## Baloch son.

## BS.f

```
1 'rōčē
                                                       yak bād'šāhē
                                                                                        bād
             rōz'gārē
                            'hasta
                                                                           'na
                                                                                  ē
                                                       yak bādšāh
 rōč
       =ē rōzgār
                      =\bar{e}
                           hast
                                                  -Ø
                                                                      =\bar{e}
                                                                          na
                                                                                  ē
                                                                                        bād
                                       =a
 day
       =IND time
                      =IND be.NPST
                                      =COP.PST
                                                  3SG one king
                                                                      =IND right? PROX FRAG
... bād'šāhā
                  yak 'čokē
                                   'hasta
                                                               mar'dễ
  bādšāh
            -ā
                  yak čok
                              =\bar{e} hast
                                              =a
                                                          -Ø
                                                               mardê
  king
            OBL one child
                             =IND be.NPST
                                              =COP.PST
                                                          3SG man
```

Once upon a time, (lit. one day, one time) there was a king; this ki... king had a son (lit. there was a son for the king).

```
2 yak ja'nēnē
                       'čōbī
                                 mam ... ja'nēnī
                                                            'do atã
                                                                                  yak
 yak janēn
                 =\bar{e} \check{c}\bar{o}b\bar{i}
                                          janēn
                                                   =\bar{1}
                                                            do
                                                                =at
                                                                                  yak
                                 mam
                =IND you know FRAG
                                          wife
                                                   =PC.3SG two =COP.PST
                                                                             3PL one
 one woman
ba'lōčễ
               ja'nēnē
                                                 yak bādš'āhī
                                a
                                                                      a
balōč
               janēn
                          =\bar{\mathsf{e}}
                                =a
                                            -Ø
                                                 yak bādšāh
                                                                -ī
                                                                       =a
                                                                                   -Ø
Baloch
         ATTR woman
                         =IND =COP.PST
                                            3SG one king
                                                                ADJZ =COP.PST
                                                                                   3SG
balōčễ
               ja'nēne
                               'čok 'yakē
                                                 a
                                                                   bād'šāhā
                                                                                   'do
balōč
         -ễ
               ĭanēn
                               čok yak
                                            =\bar{e}
                                                 =a
                                                                   bādšāh
                                                                             -ā
                                                                                   do
Baloch
         ATTR woman
                         GEN child one
                                           =IND =COP.PST
                                                             3SG king
                                                                             OBL two
atã
```

= at - $\tilde{a}$  = COP.PST 3PL

You know, one of his wives... he had two wives (lit. there were two wives for him); a Baloch wife [and] a royal wife; the Baloch wife had a son (lit. there was a son for the Baloch wife) [and] the royal wife had two sons.

```
3 'ēšīā
                   yak 'maččē
                                                                     'ē
                                          'hasta
                                                                           'mačče
                   yak mačč
                                    =\bar{e} hast
                                                                     ē
 ēšī
             -ā
                                                                -Ø
                                                                           mačč
                                                                                       -е
                                                    =a
 PROX.DIR
             OBL one date-palm
                                    =IND be.NPST
                                                    =COP.PST
                                                                3SG PROX date-palm
'bar āortã
                     ga'war kīma'tī bītagã
                                                                          'na
                                                                                bale 'ham
bar āort
                     gawar kīmatī
                                     bīt
                                                                                bale ham
                                                    -ag
                                                           = \tilde{a}
                                                                          na
                                                          =COP.NPST.3PL right? but ADD
fruit bring.PST
                3PL gem
                             valuable become.PST
'sāl čō'bī
               de'ga
                                           borre'tã
                                                          bor'tagã
                       'yakeyā
sāl
    čōbī
               dega
                       yak
                              =e
                                     -yā
                                           borret
                                                     -ã
                                                          bort
                                                                          -ã
                                                                    -ag
year you know another one
                             =IND
                                     OBL cut.PST
                                                     3PL take.PST
                                                                    PP
                                                                          3PL
```

He had a date palm, (lit. there was a date palm for him); this date palm of his produced fruit; they were valuable gems, you know; but every year someone else cut them off [and] took them.

4 ba'lāhē bī'ta wād'ān ba'lāh balāh  $=\bar{e}$  bīt  $=\emptyset$ wād -ān balāh -a ghoul =IND become.PST PP =COP.NPST.3SG time OBL.PL ghoul bī'ta ba'lāhā ha'mē bor'tagã bīt  $=\emptyset$ ham= ē balāh -ā bort -a -ag -ã =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH= become.PST PP PROX ghoul OBL take.PST PP 3PL It was a ghoul; in the past there were ghouls; this ghoul took [them]. 5 'odī ke 'čoke ka'sān 'atã 'randā 'čoke ke ma'zan ōdī ke čok  $kas\bar{a}n = at$ -ã randā čok =eke mazan that time CLM child =PC.3SG small =COP.PST 3PL after child =PC.3SG CLM big 'ā 'wādī bītã o'šī čo'kān ke 'mã 'hanī bīt -ã ΟŠ -ī čok -ān ā wād  $=\bar{1}$ ke mã hanī become.PST 3PL say.NPST 3SG child OBL.PL DIST time =PC.3SG CLM PN.1SG right now ka'māš ã a'wāla ke 'mã 'dad 'bītagẫ  $kamāš = \tilde{a}$ awāl -a ke mã dad bīt = $\tilde{a}$ -ag old =COP.NPST.1SG first OBL CLM PN.1SG strong become.PST PΡ =COP.NPST.1SG 'mã ō'tī 'mačče 'hōš de'garā 'nadātagã mã otī mačč hōš degar -ā nadāt -ã -ag PN.1SG REFL.GEN date-palm GEN cluster other OBL NEG give.PST PΡ 3PL hã āor'tã 'maččā ... 'say 'hōš gēš'terī hẫ -ā mačč āort -ã say hōš gēš -ter  $=\bar{i}$ OBL ADD bring.PST date-palm 3PL three cluster more CMP =PC.3SG 'nayārtã nay--ã ārt NEG bring.PST 3PL

At that time his children were small; then, when they grew up, he said, "Children, that time that... now I am old, that time that I was strong; I didn't give my date palm clusters to anyone, the date palm produced [date]... it didn't produce more than three cluster of date.

