

Texts 1-7 (notes, transcription, translations) extracted from:

Belelli, Sara. In print. *The Laki variety of Harsin: Grammar, texts, lexicon*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, pp. 231-373.

Text 1: *Nameyna* (The felt-made girl)

Text 1 has been recorded in Harsin on the 10th of January 2014 (20th of Dey 1392). The main consultant (M. G.) was approximately fifty years old at the time of recording. She is native of the rural village of Parive, but has lived in the city of Harsin since her early marriage. She has not received elementary schooling. The traditional folktale she narrates has been recorded during a session held in the private house of her female neighbour (S. S.), who is also the narrator of Text 3 and Text 4. As the secondary speaker of this text, S. S. intervenes sixteen times, interrupting M. G.'s monologue and uttering brief sentences, either in Harsini or in Persian, to ask the main speaker to clarify specific passages or comment on the general development of the plot. A third speaker utters only one sentence in Persian at the beginning of the recording.

Summary: this folk narrative is representative of a genre commonly labelled as *Tale of Magic* or *Wonder Tale*. The complex schema of this narrative combines Marzolph's (1984) types *510B *Cinderella*¹⁴³ and 706 *Defamation: Mother allegedly kills her own children*¹⁴⁴. The second part of the narrative is akin to the version in Eshkevari (1352/1974: 140-143), as summarised in Marzolph (1984: 134).

A man and his wife exchange the promise that, if one of them would die, the other would be allowed to marry only a person fitting the deceased spouse's shoe. The wife eventually dies, and the man starts looking for a woman to marry. Yet, after a long quest, he cannot find anybody whose foot is the right size. In despair, he goes home, where he had left his daughter. As the girl tries the shoes on, her father realizes he should marry her (*510B I b/706 I a). The girl escapes to avoid incest (*510B I a/706 I): she asks a feltmaker to make a tunic under which she may hide (*510B II a), substitutes herself with a statue at the wedding, and runs away from home. During the night, she sleeps on the crown of a tree, nearby a spring. The next morning, a prince passes by and brings her to

¹⁴³ Cf. ATU 510B *Peau d'Asne* (previously *The Dress of Gold, of Silver and of Stars* [*Cap 'o Rushes*]).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. ATU 706C *The Father who Wanted to Marry His Daughter* (previously *Lecherous Father as Queen Persecutor*).

the royal palace. The girl, still in disguise, becomes his maidservant (*510B II b). On the occasion of a wedding, the girl leaves the palace in secret and shows herself to the boy without the felt tunic. After dancing with the beautiful girl, the prince falls in love (*510B II c) and the two exchange their rings. Before the end of the ceremony, the girl wears the felt tunic, goes back to the palace and sits combing wool. The prince decides to go in search of the mysterious girl and asks the maidservants to prepare some provisions. The girl hides the ring the prince had given her at the wedding into one of the fritters and places it at the bottom of his saddlebag. After a long quest, the prince eats the last fritter and finding the ring in it (*510B III a) he understands that the girl must be among his maidservants. Back to the palace, he asks the girl to bring him food and compels her to reveal her true identity (*510B III b). They get married (*510B IV/706 III a) and the girl gives birth to twins (706 III b). Meanwhile, the girl's father keeps looking for her. When he finds out that the girl has become the wife of a prince, he goes to the palace at night, slaughters the children, and slips the bloody knife among the girl's hair locks (706 III c). When the prince wakes up, he blames the girl for murdering the children and chases her away. Carrying the children's bodies (706 III e), she arrives at the foot of a tree where she meets three magic birds. The birds raise the children from death (706 IV a) on the condition that the woman becomes a sweeper at the Imam Rezā shrine. She goes to Mashhad, where the children grow up and become Quran readers. After some time, both the prince and the father go on a pilgrimage to Mashhad, where they meet the two boys. Feeling sympathy for them, both men ask to visit their mother (706 V a). The woman invites them for dinner. The meal becomes the occasion for the final revelation. The prince is persuaded of the woman's innocence (706 V b) and the two are reconciled (706 V c). As a punishment, the prince orders the girl's father to be burned alive (706 V d).

Transcription and Translation:

	Harsini	English	
[1:1] M.G.	<i>dāstān badbaxtī wižim bušim, mow?</i>	I shall tell the story of my own misfortune, is it possible?	(00:00)
[1:2] A.B.	{Pers. <i>čerā nemīše? har če mīxāhad dele tangat, begu</i> }.	{Why wouldn't it be possible? Tell whatever your gloomy heart wants}.	(00:02)
[1:3] 8S.S.	<i>biču, biču, tō {xxx} čāye bār.</i>	Go, go, you {xxx} bring a tea.	(00:08)
[1:4] S.S.	{Pers. <i>ma(n) kwirdī bāš harf mīzanam baʕzī mowqāt</i> }.	{Sometimes I speak Kurdish with her}.	(00:11)
[1:5] M.G.	<i>birā,¹⁴⁵ hin dī, {xxx} aře bušim.</i>	My friend, well then, I would tell her {xxx}.	(00:13)
[1:6] S.S.	<i>xu,</i>	fine,	(00:14)
[1:7] S.S.	<i>xu, buš aře.</i>	fine, tell her.	(00:15)
[1:8] M.G.	<i>birā ya [...]</i>	My friend, this [...]	(00:16)
[1:9] M.G.	{xxx} <i>bi zuwān wižim, dī [...]</i>	{xxx} in my own language, then [...]	(00:17)
[1:10] S.S.	<i>a! kwirdī,</i>	Yes! Kurdish,	(00:19)
[1:11] M.G.	<i>a!</i>	Yes!	(00:19)
[1:12] S.S.	<i>kwirdī harsinī!</i>	Harsini Kurdish!	(00:20)
[1:13] M.G.	<i>ya žinīk-ö pyāy</i>	This, a woman and a man	(00:20)

¹⁴⁵ The narrator uses this term to address the speaker in a friendly way. It literally means 'brother', but the term can be used as term of affection regardless of the addressee's sex (only women were attending this particular recording session).

[1:14]	<i>žinšüan.</i>	are wife and husband.	(00:23)
M.G.			
[1:15]	{# šüa} <i>muše: «ar tö</i>	{# The husband} says:	(00:24)
M.G.	<i>bimirī, i kōwšalta andāza</i>	«If you die, whoever’s	
	<i>pā har ke bu, mi ava bās</i>	foot will be the size of	
	[...] <i>mi šüa makama</i>	these shoes of yours,	
	<i>binī», žina muše.</i>	that one I will have to	
		[...] I will marry him»,	
		the woman says.	
[1:16]	<i>bašdan pyākeyša muše:</i>	Then, also the husband	(00:32)
M.G.	« <i>minīž kōwšila tö andāza</i>	says: «Me too, the one	
	<i>pā har ke bu, mi [...] ava</i>	whose foot will be the	
	<i>šü bikea ma».</i>	size of these shoes of	
		yours I [...] She will	
		marry me».	
[1:17]	<i>pyāka kōwšila mare viātā</i>	The man carries the	(00:37)
M.G.	<i>viāt, šara šara</i>	shoes from region to	
	<i>magīrdīne,</i>	region, he brings them	
		around from town to	
		town (but)	
[1:18]	<i>hüč kas nīya šü bikea</i>	there is no one that	(00:42)
M.G.	<i>binī.</i>	could marry him.	
[1:19]	<i>muše: «xwidā! ča</i>	He says: «God, what	(00:44)
M.G.	<i>bikam?».</i>	shall I do?».	
[1:20]	<i>tīr bar ġazā¹⁴⁶ ditīka</i>	By chance, they have a	(00:45)
M.G.	<i>māt dirin.</i>	daughter at home.	
[1:21]	<i>ditīa māt dirin, mārea</i>	They have a daughter at	(00:48)
M.G.	<i>māt, dit kōwšila makea</i>	home, he brings (the	
	<i>pā [...]</i>	shoes) home, the	
		daughter puts the shoes	
		on [...]	
[1:22]	<i>dit wižī?</i>	His own daughter?	(00:52)
S.S.			

¹⁴⁶ This expression of surprise may be compared to Pers. *dast bar qazā* ‘by chance, accidentally, it happens that...’ (Lazard 1990: 319).

[1:23]	<i>a! dit wižī, kōwšila</i>	Yes, his own daughter,	(00:52)
M.G.	<i>makea var.</i>	she wears the shoes.	
[1:24]	<i>muše: «tō bāsa šū bikeya</i>	He says: «You have to	(00:53)
M.G.	<i>ma», bowa mušea dit.</i>	marry me», the father	
		says to the daughter.	
[1:25]	<i>yōwš: «aγ xwidā! ča</i>	Then she (says): «Oh	(00:58)
M.G.	<i>bikam, čü bikam?».</i>	God! What shall I do?	
		How can I do (that)?».	
[1:26]	{Pers. <i>āfarīn maryam,</i>	{Well done Maryam,	(01:00)
S.S.	<i>xeylī xub}</i> .	very good}.	
[1:27]	<i>a! yōwša valā,</i>	Yes! And she, well,	(01:01)
M.G.			
[1:28]	<i>dita maču, ye man¹⁴⁷</i>	the girl goes (and) gives	(01:03)
M.G.	<i>xwirī, masatan, mea</i>	a <i>man</i> of wool, for	
	<i>mama xān, žīr maččit.</i>	example, to Mohammad	
		Khān, down the	
		mosque.	
[1:29]	<i>muše: «ya ařām bika</i>	She says: «Make this	(01:08)
M.G.	<i>nameynī, faqat ye čame</i>	into a (piece of) felt for	
	<i>dīyār bu».</i>	me, (so that) just one	
		eye would be visible».	
[1:30]	<i>valā, mare makete name-</i>	Well, she brings it,	(01:12)
M.G.	<i>ö šöw mijassame märe</i>	makes it into a felt and,	
	<i>manea jā wižī,</i>	at night, she takes a	
		statue and puts it in her	
		own place,	
[1:31]	{? <i>lā sā ye kutā¹⁴⁸ qadīm}</i>	{? under the shade of an	(01:19)
M.G.	<i>wižmān [...] mea mīlīarā.</i>	old canopy} (like) ours	

¹⁴⁷ The word *man* refers to a measure for dry goods, roughly corresponding to three kilos.

¹⁴⁸ This passage is unclear, but it seems to contain the word *kutā* ‘canopy, hut, sunshade’. The word *kula* is reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 933) with the meaning ‘summer sunshade built with branches and leaves of trees and plants’. Edmonds (1922: 340, 2010: 186, 332) quotes the *kula* or *kūlā* as a bower of branches or a hut of boughs in connection to Lak nomads. Demant-Mortensen (1993: 85-86) provides a detailed description of the object as ‘a hut with a roof of leafy branches, supported by twelve or sixteen forked posts arranged in parallel rows, and with walls and sometimes divisions – from the *siah chador* [i.e. black tent] – along three or four sides’. Note, however, the semantics of Balochi *killā* ‘tent for a

		[...] she places (that) on it [i.e. the statue].	
[1:32]	<i>mea mil farusī, masan.</i>	She places it on his	(01:22)
S.S.		bride, for instance.	
[1:33]	<i>a! mea mil farusī. farus</i>	Yes! She places it on his	(01:23)
M.G.	<i>bā ī šūa, bā ī [...] bowase, iska.</i>	bride. The bride with this groom, with this [...] he is her father, then.	
[1:34]	<i>bowase.</i>	He is her father.	(01:26)
S.S.			
[1:35]	<i>bowase.</i>	He is her father.	(01:27)
M.G.			
[1:36]	<i>ya, dita maču, nameyna</i>	So, the girl goes, she	(01:28)
M.G.	<i>makea var, tā bān pā, ye čame dīyāra, řūa šar-ō [...] pišta šar-ō řūa bīawāna maču.</i>	puts the felt on, up to the feet, one eye is visible, heading towards the city and [...] (turning her) back on the city and heading towards the plain, she goes.	
[1:37]	<i>maču, maču, maču tā</i>	She goes and goes and	(01:38)
M.G.	<i>xwidā {# ki} xwidā dārī bike¹⁴⁹ maču.</i>	goes until the end of the world, she goes.	
[1:38]	<i>nām ye dōgalān dārī ka</i>	Inside the crotch of a	(01:42)
M.G.	<i>šōwanā māy, mačua nām dāra,</i>	tree, when the night falls, she goes into (the crown of) the tree,	
[1:39]	<i>mačua nām dāra.</i>	she goes into (the crown of) the tree.	(01:47)
M.G.			
[1:40]	<i>šōwa maxafē.</i>	She sleeps (there) for	(01:48)
M.G.		the night.	

newly-wedded couple, in which they stay for 3 days', *killagara* 'veil, bridal curtain', besides *kul(l)* hut.

¹⁴⁹ This expression seems to equate Pers. *tā xodā xodā ast* or *tā xodā xodā'i mikonad*, translated by Lazard (1990: 156) as 'fam. jusqu'à la fin du monde [until the end of the world]'. Perhaps compare also *xodā xodā dāštan (kardan)* 'To take refuge with God' in Steingass (1963: 448), although this expression seems to be used mainly to ask for God's mercy/help.

[1:41] M.G.	<i>maxafe. šoso kwiř pādišā</i> <i>māy ki čirāwā āw de.</i>	She sleeps. The next morning, the king's son comes to give water to the horse.	(01:49)
[1:42] M.G.	<i>muše: «xwidā!</i>	He says: «Oh God!	(01:53)
[1:43] M.G.	<i>har čī make, čirāwka</i> <i>siłma make!¹⁵⁰ sā ha</i> <i>nām mil āwa».</i>	Whatever he does, the horse gets scared! There is a shadow on the water surface».	(01:55)
[1:44] M.G.	<i>muše: «birā,</i> <i>jinī,¹⁵¹parī,¹⁵²</i> <i>ādimīzādī? bāa xwor,</i>	He says: «My friend, are you a sprite, a fairy, a human being? Come down,	(01:58)
[1:45] M.G.	<i>tā īma [...]</i> <i>ī čirāwā āw</i> <i>bixwe».</i>	so that we [...] this horse may drink water».	(01:59)
[1:46] M.G.	<i>ōwš muše: «valā, na</i> <i>jinam, na</i> <i>āyimīzāykam».</i>	She says: «By God, I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being».	(02:05)
[1:47] M.G.	<i>māya xwor,</i>	She comes down,	(02:08)
[1:48] M.G.	<i>māya xwor, āw [...]</i> <i>čirāwāl āwa maxwan-ō</i> <i>marete ařā māł.</i>	she comes down, the water [...] the horses drink water and he brings her home.	(02:09)
[1:49] M.G.	<i>marete ařā māł, dāya</i> <i>muše: «kwiřa, ya čīa wira</i> <i>e nameyna alājūa</i> <i>āwirdīa?».</i>	He brings her home, his mother says: «O son, why have you brought	(02:13)

¹⁵⁰ The word *siłm*, reported as *silm* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011:750), means 'fear and dread along with circumspection in animals; hesitation and doubt along with caution. To be cautious in any action. To fear and flinch when seeing someone or something. To be afraid while standing still'.

¹⁵¹ *jīnns* (from Ar. *jinnī* pl. *jinn*) are supernatural creatures, either evil or benevolent, but capable of interacting physically with humans and objects in this world.

¹⁵² Already known to old Iranian mythology as a female demonic being or (evil) sorceress, the Pari (Pers. *pari*) progressively lost her negative attributes, becoming the prototype of a benign, fairy-like creature in later Iranian traditions.

		this weird piece of felt from there?».	
[1:50] M.G.	<i>öwša muše: «ar büł bin kānig¹⁵³ ařta mārer, dā, č(a) (h)āt arine? kārī ařta make». muše: «ŕeyb nerī».</i>	He says: «If he cleans out the ash from the bottom of the fireplace for you, mother, what's the problem? He is going to do some housework for you». She says: «That's fine».	(02:17)
[1:51] M.G.	<i>ya [...]</i>	This [...]	(02:23)
[1:52] M.G.	<i>dī dīt har nameyna hā māł-ö ařyān kārībār ī čīa make, tā zamānī daŋ hina makana řarusī.</i>	then, the girl made of felt stays at the house and does the housework and such things for them, until they invite what's-his-name to a wedding.	(02:26)
[1:53] M.G.	<i>dang řūia makana řarusī. masařan, va harsīn bičīt ařā parīva.</i>	They invite the husband to a wedding. For instance, (as if) you would go from Harsin to Parive.	(02:35)
[1:54] M.G.	<i>maču ařā parīva.</i>	He goes to Parive.	(02:39)
[1:55] M.G.	<i>yöwša [...] xwidā nīřt, ī dīta diris kirdā!¹⁵⁴</i>	Then he [...] God sat down and created this girl (with great care)!	(02:41)

¹⁵³ The word *kānig*, reported as *konik* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 921), refers to a 'pit or fire-container on which the *sāj* [i.e. round and convex piece of metal used to bake bread] is placed. Combustible material that accumulates after burning. The act of taking it out is called *konik*'. The same word in ^cAskari 'Ālam (1384/2005: 189) is glossed as 'a piece of wood placed under the *sāj* for baking bread'. Note that the connection of the main character with the ashes of the fireplace equates this story with more popular 'Cinderella' tales.

¹⁵⁴ This metaphor is used to underline the uncommon beauty of the girl.

- [1:56] *maču, boweγšī hatqə aře* She goes, her father has (02:44)
M.G. *sanīa, {# jūr} nāmzadī.* bought a ring for her, {#
like} an engagement.
- [1:57] *āy badbaxt!* Oh, poor (girl)!
S.S.
- [1:58] *γōwša maču. valā,* She goes, too. Well, she (02:54)
M.G. *nameyna manīa žīr* puts the piece of felt
kwičikī, mačua nām, čū under a rock, she goes
šarusī xās řaxsa make, inside, she dances
das kwiřeyša magirī, properly like (they do at)
hatqa kilik wižī makea weddings, she also takes
kilik kwiřa. the boy's hand (and)
slips the ring from her
own finger on to the
boy's finger.
- [1:59] *{? čuxitea}¹⁵⁵ mārīar,* She takes {? her little (02:58)
M.G. *mear deγšt.* (felt) cloak} out and
goes away.
- [1:60] *če ziriñī kirdīa, ava!* What a clever trick she (03:01)
S.S. has made!
- [1:61] *a! mear deγšt, mear deγšt,* Yes! She goes away, she (03:08)
M.G. *māy, nameyna makea kuł* goes away, she comes,
[...] a, mān, dāke var až she puts the piece of felt
ava piř gwini xwirīa mea on her shoulders [...] oh,
bine muše: «bās beya das it remained (to say that),

¹⁵⁵ Probably a diminutive form of the word *čux(ā)*, reported as *chuwex* or *chuoxxa* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 451) and described as ‘a gown or mantle worn by priests’. In ‘Askari ‘Ālam (1384/2005: 90), the word is defined as ‘a particular tunic worn by distinguished people, a gown’. An idea of the form and appearance of this item of clothing can be drawn from four pictures of cloaks (named *cura*, *cuga* or *cughā*) in Demant-Mortensen (1993: 317-398). According to Ingham (2005: 175), “a prestigious item is the *čōxah* or *jūxah* which is a jacket of varying length often highly decorated, bearing the same name as its material *jūx* ‘broad-cloth’, which has also a secondary development *mjawwax* ‘brocaded’ [...]. This item would seem to have been introduced from the north perhaps in Turkish times. A similar item called *cōxxa* is universally worn as an item of national dress in the Caucasus. This is an outer garment, like an extended jacket with long sleeves in black with cartridge cases on the breast. The word *cōxxa* has no meaning in the Caucasian languages but it denotes ‘heavy felt’ in Turkish (T. *čuha*). A dress of a similar type to the *cōxxa* is also worn in India known there as *cōgān*”.

	<i>ava, kwilī</i> {? <i>bīa</i> <i>šānava</i> }».	before that, his mother gives him a sack full of wool (and) says: «You have to give it to her and all of it {? has to be combed}».	
[1:62] S.S.	<i>xu.</i>	Fine.	(03:12)
[1:63] M.G.	<i>yōwša zū māy, duwāra</i> <i>nameyna makea kut-ō</i> <i>dara mačua nām-ō</i> <i>manīšīa hin šāna kirdin.</i> <i>kwiṛa māy, dītea matape.</i> <i>muše: «mi har a kasa</i> <i>meytīm, mi har ava</i> <i>meytīm».</i> <i>mačīna šarusī,</i> <i>daṅyāna makan.</i>	Then, she comes back early, she wears the piece of felt again, she enters the house and she sits down, what-do you-call-it, combing. The boy arrives, his heart beats. He says: «I want only that person, I want only that one». They go to the wedding, they invite them.	(03:26)
[1:64] S.S.	<i>mazānim, mušin: [...]</i>	I know, they say: [...]	(03:27)
[1:65] M.G.	<i>«xwidā ča bikeym? ava</i> <i>hā ku?».</i>	«God, what shall we do? Where is she?».	(03:28)
[1:66] M.G.	<i>muše: «hin aṛām bikan,</i> <i>bīrsāq¹⁵⁶ aṛām bāran, dō</i> <i>huṛ¹⁵⁷ diris kan tā mi</i>	(The prince) says: «Do (this) thing for me, bring me fritters,	(03:30)

¹⁵⁶The word *bīrsāq* or *beži* refers to a traditional dessert, usually cooked during the New Year's holidays or on the occasion of weddings. It is a type of fritter, oblong in shape, prepared with flour, sugar, animal fat (typical of the Kermānshāh region), cumin and turmeric (see Hamze'i, 1391/2012: 219-220). Izadpanāh (1391/2012: 12) defines the word *bersāq* as 'a particular type of bread, whose dough is prepared with wheat flour, milk and cumin, made into pieces and fried in some kind of fat. In the past, this bread was brought as provisions during long travels with quadrupeds'. Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 144) defines the word *bersāq* as a 'crispbread prepared with flour, egg, milk and sugar, fried in a local animal fat (*dān*) for long travels, because it goes bad late and is very energizing'.

¹⁵⁷ According to Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 476), the word *huṛ* refers to 'a big saddlebag (Pers. *xorjīm*), a sack of woven or plaited wool, having two wings or two horizontal pockets,

	<i>bičim, miney dita bikam».</i>	prepare two saddlebags so that I may go and look for the girl».	
[1:67] M.G.	<i>nōwkarala māžea šun-ō dō gila huř birsāq [...] yōwš hara muše: «ay, aytān xwidā! dā keywānu, tikate be! aytān xwidā!».</i>	He sends the servants and two saddlebags of fritters [...] (The felt- made girl) keeps saying: «Oh, oh, for God’s sake! Old lady, give (me) a small piece (of it)! For God’s sake!».	(03:39)
[1:68] M.G.	<i>kamī xamīra binīa masīnī. kilkawāna maču, manīa nāme. mōwršīne, manīa tu datqe, māžea bin xwirjīn.</i>	She gets a bit of dough from her. She goes and puts the ring into it. She fries it, puts it in a packet (and) throws it to the bottom of the saddlebag.	(03:48)
[1:69] S.S.	<i>har ařā a sā māta, bigir.</i>	You would say it is just for the master of the house.	(03:54)
[1:70] M.G.	<i>anü ča, har dita nameyna!</i>	Just so, exactly the felt- made girl!	(03:56)
[1:71] M.G.	<i>yōwša mačīn, dinyā magīrdīn, dit hā ku? čtā ku? dāyšīa muše: «řuta, ya parī bīa, ya jinī bīa. {# dā} hā ku? dit hā kura? līva, ku bīta?»</i>	Then they go, they travel all over the world, where is the girl? Where has she gone? His mother, too, says: «My dear, this one was a fairy, she was a sprite. Where is {# the mother}? Where is the	(03:58)

used to tie a load to the back of quadrupeds’. ⁶Askari ⁶Ālam (1384/2005: 96) defines the word *hurr* as ‘a big saddlebag of woven wool for the transportation and preservation of agricultural products’. In Izadpanāh (1391/2012: 47), the word *hur/xur* has the meaning of ‘a tool of woven wool, having two wings and used to transport wheat and the like’. An idea of the shape of these items of harness can be drawn from the pictures of saddlebags (*hurdj/hurdg/hurdjin/hurjak* and *hur/xorc*) in Demant-Mortensen (1993: 165-183).

		girl? Crazy (girl), where have you been?»	
[1:72]	<i>muše: «ŝey(b) nerī, mi</i>	He says: «It doesn't	(04:10)
M.G.	<i>bičim».</i>	matter, I shall go».	
[1:73]	<i>valā, maču, magīrdī,</i>	Well, he goes, he goes	(04:11)
M.G.	<i>baŝdar māḡhā, bīs šōw, ye</i>	around, after (several	
	<i>mā(h), māya dimā [...]</i>	months, twenty nights,	
	<i>hin mān dī [...] xu hin,</i>	one month, he comes	
	<i>tamāma mow āzāqa.</i>	back (and) [...] well, it	
		remained (to say) [...] well then, the provisions	
		finish.	
[1:74]	<i>āzāqa tamāma mow,</i>	The provisions finish,	(04:21)
M.G.	<i>dasa makea mil ī pirizī</i>	he gets his hands on	
	<i>hā bin xwirjīna.</i>	this bundle, which is	
		inside the saddlebag.	
[1:75]	<i>māretere, manete žīrī, a</i>	He takes it [i.e. the	(04:24)
M.G.	<i>[...] qarč! kilkawāna</i>	fritter] out, puts it under	
	<i>kazāya!</i>	(his teeth), yes [...] Crunch! It's the	
		aforesaid ring!	
[1:76]	<i>qarčea māy, kilkawānī</i>	A crunch-sound comes	(04:29)
M.G.	<i>ŝavazbadaṭa make. hina</i>	out, he exchanges his	
	<i>wižīa me, hina öw(=a</i>	ring, he gives his own	
	<i>māre), a.</i>	(ring away and takes)	
		hers, yes.	
[1:77]	<i>ārī, ārī [...]</i>	Yes, yes [...]	(04:31)
S.S.			
[1:78]	<i>{# mā(re)} [...] māre</i>	{# He tak(es)} [...] He	(04:34)
M.G.	<i>muše: «a ki hā bin māṭ</i>	takes (hers and) says:	
	<i>wižīma», a dīt wižīa</i>	«She's the one who's in	
	<i>muše, «bičīm aṛḡa ī</i>	my own house», he says	
	<i>haṭqa».</i>	to himself, «We shall go	
		back (in search of) this	
		ring».	

[1:79] M.G.	<i>valā, mān, mān aṛya,</i> <i>mān aṛya, muṣea dāy,</i> <i>muše: «nāxwašim, āš</i> <i>rište aṛām bika».</i>	Well, they come, they come back, they come back, he says to his mother, he says: «I'm sick, prepare a noodle soup for me».	(04:39)
[1:80] M.G.	<i>ōwša muše: «beya</i> <i>nameyna, bāre». muše:</i> <i>«mājirā rišit bigire!¹⁵⁸</i> <i>nameyna čü ditta</i> <i>makiše?».</i> <i>muše: «bāša».</i>	He also says: «Give it to the felt to carry». She says: «May something (bad) happen to you! How could you want the felt (to carry it)?». She says: «Fine».	(04:42)
[1:81] S.S.	<i>namīne yaʕnī namad</i> <i>kirdāsa sarī?</i>	Does 'Namine' mean that she has put (a piece of) felt on her head?	(04:52)
[1:82] M.G.	<i>anü ča, hu! tā bān pā [...]</i>	Oh yes! Up to the feet [...]	(04:53)
[1:83] S.S.	<i>šekle maʕlüm now [...]</i> <i>ārī.</i>	(So that) her shape would not be evident [...] yes.	(04:55)
[1:84] M.G.	<i>a, maʕlüm now ča hā</i> <i>žirī!</i>	Yes, (so that) it would not be clear what is under it!	(04:55)
[1:85] M.G.	<i>ya mārī [...]</i> <i>muše: «āš</i> <i>rišta bika bea nameyna</i> <i>aṛām bārī».</i>	This one brings [...] he says: «Prepare the noodle soup and give it to the felt (so that) he may bring it to me».	(04:59)
[1:86] M.G.	<i>ōwša muše: «kwiṛa!</i> <i>nameyna čü, āxir?</i> <i>mājirā rišit bigire! čü</i>	She says: «O son! How (comes) the felt, then? May something (bad)	(05:07)

¹⁵⁸ The verb *riš girtin* is reported as *reish gerten* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 653), meaning 'a misadventure or a trouble involving or happening to someone'. The expression can be compared also with Pers. *riš-e kasī be dast āvordan* meaning 'to have someone in one's control, to dominate'.

	<i>diṭta makīše?», muše: «va tō ča?».</i>	happen to you! How could you want (this)?», He says: «What (has it to do) with you?».	
[1:87] M.G.	<i>mea bine, marea nām dara, dara qoṣṭa make.</i>	She [i.e. the prince's mother] gives it [i.e. food] to her, she [i.e. the girl] carries it inside the room [lit. door] and he [i.e. the prince] locks the door.	(05:10)
[1:88] M.G.	<i>hina [...] čaqua māžea nameyna, möünī, hurī¹⁵⁹ kata deyšṭ va žīr nama. har diṭyāna matape.</i>	He throws a thingy [...] a knife at the felt-made girl (and) sees (that) a hourī came out [lit. fell out] from under the felt. Their hearts beat wildly.	(05:13)
[1:89] S.S.	<i>ham dit, ham kwiř.</i>	Both the girl, and the boy.	(05:21)
[1:90] M.G.	<i>a, yōwša māy, muše: «gīsīt bōwřire,¹⁶⁰ būnim ča dī va e kwiřma kird! ey xwidā xafate be! e kwiřma č(a) arde hāt?». vaxtī maču [...]</i>	Yes, she [i.e. the mother] arrives, too, (and) says: «May your braids be cut off! Let me see what he [i.e. the felt] did to this son of mine, then! Oh, may God despise him [i.e. the felt]! What happened to my son?».	When she goes [...]

¹⁵⁹ According to Islamic traditions, the houris (from Ar. *ḥaurā'* pl. *ḥūr*, or *ḥūriyya* pl. *ḥūriyyāt*) are the heavenly virgins whose company will be granted to male Muslim believers in the afterlife.

¹⁶⁰ This idiomatic expression, lit. 'may your braids be cut off', refers to the women's custom of cutting their hair as public expression of mourning for the death of a beloved person. It is used here as an exclamation of rage or surprise. Cf. *geis* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 1014).

[1:91] M.G.	<i>vaxtī maču, möünī hardik katina,¹⁶¹ hurika žīr ī nama bīsa.</i>	when she goes, she sees that both of them have fallen (to the ground), a houri was (hidden) under that felt.	(05:31)
[1:92] M.G.	<i>māretyāna wižyān, muše: «ya čā? ya fiāna?». öwš dī day nimake.</i>	She wakes them up (and) says: «What is this? Is this such-and- such?». Then, she doesn't speak anymore.	(05:37)
[1:93] M.G.	<i>haft sāz-ö haft řuž sür ařea mane,</i>	She prepares seven musical instruments and seven days of wedding for him,	(05:43)
[1:94] M.G.	<i>{# ařā dita} [...] sūrīa make ařā kwiřa, make ařā kwiřa.</i>	{# for the girl} [...] she prepares a wedding for the boy, she does it for the boy.	(05:45)
[1:95] M.G.	<i>čan midatī makatīa nām, xwidā jiftī kwiřa mea bine, doqolu.</i>	Some time passes, God gives her a couple of sons, twins.	(05:50)
[1:96] M.G.	<i>xwidā jiftea mea bine, bowa {# ku bi} [...] ku {? bičite}? bowa makatea mineye.</i>	God gives her a couple (of sons), (but) the father, {# where} [...] where {? does he go}? The father sets out to find her.	(05:58)
[1:97] S.S.	<i>makatea miney dita.</i>	He sets out after the girl.	(06:02)
[1:98] M.G.	<i>diteyš yak e dinānalīa sea, a.</i>	The girl, one of these teeth of hers is black, yes.	(06:02)
[1:99] M.G.	<i>muše «hāy?» xana va xana, šara šar, viātā viātāt mineya make.</i>	He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile, from town to	(06:05)

¹⁶¹ The verb *katin* 'to fall' here implies a sexual intercourse.

