become 3

[The month] of Mizan has come – again they sow maize, they harvest, they sow wheat.

8.4 i , xo , márd esar e , a na ?
 i xo márd e- sar e a na
 and indeed man ACC top COP this no

And, you see, this [is the duty] of a man, is it not?

8.5 aqrabe ne ka šuk , kuġwâšib alisawi ta
 aqrab -e ne ka *šuk ku- ġwâši =b al- isaw -i ta
 Aqrab 3 in COMP become.PST ACC straw =PROG DIR.3 pierce pl GEN
 ĵowâri .
 ĵowâri
 maize

[The month of] Aqrab has come – he piles up the green of the maize [in the hayloft].

9.1 qawze ne ka šuk , bázib ganom ki wok aršawe ,
 qawz -e ne ka *šuk bází =b ganom ki wok ar- *šaw -e
 Qaws 3 in COMP become.PST some =PROG wheat to water DIR.1 give 3
 bázib ta xoy kere ĵer ner ki ta zəmak , ka pa kâr
 bází =b ta xoy kere ĵer ner ki ta zəmak ka pa kâr
 some =PROG GEN ownself this.OBL clay house to GEN winter COMP INSTR action
 be erware bu , še ĵây ne , ka ġoš , bârân wažera nak se
 be er- *war -e bu še ĵây ne ka ġoš bârân wažera nak *s -e
 again DIR.1 bring 3 PROG one place in COMP snow rain on.it not become 3
 , walab kob ke .
 wal =a =b kob k -e
 there =3 =PROG good make 3

In the month of Qaws some water [the fields] of wheat, others take home clay (jer), which is useful in the winter, [they store it] somewhere, so that snow or rain cannot spoil it.

9.2 kawa kerey ne ter šuk .
 kawa kere -y ne ter *šuk
 Qaws this.OBL OBL in passed become.PST

The month of Qaws has passed in this activity.

9.3 ĵadi neb p̄ara ʁoř ʁori , dalwab ge ʁoř ʁori .
ĵadi ne =b p̄ara ʁoř ʁor -i dalw =a =b ge ʁoř ʁor -i
Jady in =PROG for snow rain pl Dalv =3 =PROG also snow rain pl

In the month of Jady it rains. In the month of Dalv it also rains.

9.4 mard če řay ?
mard če řay
man what thing

How about the man?

9.5 goy nawar !
goy nawar
cow get

Send the bull out!

9.6 ʁoř arbel !
ʁoř ar- bel
snow DIR.1 shovel

Shovel the snow away!

9.7 wok arřer !
wok ar- řer
water DIR.1 give

Water the field!

10.1 dzarka ka pa ayřat e .
dzarka ka pa e
woman COMP INSTR COP

The woman does not live to please herself.

10.2 če řay bu ke ?
če řay bu k -e
what thing PROG make 3

What does she do?

10.3 ře – poxta : ka txan poxta kon !
ře poxta ka txan poxta k -on
one cooked COMP bread cooked make 2

Firstly she cooks: bake the bread!

10.4 katex poxta kon !
katex poxta k -on
katex cooked make 2

Cook the katex (a food like cheese).

10.5 ka širwa ye yâ rizan e – kere poxta kon !
 ka širwa y -e yâ rizan e kere poxta k -on
 COMP soup COP 3 or cleaned.rice COP this.OBL cooked make 2

10.6 a ?

a
 and

And?

10.7 ta xoy kere wór kay , ka nere newa paydâ
 ta xoy kere wór kay ka ner -e ne =wa paydâ
 GEN ownself this.OBL children COMP house OBL in =3 produced
 šuke , kereb sâtí .
 šuk -e kere =b sât -í
 become.PST PSTPRF this.OBL =PROG keep 3

She brings up the children who have been born at home.

10.8 se goy bu diše .
 =se goy bu diš -e
 =one cow PROG milk 3

She milks the cow.

10.9 ena kâr ta dzarka ye .
 ena kâr ta dzarka y -e
 so action GEN woman COP 3

That is a woman's work.

10.10 bekâr dzarka na .
 be kâr dzarka na
 without action woman no

A woman is never without work.

10.11 ena še kâli-mâlib yošawi , drešib ondrawi .
 ena še kâli mâli =b yošaw -i dreši =b ondraw -i
 so one clothes husband =PROG wash pl sew pl

Now she is doing the washing, now she is making clothes.

10.12 bas xalâs .
 bas xalâs
 enough freed

And that's all.

Text 31

1 bed tsun raqam e ?
bed tsun raqam e
willow how.many type COP

“How many types of willow are there?”

2.1 bed ?
bed
willow

Willow?

2.2 šo raqam .
šo raqam
three type

Three types.

2.3 šo raqam bed e .
šo raqam bed e
three type willow COP

There are three types of willow.

2.4 še di majnun bed e .
še di majnun bed e
one from crazy willow COP

One of them is majnunbed (the weeping willow).

2.5 majnun bed ka bland bu tsawe , pets bu šaxčiwa dzom
majnun bed ka bland bu tsaw -e pets bu šaxči =wa dzom
crazy willow COMP tall PROG go 3 after PROG branches =3 below
arzeye .

ar- zey -e
DIR.1 come 3

When it grows, the weeping willow, its branches hang down.

2.6 a – še .
a še
this one

That is one [type].

3.1 še di siyâbed e .
še di siyâbed e
one from black.willow COP

Another of them is siyabed (the black willow).

3.2 siyâbed bu bland , konḡay – konḡay řâxçi ke .
 siyâbed bu bland konḡay konḡay řâxçi k -e
 black.willow PROG tall thick thick branches make 3

The black willow is tall with thick branches.

3.3 neyâla drâḡ-drâḡ e , stor – stor e .
 neyâl =a drâḡ drâḡ e stor stor e
 shoot =3 extended extended COP great great COP

Its shoots are very long and very thick.

3.4 lekin řâxçiwa konḡay – konḡay e , ka ta maĵnun yondak bu
 lekin řâxçi =wa konḡay konḡay e ka ta maĵnun yondak bu
 however branches =3 thick thick COP COMP GEN crazy like PROG
 dzom nak erzâk inçi .
 dzom nak er- *zâk *inç -i
 below not DIR.1 come.PST able 3

Its branches, too, are huge; they do not hang down (lit. ‘cannot hang down’), like the weeping willow’s.

4.1 řewa ye – mořkbed .
 ře =wa y -e mořkbed
 one =3 COP 3 moskbed

Another one [type] is the moskbed.

4.2 mořkbed kok bu mořkbed arḡoře , kok bu sorxbed arḡoře ,
 mořkbed kok bu mořkbed ar- ḡoř -e kok bu sorxbed ar- ḡoř -e
 moskbed one PROG moskbed DIR.1 say 3 one PROG red.willow DIR.1 say 3
 afo duř kamdawâm e ... ka zot boy waxte ne goyâ kere
 afo duř e ka zot boy waxt -e ne kere
 that.NOM little COP COMP very near time OBL in this.OBL
 neb kerm ĵây nase .
 ne =b kerm ĵây nas -e
 in =PROG worm place take 3

It [does not live] long, as some sort of worm very soon infests it.

4.3 ab wuk se , a mořkbed .
 a =b wuk *s -e a mořkbed
 this =PROG withered become 3 this moskbed

It withers, this moskbed.

5.1 leken niâl ka šer e (niâl ka šer e , juǎ), ayera niâli šer
 leken niâl ka šer e niâl ka šer e juǎ ayera niâl -i šer
 however shoot COMP good COP shoot COMP good COP see all shoot pl good
 e .
 e
 COP

However, if it has good shoots (if the shoots are good, – pay attention (lit. ‘look’), then [also] all the trees [are] healthy (lit. ‘good’).

5.2 leken bâfâyz kere , ka ku mâx ki fâyeda rasawi , arar bu zot
 leken kere ka ku- mâx ki fâyeda *rasaw -i arar bu zot
 however this.OBL COMP ACC IPL to availed bring pl juniper PROG very
 rasawi .
 *rasaw -i
 bring pl

However, the juniper (arar) yields the most benefit.

6 awal ebâre ne , båd ta nawroz , kere še mây ta amale
 awal e- bâr -e ne båd ta nawroz kere še mây ta amal -e
 first ezafe Spring 3 in after GEN Nawruz this.OBL one month GEN Hamal OBL
 ne a nawok se .
 ne a nawok *s -e
 in this plant.PST become 3

They plant it (lit. ‘it is planted’) at the start of spring, after Nawruz, in the month of Hamal.

7 wok di nak breše : ka wok di broǔtok , eč ge nak se .
 wok di nak breš -e ka wok di broǔtok eč ge nak *s -e
 water from not burn 3 COMP water from burn.PST any also not become 3

It does not suffer from drought: [others] have dried up, [but] it is not used for anything.

Text 32

1 draxt tsun raqam e ?
 draxt tsun raqam e
 tree how.many type COP

“How many types of tree [have you in the garden]?”

2.1 draxt , xo : bed ge ye , sanjet ge ye , juǎ ?
 draxt xo bed ge y -e sanjet ge y -e juǎ
 tree indeed willow also COP 3 sanjet also COP 3 see

“Trees: [this is] a willow, and a sanjet tree – do you see it?”

2.2 rima ge ye – spedâr , arar ge ye – ĵangal ge ye , juǎ ?
 ge y -e spedâr arar ge y -e ĵangal ge y -e juǎ
 also COP 3 poplar juniper also COP 3 forest also COP 3 see

[and] a poplar and a juniper – [complete] full grown, do you see?

3 raqam-raqam bu daryořim , kudraxti .
raqam raqam bu dar- ęoř -im ku- draxt -i
type type PROG DIR.2 say 1SG ACC tree pl

4 mewajęati arzęke : nęk ge da ye , řaftęlu ge da
mewajęati ar- zęk -e nęk ge da y -e řaftęlu ge da
fruit DIR.1 come.PST PSTPRF pear also EMPH COP 3 peach also EMPH
e , buyi ge da ye , sew ge da ye , anęr ge da
e buyi ge da y -e sew ge da y -e anęr ge da
COP quince also EMPH COP 3 apple also EMPH COP 3 pomegranate also EMPH
ye .
y -e
COP 3

[Now the turn] of fruit has come: there are pears and there are peaches and there is a quince and there are apples and there are pomegranates.

Text 33

1 bęnjęn bu tsaraqam poxok kay ?
bęnjęn bu tsa raqam poxok k -ay
aubergine PROG what type cooked make 2

How do you cook aubergines?

2.1 bęnjęn bu nasen , kapena bu , postab ken
bęnjęn bu nas -en kap -en =a bu post =a =b k -en
aubergine PROG take 1PL cut 1PL =3 PROG skinned =3 =PROG make 1PL
, tafab arřuř ken .
tafa =b ar- řuř k -en
butter =PROG DIR.1 heated make 1PL

We take the aubergines, cut, clean and fry them in butter

2.2 piyęz beryęnab ken .
piyęz beryęn =a =b k -en
onion biryani =3 =PROG make 1PL

We make them onion biryani.

3.1 beb ře zara wok bu węne banen , kfob wažera
be =b ře zara wok bu węne ban -en kfo =b wažera
then =PROG one small water PROG in.it pour 1PL that.OBL =PROG on.it
banen , řuřab ken .
ban -en řuř =a =b k -en
pour 1PL heated =3 =PROG make 1PL

Then we add a little water to it, put [the aubergines] on it, fry it.

3.2 halil o kasir tafay ne run neb šuš se .
halil o kasir tafa -y ne run ne =b šuš *s -e
big and small butter OBL in melted.butter in =PROG heated become 3

All this is fried [together] (lit. big and small) in the butter.

Text 34

1 xarman xalâs šuke yâ yezoke ?
xarman xalâs šuk -e yâ yezok -e
threshing finished become.PST PSTPRF or remain.PST PSTPRF

Has the corn been gathered on to the threshing floor yet or has it remained [unharvested in the field]?

2 xodây , lâlâb yoše , ka mayda nak šuke , mâx bu
xodây lâlâ =b yoš -e ka mayda nak šuk -e mâx bu
God uncle =PROG say 3 COMP small not become.PST PSTPRF 1PL PROG
yošen , ka mayda šuke .
yoš -en ka mayda šuk -e
say 1PL COMP small become.PST PSTPRF

God knows, his father says that [the corn] has not been threshed yet, but we say that it has been threshed.

3 be ganom yézoke yâ guĵi a ganom buk ?
be ganom yézok -e yâ guĵi a ganom buk
other wheat remain.PST PSTPRF or only this wheat be.PST

Is there more wheat [unharvested] or was there only this wheat?

4 na , ganoman xalâs šuke .
na ganom =an xalâs šuk -e
no wheat =1PL finished become.PST PSTPRF

No, [the harvesting] of our wheat has already finished.

5 paněĵta di ayeran ʦol dâke ta xoy ?
paněĵta di ayera =n ʦol dâk -e ta xoy
outside from all =2PL collected do.PST PSTPRF GEN ownself

Have you gathered all your own beyond this plot (lit. 'from outside')?

6 wâya , kuayerawa xalâs dâke .
wâya ku- ayera =wa xalâs dâk -e
yes ACC all =3 finished do.PST PSTPRF

Yes, he (i.e. the boy's father) has already finished [gathering].

7 mollâ sâyeḅ góda ye ?
 mollâ sâyeḅ góda y -e
 mullah sahib where COP 3

Where is the mullah sahib?

8 nawbat žeb awdâri ke .
 nawbat že =b awdâri k -e
 turn on =PROG watering make 3

[Having waited for] his turn, he is letting water on to his plot (lit. 'he is watering').

Text 35

1 kadub tos bižay ?
 kadu =b tos biž -ay
 pumpkin =PROG 2PL cook 2

Are you cooking [some] pumpkin?

2 wâya , kadub tsarang saṛay poxta nak ke ?
 wâya kadu =b tsa rang saṛay poxta nak k -e
 yes pumpkin =PROG what manner man cooked not make 3

Who then is not cooking some pumpkin? (lit. 'How then can a person not cook pumpkin?')

3 tsaraqamabiže saṛay ?
 tsa raqam =a =b biž -e saṛay
 what type =3 =PROG cook 3 man

How does one cook a pumpkin?

4.1 nasewab , postab ke , maydawab
 nas -e =wa =b post =a =b k -e mayda =wa =b
 take 3 =3 =PROG skinned =3 =PROG make 3 small =3 =PROG
 ke , tafay neb šuš ke .
 k -e tafa -y ne =b šuš k -e
 make 3 butter OBL in =PROG heated make 3

They take it, remove the skin, cut it into pieces, fry it in butter [with onion].

4.2 beb poxta se , beb kfo xre .
 be =b poxta *s -e be =b kfo xr -e
 then =PROG cooked become 3 then =PROG that.OBL eat 3

Then they braise it (lit. 'it is fried') [and] then they eat [it].

5 gandana , xo , ge daray ?
 gandana xo ge dar -ay
 leek indeed also have 2

Do you also have leeks?

6.1 wāya , gandana darem .
 wāya gandana dar -em
 yes leek have 1SG

Yes, we also have leeks.

6.2 gandanab nasen , drawab ken , šorab
 gandana =b nas -en draw =a =b k -en šora =b
 leek =PROG take 1PL harvested =3 =PROG make 1PL fertiliser =PROG
 arbanen .
 ar- ban -en
 DIR.1 add 1PL

We take the leek, cut up [the leaves]. We put fertiliser [in the earth].

6.3 afob bu rase .
 afo =b bu *ras -e
 that.NOM =PROG PROG arrive 3

It is [already] ripening.

7 ka drawan dāk , ʏošaway afob ?
 ka draw =an dāk ʏošaw -ay afo =b
 COMP harvested =2PL do.PST wash 2 that.NOM =PROG

When you have cut [it], [before using it in food] do you wash it?

8.1 wāya , ka drawan dāk , beb aglen , daryawe
 wāya ka draw =an dāk be =b *agl -en daryaw -e
 yes COMP harvested =1PL do.PST then =PROG carry.off 1PL river OBL
 ne pāk ʏošawen .
 ne pāk ʏošaw -en
 in cleaned wash 1PL

Yes, when we have cut it, – after that we carry [it and] wash [it] clean in the river.

8.2 beb erwaren , maydawab ken ,
 be =b er- *war -en mayda =wa =b k -en
 then =PROG DIR.1 bring 1PL small =3 =PROG make 1PL
 tafawab ken , šušab ken .
 tafa =wa =b k -en šuš =a =b k -en
 butter =3 =PROG make 1PL heated =3 =PROG make 1PL

Then we bring it, slice [it], heat some butter, fry it [in it].