6 'nī 'boroēt 'šome 'maččā ār'ta bonī ro -et šome mačč -ā ārt -a 2PL PN.2PL.GEN date-palm now IMPV go.NPST OBL bring.PST PΡ 'boroē pā'nag 'bayetī 'ē 'čenčo 'pūl bopānag Ø--ē bay -et  $=\bar{1}$ ē čenčo pūl ro **IMPV** go.NPST 2SG watch IMPV become.NPST 2PL =PC.3SG PROX so much money ba'yantẽ ga'war kīma'tī kī'mat 'sak 'grān gawar kīmatī kīmat sak grān bay -ant =  $\tilde{e}$ =  $\tilde{e}$ become.NPST 3PL =COP.NPST.3SG gem valuable price very expensive =COP.NPST.3SG Go now, your date palm has produced [date], go [and] watch it; they will give (lit. become) so much

money; the price of the valuable gems is very high (lit. expensive)."

```
'čok 'šo
7 'nī
            šo'ta
                                          master'ēn
            šot
                                                              čok šo
 nī
                     -a
                          =\emptyset
                                          mas
                                                 -ter
                                                        -ēn
                                                                            -Ø
 you know go.PST
                     PΡ
                          =COP.NPST.3SG old
                                                 CMP
                                                        ATTR child go.PST
                                                                            3SG
              ka'mokeyā
                                         'dẫnke ha'mōdā
'nešt
                                                                 'wāb
                                                                        ka
nešt
              kam
                     -ok
                                         dẫnke ham=
                                                           ōdā
                                                                wāb
                                                                        ka
                                                                                  -Ø
         -Ø
                            =e
                                    -yā
sit.PST
         3SG little
                     DIM
                            =IND
                                    OBL
                                         till
                                                 EMPH=
                                                          there asleep fall.PST
                                                                                  3SG
                          yak 'hōšē
                                               'borret 'šo
'āī
         'ātk
         ātk
                     -Ø
                          yak hōš
                                         =ē borret šo
                                                                -Ø
āī
DIST.OBL come.PST
                     3SG one cluster
                                         =IND cut.PST go.PST
                                                                3SG
You know, the oldest son went, he went [and] sat for a short while, till he fell asleep there; it [the
ghoul] came; cut one of the clusters, [and] went away.
8 'dåke 'bārīg bī
                                   dō'mī 'čoke
                                                           dō'mī 'čokk ke
                                                                              'šo
 dåke barig b
                                   dōmī
                                          čok
                                                   =e
                                                           dōmī
                                                                   čokk ke
                                                                              šo
                                                                                       -Ø
 then turn
              become.NPST
                              3SG second child
                                                  =PC.3SG second child CLM go.PST
                                                                                       3SG
'ē
      'čokkā
                   ka'moke
                                       'nešt
                                                     'zot
                                                           ... 'dītī
                                                                                 ya
                                                -Ø
ē
      čokk
             -ā
                   kam
                          -ok
                                  =e nešt
                                                              dīt
                                                     zot
                                                                         =\bar{1}
                                                                                 ya
PROX child
             OBL little
                          DIM
                                 =IND sit.PST
                                                3SG FRAG
                                                              see.PST
                                                                        =PC.3SG one
hīž'žābē
                    pay'dāg en
                                             ha'mā
                                                            wā'dī
                                                                         'tatk
hīžžāb
               = ē paydāg = en
                                             ham=
                                                            wād
                                                                         tatk
                                                       ā
                                                                   -ī
                                                       DIST time
               =IND visible =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH=
                                                                   ADVZ run.PST
strong sound
larzē'nānā
                          'šo
                                        mē'tagā
                                                        'mātā
                                                                       o'šī
larzēn
           -ān
                    -ā
                                   -Ø
                                                                       οš
                                                                                  -ī
                          šo
                                         mētag
                                                  -ā
                                                        māt
                                                                 -ā
shake.PR
           OBL.PL
                    OBL
                          go.PST
                                   3SG village
                                                  OBL
                                                       mother
                                                                 OBL
                                                                       say.NPST
                                                                                  3SG
'mã
        torse'tagã
                                         'manā
                                                        pa'tūē
                                                                       'per
                          =\tilde{a}
mã
        torset
                    -ag
                                         man
                                                   -ā
                                                        patū
                                                                       per
                   PΡ
PN.1SG scare.PST
                         =COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG
                                                   OBJ blanket
                                                                 =IND PREV
day
                         'manā
                                         sar'dī kanag
                                                              en
Ø-
        day
                    -Ø
                                   -ā
                                         sardī kan
                         man
                                                          -ag = en
IMPV
                                   OBL cold do.NPST
                                                         INF =COP.NPST.3SG
        give.NPST
                    2SG PN.1SG
Then it was the second son's turn; when the second son went, he (lit. this child) sat for a short while;
he ... he heard (lit. saw) a strong sound coming (lit. appearing); he ran away immediately; he went
home trembling; he said to [his] mother, "I am afraid, cover me with a blanket, I am feeling cold."
9 'šī
                          hẫ čō'bī
                  'taw
                                         'maččā
                                                           pā'nag bītay
 š
                          hẫ čōbī
                                        mačč
             -ī
                  taw
                                                     -ā
                                                           pānag bīt
                                                                                 -ay
             3SG PN.2SG yes you know date-palm
                                                     OBL watch become.PST
                                                                                 2SG
She said, "Yes, you know, you watched the date palm."
10 'nī
                                                   balōč'māte
        bā'rīg bī
                                   ha'mē
  nī
        bārīg b
                              -ī
                                   ham =
                                             ڄ
                                                   balōčmāt
                                                                    -е
  now turn become.NPST
                              3SG EMPH=
                                             PROX Baloch mother
                                                                    GEN
```

Now it was this [son of] the Baloch mother's turn.

11 'ā balōč'māt ke 'šo dẫke 'čārtī 'manā 'wāb dẫke ā balōčmāt ke šo -Ø čārt  $=\bar{1}$ man -ā wāb DIST Baloch mother CLM go.PST 3SG you know look.PST =PC.3SG PN.1SG OBL asleep 'gerī 'zo lan'koke kala'rokē 'čott dā -ī otī lankok kalarok =ē čott dāt ger ZO =e3SG take.PST REFL.GEN finger =PC.3SG a bit =IND cut give.PST take.NPST tīgā gõ 'nī 'zo 'wād o 'merčī 'per ko gō tīg -ā nī ZO wād = o merč  $=\bar{1}$ per ko razor blade OBL with then take.PST salt =and pepper =PC.3SG PREV do.PST bel lan'kok sō'čī 'balke 'mã 'šī š -ī 1 lankok Øbalke besōč -ī mã say.NPST 3SG SBJV allow.NPST 2SG finger **SBJV** burn.NPST 3SG so that PN.1SG 'wāb 'nakapẫ wāb -ã nakap fall.NPST 1SG asleep NEG

When that [son of] the Baloch mother went; you know, he felt (lit. saw) sleepy (lit. sleep catches me); he took [and] cut a bit off his finger with a razor blade; then he took salt and pepper and put on [the wound]; he said, "Let the finger burn so that I won't fall asleep."

'hamedā 'zahmē 12 'nī 'wāpt 'wāpt 'gōn nī ham= edā wapt -Ø wapt -Ø zahm =ē gōn now EMPH= here sleep.PST 3SG sleep.PST 3SG sword =IND with hīž'žābē 'dītī ene 'nī hīžžāb nī dīt  $=\bar{i}$  $=\bar{e}$ =en =e=PC.3SG now see.PST =PC.3SG strong sound =COP.NPST.3SG =IND 'haste ē čō ko ko čō 'gwam 'gwam hast =eē čō ko ko čō gwam gwam be.NPST =COP.NPST.3SG PROX you know opportunity do.PST opportunity do.PST like this 'zahmī das'tā ko zahm  $=\bar{1}$ dast -ā ko OBL do.PST sword =PC.3SG hand

You know, there (lit. here) he kept sleeping (lit. he slept [and] slept); he had a sword, you know, he heard (lit. saw there is) a strong sound; he was looking for an opportunity, like this; he was looking for an opportunity, like this; he took the sword in his hand.