<p>[1:100] <i>muše</i> «<i>hāy?</i>» <i>xana va</i> M.G. <i>xana. yōwša muše:</i> «<i>xwidā ča bi (kam?)</i>», <i>har čī muše [...]</i></p>	<p>town, from region to region, he looks for her. He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile. Then, he says: «God, what shall (I do?)», whatever he says [...]</p>	(06:09)
<p>[1:101] <i>kwiřa maču mārete ařā</i> M.G. <i>māt. muše kwiř: «e</i> <i>badbaxtika! č(a)(h)āt</i> <i>arine?».</i></p>	<p>The boy goes and brings him to (his) house. The boy says: «Oh this miserable one! What’s the matter?».</p>	(06:15)
<p>[1:102] <i>dita möünī, muše: «a ki</i> M.G. <i>wižīase!».</i>¹⁶² <i>šōw sar</i> <i>hardō kwiřa mōwřī, tīxa</i> <i>manīa nām gīs dāka,</i> <i>šōw.</i></p>	<p>He sees the girl and says: «Oh, it’s her!». At night, he slaughters both sons (and) puts the blade among the mother’s braids, at night.</p>	(06:19)
<p>[1:103] <i>yōwša muše: «xwidāyā!».</i> M.G. <i>šōso, so gi hiza magirī</i> <i>möünī āylal hardik</i> <i>mirdina.</i></p>	<p>She says: «Oh my God!». The next day, when she wakes up in the morning, she sees that both children are dead.</p>	(06:29)
<p>[1:104] <i>yakī mea ī bāřiš yakī a</i> M.G. <i>bāřīše, makate arine,</i> <i>muše: «biču, fiłān</i> <i>fiłān».</i>¹⁶³</p>	<p>She puts one of them under this arm of hers, the other under that arm of hers, too, (while her husband) runs after her, saying: «Go away, such-and-such».</p>	(06:34)

¹⁶² There seem to be two 3SG clitic pronouns in *wižīase*, one of which is redundant.

¹⁶³ Here *fiłān fiłān* ‘such-and-such, so-and-so’ implies the insults the prince addresses to the girl, while chasing her away from the palace.

- [1:105] *bowa muše: «har dākyān* The father says: «It was (06:38)
 M.G *bīa! kī sar āylila mōwřī?* their mother(’s fault)!
har dāka bīa». *bīčāra* Who (could) slaughter
maču, maču, maču ařā the children? It was
pā ye dārī, keynī-ō dār surely the mother». The
kazāy. poor (girl) goes and goes
 and goes to the foot of a
 tree, the aforesaid
 spring and tree.
- [1:106] *maču ařā pā a dāra,* She goes at the foot of (06:50)
 M.G *muše: «xwidā gi tō va pā* that tree (and) says:
ī dāra, ya {xxx} iskeyš «God, you who {xxx} at
nijātī pyā kam, e řū ī the foot of this tree, now
bowama se kam». let me find redemption,
 let me destroy [lit.
 blacken the face of] this
 father of mine».
- [1:107] *si hina mān, si kamutar,* Three what-do-you-call- (07:00)
 M.G *muše:*¹⁶⁴ *«īma bībī hur,* them, three doves come.
bībī nur, bībī They say: «We are Lady
*sešameymīn.*¹⁶⁵ *ey* Houri, Lady Light and
badbaxt, nameyna Lady Tuesday. Hey
badbaxt!

¹⁶⁴ This verb has singular form, but plural meaning.

¹⁶⁵ These are three supernatural entities closely tied to the female ritual of the *sofre* (lit. ‘tablecloth’) described, among others, in Atkinson 1832: 25-29; Massé 1938: 302-303; Torab 1998: 183-188, 2007: 115-138; Kalinock 2004: 531-546; Omidsalar 2006. These rituals are usually performed on Tuesdays and involve a sacred meal prepared and consumed by women in order to fulfil a vow (Pers. *nazr*), be granted a wish or escape a misfortune. During the ceremony, stories and prayers are recited to bless the foodstuff, which is shared within the congregation, or distributed to the poor of the community. The stories told on these occasions usually deal with female difficulties. As explained by Kalinock (2004), the roots of this ritual might be grounded in pre-Islamic and even pre-Zoroastrian traditions, but it later became popular among Shia Muslim communities as well. Over time, the ritual incorporated Islamic beliefs and the *Bibis*, whose ultimate origins remain obscure, came to be identified as various female personalities of Shiite Islam (see Beveridge 1902: 144; Kalinock 2004: 542; Torab 1998: 179). Some sources describe them as pious and heroic women related to the events of Imam Hossein’s death at Karbalā’ (see Atkinson 1832: 25-29), while Massé (1938: 302-303) presents them as fictional characters, identified with the sisters of the King of fairies (Pers. *šāh-e pari*).

		poor, poor felt-made girl!	
[1:108]	<i>si gila pařa meylīma jā, ī</i>	We will leave three	(07:11)
M.G	<i>dāra bār biku, va pař bisā</i>	feathers here, take this	
	<i>bin milyān, a nazr</i>	tree and crush it, rub (it)	
	<i>xwidā, mowna āylila</i>	with the feathers under	
	<i>duwāra. me bičīa [...] valī</i>	their neck, as God's gift	
	<i>me bičīa tamūsī imām</i>	they will become (living)	
	<i>řizā.</i>	children again. But you	
		have to go [...] you have	
		to go cleaning at the	
		Imam Rezā (shrine).	
[1:109]	<i>me bičīa nām imām řizā,</i>	You have to enter Imam	(07:26)
M.G	<i>dī buyta hin imām řizā.</i>	Rezā (shrine), and then	
	<i>dī haq nerī busī era».</i>	be(come) Imam Rezā's	
		what-do-you-call-it. You	
		don't have the right to	
		stay here anymore».	
[1:110]	<i>yōwš, valā, kamutaral fiř</i>	And then, well, the	(07:31)
M.G	<i>bāta magirin, si pala¹⁶⁶</i>	doves take flight, they	
	<i>meylina jā.</i>	leave tree feathers there.	
[1:111]	<i>maču, gałā dāra māre,</i>	She goes, she brings the	(07:32)
M.G	<i>xāsa makue, masea bin</i>	leaves of the tree, she	
	<i>milyān.</i>	crushes (them) properly,	
		(and) rubs (them) under	
		their necks.	
[1:112]	<i>hardik āyla manīština</i>	Both children were	(07:39)
M.G	<i>qihava.</i>	sitting on their rears	
		once again.	
[1:113]	<i>māžetyāna šān, me ařā</i>	She puts them on her	(07:42)
M.G	<i>[...] maču ařā mašad,</i>	shoulders, she sets off	
	<i>{xxx} māy.</i>	towards [...] she goes to	

¹⁶⁶ The word *pal* seems to be used here as a variant of *pař*, with the meaning 'feather, plumage'. However, *pæl* is also reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 276-277) with the meaning 'branch, leaf, blossom', which would equally fit the context. In the latter sense the word is attested in Gorani (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 241; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 202-203).

		Mashhad, {xxx} she arrives,	
[1:114]	<i>marin māžine</i> ¹⁶⁷ <i>mašad</i> , M.G <i>masaṭan</i> .	they hit the road to Mashhad, for example.	(07:48)
[1:115]	<i>dī mowa hin wirala</i> [...] M.G <i>āylala māre ṣamaṭ, qōūa mowin, mowna yakī ye qwirānxwan, masaṭan</i> .	Then, she becomes thingummy there [...] she brings up the children, they become strong, each of them becomes a reader of the Quran, for instance.	(07:50)
[1:116]	<i>tā bowa, šūa muše:</i> M.G <i>«bičīma, bičīma mašadirā, bičīm zīyārati bikeymīn». pyākeyž hara mamīnea wira, bowa,</i>	Until the father, the husband says: «Let's go, let's go to Mashhad, let's go on a pilgrimage». The man keeps staying there [i.e. at the prince's palace] as well, the father,	(07:57)
[1:117]	<i>pīramird</i> . S.S.	the old man.	(08:05)
[1:118]	<i>anū ča dī, mačīn aṛā</i> M.G <i>mašad</i> .	Exactly, they go to Mashhad.	(08:05)
[1:119]	<i>hara muše</i> [...] <i>xūn ī</i> M.G <i>āylīla juša māre</i> , ¹⁶⁸ <i>bowa</i> .	He keeps saying [...] the children awaken a feeling of closeness in the father [lit. make the father's blood boil].	(08:08)

¹⁶⁷ Serial verb constructions involving the verb *āwirdin*, PRS *ār-/ar-* 'to bring' (and possibly *girtin*, PRS *gīr-* 'to take') do not always have purely semantic content, but may convey additional aspectual (inchoative) values broadly paralleling Italian constructions with *prendere e...*, *prendere a...* + main verb. Their translation throughout the texts is provisional.

¹⁶⁸ This expression, lit. 'to bring the blood to boiling', is comparable to Pers. *xun be juš āmadan* 'to get excited, to lose control'. Karimpour (1382/2003: 238), under the entry *juš* 'inclination; some sort of internal attraction', quotes the verb *xūn juš hātīn* with the meaning 'to have a feeling of closeness to a counterpart, both from the point of view of emotions and of blood relations'.

- [1:120] *hara muše: «xwidā!*
M.G *xwašmayāna māy! tō*
binīš, qwirān aṛā mi
bixwan». qwirāna
maxwane,
He keeps saying: «Oh (08:12)
God! I like them! You,
sit and read the Quran
for me!». He reads the
Quran for him,
- [1:121] *muše: «ča kāreytin? ča*
M.G *{xxx}?».* *mušin: «hüč,*
mādare dirīmin, aṛā
imām řizā teya makīše,
kāra make. imeyša sīqa
sar imām řizā, nānī
maxweymin».
He says: «What's your (08:17)
job? What {xxx}?. They
say: «Nothing, we have
a mother, she mops, she
works for (the shrine of)
Imam Rezā. We, too,
earn a living thanks to
our sacrifices for Imam
Rezā».
- [1:122] *yahāna. muše: «now*
M.G *dašvatī {xxx} aṛā māt?».*
öwša mušin: «mi ejāza
mādaram bisīnim, arā na
nimow».
And so on. He says: (08:27)
«Isn't it possible an
invitation {xxx} to (your)
house?». They say: «I
shall get my mother's
permission, otherwise
it's not possible».
- [1:123] *yöwša muše: «valā, a dö*
M.G *nafarin, hara mušin*
“bāym aṛā māt”»,
mušina dāka, «ča
bikam?».
Then, he says: «Well, (08:35)
there are those two
people (who) keep
saying “we shall come to
(your) house”», they say
to the mother, «What
shall I do?».
- [1:124] *dāyša va düredür maču*
M.G *möünī bowa kazāy-ö šüe.*
The mother, then, from (08:42)
afar, goes and sees the
aforesaid father and her
(own) husband.
- [1:125] *yöwša muše: «šarusānī*
M.G *bisīnin, bāran, šarusān*
ptāsikie».
Then she says: «Buy (08:47)
and bring a doll, a
plastic doll».

- [1:126] *mārin, sifra māžin-ō* They bring (it), they lay (08:52)
M.G *parde dirī, a žina ha dīm.* the tablecloth and there's a curtain, that woman is behind it.
- [1:127] *muše: «dākam!».* *muše:* He says: «Oh mother!». (08:57)
M.G *«buša dāt, buš [...] buša* (The girl's father) says.
māmānat, buš "bā-ō nān «Tell your mother, tell
bixwa!"». [...] tell your mom, tell (her to) come and eat!».
- [1:128] *muše: «na, buša e* She says: «No, tell this (09:02)
M.G *šarusāna, buš "nān* doll, tell (her) to eat!».
bixwa!"».
- [1:129] *yōwša muše: «āxir* He says: «Well, how (09:05)
M.G *šarusān čü nāna maxwe?* (could) a doll eat? Dolls
šarusān nimow nān can't eat!».
bixwe».
- [1:130] *muše: «anü dā čü sar āyl* She says: «Then, how (09:09)
M.G *wiža möwři? mādar dīta* (could) a mother
sar farzand wižī bōwře?». slaughter her own children? Have you (ever) seen a mother slaughtering her own children?».
- [1:131] *muše [...] dā māya nām,* He says [...] the mother (09:14)
M.G *dā māya nām, dāstān* comes in, the mother
muše: «ya bowama, šāšiq comes in (and) tells the
mi bīa, story: «This is my father, he was in love with me,
- [1:132] *min ī nama diris* I made this felt, I wore (09:20)
M.G *kirdima, kirdimasa varim* it so that the hands of
tā ī bowa dasea mi this father (of mine)
nařase. wouldn't reach out for me.
- [1:133] *hātima, iska, katīasa* I came (here and), at (09:25)
M.G *šunim. až e [...] vitīa [...]* that moment, he started

	<i>katīasa šunim, tā pyām kirdīa.</i>	looking for me. From this [...] he said [...] he started looking for me, until he found me.	
[1:134] M.G	<i>iska gi pyām kirdīa, sar āylila biṛīa».</i>	As soon as he found me, he slaughtered the kids».	(09:31)
[1:135] M.G	<i>pādišā, kwiṛ pādišā muše: «{# ha} [...] haft {# kū} [...] hin haft [...] xar pyā kan, hīzam bāran, kua bikan.¹⁶⁹ bowa binina milī, āgirī dan, hara imām řizā».</i>	The king, the prince says: «Find {# sev(en)} [...] seven {# braz(iers)} [...] thingy, seven [...] donkeys, bring some firewood (and) make the stack. Place the father on it (and) burn him, right at (the) Imam Rezā (shrine)».	(09:34)
[1:136] M.G	<i>haft kūra hina māran, bowa manina milī, nafta makea milī, āgirīa mean.</i>	They bring seven braziers (to) such-and-such (place), they place the father on top, he pours gasoline on him (and) they burn him.	(09:47)
[1:137] M.G	<i>āgirīa mean. das āylila magirī, bowa, mān aṛā māṭ.</i>	They burn him. The father takes the children by the hand (and) they go back home.	(09:53)
[1:138] M.G	<i>mān aṛā māṭ. tamām bī.</i>	They go back home. This was the end.	(09:56)

¹⁶⁹ The word *ku* is reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 687) with the meaning of ‘collection, pile, stack’ (= Pers. *kume*).

Text 2: *Čuwīna* (The wooden girl)

Text 2 was recorded in Harsin on the 24th of January 2014 (4th of Bahman 1392). The consultant (F. P.) is a forty-six year old woman, native of Harsin and living in the city at the time of recording. She has received elementary school education. The folktale has been recorded in the private house of one of her relatives in Harsin.

Summary: this folk narrative fits into the category of *Tales of Magic* and displays a composite narrative schema: the prologue is comparable to Marzolph's (1984) type *311A *Namaki and the Div*,¹⁷⁰ while the content of the second part overlaps with that of the story of *Nameyna* (Text 1), i.e. Marzolph's (1984) type *510B *Cinderella*.¹⁷¹ A similar tale is included in Amanolahi & Thackston (1986: 64-70, 156-157):

A farmer and his wife have three daughters. Before going to town, he asks them what they need. The wife and the older daughters ask for clothes, while the youngest asks for a *xiftīlīxiftān*. The man looks for the imaginary dress without success. Finally, he overhears that a demon living on a mountain has it. The man goes there, but indulges in eagerness. While he is stealing the *xiftīlīxiftān* and other precious objects, the demon wakes up and tries to eat him. The creature has mercy upon the man on condition that he hands his three daughters over to him. The man accepts and goes back home, where he tells the matter to his wife. The youngest daughter eavesdrops the conversation. On a Friday night, the demon kidnaps the elder daughter (*311A II c). Back at the cave, he gives her a cattle's head to eat but, as soon as the demon leaves the cave, she throws it away. Later, the demon checks if the girl has eaten the head and discovers the fraud (*311A III a). The same happens with the second daughter (*311A III b). The last daughter, aware of the situation, ties a cat around her waist. When the demon gives her the head to eat, she gives it to the cat. The girl, with a play on words, convinces the demon that she has eaten the head and makes him content (*311A III c). With a second trick, she discovers the place where the "bottles of life" of the demons are

¹⁷⁰ Cf. ATU 311 *Rescue by the sister* (previously AT 311A* *Escape in Glass Gourd*).

¹⁷¹ Cf. ATU 510B *Peau d'Asne* (previously *The Dress of Gold, of Silver and of Stars* [*Cap 'o Rushes*]).

stored. She destroys them and sets other captives free. Among them, are a goldsmith and a carpenter, who give her a golden dress and a wooden box (*510B II a). They put her in the box and let her go with the river flow. The box arrives at the king's palace, where the girl becomes a maidservant (*510B II b). At this point, the narration follows the events in Text 1. The girl shows herself off at a wedding and the prince falls in love with her (*510B II c). The two exchange their rings. The prince sets out in search of the girl. The girl hides the ring into a fritter. The prince eventually finds it and understands the truth (*510B III a). Once back home, he asks the wooden girl to bring him food and compels her to reveal her true identity (*510B III b). They finally get married (*510B IV).

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[2:1]	<i>ya pyāyk-ō žinī si gīla dīt dirin.</i>	A man and his wife have three daughters.	(00:00)
[2:2]	<i>ī si dita [...] pyāka kišāvarza.</i>	These three girls [...] the man is a farmer.	(00:05)
[2:3]	<i>bašd ki kišāvarzī tamāma mow, muše: «mi bičima šar», xarīd bike. mušea ditele, muše: «ča ařātān bārim?».</i>	After he has finished farming [lit. farming is finished], he says: «I am going to the city», he would do some shopping. He says to his daughters, he says: «What shall I bring for you?».	(00:09)
[2:4]	<i>ye dītīa muše, masatan: «ařām, řusarī, kōwš». ī dīt vasata muše: «pīrhan ařām bār-ō čādir».</i>	A daughter says, for instance: «For me, a headscarf, shoes». This middle daughter says: «Bring me a shirt, and a chador».	(00:17)

- [2:5] *dit gwijar muše: «aṛā mi xiftilixiftān bār».* The younger daughter says: «Bring me a *xiftilixiftān*». ¹⁷² (00:26)
- [2:6] *muše: «bāšad». bašd pyā mačua nām šar.* He says: «Fine». Then the man goes to the city. (00:31)
- [2:7] *mačua nām šar, xarīd aṛā dit kaṭiḡ-ö vasat-ö žinea make.* He goes to the city (and) buys things for the elder daughter, the middle (daughter) and his wife. (00:33)
- [2:8] *bašd har je maču, muše: «xiftilixiftān?».* Then, wherever he goes, he says: «The *xiftilixiftān*?». «There is no *xiftilixiftān*», they say. (00:37)
- [2:9] *āxirī, yakī muše: «xiftilixiftān, valā, ye dīvī ki hā fiṭān kü ava dirī. agar šāns bārī bičī ava xaftū,* Finally, one says: «The *xiftilixiftān*, well, a demon, who is on such-and-such mountain, has that. If you will be lucky (enough) to go when he is already sleeping, (00:42)
- [2:10] *matūnī bārī. valī tamaš nagirtit ā! har, har a xiftilixiftāna bārī, bāy».* you can take it. But you don't get carried away by greed, ah! You (should) take only, only that *xiftilixiftān* (and) come back». (00:51)
- [2:11] *pyā muše: «bāšad», maču.* The man says: «Fine» (and) goes (away). (00:57)

¹⁷² There is no appropriate translation for the term *xiftilixiftān* or *xiftelixiftān*, referring to an imaginary piece of clothing. The word is built through reduplication of the term *xiftān* (Pers. *xaftān*) 'kaftan, woman's short velvet jacket' (Karimpour 1382/2003: 310). In the version of this tale contained in Amanolahi & Thackston (1986: 65, 156), the term used is *jumai xudkan u khudbāz*, tentatively translated as 'a dress that automatically undresses and opens'. As stated there, it is likely that such terms "once had meaning but have survived only in similar expressions tied to particular stories" (Amanolahi & Thackston 1986: 65). The indefinite nature of the term is functional in producing the misunderstanding that underlies the narrative plot.

- [2:12] *maču. vaxtī maču dīv hā xāw. muše: «sa xu».* He goes. When he goes, the demon is asleep. He says: «Very good!». (00:59)
- [2:13] *māre tamaš magirete,¹⁷³ har čī če qašang va wira has-ō ī xiftīlīxiftāna makea nām gwini. ka me bāy,* He begins to get carried away by greed, he puts any beautiful thing there may be and this *xiftīlīxiftān* in his sack. When he is about to come back, (01:02)
- [2:14] *dīva mowa xavarā.* the demon wakes up. (01:08)
- [2:15] *dīva mowa xavarā, me ye daš'a bixwete, bikwišete.* The demon wakes up, and suddenly is on the point of eating him, killing him. (01:11)
- [2:16] *muše: «ya aš'a dita möwrim, atān xwidā nakwišam!», yahāna.* He says: «I am taking it for (my) daughter, by God don't kill me!», and such things. (01:14)
- [2:17] *muše: «sa, bāad qowt bī si ditat beya mi.* He says: «Fine, you have to promise you'll give me your three daughters. (01:19)
- [2:18] *agar si ditat bey nimakwiš(i)mat, valī xu dī, ar ney maxwama(t)».* If you'll give (me) your three daughters I won't kill you but, well then, if you won't give them (to me) I'll eat you». He says: «That's fine, my three daughters (will be) for you». (01:22)
- [2:19] *pyā māy, bāra mārīa māt, žin xwašīa make, dital fira xwašīa makan,* The man comes back, he brings the load home, the wife cheers (01:29)

¹⁷³ On this kind of serial verb constructions, cf. footnote no. 167.

- [2:20] *muše: «ařāmān hin
āwirdīa».* up, the daughters cheer
up very much,
she says: «He has (01:35)
brought us this and
that».
- [2:21] *baʕd [...] valī pyāka fira
pakara, bowa.* Then [...] but the man, (01:38)
the father, is very sad.
- [2:22] *žinea muše: «tō ařā īqira
pakarī? ī kwil čā xiřta,
āwirdīta!».* His wife says: «Why are (01:40)
you so sad? You have
bought and brought all
these things!».
- [2:23] *dit gwijīn fira dānā-ō
bāhuša, mačua pišt dara,
guša me.* The younger daughter (01:45)
is very wise and
intelligent, she goes
behind the door (and)
listens.
- [2:24] *muši: «ya xūn ī
ditalmānasa! ya
āwirdīm(i)na, ī
ditalmāna dī bāad
beym(i)na jāγ».* He says: «This is (01:49)
(worth) our daughters’
blood! We have brought
this, and now we have
to give our daughters in
return».
- [2:25] *ōwiš fira nāřāhata mow.* She becomes very upset, (01:54)
too.
- [2:26] *baʕd, dīva muše: «šōw
jomša mām, jūr girmhār.* Then, the demon says: (01:56)
«On Friday night I will
come, like a
thunderbolt.
- [2:27] *tō ye čuī meya das dit [...]
ye gila ditilat muši “biču
a gāva ka deγšt”,* You will put a wooden (02:00)
stick in the girl’s hands
[...] you will say to one of
your daughters “go and
bring that cow outside”,
and then I will carry her (02:06)
away».
- [2:28] *ki dī mina mōwriime».*

- [2:29] *öwīš qabula make. dī, har
ajūri, šōw jomša mow,
girmhāra mow,* So, he accepts. Then, (02:07)
exactly like that, it
comes Friday night,
there comes a
thunderbolt,
- [2:30] *dita makea deyšt. «biču,
řuła, biču a gāva ka
deyšt».* he leads the daughter (02:11)
outside. «Go, my dear,
go (and) bring that cow
outside».
- [2:31] *dīva mōwrete.* The demon carries her (02:15)
away.
- [2:32] *dīv ki dit kaṭiṇa mōwrī,
maču ye dafā, muše:
«mi tō bāad biwāzim»,
dīva muše: «mi biwāzima
tō, vagard mi řarusī
bikey».* When the demon (02:17)
kidnaps the elder
daughter, he goes and
suddenly says: «I have
to marry you», the
demon says: «I shall
claim you (as my wife),
you shall marry me».
- [2:33] *diteyš dī hūč nimuše.
muše [...] ye kale, kala yā
gusfanda yā gāya [...]* The girl doesn't say (02:25)
anything, anymore. He
says [...] (it is) a head, a
sheep or a calf's head
[...]
- [2:34] *muše: «yāna, masan [...]
tā mi hātimā va kü, tō
yāna bixwey».* he says: «These ones, (02:31)
for example [...] until I
come back from the
mountain, you shall eat
these».
- [2:35] *öwīš muše: «bāšad».* She says: «Fine». (02:35)
- [2:36] *bašd ki dīva mačua kü,
īša muše: «agar
bixwame!». zü māre
māžetea nām ye ešqāṭī.* After the demon has (02:37)
gone to the mountain,
this one says: «Of
course I won't eat it!».
She quickly takes it and

- throws it among some rubbish.
- [2:37] *dīva kūa māa xwor,*
muše: «xwordī?». *muše:*
«a!». *muše: «buš “gyān*
tō”!». *muše: «gyān tō».*
bašd muše: «kala, kala!». The demon comes down from the mountain (and) says: «Did you eat?». She says: «Yes!». He says: «Say “(I swear) to your soul”!». She says: «(I swear) to your soul». Then, he says: «Head, head!». (02:42)
- [2:38] *kala qissa make,* *muše:*
«hāma nām ešqāti». The head speaks (and) says: «I am in the garbage». (02:48)
- [2:39] *ava makwiše, dīv. muše:*
«ya dī duru dā-ō [...]». The demon kills that one. He says: «Well, this one lied and [...]». (02:52)
- [2:40] *tā diti dōwim. dit*
dōwimīš hara t̄jūrī
mōwre. ōwīš duwāra
muše: «ī kala bixwa»,
muše: «bāšad». Until (it comes to) the second daughter. He kidnaps the second daughter like this, too. So, he says again: «Eat this head». She says: «Fine». (02:56)
- [2:41] *mačua kū, māya muše:*
«xwordī?», *muše: «a!».*
muše: «buš “gyān tō”»,
muše: «gyān tō». He goes to the mountain, he comes (back and) says: «Did you eat?», she says: «Yes!». He says: «Say “(I swear to) your soul”», she says: «(I swear to) your soul». (03:01)
- [2:42] *bašd ōwša ham kala*
hanā make, *muše:* Then, he calls the head, too, (and the head) says: (03:06)

	<i>«hāma deyšt, hāma nām putī».</i>	«I am outside, I am in a bin».	
[2:43]	<i>ōwša makwiše.</i>	He kills her, too.	(03:11)
[2:44]	<i>dit sivom, ki dī xavar dirī ya aṛā kua maču, pišt gwijjīne dirī. pištā va ye hinī mese řusarī mōwsete kamarī. mōwsete kamarī-ō [...]</i>	The third daughter, who is finally aware of where she is going, has a little kitten. She ties the cat to her waist with something like a headscarf. She ties it to her waist and [...]	(03:13)
[2:45]	<i>bowea muše: «řuṭa biču, a gāva ka deyšt». maču.</i>	her father says: «My dear, go (and) bring that cow outside». She goes.	(03:22)
[2:46]	<i>dīva mōwrete-ō [...]</i>	The demon kidnaps her and [...]	(03:24)
[2:47]	<i>muše: «mi biwāzima tō». ijūrī muše, hüč nimuše, muše: «mačima kü, māmā, bāad ī kala bixwey». muše: «bāšad».</i>	says: «I shall marry you». He talks like this, (she) doesn't say anything, he says: «I am going to the mountain, (when) I come back you must eat this head». She says: «Fine».	(03:27)
[2:48]	<i>īš kala māre, mea pištē. pištē kala maxwe. ism pištēyštī nāzīlīnāzāna.¹⁷⁴</i>	This one, then, brings the head (and) gives it to her cat. Her cat eats the head. Her cat's name is Sweetie.	(03:34)
[2:49]	<i>duwāra mōwsetea kamarī. dīva māy, muše: «kala xwordī?». muše:</i>	She ties it to her waist again. The demon comes (and) says: «Did	(03:41)

¹⁷⁴ The term *nāzīlīnāzān*, translated here as 'Sweetie' and used as proper name for the animal helper, is built on the term *nāz* 'beautiful, pretty, delicate, sweet' (cf. Pers. *nāz, nāzanīn, nāzu, nāzān*) with the intended meaning of 'the most beautiful, the most delicate, the sweetest (of all)'. As it is the case of the word *xiftīlīxīftān*, the term *nāzīlīnāzān* causes a misunderstanding, that is useful for the development of the plot.

- «a!». *muše: «buš “gyān tō”», muše: «gyān tō»,* you eat the head?». She says: «Yes». He says: «say “(I swear) to your soul”». She says: «(I swear) to your soul».
- [2:50] *muše: «kala, kala!», muše: «hāma nām dīt nāzīlīnāzān!».* He calls: «Head, head!» (03:46) (and the head) says: «I’m inside Sweetie’s belly!».
- [2:51] *dīv fira xoš(h)āta, muše: «va šalī, a dī duru nyā. har īa mawāzime».* The demon is very happy, he says: «By ʿAli, that one didn’t lie, then. It is this one I will marry».
- [2:52] *muše: «mi agard tō šarusī bikam». īša muše: «na, tō xwiškilam hardō kwištīta.* He says: «I shall get married with you». This one says: «No, you have killed both of my sisters.
- [2:53] *is(k)a čihel šōw aṛā ī xwiškim, čiheliš aṛā a xwišk, ye haštād ruž mi āzīyatī bigirim!* Now, forty nights for this sister of mine, forty for that sister too, I shall be in mourning for about eighty days!
- [2:54] *tā ī haštād řuža tamām now, šarusī nīmakeym». dīviš ki mazāne ya dī řāsgu-ō yāna muše: «bāšad».* Until these eighty days won’t be over, we won’t get married». The demon, who knows that this (girl) is honest etc., says: «Fine».
- [2:55] *ī č(ih)el řuža dī dīt kārī make, nāzīlīnāzān. masan, dīv vanīa mařase, qazā aře dirisa make, lebāsea mašure, sarea majurī dīval-ō yāna,* During these forty days, then, the girl, (his) Sweetie, does some housework. For example, she takes care of the demon, she

- [2:56] *tā dō si řu(ž) manīa dī
haštād řuž tamām bu.* prepares food for him,
she washes his clothes,
she delouses his head,
the demons etc.,
until two or three days (04:24)
are left for the eighty
days to be over.
- [2:57] *bařd muřea dīva, muře:
«řāsī, řiša řomr¹⁷⁵ tō hā
ku?»* Then, she says to the (04:27)
demon, she says:
«Right! Where is your
bottle of life?»
- [2:58] *dīv nāřāhata muře:
«ařā?».* muře: «āxar,
řinařtima e dīvala řiša
řomr dirītin. hūč, mi vanī
movāzibat bikam». The demon (becomes) (04:32)
upset (and) says:
«Why?». She says:
«Well, I've heard from
these demons that you
have bottles of life.
Nothing, I would take
care of it».
- [2:59] *dīvīř a duru muře: «ī
hōzča řiša řomr mina».* The demon, lying, says: (04:39)
«This fountain is my
bottle of life».
- [2:60] *bařd, ditiřa mazāne ya
nīya. soa māy, gořkāri
dōwr hōzča make, čirāq
řuřana make, ya ejurīa
dōwrī xiřa māre.* Then, the girl knows it (04:43)
is not. The (next)
morning she comes,
she plants flowers
around the fountain,
she lights lamps, she
turns around it this way.
- [2:61] *dīva kūa māy, muře: «ya
čīa?».* muře: «mar tō
nōw(i)tī “ya řiša
řomrīma”?. mi alđān The demon comes from (04:50)
the mountain (and)
says: «What is this?».
She says: «You have

¹⁷⁵ The term *řiša řomr*, translated here as ‘bottle of life’ and reported in Lazard (1990: 268) as ‘flacon de vie (d'un génie) [bottle of life (of a genie)]’, refers to the container where the demon’s external soul is stored.