8.3 bewab pirakí ken , bewab xren .
 be =wa =b pirakí k -en be =wa =b xr -en
 then =3 =PROG piraki make 1PL then =3 =PROG eat 1PL

Then we make piraki (little pies filled with vegetables) and eat [them].

9 sewan , xo , nak póxok šuke ?
 sew =an xo nak póxok šuk -e
 apple =2PL indeed not ripened become.PST PSTPRF

Have your apples not ripened yet?

10 na , kok poxta šuke , kok – nak šuke : afo
 na kok poxta šuk -e kok nak šuk -e afo
 no one cooked become.PST PSTPRF one not become.PST PSTPRF that.NOM
 ka kerm dzoke , – afo poxta šuke , afo
 ka kerm dzok -e afo poxta šuk -e afo
 COMP worm beat.PST PSTPRF that.NOM cooked become.PST PSTPRF that.NOM
 ka šer e – tâza-tâza ye , men šer poxta nak šuke .
 ka šer e tâza tâza y -e men šer poxta nak šuk -e
 COMP good COP fresh fresh COP 3 still good cooked not become.PST PSTPRF

No, some have already ripened, (but) some have not yet ripened (lit. 'someone ... someone'): those which a worm has spoilt have already ripened, (but) those which are not spoilt by the worm (lit. 'which are good'), are [still] completely green (lit. 'quite fresh'), up to now they have not ripened as they should.

11 lâlá su az piri góda wâk kam ?
 lâlá su az piri góda wâk *k -am
 uncle SBJV 1SG now where retrieved make 1SG

Where can I find uncle now?

12.1 man xodây ki an maalum e .
 man xodây ki an maalum e
 then God to it known COP

God (alone) knows [where he is].

12.2 xodây , ka tu paydâ ki yâ naka ki paydâ !
 xodây ka tu paydâ k -i yâ nak =a k -i paydâ
 God COMP 2PL found make 2 or not =3 make pl found

God [knows], whether you will find [him] or not.

12.3 afo su piri pabéga artsok be : awbaxče že afo
 afo su piri pabéga ar- tsok b -e že afo
 that.NOM SBJV now above DIR.1 go.PST be 3 on that.NOM
 bande bâzak ki artsok .
 band e- bâzak ki ar- tsok -e
 dam ezafé Bazak to DIR.1 go.PST PSTPRF

Now he, surely, has gone up: he has gone to the Bazak dam to irrigate [the plot of land] (lit. 'to distribute water').

13 mollâ abibullâ goda ye ?
mollâ abibullâ goda y -e
mullah Habibullah where COP 3

Where is Mullah Habibullah?

14 walâ kfo di xabar nak darim .
walâ kfo di xabar nak dar -im
by.God that.OBL from informed not have 1SG

By God, I know [nothing] about him [either].

Text 36

1.1 še pãčã buk .
še pãčã buk
one king be.PST

There was a king.

1.2 pãčã tar , âx , tar t .
pãčã mâx tos xodây e
king 1PL 2PL God COP

Our king and your king [for you] is a god.

1.3 a pãčã klãn dronók .
a pãčã klãn dronók
this king boy have.PST

This king had a son.

1.4 tsun waxta ka ter šuk , taré nere ne še dúwa paydã
tsun waxta ka ter *šuk taré ner -e ne še dúwa paydã
some times COMP passed become.PST GEN house OBL in one daughter produced
šuk bãđ ta klãn .
*šuk bãđ ta klãn
become.PST after GEN boy

Some time passed; a daughter appeared in his home after the son.

1.5 a kere dúwa ta xoy nok , maktab newa banok .
a kere dúwa ta xoy nok maktab ne =wa banok
this this.OBL daughter GEN ownself take.PST school in =3 put.PST

He took the girl and sent her to school;

1.6 elem tare maktaba kâmel wãžera xalâs dâk .
elem tare maktab =a kâmel wãžera xalâs dâk
knowledge GEN school =3 completed on.it finished do.PST

he instructed her in all scholastic subjects.

1.7 ka xalâsa dâk , yóka ka " píri az če rang kam
 ka xalâs =a dâk yók =a ka píri az če rang *k -am
 COMP finished =3 do.PST say.PST =3 COMP now 1SG what manner make 1SG
 ?".

When he had instructed her, he said: "(And) what shall I do now?".

2.1 še qalawa kere ki banók .
 še qala =wa kere ki banók
 one fort =3 this.OBL to put.PST

He built a fort for her

2.2 tādawa ta gap beg dâk : an sar tomadi kerewa taxminan das
 tādaw =a ta gap beg dâk an sar tomadi kere =wa taxminan das
 foundation =3 GEN stone raised do.PST it top until this.OBL =3 about ten
 meter yâ âxt méter ta gap beg dâk .
 meter yâ âxt méter ta gap beg dâk
 metre or eight metre GEN stone raised do.PST

with a foundation of stone: he built it to the [very] top, about ten or eight metres.

2.3 duka ta xoy wal ta qala emendze ne nawók ka " tu
 duka ta xoy wal ta qala e- mendz -e ne nawók ka tu
 girl GEN ownself there GEN farm ACC middle OBL in plant.PST COMP 2PL
 ende bi !" !"
 ende b -i
 here be 2

He put his daughter in the fort, [saying]: "Live here" (lit. "you sit here!").

2.4 wala draxt , hawz , ar šay jor dâk : mewá ge buk , hawz ge
 wal =a draxt hawz ar šay jor dâk mewá ge buk hawz ge
 there =3 tree pool every thing built do.PST fruit.tree also be.PST pool also
 buk , kuṭí ge buk – če šay buk , ka tare duka pa kâr šuk
 buk kuṭí ge buk če šay buk ka tare duka pa kâr *šuk
 be.PST palace also be.PST what thing be.PST COMP GEN girl INSTR action become.PST
 .

He [planted] trees there, built a pool and everything else: there were fruit trees there, and there was the pool and there was the palace – all that his daughter needed.

3.1 apewa še kaftara âmoxta dâk buk .
 a- pe =wa še kaftar =a âmoxta dâk buk
 the father =3 one dove =3 tamed do.PST be.PST

Her father tamed a dove.

3.2 ka pewa če šay zarurat dronók , xatab nawešta dâk ,
ka pe =wa če šay zarurat dronók xat =a =b nawešta dâk
COMP father =3 what thing need have.PST letter =3 =PROG wrote do.PST
ta kaftar agardane newab tarók , endé diwa ela
ta kaftar a- gardan -e ne =wa =b tarók endé di =wa ela
GEN dove the neck OBL in =3 =PROG tie.PST here from =3 released
dâk , afob artsawok , kere qalaye méndze
dâk afo =b ar- tsawok kere qala ye- méndz -e
do.PST that.NOM =PROG DIR.1 go.PST this.OBL fort ezafe middle 3
neb nóstok .
ne =b nóstok
in =PROG sit.down.PST

When a need arose, he wrote her a letter, attached it to the dove's neck (and) let it go from there. It flew (and) settled in the fort.

4.1 dúka ta pãčã ka buk , afob erzâk , kere
dúka ta pãčã ka buk afo =b er- *zâk kere
girl GEN king COMP be.PST that.NOM =PROG DIR.1 come.PST this.OBL
kaftaráb nok , xat ta gardan diwab mok ,
kaftar =a =b nok xat ta gardan di =wa =b mok
dove =3 =PROG take.PST letter GEN neck from =3 =PROG release.PST
kereyab awók , če šay ta dúka ka pa kâr buk ,
kere =ya =b awók če šay ta dúka ka pa kâr buk
this.OBL =3 =PROG read.PST what thing GEN girl COMP INSTR action be.PST
afob arnawešta dâk , ka " iná šay tar mu n pa k "
afo =b ar- nawešta dâk ka iná šay mun pa kâr e
that.NOM =PROG DIR.1 wrote do.PST COMP here thing me INSTR action COP

The king's daughter, she would take the dove, detach the letter from the dove's neck (and) read it. The daughter used to write to him about everything that she needed: "I need this (lit. 'here is this thing')".

4.2 beb afo kaftar parok , erzâk bu ta pãčã
be =b afo kaftar parok er- *zâk bu ta pãčã
then =PROG that.NOM dove fly.PST DIR.1 come.PST PROG GEN king
earãmsrãyi ki .
e- arãmsrãyi ki
ACC rooms to

Then that dove would fly (and) arrive in the king's rooms.

4.3 beb afóyin kere kaftar nok aw xatab gardan
 be =b afóyin kere kaftar nok aw xat =a =b gardan
 then =PROG those.NOM this.OBL dove take.PST and letter =3 =PROG neck
 diwa mok .
 di =wa mok
 from =3 release.PST

They (i.e. the king) then would take the dove, detach the letter from its neck

4.4 awoka bu , ka " ašay tar mu n ta du 'wa p ".
 awok =a bu ka a- šay mun ta dúwa pa kâr e
 read.PST =3 PROG COMP the thing me GEN daughter INSTR action COP

[and] read: "This is what my daughter needs".

5.1 xálak endé wážéra xabar šuk , ka pãčã dúwa daré (aw)
 xálak endé wážéra xabar *šuk ka pãčã dúwa dar -é aw
 people here on.it informed become.PST COMP king daughter have 3 and
 adúwa ta pãčã ta qala emendze ne buk .
 a- dúwa ta pãčã ta qala e- mendz -e ne buk
 the daughter GEN king GEN farm ACC middle OBL in be.PST

The people knew that the king had a daughter and that the princess was to be found (lit. 'was') in the fort.

5.2 ar sařay pãčã ki erzãk , ka " tu dúwa der ",
 ar sařay pãčã ki er- *zãk ka tu dúwa *der
 every man king to DIR.1 come.PST COMP 2PL daughter have
 afob yok , ka " az dúwa nak darim .
 afo =b yok ka az dúwa nak dar -im
 that.NOM =PROG say.PST COMP 1SG daughter not have 1SG

Each person, when he came to the king, [would say]: "You have a daughter"; he [then] replied: "I have no daughter.

5.3 beb ka tos yóšay , ka az dúwa darím , tsáway
 be =b ka tos yóš -ay ka az dúwa dar -ím tsáw -ay
 then =PROG COMP 2PL say 2 COMP 1SG daughter have 1SG go 2
 paydâwa kay !" !"
 paydâ =wa k -ay
 found =3 make 2

And if you say that I have a daughter, then go and find her!"

5.4 (xalak ki mâlum buk , ka kere qalay ne ye).
 xalak ki mâlum buk ka kere qala -y ne y -e
 people to known be.PST COMP this.OBL fort OBL in COP 3

(The people knew that (she) was in this fort).

5.5 " še sar di be sar tomadi tos ki taxfif e .
 še sar di be sar tomadi tos ki taxfif e
 one morning from other morning until 2PL to indulgence COP

"From this morning to the next morning – that is your time limit (lit. 'indulgence').

5.6 tsaway paydāwab kay !".
 tsaw -ay paydā =wa =b k -ay
 go 2 found =3 =PROG make 2

Go and find her!".

6.1 ayn bu xwāri dāk ... hala ala ala ... sar tomadi , tare [qala] še
 ayn bu xwāri dāk hala ala ala sar tomadi tare qala še
 these.NOM PROG toiled do.PST so so so morning until GEN farm one
 gap wostawok nak inčok .
 gap wostawok nak inčok
 stone raise.PST not able.PST

They suffered many torments till the morning, but they could not [ever] move (lit. 'lift') even one stone [of the wall] of her fort.

6.2 wostowokab nāk inčok , sara pāčā kereyn dižok , ka "
 wostowok =a =b nāk inčok sar =a pāčā kereyn ka
 raise.PST =3 =PROG not able.PST morning =3 king these.OBL COMP
 če rangan dāk ?"
 če rang =an dāk
 what manner =2PL do.PST

They could not move [them]. In the morning the king came [and asked]: "How are you getting on?".

6.3 ayn bu yoka , ka " paydān nak dāk , " ála kere
 ayn bu yok =a ka paydā =n nak dāk ála kere
 these.NOM PROG say.PST =3 COMP found =1PL not do.PST so this.OBL
 kalamonār arkay !"
 kalamonār ar- k -ay
 minaret DIR.1 make 2

They answered: "We have not found [her]". – "Then make a minaret of their heads!" [the king ordered].

6.4 tare anām axunkār pāčā wotók .
 tare a- nām a- xunkār pāčā wotók
 GEN the name the bloody king put.PST

[After that] he was called the blood-shedding king (i.e. bloody king).

6.5 nafar bu , ka ar erzâk , (yoka , ka) " goda
 nafar bu ka ar er- *zâk yok =a ka goda
 person PROG COMP every DIR.1 come.PST say.PST =3 COMP where
 ye ?"
 y -e
 COP 3

[And again], when a man came to him [and asked]: "Where is she?",

6.6 – " paydâwa kon !".
 paydâ =wa k -on
 found =3 make 2

[he would say:] "Find her!"

6.7 erzâk bu , ka " az bu kere dewâl yâr kam ,
 er- *zâk bu ka az bu kere dewâl yâr *k -am
 DIR.1 come.PST PROG COMP 1SG PROG this.OBL wall hole make 1SG
 alisim bu ".
 al- is -im bu
 DIR.3 pierce 1SG PROG

[This one] came [thinking]: I will make a hole in the wall [and] go in".

6.8 afob , ka ar tsun x^wâri dâk , dewâla yâr nak inçok .
 afo =b ka ar tsun x^wâri dâk dewâl =a yâr nak inçok
 that.NOM =PROG COMP every some toiled do.PST wall =3 hole not able.PST

But, however much he strove, he could not make a hole in the wall,

6.9 gap buk .
 gap buk
 stone be.PST

for it was of stone (lit. 'was stone').

6.10 kereyab arwolak , yaryarawab dâk .
 kere =ya =b ar- wolak yaryara =wa =b dâk
 this.OBL =3 =PROG DIR.1 bring.PST hanged =3 =PROG do.PST

He was taken [to the king] and hanged on the gallows.

7.1 kereyn ne buke , berâdar , ka tordaláy e (ta še saray anâm
 kereyn ne buk -e berâdar ka tordaláy e ta še saray a- nâm
 these.OBL in be.PST 3 brother COMP Turdalay COP GEN one man the name
 tordalay e).
 tordalay e
 Turdalay COP

Among them, brother, was Turdalay. [This] is the name of a man – Turdalay.

7.2 yok , ka " bačawa dam ki , če rang kam ?
 yok ka bača =wa dam k -i če rang *k -am
 say.PST COMP child =3 cursed make 2 what manner make 1SG

He said: "A curse on him! (lit. 'cast a spell on his son!'). What shall I do?

7.3 če rang kam ?".
 če rang *k -am
 what manner make 1SG

What is to be done?!"

8.1 sare ǰo di kere dewǰl ki ka časpok , ála ála ála , ta nemǰž
 sar e- ǰo di kere dewǰl ki ka časpok ála ála ála ta nemǰž
 top ezafe night from this.OBL wall to COMP stick.PST so so so GEN prayers
 ewaxt tómadı kuše gap tareb pets dǰk .
 e- waxt tómadı ku- še gap tare =b pets dǰk
 ACC time until ACC one stone GEN =PROG after do.PST

Although he [apparently] stuck to this wall from night, [nevertheless] by (morning) prayers he had moved only one stone.

8.2 ta nomǰž awaxt ka šuk , a tiǰók .
 ta nomǰž a- waxt ka *šuk a tiǰók
 GEN prayers the time COMP become.PST this flee.PST

When the time came for [performing] the prayers, he fled.

8.3 a tordalay xoy gađıwa féker dǰk , ka " az če šay kam
 a tordalay xoy gađı =wa féker dǰk ka az če šay *k -am
 this Turdalay ownself with =3 thought do.PST COMP 1SG what thing make 1SG
 ?

Turdalay thought to himself: "What am I to do?

8.4 če rang kam , ka az kere dewǰl ǰar kam ?".
 če rang *k -am ka az kere dewǰl ǰar *k -am
 what manner make 1SG COMP 1SG this.OBL wall hole make 1SG

How am I to make a hole in this wall?"

9.1 a taraf , afo taraf gerzók .
 a taraf afo taraf gerzók
 this direction that.NOM direction turn.PST

He rushed in this and that direction.

9.2 še gri ki artsawók , ka še mǰra paydǰ dak .
 še gri ki ar- tsawók ka še mǰr =a paydǰ dak
 one mountain to DIR.1 go.PST COMP one snake =3 found do.PST

[Finally] he went up a mountain, where he found a snake.

9.3 afo mâr pa šušmâr mašawúr e , ka pây dari .
 afo mâr pa šušmâr mašawúr e ka pây dar -i
 that.NOM snake INSTR monitor.lizard known COP COMP foot have 3

This snake is known [by the name of] “shushmar” (monitor lizard), as it has legs.