13 das'tā ko ā'īā čō'bī ha'mē 'hōš ke bor'ret ke dast -ā čōbī ham =ē hōš ke ko āīā borret ke do.PST\_DIST.OBL\_you know\_EMPH= PROX cluster CLM cut.PST CLM hand OBL 'hōšā 'mã 'zīrẫ 'boroã ē'šā 'hanga hōš -ā mã Øzīr -ã bo--ã ēš -ā ro hanga OBL PN.1SG SBJV seize.NPST 1SG SBJV go.NPST 1SG PROX cluster OBL still

'nešt ha'mē 'mačče 'čērā ... pa 'hōš 'borrī ... ē'šīyā nešt -Ø ham= ē mačč čērā -е pa hōš borrī ēšī -yā sit.PST 3SG EMPH= PROX date-palm GEN under for cluster FRAG PROX.DIR OBL 'gwam 'padā 'gwam ko ko 'ĭate 'zahme 'daste padā gwam ko gwam ko ĭat =ezahm dast =eagain opportunity do.PST opportunity do.PST hit.PST =PC.3SG sword =IND hand =PC.3SG 'ede 'daste 'moč 'čedān ĭe'da če bī moč čedān ede dast =eče ĭeda b -ī here hand =PC.3SG wrist from.here from separated become.NPST 3SG

He took [it] in his hand, you know, when it cut off this cluster; [it thought] I will take the cluster [and] go; still he [the boy] was sitting under this date palm... for the cluster...; he watched for an opportunity; watched for an opportunity, [and] hit it with the sword its hand here; its hand was cut off from the wrist.

14 je'dā bī 'ēdga das'tā 'kotī 'bale b -ī dga bale jedā ē dast -ā kot  $=\bar{1}$ separated become.NPST 3SG PROX other hand OBL do.PST =PC.3SG but ha'mē 'hōšī 'bo hōš ham= ē  $=\bar{1}$ bo =PC.3SG take.PST EMPH= PROX cluster

It was cut off, it took [it] in the other hand; so (lit. but) it took this cluster away.

15 'šo 'hōn rēčā'nan ha'mē 'nī šo -Ø hōn rēč ham = -ān =annī ē 3SG blood pour.NPST OBL.PL =COP.NPST.3PL now EMPH= **PROX** go.PST hō'nānī pa'dā 'sobā 'ē ba'čak 'šo 'šī 'man hōn -ā -ānī padā sob ē bačak šo -Ø -ī man blood GEN.PL again morning OBL PROX boy go.PST 3SG say.NPST 3SG PN.1SG čō'bī ba'lāh ... čōš'ēn čō'šēn 'mã ... 'čīzē 'atke čōbī balāh čošen čošen mã čīz  $=\bar{\mathsf{e}}$ atk =e=COP.NPST.3SG you know ghoul such such PN.1SG thing =IND come.PST 'hōše 'borre 'bale 'mã 'daste 'daste ĭa'ta hōš =eborre bale mã dast =e-a dast ĭat =e=PC.3SG cut.PST but PN.1SG hand =PC.3SG beat.PST PP hand ear of grain =PC.3SG kaš'ta 'hamōdā yake če 'mã 'moča 'mã yak =e če mã moč -a kašt -a ham =ōdā mã one =IND from PN.1SG wrist OBL pull.PST PP EMPH= there PN.1SG kap'ta 'mačče bo'nā 'pada 'mã 'ōtī 'dast mačč bonā pada mã dast kapt -a  $=\emptyset$ otī fall.PST PΡ =COP.NPST.3SG date-palm GEN under then PN.1SG REFL.GEN hand

hō'nễ ko'ta ha'mē 'maččā ja'ta 'hamē -ễ hōn kot -a ham =ē mačč -ā jat -a ham = ē blood ATTR do.PST PP EMPH= PROX date-palm OBL beat.PST PP EMPH= **PROX** lanko'kānī 'pad hẫ hastã lankok pad hã -ānī hast =  $\tilde{a}$ finger GEN.PL trace ADD be.NPST =COP.NPST.3PL

It went with the blood pouring; then in the morning, this boy followed the trace of this blood; he said, "You know a ghoul... I such and such... a thing came [and] cut off the cluster; but I cut off its hand; I cut off one of its hands from the wrist, I... it fell there under the date palm; then I put (lit. did) my hand in the blood [and] put it on this date palm; so the trace of my (lit. these) fingers are there."

16 'nī 'petā 'go 'šarr ẽ pad'gerē 'zīret padger  $=\bar{e}$  Ønī pet -ā go zīr -ēt then father OBL say.PST fine =COP.NPST.3SG tracker =IND IMPV seize.NPST 2PL 'šī pad'ger 'nalōţī 'bas ha'mē hō'nānī š -ī padger nalōţ -ī bas ham = ē hōn -ānī 3SG well EMPH= 3SG tracker NEG want.NPST PROX blood GEN.PL 'čīyā 'mã 'wat ra'wẫ 'bale 'manā ham'rāh -ã čī mã wat raw bale man hamrāh -yā whv OBL PN.1SG REFL go.NPST 1SG but PN.1SG **OBJ** companion 'beday

be- day -Ø IMPV give.NPST 2SG

Then the father said, "Alright, take a tracker"; he said, "Well, no need for a tracker; I myself will follow the tracks (lit. thing) of this blood; but give me companions."

17 'nī ham'rāh 'šot 'šot 'dẫke gon ante dãke nī hamrāh gon = ant =ešot -Ø šot -Ø you know companion with =COP.NPST.3PL =PC.3SG go.PST 3SG go.PST 3SG then čā'retī ha'mē 'čāte yak 'čātē 'kay yak čāt  $=\bar{e}$  kčāret  $=\bar{1}$ -Ø ham =ē čāt ay -е =IND IMP.k look.PST =PC.3SG one well come.NPST 3SG EMPH= PROX well **GEN** tō'kā 'ē 'bas 'gār bī 'hōn tōkā ē hōn bas gār b -ī in PROX blood well lost become.NPST 3SG

You know, the companions were with him; he kept going (lit. went [and] went); until he saw there was a well, (lit. a well came); you know, inside this well the [traces of] this blood disappeared.