- dirim movāzibatyāna*
makam. min, tō [...] mi dī
kas nerim, har tō dirim»,
yāna.
- said “this is my bottle of life”, haven’t you? Now I’m taking care of them [i.e. the bottles]. I, you [...] well, I have nobody, you’re the only one I have», and so forth.
- [2:62] *dīviš gula maxwe, muše:*
 «*ya ki šiša ţomr wižim*
řāsī nīšānī nāma tǵūrīa
make, agar řāsīa nīšān
dam dī ča make?».
- The demon, then, is deceived (and) says:
 «This (girl), to whom I didn’t show my bottle of life correctly, is doing this. What would she do, then, if I show her the right one?» (04:58)
- [2:63] *ařea muše, muše: «āre,*
šiša ţomrim bā(a)d
nīšānit dam. hā era, seyr
bika, ya hin mina, ava
hin kīan? [...]». *har čī*
fāmīliš dirī hā lā ī dīva.
- He says to her: «Ok, I have to show you my (real) bottle of life. It is here, you see, this is mine, whose are those ones? [...]». (The bottle of) any relative he has is next to this demon(’s bottle), too. (05:06)
- [2:64] *pyā ki [...] dīv ki mačua*
kū, yawāšīž dītīša mārī
tamāmi šiša ţomr
kwilyāna maš(i)kane.
 .
- When the man [...] when the demon goes to the mountain, the girl quietly takes all the bottles of life, she breaks them all. (05:15)
- [2:65] *šiša ţomr kwilyān ki*
šikān, kwila mowna
čapčapa tüta-ō¹⁷⁶ mačīna
āsīmān.
- When she has broken all of their bottles of life, they all become (05:22)

¹⁷⁶ The meaning of the (adverbial?) expression *čapčapa tüta* is unclear and the translation of this passage is tentative. The form *čapčapa* is comparable to the adverb *čepæh čepæh* ‘in

- [2:66] *baʕd, ditiša māy, möüni
dī tanyā mow, āzāda
mow. seyrī nām māt hina
make, dīva, čanī čī has-ö
yāna. maču, ye dar vāza
make, möüni čanī
mardim zindānī kirdā.
až žin-ö až pyā-ö až hina
nām hin ī zindānī ī
dīvna. kwilyān āzāda
make.* handfuls of dust and go
(up) to the sky.
Then, the girl comes
and sees that she is
finally alone, she is free.
She takes a look at
what's-his-name, the
demon's house, (to see)
how many things are
there and so on. She
goes, she opens a door
(and) sees that (the
demon) has made some
people captive. From
men, to women, to
thingummy are among
what-do-you-call-them,
these demon's
prisoners. She sets all of
them free. (05:29)
- [2:67] *kwilyān āzāda make.
baʕd, va nām ī
zindānīala yakī zargara,
yakī najjāra.* She sets all of them
free. Then, among these
prisoners, one is a
goldsmith and one is a
carpenter. (05:46)
- [2:68] *mušina dit, mušin: «birā,
tō ima āzād kirdā, haqa
milmān dirī.¹⁷⁷ bā(a)d
hatman aʕāt dī yakī ye čī
diris keymin».* They say to the girl, they
say: «My friend, you
have set us free, we owe
it to you. So, each one
(of us) absolutely has to (05:51)

handfuls, in groups' (Kulivand 1390/2011: 412). The sense of *tūta* is hard to determine, but generally conveys the idea of something small (cf. *tūta* 'little finger' in Karimpour 1382/2003: 191; *tuwei* 'dust, extremely small piece of something' and *tuweit* 'piece or small quantity of something, such as earth, tea, flour, rice and the like' in Kiyāni Kulivand 1390/2011: 365).

¹⁷⁷ This verb literally means 'to have a right to someone's neck' but is used idiomatically with the meaning 'to be in debt to someone for doing something; to owe something to someone'. It is equivalent to Pers. *haqq be gardan-e kasi dāstan*.

- make one thing for you».
- [2:69] *zargara muše: «mi ye lebāse tamām zař, tařā ařāt dirisa makam, a (ž) köwš až kwil čī».* The goldsmith says: «I will make you a dress all of gold, from the shoes to everything (else)». (05:58)
- [2:70] *najjāra muše: «mi ařāt ča diris kam?».* The carpenter says: «What shall I make for you?» (06:04)
- [2:71] *dita muše: «mi ki ī lebās zařā bikama varim bičima deyšt, xu, kwil dī, hina makan. nimow, möüninam-ō har ařā xātir tiřāka bīa čīa sarma mārin.* The girl says: «When I will wear this golden dress to go outside, well then, everybody will do such and such a thing. It's not possible, they will see me and they will cause me a lot of trouble just for the sake of the gold. (06:07)
- [2:72] *ye lebāse va ču ařām diris ka, vagard ye jařbeyšī va ču andāza wižim diris ka. bāžima āw, ki būnam e sa(r)nivišt mina va ku. bana mow e sarnivišt mi ařā kua maču».* Make me a dress (made) of wood, make (it) with a wooden box of my own size, too. Throw me in the water, so I see where my destiny leads. It will become bound where this destiny of mine leads». (06:21)
- [2:73] *ōwša muše: «bāšad».* He, then, says: «Fine». (06:30)
lebāsi čuwīne aře dirisa make-ō ye jařba čuwīš aře dirisa make. māžetea nām-ō dare möwse, metea ābi řavān, bi qowř mařruf. He makes her a wooden dress and he also makes a wooden box for her. He puts (her) inside (it), he closes its lid and

- [2:74] *ī āvi řavāna maču maču
tā mařasīa nām māt ye
pādišāyka.*¹⁷⁸ leaves it into the water
flow, as they say.
This running water (06:39)
goes and goes, until it
reaches the house of a
king.
- [2:75] *pādišā a řuža ye nazrī
dirin, kwil hāna nām
hasār-ō mōūnin ye jařbe
dirī āwa māre.* That day there is a ritual (06:44)
banquet at the king('s
palace), everybody is in
the courtyard and they
see that the water is
carrying a box.
- [2:76] *mušin: «a čua bār ki
bišikanin, ařā žīr āgir
qazā dirisa makan xua».
maš(i)kaninī, mōūnin ye
diti hā nāme.* They say: «Take that box (06:50)
and let them break it. It
is good for (being put)
under the fire (on
which) they are cooking
food». They break it
(and) see there is a girl
inside.
- [2:77] *mušin: «čīa? tō era ča
makey?».* They say: «What is this? (06:58)
What are you doing
here?».
- [2:78] *muše: «hüč, badbaxtim,
ījūrī dī dānasama āwirā-
ō yāna». muše: «řeyb
nerī, e bīlā va řonwān
kolfatī era kār bike».* She says: «Nothing, I'm (07:00)
miserable, they threw
me in the water like
this, and so on» He
says: «Ok, let her work
here as a servant».
- [2:79] *mušin: «īsmīt čīa?»,
muše: «īsmīm čuwīnea».* They say: «What's your (07:08)
name?». She says: «My
name is Wooden».
- [2:80] *bařd ī kāra makea wira,
tā modatī. bařd a modatī,* Then, she works there (07:11)
for some time. After

¹⁷⁸ The nature of the final /a/ here is unclear. It might be analyzed as an oblique marker (see §3.1.3.1).

- guḡā kwiř vazīr řarusī dirin, kwil huz pādišā yāna mačīn řarusī kwiř vakīl, ī taktanyā manīšea nām māł.*
- some time, apparently, there is the wedding of the minister's son. The whole royal family etc. goes to the wedding of the delegate's son, (while) this one [i.e. the wooden girl] sits all alone in the house.
- [2:81] *bařd a modatī fikra make, muše: «va řalī, bīlā minīř bičīma řarusīa».* After some time she thinks (and) says: «By ʿAli, let me go to the wedding too». (07:24)
- [2:82] *māy, lebās čuwīnal var wižīa mārer-ō lebās tałāřī-ō zařī,* She comes, she takes off the wooden clothes and (with) the golden dress, (07:28)
- [2:83] *hara sarbāna sarbān maču ařā māł vazīr.* from roof to roof she goes to the minister's house. (07:33)
- [2:84] *maču. vaxtī mōūnī kwil dirin řaxsa makan-ō yāna, iř ye dařřa maču qirī řaxsa makear e lebās tałāřī. dit fira xořgiřī bīa.* She goes. When she sees that everybody is dancing etc., suddenly she goes, too, and dances a bit, with this golden dress (on). She was also a very beautiful girl. (07:37)
- [2:85] *mū sar pariřān-ō boland-ō [...] kwiř pādiřāyša māy aġarde qirī řaxsa make. řāřiq ī dita mow.* (With her) ruffled and long hair and [...] then, the prince comes and dances with her a bit. He falls in love with this girl. (07:46)
- [2:86] *muše: «xu, tō va ku hātī? ařā kua mačī?» muše:* He says: «Well, where did you come from? Where are you going?» (07:52)

- «*mi maqrib hātima, aʿā mašriqa mačim*». She says: «I have come from the west and I'm going to the east».
- [2:87] *dit ki ye la(h)za manīa masan marāsim tamām bu, qabl a kwilyāna māy, maču aʿā māt. duwāra lebās čuwīnila makea var-ō manīše.* The girl, when just a moment, for instance, has remained for the ceremony to be over, she comes (back) before all of them (and) goes home. She wears the wooden dress again and she sits down. (07:58)
- [2:88] *yānīša mačina māt. kwiř pādišā, bi qowt mašruf, {? bī dama wira makatī},¹⁷⁹ šāšiq bīa. muše: «mi har a dita meytim».* Those ones go home, too. The prince, as they say, {? remains there helpless}, he is in love. He says: «I want exactly that girl». (08:07)
- [2:89] *kwila mušin: «āxir awa ku hātīa? va ku čīa?»* Everybody say: «Well, where has she come from? Where has she gone?» (08:13)
- [2:90] *tō nimatūnī [...]». muše: «na, mi bičīma šune». sardār-ō sipā kwil jamša men ki biču va mašriq, va dombāt dit.* You can't [...]». He says: «No, I shall go in search of her». They gather all the generals and the army to go to the east in search of the girl. (08:16)
- [2:91] *dā-ō {xxx} mušin: «bīlā ye kamī birsāq aʿyān diris bikeym, aʿā nām řī».* The mother and {xxx} say: «Let's prepare a few fritters for (them to eat) on the way». (08:24)

¹⁷⁹ The meaning of *bī dam* (lit. 'speechless', cf. *dam* 'mouth, breath') is unclear in this context. In Jaliliyān (1385/2006: 136), under the entry *bē dam(-u zuwān)* 'shy, timid', the expression *bē dam(-u zuwān) kaft-* is glossed as idiomatic 'to be helpless' (Pers. *nātavān*).

- [2:92] *mi dī ya nōw(i)timī:
angoštarišī kwiř pādišā
mea dita. muše: «ya hin
mi, bigir. hidīya mi bigir
ařā tō».* Well, I didn't tell this: (08:29)
the prince gives the girl
a ring. He says: «This is
mine, take it. Take my
present for you».
- [2:93] *ditiš ki is(k)a birsāq
dirisa makan, angoštara
me va nām ye gila birsāq
manīa tahi ī gwinīa.* The girl, while they are (08:36)
preparing fritters, puts
the ring inside a fritter
and lays (it) on the
bottom of this sack.
- [2:94] *bařdī fira řā(h) tülānī
čan šabānaruzā mačin,
šakata mowin, dī faqat
birsāqīš har manīasa
yakī. mušin: «beyma kwiř
pādišā».* Then, they travel a very (08:43)
long way for some days
and nights, they get
tired and finally only
one fritter is left. They
say: «Let's give it to the
prince».
- [2:95] *kwiř pādišā ki birsāqa
maxwe, angoštara
mōünī.* When the prince eats (08:51)
the fritter, he sees the
ring.
- [2:96] *angoštara mōünī, qašan,
dī, bāxavara mow, ya har
kī has avasa ki {# tā} [...]
hātīasa māte.* He sees the ring (and) (08:55)
then he becomes well
aware that whoever she
is, she must be the one
who {# until} [...] has
come to his house.
- [2:97] *muše: «bargašta
makeym».* He says: «We will go (09:00)
back».
- [2:98] *mušin: «kwiřa ča bī?».
muše: «na, dī nimeytm,
māym ařā māte».* They say: «Boy, what (09:02)
happened?». He says:
«No, I don't want (her)
anymore, we go back
home».
- [2:99] *mā ařā māł-ō, kwil
xwiš(h)āl: «ča bī?»,
muše: «hüč, naxās(t)ima* He goes home and (09:05)
everybody (is) happy:
«What happened?». He

- dī edāma bem. mādar, qazā har čī dirī bea čuwīna ařām bārea sar*». ¹⁸⁰
- says: «Nothing, I didn't want to continue. Mother, whichever food you may have, give it to Wooden (so that) she may bring it to me upstairs».
- [2:100] *iř qazā mea čuwīna, mārea sar. čuwīna ki dī fira mazāne dinyā hā das kī, čua [...] hin qazāka dasea mař(i)še.*
- So, she gives the food to Wooden, she brings it upstairs. Wooden, who knows well in whose hands the world is, lets the wood [...] thingy, the food drop from her hands. (09:14)
- [2:101] *muše: «ya daspā čuwīnīka, ya dī čuwīnea, ya ki nimatūnī qazā ařā tō bāre!», muše: «na, řeyb nerī, dōgila¹⁸¹ beana bine».*
- (The mother) says: «This is a wooden servant, she is made of wood indeed, she is not able to bring you the food!». He says: «No, it doesn't matter, give her (the food) once again». (09:22)
- [2:102] *dōgila qazā mena bine, mārea sar.*
- They give her the food once again and she brings it upstairs. (09:27)
- [2:103] *mārea sar-ō kwiř pādiřā mič dasea magirī. muše: «buř, řāse ařām buř.*
- She brings it upstairs and the prince grabs her wrist. He says: «Tell me, tell me the truth. Let me see who you are. (09:30)

¹⁸⁰ The verb *sar āwirdin* has been translated here as 'to bring upstairs', interpreting the particle *sar* as an adverb of place, but this analysis remains provisional.

¹⁸¹ *dōgila* here and in [2:102] is used adverbially with the meaning 'once again, another time', and not as a quantifier *dō gila* 'two units (of X)'. The meaning is not 'give her two (plates of) food', but rather 'give her (the food) once again', i.e. give her another dish, in substitution to the one dropped.

- bünim tö kīt. har čī has, hā žīr sar tö,*¹⁸² *ya tōnī*». Whatever it is, you are responsible for it, that's you».
- [2:104] *ōwš dāstān wižī kwil tašrīfa make, muše: «tjūrī bīasa, bowam tjūrī, xwiškilam tjūrī, haqīqat minī hāna*». She, then, tells her whole story (and) says: «It happened like this, my father such and such, my sister such and such, this is my truth». (09:39)
- [2:105] *muše: «xu». bašd lebās čuwīna varea mārēr-ō [...]* He says: «Fine». Then, she takes off the wooden dress and [...] (09:46)
- [2:106] *atrāfīān pādīšāyž mōünī ča bī a dīr hāt. dara meylina {? vāz}, mōünī ya hā gard ī firišta, bigir hurīka aqira qašanga, hāna. muše: «dā, ya har avasa ki mi dīmase*». The king's entourage, too, (go to) see what happened that he is (so) late. They leave the door {? open}, (the courtiers) see that this one is with this angel, you would say she is a houri, according to her beauty, and so on. He says: «Mother, this is exactly the one I have seen». (09:49)
- [2:107] *ī xutāsa, va xwiš(h)āhī šarusī agardīa make. maču bowa-ō dāyša mōünī, māre, muše: «{# dī agard, dī agard}» bi qowt mašruf, šādī-ō xošamī šarusīa makan*. In the end, he happily marries her. He goes, he meets the father and the mother too, he takes (her as wife) and says: «{# Together, together}». As they say, (with) happiness and joy they get married. (10:00)

¹⁸² This expression seems comparable to Pers. *zir-e sar-e kasi budan* (lit. to be under someone's head), meaning 'to be responsible for something, to have a hand in something'.

Text 3: *Šü kačať* (The bald groom)

Text 3 was recorded in Harsin on the 10th of January 2014 (20th of Dey 1392). The narrator is S.S., a 62 year-old housewife, born and raised in Harsin and living in the city at the time of recording. She has not received elementary schooling. This consultant frequently uses Persian in everyday interactions with her children (who have passive command of Harsini) and younger relatives, but usually switches to Harsini when speaking to peers. The folktale she narrates has been recorded at her private house, during the session in which Text 1 was also performed.

Summary: this narrative belongs to the *Tales of Magic* genre. It combines different tale types in a patchy monologue, nonetheless containing interesting elements in terms of language and narrative content. The introductory episodes recall the incipit of Text 1, probably because this recording was carried out shortly after the story of *Nameyna* was told. At some point, the initial course of events is abandoned in favour of a different storyline, which largely pertains to Marzolph's (1984) type 550 *The envious brothers*¹⁸³ and parallels the final part of the story in Blau (1989c):

A man and his wife have a daughter. After the death of his wife, the man marries another woman. The woman dislikes the stepdaughter and compels the man to chase the girl out of the house. He gives the girl some food and closes her in a barrel tied to a walnut tree, telling her to wait until she hears him knocking on the barrel. His real intention, however, is to let her starve to death. At night, the wind strikes the barrel. The girl, thinking that her father is knocking, comes out and realizes she has been abandoned. The next morning, a boy passes by and brings her to his house. They eventually get married. Soon after, the boy goes to war and the girl gives birth to twins. At this point, the narrator introduces the figure of a king, who has three daughters and no sons. In order to choose an heir to the throne, the king decides to make three falcons fly. The men on whose head the falcons would perch will marry the three princesses. Two falcons perch on the head of the king's minister's son and the king's

¹⁸³ Cf. ATU 550 *Bird, Horse and Princess* (previously *Search for the Golden Bird*).

delegate's son, while the third perches on the head of a bald, ugly man (who is a beautiful man in disguise). The king is perplexed, but in the end he agrees to give his daughter in marriage to the bald man. After some time, the king becomes blind. He sends his sons-in-law in search of a prey with healing powers (550 I a). The minister's son and the delegate's son plan to set out on their quest alone, but then agree to let the bald groom join them. In the end, those two don't catch any prey, while the minister's son kills two preys (550 II d). The minister's son and the delegate's son take the flesh of the bald groom's preys and bring it to the king. The king eats it, but to no avail (550 III). Finally, the king's younger daughter, who married the bald boy, convinces her father to eat some flesh from the prey's head, which is still in the hands of the bald boy. The king is healed and the bald groom becomes his heir (550 V a). The two envious brothers-in-law are punished (550 V b). Sometime later, the citizenry asks the boy to kill a demon. The boy kills the demon, taking a second revenge on his competitors.

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[3:1]	<i>yekī mow</i>	There is one,	(00:00)
[3:2]	<i>ye öwš (h)am, ijürī, mādarī pedarī dirī.</i>	a person, too, like this, has a mother, a father.	(00:02)
[3:3]	<i>pedara žina mawāze.</i>	The father marries a woman.	(00:05)
[3:4]	<i>pedar žina mawāze,</i>	The father marries a woman,	(00:07)
[3:5]	<i>ditī va jeya mamīnī, va jā mādara gi mirdīa.</i>	(and) his daughter remains at her place, at the place of the mother who died.	(00:10)
[3:6]	<i>dita mārīn [...] zan bowe, bowažinī badīanīa māy, azātīa make.</i>	They take the girl [...] her father's wife, her stepmother dislikes her, she torments her.	(00:14)

- [3:7] *muše: «yā jā ya me bu, yā jā mi bu va e māta».*¹⁸⁴ She says: «There must be either a place for her, or for me in this house». (00:20)
- [3:8] *pedarīza māy, ye kamī aře tanaqolāt dirisa make, manea ye putī, möwre agard, makea qe dār gird [...] girdakānī.* The father, too, comes, he prepares some sweets for her, he puts her in a barrel, he takes it and ties it to the trunk of a walnut tree. (00:30)
- [3:9] *mušea dite, muše: «tō binīš, bān čamit bōws tā qorubī mi e ī girdakāna matakīnim,* He says to his daughter, he says: «You, sit down, close your eyes until at down I shake this walnut tree, (00:33)
- [3:10] *tō {xxx} binīš ařā wižit».*¹⁸⁵ {xxx} sit down for yourself». (00:39)
- [3:11] *bāda mea put, taqea māy, dita muše: «ya girdakāna matakīnī,* The wind strikes the barrel, a ‘bang’ sound comes out, the girl says: «He is shaking the walnut tree, (00:42)
- [3:12] *bowam».* (it’s) my father». (00:48)
- [3:13] *girdakān [...] dī qoruba mow, seyra make, dī gwisnasī tešnasī,* the walnut tree [...] then dusk comes, then she is hungry (and) thirsty, (00:49)
- [3:14] *bān čame bāza make, seyra make, šōwa, hīč ahadī nī(ya).* she opens her eyes, she looks, it’s night (and) there is nobody. (00:54)

¹⁸⁴ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

¹⁸⁵ *ařā wiž* + bound pronoun (lit. ‘for oneself’) is an idiomatic expression, occurring in virtually all varieties of the region (cf. Gorani *ařā-y ištaniš* translated as ‘simply, just’ in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 90). It is used to express the general idea of ‘benefiting from one’s own actions’. Here and elsewhere, the idiom has been translated literally as ‘for oneself, for one’s own sake/benefit’, even if in most cases it is redundant and could as well remain untranslated.

[3:15]	<i>mačua nām dārī manīšī,</i> <i>ōwža. mačua nām dārī,</i> <i>manīšī tā so.</i>	She goes into (the crown of) a tree and sits down. She goes into (the crown of) a tree (and) sits until morning.	(00:58)
[3:16]	<i>so mow, ʔekī māy, řada</i> <i>mow-ō</i>	It gets light, someone comes, passes by and	(01:02)
[3:17]	<i>va e pā a āw-ō keynī-ō [...]</i> <i>gwozara make,</i>	he crosses that water(course) and (that) spring by foot, and [...]	(01:05)
[3:18]	<i>dita möwrī ařā māł.</i>	brings the girl to (his) house.	(01:09)
[3:19]	<i>dita möwrī ařā māł.</i> <i>mādarī [...]</i>	He brings the girl to (his) house. His mother [...]	(01:10)
[3:20]	<i>kwilfatī ařāy bike,</i>	to do the housework for her,	(01:13)
[3:21]	<i>kwilfatī bike.</i>	to do the housework.	(01:15)
[3:22]	<i>dita möünin qařaŋ-ō dit</i> <i>kārī-ō dit ziriŋīka,</i>	They see that the girl is a pretty, hardworking and intelligent girl,	(01:16)
[3:23]	<i>ezdevāja makan agardī,</i> <i>mawāzete.</i>	they marry, he marries her.	(01:20)
[3:24]	<i>mawāzete, maču, maču,</i> <i>šūya mačua,</i>	He marries her, he goes and goes, her husband goes,	(01:23)
[3:25]	<i>masaŋan, jay, va jangi</i> <i>pādišāya.</i>	for example, to war, (he is) at the king's war.	(01:27)
[3:26]	<i>šūya meylīa jā, hāmītea</i> <i>dita.</i>	The husband leaves her, (while) the girl is pregnant.	(01:31)
[3:27]	<i>tā šūa māa dimā, dö gila</i> <i>kwiř-ō dita mārī.</i>	By the time the husband has come back, the girl has delivered two children.	(01:34)

[3:28]	<i>ye dita mārī, ye kwiṛa mārī, duān.</i>	She gives birth to a baby girl and a baby boy, two of them.	(01:37)
[3:29]	<i>mārī, šūa mačua wira.</i>	She delivers, the husband goes (back) there.	(01:40)
[3:30]	<i>{# šūa} [...] pādišā si gila dit dirī. muše:</i>	The husband [...] the king has three daughters. He says:	(01:43)
[3:31]	<i>«bāzpaṛāna¹⁸⁶ me bikeymīn.</i>	«We have to make the falcon fly.	(01:46)
[3:32]	<i>ī bāza binīšea bān sar har ke,</i>	On whoever's head this falcon would perch,	(01:48)
[3:33]	<i>ī dit pādišā meymīn ava». yakī manīšea bān sar kwiṛ vazīr,</i>	we will give the king's daughter (in marriage) to that one». One perches on the head of the minister's son,	(01:51)
[3:34]	<i>yakī manīšea bān sar kwiṛ vakīl,</i>	one perches on the head of the delegate's son,	(01:56)
[3:35]	<i>yakīž ī kwiṛa [...]</i>	one, too, (on the head of) this boy [...]	(01:58)
[3:36]	<i>hātati [...]</i>	(whose) condition (is) [...]	(02:00)
[3:37]	<i>masaṭan, nōwkar-ō, ča dirisa make wižī? kačat-ō {# bad} [...] masaṭan, badqīyāfa.</i>	for instance, (that of) a servant and, what does he do? (He is) bald and {# bad} [...] for instance, bad-looking.	(02:01)
[3:38]	<i>bāz hara mōwrīn, manīšea bān sar ava, aṛā diti gwījarī.</i>	They bring the falcon, it perches on the head of that one, for his younger daughter.	(02:07)

¹⁸⁶ Karimpour (1382/2003: 81) quotes a comparable term *bāz qapān* with the meaning 'a falcon that, in old times, they used to make fly and perch on the head of the person that they should appoint as king'.

- [3:39] *pedara māy, mušī: «ya bōwrin va era, hašārī kan va jāytir ki ya nizīk now. mi [...] čū āxir dīt pādīšā mena ya?».* The father comes (and) says: «Take him away from here, hide him elsewhere, so that he cannot get close. I [...] Well, how could anyone give the king's daughter (in marriage) to this one?» (02:13)
- [3:40] *xulāsa, vazīri {xxx} badguna muše: «ey pādīšā, qobla šalām salāmat,¹⁸⁷* In short, the {xxx} mean minister says: «Oh king, may His Highness be blessed, (02:20)
- [3:41] *šāad qīsmatī va ya bua.¹⁸⁸* maybe her destiny is (to be) with this one. (02:27)
- [3:42] *bā(a)d bete binī, eškāt nerī».* You have to give her to him, it doesn't matter» (02:29)
- [3:43] *dita mea binī, dita mea binī. a duāna vazīr-ō vakīlin,* He gives the girl to him, he gives the girl to him (in marriage). Those two are a minister and a delegate, (02:31)
- [3:44] *awāna [...], ye dītīš kačata šūe,* they [...], one of the daughters, well, her husband is bald, (02:35)
- [3:45] *badfōrma, badqīyāfea.* he is bad-shaped, he is ugly. (02:38)
- [3:46] *badqīyāfa ki nīya, wižī kirdīa, samdan.* Well, he is not ugly, he has done it himself, on purpose. (02:40)

¹⁸⁷ This title, comparable to Pers. *qeble-ye šalām* 'Qibla of the world, divine centre of the world' and translated here as 'His Highness', was historically attributed to Nāseroddin Shāh Qājār, ruler of Persia from 1848 to 1895.

¹⁸⁸ The nature of the final /a/ of this verbal form is unclear.

[3:47]	<i>xulāsa, ye ruž pādišā čamalī kura mow.</i>	In short, one day the king's eyes become blind.	(02:43)
[3:48]	<i>čame kura mow, dāmād, zāmā katingī vagard zāmā</i>	His eyes become blind, the son-in-law, his older son-in-law with the son- in-law	(02:47)
[3:49]	<i>dōwimī gi kwiř vazīr-ō vakīl buin</i>	his second (one), who were the minister and the delegate's sons,	(02:51)
[3:50]	<i>mačina kü šikār bikwišin</i>	go to the mountain to kill a prey	(02:54)
[3:51]	<i>bārin ařāy.</i>	to bring him.	(02:57)
[3:52]	<i>kwiři kačařīža muše: «minī(š)a mačim.</i>	And the bald boy says: «I'll go, as well.	(02:58)
[3:53]	<i>ye tifaŋ šakī bena minī(š) tā minī(š) bičim».</i>	Give me a worn-out rifle, so that I may go, as well».	(03:01)
[3:54]	<i>awāna nimakwišin, ya dō gila šikāra makwiši,</i>	Those ones don't kill (anything), this one kills two preys,	(03:04)
[3:55]	<i>guštelea mea</i>	he gives their flesh to	(03:07)
[3:56]	<i>a dō bājenāqa, a dō hāmzāmā.</i>	those two brothers-in- law, those two whose wives are his wife's sisters.	(03:10)
[3:57]	<i>mōwrin, mačīn awāna.</i>	They take (the flesh) and go away.	(03:13)
[3:58]	<i>awāna mačīn,</i>	They go,	(03:14)
[3:59]	<i>ya kale faqata mōwrī,</i>	(while) this one takes only a head,	(03:15)
[3:60]	<i>kala šikāra mōwrī.</i>	he takes the head of the prey.	(03:18)
[3:61]	<i>awāna mena pādišā-ō har čt makan mōūnī pādišā</i>	They give (the flesh) to the king (but) whatever	(03:19)

		they might do, you see, the king absolutely	(03:23)
[3:62]	<i>astan</i>		
[3:63]	<i>xubī nerī.</i>	doesn't get (any) benefit (from it).	(03:24)
[3:64]	<i>diti gwijar gi bowe řāzī nōüa dāse ya,</i>	The younger daughter, whose father wasn't willing to give her (in marriage) to him,	(03:26)
[3:65]	<i>maču, muše: «eγ pedar, eγ bowa, bīl minīž ye kamī ařāt [...]</i>	goes (and) says: «Hey father, hey father let me, too, a little bit for you [...]	(03:30)
[3:66]	<i>šüa minī(š) āwirdīa bema binit». muši: «na, mi das ya nimaxām». ¹⁸⁹ muše: «gwozašte, ye zaře bixwa».</i>	(let me) give you (what) my husband has brought». He says: «No, I don't want (anything from) the hands of this one». She says: «The past is past, eat (just) a bit».	(03:34)
[3:67]	<i>kalī gi ava manea dār,</i>	When she cooks the head,	(03:40)
[3:68]	<i>kwiř gwijar, dit gwijar [...]</i>	the younger boy, the younger daughter [...]	(03:42)
[3:69]	<i>mārin-ō mena pādišā,</i>	they bring it and give it to the king,	(03:44)
[3:70]	<i>pādišā čamalī hardik xua mow.</i>	both king's eyes get well.	(03:46)
[3:71]	<i>pādišā čamalī xua mow,</i>	The king's eyes get well,	(03:48)
[3:72]	<i>maču, {# vazīr-ō vakīl} [...] kwiř vazīr-ō kwiř vakīl, hardika me [...]</i>	he goes, {# the minister and the delegate} [...] the minister's son and the delegate's son, he beats both of them [...]	(03:51)

¹⁸⁹ The Persian-like form *nimaxām* (Pers. *nemix^wā(ha)m*) of the verb 'to want' is used here.

- [3:73] *makwišin ki kotā(h)* they kill (them) for (03:56)
*nyāsa*¹⁹⁰ *sar ya.* having cheated on this
 one.
- [3:74] *ava māri makea jānešin* (The king) takes that one (03:59)
wižī, jānešin ava qarārea (and) makes him his
me. own successor, he
 establishes him as his
 own successor.
- [3:75] *qarārea me dit va xwašī-ō* He appoints the (04:04)
vazf zindagī xu, daughter (as queen),
 happily and with a good
 lifestyle,
- [3:76] *va anjā*¹⁹¹ *awāna mōwse* then he installs them, (04:08)
tā bašd mušin: «ye āwī, until, later, they say: «A
water(course),
- [3:77] *na(h)rī dirīmin. ye* we have a river. A (04:13)
eždehāy hātīa ī āwa jilōwī dragon has come (and)
girdīa, nwāy girdīa. has blocked this
 water(course), he has
 obstructed it.
- [3:78] *ča bāad bikeymīn? har ke* What shall we do? (04:19)
maču nimatūnī ī eždehā Whoever goes cannot kill
bikwiše, eždehā this dragon, the dragon
maxwete». eats him».
- [3:79] *{# eždehā} [...]* *ya maču,* {# the dragon} [...] this (04:25)
muše: «šimšīrī bena one goes (and) says:
dasim. «Give me a sword.
- [3:80] *šimšīr dō dasa magirī,* He takes the sword with (04:28)
mačua nām dam eždehā, two hands, he goes into
eždehā va vasata makea the dragon's mouth
dō nism. (and) cuts the dragon in

¹⁹⁰ The verb here should be in the plural.