9.4 beša nok .
 beš =a nok
 rope =3 take.PST

He took a rope,

9.5 kere mâr ekamare ne beša tařok .
 kere mâr e- kamar -e ne beš =a tařok
 this.OBL snake ACC middle OBL in rope =3 tie.PST

tied it to the snake

9.6 kereya tâqe ne banok .
 kere =ya tâq -e ne banok
 this.OBL =3 niche OBL in throw.PST

(and) threw it into a recess [in the wall of the fort].

9.7 tâqe ne banok , kere beša kaš dâk , kaš dâk , kaš
 tâq -e ne banok kere beš =a kaš dâk kaš dâk kaš
 niche OBL in throw.PST this.OBL rope =3 pulling do.PST pulling do.PST pulling
 dâk .
 dâk
 do.PST

He threw it into the niche [and] began to pull and pull and pull this rope.

9.8 kere tâqe newa kuxoy beg dâk .
 kere tâq -e ne =wa ku- xoy beg dâk
 this.OBL niche OBL in =3 ACC oneself raised do.PST

He pulled himself into this niche.

10.1 be roz ka šuk , šun blandtara kere banok .
 be roz ka *šuk šun blandtar =a kere banok
 other day COMP become.PST little higher =3 this.OBL throw.PST

When the next day came, he threw it (the snake) a little higher.

10.2 tâlimab aršuk , ân ka âmoxta se .
 tâlim =a =b ar- šuk ân ka âmoxta *s -e
 training =3 =PROG DIR.1 give.PST it COMP tamed become 3

He trained the snake until it became tame.

10.3 ála ála ála , kere mâr ki kuxoya rasawók .
 ála ála ála kere mâr ki ku- xoy =a rasawók
 so so so this.OBL snake to ACC ownself =3 bring.PST

[Then again] he pulled himself to the snake.

10.4 beg šuk .
 beg *šuk
 raised become.PST

[And at last] he got up [on to the wall].

11.1 ge roz ka šuk , še ša pon buk , ta pon esar kiwa
 ge roz ka *šuk še ša pon buk ta pon e- sar ki =wa
 also day COMP become.PST one thus roof be.PST GEN roof ACC top to =3
 banók .
 banók
 throw

When the next day began – (there) was a sort of roof – he threw it (the snake) on to the roof.

11.2 ka banóka , kere beša ša nok , xoltawóka , ka
 ka banók =a kere beš =a ša nok xoltawók =a ka
 COMP throw.PST =3 this.OBL rope =3 thus take.PST swing.PST =3 COMP
 deka , ka mâr mākám e .
 dek =a ka mâr mākám e
 see.PST =3 COMP snake tight COP

When he threw it, he took the rope thus – twisted it until he could see that the snake [was holding on] firmly.

11.3 ende kere beša nok , ála ála ála , ta pon esar ki beg
 ende kere beš =a nok ála ála ála ta pon e- sar ki beg
 here this.OBL rope =3 take.PST so so so GEN roof ACC top to raised
 šuk .
 *šuk
 become.PST

Then he took the rope and so climbed on to the roof.

12.1 fekra dâk , ka " piri , xo , tar mun a kâ r ra "
 fekr =a dâk ka piri xo mun a- kâr raw žuk
 thought =3 do.PST COMP now indeed me the action well become.PST

He thought: "Now my affair has gone well".

12.2 a , ka raw šuk , ende dia nok , ŋo ka šuk ,
 a ka raw *šuk ende di =a nok ŋo ka *šuk
 this COMP well become.PST here from =3 take.PST night COMP become.PST
 artsawók tare qala ebex ki , ka aduka emendze ne tare
 ar- tsawók tare qala e- bex ki ka a- duka e- mendz -e ne tare
 DIR.1 go.PST GEN farm ACC root to COMP the girl ACC middle OBL in GEN
 qala ye , - ta pãčã aduwa .
 qala y -e ta pãčã a- duwa
 farm COP 3 GEN king the daughter

When (it) had gone well, he took [it] and went from here, when night fell, to this fort, where the girl was, the king's daughter.

12.3 ende ka rasok , kere m̃ara nok , učata qulãj dãk : a dewãl
 ende ka rasok kere m̃ar =a nok dãk a dewãl
 here COMP arrive.PST this.OBL snake =3 take.PST do.PST this wall
 ta qala kini du met̃ar bar dari , ta gap ; asara ge das met̃ar .
 ta qala kini du met̃ar bar dar -i ta gap a- sar =a ge das met̃ar
 GEN farm otherwise two metre door have 3 GEN stone the top =3 also ten metre

When he came here, he took the snake and threw it up high: for the wall of (this) fort is about two metres thick, made of stone, and ten metres high.

13.1 kereya ka beg dãk , ta dewãl ta dewãl esare ne
 kere =ya ka beg dãk ta dewãl ta dewãl e- sar -e ne
 this.OBL =3 COMP raised do.PST GEN wall GEN wall ACC top OBL in
 banok , kereya ša xoltawok - keré m̃ara xoltawok - beša
 banok kere =ya ša xoltawok keré m̃ar =a xoltawok beš =a
 throw.PST this.OBL =3 thus swing.PST this.OBL snake =3 swing.PST rope =3
 kaš dãk .
 kaš dãk
 pulling do.PST

When he had picked it (the snake) up, he threw (it) onto the top of the wall and so he twisted it (twisted this snake), pulled the rope.

13.2 m̃ar ta xoy ap̃y kere dewãle ne časpawók .
 m̃ar ta xoy a- p̃y kere dewãl -e ne časpawók
 snake GEN oneself the foot this.OBL wall OBL in stick.PST

The snake clung fast to the wall with its feet.

13.3 ka časpawóka , a p̃y šuk , ka m̃ar m̃akám e .
 ka časpawók =a a p̃y *šuk ka m̃ar m̃akám e
 COMP stick.PST =3 this understood become.PST COMP snake tight COP

When it clung fast, he knew that the snake was holding tight.

13.4 ende di kere beša nok (mākam nok), ala ala ala , ta qala
 ende di kere beš =a nok mākam nok ala ala ala ta qala
 here from this.OBL rope =3 take.PST tight take.PST so so so GEN farm
 esare ne (for sar ki) beg šuk .
 e- sar -e ne sar ki beg *šuk
 ACC top OBL in top to raised become.PST

He took the rope, grasped it firmly [and] – so – so – so – raised himself onto the top of the fort.

14 a mār bu kukok nak xre ?
 a mār bu ku- kok nak xr -e
 this snake PROG ACC one not eat 3

Won't the snake eat anyone?

15.1 ab kukok nak xre .
 a =b ku- kok nak xr -e
 this =PROG ACC one not eat 3

No, it will not eat anyone;

15.2 a šušmār e , ab gazawi nak .
 a šušmār e a =b gazaw -i nak
 this monitor.lizard COP this =PROG bite 3 not

it is a monitor lizard; it does not bite anyone.

15.3 ende di tse waxt šuk , ka motala dāk ?
 ende di tse waxt *šuk ka motal =a dāk
 here from what time become.PST COMP waited =3 do.PST

How long has passed since that time, while he waited?

15.4 ka ta nemāž awaxt šuk , ta sar , ta pāčā aduwa ner
 ka ta nemāž a- waxt *šuk ta sar ta pāčā a- duwa ner
 COMP GEN prayers the time become.PST GEN top GEN king the daughter house
 di ta xoy nayok , kuzawa edeste ne , áwz ki
 di ta xoy nayok kuza =wa e- dest -e ne áwz ki
 from GEN ownself go.out.PST pitcher =3 ACC hand OBL in pool to
 erzāk .
 er- *zāk
 DIR.1 come.PST

When the time came [to perform] the morning prayers, the king's daughter came out of her house, came to the pool with a pitcher in her hand.

15.5 a pabéga di guša še gapak nok , guša arbanok kere
 a pabéga di guša še gapak nok guša ar- banok kere
 this above from thus one pebble take.PST thus DIR.1 throw.PST this.OBL
 awze ne .
 awz -e ne
 pool OBL in

He took a pebble from the top, threw it into the pool.

16.1 a taraf , afo taraf sayl dâk , ka " bačawa dam
 a taraf afo taraf sayl dâk ka bača =wa dam
 this direction that.NOM direction looked do.PST COMP child =3 cursed
 ki !
 k -i
 make 2

[The princess] looked all round (lit. 'in this direction – that direction'), [exclaiming]: "Damnation!

16.2 a če šay buk , ka ende kere woke ne arjóxtok ?"
 a če šay buk ka ende kere wok -e ne ar- jóxtok
 this what thing be.PST COMP here this.OBL water OBL in DIR.1 fall.PST

Whatever was it that fell into the water?

16.3 bewa yok , ka " xodây !
 be =wa yok ka xodây
 then =3 say.PST COMP God

[Then] she said again: "O God,

16.4 če šay buk ?".
 če šay buk
 what thing be.PST

whatever was it?"

17.1 bewa ta xoy kukuza dzom dâk , ka đaka ke ,
 be =wa ta xoy ku- kuza dzom dâk ka đak =a k -e
 then =3 GEN ownself ACC pitcher lowered do.PST COMP full =3 make 3
 be a še gap now ša arbanok , a yok , ka " wallâ !
 be a še gap now ša ar- banok a yok ka wallâ
 again this one stone new thus DIR.1 throw.PST this say.PST COMP by.God

Again [she] let down the pitcher to fill it [with water and] again another stone fell near her. She said:
 "O God!

17.2 xo , če šay ye , ar šay , ka ye ?"
 xo če šay y -e ar šay ka y -e
 indeed what thing COP 3 every thing COMP COP 3

What can it be? But there is something".

17.3 a taraf , afo taraf sayl dāk : eč málum nak arse
 a taraf afo taraf sayl dāk eč málum nak ar- *s -e
 this direction that.NOM direction looked do.PST any known not DIR.1 become 3

[Again] she looked in this and that direction: nothing was to be seen.

17.4 a tordalay ta dewál esare ne ye
 a tordalay ta dewál e- sar -e ne y -e
 this Turdalay GEN wall ACC top OBL in COP 3

[But] Turdalay [during this time] is on the wall.

17.5 be gašta kutse dzom dāk ?
 be gašta ku- tse dzom dāk
 again time ACC what lowered do.PST

Once more what did she let down?

17.6 – kuza ta xoy , ka awdas ki wok nawáre
 kuza ta xoy ka awdas ki wok nawár -e
 pitcher GEN ownself COMP washing to water get 3

her pitcher – to collect water for washing.

17.7 be gap arbanok
 be gap ar- banok
 other stone DIR.1 throw.PST

He threw another stone at her.

17.8 ende wážera yok , ka " ar šay on ?
 ende wážera yok ka ar šay on
 here on.it say.PST COMP every thing COP.2

She said to him up there: "Whoever you are

17.9 ka bani ádam on ?
 ka ban -i ádam on
 COMP throw 2 man COP.2

that throws, are you a man?

17.10 ka ens on ?
 ka ens on
 COMP tribe COP.2

Of a tribe?

17.11 ka jenn on ?
 ka jenn on
 COMP jinn COP.2

Are you a jinn?

17.12 tar mun ar af ?
 mun a- rafiq on
 me the friend COP.2

Are you my friend?

17.13 erzey !
 er- zey
 DIR.1 come

Come!

17.14 tu kok on ?".
 tu kok on
 2PL who COP.2

Who are you?"

18.1 arɣok , ka " az na ĵend om , na pari yom .
 ar- ɣok ka az na ĵend om na pari y -om
 DIR.1 say.PST COMP 1SG no jinn COP.1SG no peri COP 1SG

He said to her: "I am neither a jinn nor a peri.

18.2 az tordalay om , ta xordkâbol om , ta bewazan aklân
 az tordalay om ta xordkâbol om ta bewazan a- klân
 1SG Turdalay COP.1SG GEN Khord-Kabul COP.1SG GEN widow the boy
 om ".
 om
 COP.1SG

I am Turdalay, from Khord-Kabul [a district of Kabul], the son of a widow".

18.3 a ende di dzom ŝuk , tordalay dzom ŝuk .
 a ende di dzom *ŝuk tordalay dzom *ŝuk
 this here from lowered become.PST Turdalay lowered become.PST

He let himself down [from the wall].

18.4 artsókin , ta pãčã edúwa gađiwa extelât extelât
 ar- tsók -in ta pãčã e- dúwa gađi =wa extelât extelât
 DIR.1 go.PST 3 GEN king ACC daughter with =3 conversed conversed
 dâk , ka kaftar arzâk [ta] pãčã etaraf di .
 dâk ka kaftar ar- zâk ta pãčã e- taraf di
 do.PST COMP dove DIR.1 come.PST GEN king ACC direction from

They went, he struck up a conversation with the king's daughter [and continued it], until the dove flew in from the king.

18.5 kaftar arzâk , endé nóstok .
 kaftar ar- zâk endé nóstok
 dove DIR.1 come.PST here sit.down.PST

The dove arrived, (it) perched here.

18.6 adúka kere kaftar nok , kere xata gardan diwa mok
a- dúka kere kaftar nok kere xat =a gardan di =wa mok
the girl this.OBL dove take.PST this.OBL letter =3 neck from =3 release.PST
, kereya awok .
kere =ya awok
this.OBL =3 read.PST

The king's daughter took the dove, detached the letter from its neck, read it.

19.1 a desti nok , še xata nawešta dâk (xata ta xoy pe
a dest -i nok še xat =a nawešta dâk xat =a ta xoy pe
this hand pl take.PST one letter =3 wrote do.PST letter =3 GEN ownself father
ki nawešta dâk): ka " xařakay xam buk , - xarbuzá šuk .
ki nawešta dâk ka xařakay xam buk xarbuzá *šuk
to wrote do.PST COMP little.melon unripe be.PST melon become.PST

She immediately wrote a letter (wrote a letter to her father): "A little melon was unripe – it became a [ripe] melon,

19.2 čâkuwa ge gušá wanéra wotok .
čâku =wa ge gušá wanéra wotok
knife =3 also thus into.it put.PST

a knife was plunged deep into it.

19.3 éna poxta šuk .
éna poxta *šuk
so ripened become.PST

Lo, (it) has ripened.

19.4 taréa lăzém če šay e ?"
taré =a lăzém če šay e
GEN =3 necessary what thing COP

What does it need now?"

19.5 (ta xoy pe ki nawešta dâk .
ta xoy pe ki nawešta dâk
GEN ownself father to wrote do.PST

([Thus] she wrote to her father;

19.6 ena mesâla á yok , ka " az , xo , piri tomadi xâm
ena mesâl =a á yok ka az xo piri tomadi xâm
so example =3 this say.PST COMP 1SG indeed now until unripe
bukom , xařakay bukom , piri xarbuza šúkome ").
buk -om xařakay buk -om piri xarbuza šúk -om -e
be.PST 1SG little.melon be.PST 1SG now melon become.PST 1SG PSTPRF

she drew [this] example: [she said], up to now I have been unripe, I was a little melon, but now I have become a melon).

20.1 a endi di xata nawešta dâk ta xoy pe ki .
 a endi di xat =a nawešta dâk ta xoy pe ki
 this here from letter =3 wrote do.PST GEN ownself father to

[And so] she wrote from here a letter to her father,

20.2 kerewa ta kaftar egardan ne tařók .
 kere =wa ta kaftar e- gardan ne tařók
 this.OBL =3 GEN dove ACC neck in tie.PST

attached it to the dove's neck.

20.3 a kaftar artsawok , arâmsarây ne nóstok .
 a kaftar ar- tsawok arâmsarây ne nóstok
 this dove DIR.1 go.PST room in sit.down.PST

The dove flew (and) perched in the king's rooms.

20.4 pãčã dest drây dâk , kere kaftara nók , kuxáta gardan
 pãčã dest drây dâk kere kaftar =a nók ku- xát =a gardan
 king hand extended do.PST this.OBL dove =3 take.PST ACC letter =3 neck
 di môm .
 di môm
 from release.PST

The king stretched out his hand, took this dove, detached the letter from [its] neck.

20.5 ... ka móka , a kere xata awók , ende di a pãčã
 ka móm =a a kere xat =a awók ende di a pãčã
 COMP release.PST =3 this this.OBL letter =3 read.PST here from this king
 poy šuk : " tar mun adu 'wab máli "
 poy *šuk mun a- dúwa =b máli žay -i
 understood become.PST me the daughter =PROG husband ask 3

When he had detached [it], he read the letter. From it the king understood: "My daughter wants to get married".

21.1 desti xata nawešta dâk , ka " tu xâyeš dâke ta
 dest -i xat =a nawešta dâk ka tu xâyeš dâk -e ta
 hand pl letter =3 wrote do.PST COMP 2PL wanted do.PST PSTPRF GEN
 máli .
 máli
 husband

He immediately wrote a letter [in reply]: "You wanted to get married.