18 'nī ... 'nī maste'rễ 'brātā 'ēr go'šī 'go 'mã -ễ nī goš -ī nī mas -ter brāt -ā go mã ēr then say.NPST 3SG then old CMP 1PL brother OBL say.PST PN.1SG PREV kapã -ã kap fall.NPST 1SG Then he said,... then the oldest brother said, "I will go down [inside the well]." mardo'mã 19 kamo'kevā ... 'sādē 'bast 'srēnā mardom -ã kam -ok =e-yā sād  $=\bar{e}$  bast srēn -ā little DIM =IND OBL rope =IND bind.PST people OBL.PL waist OBL kamo'keyā 'šo 'čārtī 'āngō 'tār ke kam -ok ke šo -Ø čārt  $=\bar{1}$ āngō tār =e-yā little OBL CLM go.PST 3SG look.PST =PC.3SG that direction dark DIM =IND

'sādā ẽ 'manā tōr'sagẽ =  $\tilde{e}$ -ā sād -ā man tors =  $\tilde{e}$ -ag =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG OBL afraid.NPST =COP.NPST.3SG rope INF OBL

-ā

'brātā sōrē'nī 'ē 'kaššã

ē

brāt shake.NPST 3SG PROX brother OBL pull.NPST 3PL

For a short while... the people tied a rope around [his] waist; when he went [down] a bit; he saw /that/ the rest [of the way] was dark; [he said] "I am afraid."; he shook the rope; they pulled this brother up.

kašš

-ã

20 'padā dō'mī 'brāte bā'rīg bī padā dōmī brāt bārīg b -ī then second brother GEN turn become.NPST 3SG

Then it was the second brother's turn.

-ī

sōrēn

21 dō'mī 'ēr kapī 'ē 'mnī 'hāla 'sare 'nēmā dōmī ēr -ī ē hāl kap mnī sar =e nēm -ā -a second PREV fall.NPST 3SG PROX PN.1SG.GEN feeling OBL head =EZ half OBL 'raw 'naraw 'sādā sōrē'nī o'šī -Ø -Ø sād -ā -ī οš -ī raw naraw sōrēn go.NPST 3SG NEG go.NPST 3SG rope OBL shake.NPST 3SG say.NPST 3SG 'manā 'kašše 'mnī na'pas 'dakk ẽ 'mã man -ā Økašš mnī napas dakk = ẽ mã -е PN.1SG **OBJ IMPV** 2PL PN.1SG.GEN breath stop =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG pull.NPST 'mortã -ã mort

die.PST 1SG

```
maybe not [that much]; he shook the rope [and] said, "Pull me up; I am short of breathing (lit. my
breath stops); I am dying."
22 'ē
         'hẫ
              'kaššet
   ē
         hẫ
              kaššet
   PROX ADD pull.PST
So, [they] pull this one up as well.
23 'nī
        ā'xerī
                                                      ha'mā
                                                                     balōč'māte
                         bā'rīg bī
                                                                ā
                =\bar{1}
                         bārīg b
                                                     ham=
                                                                     balōčmāt
   nī
        āxer
                                                -ī
                                                                                       -е
                                                3SG EMPH=
   then last
                =PC.3SG turn become.NPST
                                                                DIST Baloch mother
                                                                                       GEN
Then the last turn was that [son of] the Baloch mother.
24 'ā
        balōč'māte
                               'srēnā
                                             'bandã
                                                               'sādā
                                                                            'ē
                                                                                   'rawt
   ā
        balōčmāt
                               srēn
                                       -ā
                                             band
                                                          -ã
                                                              sād
                                                                      -ā
                                                                            ē
                                                                                   raw
                                                                                              -t
   DIST Baloch mother
                         GEN waist
                                       OBL bind.NPST
                                                          3PL rope
                                                                      OBL PROX go.NPST
                                                                                              3SG
                'dẫke 'hamōdā
                                       ... 'hapt 'sar bīt
                                                                            'hamē
                                                                                            'čāt
                dåke ham=
raw
           -t
                                 ōdā
                                          hapt sar
                                                       bīt
                                                                      -Ø
                                                                            ham =
                                                                                      ē
                                                                                            čāt
           3SG until EMPH=
                                          seven head become.PST
                                                                      3SG EMPH=
                                                                                      PROX well
go.NPST
                                 there
They tied the rope around the waist of the [son of] the Baloch mother; he kept going down (lit. went
[and] went] until there...; this well was seven men's heights deep (lit. it is seven heads, this well).
25 'ēr
                       'čāte
                                   tō'kā 'dẫ čā'retī
                                                                   'haw 'ēdā yak 'rošnē
         'kapta
                                   tōkā dẫ
                                                                   haw ēdā yak rošn
   ēr
         kapt
                   -a čāt
                             -e
                                              čāret
                                                          =\bar{1}
                                                                                           =\bar{e}
   PREV fall.PST
                   PP well
                             GEN in
                                         until look.PST
                                                          =PC.3SG ves here one light
                                                                                           =IND
zā'her ẽ
                        'šo
                                       'dẫke čā'retī
                                                                  yak je'nekē
z\bar{a}her = \tilde{e}
                                 -Ø
                                       dåke čāret
                                                                  vak jenek
                       šo
                                                         =\bar{1}
                                                                                   =\bar{e}
visible =COP.NPST.3SG go.PST
                                 3SG till
                                                        =PC.3SG one daughter
                                             look.PST
                                                                                   =IND
'hančễ
           šarran'gễ
                             xūbsū'ratē
                                               neš'ta
                                                                              'ē
hančễ
                       -ễ
                             xūbsūrat
           šarrang
                                         =\bar{e} nešt
                                                              =\emptyset
                                                                              ē
                                                        -a
                                                             =COP.NPST.3SG PROX
such.ATTR beautiful
                      ATTR beautiful
                                         =IND sit.PST
                                                        PP
                   'hamedā
                                  ēšī
                                             šīš'kār da'yaga
lag'gī
             -ī
                             edā ēšī
lagg
                  ham =
                                             šīškār day
                                                                  -ag
                                                                        -a
start.NPST
             3SG EMPH=
                            here PROX.OBL whistle give.NPST
                                                                  INF
                                                                        OBL
He went down into the well; until he saw, yes, there was a light there (lit. here); he went, till he saw a
very beautiful [and] good looking girl sitting [there]; he started to whistle for her there (lit. here).
26 šīš'kār da
                    o'šī
                                     'byā
                                                                 ē'dā 'to
                                                                               'to
                                                                                       če'taw
   šīškār da
                    ΟŠ
                                -ī
                                     by-
                                              ā
                                                           -Ø
                                                                 ēdā to
                                                                               to
                                                                                       četaw
                                                           2SG here PN.2SG PN.2SG how
   whistle give.PST say.NPST
                                3SG IMPV
                                             come.NPST
'ēdā āt'kagay
                                         'ēdā balā'hānī
                                                                                       'hānnī
                                                                jā'gāh ẽ
```