¹⁹¹ The sense of the term *anjā* is not clear. Comparable forms *anjā*, *enjā* and *jā* are attested in the Gorani varieties of Kermānshāh Province with the temporal meaning 'then' (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 223; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 61, 183). However, a locative meaning 'there', equivalent to Pers. *ānjā*, would equally fit this context.

- [3:81] *eždehā gi nisma make, ye
nisme māži īlā-ō yekī va
alā.* two halves, (right) in the
middle. (04:35)
After he has cut he
dragon in half, he
throws a half (of it) this
way and another (half)
that way.
- [3:82] *kwiř pādišā dō gila
fat(h)a make ava, a
dāmādīa.* The prince gains two (04:40)
victories, that groom of
hers.

Text 4: *Mā(h) pīšānī* (Moon-forehead)

Text 4 was recorded in Harsin on the 26th of January 2014 (6th of Bahman 1392). It was narrated by the same consultant (S.S) who performed Text 3 and intervened during the narration of Text 1, in her private house in Harsin.

Summary: this narrative can be classified as a *Tale of Magic*. Similarly to Text 3, performed by the same consultant, Text 4 has a composite narrative structure: the first part can be compared with Marzolph's (1984) type 480 *Moon-forehead*,¹⁹² while the second has much in common with his type 707 *The calumniated girl is vindicated*.¹⁹³ A similar version is included in the collection of Kurdish folktales published by Darvishyān (1380/2001: 200-205). Comparable motifs are also traceable in the tale of the girl with golden feet in Fattah (2000: 859ff.):

A man and his wife have a daughter. After the death of the woman, the man takes a second wife, who has another daughter (480 I c). The new wife favours her natural child and torments her stepdaughter (480 II a). One day, the two stepsisters are sent to a river to take water. The man's daughter meets an old, ugly woman sitting on the riverbank. The lady asks her to take a look at her head and judge its cleanliness. Even if the lady's head is dirty and full of lice, the girl says that her head is clean and tidy (480 III b). The woman tells the girl to call her when the water of the river becomes yellow. The girl does what she is told, and the magic lady throws her in the water. When the girl comes out, her appearance has changed: she has become beautiful and a star and a moon have appeared on her forehead (480 III c). When the girl returns home, the envious step-mother orders her to bring her natural daughter to that magic place. This time, the stepsister behaves unkindly to the lady (480 III d), who throws her into black water and makes her extremely ugly (480 III e). At this point the narrator introduces two additional characters: a third sister and a prince. The prince dreams of a beautiful girl (who is in fact Moon-forehead), falls in love with her and wants to find her. During his quest, he meets Prophet

¹⁹² Cf. ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls* (previously *The Spinning-Women by the Spring. The Kind and the Unkind Girls*).

¹⁹³ Cf. ATU 707 *The Golden Children* (previously *The Three Golden Sons*).

Khezr, who asks him to accomplish two tasks before he can show him the path to the girl's house. The prince does what he is told and finally finds the girl, who is living with her two older sisters. The prince marries her, while the sisters are given in marriage to the minister and the delegate's sons. The three girls are asked to give a demonstration of their qualities: the first tells she can weave a one-meter carpet that would accommodate a hundred people (707 I a); the second tells she can cook a *man* of rice that would feed five hundred people (707 I b); and the third (the prince's wife) says she will give birth to two children: one will cry pearls and the other will laugh flowers (707 I c). The first two fail the test, while the third is successful. The envious sisters plot to abandon her in the desert and let her starve to death. The girl wanders around until a demon takes her captive. After some time, her husband finds her and sets her free. The mean sisters are killed (707 IV b).

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[4:1]	{Pers. <i>āmāda</i> , <i>āmāda</i>	{Ready, ready	(00:00)
[4:2]	<i>yekī bud</i> , <i>ye</i>	Once upon a time, an	(00:03)
[4:3]	<i>pīrazan bud</i> ,	old woman there was,	(00:06)
[4:4]	<i>ye pīrazan</i>	an old woman (who)	(00:07)
[4:5]	<i>ye doxtarī dāšt</i> .	had a daughter.	(00:09)
[4:6]	<i>bašd az modatī</i>	After some time,	(00:11)
[4:7]	<i>mādara mīmīra. mādar</i> <i>mīmīra</i> ,	the mother dies. The mother dies,	(00:13)
[4:8]	<i>bābāš mīre ye zan dīge</i> <i>mīgīra</i> .	her father goes and takes another wife.	(00:16)
[4:9]	<i>ā, fārsī goftam! kordī [...]</i> <i>bebaxšī(d)}</i> .	Oh, I said it in Persian! Kurdish [...] sorry}.	(00:18)
[4:10]	<i>maču ye žina mawāze</i> ,	He goes, he marries a woman,	(00:22)
[4:11]	<i>žina mawāze</i> ,	marries the woman,	(00:23)
[4:12]	<i>wiža mow sā ye dittir</i> .	she herself becomes mother of another daughter.	(00:25)

[4:13]	<i>dītī dirī az a žina, dītīža mārī ī žine.</i>	He has a daughter from that woman (and) this woman of his gives birth to a daughter, too.	(00:28)
[4:14]	<i>dital hardika mačīn aṛā lō</i>	Both girls go to the bank	(00:32)
[4:15]	<i>juī āw bārin, masan,</i>	of a canal to take water, for instance,	(00:34)
[4:16]	<i>lūlakašt nōūa {xxx} [...] āw bārin.</i>	plumbing didn't exist [...] to take water.	(00:36)
[4:17]	<i>qazāna¹⁹⁴ mōwrin āw bārin.</i>	They take a pot (with them) to take water.	(00:38)
[4:18]	<i>seyra make ye pīražine</i>	She looks (and sees that) an old woman,	(00:40)
[4:19]	<i>kasīfi badfōrm-ō</i>	dirty, bad-shaped and	(00:44)
[4:20]	<i>ka gīse, müale kasīfi fitān, nīštīa.</i>	whose locks, hair are dirty etc., is sitting.	(00:47)
[4:21]	<i>mušī: «tō seyr nām ī sar mina bika. būn sarim xua, būn {xxx} dasit bea nām sarim».</i>	She says: «You, take a look at this head of mine. See (if) my head is fine, see {xxx} run your hands through my hair [lit. put your hands in my head]».	(00:51)
[4:22]	<i>dīta muše: «āfarīn! xeylī tamisa, xeylī xua sarit!».</i>	The girl says: «Well done! Your head is very clean; it is very good!».	(00:57)
[4:23]	<i>muše: «xu», muše, «biču binīša lō āwa.</i>	She says: «Good», she says, «go and sit next to the water.	(01:01)

¹⁹⁴ The word *qazān*, reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 647) as *qazyān*, refers to some sort of container, a kettle, a bucket, a jerry can or a cooking pot (French 'marmite' in Fattah 2000: 229). The word is equivalent to CK *qāzān*, *qazān*, Pers. *qazgān*, *qazqān*, *qāzqān*, Turk. *kazan* all meaning 'big pot, cauldron'.

[4:24]	<i>ī āwa gi hāt, sī hāt daŋ naka.</i>	As soon as this water comes, (if) it comes out black don't call (me).	(01:04)
[4:25]	<i>sifid hāt daŋ naka. qirmis hāt t(ō) (h)uč nuš.</i>	(If) it comes out white, don't call (me). (If) it comes out red, don't say anything.	(01:07)
[4:26]	<i>vaxtī bīa zard,</i>	When it becomes yellow,	(01:10)
[4:27]	<i>buša ma!».</i>	tell me!».	(01:12)
[4:28]	<i>öwža manīši, muše: «dā keywānu, āwa bīa zard».</i>	Then she sits down and says: «Granny, the water became yellow».	(01:14)
[4:29]	<i>mažanītīa nām āw, mažanītīa nām āw, māretirī, mowa mā(h) pišānī.</i>	She throws her in the water, she throws her in the water, she brings her out (and the girl) becomes Moon-forehead.	(01:18)
[4:30]	<i>mā(h) manīrea nām pišānī-ō sitāreyž, hardik.</i>	A moon appears on (her) forehead and also a star, both of them.	(01:23)
[4:31]	<i>ava mowa ye, ye māhi čārdahome.¹⁹⁵</i>	She becomes (like) a (full) moon (on the) fourteenth (night).	(01:29)
[4:32]	<i>tā d(ī) ī maču ařā māt.</i>	Until, finally, this (girl) goes back home.	(01:33)
[4:33]	<i>bowažinī gi dirī, muše: «tō čī ča kirdī?».</i>	The stepmother that she has, says: «What have you done?».	(01:35)

¹⁹⁵ According to lunar calendars (e.g. the *hejri* Islamic calendar), each month starts with the new moon and the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the lunar month corresponds to the full moon. Metaphorical expressions equating the beauty of a woman with the full moon are very common in Iranian folklore. Cf. Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 36, 141, 142, 146); MacKenzie (1966: 23, 80-81); Darvishyān (1380/2001: 201); and Lazard (1992a: 244).

[4:34]	<i>muše: «mi, ūjūrī, va lō ī āwa</i>	She says: «I, this way, on the side of this water(course)	(01:37)
[4:35]	<i>nīštīm-ō [...]</i> »,	I sat and [...]	(01:40)
[4:36]	<i>nīšt va lō ī āwa, «ī žina hāt, ūjūrīa binim vit, minī(š) [...]</i>	She sat next to this water, «This woman came, she talked like this to me (and) I [...]	(01:42)
[4:37]	<i>ī hāna žanama nām āwa, ūjūrīa sarim hāt</i> ». ¹⁹⁶	this one, then, threw me in the water (and) so and so happened to me».	(01:45)
[4:38]	<i>mušī: «xu, ī dit minīža bāad bōwri</i> ».	(The stepmother) says: «Fine, you have to take my daughter there, too».	(01:49)
[4:39]	<i>dita āwa maču. dit žin, bowažinī.</i>	Her daughter goes to the water(course), too. The woman's daughter, her stepmother's.	(01:50)
[4:40]	<i>mačua wira-ō seyrīa make, mušī: «āw ki sī hāt-ō¹⁹⁷ [...] sarim čijūrīa? dasi(t) bea nām sarim</i> ».	She goes there, (the old woman) looks at her and says: «A black water came out and [...] how is my head? Run your hands through my hair [lit. put your hands in my head]	(01:54)
[4:41]	<i>mušī: «hī! kasīfī tō! mi nimāma nizikit</i>	She says: «Oh! You are dirty! I won't come close to you,	(01:59)
[4:42]	<i>bu sarta māy, fitānī</i> ».	your head stinks, you're such-and-such».	(02:02)
[4:43]	<i>mušī: «biču, binīša lō ī āwa. agar [...]</i>	She says: «Go, sit on the bank of this river. If [...]	(02:04)

¹⁹⁶ The transcription and translation of this passage are provisional.

¹⁹⁷ The passage is not clear and its transcription and translation are provisional.

[4:44]	<i>ā, har āwī hāt nuša mi, sī hāt buša mi».</i>	hey, whichever (kind of) water comes out, don't tell me, (whenever) black (water) comes, tell me».	(02:07)
[4:45]	<i>muše: «bāšad».</i>	She says: «That's fine».	(02:10)
[4:46]	<i>dita manīa nām āw,</i>	(The old woman) throws her in the water (and)	(02:12)
[4:47]	<i>dit xeylī badfōrma mow, badfōrma mow, sīa mow.</i>	the girl becomes very ugly, she becomes very bad-looking, she becomes black.	(02:14)
[4:48]	<i>tā si gila dit,</i>	Until the three girls,	(02:18)
[4:49]	<i>dittiriža māṭ dirī,¹⁹⁸</i>	she has also another daughter at home,	(02:20)
[4:50]	<i>ye řužī mačīn-ō</i>	one day (they) go and	(02:22)
[4:51]	<i>kwiři pādīšā</i>	the prince	(02:23)
[4:52]	<i>muše: «mi xāw dīma, ijūrī ditī va nām xāwim hātīa,</i>	says: «I had a dream, a girl like this came into my dream,	(02:25)
[4:53]	<i>mina me bičīma sorāq ī dita bārim».</i>	I have to go in search of this girl (and) I shall bring her (here)».	(02:30)
[4:54]	<i>maču gwozara gwozar,</i>	He goes from district to district,	(02:33)
[4:55]	<i>ābādīa ābādī, maču mařasea biyawānī,</i>	from village to village, he goes and reaches a plain	(02:35)
[4:56]	<i>xizri zin(d)a, xizri alyāsa wira ništīa.¹⁹⁹</i>	Khezr the living, Khezr- Elijah is sitting there.	(02:39)

¹⁹⁸ The logical subject here may be either the girl's father or the stepmother.

¹⁹⁹ The transcription of this passage is not final, but its meaning is overall clear. The supernatural figure of the prophet Khezr ('the green') has the characters of a guide for strained travellers. If the interpretation is correct, the epithet *zin(d)a* 'living' attributed to him alludes to the quality of immortality he possesses. Khezr is indeed linked to the motif of the Water of Life and is often quoted in relation to other immortal figures, among which the prophet Elijah (Pers. *Elyās*), which stands out as his most usual alter-ego. These two

- [4:57] *muši: «va pey çe mirādī hātīa?», muši: «valā mi a haqīqat ī xāw dīma-ō va nām xāwim* He says: «For what purpose have you come?», he says: «By God, to tell the truth, I dreamed this dream, in my dream (02:43)
- [4:58] *ījūrī ditī dīma, me bičīma sorāq ī dita».* I have seen a girl like this, I have to go in search of this girl». (02:49)
- [4:59] *muše: «pas mačī,* (Khezr) says: «Then, you go, (02:52)
- [4:60] *avaṭa mačī, barxorda makeyte ye keynī,* at first you go, you will come across a spring. (02:55)
- [4:61] *keynīa āwī xeylī kasīf-ō badbu-ō fitān,* The spring, it's water is very dirty and stinky and such-and-such, (02:58)
- [4:62] *arinī bixwa, be damrūt, damrūtani bišur, buš: “āf uf uf,²⁰⁰ çe āw xuīka ya!* drink from it, splash it on your face, clean your face with it (and) say: “Wow! What a good water is this! (03:03)
- [4:63] *a āwa zolātā!”».* *maxwe-ō āw {# bad} [...] wižī badmazatir nīya,* That water is really clear!”». He drinks and then, the water {# bad} [...] itself does not taste that bad. (03:09)
- [4:64] *maxwe-ō seyra make möünī āw kasīf-ō badbua,* He drinks, he takes a look (and) sees that the water is dirty and stinky, (03:13)

spiritual characters are often described as being doubles of one another, twin brothers or two friends closely bound together (Krasnowolska 2009). Here, as well, their names appear in juxtaposition as to form the double name *xizr alyās* ‘Khezr-Elijah’. A remark on popular beliefs concerning the presence of Khezr in the region of Harsin is found in Massé (1938: 228) who informs us that “A Koh-è Parow (environs de Kirmanchah), une source jaillit, dit-on, froide d’un côté de la montagne, chaude de l’autre côté, parce que Khidr (H’edr) le prophète s’est caché dans ce mont jusq’au Jugement dernier”.

²⁰⁰ According to Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 119), the interjection *ouf ouf!* is comparable to Pers. *bah bah!*, *če xub!* ‘How nice!’ and is used to express appreciation.

[4:65]	<i>muše: «āwa xeylī xua!».</i>	he says: «The water is very good!».	(03:17)
[4:66]	<i>āwa mowa češma qašəŋ-ō xuī,</i>	The water becomes a beautiful and good spring,	(03:20)
[4:67]	{? <i>až jārān</i> }, <i>bi xwidā!</i>	{? from (the way it was) before}, by God!	(03:22)
[4:68]	<i>muše: «xu pas, ī lārā mačī, biču». modat(h)ā ham řīa make,</i>	He says: «Well then, you go down this way, go». He walks for some time, too.	(03:24)
[4:69]	<i>šabānaruz, do řuz, si řuž ham řīa make tā mařasīa [...]</i>	He walks day and night, two days, three days until he reaches [...]	(03:30)
[4:70]	<i>muše: «mařasīta ye asbī,</i>	He says: «You'll reach a horse,	(03:34)
[4:71]	<i>asbī-ō sagī.</i> ²⁰¹	a horse and a dog.	(03:36)
[4:72]	<i>biču, saga</i>	Go, the dog,	(03:38)
[4:73]	<i>kahka nyānasa varī,</i>	they have put straw in front of it,	(03:40)
[4:74]	<i>kah gi ařā e heywāna.</i>	the straw, which is for this animal.	(03:42)
[4:75]	<i>asba ostoxān nyānasa varī.</i>	The horse, they have put bones in front of it.	(03:44)
[4:76]	<i>ostoxāna bina var saga,</i>	Put the bones in front of the dog (and)	(03:47)
[4:77]	<i>kah var saga bina var asba,</i>	put the straw, (which) is in front of the dog, in front of the horse,	(03:49)
[4:78]	<i>bařda mačī».</i>	then you go away».	(03:52)
[4:79]	<i>maču, mařasī-ō kah māre</i>	He goes, he arrives (there) and he takes the straw,	(03:54)

²⁰¹ The motif of the straw for the horse and the bones for the dog has a parallel in Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 28-30).

- [4:80] *asba [...] kahka manīa* the horse [...] he puts (03:56)
var asb-ō ostoxāna manīa the straw in front of the
var sag, horse and the bones in
front of the dog,
- [4:81] *tā maču mařasīa māl a* until he goes and (04:00)
žinī gi a dītala dirī, reaches the house of
that woman who has
those daughters,
- [4:82] *si gila dit. mušī: «mi» [...]* three daughters. He (04:04)
koř pādišā yakīkyāna says: «I [...] the king's
mawāzī, a gwijira. son wants to marry one
of them, the younger
one.
- [4:83] *dō gīlatirīž dirī.* She has two more. (04:10)
[4:84] *a dōeyža yakī kwiř vakīla* Those two, as well, the (04:12)
mawāzī, yakī kwiř {# delegate's son marries
vakīl} [...] vazīr one of them and the {#
delegate's} [...] minister's son (marries
the other) one.
- [4:85] *mawāzī-ō māretyān,* He marries her, they (04:16)
muše: take them (as wives),
(and) he says:
- [4:86] *«če hōsnī dirītin homa?»,* «What virtue do you (04:19)
īma mušīm, ta(h)silāt ča have?», we say, «What
dirī, madrak ča dirī?». kind of education do
you have, which
qualification do you
have?».
- [4:87] *muše: «mi qālīče* She says: «I'll weave a (04:24)
mabāfīm ye mitr, one-meter rug,
that would
- [4:88] *hizār nafara bāne jā* (04:28)
me». accommodate a
thousand people [lit. on
it]».

[4:89]	<i>muše: «bāšad dī, ya tō».</i>	He says: «Fine, then, that's (what concerns) you».	(04:30)
[4:90]	<i>diti dōwimīža muše [...]</i>	And the second girl says [...]	(04:32)
[4:91]	<i>kaṭiḡīža muše: «mi,</i>	the elder one says: «I	(04:34)
[4:92]	<i>birinjī dirisa makam, ye man birinj,</i>	will cook rice, a <i>man</i> of rice,	(04:36)
[4:93]	<i>pānsad nafaranī bixwe».</i>	that five hundred man would eat from it».	(04:39)
[4:94]	<i>ōwža muše: «tō».</i>	He, then, says: «(That is what concerns) you».	(04:41)
[4:95]	<i>gwiġara muše: «ča makeŷ?»</i> , <i>gwiġariža muše: «mi,</i>	He says (to) the younger one: «What (can) you do?».	(04:42)
[4:96]	<i>dō gila āyla mārim.</i>	And the little one says: «I will give birth to two children.	(04:45)
[4:97]	<i>kaṭiḡa, kwiṛa,</i>	The elder one, the boy,	(04:47)
[4:98]	<i>gīrva bike, mirwārīa čame bāŷ,</i>	when he weeps, pearls would come out from his eyes.	(04:50)
[4:99]	<i>dita bixane, qah qah²⁰² gwiṭ va dame bāer».</i>	The girl would laugh (and) flowers would keep coming out from her mouth».	(04:53)
[4:100]	<i>xuṭāsa, mawāzī, dita mawāzī-ō</i>	In short, he marries, he marries the girl and	(04:56)
[4:101]	<i>mārin-ō mačīn-ō</i>	they take, they go and	(05:00)
[4:102]	<i>diti kaṭiḡ gi viṭta birinj dirisa makam, ye man birinj dirisa make.</i>	the elder daughter who said she would cook rice, cooks a <i>man</i> of rice.	(05:01)

²⁰² *qah* is an onomatopoeic word comparable to Pers. *qey* 'vomit'. It is used here to convey the idea of bunches of flowers coming out from the girl's mouth.

[4:103]	<i>šurīa make, va qarārī nimaka makea nāmi²⁰³</i>	She makes it salty, she puts salt in it in a way	(05:06)
[4:104]	<i>ki hizār nafarīž bixwe, nimatūnī ye bišqāw bixwe,</i>	that (even if) a hundred people would eat it, they wouldn't be able to eat even a plate of it,	(05:10)
[4:105]	<i>ava ava.</i>	that's that.	(05:15)
[4:106]	<i>yakīža muše:</i>	One (of them), too, says:	(05:16)
[4:107]	<i>«mi faršī dirisa makam».</i>	«I will weave a carpet».	(05:17)
[4:108]	<i>suzana mārī mač(i)kiā²⁰⁴ nāme.</i>	A needle eventually gets stuck in it [i.e. in the carpet].	(05:19)
[4:109]	<i>har kī manīšī farāra make,</i>	Whoever sits down runs away.	(05:22)
[4:110]	<i>ōwž, ōwž ava dirisa make.</i>	She, she does this.	(05:24)
[4:111]	<i>tā dit gwijar. dit gwijar gi hāmiṭa mow,</i>	Until (it comes to) the younger daughter. When the younger daughter gets pregnant,	(05:27)
[4:112]	<i>dītī mārī-ō kwiṛī.</i>	she gives birth to a daughter and a son.	(05:30)
[4:113]	<i>dītī mārī kwiṛī. kwiṛa mowa gīrva,</i>	She gives birth to a daughter and a son. The baby boy starts weeping	(05:31)
[4:114]	<i>aški mirwārīa čamea māy.</i>	(and) pearly tears come out from his eyes.	(05:35)
[4:115]	<i>dīta maxanī, gwiṭa damea māy.</i>	The baby girl laughs (and) flowers come out from her mouth.	(05:37)
[4:116]	<i>dī, xwiškāl gi dirī,</i>	Then, the sisters that she has,	(05:41)

²⁰³ The transcription and translation of this passage are not final.

²⁰⁴ On this kind of serial verb constructions, cf. footnote no. 167.

- [4:117] *hasüdü agardīa makan,* they envy her, they (05:43)
badyāna māy, awāna. dislike her. They dislike
awāna badyāna māy, her,
 [4:118] *mān,* they come, (05:47)
 [4:119] *dita möwrin, mušin bi* they take the girl and (05:48)
xwišk: «bičīma tafri(h) they say to the sister:
ařā wižmān. «Let's go have fun, for
 our own sake.
 [4:120] *āylala bīla jā tā bičīm* Leave the children here (05:53)
bigirdīmin». so that we may go (and)
 have a walk».
 [4:121] *mačīn, möwrine ye* They go, they bring her (05:55)
bīawānī, vetea makan. to a desert (and) leave
 her (there).
 [4:122] *va bīawān vetea makan,* They abandon her in the (05:59)
wižyāna māna māt. desert (while) they
īwāra šūa muše: themselves come back
 home. In the evening
 the husband says:
 [4:123] *«ča binī kirdīa?»²⁰⁵ anū* «What have you done to (06:03)
žīnamā hā ku, ī āylala her? Hey, where is my
nīmowna gīrva?»²⁰⁶ wife, then, (so that)
muše: these babies don't start
 crying?» She says:
 [4:124] *«valā, vagard īma bī.* «Well, she was with us. (06:07)
nīmazānim ča binī hāt, I don't know what
key ver(a) hāt»²⁰⁷ happened to her (or)
 when she came (back)
 here».
 [4:125] *xutāsa, maču, qorubī gi* In short, (the girl) goes, (06:11)
mow, mowa tārīkanī, dīvī at sunset, it becomes
māy. dark in there, a demon
 comes.

²⁰⁵ The verb here is in the singular, instead of the expected plural.

²⁰⁶ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

²⁰⁷ The transcription and translation of *key ver(a) hāt* are not final.

- [4:126] *dīva māy, möwretea nām qār, nām qāralī gi dirin.* The demon comes, he brings her into a cave, into the caves that they have. (06:16)
- [4:127] *čan midatī, šiš mā(h), čwār mā(h), si mā(h), dit va nām ava gīra me.* For some time, six months, four months, three months, he traps the girl inside it. (06:22)
- [4:128] *sob(h) gi maču, kwičikī mea dar qāra,* When he goes out in the morning, he places a rock at the entrance of the cave, (06:27)
- [4:129] *hīčka nimöünitī tā šöw gi mā ařā māť.* nobody sees it until night, when (the demon) comes back home. (06:32)
- [4:130] *kāri dīvi dīvārūna dirī.* The demon has devilish work to do. (06:35)
- [4:131] *qorubī gi mow, šüya [...] čü döwrež²⁰⁸ sara manīa bīawān, va dāqi žin.* At sunset, her husband [...] takes a look around the desert, too, anguished for (his) wife. (06:38)
- [4:132] *maču, magīrdī, tifaḡī möwrī, küala magīrdī.* He goes, he goes around, he takes a rifle and searches all over the mountains. (06:45)
- [4:133] *küala magīrdī. ye ruža maču, mowa šöw [...] qorubī. möünī dīvi hāt, dīvi hāt-ö* He searches all over the mountains. One day, he goes, the night comes [...] the sunset. He sees that a demon came, a demon came, (06:48)

²⁰⁸ The exact meaning of *čü döwrež* (lit. 'like a circle, too') in this context is not clear.

[4:134] <i>dar qār kirdow,²⁰⁹ č̄ā nām.</i>	opened the entrance of the cave (and) went inside.	(06:54)
[4:135] {xxx} <i>mōünī yakī hā nāma lāy.²¹⁰</i>	{xxx} he sees there is someone inside, next to him [i.e. to the demon].	(06:57)
[4:136] <i>kwič(i)ka mea darī-ō maču.</i>	He [i.e. the demon] places the rock at its [i.e. the cave's] entrance and goes away.	(07:00)
[4:137] <i>maču tā šōso gi dīva maču aṛγā, šōso gi dīva maču aṛγā.</i>	He goes (away) until the next morning, when the demon goes back, when the next morning the demon goes back.	(07:02)
[4:138] <i>muše {xxx} muše, žin muše, seyra make tu darzī, muše: «ya č̄ā vera?».</i>	She says {xxx} she says, the woman says, she looks inside a fissure (and) says: «What's there?».	(07:08)
[4:139] <i>muše: «hüč nuš, tō biču».</i>	He says: «Shut up, go away!».	(07:13)
[4:140] <i>nimazāne žina wižasī ka kasifā bi-ō čirkin bīa.</i>	He doesn't know it's his own wife, who has become dirty and filthy.	(07:15)
[4:141] <i>mawse va maxāralītir, öwīž jā magirī aṛā wižī va aš(ah)a wižī-ö</i>	He waits in some other caverns, he finally finds a place for himself with his weapon and	(07:19)
[4:142] <i>mawse. šōso gi mow,</i>	he waits. When the morning comes,	(07:24)

²⁰⁹ The verbal form used here is akin to the common SK one (verb 'to do' + the postverbal particle =*awa*, =*ow* and variants). Elsewhere the verb used with the meaning 'to open' is *vāz kirdin*.

²¹⁰ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

[4:143]	<i>dīva maču aṛyā dōgila.</i>	the demon goes back again.	(07:26)
[4:144]	<i>dīva maču,</i>	The demon goes,	(07:28)
[4:145]	<i>pyāka maču ki seyr bike būne ya kī hā nāme.</i>	the man goes to have a look and see who is in there.	(07:30)
[4:146]	<i>vaxtī möünī žina wižase, kasif,</i>	When he sees it's his own wife, dirty,	(07:33)
[4:147]	<i>čirkin gīsale, müale, sūrate,</i>	(whose) locks, hair, face (are) filthy,	(07:36)
[4:148]	<i>muši: «ya vera ča makey?». muši: «ya čan māha mi [...]</i>	he says: «What are you doing here?». She says: «It has been some months now that I [...]	(07:40)
[4:149]	<i>sari ī dīva</i>	the head of this demon	(07:44)
[4:150]	<i>až vaxtī māy hā bān {xxx} pām tā vaxtī gi maču aṛetā²¹¹</i>	is at my feet from the moment he comes until the moment he goes back (again),	(07:46)
[4:151]	<i>giriṭār hātima. tōnīža maxwe, nāy aṛer!». </i>	I've been taken prisoner. He's going to eat you as well, don't come here!».	(07:51)
[4:152]	<i>maču, mawse, mawsea kamīn, dita möwrī, dita möwrī, žin wižī, maču ast(ah)a hā dasī muše: «agar hāt,</i>	He goes away, he waits, he waits in ambush, he takes the girl, he takes the girl, his own wife, and he goes away, the weapon is in his hands (and) he says: «If he comes,	(07:54)

²¹¹ The sense of this passage is unclear and its translation provisional.

[4:153]	<i>mi makwišimī, mi tifaḥ dirim», «durua dī biču {xxx}».</i> ²¹²	I'll kill him, I have a rifle» (but the woman says): «It's a lie, go away».	(08:02)
[4:154]	<i>dita mōwrī maču aṛā māṭ. dita mōwrī maču aṛā māṭ-ō [...]</i>	He takes the girl and goes back home. He takes the girl and goes back home and [...]	(08:05)
[4:155]	<i>xwiškala me,</i>	he beats the sisters,	(08:09)
[4:156]	<i>hardik xwiškali dit. mušin.</i> ²¹³ «homa čū e sar īa āwirdūt(i)na?». «na» mušin, «valā, īma nōūmina, wižī [...]», žinea maču, muši: «ā!», ²¹⁴	They say: «What have you done to this one?». «No», they say, «By god, it wasn't us, she herself [...]. His wife goes (and) says: «Oh!»,	(08:11)
[4:157]	<i>muši: «na, valā! yāna mi birdīna bīawān, veḥim kirdīn,</i>	she says, «No, by God! These ones took me to the desert, they abandoned me,	(08:18)
[4:158]	<i>bīa tārk, nazānisim čīnas(a) aṛā ku.</i>	it became dark, I didn't know where they had gone.	(08:22)
[4:159]	<i>va wirala,</i>	There,	(08:24)
[4:160]	<i>mī giriftār hātima vagard ī dīvā, dī šiš mā(h), valā dīv manīa».</i>	I became prisoner of this demon, then, by God, for six months the demon has stayed (there)».	(08:25)

²¹² The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative. The second sentence has been interpreted as if it was pronounced by the woman, but lacks logical consequentality in either case.

²¹³ The logical subject here should be the girl's husband, but the plural form of the verb is incongruous.

²¹⁴ The transcription and translation of this passage are not final.