21.2 tu kumáli déke ?".
 tu ku- máli dék -e
 2PL ACC husband see.PST PSTPRF

But have you seen a husband yet?"

21.3 alyóke : " wáye , málim kumun gađi šeǰáy
 al- yók -e wáye máli =m ku- mun gađi še ǰáy
 DIR.3 say.PST PSTPRF yes husband =1SG ACC me with one place
 nóstoke ".
 nóstok -e
 sit.down.PST 3

[The princess] answered him: "Yes, my husband is sitting next to me".

22.1 sabâ ka šuk , amra dâk , ka " kere dewâle
 sabâ ka *šuk amr =a dâk ka kere dewâl -e
 tomorrow COMP become.PST ordered =3 do.PST COMP this.OBL wall OBL
 gapi berân kay !" !"
 gap -i berân k -ay
 stone pl demolished make 2

When morning came, [the king] ordered [Turdalay]: "Demolish this wall [the fort]!"

22.2 kerewa nok , berâna dâke .
 kere =wa nok berân =a dâk -e
 this.OBL =3 take.PST demolished =3 do.PST PSTPRF

He went [and] demolished it.

22.3 darwâzawa wânera kapók .
 darwâza =wa wânera kapók
 door =3 into.it dig.PST

He dug a pathway through it.

22.4 pâčâ ka aliyok , juče bu , ka aduwawa še
 pâčâ ka al- iyok juč -e bu ka a- duwa =wa še
 king COMP DIR.3 go.out.PST see 3 PROG COMP the daughter =3 one
 ǰowan gađi nóstoke .
 ǰowan gađi nóstok -e
 young.man with sit.down.PST 3

When the king went out [from his rooms], he sees: his daughter sitting with some young man.

22.5 apâčâ fekr dâk : " bačawa dam ki !
 a- pâčâ fekr dâk bača =wa dam k -i
 the king thought do.PST child =3 cursed make 3

The king thought: "Damnation!"

22.6 kere če rang kam ?".
 kere če rang *k -am
 this.OBL what manner make 1SG

What shall I do?"

23.1 erzâk , kutordalaya ge erwólok .
 er- *zâk ku- tordalay =a ge er- wólok
 DIR.1 come.PST ACC Turdalay =3 also DIR.1 bring.PST

[The king] came, Turdalay was also brought.

23.2 tordalay alyok , ka " tub yok , ka " az duwa nak
 tordalay al- yok ka tu =b yok ka az duwa nak
 Turdalay DIR.3 say.PST COMP 2PL =PROG say.PST COMP 1SG daughter not
 darim ".
 dar -im
 have 1SG

Turdalay said to him: "You said: 'I have no daughter'.

23.3 éna ta r tu a du 'wa az payd .
 éna tu a- dúwa az paydâ dâk
 so 2PL the daughter 1SG found do.PST

See, I have found your daughter.

23.4 a wâadat ka dâke , kufówa rasew !"
 a wâad =at ka dâk -e kufó =wa rasew
 this promised =2PL COMP do.PST PSTPRF that.OBL =3 arrives

Now keep the promise that you made".

23.5 ende di âpâčâ pa qâr šuk , ka " na , " erzey kere
 ende di â- pâčâ pa qâr *šuk ka na er- zey kere
 here from the king INSTR anger become.PST COMP no DIR.1 come this.OBL
 tordalay wožnawe !".
 tordalay wožnaw -e
 Turdalay kill 3

At this the king became enraged. "No, better now to kill this Turdalay!"

24.1 awazir o awakili ayn alyok , ka " na , tub
 a- wazir o a- wakili ayn al- yok ka na tu =b
 the vizier and the advisers these.NOM DIR.3 say.PST COMP no 2PL =PROG
 , ka kere wožnew , sabâb dawlate ne badnâm son .
 ka kere wožnew sabâ =b dawlat -e ne bad nâm *s -on
 COMP this.OBL kill tomorrow =PROG wealth OBL in bad name become 2

[His] ministers and advisers said to him: "No, if you kill him, tomorrow you will be disgraced in [your] country.

24.2 na , tu ša kâr kon , ka kere ki tu šart gon , ka "

na tu ša kâr k -on ka kere ki tu šart g -on ka

no 2PL thus action make 2 COMP this.OBL to 2PL condition put 2 COMP

tar mun ašo š .

mun a- šo šart y -e

me the three condition COP 3

No, do this: set him a condition. [Say to him]: "I have three conditions.

24.3 kere tu pa jây kon , ka az kutu ki ta xoy

kere tu pa jây k -on ka az ku- tu ki ta xoy

this.OBL 2PL INSTR place make 2 COMP 1SG ACC 2PL to GEN oneself

kuduwa daršam .

ku- duwa dar- *š -am

ACC daughter DIR.2 give 1SG

You must fulfil them for me to give you my daughter".

24.4 ar yok : doróst ye .

ar- yok doróst y -e

DIR.1 say.PST perfect COP 3

He [Turdalay] said: "Done!" (lit. "Correct").

25.1 kutordalay pãčã žayok , ta xoy aduwa ge žayok , ka "

ku- tordalay pãčã žayok ta xoy a- duwa ge žayok ka

ACC Turdalay king ask.PST GEN oneself the daughter also ask.PST COMP

šer !

šer

good

The king summoned Turdalay and summoned his daughter also. [He said:] "Very well.

25.2 tu , xo , tar mun ad úwa p ayda , dâk, lé kin t ar

tu xo mun a- dúwa paydâ dâk lékin mun a- duwa šo

2PL indeed me the daughter found do.PST however me the daughter three

mun a du wa šo s .

šart be ge dar -í

condition other also have 3

You found my daughter, but my daughter has three more conditions.

25.3 še šartamat pa jây dâk , šo šarti be ge

še šart =am =at pa jây dâk šo šart -i be ge

one condition =1SG =2PL INSTR place do.PST three condition pl other also

pa jây kon !

pa jây k -on

INSTR place make 2

You have fulfilled [only] one condition of mine. Fulfil [all] three conditions.

25.4 kere šo šartat ka pa j̄ay dāk , az bu kutu
 kere šo šart =at ka pa j̄ay dāk az bu ku- tu
 this.OBL three condition =2PL COMP INSTR place do.PST 1SG PROG ACC 2PL
 ki kudúwa ta xoy daršam ".
 ki ku- dúwa ta xoy dar- *š -am
 to ACC daughter GEN ownself DIR.2 give 1SG

When you have fulfilled these three conditions, I will give you my daughter”.

26.1 ar̄yok bu , ka " zot šer e !
 ar- yok bu ka zot šer e
 DIR.1 say.PST PROG COMP very good COP

He said to him: “Very good!

26.2 raw eryoš !"
 raw er- yoš
 soon DIR.1 say

Tell me more quickly!”

26.3 (tordalay ar̄yok , ka " raw yoš kumun ki , ka az bu
 tordalay ar- yok ka raw yoš ku- mun ki ka az bu
 Turdalay DIR.1 say.PST COMP soon say ACC me to COMP 1SG PROG
 ta xoy ašart pa j̄ay kam ").
 ta xoy a- šart pa j̄ay *k -am
 GEN ownself the condition INSTR place make 1SG

(Turdalay said to him: “Tell me more quickly, so that I may perform what is required”) (lit. your conditions).

26.4 " tar mun a awal šar t en á ye ka tu ta akba ... (° č á... (
 mun a- awal šart ená y -e ka tu ta akbar p̄áčā še p̄áčā
 me the first condition so COP 3 COMP 2PL GEN Akbar king one king
 š , p̄áč á ye, akbar pa) čā n̄ama ye) tafó ku
 y -e akbar p̄áčā n̄am =a y -e tafó ku- xazâna ku- mun ki
 COP 3 Akbar king name =3 COP 3 that.GEN ACC treasury ACC me to
 xazâ , a kumun k , erwar, a ".
 er- *war a dawlat =a a- rupé -i =wa
 DIR.1 bring this wealth =3 the rupee pl =3

The king said to him:] “This is my first condition: Bring me the treasury of Akbar Pacha (there is [a certain] king, his name is Akbar Pacha) [all his] wealth, money”.

27.1 a yok : " šer ".
 a yok šer
 this say.PST good

He said: "Right"

27.2 ende di rāyi šuk , ála alá .
ende di rāyi *šuk ála alá
here from sent become.PST so so

He set off thence on his way.

27.3 ta pāčā eduwa kiwa yok : " az bu tsam .
ta pāčā e- duwa ki =wa yok az bu *ts -am
GEN king ACC daughter to =3 say.PST 1SG PROG go 1SG

He said to the king's daughter: "I am going away,

27.4 az bu erzeyom , der bu nak kam .
az bu er- zey -om der bu nak *k -am
1SG PROG DIR.1 come 1SG detained PROG not make 1SG

[but] I shall come [soon], I shall not stay long (lit. "I shall not detain [you]").

27.5 juǎ , ka wārxatā nak so !"
juǎ ka wārxatā nak *s -o
see COMP frightened not become 2

Look, don't be upset!"

27.6 a yok ka : " šer ".
a yok ka šer
this say.PST COMP good

She said: "All right".

28.1 ende di rāyi šuk .
ende di rāyi *šuk
here from sent become.PST

[And he] left there.

28.2 artsok ... ala ala ala , ka ta akbar pāčā eǎr ki rasok .
ar- tsok ala ala ala ka ta akbar pāčā e- ǎr ki rasok
DIR.1 go.PST so so so COMP GEN Akbar king ACC city to arrive.PST

He walked and walked until he reached the town [of Akbar Pacha].

28.3 ende še daryáw e , ka tar , áx , tar tos, t [re dar], w [
ende še daryáw e ka máx tos tare daryaw yondak ka a
here one river COP COMP 1PL 2PL GEN river like COMP this
yonda -[,] a a t araf-[ta] ak b , r p áča - ax ǎ r e, a
taraf ta akbar pāčā a- ǎr e afo taraf ta xoy xálak
direction GEN Akbar king the city COP that.NOM direction GEN oneself people
f .
e
COP

Here the river [is like] our, your [or] his river. On this side is the town of Akbar Pacha [himself], on that side is that of his subjects (lit. 'his people').

28.4 arzâk ende ki , [ta] pol esar [že] darok .
ar- zâk ende ki ta pol e- sar že darok
DIR.1 come.PST here to GEN bridge ACC front on stand.PST

He came here, stopped by the bridge.

28.5 " če waxt e ?
 če waxt e
 what time COP

[He thought:] "What is the time (now)?"

28.6 mâxâm e .
 mâxâm e
 twilight COP

It is [already] evening.

28.7 daryaw ge mast e .
 daryaw ge mast e
 river also drunk COP

[But] the river is [like] a lunatic (lit. a drunk);

28.8 be ta pol bu ge kok ter nak se ".
 be ta pol bu ge kok ter nak *s -e
 without GEN bridge PROG also one passed not become 3

without a bridge no one could cross.

29.1 payradâr ki zâk .
 payradâr ki zâk
 sentry to come.PST

He went up to the sentry.

29.2 payradâr yók : " godab tso ?"
 payradâr yók goda =b *ts -o
 sentry say.PST where =PROG go 2

The sentry said: "Where are you going?"

29.3 yók : " ta akbar pâčâ eẓâr ki tsam ".
 yók ta akbar pâčâ e- ẓâr ki *ts -am
 say.PST GEN Akbar king ACC city to go 1SG

(He) said: "I am going to the town of Akbar Pacha".

29.4 a arȳok , ka " tu kočwâlâ yon yâ bekoč on ?"
 a ar- yók ka tu kočwâlâ yon yâ be koč on
 this DIR.1 say.PST COMP 2PL nomad COP.2 or without nomad COP.2

(The sentry) said to him: "Are you a nomad or not a nomad?"

29.5 arɣok , ka " na , bekoč om ".
ar- yok ka na be koč om
DIR.1 say.PST COMP no without nomad COP.1SG

(He) said to him: "No, I am not a nomad".

29.6 yoše bu , ka " mâx bu kubekočwâlâ kok nak gen .
yoš -e bu ka mâx bu ku- be kočwâlâ kok nak g -en
say 3 PROG COMP 1PL PROG ACC without nomad one not allow 1PL

(The sentry) [also] says: "We do not admit non-nomads.

29.7 pa ar rây , ka arzâkone , pets tso !".
pa ar rây ka ar- zâk -on -e pets *ts -o
INSTR every road COMP DIR.1 come.PST 2 PSTPRF after go 2

By which route (lit. 'by whichever route') you have come, return by it!"

30.1 ša pabega artsawok , ka tare daryaw ezey neb
ša pabega ar- tsawok ka tare daryaw e- zey ne =b
thus above DIR.1 go.PST COMP GEN river ACC river.bank in =PROG
juḫe ša lox daroke – pa qodrate xodây !
juḫ -e ša lox darok -e pa xodây
see 3 thus reed stand.PST 3 INSTR God

(He) began to get up, [when suddenly] he sees – on the other bank of the river (there are) such [thickets] of reed that – my God!

30.2 – ka mak kon poḫtena !
ka mak k -on poḫtena
COMP not make 2 question

– [better] not to ask!

30.3 ab naya nok , šo geḏaya draw dâk .
a =b nay =a nok šo geḏay =a draw dâk
this =PROG reed =3 take.PST three bundle =3 harvested do.PST

He went and cut the reeds [into] three rafts [lit. 'three bundles'].

30.4 kere awwal geḏaya kere daryawe ne banok .
kere awwal geḏay =a kere daryaw -e ne banok
this.OBL first bundle =3 this.OBL river OBL in throw.PST

He let (lit. 'threw') the first [empty] raft go down the river.

30.5 če rang ka ta akbar pãčã ekere xâr ki arzâk ,
 če rang ka ta akbar pãčã e- kere xâr ki ar- zâk
 what manner COMP GEN Akbar king ACC this.OBL city to DIR.1 come.PST
 pabega di ta top o mãšindâr o malteḡ awâr šuk .
 pabega di ta top o mãšindâr o malteḡ a- wâr *šuk
 above from GEN cannon and guns and muskets the time become.PST

As soon as (it) floated to the town of Akbar Pacha, it was fired upon from above from cannon, guns, muskets.

30.6 fayra wãžera šuk – ěč ge nak buk .
 fayr =a wãžera *šuk ěč ge nak buk
 fired =3 on.it become.PST anything also not be.PST

They opened fire on it – all in vain (lit. ‘it was nothing’).

31.1 kere bewa petsa diwa banok .
 kere be =wa petsa di =wa banok
 this.OBL other =3 after from =3 throw.PST

He let a second [raft of reeds] go immediately after this one.

31.2 apayradâri ḡošeb : če šay e ?
 a- payradâr -i ḡoš -e =b če šay e
 the sentry pl say 3 =PROG what thing COP

The sentries say [one to another]: “Whatever is that?”

31.3 siyâyi ye ?
 siyâ -yi y -e
 black pl COP 3

Something black?”

31.4 man kutse ken ?
 man ku- tse k -en
 then ACC what make 1PL

What shall we do?

31.5 yona nak kon !
 yon =a nak k -on
 lost =3 not make 2

It [surely] is not worth any attention.

31.6 kere že ke kãrtúsi ge xarġ ken bemonãseb ?".
 kere že ke kãrtús -i ge k -en be monãseb
 this.OBL on why cartridge pl also make 1PL other need

Why waste bullets on it?”

32.1 a kere šowom geḍay sar ta nay ka nóstok , rásán artsawok
 a kere šowom geḍay sar ta nay ka nóstok rásán ar- tsawok
 this this.OBL third bundle top GEN reed COMP sit.down.PST at.once DIR.1 go.PST

When he got on to the third raft of reeds, he floated at once

32.2 ta akbar páčã exâr ki rasok , ka xazâna buk .
 ta akbar páčã e- xâr ki rasok ka xazâna buk
 GEN Akbar king ACC city to arrive.PST COMP treasury be.PST

(and) reached the town of Akbar Pacha, where (its) treasury was.

32.3 awal dzom šuk kere geḍaya wotok ta nay .
 awal dzom *šuk kere geḍay =a wotok ta nay
 first lowered become.PST this.OBL bundle =3 put.PST GEN reed

First, he got off [from the raft], put this raft of reeds [on the bank].

32.4 ala ala ala , xwâriwa dâk , dâk , dâk .
 ala ala ala xwâri =wa dâk dâk dâk
 so so so toiled =3 do.PST do.PST do.PST

And for a long time he toiled:

32.5 kere dewâla yâr dâk .
 kere dewâl =a yâr dâk
 this.OBL wall =3 hole do.PST

he made a hole in this [town] wall.