ēdā balāh

=COP.NPST.2SG here ghoul

-ānī

jāgah = ẽ

GEN.PL place =COP.NPST.3SG now

hānnī

ēdā ātk

here come.PST

-ag

PΡ

= ay

The second brother went down; I believe (lit. to my idea), he went one and a half man's height, or

```
'byān
                                    pe'lekkã
                                                   'tī
                        'trā
                                                               'hōn 'tramp
by-
       ā
                                    pelekk
                    -n trā
                                               -ã
                                                  tī
                                                               hōn
                                                                     tramp
SBJV
       come.NPST
                    3PL PN.2SG.OBJ eat.NPST
                                              3PL PN.2SG.GEN blood drop
ka'pagā
                      'naylã
kap
                -ā
                      nay-
                             el
                                          -ã
           -ag
fall.NPST
          INF
                OBL NEG
                             allow.NPST
                                          3PL
```

He whistled; she said, "Come here, how did you, you come here; here is the place of the ghouls, [if] they come now, they will eat you up [and] they will not let even one drop of your blood fall [to the earth]."

```
27 'ē
                            'hamōdā
         'borte
                                           lō'gā
                                                         'zo
                                                                  'gārē
  ē
                            ham =
                                     ōdā
                                           lōg
         bort
                    =e
                                                         ZO
                                                                  gār
                                                                         =\bar{e}
  PROX take.PST
                   =PC.3SG EMPH=
                                                   OBL take.PST cave
                                     there house
                                                                         =IND
'kōntke
                  ha'mē
                                 'gāre
                                             tō'kay
                                                             'ko
kōntk
                  ham =
         =e
                           ē
                                             tōkay
                                                             ko
                                 gār
                                        -е
         =PC.3SG EMPH=
                           PROX cave
                                        GEN into.OBL.PC.3SG do.PST
dig.PST
```

She took him home there; she dug (lit. took [and] dug) a cave [and] put him into this cave.

```
28 'nī
                                            'hamedā
                                                           'nešt
        'čīzē
                     'pāčī
                                     ko
  nī
        čīz
               =ē pāč
                             =\bar{1}
                                     ko
                                            ham =
                                                      edā nešt
                                                                    -Ø
               =IND open =PC.3SG do.PST EMPH=
  then thing
                                                      here sit.PST
                                                                    3SG
```

Then he opened something [and] sat down there (lit. here).

```
29 čō'bī
             'ē
                   'lōg
                         ā'yānī
                                         semet 'nabīta
  čōbī
             ē
                   lōg
                         ā
                                -vānī
                                         semet na-
                                                       bīt
                                                                            =\emptyset
                                                                      -a
  you know PROX house DIST
                                GEN.PL cement NEG
                                                                      PP
                                                                           =COP.NPST.3SG
                                                       become.PST
köntkage
                        kontkage
                                                ha'menčō
                                                                    ke
                                                                         mar'domē
                        kōntk
kōntk
               =e
                                        =e
                                                ham =
                                                          enčō
                                                                    ke
                                                                         mardom
                                                                                     =\bar{e}
         -ag
                                 -ag
                                       =PC.3SG EMPH=
                                                         this much CLM people
dig.PST
         PΡ
               =PC.3SG dig.PST
                                 PP
                                                                                    =IND
'nešt
              beka
                                     ha'mīšī
                                                            tō'kāī
                                                                             'ko
              be-
                                     ham =
                                                      -ī
                                                            tōkā
nešt
         -Ø
                     ka
                               -Ø
                                              īš
                                                                    =\bar{1}
                                                                             ko
sit.PST
         3SG SBJV
                     do.NPST
                               3SG EMPH=
                                              PROX
                                                      GEN inside
                                                                    =PC.3SG do.PST
'nešt
nešt
         -Ø
sit.PST
         3SG
```

You know, their house was not made of cement; she was digging; she was digging; this much that a person would be able to sit inside it; she put him inside it; he sat down.

30 'ā ba'lāh 'ātkã o'šī 'bōē 'bōē āda'mī ke ā balāh ātk -ã οš -ī bō =ē bō =ē ādam -ī ke DIST CLM ghoul come.PST 3PL say.NPST 3SG smell =IND smell =IND human ADJZ ẽ 'šī 'bōē 'šmā ẽ āda'mī 'man š =ē šmā =  $\tilde{e}$ -ī bō =  $\tilde{e}$ ādam -ī man =COP.NPST.3SG say.NPST 3SG smell =EZ PN.2PL =COP.NPST.3SG human ADJZ PN.1SG ã 'manā 'ware 'bore o'šī 'enna =  $\tilde{a}$ -ā wār b--ī man -е or -е οš enna =COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG OBJ eat.NPST 2PL SBJV eat.NPST 2PL say.NPST 3SG no 'dega de'ga 'bōē hast ẽ ba'gar 'tarā o'šī  $=\bar{e}$  hast bō dega =  $\tilde{e}$ bagar ta -rā oš -ī dega OBJ say.NPST another smell =IND be.NPST =COP.NPST.3SG beside PN.2SG 3SG other 'heč 'bō 'nēste bō heč nēst =esmell anything NEG.be.NPST =COP.NPST.3SG

When the ghouls came, [one of them] said, "There is a smell, a smell of humans."; she said, "It is your smell, I am human, [if] you want to eat me, [then] eat [me]."; it said, "No, there is another smell beside yours."; she said, "There is no other smell."

31 'nī 'hamē ĭe'nekā 'go 'čīyā jenek nī ham= ē -ā go čī -yā to then EMPH= OBL say.PST PN.2SG why PROX girl OBL āt'kagay go'šī 'bvā 'manī ātk -ī byā -Ø -ī -ag = ay goš man come.PST PΡ =COP.NPST.2SG say.NPST 3SG IMPV come.NPST 2SG PN.1SG **GEN** 'ē 'manī 'maččē 'bīta 'ē 'rang rangā -ī mačč  $=\bar{e}$  bīt ē rang ē rang -ā man -a OBL PN.1SG PROX manner PROX manner 3SG date-palm =IND become.PST PΡ 'mačče 'hōš 'ham 'sāl borre'ta 'manī -ī hōš ham sāl man mačč -e borret -a PN.1SG GEN date-palm GEN cluster ADD vear cut.PST PΡ bor'tagante 'manī 'mačč 'hamē 'čīz 'kojā 'ēr bort man -ī mačč ham =ē čīz kojā ēr -ant =e-ag take.PST PΡ 3PL =PC.3SG PN.1SG GEN date-palm EMPH= PROX thing where PREV 'ā ã ĭa'nekā ke šota'gã de'ga jā'hā =  $\tilde{a}$ janek -ā ā ke šot =  $\tilde{a}$ dega ĭāh -ā -ag =COP.NPST.3PL girl =COP.NPST.3PL another place OBL DIST CLM go.PST PP **OBL** ta'ragā 'nī zor'ta 'pēš dāšta o'šī 'ē -a pēš dāšt -ī ē tarr -ā nī zort -a oš -ag walk.NPST **INF** PP show hold.PST PP say.NPST 3SG PROX OBL now take.PST

```
ge'nday
                                       'ē
                                                        ga'war kīma'tīya
pētī'yānā
                                             'drō ča
                                                                                'porr
                                             drō ča
                 =\bar{a} gend
                                  -ay ē
                                                        gawar kīmatī
                                                                                porr
pētīy
       -ān
                                                                          -ya
trunk
       OBL.PL =VCL see.NPST
                                  2SG PROX all
                                                  from gem
                                                               valuable
                                                                          OBL full
               'drō hameš
ã
                                    ã
                                                   šō'mayg ã
                                                                            'goṛā
= \tilde{a}
               drō ham =
                              eš
                                    = \tilde{a}
                                                   šōmayg = ã
                                                                            goŗā
=COP.NPST.3PL all EMPH=
                              PROX =COP.NPST.3PL yours
                                                            =COP.NPST.3PL well
```