- [4:161] *xuṭāsa, dital mān aṛā*
māt, dital mān aṛā māt-ō
[...] a [...] In short, the girls go (08:32)
back home, the girls go
back home and [...] that
[...]
- [4:162] {# šü [...] {# husband [...] (08:36)
[4:163] *dīt vakīl}* [...] *kwiṛ vakīl,* of the delegate's (08:38)
daughter} [...] the
delegate's son,
- [4:164] *kwiṛ vazīr,* the minister's son, (08:40)
[4:165] *magirin hardik žinyān* they take both their (08:41)
bikwišīn. žinelyāna wives to kill them. They
makwišīn, kill their wives,
- [4:166] *mamīne ī žina dī vagard* Then, this woman (08:45)
āylele. vagard āylelea remains, with her
mān. children. They come,
with her children [...]
- [4:167] *bašd az modat(h)ā, šüea* After some time, her (08:50)
muše: «mina me husband says: «I have to
bōwr(i)mit aṛā māt dāt, take you to your
mother's house,
- [4:168] *bičīmin sar bey.* let's go so that you may (08:54)
visit her.
- [4:169] *bičīmin aṛā māt dāt sar* Let's go to your (08:56)
beymin». mother's house to visit
her».
- [4:170] *maču sara me, va wirala* She goes, she visits (08:58)
āylelea mōwrī-ō (her), she takes her
children there and
- [4:171] *dā muše:* the mother says: (09:02)
[4:172] «*anü a ditilam ča binyān* «What have they done (09:03)
kirdina? anü a ditam hā to my daughters, then?
ku?». So, where is that
daughter of mine?».
- [4:173] *muši: «valā, a ditila [...]* She says: «By God, (09:06)
hāṭōqazīya ijūri [...] *hāna* those girls [...] the
va sar mi āwirdina, situation is like this [...]

		they did this and that to me,	
[4:174]	<i>ijürī [...] ī pīna dāna sar mi,</i> ²¹⁵	like this [...] they harmed me,	(09:12)
[4:175]	<i>šüelyān kwišteasyān».</i> ²¹⁶	their husbands have killed them».	(09:15)
[4:176]	<i>va wira,</i>	There,	(09:17)
[4:177]	<i>dī har kām {xxx} manīšin,</i>	then, each one {xxx} sits down	(09:18)
[4:178]	<i>dīt-ō žin-ō šü-ō dō āyl mirwārī-ō</i>	the girl, the woman, the husband and the two children, the pearly one and,	(09:20)
[4:179]	<i>nimazānim, a xanī gwiṭa damea māy,</i>	I don't know, that one who laughs and flowers come out from her mouth,	(09:24)
[4:180]	<i>dī řāhata mowin ařā wižyān.</i>	and finally they are relieved, for their own benefit.	(09:26)

²¹⁵ This idiomatic expression seems comparable to Pers. *balāī rā be sar-e kasi āvardan* 'to harm someone, cause something bad to happen to someone'. The verb *pan wa sar hāwirdīn* is reported by Karimpour (1382/2003: 166) with the same meaning.

²¹⁶ Here we find the verb in its singular form, instead of the expected third person plural.

Text 5: *Mardi xīyāṭpardāz* (The daydreamer)

This text was recorded in Harsin on the 27th of February 2014 (8th of Esfand 1392). At the time of recording, the speaker (M. J., who is also the narrator of Text 6) was a fifty year-old man, born and raised in Harsin and living in the city with his family. He served in the Iranian army during the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988) and later retired as a wartime veteran. He has received elementary schooling. As it might become clear from the listening of the recordings, the physical characteristics of the consultant's vocal apparatus make him an imperfect candidate for a dialectological survey. However, his good command of the Harsini vernacular and his fluency of speech, added to the interest of the narratives he performed, dictated their inclusion in the present study.

Summary: this tale, as many oral narratives from male narrators' repertoires, can be classified as an *Anecdote/Joke* or *Novella*. The story begins with a young vagrant boy looking around for a place to stay for the night. He eventually finds shelter in an abandoned place nearby a shepherd's house. The shepherd has two daughters. As soon as the girls realize that a stranger is sleeping at the ruins, they inform their father. The man decides to hire the boy as a watchperson in exchange for food and accommodation. Two times a day, the shepherd gives the boy some ghee with a half loaf of bread as a salary. The boy eats the bread and leaves the ghee aside until he fills up a whole jar, which he plans to sell at the market. The boy, afraid of thieves, keeps a wooden club under his pillow to beat whoever might come and steal the jar. At night, he dreams that he has sold the ghee and has made a lot of money from it. He imagines he has rebuilt the ruins and has married a woman, who has given birth to several children. In his dream, the children behave naughtily and start annoying their mother. While he is dreaming to beat one of his sons with a club, he unconsciously takes the real club from under his pillow and hits the jar. The jar goes to pieces and the ghee spills on the ground. When the boy wakes up and sees he has lost the ghee, understands that "the one who wishes to grab all, takes little".

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[5:1]	<i>e dāstāna</i> [...] {Pers. <i>čiz barāt migam</i> } [...]	This story [...] {I'll tell you thing [...]	(00:03)
[5:2]	<i>ča?</i>	What is it?	(00:08)
[5:3]	<i>mardî xîyâtpardâz:</i>	The dreaming man:	(00:10)
[5:4]	<i>ya</i> [...]	this [...]	(00:17)
[5:5]	<i>ye jawāne,</i>	a young man,	(00:22)
[5:6]	<i>ye jawāni bîkārî,</i>	an unemployed young man,	(00:27)
[5:7]	<i>belaxara,</i>	in the end,	(00:31)
[5:8]	<i>sāzmānda (h)î nerî, jâ-ö māt-ö makān nerî. î jawāna,</i>	he doesn't have an accommodation, he doesn't have a place, a house, a place to stay. This youngster,	(00:34)
[5:9]	<i>xulāsa magîrdea î kalîküçala tâ</i>	in short, wanders about these old alleys until	(00:39)
[5:10]	<i>mařasea ye</i>	he reaches some	(00:45)
[5:11]	<i>xirāwe, mařasea xarāwe, kalka xarāwe.</i> ²¹⁷	ruins, he reaches some ruins, some ancient ruins.	(00:47)
[5:12]	<i>bařd î kalkaxirāwa, ye ādim dōwtamanîşî hâ şānî,</i>	Then, these ancient ruins, next to them there is also a very wealthy man,	(00:52)

²¹⁷ The term *kal xirowa* or *kala xirowa* is reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 720) with the meaning 'ruins in Laki Kurdish'. The same dictionary reports the words *kař* 'ruins in Lori' (Karimpour 1382/2003: 720), *kalka* 'half destroyed in Laki Kurdish' and *kallik* 'ruins in Laki Kurdish' (Karimpour 1382/2003: 721). Izadpanāh (1391/2012: 103, 104) lists the words *katt* 'ruins, half destroyed', *kař xerowé* 'ruins', *kattek* 'ruins and remains of a village or a city' and *kalka* 'half destroyed'. Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 897, 903, 905, 908) reports the terms *kæl* 'ruins, remains of a building, ruins and ancient fortresses, walls of ruins', *kal xerawoæh* 'ancient ruins, ancient broken walls, remains of an ancient tower or rampart' and *kælek* or *kæleg* 'ruins, remains of ancient monuments'.

- [5:13] *masaṭan hamsāda ī kalka* for example, he is a (00:57)
xarāwasa, ādim neighbour of these
dōwtamanika. ruins, he is a wealthy
man.
- [5:14] *baʕd galla dirī, gusfandi* Then, he has some (01:02)
zīyād, flocks, many sheep,
[5:15] *kāwiř,* sheep, (01:06)
[5:16] *kāwiři zīyād dirī. (v)a* he has many sheep. (01:07)
kāwiřa mušin gusfand, They call the sheep
fārsī. *gusfand,* (in) Persian.
- [5:17] *kāwiři zīyādī dirī,* He has a lot of sheep, (01:13)
[5:18] *baʕd, xulāsa, e juwāni* then, in short, this (01:16)
vetgardīša nām a kala vagrant boy goes and
*magirī maxafe.*²¹⁸ sleeps inside those
ruins.
- [5:19] *e ādim tājira dō si gila* This merchant has also a (01:24)
ditīš dirī. couple of daughters.
- [5:20] *baʕd, xulāsa, kwiř nerī,* Then, in short, he (01:28)
har dō si gila dit xwidā doesn't have sons. God
dāsa binī. gave him only this
couple of daughters.
- [5:21] *pas, xulāsa ī jawāna* Then, in short, while (01:34)
wirala ki maxafe, e āylila this boy is sleeping
mušin: «bābā, ya dōza there, these children say:
ya», «Dad, this is a thief!»,
masaṭan, «neyl era for example, «Don't let
bixafe», fitān. muše: «na, him sleep here!», and so
kwiřa, řeyb nerī, on. He says: «Don't
worry, girls.
- [5:22] *īma ki sag ī řī nerīmin,* We don't have a (01:44)
(watch)dog and such
things,
- [5:23] *ya nega (h)bānīa pasala* he will guard the goats». (01:48)
me».

²¹⁸ This might be an instance of verb serialization with additional aspectual value, on which cf. footnote no. 167.

[5:24]	<i>xuṭāsa, ružān giṭi ye kwit nān vagard kame řüni heywānī</i>	In short, each day half (a loaf of) bread with some animal fat	(01:52)
[5:25]	<i>mōwrin miney, ī juwāna maxwe.</i>	they bring him (and) this youngster eats it.	(02:00)
[5:26]	<i>ī juwāna nāna maxwe,</i>	This boy eats the bread	(02:03)
[5:27]	<i>řüna magireōri.</i>	(and) puts the butter aside.	(02:06)
[5:28]	<i>řüna magireōri, xuṭāsa,</i>	He puts the butter aside, in short,	(02:09)
[5:29]	<i>küza giṭi va gīra māre, mačua bāzār yā řüna me yā har če. dar zamāni qadīm dādibisad bīa.</i>	he takes a clay jug, he goes to the market and gives butter, or whatever. In ancient times, there was the barter.	(02:12)
[5:30]	<i>masan řün dāya</i>	For example, you gave butter	(02:20)
[5:31]	<i>küza dānasa binit, řün dāya masaṭan nān dānasa binit, dādibisad bīa.</i>	and they gave you a jug, you gave butter and they gave you bread, for example, there was the barter.	(02:24)
[5:32]	<i>xuṭāsa, ye küza masīnī. ye řuzgāra²¹⁹ masaṭan so,</i>	In short, he purchases a jug. At a (certain) time, for example, in the morning,	(02:30)
[5:33]	<i>ye qāšoq řün vagard kamī nān, zo(h)r ye qāšoq řün vagard kamī nān, šōw ye qāšoq řün agard nān,</i>	a spoon of butter with a bit of bread, at noon a spoon of butter with a bit of bread, in the evening a spoon of butter with bread,	(02:35)

²¹⁹ Instead of an expected indefinite morpheme =e/=ī, here we find a final /a/, whose nature in this context is unclear.

- [5:34] *ya e řüna jamřa make,* he gathers this butter, he (02:42)
jamřa make, zamānī gathers it, there comes a
mařasī, time (when)
- [5:35] *piř küza mow.* the jug becomes full. (02:46)
- [5:36] *piř küza mow, xulāsa, kār* The jug becomes full, in (02:49)
nerīmin, ī juwāna ye šöw In short, it is not of our
seyr ī küza make piřa, concern, one night this
muře: «ya now ye möwqe young man sees that this
kasī bāy böwrete, bowl is full and says:
 «God forbid someday
 someone would come
 and take it,
- [5:37] *bīlā [...]*». let (me) [...]. (03:00)
- [5:38] *čuī möwre manea žīr sare,* He takes a wooden stick (03:01)
ču a qirenī.²²⁰ and puts it under his
 head, a club that big.
- [5:39] *manea žīr sare, agar kasī* He puts it under his (03:05)
hāt böwrī vagard ī čua, ču head, if someone would
binīanī, neylī. come to take it, with this
 club, he would hit him
 with the club and
 wouldn't let him (take
 it).
- [5:40] *xulāsa, šöw ki maxafē,* In short, when he sleeps (03:12)
xāwa möünī, baře, e řüna at night, he dreams, yes,
forutiase, that he has sold this
 butter,
- [5:41] *pül kalāne kirdīa.* he has made a lot of (03:19)
 money,
- [5:42] *māre ča?* What does he get? (03:22)
- [5:43] *e püli kalāna e* This big amount of (03:25)
kalkaxirāwa varinīa money, he (re)builds the
masāzī. xāwa möünī ā! ruins with it. He
xāwa möünī, forute ī dreams, huh! He dreams
kalkaxirāwa sāxte-ö that he has sold it, he

²²⁰ This passage was accompanied by a hand gesture indicating the size of the wooden stick.

		has (re)built these ruins and	
[5:44]	<i>bašd žiniš xwāstea.</i>	then he has married a woman, too.	(03:33)
[5:45]	<i>bašd va ī žina bāsa sā si čwār gila āyl.</i>	Afterwards, he has had three or four children from this woman.	(03:37)
[5:46]	<i>xuāsa, ī āylala azīata makan. īa sar mil žina mapař(e)ōr, ōwa mear žina.</i>	In short, these children are annoying. This one jumps up onto the woman's neck, that one beats the woman.	(03:42)
[5:47]	<i>žineyš hawāra make, mušī: «pyāka</i>	And the woman calls for help, she says: «Husband,	(03:49)
[5:48]	<i>ī āylala neyl, ya čta azīata makan?».</i>	don't let these children (do that)! Why are they bothering (me)?».	(03:52)
[5:59]	<i>yōwša nām ī xāwa dasa mōwrī,</i>	Then, in this dream, he takes (the club) in his hand,	(03:55)
[5:50]	<i>ču hiza me, kīša mārī bear āyl, meter kūza, řün šiplāy.</i>	he lifts the club, he swings it to beat the child (but) he hits the jug and the butter splashes.	(03:59)
[5:51]	<i>kūza řüna maš(i)kī, mařasīa zamīn.</i>	The jug of butter breaks (and) falls to the ground.	(04:06)
[5:52]	<i>vaxtī mowa xavarā dō dasīa mea mil sar wižarā.</i>	When he wakes up, he tears his hair out [lit. He puts both his hands on his head].	(04:08)
[5:53]	<i>řüneyš va dasea maču.</i>	And the butter is lost.	(04:14)
[5:54]	<i>{Pers. bālā raftīm duġ bud, pāyīn āmadīm</i>	{we went up, there was buttermilk, we came down, there was a bugle	(04:18)

*bux*²²¹ *bud*, *har čī goftīm* (call), whatever we said
duruġ bud}. *duruġ bud*}.²²²
 was a lie}.

²²¹ The *q* of Pers. *buq* ‘bugle’ is uttered as a velar fricative [x] and rhymes with the *ġ* of Pers. *duġ* and *doruġ* (realized as velar fricative [ɣ]). The translation as ‘bugle (call)’ is suggested by the fact that the sentence is uttered in Persian. Note, however, that the word *buq* is attested in Laki with the meaning ‘turkey’, as “contraction of [Pers.] *buqalamun*” (Kiyāni Kulivand 1390/2011: 212). It is impossible to determine the speaker’s intended referent here.

²²² This kind of closing formulas, usually consisting in a nonsense rhyming sentence, have the function of bringing the hearer back to reality by stressing the fictional nature of the narrative (Cf. Marzolph 2010: 220ff.). In this instance, the formula is pronounced in Persian, while at the end of Text 6 we find the Harsini version *ilā vitīm řās bī, alā vitīm duru bī, har čī vitim duq bī* ‘What I said here was true, what I said there was false, whatever I said was buttermilk’ [6:191].

Text 6: *Žin līva* (The crazy wife)

Text 6 was recorded in Harsin on the 26th of February 2014 (7th of Esfand 1392) at the narrator's private house. The consultant (M. J.) is the same person who performed Text 5.

Summary: this narrative is the longest recorded. As the previous text, it can be classified as an *Anecdote/Joke* or *Novella*. It combines Marzolph's (1984) types 1541 *Saving gold for the Holiday*,²²³ *1381B *The rain of meatballs*²²⁴ and 1009 *Taking care of the door*.²²⁵ A similar version is found in Darvishyān (1380/2001: 134-143):

A man has a foolish wife. During Ramadan, the month of Islamic fasting, he buys a sack of wool for his wife to spin. The woman sits spinning in the courtyard. After a while, a neighbour comes and invites her for a walk. She accepts and takes the wool and the spindle to the spring. The crazy woman asks a frog to spin the wool for her. She takes the frog's croaking for a positive answer and leaves the wool and the spindle on the waterfront. Once back home, her husband wants to know where the wool is. When he understands that the woman has left it at the spring, he tells her to go and get it back. At the spring, the woman looks for the frog in vain. Finally, she decides to dive into the pond and search for the spindle and the wool. After a while, she hits something hard, takes it out, and sees it looks like a yellow rock. She takes the yellow rock to her husband, who recognizes it as a gold ingot. When the husband says "That's for (the expenses of the month of) Ramadan!", the crazy woman mistakes the name of the month for a proper name and starts looking for a person named Ramazān (1541 I). Someone named Ramazān eventually passes by and the woman gives the ingot to him. When her husband returns, he gets mad at her and chases her away from home (*1381B I). The woman takes shelter in an abandoned place, where she meets some animals: a chicken (*1381B I d), a cat (*1381B I b), and a dog (*1381B I a). She thinks that her husband is sending those animals to convince her to return. In the meantime, the King's camel with a load of gold gets lost.

²²³ Cf. ATU 1541 *For the Long Winter*.

²²⁴ Cf. ATU 1381 *The Talkative Wife and the Discovered Treasure*.

²²⁵ Cf. ATU 1009 *Guarding the Store-Room Door*.

When the woman sees the camel approaching, she is persuaded to go back home (*1381B I e). The husband lets her in, slaughters the camel and hides the gold (*1381B II a). Then, he prepares a camel kebab for his wife and hides the remaining flesh in the basement. In the meantime, the King is looking for his lost pack animal. He asks an old woman to find it in exchange for a big amount of wool. The lady arrives at the foolish woman's house and pretends she needs some camel meat to accomplish a vow. The crazy woman gives her the meat and reveals the secret. The King's guards accuse the woman's husband of theft. Before the man is carried by the guards, he asks his crazy wife to take care of the house. The woman takes her husband's request too literally. After a while, she decides to go to the king's palace to ask for her husband's whereabouts. She unhinges the house's front door and carries it on her shoulders (1009). The king, seeing the woman approaching with a door on her back and hearing her talking nonsense, is eventually persuaded of the woman's craziness and the man's innocence. The man is finally released (*1381B II c).

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[6:1]	<i>ya mowa ye žine pyāy,</i>	Once upon a time,	(00:00)
		there was a woman	
		(and) a man.	
[6:2]	<i>mā(h) řamazāna,</i>	It's the month of	(00:06)
		Ramadan,	
[6:3]	<i>[mā(h) řamazān {Pers. mīdānī} {xxx}ʔ]</i>	[[you know] the month	(00:09)
		of Ramadan {xxx}ʔ]	
[6:4]	<i>mā(h) řamazān (h)ame mardim řuža bigirin,</i>	during the month of	(00:11)
		Ramadan all people	
		would fast,	
[6:5]	<i>zuwān bōwsin, zuwān.</i>	they would stop eating	(00:15)
		[lit. they would tie the	
		tongue, the tongue].	
[6:6]	<i>řuža ařā xwidā bigirin.</i>	They would fast for the	(00:18)
		sake of God.	

[6:7]	<i>pyāka muṣea žina, muše: «ye man xwiri bisīnim</i>	The husband says to the wife, he says: «I would buy a <i>man</i> [i.e. three kilos] of wool	(00:20)
[6:8]	<i>biṛisīe,</i>	for you to spin,	(00:25)
[6:9]	<i>[mitavajje (h) bīt?] biṛisīe».</i>	[did you understand?], for you to spin».	(00:28)
[6:10]	<i>bašd žinejša muše: «bisīn!».</i>	Then, the wife, too, says: «Buy it!».	(00:31)
[6:11]	<i>gwinī xwiri aṛea masīnī- ō vagard taši-ō</i>	He buys her a sack of wool with a spindle and	(00:36)
[6:12]	<i>[tašiž avasa {Pers. ke tjūri čarx mīzani,²²⁶</i>	[the spindle is that thing {you spin like this,	(00:41)
[6:13]	<i>mīša nax}]</i>	and it becomes a rope}]	(00:45)
[6:14]	<i>biṛisīe,</i>	you would spin (it),	(00:47)
[6:15]	<i>muše: «bisīn». masīnī, gwinī-ō xwiri aṛea masīnī-ō xutāsa,</i>	she says: «Buy it!». He buys it, he buys her the sack and the wool and, in short,	(00:50)
[6:16]	<i>žin va māt agard taši manīši-ō</i>	the woman sits in the house with the spindle and	(00:56)
[6:17]	<i>ye ruž-ō dō ruža maṛise. ruži sivom hāmsāka muše:</i>	she spins for one or two days. The third day the neighbour says:	(01:00)
[6:18]	<i>«nimāy bičīm aṛā sarā bigīrdīmin?».</i> <i>muše: «xu, bičīm!».</i>	«Won't you come (so that) we may go to the spring to stroll about?». She says: «Fine, let's go!».	(01:05)

²²⁶ The passage was accompanied by a hand gesture imitating the spinning movement.

[6:19]	<i>maname a tašī-ō xwirī,</i> <i>vagard žin hamsāya,</i> <i>mean maču²²⁷ aṛā sarā,</i>	She grabs that spindle and (that) wool, with the woman next door, they go out (and) she goes to the spring,	(01:10)
[6:20]	<i>maṛasina ju āwī.</i>	they reach a water channel.	(01:17)
[6:21]	<i>belaxara,</i>	Finally,	(01:22)
[6:22]	<i>ye sidāy qwiṛbāqa hiza</i> <i>magirī qwiṛ qwiṛ! ṭjūrī</i> <i>sidā me.</i>	a cry of frogs rises, croak croak! It sounds like this.	(01:26)
[6:23]	<i>žina muše: «xāla</i> <i>qwiṛbāqa»,</i>	The woman says: «Aunt frog!».	(01:31)
[6:24]	<i>ōwža muše: «qwiṛ!».</i>	(The frog), then, says: «Croak!».	(01:35)
[6:25]	<i>muše: «damāqit</i> <i>čāqa?».</i> ²²⁸ <i>muše:</i> <i>«qwiṛ!».</i> <i>muše: «ī sirī</i> <i>xwirī mina aṛā ma</i> <i>maṛisī?».</i>	She says: «Are you doing well? [lit. Is your nose fat?】». It says: «Croak!». She says: «This time, will you spin my wool for me?».	(01:38)
[6:26]	<i>ōwš xu dī, heywānīka,</i> <i>zuwān ki nerī masan</i> <i>buše a yā na, muše:</i> <i>«qwiṛ!».</i>	Well then, it is an animal, it doesn't possess language, for example, to say yes or no, it says: «Croak!».	(01:47)
[6:27]	<i>xwirī-ō tašī kwila mea</i> <i>dam āw-ō maču-ō</i>	She puts all the wool and the spindle on the waterfront, she goes away and	(01:53)
[6:28]	<i>yawāšī qoruba mow, mā</i> <i>aṛā māṭ, pyāka muše:</i>	slowly dusk comes, she comes back home and	(01:58)

²²⁷ Here, the simple verb *dān* 'to give' takes on the meaning 'to exit, go out/away', otherwise expressed by the complex verb *dān..=ar deyšt* (= Pers. *zadan birun*). This verb simplification might be due to the presence of a serialized construction with the following verb *maču*.

²²⁸ This expression exists also in Pers. with the meaning 'to do well, be well-off', cf. Lazard (1990: 188).

	«anü, xwiriat hā ku?», muše: «valā! dāmase xāla qwiřbāqa,	the husband says: «Where is your wool, then?». She says: «For God’s sake, I gave it to aunt frog,	
[6:29]	ařām biřisite».	to spin it for me». (02:07)	
[6:30]	muše: «xāla qwiřbāqa ku bī?», muše. «xāla qwiřbāqa, čimin ařā bāq,	He says: «Where was aunt frog?». She says: «Aunt frog, we went to the garden,	(02:10)
[6:31]	dīme,	I saw her,	(02:15)
[6:32]	vitim “ī xwirīa ařā ma mařisī?”, vit “a”,	I said “will you spin this wool for me?”. She said “yes”,	(02:17)
[6:33]	dāmase binī».	I gave it to her». (02:22)	
[6:34]	pyākeyš jür mi sādea, muše: «hatman dāse žinī aře biřisite».	The man, well, is simple like me, he says: «Surely, she has given it to a woman to spin it for her».	(02:23)
[6:35]	modatī magwizare, muše: «ey žin». muše muše: «čīā? [...] anü xwirīa ča bī? načīta šune?», muše: «xu, soa mačim».	Some time passes, he says: «Hey wife!». He says, he says: «What is it? [...] Then, what happened to the wool? Didn’t you go to get it back?», she says: «Fine, I’m going tomorrow».	(02:29)
[6:36]	soa mow maču ařā dam ju āwa, muše: «xāla qwiřbāqa», möünī xavare nīya.	The morning comes, she goes to the bank of the watercourse and says: «Aunt frog!». She sees that there isn’t any news from her.	(02:38)
[6:37]	a xāla qwiřbāqa, xeyr, qwiřbāqa hā kura?	That aunt frog, no, where is the frog?	(02:44)

[6:38]	<i>γōwša muše: «pedarit bār(i)merī!²²⁹</i>	Then, she says: «Damn you! (02:49)
[6:39]	<i>bāad bičīma nām ī āwa bigīrdim,</i>	I have to go into this (02:53) water (and) search,
[6:40]	<i>kwičīk bān dūke²³⁰ pyā bikam bārim».</i>	to find the whorl on top (02:57) of the spindle and take it (back)».
[6:41]	<i>kwičīk bān dūke,²³¹</i>	The whorl on top of the (03:02) spindle,
[6:42]	<i>kwičkal a girenīka²³² manina bān ī dūkala.</i>	it's (one of) those rocks (03:05) this big that they put on top of these spindles.
[6:43]	<i>ya mačua nām ī āwa, hara magīrde.</i>	This (woman) dives (03:09) into this water and keeps searching.
[6:44]	<i>xutāsa, nāxwidāgā (h) pāya maxwea qe ye čī sangīnī,</i>	In short, accidentally, (03:12) her foot hits the shape of something heavy,
[6:45]	<i>dasa makea nām āw,</i>	she slips her hands (03:19) into the water
[6:46]	<i>ye sangi zardī peydā make,</i>	(and) finds a yellow (03:24) rock.
[6:47]	<i>peydā make, magirā das, mōwrī, maču ařā māt. šōwa mow, pyāka²³³ muše: «pyā</i>	She finds it, grabs it (03:30) with the hand, takes it and goes back home. The night comes, the

²²⁹ This idiomatic (and more or less insulting) expression, is comparable to Pers. *pedar-e kasi rā dar āvardan* (lit. 'to bring someone's father out'). It is used to convey the idea of someone having a hard time, making a big effort or going through a lot of difficulties because of something or someone.

²³⁰ The word *dūk* refers to the traditional hand spindle. For an idea of the shape of this spinning tool, cf. the images of spindles (*dik*) in Demant-Mortensen (1993: 290, 293, 313). The expression *kwičīk bān dūk* 'the stone on top of the spindle' refers to the wooden (or possibly stone) whorl screwed at one end of the tapering spindle rod.

²³¹ The speaker pronounces *dūk* as *dūg* here.

²³² The passage was accompanied by a hand gesture indicating the size of the object.

²³³ The intended subject is the wife.

	<i>valā čīm», «xāla qwirbāqa xavarānī nōwī?»</i> ,	husband says: «Husband, by God, I went!», «Wasn't there any news of aunt frog?»	
[6:48]	<i>«minīš bowe āwirdimasere,²³⁴ namīmasa kwičik bān dūke, āwirdima».</i>	«I even cursed her. I grabbed the whorl on top of the spindle (and) I brought it (home)».	(03:39)
[6:49]	<i>muše: «hā kura? nišāna me», muše: «e». «ey žin», muše. ōw muše, «ya xišti tiāyka!».²³⁵</i>	He says: «Where is it? Show it to me!». She says: «Here it is». «Hey, wife!», he says. He says: «This is a gold ingot!».	(03:45)
[6:50]	<i>[xišti tiā {Pers. ke midānī čī as(t), šimsi tatā}]</i> .	[A gold ingot, {you know what it is, then! A gold bar}]	(03:54)
[6:51]	<i>muše: «ya xišti tiāyka!</i>	He says: «This is a gold ingot!	(03:58)
[6:52]	<i>ya aṛā ṛamazān!».</i>	This is for Ramadan!».	(04:02)
[6:53]	<i>xuṭāsa,</i>	In short,	(04:07)
[6:54]	<i>pyāyš, xu, dar e zamānali qadīma a nōūa, edārajāt nōūa faqat kāri kišāwarzī bī-ō žin-ō pyāy kišāwarzī kirdina.</i>	the husband, then, in these old times there weren't those (things), there weren't offices, there was only agriculture and men and women, too, used to farm the land.	(04:11)
[6:55]	<i>pyā mačua kišāwarzī, žinīš, ṛuža mow,</i>	The husband goes to farm (the land) and,	(04:20)

²³³ On this expression, cf. footnote no. 229.

²³⁵ A translation of this term as 'gold nugget' would better fit this context. However, the words *xišt* (Pers. *xešt*) and *šims* (Pers. *šemš*) mean '(gold) ingot, bar' in Persian. The term '(gold) nugget' usually translates as Pers. *qet'e-ye talā*.

		when it's getting light, his wife, too,	
[6:56]	<i>maču manīšea dar (h)asāra.</i>	goes and sits on the courtyard's threshold.	(04:26)
[6:57]	<i>har ke māy maču, hara muše: «mašey,²³⁶ nāmit kīa?»</i>	Whoever comes and goes, she keeps asking: «What's your name, Sir?».	(04:29)
[6:58]	<i>ya muše šamsʿalī, ōwa muše řuziʿalī, a muše nōwruzʿalī. ye nafar jür mi dānā</i>	This one says ShamsʿAli, that one says RuziʿAli, that one says NowruzʿAli. A person as wise as me comes and passes by.	(04:36)
[6:59]	<i>māy řad bu, muše: «mašey, nāmit kīa?» muše: «ařā? ča meytī [...] ča meytīa nāmim?».</i>	She says: «What's your name, Sir?». He says: «Why? What do you want [...] What do you want from my name?».	(04:44)
[6:60]	<i>muše: «valā, mi miney řamazāna makam». muše: «xu, ma řamazān».</i>	He says: «By God, I'm looking for Ramazān». He says: «Well, I'm Ramazān».	(04:50)
[6:61]	<i>«a», muše, «tö řamazānī». muše: «a!». «sa bus, tā ya amānatī šüam dāya beme binit».</i>	«Ok», she says, «you are Ramazān». He says: «Yes!». «Well, wait (because) my husband has entrusted this (to me, so that) I would give it to you».	(04:56)
[6:62]	<i>xutāsa,</i>	Finally,	(05:03)

²³⁶ The term *mašey* (Pers. *mašhadī*) 'pertaining to the city of Mashhad' does not necessarily denote geographical origin, but may be used as an honorary title attributed to any person who has accomplished the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mashhad or to elderly, respectable people in general. It is translated here as 'Sir, Mister'.

[6:63]	<i>öwša maksa</i> ²³⁷ <i>make-ö</i> <i>žina mačua nām,</i> <i>maname a xišti tiṭā-ö</i> <i>šimsi tiṭā māre muše:</i> <i>«hā, ya!</i>	he stands (there) and the woman goes inside, she grabs that gold ingot and brings the gold bar, (and) says: «Here it is!	(05:05)
[6:64]	<i>šūam vit “ya xišti tiṭāyka</i> <i>bete řamazān”».</i>	My husband said “this is a gold ingot, you should give it to Ramazān”».	(05:14)
[6:65]	<i>va dasea masīnīte-ö</i> <i>muše: «xeylī</i> <i>mamnunim, tašakor! ya</i> <i>hin mi bīa, dāmasea das</i> <i>[...] nyāmase lā šūa tō».</i>	He gets it from her hands and says: «Thank you so much, thanks! This was mine, I gave it to [...] I left it at your husband’s».	(05:19)
[6:66]	<i>xuṭāsa, kārī nerīmin,</i> <i>xišti tiṭā mea dasī</i> <i>mōwre, maču.</i>	In short, it doesn’t matter, she leaves the gold ingot in his hands, he takes it (and) goes away.	(05:28)
[6:67]	<i>mōwre, maču-ö</i>	He takes it, he goes away and	(05:33)
[6:68]	<i>qoruba mow, šōwa mow,</i> <i>pyā māy mōūnī žin har</i> <i>hūč diris nakirdā.</i>	dusk comes, the night comes. The husband comes back and sees (that) his wife hasn’t prepared anything.	(05:37)
[6:69]	<i>muše: «ey žin, šāmī, čāy,</i> <i>fiṭānī [...]».</i>	He says: «Hey wife, a dinner, a tea, something [...]».	(05:42)
[6:70]	<i>xuṭāsa,</i>	In short,	(05:47)
[6:71]	<i>muše: «ča? šām-ö čāy-ö</i> <i>ča? řa(h)mata pedar!</i> <i>mīa šōsorā ništīma tā</i>	she says: «What? Dinner, tea, and what? (May God have) mercy	(05:49)

²³⁷ The indicative particle =a seems to be realized here as a weak vowel /i/.