32.6 artsawok , dâmana ta xoy erope diya – ar šay
 ar- tsawok dâman =a ta xoy e- rope di =ya ar šay
 DIR.1 go.PST hem =3 GEN oneself ACC rupee from =3 every thing
 ka buk , ta akbar páčã exazâna ne – kudâmana dak dâk .
 ka buk ta akbar páčã e- xazâna ne ku- dâman =a dak dâk
 COMP be.PST GEN Akbar king ACC treasury in ACC hem =3 do.PST do.PST

He went, he filled the skirts [of his clothing] with money – with everything that was in the treasury of Akbar Pacha.

32.7 pets arzâk keré geḍay sar nóstok .
 pets ar- zâk keré geḍay sar nóstok
 after DIR.1 come.PST this.OBL bundle top sit.down.PST

He came back, got onto this raft.

33.1 a taraf ka ter šuk daryaw di , arzâk pâčâ ki ,
 a taraf ka ter *šuk daryaw di ar- zâk pâčâ ki
 this direction COMP passed become.PST river from DIR.1 come.PST king to
 ka " éna hay ta akbar pâčâ adawlat , ka tu kumun di
 ka éna hay ta akbar pâčâ a- dawlat ka tu ku- mun di
 COMP so COP.2PL GEN Akbar king the wealth COMP 2PL ACC me from
 žayok buk ".
 žayok buk
 ask.PST be.PST

He floated across the river to this side, came to the king: "Here is (all) the wealth of Akbar Pacha, which you demanded of me".

33.2 ende a yok , ka " piri če rang kam ?
 ende a yok ka piri če rang *k -am
 here this say.PST COMP now what manner make 1SG

Then he [the king] said [to himself]: "What shall I do now?"

33.3 kerewa , xo , erwólok "; yošeb : " na , a gaštá
 kere =wa xo er- wólok yoš -e =b na a gaštá
 this.OBL =3 indeed DIR.1 bring.PST say 3 =PROG no this time
 tso pets , berâdar , kumun ki do xešt ta tellâ , ta akbar pâčâ ,
 *ts -o pets berâdar ku- mun ki do xešt ta tellâ ta akbar pâčâ
 go 2 back brother ACC me to two brick GEN gold GEN Akbar king
 erwar !"
 er- *war
 DIR.1 bring

[For] he has brought this [the money of Akbar Pacha]". [And lo] he says [to Turdalay]; "No, this time, brother, go back, bring me two bars of gold from Akbar Pacha.

33.4 be arzâk ta pâčâ eduwa ki .
 be ar- zâk ta pâčâ e- duwa ki
 then DIR.1 come.PST GEN king ACC daughter to

Again he went to the king's daughter.

33.5 yoka ta xoy nâk ki , ka " az bu tsam , a gaštak âsân
 yok =a ta xoy nâk ki ka az bu *ts -am a gaštak âsân
 say.PST =3 GEN ownself wife to COMP 1SG PROG go 1SG this time easy
 e .
 e
 COP

He said to his [future] wife: "I am going away. This time [it will be] easy.

33.6 eč warxatâ mak so , raw bu arzéyom ".
 eč warxatâ mak *s -o raw bu ar- zéy -om
 any frightened not become 2 soon PROG DIR.1 come 1SG

Don't worry! I will soon come back.

34.1 be wal di ka râyi šuk , arzâk .
 be wal di ka râyi *šuk ar- zâk
 again there from COMP sent become.PST DIR.1 come.PST

He set off again from there. He arrived.

34.2 mâxâm kere pol ki rasok .
 mâxâm kere pol ki rasok
 twilight this.OBL bridge to arrive.PST

In the evening he approached this bridge.

34.3 endé payradâr nâk wotok .
 endé payradâr nâk wotok
 here sentry not allow.PST

(And) here the sentry stopped him.

34.4 tordalay aryok , ka " az kočwâlâ yom ".
 tordalay ar- yok ka az kočwâlâ y -om
 Turdalay DIR.1 say.PST COMP 1SG nomad COP 1SG

Turdalay said to him: "I am a nomad".

34.5 yošeb , ka " kočwâlâ yâ bekočwâlâ – tare pârak ka ta
 yoš -e =b ka kočwâlâ yâ be kočwâlâ tare pârak ka ta
 say 3 =PROG COMP nomad or other nomad GEN for COMP GEN
 akbar pâčâ xazâna yal dzóke , kukok bu xâr ki wânera – panéxta nak
 akbar pâčâ xazâna yal dzók -e ku- kok bu xâr ki wânera panéxta nak
 Akbar king treasury thief beat PSTPRF ACC one PROG city to into.it outside not
 gen ".
 g -en
 allow 1PL

[And he] says: "Whether [you are] a nomad or not, (but) as the treasury of Akbar Pacha has been stolen, we do not let anyone into the town or out of it".

35.1 pets arzâke .
 pets ar- zâk -e
 back DIR.1 come.PST PSTPRF

He came back;

35.2 be ende kere náye ki , daróke ..
 be ende kere náy -e ki darók -e
 again here this.OBL reed OBL to stand.PST PSTPRF

he again stopped before [the thickets of] reed.

35.3 ala ala ala , kereya draw dâke , bewa šo geḍay tayâr
ala ala ala kere =ya draw dâk -e be =wa šo geḍay tayâr
so so so this.OBL =3 harvested do.PST PSTPRF then =3 three bundle raft
dâke
dâk -e
do.PST PSTPRF

He cut some of it, again made three rafts.

35.4 ende ka arzak , ka še geḍaya banóke , be pabega
ende ka ar- zak ka še geḍay =a banók -e be pabega
here COMP DIR.1 come.PST COMP one bundle =3 throw.PST 3 again above
di [ta] maltey o ta top o mâšindâra fayr šúke ,
di ta maltey o ta top o mâšindâr =a fayr šúk -e
from GEN muskets and GEN cannon and guns =3 fired become.PST PSTPRF
bambarí šúke
bambarí šúk -e
bombs become.PST PSTPRF

When he came here [to the bank] (and) let it go [down the river], one raft was again shot at from above from guns, cannon and ordnance (and) showered with bombs.

35.5 ka jǔḡeb : éna yrâs náyi padzóma kib dange
ka jǔḡ -e =b éna yrâs náy -i pa dzóma ki =b dang -e
COMP look 3 =PROG so black reed pl INSTR below to =PROG run 3

[The guards] again see – something black (here: ‘black reed’) is floating down [with the current].

35.6 ayn šer fekr dâk : " a če šáy e ?"
ayn šer fekr dâk a če šáy e
these.NOM good thought do.PST this what thing COP

They thought as follows: “Whatever is that?”

35.7 yošeb : " wallâ !
yoš -e =b wallâ
say 3 =PROG by.God

“By God, – they say

35.8 eč ge nak e ".
eč ge nak e
any also not COP

it is nothing after all”.

36.1 dowomín á petsa di banok .
 dowomín á petsa di banok
 second this after from throw.PST

[Then] he let the second raft go [down the river].

36.2 šeran ša fekr dâk , ka " na , a , xo , še , giyâ ye ,
 šer =an ša fekr dâk ka na a xo še giyâ y -e
 good =1PL thus thought do.PST COMP no this indeed one grass COP 3
 ter bu se daryawe ne .
 ter bu *s -e daryaw -e ne
 passed PROG become 3 river OBL in

They [again] thought as follows: "No, it is [some sort of] grass floating down the river!

36.3 če yalat šúkene ".
 če yalat šúk -en -e
 what mistaken become.PST 1PL PSTPRF

[Earlier], it seems, we were mistaken".

37.1 kere šowomin ne be suwâr šuk ... ka suwâr šuk ,
 kere šowomin ne be suwâr *šuk ka suwâr *šuk
 this.OBL third in again mounted become.PST COMP mounted become.PST
 erzâk , erzâk .
 er- *zâk er- *zâk
 DIR.1 come.PST DIR.1 come.PST

[Turdalay] got on to the third [raft]. He got on, floated and floated

37.2 be gašta afo xâr ki rasok kere wóke ne .
 be gašta afo xâr ki rasok kere wók -e ne
 again time that.NOM city to arrive.PST this.OBL water OBL in

and for the second time he arrived in that town on this river.

37.3 ka arzâk , ende abege ne kunaya wótok .
 ka ar- zâk ende a- beg -e ne ku- nay =a wótok
 COMP DIR.1 come.PST here the raised OBL in ACC reed =3 put.PST

When he arrived, he laid his raft (here 'the reed') on the bank (lit. 'above').

37.4 kere jây be yâr dâk .
 kere jây be yâr dâk
 this.OBL place again hole do.PST

He again made a hole here [in the wall].

37.5 artsawok .
 ar- tsawok
 DIR.1 go.PST

He went [into the town].

37.6 šo xešt yâ do xešt ka ta tellâ buk , kfowa ta xoy
šo xešt yâ do xešt ka ta tellâ buk kfo =wa ta xoy
three brick or two brick COMP GEN gold be.PST that.OBL =3 GEN ownself
dâmane ne nok .
dâman -e ne nok
hem 3 in take.PST

He took two or three gold bars into his skirt hem.

37.7 guĵi kere yâr di nayok .
guĵi kere yâr di nayok
only this.OBL hole from go.out.PST

He went out through exactly the same hole.

37.8 kere naye sar nóstok .
kere nay e- sar nóstok
this.OBL reed ezafe top sit.down.PST

He got on to the raft of reeds.

37.9 pets arzâk , daryaw di ter šuk .
pets ar- zâk daryaw di ter *šuk
back DIR.1 come.PST river from passed become.PST

He floated back. He went across the river.

37.10 kerewa xunkâr pâčâ ki banok : " a ta akbar pâčâ ye , a
kere =wa xunkâr pâčâ ki banok a ta akbar pâčâ y -e a
this.OBL =3 bloody king to throw.PST this GEN Akbar king COP 3 this
xešt "
xešt
brick

He brought (here: 'laid') them [i.e. the gold bars] to the "blood-shedding" king; "These are the [gold] bars of Akbar Pacha".

38.1 [afo yok]: " bačawa dam ki !
afo yok bača =wa dam *k -i
that.NOM say.PST child =3 cursed make 2

[The latter exclaimed]: "Damnation!

38.2 guša a , xo , ge nak šuk !
guša a xo ge nak *šuk
thus this indeed also not become.PST

Again it has not worked out!

38.3 xo , a gašt tso – ena šart tar mun ye – ok e – t
 xo a gašt *ts -o ena šart mun yezok -e ta akbar
 indeed this time go 2 so condition me remain.PST PSTPRF GEN Akbar
 a akbar pa °ča ° ta na °k akawc ˇi su ku !"
 pãčã ta nãk a- kawči su ku- mun ki er- *war
 king GEN wife the lock.of.hair SBJV ACC me to DIR.1 bring

Right, this time get going – [this is] my [last] remaining condition – and bring me a lock of hair [from the head] of the wife of Akbar Pacha!"

38.4 a yok : " šer e ".
 a yok šer e
 this say.PST good COP

[Turdalay] said: "Very well".

38.5 pets arzãke , ta xoy kere nãk kiwa
 pets ar- zãk -e ta xoy kere nãk ki =wa
 back DIR.1 come.PST PSTPRF GEN ownself this.OBL wife to =3
 yoke , ka " a gašt tar m un o tar tu ad id ".
 yok -e ka a gašt mun o tu a- didan nak da y -e
 say.PST PSTPRF COMP this time me and 2PL the sight not EMPH COP 3

He went back, [but before that] he said to his [future] wife: "This time we shall not meet again".

38.6 yok , ka " če rang ?"
 yok ka če rang
 say.PST COMP what manner

(She) said: "Why?"

38.7 – " a saxt didan šuk , taré pãrak , ka a šarta saxt
 a saxt didan *šuk taré pãrak ka a šart =a saxt
 this hard sight become.PST GEN for COMP this condition =3 hard
 šuk ".
 *šuk
 become.PST

"It is difficult to meet, because this condition of his is a very difficult one."

39.1 ende di ka artsawók , bewa kere daryawe ne kere lox
 ende di ka ar- tsawók be =wa kere daryaw -e ne kere lox
 here from COMP DIR.1 go.PST then =3 this.OBL river OBL in this.OBL reed
 banok .
 banok
 throw.PST

And so he went away, again threw [a raft of] reed into the river.

39.2 endé di rāyi šuk , ta akbar pāčā eḡār ki rasok .
 endé di rāyi *šuk ta akbar pāčā e- ḡār ki rasok
 here from sent become.PST GEN Akbar king ACC city to arrive.PST

He set off, reached the town of Akbar Pacha.

39.3 ende be payradār nāk wotok .
 ende be payradār nāk wotok
 here again sentry not allow.PST

Here the sentry again did not allow [him into the town].

39.4 bewa lóxi ta xoy draw dāk .
 be =wa lóx -i ta xoy draw dāk
 then =3 reed pl GEN ownself harvested do.PST

[Then] he again cut himself some reeds [for three rafts].

39.5 kere še loxa banok , kere bewa banok , kere be sar
 kere še lox =a banok kere be =wa banok kere be sar
 this.OBL one reed =3 throw.PST this.OBL other =3 throw.PST this.OBL other top
 suwār šuk .
 suwār *šuk
 mounted become.PST

One raft (here ‘reed’) he let go [down the river], he let a second go, but [he himself] got on to the other one.

40.1 be kere ḡār ki ka artsawok buk , xodāy ki ḡoš , keré ḡār ki
 be kere ḡār ki ka ar- tsawok buk xodāy ki ḡoš keré ḡār ki
 again this.OBL hole to COMP DIR.1 go.PST be.PST God to say this.OBL hole to
 barābar dāk .
 barābar dāk
 equal do.PST

When he went again to the hole [in the wall], praise God (lit. ‘speak [thanks] to God’), [that] he had again guided him [directly] to the hole.

40.2 awār ka kere xazāna ḡār dāk , wal artsawak .
 a- wār ka kere xazāna ḡār dāk wal ar- tsawak
 the time COMP this.OBL treasury hole do.PST there DIR.1 go.PST

(And) this time, when he had made an opening into the treasury, he entered (lit. ‘went’) there.

40.3 ka jūḡe bu : akbar pāčā ŵo anāka še čārpāyi sar xaw
 ka jūḡ -e bu akbar pāčā ŵo a- nāk =a še čārpāyi sar xaw
 COMP see 3 PROG Akbar king and the wife =3 one bed top sleep
 dāke .
 dāk -e
 do.PST PSTPRF

He sees: Akbar Pacha is asleep in bed with his wife.

40.4 a yok , ka " piri če rang kam ?"
a yok ka piri če rang *k -am
this say.PST COMP now what manner make 1SG

He said [to himself]: "What am I to do now?"

40.5 âxer nak šuk , desta ta xoy jibe ne dâk ,
âxer nak *šuk dest =a ta xoy jib -e ne dâk
in.the.end not become.PST hand =3 GEN ownself pocket OBL in do.PST
qayčiwa nawólok .
qayči =wa nawólok
scissors =3 pull.out.PST

Nothing remained but to put his hand in his pocket; he pulled out the scissors.

40.6 kere kawčiwa ta akbar ta pâčâ ta nâk nok , – káčkačiwa
kere kawči =wa ta akbar ta pâčâ ta nâk nok káčkači =wa
this.OBL lock.of.hair =3 GEN Akbar GEN king GEN wife take.PST cut =3
dâk .
dâk
do.PST

He took hold of a lock of hair of Akbar Pacha's wife (and) cut it off.

41.1 kerewa , ka qači dâk , a ende di nayók , kurâya
kere =wa ka qači dâk a ende di nayók ku- rây =a
this.OBL =3 COMP cut do.PST this here from go.out.PST ACC road =3
yalat dâk , ... ka " az pa tsen rây arzâkom ?"
yalat dâk ka az pa tsen rây ar- zâk -om
lost do.PST COMP 1SG INSTR which road DIR.1 come.PST 1SG

When he had cut (it and) got out of there, he lost his way: "By which road did I come [here]?"

41.2 a , ka râya yalat dâk , kučay ne sam šuk .
a ka rây =a yalat dâk kuča -y ne sam *šuk
this COMP road =3 lost do.PST street OBL in become.PST

When he lost his way, he found himself in [a] street.

41.3 ka wal še zariyak spoke bekâra buk , afo pa yaw-yaw
ka wal še zariyak spok e- bekâra buk afo pa yaw-yaw
COMP there one small dog ezafe stray be.PST that.NOM INSTR woof-woof
šuk .
*šuk
become.PST

When a small stray dog appeared (lit. 'was') there, it began to bark [at him].

41.4 payradâr desti dangok , kerewa mâkam [nok], kutordalaya
 payradâr dest -i dangok kere =wa mâkam nok ku- tordalay =a
 sentry hand pl run.PST this.OBL =3 tight take.PST ACC Turdalay =3
 nok
 nok
 take.PST

Immediately a guard ran up, arrested him – seized Turdalay.