Then this girl said, "Why did you come?"; he said, "Look, like this, like this, there was a date palm of mine; every year, it has cut my date palm clusters [and] taken them away; where are these things?"; when they went to another place to spend some time there (lit. for walking); then the girl showed [them to him]; she said, "Do you see these trunks?; all of them are full of valuable gems; well then all of them are yours."

```
o'šī
32 'nī
                         'ēšã
                                                 'mã
                                                         'čētō 'bekanã
                                                                                       'čētō
                         ēš
                                                         čētō be-
                                                                                 -ã
   nī
        ΟŠ
                    -ī
                                  = \tilde{a}
                                                 mã
                                                                      kan
                                                                                      čētō
                                 =COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG how SBJV
   then say.NPST
                    3SG PROX
                                                                      do.NPST
                                                                                 1SG how
        ko'šāne
mã
        koš
mã
                   -ān
                           =e
PN.1SG kill.NPST
                   1SG
                          =PC.3PL
```

Then he said, "How should I deal with them?; how should I kill them?"

```
33 go'šī
                  pe'lān
                           jā'gāhā
                                         'do 'morg
                                                                    ya na'rēnē
                                                     ã
                                                                                      ya
  goš
             -ī
                  pelān
                           jāgah
                                   -ā
                                         do morg
                                                      = \tilde{a}
                                                                    ya narēn
                                                                                 =ē ya
                                   OBL two chicken =COP.NPST.3PL one male
  say.NPST
             3SG so and so place
                                                                                 =IND one
ma'dagēnē
```

 $madag\bar{e}n = \bar{e}$ 

female =IND

She said, "In a certain place there are two birds; one is male and the other female.

```
'goṛā ā
34 'ē
        do'ēn
                     'morgã
                                      agan 'ta
                                                    'košay
  ē
        do
               -ēn
                               -ã
                                                    Ø-
                                                           koš
                                                                      -ay gorā ā
                     morg
                                      agan ta
  PROX two
               CLASS chicken
                               OBL.PL if
                                            PN.2SG SBJV
                                                           kill.NPST
                                                                      2SG then DIST
'merã
```

mer -ã

die.NPST 3PL

If you kill these two birds, then they will die.

35 aga ē'šān 'taw 'košt 'nakanay ... go'šī košt aga ēš -ān taw -Ø nakan -ay goš -ī if **PROX** OBL.PL PN.2SG kill.PST 3SG NEG do.NPST 2SG say.NPST 3SG ē'šānī ko'šag 'čīen yak'kēn da'mānā ēš -ānī koš -ag čī vakk -ēn dam -ān  $=\bar{a}$ =en PROX GEN.PL kill.NPST INF what =COP.NPST.3SG one ATTR moment OBL.PL =VCL ko'šāne

koš  $-\bar{a}n = e$ 

kill.NPST 1SG =PC.3PL

If you are not able to kill them..."; he said, "It takes nothing to kill them (lit. what is their killing); I will kill them in one moment."

36 'nī 'pēš dārīte 'hamē 'raw 'ĭanek nī raw -Ø pēš dār -īt =eham =ē ĭanek 3SG show hold.NPST 3SG =PC.3SG EMPH= PROX girl then go.NPST 'hamē 'morgā zī'rī pē'sarā na'rēne sa'rā ham= -ī ē morg -ā zīr pēsarā narēn -е sar -ā EMPH= PROX chicken OBL take.NPST 3SG first male GEN head **OBL** sen'dī 'randā mada'gēneā 'ē 'kāyã send -ī randā madagēn -ā ē k--ã -е āy PROX IMP.k come.NPST take off. NPST 3SG after female **GEN** OBL 'nazīke 'hamē 'hamē lō'gānī kay ham =nazīk =ek--Ø ham =lōg -ānī ay EMPH= =PC.3SG IMP.k come.NPST PROX house PROX near 3SG EMPH= **GEN.PL** gwa'rā ke 'bepotrã 'ōtī lō'gā ha'me jā'gāh 'hančoke gwarā ke bepotr -ã otī lōg -ā ham =jāgah hančoke CLM SBJV enter.NPST 3PL REFL.GEN house PROX place as soon as OBL EMPH= mor'gẫ ke 'das 'per kanã 'ōdā kanã ā ča čen'gēz -ã morg ke das per kan -ã ā ōdā ča čengēz kan -ã chicken OBL.PL CLM hand PREV do.NPST 3PL DIST there from resistance do.NPST 3PL pa'me 'sā ā'hānī ha'mē mor'gānī γã na = y $\tilde{a}$ ā -hānī na ham =ē pame sā morg -ānī because life =COP.NPST.3PL DIST GEN.PL right? EMPH= PROX chicken GEN.PL sen'dī ... 'nī sa'rā 'hamē čī'zān kaš'šī -ā send -ī nī ham =ē čīz -ān kašš -ī sar OBL.PL pull.NPST head OBL take off. NPST 3SG then EMPH= PROX thing 'bā ha'mē 'čāte gwa'rā 'ēr bā -Ø ham= ē čāt -Ø gwarā ēr ka -е take.NPST 3SG EMPH= PROX well GEN beside PREV put.NPST 3SG

Then, this girl went and showed him; he caught these birds; first he took off the head of the male one [and] then of the female one; they came close to these houses, up to the houses in order to come

inside their house; in this place, as they [the boy and the girl] reached for the birds; there they [the ghouls] resisted for their life, because they were their souls, you know; he took off the head of these birds...; then, he pulled these things out, took [them] and put [them] beside this well.

mar'dom 'nī ham'ōdā neš'tagã da'pā ā mardom nī ham =ōdā nešt -ag =  $\tilde{a}$ čāt -е dap -ā =COP.NPST.3PL well DIST people now EMPH= there sit.PST PP GEN lid **OBL** 'sādeš 'hamē dāš'ta neš'tagã ham =sād =eš dāšt -a nešt -ag =  $\tilde{a}$ EMPH= PROX rope =PC.3PL hold.PST PP sit.PST PP =COP.NPST.3PL

Now, those people were sitting there at the well, [and] they were holding this rope [and] sitting [there].