	<i>alʔān, tā řamazān</i> <i>hātīa,</i>	on (your) father! I've been sitting since morning until now, until Ramazān has come.	
[6:72]	<i>xišt titāka dāmasa binī».</i>	I gave him the gold ingot».	(05:59)
[6:73]	<i>xutāsa,</i>	In short,	(06:05)
[6:74]	<i>pyā magire žina</i> <i>manjinea mil yakarā.²³⁸</i>	the husband starts to smash his wife again and again [lit. on one another].	(06:08)
[6:75]	<i>žina manjinete mil</i> <i>yakarā. šow, ī</i> <i>mōwqalasa, žina</i> <i>mature,</i>	The wife, he smashes her again and again [lit. on one another]. In the afternoon, by this time, the woman gets angry,	(06:13)
[6:76]	<i>manamea čādira makea</i> <i>sarī-ō, mačua ařā [...]</i>	she takes the <i>čador</i> and wears it on her head, she goes to [...]	(06:18)
[6:77]	<i>nām kalī</i>	to (the outskirts of) some ruins,	(06:24)
[6:78]	<i>īma mušīm kalāsyāw,</i>	we call (it) 'old mill'.	(06:26)
[6:79]	<i>maču ařā nām</i> <i>kalāsyāw,</i>	She goes inside the old mill,	(06:29)
[6:80]	<i>va tārīkī manīše ařā</i> <i>wižī.</i>	in the darkness, she sits by herself.	(06:32)
[6:81]	<i>manīši, va ī mōwqa</i> <i>mōūnī</i>	She sits, at that point she sees	(06:35)

²³⁸ The exact meaning of *manjinea mil yakarā* in this context is unclear. The verb *hanjāndin/hanjānin* is glossed as 'to crush, grind, mince' (Pers. *xord kardan*) in Karimpour (1382/2003: 1061). A similar semantics is attributed to *hænjunen* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 1256) and *(an)jinīn* in MacKenzie (1961a: 226). If the meaning of the verb itself is not particularly problematic, the idea conveyed by the prepositional phrase =*a mil yakarā* 'on one another' is doubtful, although probably referring to a repeated or prolonged action of beating. The passage might also contain an instance of verb serialization, as those described in footnote no. 167.

[6:82]	<i>mirqī dirī²³⁹ [...] řī gwim kirdīa,</i>	a hen is [...] has lost its track (and)	(06:38)
[6:83]	<i>dirī nizīk žina māy.</i>	is coming towards the woman.	(06:44)
[6:84]	<i>žineyša²⁴⁰ muše: «xāla qwitqwitkara,</i>	The woman, then, says: «Aunt Cackle-cackle,	(06:46)
[6:85]	<i>va xwidā ī šūa aqira kwišteasam</i>	by God, this husband (of mine) has beaten me so much (that),	(06:52)
[6:86]	<i>řü nāž, nimām».</i>	don't push me, I won't come (back)».	(06:56)
[6:87]	<i>manea řuwāt mirq, mirqa qwitōqāta meywāy.</i>	She chases the hen, the hen cackling runs away.	(06:58)
[6:88]	<i>mirqa qwitōqāta meywāy. īla piši māy, muše: «mḡow!».</i>	The hen cackling runs away. This time a cat comes (and) says: «Meow!».	(07:03)
[6:89]	<i>muše: «xāla mḡowmḡowkara, xāla qwitqwitkareyš hāt, vagardī nātīm».</i>	She says: «Aunt Meow-meow, aunt Cackle-cackle came (but) I didn't go [lit. come] with her».	(07:07)
[6:90]	<i>manea řuwāt piši, pišiža meywāy.</i>	She chases the cat (and) the cat runs away, too.	(07:15)
[6:91]	<i>(y)e gila sagī māy,</i>	This time, a dog comes.	(07:18)
[6:92]	<i>muše: «xāla wāpwāpkara,</i>	She says: «Aunt Bow-wow,	(07:21)
[6:93]	<i>bi jāni tō, xāla qwitqwitkara-ō xāla mḡowmḡowkara hātina,</i>	by your soul, aunt Cackle-cackle and aunt	(07:24)

²³⁹ Here the speaker wanted to use a progressive construction built by means of the verb *dāšt-* 'to have', but then opts for the Present Perfect *gwim kirdīa*.

²⁴⁰ The vowel /e/ does not seem to express a bound pronoun here, which would indeed be devoid of a logical referent. It more probably represents the raising of the vowel sound /a/ of the definite marker before the additive morpheme =īš.

		Meow-meow have come	
[6:94]	<i>nātima.</i>	(but) I didn't go [lit. come].	(07:30)
[6:95]	<i>bičua šun tōnīš,²⁴¹ nimām». manea řuwāt sagīš.</i>	You go on your way too, I won't come». She chases the dog.	(07:32)
[6:96]	<i>manea řuwāt sagī(š), sagīša meγwāγ. dōma manea nām pištī,</i>	She chases the dog (and) the dog runs away, too. He puts his tail between his legs [lit. his back],	(07:36)
[6:97]	<i>alfarār!</i>	(and went on) the run!	(07:40)
[6:98]	<i>xutāsa va ī mōwqa, dī, mowa sāƣatal nismi šōw.</i>	In short, at this point, there come the midnight hours.	(07:43)
[6:99]	<i>šotori pādišā,</i>	The king's camel,	(07:47)
[6:100]	<i>šotori pādišā va bāri zařā, gwīma mow,</i>	the king's camel with a load of gold gets lost.	(07:51)
[6:101]	<i>va bāri zařā gwīma mow-ō xutāsa</i>	It gets lost with the load of gold and, in short,	(07:58)
[6:102]	<i>šotora bāri zařā sara manea a kala.</i>	the camel with a load of gold arrives at those ruins.	(08:01)
[6:103]	<i>žini dīwāney ča?</i>	His crazy wife, what (about her)?	(08:06)
[6:104]	<i>iska gi mōüni šotora ī dirīži-ō va mili dirīž hātīa,</i>	When she sees (that) a camel that tall and with a long neck has come,	(08:09)
[6:105]	<i>muše: «xāla {Pers. gardandirāza},</i>	she says: «Aunt Long- neck,	(08:15)
[6:106]	<i>xāla wāpwāpkara, xāla mγowmγowkara, xāla</i>	aunt Bow-wow, aunt Meow-meow and aunt Cackle-cackle {came	(08:17)

²⁴¹ This passage is unclear and its transcription is provisional.

- [6:107] *qwitqwitkara* {Pers. *āmadan, nayāmadam.*
hālā, čun tō xāla
gardandirāzei myām},
a». (but) I didn't go [lit. come] back.
Now, because you're aunt Long-neck, I'll come}, yes». (08:26)
- [6:108] *vagardi xāla*
gardandirāza makatea
řĩ. She sets out with aunt Long-neck. (08:32)
- [6:109] *maču ařā dar māt.* She arrives at the front door of the house. (08:36)
- [6:110] *taktak mea dar-ö xulāsa,*
vaxtĩ pyā seyra make
möüni, bałe, žin agard
šotori zařĩ ki hātĩas ařā
dar hasā(r). Knock, knock, she knocks at the door and then, when the husband looks, he sees, yes, the wife with a camel (full) of gold, who has come to the courtyard's threshold. (08:39)
- [6:111] *maču, dara bāza make,*
muše: «žina, ya čĩa?»,
muše: «řa(h)mata
pedarit! He goes, opens the door and says: «Hey wife, what is this?», She says: «(May God have) mercy on your father! (08:48)
- [6:112] *tō qwitqwitkara kil kirdĩ,*
myowmyowkara kil
kirdĩ, wāpwāpkara kil
kirdĩ, iska xāla
gardandirāza hātea, You sent Cackle-cackle, you sent Meow-meow, you sent Bow-wow, now aunt Long-neck has come (08:53)
- [6:113] *hātĩmasā».* (and) I have come back». (09:02)
- [6:114] *muše: «bāa nām,*
řa(h)mata pidarit, bāa
nām». He says: «Come in, (may God have) mercy on your father! Come in». (09:04)

[6:115]	<i>dara bāza make, šotor mōwrea nām-ō</i>	He opens the door, he carries the camel inside and	(09:08)
[6:116]	<i>xutāsa,</i>	finally,	(09:12)
[6:117]	<i>žina makea nām utāq-ō</i>	he brings the wife into the room	(09:14)
[6:118]	<i>šotor hara nām tōūla-ō nām hasār-ō tōūla-ō har čī has,</i>	and the camel just in the stable, in the courtyard, in the stable, whatever it is,	(09:16)
[6:119]	<i>sara mōwři.</i>	(and) he cuts (its) head.	(09:20)
[6:120]	<i>gušti šotoriš, xu dī xeyli lazīza, a gīr nimāy.</i>	Camel meat, well then, it is very tasty, it is not (easily) found.	(09:22)
[6:121]	<i>xutāsa, kār nerīm,</i>	In short, it is not our concern,	(09:26)
[6:122]	<i>bāri zařiš,</i>	the load of gold too,	(09:29)
[6:123]	<i>va haf(t) kwīnā hašāra make</i>	he hides (it) in seven holes,	(09:31)
[6:124]	<i>mōwkam.</i>	well-sealed.	(09:34)
[6:125]	<i>bašd,</i>	Then,	(09:36)
[6:126]	<i>ye kabāwi depšiši²⁴² va gušti šotor ařā</i>	a tasty kebab of camel meat, too,	(09:38)
[6:127]	<i>xānim līva dirisa make bixwe.</i>	he prepares for the crazy lady to eat.	(09:44)
[6:128]	<i>bašd, mušea bine, muše: «gušteyš nyāmasa</i>	Then, he tells her, he says: «I have put the meat	(09:47)
[6:129]	<i>žīr zamī(n)</i>	underground.	(09:51)
[6:130]	<i>čāł kanīma, nyāmase čāł. har vaxt dus dāštī</i>	I dug a pit (and) I put it in the pit. Whenever you like, bring the	(09:53)

²⁴² The core meaning of the Pers. adjective *debš* is 'acid, sour, pungent', but the word seems used here to express the general idea of something particularly tasty. It is notable that sour flavours (e.g. that of the sumac, a spice used to season roasted meat) very much suit Iranian food tastes.

	<i>gušti šotor bār, aṛā wižit bixwa».</i>	camel's meat (out and eat it for yourself».	
[6:131]	<i>sirvatīš xu katīasa gīre. dī zařōmaṛīš katīasa gīrī.</i>	Well, he got his hands on (many) riches, too. Finally, he got his hands on gold and silver, too.	(10:00)
[6:132]	<i>xulāsa, pādišāyš har čī ešlāma makea šar, āqā.²⁴³</i>	In short, however much the king might proclaim to the city, my friend:	(10:04)
[6:133]	<i>«šotor mina bāri zař gwim bīa.</i>	«My camel got lost with a load of gold.	(10:09)
[6:134]	<i>har ke dīase-ō bārete,²⁴⁴</i>	Whoever sees it and brings it (back),	(10:12)
[6:135]	<i>jāyīza mema binī».</i>	I'll give him a reward».	(10:16)
[6:136]	<i>kār nerīm, pādišā har čī magīrdī, va gīr nimāy.</i>	It is not our concern, however much the king might search, (the camel) wouldn't be found.	(10:18)
[6:137]	<i>māy, ča make? muše: «be(h)tarīn řīasa mi ye pīražinī va gīr bārim,</i>	He comes and what does he do? He says: «The best way is that I find an old woman	(10:23)
[6:138]	<i>būnim čanī meytī</i>	(and) I see how much she wants	(10:30)
[6:139]	<i>tā ī šotora aṛā mi yā zindea gīr bārī yā mirdea gīr bārī, guštea gīr bārī».</i>	in order to find this camel alive or dead for me, to find its meat».	(10:32)

²⁴³ Here, the epithet *āqā* 'Mister, Sir' is used to address the (female) listener. Like the term *birā* 'brother' in Text 1, it can be used as a generic, gender-unmarked term of address to express respect for the referent.

²⁴⁴ The transcription of this passage is provisional.

[6:140]	<i>xuṭāsa, keywānuī jūr bībī zeynowa makatea gīre.</i>	In short, he comes across an old woman like Bibi Zeynab.	(10:40)
[6:141]	<i>muše: «saḡ wižim²⁴⁵ xwirī be²⁴⁶ binim</i>	She says: «Give me as much wool as my own weight [lit. my own weight of wool]	(10:46)
[6:142]	<i>tā šotor aṛāt pyā bikam.</i>	to find the camel for you,	(10:49)
[6:143]	<i>yā zinda yā gušte aṛāt pyā (bikam)».</i>	to find it alive or to find its meat for you».	(10:51)
[6:144]	<i>bi har hāt,</i>	Anyway,	(10:55)
[6:145]	<i>pādišā qabula make-ō muše: «xānim,</i>	the king accepts and says: «Lady,	(10:57)
[6:146]	<i>bikata miney, gīr bār».</i>	go in search of it (and find it».	(11:01)
[6:147]	<i>makatea miney, āqā. māṭa māṭ, māṭa māṭ tā mā aṛā māṭ</i>	She sets out after it, my friend. From house to house, from house to house until she reaches the house	(11:03)
[6:148]	<i>xānim.</i>	of the lady.	(11:09)
[6:149]	<i>mā aṛā māṭ xānim, muše: «val(ā)a haqīqat duwā kirdīma.</i>	She arrives at the lady's house and says: «By God, indeed, I made a vow.	(11:11)
[6:150]	<i>řī duwām gušti šotor hātea.²⁴⁷</i>	For my vow, camel meat is needed.	(11:15)

²⁴⁵ The word *saḡ* 'stone, weight' alludes to the stones used as weights for old scales.

²⁴⁶ A directional particle =a should be expected to occur before the preposition *bin*, but it is absent here.

²⁴⁷ The word *řī duwā*, reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 651) as *rei dowa*, refers to '1. an amount of payment (either material or pecuniary) they give to the fortune-teller, the soothsayer and the sorcerer 2. the thing that fortune-tellers and sorcerers consider necessary for the addressee in order to complete the prediction or spell (such as incense, grains, green myrtle)'.

- [6:151] *ar bu, aqira kamī gušti šotor beyna binim aṛā ři duwā». Žina muše: «har eqira?».* If it's possible, give me that little camel meat for the offering». The woman says: «Just this much?».
- [6:152] *maču, qad manāne, qad baqaṭe gušti šotora māre mea bine, muše: {xxx}* She goes, she brings (out) a one man-container, an armful of camel meat, and gives it to her, she says: {xxx}
- [6:153] *«böwr, bika ři duwā».* «Take (it), make the offering».
- [6:154] *mare,* She brings it,
- [6:155] *keywānuša möwre, qašaṇ* the old woman takes it and, properly,
- [6:156] *manetea nām das pādišā.* puts it in the king's hands.
- [6:157] *manetea nām das pādišā, pādišāyša muše:* She puts it in the king's hands, the king says:
- [6:158] *«böwr, hasāra nišān dāruqa be». a möwqa va maḏmur vitina dāruqa.* «Take it and show the courtyard to the police officer». At that time, they called the police officer *dāruqa*.
- [6:159] *«nišān dāruqa be».* «Show it to the officer».
- [6:160] *nišān dāruqa men, āqā.* They show it to the officer, my friend.
- [6:161] *dāruqa pyā magire qadbasta make.* The officer takes the husband and arrests him.
- [6:162] *qadbastea make böwretea lā pādišā.* He arrests him in order to take him before the king.
- [6:163] *{# dāruqeyša muše: «āqā»} [...] pyāyša muše: «āqā», {# va dāruqa* {# And the officer says: «Mister»} [...] And the man says: «Mister», {#

	<i>muše</i>] [...] <i>va maʔmura</i> <i>muše, muše: «āqā,</i>	he says to the officer} [...] he says to the policeman, he says: «Mister,	
[6:164]	<i>har eǰāza be sefāriš māta</i> <i>bikama žina»</i>	just allow me to entrust the house to (my wife».	(12:12)
[6:165]	[<i>moltafiti?</i>]	[are you attentive?].	(12:16)
[6:166]	« <i>sefāriš māta bikama</i> <i>žina lāaqaʔ ar mi ešdām</i> <i>bīm, ar sarim biṛyā, ar</i> <i>har čīa binim kirdūn,</i> <i>žina māta nega(h)dārī</i> <i>bike».</i>	«I would entrust my house to (my) wife so that, if I would be executed, if my head would be cut off, whatever they might do to me, at least (my) wife would take care of the house».	(12:17)
[6:167]	<i>xuṭāsa, muše: «eǰ žin»,</i> <i>muše, «mi dī dirim</i> <i>mačim,</i>	Finally, he says: «Hey wife», he says, «well, I'm going.	(12:27)
[6:168]	<i>tō hawāsta</i> <i>darpeykarila</i> ²⁴⁸ <i>bu ā!</i>	Pay attention to the house, eh!	(12:31)
[6:169]	<i>va beyn načun ī</i> <i>darpeykaral».</i>	May this house not be destroyed».	(12:34)
[6:170]	<i>muše: «na! pyā, xīyātīt</i> <i>ṛāhat bu, biču! ma</i> <i>hasim!».</i>	She says: «No! Husband, don't worry [lit. may your mind be relaxed], go! I'll be here!».	(12:38)
[6:171]	<i>pyā mean ma [...]</i> <i>mōwrinea deyšt</i> ²⁴⁹	The man, they go and [...] drag him out of the	(12:43)

²⁴⁸ The compound form *darpeykar* (Pers. *dar-o peykar*) literally means 'the door and the structure' and is used in colloquial language as a synecdoche to indicate the whole house, from door, to walls, to ceiling. This is where the misunderstanding between the man and his wife arises. The man uses this term to allude to the whole house, while his wife takes it literally as meaning 'door jambs, doorframe'.

²⁴⁹ See [6:19] and footnote no. 227 for a verb serialization similar to *mean mōwrinea deyšt*.

	<i>hasā(r). žiniša makea</i>	courtyard. The woman,	
	[...] <i>tavara īma-ō vagard</i>	too, does [...] The axe,	
	<i>kofija,</i> ²⁵⁰	(like) ours, with the	
		pickaxe,	
[6:172]	<i>jā manea ī darala,</i>	she places them on	(12:51)
		these (door) jambs	
[6:173]	<i>mār(e)tyāneri</i> ²⁵¹	and pulls them out.	(12:53)
[6:174]	<i>tanāfa māže arine,</i>	She throws a rope	(12:55)
	<i>mōwsete qašāna māžea</i>	around [lit. to] it [i.e.	
	<i>kuš.</i>	the door], she tightens	
		it properly and she puts	
		it on her back.	
[6:175]	<i>vere kura? vere lā pādišā.</i>	Going where? Going	(13:00)
		before the king.	
[6:176]	<i>xutāsa pādišā, pyā</i>	In short, the king has	(13:04)
	<i>girtāsa žīr šalāq arinī</i>	put the man under the	
	<i>ki: «pedar suxte,</i> ²⁵² <i>ī</i>	whip, (saying):	
	<i>šotorā čū dōzīta?».</i>	«Bastard, how have you	
		stolen this camel?».	
[6:177]	<i>a, ōwša [...]</i>	Yes, well he [...]	(13:12)
[6:178]	<i>hā žīr šalāqa dirī {xxx}</i>	He is under the whip	(13:14)
	<i>seyra make mōiūnī žīna</i>	and he is {xxx} he sees	
	<i>darpeykara kwil nyāsa</i>	(that) the wife has put	
	<i>kuš,</i>	the whole door on her	
		shoulders (and)	
[6:179]	<i>dirī māy.</i>	is coming.	(13:22)
[6:180]	<i>muše: «qobla šalām,</i> ²⁵³	He says: «His	(13:23)
	<i>mi</i>	Highness, I	
[6:181]	<i>šotor tō nyōzīma.</i>	haven't stolen your	(13:26)
		camel.	

²⁵⁰ The transcription and translation of this passage is provisional.

²⁵¹ The nature and function of /ī/ after the postverb =er 'out' are unclear. It could be interpreted as redundant 3SG bound pronoun referring to the subject of the verb or, as suggested by Ergin Öpengin (p.c.), as a fossilized oblique suffix.

²⁵² This insulting Pers. expression literally means 'burned father'.

²⁵³ On this title, cf. footnote no. 187.

- [6:182] {xxx} *a žin līvamasa, ya darpeykara girtīasa kut, dirī māre.* {xxx} that is my crazy wife, she has taken the whole door on her shoulders and she is carrying it. (13:29)
- [6:183] *ava dōzīa».* She has stolen it». (13:35)
- [6:184] *muše: «xu pas bīlā bāa nwā»* He says: «Well, let her come in, then». (13:37)
- [6:185] *mačua nwā, muše: «ey žin!», muše: «bate». muše: «šotor mina čü dōzīte?».* She gets closer, he says: «Hey, woman!». She says: «Yes». He says: «How have you stolen my camel?». (13:40)
- [6:186] *muše: «qobla řālam, zamānī mi dōzīma²⁵⁴ ī šotor tōa tōwirga mawāryā,* She says: «His Highness, when I stole this camel of yours, it was hailing hailstones (13:46)
- [6:187] *jūr xā gwinit,* as (big as) your testicles, (13:53)
- [6:188] *surāxa makird jūr surāx qijit». a.* (the hail) was making holes as big as your rear's». Yes. (13:55)
- [6:189] *muše: «āqā, ī žina har līvea, vete dan,* He says: «Man, this woman is just crazy, let her go. (13:59)
- [6:190] *āqā, pyāyš tabra kan. ya līvea».* Mister, release the man, too. She's crazy». (14:04)
- [6:191] *īlā vitim řās bī, alā vitim duru bī, har čī vitim duq bī.²⁵⁵* What I said here was true, what I said there was false, whatever I said was buttermilk. (14:09)

²⁵⁴ Here the copula seems to be fronted to /e/, possibly under the effect of the following proximal demonstrative ī.

²⁵⁵ On this formula, cf. footnote no. 222.

Text 7: *Mīmī nařadö* (The demonic aunt)

Text 7 was recorded in Harsin, on the 10th of January 2014 (20th of Dey 1392), during the same recording session when Text 1 and Text 3 were collected. The speaker is M. G., the same person performing Text 1. She is a fifty year-old woman, native of the rural village of Parive. She has lived in the city of Harsin for most of her life and has not received elementary schooling.

Summary: this story can be classified as a *Tale of Magic*. The plot is compatible with Marzolph's (1984) type *333 B *The Aunt is a Wolf*²⁵⁶ and shows similarities with the tales in Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 104-107) and Blau (1989c):

A man, his wife, and their daughters are so poor they survive by eating spontaneous herbs collected in the fields. One day, they meet a rich old woman, who pretends to be the man's aunt. The lady informs them that the village has been abandoned. She asks them to come over to her house to take the goods that were left behind by former inhabitants. The family moves to the lady's house. Day by day, the lady compels the woman to fatten her daughters, until one day one of the girls realizes the lady is a cannibalistic monster. At night, the mother and the daughters prepare some provisions. They take some salt, a needle, and a knife with them and run away, while the distrustful husband stays the lady's house. The next morning, the demonic aunt decides to eat the woman and the girls. When she finds out that they have escaped, she eats the man and starts chasing the fugitives. As soon as the monster reaches the woman, she throws the needle at him, which by magic becomes a mountain of needles. The demonic aunt overcomes the obstacle, but her feet start bleeding. This time, the woman throws salt, which becomes a mountain of salt. The demonic aunt overcomes the obstacle, but her feet start burning. The woman throws the blade at the demon, but to no avail. The woman prays for a watercourse to appear and block the demon. Two water channels

²⁵⁶ Cf. ATU 334 *Household of the Witch* (previously AT 333B *The cannibal godfather/godmother*).

appear, the demon is not able to cross them, and the woman with her daughters return safe and sound to their own village.

Transcription and Translation:

	Harsini	English	
[7:1]	<i>ava, ye žinik-ō ye pyāy si gila dit dirin.</i>	So, a woman and a man have three daughters.	(00:00)
[7:2]	<i>si gila dit mea si gila kwiř, valī a si gila dit hüč xwidāy nerin, jür īma. āyimal žār, badbaxtikan.</i>	He gives the three daughters to three boys, but those three girls are wretched [lit. they don't have any God], like ourselves. They are poor, miserable people.	(00:04)
[7:3]	<i>mačīn ařā pāča parīva īma, masałan, paqāza²⁵⁷ bikan.</i>	They go to the foothill of our Parive, for example, to pick herbs.	(00:10)
[7:4]	<i>paqāza bikan,</i>	To pick herbs,	(00:14)
[7:5]	<i>bārīn, bixwan, binīna dār-ō āylal bixwan.</i>	(so that) they would bring (them), eat (them), cook (them) for the children to eat.	(00:17)
[7:6]	<i>ya, ye keywānue māy, keywānu zinhār zinhārī²⁵⁸ muše,</i>	Then, an old woman comes, an old woman, «Alas, alas!», she says,	(00:20)

²⁵⁷ The word *paqāza* is reported as *paqazh* (perhaps a misprint of *paqazæh*) in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 276) and is defined as ‘[...] a spontaneous herbaceous plant, annual or perennial, pertaining to the family of *Umbelliferæ*, with a pronged trunk, between 15 and 60 cm high, having dark green leaves, with three small leaves, similar to goosefoot [Pers. *pā-ye gāz*], a spindle-shaped trunk, yielding white and pink flowers and with seeds similar to black sesame. Sometimes its wide green leaves, which become reddish in spring, are cooked and eaten with rice, being very good (to cure) kidney stones and backaches’.

²⁵⁸ It is not clear if the word *zinhār* is used here in apposition to *keywānu*, as an adverb or as an interjection. The function of the final /i/ is also unclear. In Persian, the word *zenhār* ‘protection, refuge, mercy’ can be used as an interjection, meaning ‘beware!, alas!’. The sense of this paragraph remains uncertain and its translation tentative.

- [7:7] *mušea pyāka, muše: «ey mamūla, mīmīt bimire!²⁵⁹ vera ča makey?».* she says to the man, she says: «Mohammad, as I live and breathe! What are you doing here?» (00:25)
- [7:8] *ōwša muše: «ay mīmī, hūč xwidāy nerim! ya seyr si gila dit mi badbaxtin, bīčāram».* He says: «O auntie, I'm wretched! Look, my three daughters are miserable, I'm hopeless» (00:32)
- [7:9] *tōmarz naka,²⁶⁰ mīmī ābādī čuť kirdīa.²⁶¹* Fancy that! The auntie has emptied the village. (00:39)
- [7:10] *muše: «bān ařā lā mi, va xwidā, kī bixwe ī kwil xarja, ī kwil pūla, ī kwil birinja, ī kwil [...]* She says: «Come to my place, by God, who is going to eat all these purchases, all this money, all this rice, all these [...]
- [7:11] *kāwiř-ō miyā? kwil ī čuťa. bān!».* sheep and cows? All of this is (now) abandoned. Come!» (00:50)
- [7:12] *yōwš muše, ya muši: «bān agard tā bar(i)matān». keywānu {? qwiltāqwil} makatea nwā dā zarā-ō mamūla-ō si gila dit.* She says, this one says: «Come together, so that I bring you (there)». The old woman {? with a limp} sets off before Dā (00:52)

²⁵⁹ This idiomatic expression (lit. 'may your aunt die') is used to denote surprise and disbelief at the sight of someone or something. It broadly compares to English 'as I live and breathe!', 'well, blow me down!', 'well, I'll be darned!'.

²⁶⁰ The expression *tōmarz naka* is used idiomatically to convey surprise and astonishment (perhaps with a note of sarcasm). In Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 352) the word *tumarz* is explained as 'an adverb for the expression of surprise [...]', while Fattah (2000: 698) renders *tomarz* and its variants as 'en fin de compte, finalement, il s'avère que'. Perhaps related to Pers. *šarž kardan* 'to illustrate, say', thus Har. *tō=m šarz na-ka-ø* 'don't tell me'. In this case, the expression would be equivalent to English 'you do not say!' or 'don't even tell me!'.

²⁶¹ The word *čut* is reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 271) with the meaning of 'an empty and silent place. This word in Persian has taken on the meaning of desert'. In Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 432, 453) the words *čowel* and *čuoł* are defined as '1. empty, vacant 2. uninhabited desert'. Here, the verb *čut kirdin* refers to the fact that the lady (who is a cannibalistic monster) has emptied the village by killing all the inhabitants.

- Zahrā, Mohammad and the three girls.
- [7:13] *mare ařā ābādīa.* She takes (them) to the village. (01:01)
- [7:14] *mare ařā ābādīa, ye ruž muše: «dā zarā». māre manea var dasyān, muši: «ya, kwil ī ditela čāx ka,* She takes (them) to the village, one day she says: «Dā Zahrā». She brings (food) and puts (it) at their disposal [lit. in front of their hands], saying: «Make all these girls fat, (01:04)
- [7:15] *tā matūnīt.* as much as you can. (01:09)
- [7:16] *bea bin(γ)ān, tā bi xwidā čāx buin».* Give them (food) so that, by God, they become fat». (01:10)
- [7:17] *γōwša maču, māre ařγān, hara mapaze, dā zarā xavare hūč nerī.* She goes, she brings them (food), she cooks and cooks, Dā Zahrā doesn't have a clue about anything. (01:12)
- [7:18] *ye řu(ž) miγāγān ki mazāγ,* One day, when their cow delivers, (01:17)
- [7:19] *līvīa²⁶² makan, šīr makana līvī,* they make *livi*, they make the milk into *livi*, (01:20)
- [7:20] *mea dita būčkata, muše: «ya bar, bea mīmīmān a (h)asār bānīna», masan, a (h)asār īma bārī ařā era.* she gives it to the younger daughter (and) says: «take this and give it to our auntie, (on) that upper courtyard», for example, (as) you would (01:23)

²⁶² The word *līvī* denotes a dairy product from the colostrum milk of cows or sheep. The word is reported as *luwe* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 1052, 1054) with the meaning 'milk of a cow or a sheep that has just delivered. They put it on the stove and stir it very much, until it becomes a cream, which they call *luwe* [...]'. The word *liwe* is also found in Karimpour (1382/2003: 803) with the meaning 'sheep milk that becomes semisolid as a result of boiling'.

		bring it from our courtyard, up to here.	
[7:21]	<i>vaxtī maču, nōünītin ha mīmī piř dīa kirdīasa pāčka, sarka žin, pyā, zīzī mārea damirā.</i>	When she goes, don't you see, there's the aunt (who) has filled (everything) with the smoke of legs and heads of men and women, and quickly brings (them) to (her) mouth.	(01:32)
[7:22]	<i>nařadōika.</i>	She is a demon.	(01:37)
[7:23]	<i>yōwša dit mačirīkine,²⁶³ jāma hawā me.</i>	Then, the girl shrieks (and) throws the cup in the air. ²⁶⁴	(01:39)
[7:24]	<i>jāma hawā me, duwāra nařadō mowa mīmī,</i>	She throws the cup in the air (and) the male demon becomes the auntie again,	(01:43)
[7:25]	<i>mowa keywānu, va dāyāka.</i>	she becomes the old woman, the old lady.	(01:46)
[7:26]	<i>māy, dita mārīa wižī, muše: «mīmīt bimirī,²⁶⁵ ča dīt tō?</i>	She comes, brings the girl round (and) says: «Oh gosh, what have you seen?	(01:48)
[7:27]	<i>hūč nīya, čīa?».</i>	There's nothing, what's there?»	(01:51)

²⁶³ The semantics of this verb is unclear, although certainly related to the word *čirika* denoting a woman's sudden shriek. The forms *čirīkunin* and *čirīkyāyn* are cited under *cherekæh* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 420) with the meaning 'to slap someone in the face'. If we attribute the verb a causative sense, as its form would suggest, it might be interpreted as 'to make (sb.) scream'. Note, however, the CK parallel in Mackenzie (1961a: 227) with the meaning 'to shriek (tr.)'.

²⁶⁴ The subjects of both verbs in the passage are unclear and the translation remains tentative. Possible alternatives are '(the demon) shrieks at the girl (and) blows the cup away' or '(the demon) shrieks at the girl/slaps the girl, and (the girl) throws the cup in the air'.