42.1 kutordalaya ka nok , awâla pâčâ ki rasawok , ka " ena
 ku- tordalay =a ka nok awâl =a pâčâ ki rasawok ka ena
 ACC Turdalay =3 COMP take.PST first =3 king to bring.PST COMP so
 hay !
 hay
 COP.2PL

When he had seized Turdalay, he reported to the king about him: "Here he is (lit. 'here it is')!"

42.2 ende kere dawlate ne , ka ar tsun yle šuk buk kere
 ende kere dawlat -e ne ka ar tsun yle *šuk buk kere
 here this.OBL wealth OBL in COMP every some stolen become.PST be.PST this.OBL
 ǰâr ta r , u di, k uýala ".
 ǰâr tu di ku- ýal =an nók -e
 city 2PL from ACC thief =1PL take.PST 3

Here, in this realm, in which so much has been stolen from your town, we have caught the thief!"

42.3 ýošeb : " tosa sar ki sâtay !".
 ýoš -e =b tos =a sar ki sât -ay
 say 3 =PROG 2PL =3 morning to keep 2

[Akbar Pacha] says: "Guard him till morning!"

43.1 sar ka šuk , kutordalaya žayok , " čerangat
 sar ka *šuk ku- tordalay =a žayok če rang =at
 morning COMP become.PST ACC Turdalay =3 call.PST what manner =2PL
 yle dâk ?
 yle dâk
 theft do.PST

When morning came, he demanded of Turdalay: "How did you commit the theft?"

43.2 tordalay ta xoy kuaqiqat o arâxa yok , ka " eni šá : az
 tordalay ta xoy ku- aqiqat o a- râxa yok ka eni šá az
 Turdalay GEN ownself ACC and the truth say.PST COMP so thus 1SG
 ta xunkar pâčâ edúwa sar âšoq bukom .
 ta xunkar pâčâ e- dúwa sar âšoq buk -om
 GEN bloody king ACC daughter top love be.PST 1SG

Turdalay told him the whole truth: “This is how: I was in love with the daughter of the “blood-shedding” king.

43.3 afo kumun ki ša γok , ka " tu tso , ta akbar pãčã
afo ku- mun ki ša γok ka tu *ts -o ta akbar pãčã
that.NOM ACC me to thus say.PST COMP 2PL go 2 GEN Akbar king
kudawlat kumun ki arwar !
ku- dawlat ku- mun ki ar- *war
ACC wealth ACC me to DIR.1 bring

He said this to me: ‘Go and bring me the riches of Akbar Pacha!

43.4 šo šart pa jãý kon !" !"
šo šart pa jãý k -on
three condition INSTR place make 2

Fulfil three conditions’.

43.5 axer šarta ená buk , ka ta r tu t a nãk aqa .
axer šart =a ená buk ka tu ta nãk a- qawči buk
last condition =3 so be.PST COMP 2PL GEN wife the lock.of.hair be.PST

His last condition was this – [to cut off] a lock [from the head] of your wife.

43.6 ka xodãwande ãlam rãý kumun di γalat dãk , az be kuča ki
ka xodãwand e- ãlam rãý ku- mun di γalat dãk az be kuča ki
COMP ruler ezafe world road ACC me from lost do.PST 1SG other street to
aliyokom .
al- iyok -om
DIR.3 go.out.PST 1SG

As the ruler of the world made me lose my way, I found myself on a different road

43.7 ena spok tar tos γaw- γawa .
ena spok tos γaw γaw =a dãk
so dog 2PL woof woof =3 do.PST

and then your dog began to bark [at me]

43.8 payradãr kumun nok .
payradãr ku- mun nok
sentry ACC me take.PST

(and) the guard arrested me.

43.9 wãya , yle az dãke inpãré šo šart .
wãya yle az dãk -e inpãré šo šart
yes theft 1SG do.PST PSTPRF because three condition

Yes, I committed the theft just because of these three conditions [of the king]”.

44.1 [afo] yok , ka " kere siyáčây ne banáy !
 afo yok ka kere siyâ čây ne ban -áy
 that.NOM say.PST COMP this.OBL black well in throw 2

[Akbar Pacha] said: "Throw him into a pit (lit. 'into a black well').

44.2 tare kâr bu ken ".
 tare kâr bu k -en
 GEN action PROG make 1PL

We will deal with him".

44.3 tsun waxt a siyáčây ne buk .
 tsun waxt a siyâ čây ne buk
 some time this black well in be.PST

For some time he was in the pit.

45.1 ende di tare xunkâr pâčâ , ta xunkâr pâčâ ta dúwa piri
 ende di tare xunkâr pâčâ ta xunkâr pâčâ ta dúwa piri
 here from GEN bloody king GEN bloody king GEN daughter now
 qesawab ken .
 qesa =wa =b k -en
 story =3 =PROG make 1PL

Then [again] let us tell of the "blood-shedding" king, of the king's daughter.

45.2 ksiwab ken .
 ksi =wa =b k -en
 speech =3 =PROG make 1PL

Let us speak of her.

45.3 ta xunkâr pâčâ adúwa ta xoy pe ki arzâk , ka "
 ta xunkâr pâčâ a- dúwa ta xoy pe ki ar- zâk ka
 GEN bloody king the daughter GEN oneself father to DIR.1 come.PST COMP
 o pe !
 o pe
 and father

The daughter of the "blood-shedding" king went to her father: "Father!

45.4 tar mun asa ř ay t u ko ?".
 mun a- sařay tu kots dâk
 me the man 2PL what do.PST

What have you done with my man?"

46.1 afo arɣok , ka " ta r tu as , r , y, xo, , ólok e,
 afo ar- ɣok ka tu a- saray xo mólok -e zinda nak
 that.NOM DIR.1 say.PST COMP 2PL the man indeed die.PST 3 alive not
 z ".
 e
 COP

He answered her: "Your man has already died, he is dead (lit. 'not alive')."

46.2 adúwa arɣok , ka " na , pe , az bu qattánat
 a- dúwa ar- ɣok ka na pe az bu qattán =at
 the daughter DIR.1 say.PST COMP no father 1SG PROG definitely =2PL
 bu nak gam , ka tar mun kusar , á y nak ".
 bu nak g -am ka mun ku- saráy nak ar- šer
 PROG not allow 1SG COMP me ACC man not DIR.1 give

The daughter said to him: "No, father, I am determined not to leave you [in peace] until you return my man to me".

46.3 âxer arɣoke , ka " ta r tu as ar , ay t a akbar
 âxer ar- ɣok -e ka tu a- saray ta akbar pãčã
 in.the.end DIR.1 say.PST 3 COMP 2PL the man GEN Akbar king
 pãča ° eban di xa .
 e- band -i xâna -y ne y -e
 ACC prison pl in COP 3

In the end he told her: "Your man is in Akbar Pacha's prison."

46.4 be góda nak e ".
 be góda nak e
 other where not COP

[He] is nowhere else".

47.1 a ɣok , ka " šer ".
 a ɣok ka šer
 this say.PST COMP good

She said: "All right [then]".

47.2 ende di yâsp sar suwâr šuk ... ala ala ala , ka wal ki rasok .
 ende di yâsp sar suwâr *šuk ala ala ala ka wal ki rasok
 here from horse top mounted become.PST so so so COMP there to arrive.PST

She immediately mounted a horse. And galloped [and] galloped [until] she got there.

47.3 moĵarráde ka a ta xunkâr pãĉã dúwab rasé ,
 moĵarráde ka a ta xunkâr pãĉã dúwa =b *ras -é
 during.this.time COMP this GEN bloody king daughter =PROG arrive 3
 kutordalaya siyaĉã di nawóloke , amr ta yaryarawa
 ku- tordalay =a siya ĉã di nawólok -e amr ta yaryara =wa
 ACC Turdalay =3 black well from pull.out.PST 3 ordered GEN hanged =3
 dâke ...
 dâk -e
 do.PST PSTPRF

During this time, while the “blood-shedding” king’s daughter was getting there, Turdalay was pulled out of the pit [and] the order was given to hang him.

48.1 yaryarawa nak dâke , spoka dâke .
 yaryara =wa nak dâk -e spok =a dâk -e
 hanged =3 not do.PST PSTPRF dog =3 do.PST PSTPRF

[But], it seems, they did not string him up on the gallows, – they gave him to the dog to be torn to pieces.

48.2 Akbar pãĉã yok , ka " yaryarawa mak kay !
 akbar pãĉã yok ka yaryara =wa mak k -ay
 Akbar king say.PST COMP hanged =3 not make 2

Akbar Pacha said: “Do not hang him

48.3 spoka kay " tare zot dewâna spok búke .
 spok =a k -ay tare zot dewâna spok búk -e
 dog =3 make 2 GEN very crazy dog be.PST 3

(but) give him to the dog”. He (Akbar Pacha) had a very fierce dog.

48.4 akbar pãĉã kusarayab ka darawok , elawab
 akbar pãĉã ku- saray =a =b ka darawok ela =wa =b
 Akbar king ACC man =3 =PROG COMP stand.PST released =3 =PROG
 dâk .
 dâk
 do.PST

When Akbar Pacha stood (this) man (Turdalay) [before him], he released it [from the chain].

48.5 kutordalay ende darawóke , berãdar , kfo taraf dib
 ku- tordalay ende darawók -e berãdar kfo taraf di =b
 ACC Turdalay here stand.PST PSTPRF brother that.OBL direction from =PROG
 kuspok ela ke .
 ku- spok ela k -e
 ACC dog released make 3

[And look], brother, they stood Turdalay [before Akbar Pacha], and from that direction they [already] let the dog go.

48.6 še sâte newab ɬoɬa ɬoɬa dâk , xolokabu .
 še sât -e ne =wa =b ɬoɬa ɬoɬa dâk xolok =a =bu
 one hour OBL in =3 =PROG tore tore do.PST eat.PST =3

For an hour it tore him to pieces, it bit (here: 'ate').

49.1 ende di ta xunkâr pãčã adúwa dest beg dâke xodây ki ,
 ende di ta xunkâr pãčã a- dúwa dest beg dâk -e xodây ki
 here from GEN bloody king the daughter hand raised do.PST PSTPRF God to
 ka " e xodây !
 ka e xodây
 COMP O God

Then the "blood-shedding" king's daughter raised her hands to God: "O God!

49.2 tu kere spok ta xoy mendze ne âyošta ki , ka ta
 tu kere spok ta xoy mendz -e ne *k -i ka ta
 2PL this.OBL dog GEN ownself middle OBL in make 2 COMP GEN
 xoy mendze ne sará xre , ka tordalay xalâs se ".
 xoy mendz -e ne xr -e ka tordalay xalâs *s -e
 ownself middle OBL in eat 3 COMP Turdalay freed become 3

Set this dog on the others, so that they will devour one another (and) so that Turdalay will be freed."

49.3 tare asawâl xodây qabul dâke , ta xoy mendze ne
 tare a- sawâl xodây qabul dâk -e ta xoy mendz -e ne
 GEN the question God approved do.PST PSTPRF GEN ownself middle OBL in
 sará čangaw šukine .
 čangaw šuk -in -e
 seized become.PST 3 3

God heard (lit. 'approved of') her request (lit. 'question'). [The dogs] seized one another.

50.1 a destí kuyâsp dangawóke .
 a dest -í ku- yâsp dangawók -e
 this hand pl ACC horse extend.PST PSTPRF

She immediately urged the horse on.

50.2 tordalay ki aryoke , ka " suwâr son !" .
 tordalay ki ar- yok -e ka suwâr *s -on
 Turdalay to DIR.1 say.PST 3 COMP mounted become 2

She said to Turdalay: "Come up!"

50.3 afoyn ta xoy mendze ne ɟang dâk .
 afoyn ta xoy mendz -e ne ɟang dâk
 those.NOM GEN ownself middle OBL in fought do.PST

And they (the dogs) began to fight among themselves.

50.4 a kutordalay ta xoy pošte ne suwâr dâk , – ta xunkar pâčâ
 a ku- tordalay ta xoy pošt -e ne suwâr dâk ta xunkar pâčâ
 this ACC Turdalay GEN ownself back OBL in mounted do.PST GEN bloody king
 adúwa .
 a- dúwa
 the daughter

She mounted Turdalay [on the horse] behind her.

51.1 ka tsun waxta berâdar , pets ta xoy pâčâyí ki rasawok .
 ka tsun waxta berâdar pets ta xoy pâčâyí ki rasawok
 COMP some times brother back GEN ownself kingdom to bring.PST

After a while, brother, she brought him back to her realm.

51.2 ta xoy pe kiwa yok , ka " ena asařayam e ".
 ta xoy pe ki =wa yok ka ena a- sařay =am e
 GEN ownself father to =3 say.PST COMP so the man =1SG COP

She said to her father: "Here is my man!"

51.3 wala desti kumollâ žayók .
 wal =a dest -i ku- mollâ žayók
 there =3 hand pl ACC mullah call.PST

Then he immediately called the mullah,

51.4 nekâwa tarok .
 nekâ =wa tarok
 marriage =3 tie.PST

performed the betrothal.

51.5 xodây tafo kumorâd wal alšawon , tar – âx – .
 xodây tafo ku- morâd wal al- *šaw -on mâx endé
 God that.GEN ACC desire there DIR.3 give 2 1PL here

May God grant their wish there and ours here.

Text 37

1.1 nâmunum mâmad e , wurmuř , ta akbar aklân um .
 nâm =um mâmad e wurmuř ta akbar a- klân um
 name =1SG Mamad COP Ormur GEN Akbar the boy COP.1SG

My name is Mamad. [I] am an Ormur, son of Akbar.

1.2 ta taqî ta qala nem tawallod šük .
 ta taqî ta qala ne =m tawallod šük
 GEN Taki GEN fort in =1SG born become.PST

I was born in the fort of Taki.

2.1 az šawk ta muṭarwāni drunuk , ka az kre yād násem .
 az šawk ta muṭarwāni drunuk ka az kre yād nás -em
 1SG inclination GEN car.driver have.PST COMP 1SG this.OBL knowledge take 1SG

[From childhood] I dreamt of learning to drive cars (lit. 'had an inclination for driving vehicles, to learn that').

2.2 az ka duṣṣak stor šükum , kre qesme ne y^waṣṣtakum
 az ka duṣṣak stor šük -um kre qesm -e ne y^waṣṣtak -um
 1SG COMP little great become.PST 1SG this.OBL profession OBL in
 , krem yād nok .
 kre =m yād nok
 this.OBL =1SG knowledge take.PST

When I grew up a little, I was in this profession, I learnt it.

2.3 kuwaxt tā pirnam (piri tomnakum) bu muṭarwāni dāk .
 ku- waxt tā pirna =m piri tomnak =um bu muṭarwāni dāk
 ACC time until until.now =1SG now until =1SG PROG car.driver do.PST

I have been driving cars up to now.

2.4 piri pa nisbat ta besarparasti ta ner kfo qesmum ela
 piri pa ta ta ner kfo qesm =um ela
 now INSTR GEN GEN house that.OBL profession =1SG released
 dāk , piri ner ne yum .
 dāk piri ner ne y -um
 do.PST now house in COP 1SG

Now, not having to think about farming (here: 'about the house'), I have left that profession. Now I [am] at home.

Text 38

1.1 az bu piri deqāni kem .
 az bu piri deqāni k -em
 1SG PROG now farming make 1SG

Now I am occupied with agriculture (lit. 'with farming').

1.2 kórđi ki bu wok aršérem .
 kórđi ki bu wok ar- šér -em
 fields to PROG water DIR.1 give 1SG

I irrigate plots of land (fields).

1.3 afo ka wátar šük , kfob qolba kem ,
 afo ka wátar šük kfo =b qolba k -em
 that.NOM COMP wet become.PST that.OBL =PROG ploughed make 1SG
 bewab mǎla kem .
 be =wa =b mǎla k -em
 then =3 =PROG harrowed make 1SG

When it [the land] has become moist, I plough and then harrow it.

2.1 beb tóxəm wǎne dzánem .
 be =b tóxəm wǎne dzán -em
 then =PROG seeds in.it beat 1SG

I throw seeds onto it.

2.2 bewab qulba kem , beb mǎla kem ,
 be =wa =b qulba k -em be =b mǎla k -em
 then =3 =PROG ploughed make 1SG then =PROG harrowed make 1SG
 beb wok aršérem .
 be =b wok ar- šér -em
 then =PROG water DIR.1 give 1SG

Then I plough them in [and] again harrow [and] again give water.