38 'ē 'nī ya 'barē kaš'šān ka ha'mē ē nī  $=\bar{e}$  kašš -ān ka -Ø ham = ē ya bar =IND pull.NPST PROX you know one time OBL.PL do.NPST 3SG EMPH= **PROX** pē'tīyẫ kaš'šāne ka kaš'šāne pētīy -ã kašš -ān =eka -Ø kašš -ān =etrunk OBL.PL pull.NPST OBL.PL =PC.3SG do.NPST 3SG pull.NPST OBL.PL =PC.3SG ka 'nazānẫ 'no bītagã -ã bīt ka -Ø nazān no -ag =  $\tilde{a}$ know.NPST do.NPST 3SG NEG 1SG nine become.PST PΡ =COP.NPST.3PL 'bārễ 'ēšẫ 'čenčō bītã sa'jēn mod'date -ã bārễ ēš čenčō bīt moddat -ã saj -ēn =e3PL all ATTR time question word how many become.PST =PC.3PL PROX OBL.PL kaš'ta ba'lāhã bor'tã 'ē -ã kašt -a bort -ã ē balāh 3PL PROX ghoul pull.PST PP take.PST OBL.PL

You know, he pulled all [these trunks]; he pulled them; he pulled them; I do not know, were there nine?; I do not know how many there were; during all this time, they had snatched (lit. pulled) [and] taken [them], these ghouls.

39 'nī 'ā gen'dã 'ē do'ēn 'čīz ã ke 'mā 'brāt ā gend -ã ē čīz =  $\tilde{a}$ ke mā do -ēn brāt nī then DIST see.NPST 3PL PROX thing =COP.NPST.3PL CLM PN.1PL two **CLASS** brother 'nakotã ā'ort 'ēšīyā ā'ortã 'nī ja'nekā āort nakot -ã ēšī -yā -ã nī ĭanek -ā āort do.PST 3PL PROX.DIR OBL bring.PST bring.PST NEG 3PL now girl OBL go'šī 'to 'dar ā goš -ī dar Ø--Ø to 3SG PN.2SG PREV SBJV come.NPST 2SG

Then they [his brothers] saw, these are the things that we, the two brothers, were not able to bring; [but] he brought them; then he [the boy in the well] said to the girl, "You get out."

```
jenek goš
                     -ī
                                  dar Ø-
                                                             -Ø
                          taw
                                                ā
   girl
                    3SG PN.2SG PREV SBJV come.NPST
                                                             2SG
The girl said, "You get out."
41 ja'nekā
                 'hanī
                                             'ba
                                                                    je'nekā
                           zī'rī
                                                               gõ
                                                                                  gõ
   ĭanek
                 hanī
                                       -ī
                                             ba
                                                         -Ø
                                                              gõ
                                                                    jenek
                                                                                  gõ
           -ā
                           zīr
                                                                            -ā
           OBL right now take.NPST
                                       3SG take.NPST
                                                         3SG with girl
   girl
                                                                            OBL with
ha'mē
                čī'zān
                               gõ
                                    rō'pag
                                                       ra'wage
ham =
                čīz
                        -ān
                               gõ
                                    rōp
                                                   -ag raw
                                                                        = \tilde{e}
                                                                  -ag
EMPH=
          PROX thing
                        OBL.PL with sweep.NPST INF go.NPST
                                                                  INF
                                                                        =COP.NPST.3SG
Then he took the girl with himself; he took the girl [and] all these things and went.
        je'nek go'šī
                                            'dar byāyẫ
42 'nī
                                aga 'mã
                                                                                     'gorā
                                                                             'taw
                                                                       -ã
        jenek goš
                          -ī
                                aga mã
                                            dar by-
   nī
                                                          āy
                                                                             taw
                                                                                     gorā
               say.NPST
                          3SG if
                                    PN.1SG PREV SBJV come.NPST
                                                                       1SG PN.2SG then
   then girl
'dar ātk
                'nakanay
                                       'šī
                                                        'čētō 'šī
                                                                              'hančō
                                  -ay š
dar ātk
                na-
                       kan
                                                   -ī
                                                        čētō š
                                                                         -ī
                                                                              hančō
                       do.NPST
PREV come.PST NEG
                                  2SG say.NPST
                                                  3SG how say.NPST
                                                                         3SG this way
Then the girl said, "If I get out, then you will not able to get out."; he said, "How [come]?"; she said,
"That's the way it is (lit. this way)."
             'daste
                                                              kaš'šī
43 'ōtī
                             ha'mē
                                             san'gawā
   otī
             dast
                     =e
                             ham =
                                       ē
                                             sangaw
                                                        -ā
                                                              kašš
                                                                          -ī
   REFL.GEN hand
                    =PC.3SG EMPH=
                                       PROX bangle
                                                        OBL
                                                              pull.NPST
                                                                          3SG
'dante
                            o'šī
                                             ē'šīyā
                                                               'to
dan
            -t
                    =e
                            οš
                                        -ī
                                             ēšī
                                                         -yā
                                                               to
give.NPST
                   =PC.3SG say.NPST
                                       3SG PROX.DIR
                                                         OBL PN.2SG
            3SG
                              'wat 'beka
'zīr
                          gõ
Ø-
                     -Ø
                          gõ
                               wat be-
                                                        -Ø
        zīr
                                             ka
        seize.NPST 2SG with REFL IMPV
                                             do.NPST
                                                       2SG
She removed this bangle of hers [and] gave [it] to him; she said, "Take this and keep it with yourself."
44 ja'nekā
                 ke
                      'kašt
                               ... kaš'šante
                                                             dan'nā
                                                                           gen'dã
                                                                                           'ā
                      kašt
                                 kašš
                                                             dann
                                                                           gend
   ĭanek
                 ke
                                             -ant
                                                    =e
                                                                     -ā
           OBL CLM pull.PST
                                 pull.NPST
                                             3PL
                                                    =PC.3SG out
                                                                     OBL see.NPST
                                                                                       3PL DIST
   girl
              o'šī
'brāt
                               ma'nīng ẽ
                                                        'ā
        'ē
                                                             o'šī
                                                                              ma'nīng
brāt
        ē
              οš
                          -ī
                               man\bar{n}g = \tilde{e}
                                                        ā
                                                             οš
                                                                         -ī
                                                                              maning
brother PROX say.NPST
                          3SG mine
                                        =COP.NPST.3SG DIST say.NPST
                                                                         3SG mine
                       o'šī
                                       šo'mā 'ya 'barē
                                                                 'sab
                'pet
= \tilde{e}
                pet
                       ΟŠ
                                  -ī
                                       šomā ya bar
                                                            =\bar{e} sab
=COP.NPST.3SG father say.NPST
                                 3SG PN.2PL one time
                                                           =IND patience
```