²⁶⁵ On this expression, cf. footnote no. 257.

[7:28]	<i>mišti taṭāmaṭā daspā žinila {xxx}</i>	She gives her a handful of gold and silver (from) the feet and hands of the women {xxx}	(01:55)
[7:29]	<i>makea nām jāme, muše: «va fiṛān lā dā zarā!».</i>	she puts it [i.e. the jewellery] in her cup (and) says: «Quickly (go back) to Dā Zahrā!»	(01:56)
[7:30]	<i>sārā maču aṛā lā dā zarā,</i>	Sara ²⁶⁶ goes to Dā Zahrā,	(01:59)
[7:31]	<i>muše: «dā nōünī, načītā! yāru naṛadōika.</i>	she says: «Mother, don't see, don't go back! The fellow is a male demon.	(02:01)
[7:32]	<i>{# žin}, mīmī keywānu nīya!». muši: «va če?», muše: «naṛadōika».</i>	{# The woman}, the auntie is not an old woman!». She says: «Then, what (is she)?». (The girl) says: «She's a male demon».	(02:05)
[7:33]	<i>muše: «sa, ey(b) nerī». hüč nušin, «bāra makeym, řula,²⁶⁷ šōw mačīm aṛyā, mačīmin».</i>	She says: «Well, it doesn't matter». They don't say anything. «We will load (our things), dear children, (and) at night we'll go back, we will go (away)».	(02:35)
[7:34]	<i>har čī muše: «mamūla, dāt xās, bowat xās, ditila neyma kwišt vera».</i>	Much as she says: «Mohammad, (may) your mother (be) well, (may) your father (be) well, we shall not let the girls be killed here».	(02:15)
[7:35]	<i>muše: «na, biču</i>	He says: «No, you go.	(02:20)

²⁶⁶ Probably as an audience engagement strategy, the narrator named this character as one of the listeners (myself, in the specific instance).

²⁶⁷ The word *řula* is formally singular, but it can be used to address more than one person.

[7:36]	<i>nimačim</i> », <i>mušī</i> : « <i>tō</i> {xxx} <i>dimārā</i> .	I'm not going», he says, «You that {xxx} back.	(02:22)
[7:37]	<i>ya kwil ī ganja dirīm</i> <i>maxweymin</i> , <i>č(a)</i> <i>(h)āt?</i> ²⁶⁸	We have all this wealth, we eat, what's wrong?	(02:23)
[7:38]	<i>ařā ča bičīmin?</i> <i>mālit</i> <i>biř(i)me!</i> ²⁶⁹ <i>a kwil</i> <i>kāwiřa bār</i> , <i>saray bōwř</i> , <i>bixwa</i> .	Why shall we go? May your house fall apart! Bring all those sheep, slaughter them and eat them.	(02:33)
[7:39]	<i>kāwiř sara mōwřīmin</i> , {xxx} <i>bičīm ařā kura?</i> ».	We will slaughter the sheep, {xxx} where shall we go?».	(02:38)
[7:40]	<i>ya</i> ,	This,	(02:41)
[7:41]	<i>dā</i>	the mother	(02:42)
[7:42]	<i>māre</i> ²⁷⁰	starts	(02:43)
[7:43]	<i>xargoŭa</i> ²⁷¹ <i>make. piř huř ī</i> <i>čī ka make, māžea kuŭ</i> <i>xararā</i> ,	picking thistles. When she has filled the saddlebag etc., she throws it on the donkey's back,	(02:45)
[7:44]	<i>valā</i> ,	by God,	(02:49)
[7:45]	<i>šōw, nismi šōw</i> , <i>māņašōwa</i> ,	at night, at midnight, it is a moonlight night,	(02:50)

²⁶⁸ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

²⁶⁹ This exclamation is very frequent in colloquial speech to express surprise, disapproval or disagreement. With the negative form of the verb, it is used as polite reply to the denial of a request.

²⁷⁰ On this kind of serial verb constructions, cf. footnote no. 167.

²⁷¹ The word *xar xuoel* (also *xar kuoel*) is reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 495, 497) with the meaning 'a plant having one rhizome, plurennial, thorny, with a maximum height of 2.5 meters. It has a stalk similar to the sunflower's, with leafy, purple coloured flowers. The external layer of this plant's stalk has the fuzz and fibres of an artichoke, with secondary branches departing from the main branch [...]'.
[...].

[7:46]	<i>ye xwā manīa wižī,</i> <i>gwinuža manīa wižī,</i> <i>tīxiš.²⁷²</i>	she takes some salt with her, she takes a big needle with her, and a blade, too.	(02:52)
[7:47]	<i>va māt dā zarā hin mušī</i> [...]	At home, Dā Zahrā says [...]	(02:57)
[7:48]	« <i>nařadō e čī e [...]</i> řuľa, <i>mačua xāw</i> ».	«The male demon, this thing, this [...] my dear, goes to sleep».	(02:59)
[7:49]	<i>e čī, e {? řuteyl}</i> ²⁷³ <i>bīdāra,</i> <i>pāčka mea dinān ava,</i>	This thing, this {? tarantula}, is awake, she is biting legs,	(03:01)
[7:50]	<i>pāčka ādimīzāda.</i> ²⁷⁴	human legs.	(03:03)
[7:51]	<i>yōwša maču, muše,</i>	Then, she goes (and) says,	(03:05)
[7:52]	<i>yawāše muše: «dital hiz</i> <i>girin, {# nařadō} nimāya</i> <i>darak! {# hin</i> <i>mamūla.</i> ²⁷⁵	she says it quietly: «Girls, wake up, {# the male demon} won't come! I don't care! {# What's-his-name, Mohammad}.	(03:08)
[7:53]	<i>meylīme jā, mačīmin</i> ».	We will leave him here (and) we will go (away)».	(03:12)
[7:54]	<i>yawāša mačīn, ditala</i> <i>magirīa (kuľ) [...]</i> <i>dōa</i> <i>manīa kuľ xara-ō yaktirī</i> <i>wižī makiřinī,</i> ²⁷⁶	Quietly, they go, she takes the girls on (her shoulders)} [...] she puts two of them on the	(03:14)

²⁷² The motif that follows, concerning the multiplication of magic objects and their use against the demon, has a parallel in Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 31-32).

²⁷³ The interpretation of the word *řuteyl* is tentative.

²⁷⁴ The final /a/ of *ādimīzāda* might be analyzed as an oblique marker (see §3.1.3.1).

²⁷⁵ The right sentence would be *mamūla nimāya darak!* 'Mohammad won't come (with us)! I don't care!', but the narrator mistakenly says *nařadō* 'male demon'. When she realizes the mistake, she corrects herself saying *hin, mamūla* 'what's-his-name, Mohammad'.

²⁷⁶ The sense of the causative verb *kiřānin* in this context is not completely clear. It may refer to the mother's action of carrying one of the daughters and it might be related to the verb *kiřānin*, reported in Karimpour (1382/2003:673) with the meaning 'dragging something along the ground'.

		donkey's back, and she herself drags another one.	
[7:55]	<i>meywān, bičīn aṛā ābādīa wižyān.</i>	(and) they flee, to go (back) to their own village.	(03:21)
[7:56]	<i>vaxtī mowa xavar, muše: «dā zarā čāxit kirdim [...]]»,</i>	When (the demon) wakes up, he says: «Dā Zahrā, I fattened you [...]]»	(03:23)
[7:57]	{xxx}	{xxx}	(03:27)
[7:58]	<i>muše: «čāxit kirdim, laṛit kirdim, hejfl</i>	He says: «I made you fat, I made you thin, it's a pity!	(03:32)
[7:59]	<i>bičīm dī, nōwbatyāna īmšōw,</i>	I shall go, then, tonight it's their turn,	(03:35)
[7:60]	<i>zītatirikyān bikam,</i>	I shall scare them to death ²⁷⁷	(03:36)
[7:61]	<i>bašd yaka yaka maxwamyān».</i>	(and) than I will eat them one by one».	(03:38)
[7:62]	<i>ya vaxtī māy, mōūnī kas nīya, mamūla matapea nām kanūa.</i> ²⁷⁸	When he goes [lit. comes], she sees that there's nobody. Mohammad hits the inside of the jar.	(03:40)
[7:63]	<i>mačua nām kanū giṭīna, mamūla.</i>	Mohammad goes into the earthen jar.	(03:46)
[7:64]	<i>bīčāra mamūla.</i>	Poor Mohammad.	(03:48)
[7:65]	<i>bīa dōa, marīa wižyarā, kanū mowa šaš kwit,</i>	(The old woman) becomes a demon, she	(03:50)

²⁷⁷ The verb *zītatirik kirdin* translated here as 'to scare to death', literally means 'to make the gallbladder explode' (Fattah 200: 144, 150). The term *zelā terraq* is reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 674) with the meaning 'to be terrified, become fearful, be seized by fear and dread; explosion or rupture of the gallbladder due to fear'.

²⁷⁸ The word *kanū*, equivalent to Pers. *kandar*, *kanvar* or *kandu*, is defined in Karimpour (1382/2003: 728) as 'an earthen container where wheat or flour is stored'. It can be big enough to accommodate a man, as shown by a picture in Hamze'i (1391/2012: 113).

		grabs it (and) the jar breaks into six pieces.	
[7:66]	<i>kanüa maš(i)ke.</i>	the jar breaks.	(03:55)
[7:67]	<i>kanüa maš(i)ke, {# mamüla}²⁷⁹ muše: «sararā bixwama mīā va bināguš».</i>	The jar breaks (and) [i.e. the demon] says {# to Mohammad}: «I shall eat your head from the hair to the back of the ear».	(03:56)
[7:68]	<i>ōwša muše: «ar sar bixweya mīā va bināguš, harfi dā zarā nagirdim va guš.²⁸⁰</i>	He says: «If you eat (my) head from the hair to the back of the ear, (it means that) I didn't give ear to Dā Zahrā's words.	(04:00)
[7:69]	<i>bās bičim aga (rd) dā zarā»</i>	I have to go with Dā Zahrā». ²⁸¹	(04:05)
[7:70]	<i>dī fāyīda nerī.</i>	Then, it is to no avail.	(04:07)
[7:71]	<i>ya, birākam,</i>	Well, my friend,	(04:09)
[7:72]	<i>mamüla nīmaxwara make,</i>	he [i.e. the demon] eats half of Mohammad,	(04:10)
[7:73]	<i>makatīa šun awāna.</i>	(and) sets out after them.	(04:12)
[7:74]	<i>vaxtī möünī</i>	When she [i.e. Dā Zahrā] sees	(04:13)
[7:75]	<i>dī nařadōa va zur dīyāra²⁸²</i>	(that) finally the demon is hardly in sight,	(04:15)
[7:76]	<i>yōwša muše,</i>	she says,	(04:17)
[7:77]	<i>dā zarā muše:</i>	Dā Zahrā says:	(04:18)
[7:78]	<i>«va hōkmi siteymāni peqambar», gwinuža māžī, «ya bua kü gwinuž».</i>	«By Prophet Solomon's command», she throws the needle, «let this one gwinuž».	(04:20)

²⁷⁹ The intended subject here seems to be the demon.

²⁸⁰ The transcription and interpretation of this rhyming passage are provisional.

²⁸¹ The meaning of the text from paragraph [7:67] to [7:69] is not entirely clear.

²⁸² The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

		become a mountain of needles».	
[7:79]	{Ar. <i>allahumma sale ṣalā mihammad va āle mihammad</i> } ²⁸³	{Oh Allah, send blessings upon Mohammad and the family of Mohammad}	(04:26)
[7:80]	<i>mowa dō gila kü gwinuž.</i>	it becomes two mountains of needles.	(04:28)
[7:81]	<i>nařadō har zuwāna meyžī, pā wižī har xūna māy.</i>	The male demon's tongue hurts very much (and) blood keeps coming out from his feet.	(04:30)
[7:82]	<i>čič čič čič mačua pāyarā.</i>	Drip, drip, drip, it pours out of his feet,	(04:33)
[7:83]	<i>hara māy.</i>	it keeps coming out.	(04:35)
[7:84]	<i>īla duwāra mušī: «va hōkmi siṭeymāni peqambar bua dō gila xwā, kü xwā,</i>	This time, again, she says: «By Prophet Solomon's command, (let it) become two salts, mountains of salt,	(04:36)
[7:85]	<i>tā šur bu,</i>	so that (the demon) becomes salty	(04:41)
[7:86]	<i>kizakiz bike».</i>	and (his wounds) would burn».	(04:42)
[7:87]	<i>a dōša řada make.</i>	He overcomes those two (mountains), too.	(04:44)
[7:88]	<i>īla, īla tīxa māže.</i>	This time, this time she throws the blade.	(04:45)
[7:89]	<i>tīxa māže, tīxiš řada make,</i>	She throws the blade, he avoids the blade, too.	(04:48)
[7:90]	<i>māy,</i>	He comes,	(04:50)
[7:91]	<i>īla muše:</i>	This time she says:	(04:51)

²⁸³ The transcription of this passage follows the pronunciation of the informant. The blessing formula addressed to Prophet Mohammad corresponds to Ar. *allahumma ṣalli ʿalā muḥammad(in) wa āli muḥammad(in)*.

[7:92]	<i>«hökmi siteymāni peqambar, ya bua daryāy, naʿadō natūinī biʿase īma».</i>	«(By) Prophet Salomon’s command, let this become a river, so that the male demon cannot reach us».	(04:53)
[7:93]	<i>va jāni mi xwidā! a mōwqa sāda bīna mardīm.</i>	I swear, by God! At that time, people were simple.	(04:58)
[7:94]	<i>har čī a xwidā xāsta²⁸⁴ bīa,</i>	Whatever they would ask from God, it would come true,	(05:01)
[7:95]	<i>valī alʿān na.</i>	but not now.	(05:03)
[7:96]	<i>mowa daryā, mowa daryā, vaxtī mōūnī {xxx}.</i>	It becomes a river, it becomes a river, when he sees {xxx}	(05:04)
[7:97]	<i>si {# dō} sina ju řezā make dīyārin.²⁸⁵</i>	Rezā has made three, {# two}, three canals appear.	(05:09)
[7:98]	<i>muše: «ey dā zarā, har nuš</i>	She says: «Hey Dā Zahrā, in every way	(05:12)
[7:99]	<i>čāxit kirdīm, masit kirdīm.</i>	I fattened you, I made you drunk.	(05:14)
[7:100]	<i>busī, bixwamatān»,</i>	Stop (so that) I may eat you»,	(05:17)
[7:101]	<i>īla duwāra mowa keywānua muše: «dā zarā, dāt xās, bowat xās aʿā ča nusyāy?».</i>	This time, she becomes the old woman again (and) says: «Dā Zahrā, (may) your mother (be) well, (may) your father (be) well, why didn’t you stop?»	(05:18)
[7:102]	<i>muše [...]</i>	She says [...]	(05:23)

²⁸⁴ The word transcribed here as *xāsta* seems to be pronounced as *gāsta*.

²⁸⁵ The transcription and translation of this passage are not final.

- [7:103] *dī hüč nimušin. mačīn,* well, they don't say (05:24)
mačīn, {xxx} pāka anything. They go and
makan-ō go, they clean {xxx} and
- [7:104] *{xxx} dirin, pākea* they have {xxx}, they (05:29)
makan. clean it.
- [7:105] *{# maču, muše} [...]* She goes and says [...] (05:32)
- [7:106] *hāmsāla mān, mušīn:* The neighbours come (05:33)
«dā zarā, māfit biř(i)me! (and) say: «Dā Zahrā,
a kura bīta?» may your house be
ruined! Where have you
been?»
- [7:107] *muše: «ay, hüč nuš,* She says: «Oh, don't say (05:36)
mamūla kārīa sarmān anything, Mohammad
āwird! got us into such a
trouble [lit. brought a
matter on our head]!
- [7:108] *{xxx} xward nařadō* {xxx} the demon ate (05:39)
{xxx} wižmān {xxx}, (and) we ran
heywāymin». away».

Chapter 6: A fully glossed text

Text 1: *Nameyna* (The felt-made girl)

1. *dāstān badbaxtī wiž=im b-uš-im,*
story misfortune RFLX=BP.1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
mow
IND.become.PRS.3SG
2. {Pers. *čērā nemīše? har če mīxāhad dele tangat, begu*}.
{no gloss}
{Why wouldn't it be possible? Tell whatever your gloomy heart wants}. I shall tell the story of my own misfortune, is it possible?
3. *bi-ču-∅ bi-ču-∅ tō {xxx} čāy-e*
SBJV-go.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-go.PRS-IMP.2SG 2SG {xxx} tea-INDF2
b-ār-∅
SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2SG
Go, go, you {xxx} bring a tea.
4. {Pers. *ma(n) kwirdī bāš harf mīzanam baʕzī mowqāt*}.
{no gloss}
{Sometimes I speak Kurdish with her}.
5. *birā hin dī {xxx} ař=e b-uš-im*
brother thing then {xxx} to=BP.3SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
My friend, well then, I would tell her {xxx}.
6. *xu*
fine
fine,
7. *xu b-uš-∅ ař=e*
fine SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG to=BP.3SG
fine, tell her.

8. *birā ya* [...]

brother PROX [...]

My friend, this [...]
9. {xxx} *bi zuwān wiž=im dī* [...]

{xxx} in language RFLX=BP.1SG then [...]

{xxx} in my own language, then [...]
10. *a kwirdī*

INTJ Kurdish

Yes! Kurdish,
11. *a*

INTJ

Yes!
12. *kwirdī harsīnī*

Kurdish of.Harsin

Harsini Kurdish!
13. *ya žin-īk=ö pγā-γ*

PROX woman-INDF1=CONJ man-INDF1

This, a woman and a man
14. *žinšū=an*

wife.husband=COP.PRS.3PL

are wife and husband.
15. {# šü-a} *m-uš-e ar tō bi-mir-ī ī*

husband-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG if 2SG SBJV-die.PRS-2SG PROX

kōwš-al=t=a andāza pā har_ke bu

shoe-PL=BP.2SG=DEM size foot whoever be.PRS.SBJV.3SG

mi ava bās [...] *mi šü=a ma-ka-m=a*

1SG DIST must [...] 1SG husband=IND IND-do.PRS-1SG=DRCT

bin=ī žin-a m-uš-e

to=BP.3SG woman-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG

{# The husband} says: «If you die, whoever's foot will be the size of these shoes of yours, that one I will have to [...] I will marry him», the woman says.

16. *bašdan* *pyā-ke=γš=a* *m-uš-e* *min=iž*
 then man-DEF=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG=ADD
kōwš-il-a *tō* *andāza* *pā* *har_ke* *bu*
 shoe-PL-DEF 2SG size foot whoever be. PRS.3SG
mī [...] *ava* *šü* *bi-k-e=a* *ma*
 1SG [...] DIST husband SBJV-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT 1SG

Then, also the husband says: «Me too, the one whose foot will be the size of these shoes of yours I [...] She will marry me».

17. *pyā-ka* *kōwš-il-a* *m-ar-e* *vitāt=a*
 man-DEF shoe-PL-DEF IND-carry.PRS-3SG region=DRCT
vitāt *šar=a* *šar=a* *ma-gīrd-in-e*
 region city=DRCT city=IND IND-turn.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3SG

The man carries the shoes from region to region, he brings them around from town to town (but)

18. *hüč_kas* *nīya* *šü* *bi-k-e=a*
 no.one NEG.COP.PRS.3SG husband SBJV-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT
bin=i
 to=BP.3SG

there is no one that could marry him

19. *m-uš-e* *xwidā* *ča* *bi-ka-m*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG God what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 He says: «God, what shall I do?».

20. *tīr* *bar* *ğazā* *dit-ik=a* *māt*
 arrow on destiny daughter-INDF1=DRCT house
dir-in
 have.PRS-3PL

By chance, they have a daughter at home.

21. *dit-ī=a* *māt* *dir-in*
 daughter-INDF1=DRCT house have.PRS-3PL
m-ār-e=a *māt* *dit* *kōwš-il-a*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=DRCT house daughter shoe-PL-DEF
ma-k-e=a *pā* [...] *pā* [...]
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT foot [...]
 They have a daughter at home, he brings (the shoes) home,
 the daughter puts the shoes on [...]
22. *dit* *wiž=ī*
 daughter RFLX=BP.3SG
 His own daughter?
23. *a* *dit* *wiž=ī* *kōwš-il=a*
 INTJ daughter RFLX=BP.3SG shoe-PL=IND
ma-k-e=a *var*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on
 Yes, his own daughter, she wears the shoes.
24. *m-uš-e* *tō* *bās=a* *šū* *bi-ke-γ=a*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG 2SG must=DRCT husband SBJV-do.PRS-2SG=DRCT
ma *bowa* *m-uš-e=a* *dit*
 1SG father IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT daughter
 He says: «You have to marry me», the father says to the daughter.
25. *γ-ōw=š* *ay* *xwidā* *ča* *bi-ka-m* *čū*
 PROX-3SG=ADD INTJ God what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG how
bi-ka-m
 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 Then she (says): «Oh God! What shall I do? How can I do (that)?».
26. {Pers. *āfarīn maryam, xeylī xub!*}
 {no gloss}
 {Well done Maryam, very good}.

27. *a* *γ-ōw=š=a* *valā*
 INTJ PROX-3SG=ADD=NA INTJ
 Yes! And she, well,
28. *dit=a* *ma-č-u* *ye* *man* *xwiri* *masaṭan*
 girl=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG INDF *man* wool for.instance
m-e=a *mama_xān* *žīr* *maččit*
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT Mohammad.Khān under mosque
 the girl goes (and) gives a *man* of wool, for example, to
 Mohammad Khān, down the mosque.
29. *m-uš-e* *ya* *ařā=m* *bi-ka-ø*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG PROX for=BP1SG SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG
nameyn-ī *faqat* *ye* *čam=e* *dīyār* *bu*
 of.felt-INDF1 only INDF eye=BP.3SG visible be.PRS.3SG
 She says: «Make this into a (piece of) felt for me, (so that) just one
 eye would be visible».
30. *valā* *m-ar-e* *ma-k-et=e* *nam(a)-e=ö*
 INTJ IND-bring.PRS-3SG IND-do.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG felt-INDF2=CONJ
šōw *mijassam(a)-e* *m-ār-e*
 night statue-INDF2 IND-bring.PRS-3SG
ma-n-e=a *jā* *wiž=ī*
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT place RFLX=BP.3SG
 Well, she brings it, makes it into a felt and, at night, she takes a
 statue and puts it in her own place,
31. {*?* *lā* *sā* *ye* *kuṭā* *qadīm*} *wiž=mān* [...] *[...]*
 beside shade INDF canopy old RFLX=BP.2PL [...] *[...]*
m-e=a *mil=ī=arā*
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT on=BP.3SG=POST
 {*?* under the shade of an old canopy} (like) ours [...] she places
 (that) on it [i.e. the statue].
32. *m-e=a* *mil* *šarus=ī* *masan*
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT on bride=BP.3SG for.instance

She places it on his bride, for instance.

33. *a m-e=a mil farus=ī farus bā*
 INTJ IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT on bride=BP.3SG bride with
ī šü=a bā ī [...] bowa=s=e
 PROX husband=DEM with PROX [...] father=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
iska
 now

Yes! She places it on his bride. The bride with this groom, with this [...] he is her father, then.

34. *bowa=s=e*
 father=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 He is her father.

35. *bowa=s=e*
 father=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 He is her father.

36. *ya dit=a ma-č-u nameyn-a*
 PROX girl=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG of.felt-NMLZ
ma-k-e=a var tā bān pā ye čam-e
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on until top foot INDF eye-INDF2
dīyār=a řü=a šar=ö [...] pišt=a
 visible=COP.PRS.3SG face=DRCT city=CONJ [...] back=DRCT
šar=ö řü=a bīawān=a ma-č-u
 city=CONJ face=DRCT plain=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG

So, the girl goes, she puts the felt on, up to the feet, one eye is visible, heading towards the city and [...] (turning her) back on the city and heading towards the plain, she goes.

37. *ma-č-u ma-č-u ma-č-u tā*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG until
xwidā [...] ki xwidā_dārī bi-k-e ma-č-u
 God [...] COMPL God.having SBJV-do.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG
 She goes and goes and goes until the end of the world, she goes.

38. *nām ye dōgalān dār-ī ka*
 inside INDF crotch tree-INDF1 COMPL
šōw=an=ī=a m-āy ma-č-u=a
 night=DRCT=BP.3SG=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām dār-a
 inside tree-DEF
 Inside the crotch of a tree, when the night falls, she goes into (the crown of) the tree,
39. *ma-č-u=a nām dār-a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside tree-DEF
 She goes into (the crown of) the tree.
40. *šōw=a ma-xaf-e*
 night=IND IND-sleep.PRS-3SG
 She sleeps (there) for the night.
41. *ma-xaf-e šōso kwiř_pādišā m-āy*
 IND-sleep.PRS-3SG morning king's_son IND-come.PRS.3SG
ki čirāwā āw d-e
 COMPL horse water give.PRS-3SG
 She sleeps. The next morning, the king's son comes to give water to the horse.
42. *m-uš-e xwidā*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG God
 He says: «Oh God!
43. *har_čī ma-k-e čirāw-ka siřm=a ma-k-e*
 whatever IND-do.PRS-3SG horse-DEF fear=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
sā ha-ø nām mil āw-a
 shadow be.there.PRS-3SG inside on water-DEF
 Whatever he does, the horse gets scared! There is a shadow on the water surface».

44. *m-uš-e* *birā* *jin=ī* *parī*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG brother sprite=COP.PRS.2SG fairy.COP.2SG
ādīmīzād=ī *b-ā-ø=a* *xwor*
 human.being=COP.PRS.2SG SBJV-come.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT down
 He says: «My friend, are you a sprite, a fairy, a human being?
 Come down,
45. *tā* *īma [...]* *ī* *čirāwā* *āw* *bi-xw(a)-e*
 so.that 1PL [...] PROX horse water SBJV-drink.PRS-3SG
 so that we [...] this horse may drink water».
46. *ōw=š* *m-uš-e* *valā* *na* *jin=am*
 3SG=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG INTJ neither sprite=COP.PRS.1SG
na *āyimīzā-īk=am*
 nor human.being-INDF1=COP.PRS.1SG
 She says: «By God, I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being».
47. *m-āy=a* *xwor*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT down
 She comes down,
48. *m-āy=a* *xwor* *āw* [...] *čirāwā-l* *āw=a*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT down water [...] horse-PL water=IND
ma-xwa-n=ō *m-ar-et=e* *aṛā* *māt*
 IND-drink.PRS-3PL=CONJ IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house
 she comes down, the water [...] the horses drink water and he
 brings her home.
49. *m-ar-et=e* *aṛā* *māt* *dā=y=a*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house mother=BP.3SG=IND
m-uš-e *kwiř-a* *ya* *čī=a* *a*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG son -VOC PROX what=COP.PRS.3SG from
wira *e* *nameyn-a* *alājū=a*
 there PROX of.felt-NMLZ strange=DEM
āwird-ī=a
 bring.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG

He brings her home, his mother says: «Son, why have you brought this weird piece of felt from there?».

50. *öw=š=a* *m-uš-e* *ar* *bül bin* *kānig*
 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG if ash under fire.place
ař=t=a *m-ār-e=r* *dā* *č(a)*
 for=BP.2SG=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART mother what
(h)āt-ø *arin=e* *kār-ī* *ař=t=a*
 come.PST-3SG to=BP.3SG work-INDF1 for=BP.2SG=IND
ma-k-e *m-uš-e* *šeyb* *n-er-ī*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG fault NEG-have.PRS-3SG
 He says: «If he cleans out the ash from the bottom of the fireplace for you, mother, what's the problem? He is going to do some housework for you». She says: «That's fine».

51. *ya* [...]
 PROX [...]
 This [...]

52. *dī* *dit* *har* *nameyn-a* *hā-ø* *māt=ø*
 then girl just of.felt-NMLZ exist.PRS-3SG house=CONJ
ař=yān *kārībār* *ī* *čī=a* *ma-k-e*
 for=BP.3PL housework PROX thing=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
tā *zamān-ī* *daŋ* *hin=a* *ma-ka-n=a*
 until time-INDF1 call thingummy=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL=DRCT
šarusī
 wedding
 then, the girl made of felt stays at the house and does the housework and such things for them, until they invite what's-his-name to a wedding.

53. *dang* *šü=a* *ma-ka-n=a* *šarusī*
 call husband=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL=DRCT wedding
masaŋan *va* *harsīn* *bi-č-īt* *ařā* *parīva*
 for.instance from Harsin SBJV-go.PRS-2SG to Parive

They invite the husband to a wedding. For instance, (as if) you would go from Harsin to Parive.

54. *ma-č-u ařā parīva*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG to Parive
 He goes to Parive.
55. *γ-ōw=š=a [...] xwidā nīšt-∅ ī dit=a*
 PROX-BP.3SG=ADD=NA [...] God sit.PST-3SG PROX girl=DEM
diris kird-ī=a
 right do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 Then he [...] God sat down and created this girl (with great care)!
56. *ma-č-u bowe=yš=e hatq(a)-e ař=e*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG father=ADD=BP.3SG ring-INDF2 for=BP.3SG
san-ī=a {# jür} nāmzadī
 buy.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG like engagement
 She goes, her father has bought a ring for her, {# like} an engagement.
57. *āy badbaxt*
 INTJ miserable
 Oh, poor (girl)!
58. *γ-ōw=š=a ma-č-u valā nameyn-a*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG INTJ of.felt-NMLZ
ma-n-ī=a žīr kwičik-ī ma-č-u=a
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT under stone-INDF1 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām čü řarusī xās řaxs=a ma-k-e
 inside like wedding well dance=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
das kwiř-e=yš=a ma-gir-ī hatqa kilik
 hand boy-DEF=ADD=IND IND-take.PRS-3SG ring finger
wiž=ī ma-k-e=a kilik kwiř-a
 RFLX=BP.3SG IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT finger boy-DEF
 She goes, too. Well, she puts the piece of felt under a rock, she goes inside, she dances properly like (they do at) weddings, she

also takes the boy's hand (and) slips the ring from her own finger on to the boy's finger.

59. {? *čux-it=e=a*} *m-ār-ī=ar*
 tunic-DIM=BP.3SG=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART
m-e=ar *deγšt*
 IND-strike.PRS.3SG=PART outside
 he takes {? her little (felt) cloak} out and leaves.
60. *či ziriγī kird-ī=a ava*
 what cleverness do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG DIST
 What a clever trick she has made!
61. *a m-e=ar deγšt m-e=ar*
 INTJ IND-Strike.PRS.3SG=PART outside IND-strike.PRS.3SG=PART
deγšt m-āγ nameyn-a ma-k-e=a
 outside IND-come.PRS.3SG of.felt-NMLZ IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT
kuť [...] *a mān-ø dā-k=e var_až*
 back [...] INT remain.PST-3SG mother-DEF=BP.3SG before
ava piř gwinī xwirī=a m-e=a bin=e
 DIST full sack wool=IND IND-give.3SG=DRCT to=DRCT
m-uš-e bās b-e-γ=a das ava
 IND-say.PRS-3SG must SBJV-give.PRS-2SG=DRCT hand DIST
kwil=ī {? bī=a šāna=(a)va}
 all=BP.3SG become.PST.3SG=DRCT comb=POST?
- Yes! She goes away, she goes away, she comes, she puts the piece of felt on her shoulders [...] oh, it remained (to say that), before that, his mother gives him a sack full of wool (and) says: «You have to give it to her and all of it {? has to be combed}».
62. *xu*
 fine
 Fine.

63. *γ-ōw=š=a* *zū* *m-āy* *duwāra*
 PROX-BP.3SG=ADD=NA early IND-come.PRS.3SG again
nameyn-a *ma-k-e=a* *kut=ō* *dar=a*
 of.felt-NMLZ IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT back=CONJ door=IND
ma-č-u=a *nām=ō* *ma-nīš-ī=a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside=CONJ IND-sit.PRS-3SG=DRCT
hin *šāna* *kird-in* *kwiř=a* *m-āy*
 thingamajob comb do.PST-INF boy=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
diř=e=a *ma-tap-e* *m-uš-e*
 heart=BP.3SG=IND IND-beat.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
mi *har* *a* *kas=a* *m-eyt-im* *mi* *har*
 1SG just DIST person=DEM IND-want.PRS-1SG 1SG just
ava *m-eyt-im* *ma-č-in=a* *šarusī*
 DIST IND-want.PRS-1SG IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT wedding
dař=γān=a *ma-ka-n*
 call=BP.3PL=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL

Then, she comes back early, she wears the piece of felt again, she enters the house and she sits down, what-do you-call-it, combing. The boy arrives, his heart beats. He says: «I want only that person, I want only that one». They go to the wedding, they invite them.