2.3 a ka stor-stor šük , beb wok aršérem .
 a ka stor stor *šük be =b wok ar- šér -em
 this COMP great great become.PST then =PROG water DIR.1 give 1SG

When it [the wheat] has grown, I again water [the field].

3.1 kreb draw kem .
 kre =b draw k -em
 this.OBL =PROG harvested make 1SG

[Then] I reap it,

3.2 bewab ʔol kem .
 be =wa =b ʔol k -em
 then =3 =PROG collected make 1SG

gather it in.

3.3 kreb irwárem , maydawab kem .
 kre =b ir- *wár -em mayda =wa =b k -em
 this.OBL =PROG DIR.1 bring 1SG small =3 =PROG make 1SG

I bring it [to the threshing-floor], thresh [it].

3.4 bewab bǎd kem .
 be =wa =b bǎd k -em
 then =3 =PROG winnowed make 1SG

Then I winnow it.

3.5 bewab ɣalbel kem
be =wa =b ɣalbel k -em
then =3 =PROG sifted make 1SG

Then I sift it through a galbel (sieve, bolter).

4.1 bewab ner ki irwarem
be =wa =b ner ki ir- *war -em
then =3 =PROG house to DIR.1 bring 1SG

Then I bring it home.

4.2 bewab pāk kem
be =wa =b pāk k -em
then =3 =PROG cleaned make 1SG

Then I clean it [of straw dust].

4.3 bewab åsyå ki ablem
be =wa =b åsyå ki *agl -em
then =3 =PROG mill to carry.off 1SG

Then I take it to the mill.

5.1 mårab kem , irwárema bu ner ki
mår =a =b k -em ir- *wár -em =a bu ner ki
flour =3 =PROG make 1SG DIR.1 bring 1SG =3 PROG house to

I grind it, bring it home.

5.2 bewab kanḍu ne jǎy kem
be =wa =b kanḍu ne jǎy k -em
then =3 =PROG big.container in place make 1SG

I put [it] in an earthen or wooden vessel – a kandu.

5.3 kreb řur ken
kre =b řur k -en
this.OBL =PROG mixed make 1PL

From it [i.e. from the flour] we knead dough,

5.4 kreb bižén , kreb be xren
kre =b biž -én kre =b be xr -en
this.OBL =PROG bake 1PL this.OBL =PROG then eat 1PL

bake [and] eat [the bread].

Text 39

1.1 mǎx ka mǎṛ nawúlak , xamiráb nasen , tsangǎlab
mǎx ka mǎṛ nawúlak xamirá =b nas -en tsangǎl =a =b
1PL COMP flour pull.out.PST yeast =PROG take 1PL smooth =3 =PROG
ken .
k -en
make 1PL

When we have got the flour, we take yeast, we knead it.

1.2 mǎṛ bu ṣur ken .
mǎṛ bu ṣur k -en
flour PROG mixed make 1PL

With the flour we make dough (mar xur dak).

2.1 mǎran ka ṣur dǎk , beb yor šilawén .
mǎṛ =an ka ṣur dǎk be =b yor šilaw -én
flour =1PL COMP mixed do.PST then =PROG fire light 1PL

We have made the dough – we light the fire.

2.2 yoran ka sǎf dǎk , bǎd tafob tandur pǎk
yor =an ka sǎf dǎk bǎd tafo =b tandur pǎk
fire =1PL COMP cleansed do.PST after that.GEN =PROG tandoor cleaned
ken , mǎṛ bu zyǎlá ken .
k -en mǎṛ bu zyǎlá k -en
make 1PL flour PROG divided make 1PL

The fire is smokeless (lit. ‘we have cleansed the fire’) – after this we clean the tandoor (the oven built in the ground), we divide the dough (lit. ‘the flour’) into portions.

3.1 zyǎlan ka dǎk , tandur newab dzánen , tandur bu
zyǎla =n ka dǎk tandur ne =wa =b dzán -en tandur bu
divided =1PL COMP do.PST tandoor in =3 =PROG beat 1PL tandoor PROG
šuš ken .
šuš k -en
heated make 1PL

We have divided into pieces – we temper (shush dak) the tandoor,

3.2 tandur newab dzánen , bižéna bu .
tandur ne =wa =b dzán -en biž -én =a bu
tandoor in =3 =PROG beat 1PL bake 1PL =3 PROG

we stick [the dough rolled out into a flat cake] to [the wall] of the tandoor, we bake it.

3.3 tandur diwáb nawáren , bewab xren .
tandur di =wa =b nawár -en be =wa =b xr -en
tandoor from =3 =PROG pull.out 1PL then =3 =PROG eat 1PL

[Then] we take it [the flat cake] out of the tandoor, then we eat it.

Text 40

1.1 goy bu ka mǎx dúšen , tafo aǵipib nasen ,
goy bu ka mǎx dúš -en tafo a- ǵipi =b nas -en
cow PROG COMP 1PL milk 1PL that.GEN the milk =PROG take 1PL
tokab ken .
tok =a =b k -en
hot =3 =PROG make 1PL

When we milk a cow, we take its milk and warm it (tok dak).

1.2 kfon ka tok dǎk , kub še das – ǵistu daqıqa níwen
kfo =n ka tok dǎk ku- =b še das ǵistu daqıqa níw -en
that.OBL =1PL COMP hot do.PST ACC =PROG one ten twenty minute lay 1PL

We have warmed it, we let it stand (lit. ‘we stand it’) for about ten to twenty minutes.

2.1 bǎd tafob kfo ne še qǎšuq tópi banen .
bǎd tafo =b kfo ne še qǎšuq tópi ban -en
after that.GEN =PROG that.OBL in one spoon buttermilk pour 1PL

After this we add to it a ladle of buttermilk,

2.2 beb sara pets pəṭ ken .
be =b sar =a pets pəṭ k -en
then =PROG top =3 after forehead make 1PL

then we cover it again.

2.3 še ǵ^wa ka kfo že ter šük , pa sǎr bu a
še ǵ^wa ka kfo že ter šük pa sǎr bu a
one night COMP that.OBL on passed become.PST INSTR morning PROG this
pikak se .
pikak *s -e
thick.soured.milk become 3

The night passes – by morning there is thick soured milk (pikak).

3.1 kupikak bu be ǵag ne banen .
ku- pikak bu be ǵag ne ban -en
ACC thick.soured.milk PROG other jag in pour 1PL

Then we pour the soured milk into an earthenware vessel with handles (jag).

3.2 kuřag bu sara tařen , kub xawawén , kub
 ku- řag bu sar =a tař -én ku- =b xawaw -én ku- =b
 ACC řag PROG top =3 tie 1PL ACC =PROG shake 1PL ACC =PROG
 xultawén , båd tafob a tópi se .
 xultawén båd tafo =b a tópi *s -e
 twist after that.GEN =PROG this buttermilk become 3

We tie up the jug on top, [then] we shake it; after this topi is obtained.

4.1 kren ka pets xáli dâk , afo sarab ÷tol
 kre =n ka pets xáli dâk afo sar =a =b ÷tol
 this.OBL =1PL COMP after emptied do.PST that.NOM cream =3 =PROG collected
 ken , maskawab ÷tol ken .
 k -en maska =wa =b ÷tol k -en
 make 1PL butter =3 =PROG collected make 1PL

When we have drained (emptied) it [the jug], we collect the cream (sar), the butter (maska) from it.

4.2 båd tafob maskawa wok ken .
 båd tafo =b maska =wa wok k -en
 after that.GEN =PROG butter =3 water make 1PL

After this we melt the butter.

4.3 kre di bu run se .
 kre di bu run *s -e
 this.OBL from PROG melted.butter become 3

From it we make melted butter (run).

4.4 kreb ge xren .
 kre =b ge xr -en
 this.OBL =PROG also eat 1PL

we eat it.

5.1 tópiwab ge xren .
 tópi =wa =b ge xr -en
 buttermilk =3 =PROG also eat 1PL

We drink the topi also.

5.2 tópiwab be tok ken .
 tópi =wa =b be tok k -en
 buttermilk =3 =PROG again hot make 1PL

We warm up the topi.

5.3 ún ka tok dâk , još baršeren .
 ún ka tok dâk još =b ar- šér -en
 so.much COMP hot do.PST boiled =PROG DIR.1 give 1PL

As soon as we have warmed it, we boil it.

5.4 afob xoy saxt ke : wokab še taraf ki
afo =b xoy saxt k -e wok =a =b še taraf ki
that.NOM =PROG ownself hard make 3 whey =3 =PROG one direction to
se , aspewíwa be taraf ki .
*s -e a- spewí =wa be taraf ki
become 3 the white =3 other direction to

It thickens up; the whey separates from the curds (lit. ‘the whey – wok – in one direction, the white clots – spewi – in the other).

6.1 kuwokab idal ken , kfo gađib nemek
ku- wok =a =b i- dal k -en kfo gađi =b nemek
ACC whey =3 =PROG ACC here make 1PL that.OBL with =PROG salt
gađ ken .
gađ k -en
together make 1PL

We pour off the whey, add salt,

6.2 kfob ge qurut ĵor ken .
kfo =b ge qurut ĵor k -en
that.OBL =PROG also round.cheese built make 1PL

make qurut (cheese dried in a round shape).

6.3 ĵipi dib paner ĵor ken .
ĵipi di =b paner ĵor k -en
milk from =PROG cheese built make 1PL

From the milk we [also] make cheese (paner).

Text 41

1.1 še kar sařay ta še mariz ipuřtəna ki altsawok .
še kar sařay ta še mariz i- puřtəna ki al- tsawok
one deaf man GEN one sick.man ACC question to DIR.3 go.PST

A deaf man went to visit a sick man.

1.2 a kar bu yoře , ka " az kire kib alyořim ,
a kar bu yoř -e ka az kire ki =b al- yoř -im
this deaf.man PROG say 3 COMP 1SG this.OBL to =PROG DIR.3 say 1SG
ka " tsərang on ?
ka tsə rang on
COMP what manner COP.2

[On the way] this deaf man says [to himself]: I shall say to him: “How are you getting on?”

1.3 ab reyoše , ka " piri šir um ".
 a =b re- yoš -e ka piri šir um
 this =PROG DIR.1 say 3 COMP now good COP.1SG

He will say to me: "Well, now".

1.4 az bu alyoşim , ka " alhamdulillah , şükər , ka şir on ".
 az bu al- yoš -im ka alhamdulillah şükər ka şir on
 1SG PROG DIR.3 say 1SG COMP praise.God thanks COMP good COP.2

I shall say to him: "Praise God that you are well".

2.1 be alyoşim , ka çe şay bu xron ?".
 be al- yoš -im ka çe şay bu xr -on
 then DIR.3 say 1SG COMP what thing PROG eat 2

Then I shall say to him: "What are you eating?"

2.2 afob yoše , ka " perezâna yâ şirwâ ".
 afo =b yoš -e ka perezâna yâ şirwâ
 that.NOM =PROG say 3 COMP invalid.soup or soup

He will say: "Invalid's soup or sweet soup".

2.3 az kire ki alyoşim , ka " noşi jânat ".
 az kire ki al- yoš -im ka noş -i jân =at
 1SG this.OBL to DIR.3 say 1SG COMP enjoy 2 strength =2PL

I shall say to him: "Enjoy it!"

3.1 be alyoşim , ka " tabibat kok e ?
 be al- yoš -im ka tabib =at kok e
 then DIR.3 say 1SG COMP doctor =2PL who COP

Then I shall say: "Who is your doctor?"

3.2 ab reyoše , ka " tabibum flâni ye ".
 a =b re- yoš -e ka tabib =um flâni y -e
 this =PROG DIR.1 say 3 COMP doctor =1SG so.and.so COP 3

He will say to me: "My doctor is so-and-so".

3.3 az bu yoşim , ka " ilâyi , şükər !
 az bu yoš -im ka ilâyi şükər
 1SG PROG say 1SG COMP praise.God thanks

I shall say: "Praise the Lord!"

3.4 qadama xudây mubârak ki ".
 qadam =a xudây mubârak k -i
 footstep =3 God blessed make 3

May God help him!"

4.1 akar ta xoy zli newa aswāl u juwāba zut tigrār
 a- kar ta xoy zli ne =wa a- swāl u juwāb =a zut tigrār
 the deaf.man GEN ownself heart in =3 the question and answer =3 much repeated
 dāk
 dāk
 do.PST

The deaf man repeated the questions and answers many times to himself.

4.2 altsawok , mariz gaḍi nāstak .
 al- tsawok mariz gaḍi nāstak
 DIR.3 go.PST sick.man with sit.down.PST

He went [and] sat down [beside] the sick man.

4.3 mariz kiwa alyok , ka " tsərang on ?"
 mariz ki =wa al- yok ka tsə rang on
 sick.man to =3 DIR.3 say.PST COMP what manner COP.2

He said to the sick man: "How are you getting on?"

4.4 mariz alyok : " az bu mrem ".
 mariz al- yok az bu mr -em
 sick.man DIR.3 say.PST 1SG PROG die 1SG

The sick man said: "I am dying".

4.5 afo alyok : " ilāyi , šükər !".
 afo al- yok ilāyi šükər
 that.NOM DIR.3 say.PST praise.God thanks

He said: "Praise God!"

5.1 be kar alyok : " če šay bu xron ?"
 be kar al- yok če šay bu xr -on
 then deaf.man DIR.3 say.PST what thing PROG eat 2

Again the deaf man said: "What are you eating?"

5.2 afo alyok , ka " ta mār azār ".
 afo al- yok ka ta mār a- zār
 that.NOM DIR.3 say.PST COMP GEN snake the venom

He said: "Snake poison!"

5.3 afo alyok , ka " nosi jānat !".
 afo al- yok ka nos -i jān =at
 that.NOM DIR.3 say.PST COMP enjoy 3 strength =2PL

He said: "Enjoy it!"

6.1 kar kre mariz ki alyok , ka " tabibat kok e ?"
kar kre mariz ki al- yok ka tabib =at kok e
deaf.man this.OBL sick.man to DIR.3 say.PST COMP doctor =2PL who COP

The deaf man said to the sick man: "Who is your doctor?"

6.2 mariz alyok , " malik-ul-máwt "
mariz al- yok malik-ul-máwt
sick.man DIR.3 say.PST angel.of.death

The sick man said: "The angel of death [the devil]"

6.3 kar alyok , ka " qadamiwa mubârak bon "
kar al- yok ka qadam -i =wa mubârak b on
deaf.man DIR.3 say.PST COMP footstep pl =3 blessed be COP.2

The deaf man replied: "May he be successful!"

6.4 kar altsawok .
kar al- tsawok
deaf.man DIR.3 go.PST

[Having said this], the deaf man departed.

Text 42

1.1 du zarka buk .
du zarka buk
two woman be.PST

There were two women.

1.2 še mášum žewa ĵang drúnukín : afob alyok , ka
še mášum že =wa ĵang drúnuk -ín afo =b al- yok ka
one baby on =3 fight have.PST 3 that.NOM =PROG DIR.3 say.PST COMP
" ta mun e "
ta mun e
GEN me COP

There were two women. They quarrelled about a baby: one says: "[He] is mine",

1.3 afob yok , ka " ta mun e "
afo =b yok ka ta mun e
that.NOM =PROG say.PST COMP GEN me COP

[but] the other (here: 'that one') says: "[He] is mine".

1.4 šâyeda ge nak drunuk .
šâyed =a ge nak drunuk
witness =3 also not have.PST

[They had] no witness.

2.1 duqaḍ altsawok qāzi ki , ka " erzey ka adālat kin !"

duqaḍ al- tsawok qāzi ki ka er- zey ka adālat k -in

both DIR.3 go.PST qazi to COMP DIR.1 come COMP justice make 2

They both went to the qazi: "Let it be decided in justice!"

2.2 qāzi jallād žayok , ka " kre māšum dujāy kon !

qāzi jallād žayok ka kre māšum du jāy k -on

qazi executioner call.PST COMP this.OBL baby two place make 2

The qazi summoned the executioner: "Divide this baby in two!"

2.3 nima še di ki aršer , nima be ki !".

nim =a še di ki ar- šer nim =a be ki

half =3 one from to DIR.1 give half =3 other to

Give [one] half to one, [the other] half – to the other!"

3.1 še zarka , ka kre ksi marok , kuxoya yəlay nok .

še zarka ka kre ksi marok ku- xoy =a yəlay nok

one woman COMP this.OBL speech hear.PST ACC ownself =3 restrained take.PST

One woman, hearing this, restrained herself.