64. *ma-zān-im* *m-uš-in* [...]
 IND-know.PRS-1SG IND-say-3PL [...]
 I know, they say [...]
65. *xwidā* *ča* *bi-ke-γm* *ava* *hā-ø* *ku*
 God what SBJV-do.PRS-1PL DIST exist.PRS-3SG where
 «God, what shall we do? Where is she?».
66. *m-uš-e* *hin* *ařā=m* *bi-ka-n*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG thingamajob for=BP.1SG SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2PL
birsāq *ařā=m* *b-ār-an* *dō* *huř*
 fritter for=BP.1SG SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2PL two saddlebag
diris *ka-n* *tā* *mi* *bi-č-im*
 right do.PRS-IMP.2PL so.that 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

miney dit-a bi-ka-m
 after girl-DEF SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 (The prince) says: «Do (this) thing for me, bring me fritters, prepare two saddlebags so that I may go and look for the girl».

67. *nöwkar-al=a m-āž-e=a šun=ö dö gila*
 servant-PL=IND IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT after=CONJ two unit
huř birsāq [...] γ-öw=š har=a m-uš-e
 saddlebag fritter [...] PROX-3SG=ADD just=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
ay ay=tān xwidā dā_keywānu tika-t-e
 INTJ INTJ=BP.2PL God mother_old.woman piece-DIM-INDF2
b-e-ø ay=tān xwidā
 SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG INTJ=BP.2PL God
 He sends the servants and two saddlebags of fritters [...] (The felt-made girl) keeps saying: «Oh, oh, for God's sake! Old lady, give (me) a small piece (of it)! For God's sake!».

68. *kam-ī xamūr=a bin=ī=a ma-sīn-ī*
 little-INDF1 dough=DRCT from=BP.3SG=IND IND-get.PRS-3SG
kilkawāna ma-č-u ma-n-ī=a
 ring IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām=e mō-w(i)rš-in-e ma-n-ī=a
 inside=BP.3SG IND-fry.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT
tu datq-e m-āž-e=a bin
 inside packet-INDF2 IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT bottom
xwirjīn
 saddlebag
 She gets a bit of dough from her. She goes and puts the ring into it. She fries it, puts it in a packet (and) throws it to the bottom of the saddlebag.

69. *har ařā a sā_māt=a bi-gir-ø*
 just for DIST owner_house=DEM SBJV-take.PRS-IMP.2SG
 You would say it is just for the master of the house.

70. *anü ča har dit-a nameyn-a*
 then what just girl-DEF of.felt-NMLZ
 Just so, exactly the felt-made girl!
71. *γ-öw=š=a ma-č-in dinyā ma-gīrd-in*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-go.PRS-3PL world IND-turn.PRS-3PL
dit hā-ø ku čī=ā ku
 girl exist.PRS-3SG where go.PST.3SG=PART where
dā=yš=ī=a m-uš-e řuta ya parī
 mother=ADD=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG son PROX fairy
bī=a ya jin-ī bī=a
 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG PROX sprite-INDF1 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 {#dā} *hā-ø ku dit hā-ø kura*
 mother exist.PRS-3SG where girl exist.PRS-3SG where
līva ku bī-t=a
 crazy where be.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 Then they go, they travel all over the world, where is the girl?
 Where has she gone? His mother, too, says: «My dear, this one
 was a fairy, she was a sprite. Where is {# the mother}? Where is
 the girl? Crazy (girl), where have you been?»
72. *m-uš-e řey(b) n-er-ī mi bi-č-im*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG fault NEG-have.PRS-3SG 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
 He says: «It doesn't matter, I shall go».
73. *valā ma-č-u ma-gīrd-ī bařd=ar mān-hā*
 INTJ IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-turn.PRS-3SG after=DRCT month-PL
bīs šöw ye mā(h) m-āy-a
 twenty night INDF month IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT
dimā [...] hin mān-ø dī [...] xu hin
 back [...] thingy remain.PST-3SG then [...] well thingy
tamām=a mow āzāqa
 finished=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG provisions
 Well, he goes, he goes around, after (several) months, twenty
 nights, one month, he comes back (and) [...] well it remained (to
 say) [...] well then, the provisions finish.

74. *āzāqa* *tamām=a* *mow* *das=a*
 provisions finished=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG hand=IND
ma-k-e=a *mil* *e* *pirīzī*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on PROX bundle
hā-ø *bin* *xwirjīn-a*
 exist.PRS-3SG inside saddlebag-DEF
 The provisions finish, he gets his hands on this bundle, which is inside the saddlebag.
75. *m-ār-et=er=e* *ma-n-et=e*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART=BP.3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
žīr=ī *a* [...] *qarč* *kilkawāna*
 under=BP.3SG INTJ [...] crunch ring
kazāy=a
 aforesaid=COP.PRS.3SG
 He takes it [i.e. the fritter] out, puts it under (his teeth), yes [...] Crunch! It's the aforesaid ring!
76. *qarč-e=a* *m-āy* *kilkawān(a)=ī*
 crunch-INDF2=IND IND-come. PRS.3SG ring=BP.3SG
šavazbadat=a *ma-k-e* *hin=a* *wiž=ī=a*
 exchange=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG thing=CMPD RFLX=BP.3SG=IND
m-e-ø *hin=a* *öw(=a m-ār-e)* *a*
 IND-give.PRS-3SG thing=CMPD 3SG(=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG) INTJ
 A crunch-sound comes out, he exchanges his ring, he gives his own (ring away and takes) hers, yes.
77. *ārī* *ārī* [...] *a*
 INTJ INTJ [...] DIST
 Yes, yes [...]
78. {# *m-ā(r-e)*} [...] *m-ār-e* *m-uš-e* *a*
 {#IND-bri(ng.PRS-3SG)} [...] IND-bring.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG DIST
ki *hā-ø* *bin* *māt* *wiž=im=a*
 COMPL exist.PRS-3SG in house RFLX=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG

a dit wiž=ī=a m-uš-e bi-č-īm
 to heart RFLX=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
ařya ī hatqa
 back PROX ring

{# He tak(es)} [...] He takes (hers and) says: «She's the one who's in my own house», he says to himself, «We shall go back (in search of) this ring».

79. *valā m-ā-n m-ā-n ařya*
 INTJ IND-come.PRS-3PL IND-come.PRS-3PL back
m-ā-n ařya m-uš-e=a dā=γ
 IND-come.PRS-3PL back IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT mother=BP.3SG
m-uš-e nāxwaš=im āš_řišť(a)-e
 IND-say.PRS-3SG sick=COP.PRS.1SG noodle_soup-INDF2
ařā=m bi-ka-ø
 for=BP.1SG SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG

Well, they come, they come back, they come back, he says to his mother, he says: «I'm sick, prepare a noodle soup for me».

80. *ōw=š=a m-uš-e b-e-ø=γ=a*
 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG=BP.3SG=DRCT
nameyn-a b-ār-e m-uš-e mājirā
 of.felt-NMLZ SBJV-carry.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG misadventure
řiš=it bi-gir-e nameyn-a čü
 beard=BP.2SG SBJV-take.PRS-3SG of.felt-NMLZ how
dit=t=a ma-kiš-e m-uš-e bāša
 heart=BP.2SG=IND IND-pull.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG fine

He also says: «Give it to the felt to carry». She says: «May something (bad) happen to you! How could you want the felt (to carry it)?». She says: «Fine».

81. *namīn(a)-e γaʕnī namad kird-ī=as=a*
 of.felt-NMLZ means felt do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT
sar=ī
 head=BP.3SG

Does 'Namine' mean that she has put (a piece of) felt on her head?

82. *anü ča hu tā bān pā [...]*
 then what INTJ until top foot [...]
 Oh yes! Up to the feet [...]
83. *šekl=e maʕlüm now [...] ārī*
 form=BP.3SG evident NEG.become.PRS.3SG [...] INTJ
 (So that) her shape would not be evident [...] yes.
84. *a maʕlüm now ča hā-ø*
 INTJ clear NEG.become.PRS.3SG what exist.PRS-3SG
žīr=ī
 under=BP.3SG
 Yes, (so that) it would not be clear what is under it!
85. *ya m-ār-ī [...] m-uš-e āš_řišta*
 PROX IND-bring.PRS-3SG [...] IND-say.PRS-3SG noodle_soup
bi-ka-ø b-e-ø=a
 SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT
nameyn-a ařā=m b-ār-ī
 felt.made-NMLZ for=BP.1SG SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG
 This one brings (it) [...] he says: «Prepare the noodle soup and give it to the felt (so that) he may bring it to me».
86. *öw=š=a m-uš-e kwiř-a nameyn-a čü*
 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG son-VOC felt.made-NMLZ how
āxir mājirā řiš=it bi-gir-e čü
 finally misadventure beard=BP.2SG SBJV-take.PRS-3SG how
dił=t=a ma-kiš-e m-uš-e va
 heart=BP.2SG=IND IND-pull.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG to
tö ča
 2SG what
 She says: «O son! How (comes) the felt, then? May something (bad) happen to you! How could you want (this)?», He says: «What (has it to do) with you?».

87. *m-e-a* *bin=e* *m-ar-e=a*
 IND-give.PRS-3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG IND-carry.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām dar-a dar-a qoft=a ma-k-e
 inside door-DEF door-DEF lock=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 She [i.e. the prince's mother] gives it [i.e. food] to her, she [i.e. the girl] carries it inside the room [lit. door] and he [i.e. the prince] locks the door.

88. *hin=a* [...] *čaqu=a* *m-āž-e=a* *nameyn-a*
 thingy=IND [...] knife=IND IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT of.felt-NMLZ
mō-ün-ī hur-ī kat-ø=a deyšt va žīr
 IND-see.PRS-3SG angel-INDF1 fall.PST-3SG out from under
nama har dīt=yān=a ma-tap-e
 felt just heart=BP.3PL=IND IND-beat.PRS-3SG
 He throws a thingy [...] a knife at the felt-made girl (and) sees (that) a houri came out from under the felt. Their hearts beat wildly.

89. *ham dīt ham kwiř*
 both girl and boy
 Both the girl, and the boy.

90. *a* *γ-ōw=š=a* *m-āy* *m-uš-e*
 INTJ PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
gīs=it bō-w(i)ř-ir-e b-ün-im ča
 braid=BP.2SG SBJV-cut.PRS-PASS-3SG SBJV-see.PRS-1SG what
dī va e kwiř=m=a kird-ø ey xwidā
 then to PROX son=BP.1SG=DEM do.PST-3SG INTJ God
xafat=e b-e e kwiř=m=a č(a)
 contempt=BP.3SG SBJV-give.3SG PROX son=BP.3SG=DEM what
ard=e hāt-ø vaxtī ma-č-u [...]
 with=BP.3SG come.PST-3SG when IND-go.PRS-3SG [...]

 Yes, she [i.e. the mother] arrives, too, (and) says: «May your braids be cut off! Let me see what he [i.e. the felt] did to this son of mine, then! Oh, may God despise him [i.e. the felt]! What happened to my son?». When she goes [...]

91. *vaxtī ma-č-u mō-ün-ī hardik*
 when IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG both
kat-in=a hur-ik=a žīr ī
 fall.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG angel-INDF1=DRCT under PROX
nama bī=sa
 felt be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 when she goes, she sees that both of them have fallen (to the ground), a houri was (hidden) under that felt.
92. *m-ār-et=γān=a wiž=γān m-uš-e*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3PL=DRCT RFLX=BP.3PL IND-say.PRS-3SG
γa čī=a γa fitān=a
 PROX what=COP.PRS.3SG PROX such-and-such=COP.PRS.3SG
ōw=š dī daŋ ni-ma-k-e
 3SG=ADD then call NEG-IND-do.PRS-3SG
 She wakes them up (and) says: «What is this? Is this such-and-such?». Then, she doesn't speak anymore.
93. *haft sāz=ō haft řuž sūr ař=e=a*
 seven instrument=CONJ seven day wedding for=BP.3SG=IND
ma-n-e
 IND-put.PRS-3SG
 She prepares seven musical instruments and seven days of wedding for him,
94. {# *ařā dit-a*} [...] *sūr-ī=a ma-k-e ařā*
 for girl-DEF [...] wedding-INDF1=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG for
kwiř-a ma-k-e ařā kwiř-a
 boy-DEF IND-do.PRS-3SG for boy-DEF
 {# for the girl} [...] she prepares a wedding for the boy, she does it for the boy
95. *čan midat-ī ma-kat-ī=a nām xwidā*
 some moment-INDF1 IND-fall.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside God
jift-ī kwiř=a m-e=a bin=e doqolu
 couple-INDF1 son=IND IND-give.3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG twin

Some time passes, God gives her a couple of sons, twins.

96. *xwidā jift-e=a m-e=a bin=e*
 God couple-INDF2=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG
bowa ku {# bi-} [...] ku {? bi-č-īt=e}
 father where {# SBJV-} [...] where SBJV-go.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
bowa ma-kat-e=a miney=e
 father IND-fall.PRS-3SG=DRCT after=BP.3SG

God gives her a couple (of sons), (but) the father, {# where} [...] where {? does he go}? The father sets out to find her.

97. *ma-kat-e=a miney dīt-a*
 IND-fall.PRS-3SG=DRCT after girl-DEF
 He sets out after the girl.

98. *dīt-e=γš yak e dinān-al=ī=a*
 girl-DEF?=ADD one PROX tooth-PL=BP.3SG=DEM
se=a a
 black=COP.PRS.3SG INTJ

The girl, one of these teeth of hers is black, yes.

99. *m-uš-e hā-γ xana va xana šar=a*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG exist.PRS-2SG smile to smile city=DRCT
šar viāt=a viāt miney=a ma-k-e
 city region=DRCT region after=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG

He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile, from town to town, from region to region, he looks for her.

100. *m-uš-e hā-γ xana va xana*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG exist.PRS-2SG smile to smile
γ-ōw=š=a m-uš-e xwidā ča
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG God what
bi-(ka-m) har_čī m-uš-e [...]
 SBJV(-do.PRS-1SG) whatever IND-say.PRS-3SG [...]

He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile. Then, he says: «God, what shall (I do?)», whatever he says [...]

101. *kwiř=a ma-č-u m-ār-et=e ařā māt*
 boy=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house
m-uš-e kwiř e badbaxt-īk=a č(a)
 IND-say.PRS-3SG boy PROX miserable-INDF1=DEM what
(h)āt arin=e
 come.PST-3SG to=BP.3SG
 The boy goes and brings him to (his) house. The boy says: «Oh this miserable one! What's the matter?».
102. *dit=a mö-ün-ī m-uš-e a ki*
 girl=IND IND-see.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG DIST COMPL
wiž=ī=as=e šöw sar har_dö
 RFLX=BP.3SG=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG night head both
kwiř=a mö-w(i)ř-ī tīx=a ma-n-ī=a
 boy=IND IND-cut.PRS-3SG blade=IND IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām gīs dā-ka šöw
 inside braid mother-DEF night
 He sees the girl and says: «Oh, it's her!». At night, he slaughters both sons (and) puts the blade among the mother's braids, at night.
103. *γ-öw=š=a m-uš-e xwidāyā šöso*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG oh.God morning
so gi hiz=a ma-gir-ī mö-ün-ī
 morning COMPL up=IND IND-take.PRS-3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG
āyl-al hardik mird-in=a
 child-PL both die.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 She says: «Oh my God!». The next day, when she wakes up in the morning, she sees that both children are dead.
104. *yak-ī m-e=a ī bāt=iš*
 one-INDF1 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT PROX arm=ADD
yak-ī a bāt=iš=e ma-kat-e
 one-INDF1 DIST arm=ADD=BP.3SG IND-fall.PRS-3SG
arin=e m-uš-e bi-č-u fiłan
 after=BP.3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG such-and-such

ftān

such-and-such

She puts one of them under this arm of hers, the other under that arm of hers, too, (while her husband) runs after her, saying: «Go away, such-and-such».

105. *bowa m-uš-e har dā-k=γān*
 father IND-say.PRS-3SG just mother-DEF=BP.3PL
bī=a kī sar āyl-il-a
 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG who head child-PL-DEF
mō-w(i)ř-ī har dā-ka bī=a
 IND-cut.PRS-3SG just mother-DEF be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
bīčāra ma-č-u ma-č-u ařā pā ye
 poor IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG to foot INDF
dār-ī keynī=ō dār kazāy
 tree-INDF1 spring=CONJ tree aforesaid

The father says: «It was their mother('s fault)! Who (could) slaughter the children? It was surely the mother». The poor (girl) goes and goes and goes to the foot of a tree, the aforesaid spring and tree.

106. *ma-č-u ařā pā a dār=a m-uš-e*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG to foot DIST tree=DEM IND-say.PRS-3SG
xwidā gi tō va pā ī dār=a
 God COMPL 2SG at foot PROX tree=DEM
γa {xxx} iske=γš nijāt=ī pyā ka-m
 PROX {xxx} now=ADD redemption=3SG found do.SBJV-1SG
e řü ī bowa=m=a se ka-m
 PROX face PROX father=BP.1SG=DEM black do.SBJV-1SG

She goes at the foot of that tree (and) says: «God, you who {xxx} at the foot of this tree, now let me find redemption, let me destroy [lit. blacken the face of] this father of mine».

107. *si hin=a m-ā-n si kamutar*
 three thingy=IND IND-come.PRS-3PL three dove

<i>m-uš-e</i>	<i>īma</i>	<i>bībī_hur</i>	<i>bībī_nur</i>
IND-say.PRS-3SG	1PL	Lady_Houri	Lady_Light
<i>bībī_sešame=ymin</i>		<i>ey badbaxt</i>	<i>nameyn-a</i>
Lady_Tuesday=COP.PRS.1PL		INTJ poor	of.felt-NMLZ

badbaxt

poor

Three what-do-you-call-them, three doves come. They say: «We are Lady Hourī, Lady Light and Lady Tuesday. Hey poor, poor felt-made girl!

108. *si gila pař=a me-yl-īm=a jā ī*
 three unit feather=IND IND-leave.PRS-1PL=DRCT place PROX
dār=a b-ār-ø bi-ku-ø va
 tree=DEM SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-crush.PRS-IMP.2SG with
pař bi-sā-ø bin mil=yān a
 feather SBJV-rub.PRS-IMP.2SG under neck=BP.3PL from
nazr xwidā mow-in=a āyl-il-a duwāra
 gift God IND.become.PRS-3PL=DRCT child-PL-DEF again
m-e bi-č-ī=a [...] valī
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT [...] but
m-e bi-č-ī=a tamūsī
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT cleaning
imām_řizā

Imam_Rezā

We will leave three feathers here, take this tree and crush it, rub (it) with the feathers under their neck, as God's gift, they will become (living) children again. But you have to go [...] you have to go cleaning at the Imam Rezā (shrine).

109. *m-e bi-č-ī=a hin imām_řizā*
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT thingy Imam_Rezā
dī bu-yt=a hin imām_řizā dī
 then become.PRS-2SG=DRCT thingummy Imam_Rezā then
haq n-er-ī b-us-ī era
 right NEG-have.PRS-2SG SBJV-stay.PRS-2SG here

You have to enter Imam Rezā (shrine), and then be Imam Rezā's what-do-you-call-it. You don't have the right to stay here anymore».

110. *γ-ōw=š* *valā* *kamutar-al* *fiř* *bāt=a*
 PROX-3SG=ADD INTJ dove-PL flap wing=IND
ma-gir-in *si* *pal=a* *me-yl-in=a*
 IND-take.PRS-3PL three feather=IND IND-leave.PRS-3PL=DRCT
jā
 place
 And then, well, the doves take flight, they leave tree feathers there.
111. *ma-č-u* *gaṭā* *dār-a* *m-ār-e* *xās=a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG leaf tree-DEF IND-bring.PRS-3SG good=IND
ma-ku-e *ma-s-e=a* *bin* *mil=yān*
 IND-crush.PRS-3SG IND-rub.PRS-3SG=DRCT under neck=BP.3PL
 She goes, she brings the leaves of the tree, she crushes (them) properly (and) rubs (them) under their necks.
112. *hardik* *āyl-a* *ma-nīšt-in=a* *qiy=ava*
 both child-DEF IND-sit.PST-3PL=DRCT rear=POST?
 Both children were sitting on (their) rears once again.
113. *m-āž-et=yān=a* *šān* *m-e*
 IND-throw.PRS-3SG=BP.3PL=DRCT shoulder IND-strike.PRS.3SG
ařā [...] *ma-č-u* *ařā* *mašad*
 to [...] IND-go.PRS-3SG to Mashhad
 {xxx} *m-āy*
 {xxx} IND-come.PRS.3SG
 She puts them on her shoulders, she sets off towards [...] she goes to Mashhad, {xxx} she arrives,
114. *m-ar-in* *m-āž-in=e* *mašad*
 IND-bring.PRS-3PL IND-throw.PRS-3PL=BP.3SG Mashhad

masaṭan

for.example

They hit the road to Mashhad, for example.

115. *dī* *mow=a* *hin* *wira-l-a*
 then IND.become.PRS.3SG=DRCT thingummy there-PL-DEF
 [...] *āyl-al=a* *m-ār-e* *ṣamaṭ* *qöü=a*
 [...] child-PL=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG growth strong=IND
mow-in *mow-(i)n=a* *yak-ī*
 IND.become.PRS-3PL IND.become.PRS-3PL=DRCT each-INDF1
ye *qwirānxwan* *masaṭan*
 INDF Quran.reader for.instance

Then, she becomes thingummy there [...] she brings up the children, they become strong, each of them becomes a reader of the Quran, for instance.

116. *tā* *bowa* *šü-a* *m-uš-e*
 until father husband-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG
bi-č-īm=a *bi-č-īm=a* *mašad=irā*
 SBJV-go.PRS-2PL=DRCT SBJV-go.PRS-2PL=DRCT Mashhad=POST
bi-č-īm *zīyārat-ī* *bi-ke-γmin*
 SBJV-go.PRS-2PL pilgrimage-INDF1 SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
pyā-ke=γž *har=a* *ma-mīn-e=a* *wira* *bowa*
 man-DEF=ADD just=IND IND-stay.PRS-3PL=DRCT there father
 Until the father, the husband says: «Let's go, let's go to Mashhad, let's go on a pilgrimage». The man keeps staying there [i.e. at the prince's palace] as well, the father,

117. *pīramird*
 old.man
 the old man.

118. *anü* *ča* *dī* *ma-č-in* *ařā* *mašad*
 then what then IND-go.PRS-3PL to Mashhad
 Exactly, they go to Mashhad.

119. *har=a m-uš-e [...] xün ī āyl-il=a*
 just=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG [...] blood PROX child-PL=DEM
juš=a m-ār-e bowa
 boiling=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG father
 He keeps saying [...] the children awaken a feeling of closeness
 in the father [lit. make the father's blood boil].
120. *har=a m-uš-e xwidā xwaš=(i)m=a=yān=a*
 just=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG God good=BP.1SG=DRCT=BP.3PL=IND
m-āy tö bi-niš-ø qwirān aṛā
 IND-come.PRS.3SG 2SG SBJV-sit.PRS-IMP.2SG Quran for
mi bi-xwan-ø qwirān=a ma-xwan-e
 1SG SBJV-read.PRS-IMP.2SG Quran=IND IND-read.PRS-3SG
 He keeps saying: «Oh God! I like them! You, sit and read the
 Quran for me!». He reads the Quran for him,
121. *m-uš-e ča kār-e=ytin ča {xxx}*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG what job-NMLZ=BP.3PL what {xxx}
m-uš-in hüč mādar-e dir-īmin aṛā
 IND-say.PRS-3PL nothing mother-INDF2 have.PRS-1PL for
imām_řizā tey=a ma-kiš-e kār=a
 Imam_Rezā cleaning=IND IND-pull.PRS-3SG work=IND
ma-k-e īme=yš=a sīqa sar imām_řizā
 IND-do.PRS-3SG 1PL=ADD=DRCT sacrifice on Imam_Rezā
nān-ī ma-xwe-ymin
 bread-INDF1 IND-eat.PRS-1PL
 He says: «What's your job? What {xxx}?». They say: «Nothing,
 we have a mother, she mops, she works for (the shrine of) Imam
 Rezā. We, too, earn a living thanks to our sacrifices for Imam
 Rezā».
122. *yahāna m-uš-e now daʿvat-ī*
 etcetera IND-say.PRS-3SG NEG.become.PRS.3SG invitation-INDF1
{xxx} aṛā māt öw=š=a m-uš-in mi
 {xxx} to house 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3PL 1SG

ejāza mādar=am bi-sīn-im arā_na
 permission mother=BP.1SG SBJV-get.PRS-1SG if.not
ni-mow
 NEG-IND.become.PRS.3SG

And so on. He says: «Isn't it possible an invitation {xxx} to (your) house?». They say: «I shall get my mother's permission, otherwise it's not possible».

123. *γ-ōw=š=a m-uš-e valā a dö*
 PROX-3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG INTJ DIST two
nafar=in har=a m-uš-in
 person=COP.PRS.3PL just=IND IND-say.PRS-3PL
b-ā-ym aṛā māṭ m-uš-in=a
 SBJV-come.PRS-1PL to house IND-say.PRS-3PL=DRCT
dā-ka ča bi-ka-m
 mother-DEF what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

Then, he says: «Well, there are those two people (who) keep saying “we shall come to (your) house”», they say to the mother, «What shall I do?».

124. *dā=γš=a va düre_dür ma-č-u*
 mother=ADD=NA from afar IND-go.PRS-3SG
mō-ün-ī bowa kazāy=ō šü=e
 IND-see.PRS-3SG father aforesaid=CONJ husband=BP.3SG
 The mother, then, from afar goes and sees the aforesaid father and her (own) husband.

125. *γ-ōw=š=a m-uš-e űarusān-ī*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG doll-INDF1
bi-sīn-in b-ār-an űarusān
 SBJV-buy.PRS-IMP.2PL SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2PL doll
plāsīkī-e
 plastic-INDF2

Then she says: «Buy and bring a doll, a plastic doll».

126. *m-ār-in* *sifra* *m-āž-in=ö*
 IND-bring.PRS-3PL tablecloth IND-throw.PRS-3PL=CONJ
pard-e *dir-ī* *a* *žin=a*
 curtain-INDF2 have.PRS-3SG DIST woman=DEM
ha-ø *dīm*
 be.there.PRS-3SG behind
 They bring (it), they lay the tablecloth and there's a curtain, that woman is behind it.
127. *m-uš-e* *dā-ka=m* *m-uš-e*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG mother-VOC=BP.1SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
b-uš-ø=a *dā=t* *b-uš-ø*
 SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT mother=BP.2SG SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG
 [...] *b-uš-ø=a* *māmān=at*
 [...] SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT mom=BP.2SG
b-uš-ø *b-ā-ø=ö* *nān*
 SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-come.PRS-IMP.2SG=CONJ bread
bi-xwa-ø
 SBJV-eat.PRS-IMP.2SG
 He says: «Oh mother!». (The girl's father) says. «Tell your mother, tell [...] tell your mom, tell (her to) come and eat!»
128. *m-uš-e* *na* *b-uš-ø=a* *e*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG NEG SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT PROX
ʕarusān=a *b-uš-ø* *nān* *bi-xwa-ø*
 doll=DEM SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG bread SBJV-eat.PRS-IMP.2SG
 She says: «No, tell this doll, tell (her) to eat!».
129. *γ-öw=š=a* *āxir* *ʕarusān* *čü* *nān=a*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND finally doll how bread=IND
ma-xw(a)-e *ʕarusān* *ni-mow* *nān*
 IND-eat.PRS-3SG doll NEG-IND.become.PRS.3SG bread
bi-xw(a)-e
 SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG
 He says: «Well, how (could) a doll eat? Dolls can't eat!».

130. *m-uš-e* *anü dā* *čü sar āyl wiž=a*
IND-say.PRS-3SG then mother how head child RFLX=IND
mō-w(i)ř-ī *mādar dī-t=a* *sar*
IND-cut.PRS-3SG mother see.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG head
farzand wiž=ī *bō-w(i)ř-e*
progeny RFLX=BP.3SG SBJV-cut.PRS-3SG

She says: «Then, how (could) a mother slaughter her own children? Have you (ever) seen a mother slaughtering her own children?».

131. *m-uš-e* [...] *dā* *m-āy=a* *nām*
IND-say.PRS-3SG [...] mother IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT inside
dā *m-āy=a* *nām* *dāstān*
mother IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT inside story
m-uš-e *ya* *bowa=m=a* *čāšiq* *mi*
IND-say.PRS-3SG PROX father=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG in.love 1SG
bī=a
be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG

He says [...] the mother comes in, the mother comes in (and) tells the story: «This is my father, he was in love with me,

132. *min ī* *nama diris* *kird-im=a*
1SG PROX felt right do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
kird-im=as=a *var=im* *tā* *ī* *bowa*
do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT on=BP.1SG so.that PROX father
das=e=a *mi* *na-řas-e*
hand=BP.3SG=DRCT 1SG NEG-reach.PRS-3SG

I made this felt, I wore it so that the hands of this father (of mine) wouldn't reach out for me.

133. *hāt-im=a* *iska* *kat-ī=as=a*
come.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG now fall.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT
šun=im *až* *e* [...] *vit-ī=a* [...]
after=BP.1SG from PROX [...] say.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG [...]
kat-ī=as=a *šun=im* *tā*
fall.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT after=BP.1SG until

pyā=m *kird-ī=a*
 found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 I came (here and), at that moment, he started looking for me.
 From this [...] he said [...] he started looking for me, until he
 found me.

134. *iska gi pyā=m kird-ī=a*
 now COMPL found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
sar āyl-il-a biřī=a
 head child-PL-DEF cut.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 As soon as he found me, he slaughtered the kids».

135. *pādišā kwiř_pādišā m-uš-e {# ha(ft)} [...] haft*
 king king's_son IND-say.PRS-3SG {# sev(en)} [...] seven
{# kü(ra)} [...] hin haft [...] xar
{#brazier} [...] thingy seven [...] donkey
pyā ka-n hīzam b-ār-an
 found do.PRS-IMP.2PL firewood SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2PL
ku-a bi-ka-n
 mountain-DEF SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2PL
bowa bi-n-in=a mil=ī āgīr=ī
 father SBJV-put.PRS-IMP.2PL=DRCT on=BP.3SG fire=BP.3SG
d-an har=a imām_řizā
 give.PRS-IMP.2PL just=DRCT Imam_Rezā
 The king, the prince says: «Find {# sev(en)} [...] seven {#
 braz(iers)} [...] thingy, seven [...] donkeys, bring some firewood
 (and) make the stack. Place the father on it (and) burn him, right
 at (the) Imam Rezā (shrine)».

136. *haft kūra hin=a m-ār-an bowa*
 seven brazier thingy=IND IND-bring.PRS-3PL father
ma-n-in=a mil=ī naft=a
 IND-put.PRS-3PL=DRCT on=BP.3SG gasoline=IND
ma-k-e=a mil=ī āgīr=ī=a
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on=BP.3SG fire=BP.3SG=IND

m-e-an

IND-give.PRS-3PL

They bring seven braziers (to) such-and-such (place), they place the father on top, he pours gasoline on him (and) they burn him.

137. *āgir=ī=a* *m-e-an* *das* *āyl-il-a*
 fire=BP.3SG=IND IND-give.PRS-3PL hand child-PL-DEF
ma-gir-ī *bowa* *m-ā-n* *aṛā* *māṭ*
 IND-take.PRS-3SG father IND-come.PRS-3PL to house
 They burn him. The father takes the children by the hand (and) they go back home.

138. *m-ā-n* *aṛā* *māṭ* *tamām* *bī-ø*
 IND-come.PRS-3PL to house finished become.PST-3SG
 They go back home. This was the end.