3.2 amāwawa , ka kre kisi marok , yok , ka " az

a- māwa =wa ka kre kisi marok yok ka az

the mother =3 COMP this.OBL speech hear.PST say.PST COMP 1SG

barāyi xudā , a tsi adālat e , ka tub ta mun amāsum

barā yi- xudā a tsi adālat e ka tu =b ta mun a- māsum

sake ezafē God this what justice COP COMP 2PL =PROG GEN me the baby

dujāy kon ?

du jāy k -on

two place make 2

When his mother heard these words, though, she said: "For God's sake, [say]: what sort of justice is this, if you divide my child in two?"

3.3 ka a adālat be , azab nak žayem , kfo ki

ka a adālat b -e az =a =b nak žay -em kfo ki

COMP this justice be 3 1SG =3 =PROG not ask 1SG that.OBL to

waršer !".

war- šer

DIR.1 give

If [this is] justice, then I do not need it, give her [the baby]!"

4.1 aqâzi poy šük , ka a mâšum tare zarka ye ,
 a- qâzi poy šük ka a mâšum tare zarka y -e
 the qazi understood become.PST COMP this baby GEN woman COP 3
 al-yok , ka " kre ki waršer !" !"
 al-yok ka kre ki war- šer
 DIR.3 say.PST COMP this.OBL to DIR.1 give

He said: "Give [him] to her!"

4.2 kfo zarkawa nok , aya dâk , pa durrawa dzok ,
 kfo zarka =wa nok ay =a dâk pa durra =wa dzok
 that.OBL woman =3 take.PST do.PST INSTR whip =3 beat.PST
 nawûlaka .
 nawûlak =a
 pull.out.PST =3

[But] he drove that woman away, lashing with a whip.

Text 43

1 az še wuxyar sařay di puřtəna dâk : " sârâ ne še čina ye , az bu
 az še wuxyar sařay di puřtəna dâk sârâ ne še čina y -e az bu
 1SG one wise man from question do.PST field in one spring COP 3 1SG PROG
 zlim se , ka indé yosəl kem , az məx tsen taraf ki
 zli =m *s -e ka indé yosəl k -em az məx tsen taraf ki
 heart =1SG become 3 COMP here ablutions make 1SG 1SG face which direction to
 kem ?"
 k -em
 make 1SG

I asked a wise man: "In the steppe there is a spring. I am about to perform ablutions. In which direction should I turn my face?"

2 afo reyok , ka tu məx ta kâli taraf ki kon , ka
 afo re- yok ka tu məx ta kâli taraf ki k -on ka
 that.NOM DIR.1 say.PST COMP 2PL face GEN clothes direction to make 2 COMP
 ayliwa nak agle .
 a- yli =wa nak *agl -e
 the thieves =3 not carry.off 3

He said to me: "Turn [your] face toward your clothes, lest thieves take them".

Text 44

1.1 še saɾay še tabib ki altsawok , ka " ta mun anas bu
še saɾay še tabib ki al- tsawok ka ta mun a- nas bu
one man one doctor to DIR.3 go.PST COMP GEN me the stomach PROG
dǎme ".
dǎm -e
ache 3

A man went to the doctor [with a complaint]: "I have stomach ache".

1.2 afó tabib alyok , ka " tu če xólake ?"
afó tabib al- yok ka tu če xólak -e
that.NOM doctor DIR.3 say.PST COMP 2PL what eat.PST PSTPRF

The doctor said to him: "What have you eaten?"

1.3 afo yok , ka " az txani soxta xólake ".
afo yok ka az txan i- soxta xólak -e
that.NOM say.PST COMP 1SG bread ezafe burnt eat.PST PSTPRF

He said: "I have eaten some burnt bread".

2.1 afo ta xoy nafar kiwa alyok , ka " tu tso !
afo ta xoy nafar ki =wa al- yok ka tu *ts -o
that.NOM GEN ownself person to =3 DIR.3 say.PST COMP 2PL go 2

He [the doctor] said to his servant: "Go,

2.2 kre ki ta tsími dawǎ arwar !".
kre ki ta tsími dawǎ ar- *war
this.OBL to GEN eye salve DIR.1 bring

bring him some eye salve".

3.1 afo saɾay alyok , ka " ta mun bu nas dǎme .
afo saɾay al- yok ka ta mun bu nas dǎm -e
that.NOM man DIR.3 say.PST COMP GEN me PROG stomach ache 3

That man said to him: "It is my stomach that hurts.

3.2 ta tsími dawǎ az kots kem ?"
ta tsími dawǎ az kots k -em
GEN eye salve 1SG what make 1SG

What do I need with eye salve?"

3.3 afo ʏok , ka " tu tsimi drunukun , heč waxtat su
afo ʏok ka tu tsimi drunuk -un heč waxt =at su
that.NOM say.PST COMP 2PL eye have.PST PSTPRF any time =2PL SBJV
soxta txan nák xolak ".
soxta txan nák xolak
burnt bread not eat.PST

He said: "If you had [good] eyes, you surely would never have eaten burnt bread".

Text 45

1.1 še ʏolgay buk .
še ʏolgay buk
one group be.PST

There was a group [of people].

1.2 mǎšumiwab algástak dašti ki .
mǎšum -i =wa =b al- gástak dašti ki
baby pl =3 =PROG DIR.3 take.PST steppe to

There were carrying babies [with them] into the steppe.

1.3 še wuǔyǎr sařay alyok , ka " kre mǎšumib góda
še wuǔyǎr sařay al- ʏok ka kre mǎšum -i =b góda
one wise man DIR.3 say.PST COMP this.OBL baby pl =PROG where
aglon ?"
*agl -on
carry.off 2

A sensible man said [to someone]: "Where are you taking these little children?"

1.4 alyok , ka " kre mǎšumib aglen wal ,
al- ʏok ka kre mǎšum -i =b *agl -en wal
DIR.3 say.PST COMP this.OBL baby pl =PROG carry.off 1PL there
kudašti ne , ka še duwǎ ki , ka xudǎy še bǎrǎn ki .
ku- dašti ne ka še duwǎ k -i ka xudǎy še bǎrǎn k -i
ACC steppe in COMP one prayer make 3 COMP God one rain make 3

"We are taking these little ones into the steppe for them to pray [and] so that God will send rain.

1.5 ay begunǎ ye ".
ay begunǎ y -e
these.NOM sinless COP 3

They are innocent, you see".

2 afo alyok , ka " ay begunã ye , ka ta buma
 afo al- yok ka ay begunã y -e ka ta buma
 that.NOM DIR.3 say.PST COMP these.NOM sinless COP 3 COMP GEN earth
 imúxa su še moallem nak wizuk ".
 i- múxa su še moallem nak wizuk
 ACC face SBJV one teacher not remain.PST

He said to them: "They are [so] innocent that [if it were their will] perhaps not a single teacher would remain on earth".

Text 46

1 še sařayi badrang buk , nãka řãyista buk .
 še sařay i- badrang buk nãk =a řãyista buk
 one man ezafe ugly be.PST wife =3 beautiful be.PST

There was an ugly man whose wife, however, was beautiful.

2 a ta xoy nãk ki yok , ka " mãx u tu kib xudãy řannat
 a ta xoy nãk ki yok ka mãx u tu ki =b xudãy řannat
 this GEN ownself wife to say.PST COMP 1PL and 2PL to =PROG God heaven
 erřeri ".
 er- řér -i
 DIR.1 give 3

One day he said to his wife: "God will bestow heaven on us".

3 a zarka alyok , ka " pa tsə poy řükun , ka
 a zarka al- yok ka pa tsə poy řük -un ka
 this woman DIR.3 say.PST COMP INSTR what understood become.PST 2 COMP
 mãx u tu kib xudãy řannat erřeri ?".
 mãx u tu ki =b xudãy řannat er- řer -i
 1PL and 2PL to =PROG God heaven DIR.1 give 3

This woman said to him: "How do you know that God will bestow heaven on us?"

4.1 a alyok , ka " az badrang um aw tu řãyesta yon .
 a al- yok ka az badrang um aw tu řãyesta yon
 this DIR.3 say.PST COMP 1SG ugly COP.1SG and 2PL beautiful COP.2

He said to her: "I am frightful, but you are beautiful.

4.2 ta mun ibadrangí kib ka tu řuř , tub sábər
 ta mun i- badrangí ki =b ka tu řuř tu =b sábər
 GEN me ACC ugliness to =PROG COMP 2PL see 2PL =PROG tolerance
 kon .
 k -on
 make 2

When you see my ugly appearance, you [nevertheless] tolerate it.

4.3 az bu ka ta r tu iḫāyes ta gí ki , ay l kem, az
 az bu ka tu i- ḫāyestagí ki sayl k -em az bu šükər
 1SG PROG COMP 2PL ACC beauty to look make 1SG 1SG PROG thanks
 bu šük
 kanç -ém
 thank 1SG

When I look at your beauty, I thank [the Creator].

4.4 kok bu ka šükər kançe , tafo aĵây ĵannat e .
 kok bu ka šükər kanç -e tafo a- ĵây ĵannat e
 one PROG COMP thanks thank 3 that.GEN the place heaven COP

[And] he who thanks [God], – his place is in heaven.

4.5 kok bu , ka sabər ki , – tafo aĵây ĵannat e .
 kok bu ka sabər k -i tafo a- ĵây ĵannat e
 one PROG COMP tolerance make 3 that.GEN the place heaven COP

[And] he who tolerates [torture], – his place is in heaven.

Text 47

1.1 bâzâr ne zókum , še badrang sarayum dek .
 bâzâr ne zók -um še badrang saray =um dek
 bazaar in go.PST 1SG one ugly man =1SG see.PST

I came to the bazaar, [there] I saw an ugly man.

1.2 še zarka zâk , kre badrang saray kiwab sayl dâk .
 še zarka zâk kre badrang saray ki =wa =b sayl dâk
 one woman come.PST this.OBL ugly man to =3 =PROG looked do.PST

A woman came and began to look (lit. looked) at this ugly man.

2.1 asaray alyok , ka " tu kumun ki çe ki sayl kon ?"
 a- saray al- yok ka tu ku- mun ki çe ki sayl k -on
 the man DIR.3 say.PST COMP 2PL ACC me to what to looked make 2

This man said to her: "Why are you looking at me?"

2.2 a alyok ka " ta mun atsími zút gunâ daré .
 a al- yok ka ta mun a- tsími zút gunâ dar -é
 this DIR.3 say.PST COMP GEN me the eye much sin have 3

She said to him: "My eyes are very sinful.

2.3 az bu ta r tu pa di dan ta xoy ts ím i ki
 az bu tu pa didan ta xoy tsími ki zut azâb
 1SG PROG 2PL INSTR sight GEN ownself eye to much punishment
 zut azâ
 ar- šer -im
 DIR.1 give 1SG

I am tormenting my eyes with your face (lit. 'with the sight of you').

Text 48

1.1 še baxil saṛay buk .
 še baxil saṛay buk
 one stingy man be.PST

There was a miserly man.

1.2 še now čapliwa nok .
 še now čapli =wa nok
 one new sandals =3 take.PST

He bought (lit. 'took') some new sandals.

1.3 awa pây dâk , rây ne râyî šük .
 a =wa pây dâk rây ne râyî šük
 this =3 foot do.PST road in sent become.PST

He put them on his feet, set off on the way.

2.1 wal gípi mæxa warzâk .
 wal gípi mæx =a war- zâk
 there stones face =3 DIR.1 come.PST

There [on the road] he came across some [sharp] stones.

2.2 kre ta xoy ačapliwa nawúlak , dâman newa nok .
 kre ta xoy a- čapli =wa nawúlak dâman ne =wa nok
 this.OBL GEN ownself the sandals =3 pull.out.PST hem in =3 take.PST

He took off these sandals of his, put them in the hem [of his shirt].

3.1 šom ka altsawok , pây newa xâr altsawok .
 šom ka al- tsawok pây ne =wa xâr al- tsawok
 in.front COMP DIR.3 go.PST foot in =3 thorn DIR.3 go.PST

When he went further, a thorn penetrated his foot.

3.2 xâr pušt ta pây diwa nayok .
 xâr pušt ta pây di =wa nayok
 thorn back GEN foot from =3 go.out.PST

The thorn came out of the other side of the foot.

4 a xudây ki šükər dâk , ka " ilâyi , šükər , ka ta mun ačapli
 a xudây ki šükər dâk ka ilâyi šükər ka ta mun a- čapli
 this God to thanks do.PST COMP praise.God thanks COMP GEN me the sandals
 pây nem nak buk , ka čaplim yâr nak šük ".
 pây ne =m nak buk ka čapli =m yâr nak šük
 foot in =1SG not be.PST COMP sandals =1SG hole not become.PST

He thanked God: "Praise God that my sandals were not on my feet and that my sandals were not pierced".

Text 49

1.1 še sařay ta xoy rafiğ di puřtəna dâk , ka " ta mun
 še sařay ta xoy rafiğ di puřtəna dâk ka ta mun
 one man GEN ownself friend from question do.PST COMP GEN me
 atsumib dəme .
 a- tsumi =b dəm -e
 the eye =PROG ache 3

A man asked his friend: "My eye hurts.

1.2 az tserang kem ?"
 az tse rang k -em
 1SG what manner make 1SG

What am I to do?"

1.3 afo alçok , ka " prasul bu ta mun ağıři dəmok ,
 afo al- çok ka prasul bu ta mun a- ağıři dəmok
 that.NOM DIR.3 say.PST COMP last.year PROG GEN me the tooth ache.PST
 az nawúlak – řir šük .
 az nawúlak řir šük
 1SG pull.out.PST good become.PST

He replied: "Last year my tooth ached. I got rid of it [lit. 'pulled it out'] – it was all right.

1.4 tu ge kre tsimit nawar , ka řir se "
 tu ge kre tsimi =t nawar ka řir *s -e
 2PL also this.OBL eye =2 pull.out COMP good become 3

You also get rid of that eye, so that it will be all right".

Text 50

1 še moazen bu , ka âzâna dâk , dangok bu .
 še moazen bu ka âzân =a dâk dangok bu
 one muezzin PROG COMP calling =3 do.PST run.PST PROG

A certain muezzin who was calling to prayer was running [at the same time].

2.1 še saray puḫtəna nelawa dāk , ka " góðab dang ?
 še saray puḫtəna nela =wa dāk ka góða =b dang
 one man question presence =3 do.PST COMP where =PROG run

A man asked him: "Where are you running to?"

2.2 a alyok , ka " ta mun aawáz bu dur di kumun že
 a al- yok ka ta mun a- awáz bu dur di ku- mun že
 this DIR.3 say.PST COMP GEN me the voice PROG distance from ACC me on
 šir xre .
 šir xre
 good

He answered: "I like [to listen to] my own (here: 'my') voice at a distance.

2.3 az ta xoy aawáz dur di marem ".
 az ta xoy a- awáz dur di mar -em
 1SG GEN ownself the voice distance from hear 1SG

[So] I [want] to listen to my voice at a distance".

Text 51

1.1 še saray xaw dek , ka xaw newa yrás paysa waršyuk (zál
 še saray xaw dek ka xaw ne =wa yrás paysa war- šyuk zál
 one man sleep see.PST COMP sleep in =3 black money DIR.1 give.PST old
 luṭ aršyuk).
 luṭ ar- šyuk
 paper DIR.1 give.PST

A man had a dream [that] in his dream he was given some small copper coins (variant: 'worn out paper money').

1.2 alyok , ka " kumun ki šuš zar u spew zar aršer !"
 al- yok ka ku- mun ki šuš zar u spew zar ar- šer
 DIR.3 say.PST COMP ACC me to gold and white gold DIR.1 give

He said: "Give me some nice clean gold!"

1.3 kre ne bedâr šük .
 kre ne bedâr šük
 this.OBL in awake become.PST

At that [moment] he awoke.

2.1 yok , ka " wây !
 yok ka wây
 say.PST COMP O

He said: "Oh,

2.2 az xaw dek !"

az xaw dek

1SG sleep see.PST

I was having a dream!"

2.3 a saray pets ta xoy atsími pəṭ nok , desta drây dâk ,

a saray pets ta xoy a- tsími pəṭ nok dest =a drây dâk

this man after GEN ownself the eye forehead take.PST hand =3 extended do.PST

ka " har šer – bur šer !

ka har šer bur šer

COMP every give complete give

The man again closed his eyes, held out his hand: "Whatever it may be, give it me!"

2.4 mar aršera !"

mar ar- šer =a

DIR.1 give =3

give it me!

2.5 afo eč ge nak šük !

afo eč ge nak šük

that.NOM any also not become.PST

But nothing was repeated (lit. 'nothing came of it').

2.6 a saray pets pešaymân šük , ka " tse badum dâk , ka

a saray pets pešaymân šük ka tse bad =um dâk ka

this man after upset become.PST COMP what bad =1SG do.PST COMP

nakum nok !"

nak =um nok

not =1SG take.PST

The man was very upset: "How mis-takenly I behaved not to take [the copper coins]!"