'dar ā

'taw

40 je'nek go'šī

```
kane
                                            'hanga 'čāte
                                                               'tōk ẽ
                                                                                    šo'mā
                        'šomay
                                   'brāt
Ø-
        kan
                        šomay
                                   brāt
                                            hanga čāt
                                                               t\bar{o}k = \tilde{e}
                   -е
                                                          -е
                                                                                    šomā
IMPV
        do.NPST
                   2PL PN.PL.GEN brother still
                                                   well
                                                          GEN in
                                                                  =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2PL
        'šav
                                                  'ā
                                                        'šī
'taw
                         ma'nīng ẽ
                                                                         ma'nīng
        š
                    -ay maning = \tilde{e}
                                                  ā
                                                       š
                                                                   -ī
taw
                                                                        maning
                                  =COP.NPST.3SG DIST say.NPST
PN.2SG say.NPST
                   2SG mine
                                                                   3SG mine
ẽ
                'bele
                                           'ā
                                                ya 'barē
                                                                   'dar
                b-
= \tilde{e}
                        el
                                           ā
                                                    bar
                                                             =\bar{e}
                                                                  dar
                                      -е
                                                ya
=COP.NPST.3SG IMPV
                        allow.NPST
                                     2PL DIST one time
                                                            =IND PREV
kay
k-
                      -Ø
        ay
        come.NPST
IMP.k
                      3SG
When he pulled the girl... they pulled her out, they saw [her], those brothers, this one said, "She is
mine"; that one said, "She is mine"; the father said, "Wait for a little while; your bother is still in the
well; you, you are saying; she is mine; he says; she is mine; wait till he comes out [of the well]."
45 'ā
        ke
             sā'dā
                                kaš'šagatantī
                                                                              'čātā
                           gõ
             sād
                     -ā
                           gõ
                                kašš
                                                                              čāt
                                                                                     -ā
   ā
        ke
                                                                      =\bar{i}
                                            -ag
                                                  =at
                                                              -ant
                                                                     =PC.3SG well
   DIST CLM rope
                     OBL with pull.NPST
                                            INF
                                                  =COP.PST
                                                              3PL
                                                                                     OBL
                                                                 'wat 'dar
pad'ānkē
                 wa 'per nēsta
                                                            ke
padānk
            =ē wa per nē
                                                            ke
                                                                 wat dar
                                                  =a
foot step
           =IND FOC PREV NEG.COP.NPST.3SG
                                                  =COP.PST CLM REFL PREV
byaytẽ
by-
       av
                     -t
                            = \tilde{e}
SBJV
       come.NPST
                     3SG
                           =COP.NPST.3SG
When they were pulling him up with the rope; there was no footstep in the well for him to come out
himself.
46 'nazānã
                                                                 balā'hã
                             čē'tō ē'šān
                                                                                  kambāt
                                                  ja'ta
                                                                          -ã
                       -ã
                             čētō ēš
                                           -ān
                                                              -a balāh
                                                                                  kambāt
   na-
          zān
                                                  ĭat
   NEG
          know.NPST
                       1SG how PROX
                                          OBL.PL beat.PST
                                                              PP ghoul
                                                                          OBL.PL damned
ã
= \tilde{a}
=COP.NPST.3PL
I do not know; how these damned ghouls had dug [it].
47 'nī
                                                 ba'yante
                                                                                 yak
        go'šī
                         kaš'šagā
                    -ī
                                           -ā
   nī
        goš
                         kašš
                                                 bay
                                                                         =e
                                                                                 yak
                                     -ag
                                                                  -ant
                                                                        =PC.3SG one
                    3SG pull.NPST
                                     INF
                                           OBL become.NPST
                                                                 3PL
   then say.NPST
'sarē
             bač'čī
                                ke
                                     'dar
                                           'beyayte
                                                                                 'petā
        =ē bačč
                           -ī
                                ke
                                     dar
                                            bey-
sar
                                                   ay
                                                                 -t
                                                                        =e
                                                                                 pet
                                                                                          -ā
       =IND leave.NPST
                           3SG CLM PREV SBJV
                                                  come.NPST
                                                                 3SG
                                                                        =PC.3SG father
                                                                                          OBL
head
```

ka'mokē del'gōš ṭaga'lēnt 'dega ōtī 'čamme ōt -ī = ē delgōš țagalēn čamm dega kam -ok -t =eREFL GEN little DIM =IND attention move.NPST 3SG eye =PC.3SG other 'brātā čān'kūē 'nēmagē ko'tagã maste'rēn nēmag  $=\bar{e}$  kot -ã mas -ter -ēn brāt -ā čānkū  $=\bar{e}$ -ag side =IND do.PST PP 3PL old CMP ATTR brother OBL knife =IND kī'sagā 'zo čān'kū 'čēr dā ha'mē 'sāde bor're 'ā čānkū čēr kīsag -ā ZO dāt ham =sād =eborre ā OBL take.PST knife down give.PST EMPH= PROX rope =PC.3SG cut.PST DIST pocket ba'čak 'šo bačak šo -Ø boy go.PST 3SG

Then, it is said; they were pulling him up; one man's height was left for him to come out; the father didn't pay attention for a little while; he looked in another direction; the oldest brother took out a knife from his pocket; he put it under [the rope and] cut this rope; that boy fell down (lit. went) [inside the well].

48 'nī o'šī 'sād 'sest

nī oš -ī sād sest

then say.NPST 3SG rope break.PST

Then he said, "The rope broke."

49 'nī 'ā ba'čak šo pa'dā ha'mā 'čāte tō'kā 'ē šotã nī ā bačak šo padā ham = ā čāt tōkā ē -ã -е šot go.PST again EMPH= you know DIST boy DIST well PROX go.PST GEN in 3PL 'drō mē'tagā

drō mētag -ā all home OBL

You know, that boy fell down (lit. went) into that well again; they all came back home.

maste'rễn 'brāt 50 'nī go'šī ma'nīng ẽ nī mas -ter -ễ brāt goš -ī  $man\bar{n}g = \tilde{e}$ ATTR brother say.NPST now big **CMP** 3SG mine =COP.NPST.3SG kaste'rễ ma'nīng ẽ go'šī kas -ter -ễ goš -ī  $maning = \tilde{e}$ ATTR say.NPST 3SG mine =COP.NPST.3SG CMP

Now the oldest brother said, "She is mine."; the youngest one said, "She is mine."

51 je'nek o'tī 'dā 'ē san'gawā o'šī 'manī jenek otī -ā dā οš -ī ē -ī sangaw man girl REFL.GEN bangle OBL give.PST say.NPST 3SG PROX PN.1SG **GEN** 'bezīret šo'mā har 'waktēga 'ē san'gawā S ... san'gawe sangaw -ā bezīr -ēt šomā har waktēga ē sangaw S -е bangle OBL SBJV take.NPST 2PL PN.2PL every whenever PROX FRAG bangle GEN 'matt 'add ko 'gorā 'mã ham'āhīyge aga 'add ã add ko gorā mã ham = $\bar{a}h\bar{y}ge = \tilde{a}$ maţţ aga add his identical copy make do.PST then PN.1SG EMPH= =COP.NPST.1SG if make 'nabī 'goṛā 'bzān ke ha'mā 'wat b ā na--ī gorā bzān ke ham= wat NEG become.NPST 3SG then SBJV know.NPST CLM EMPH= DIST REFL xodā'bond ke 'byayt ha'mā 'manā byay -t =  $\tilde{e}$ ham =xodābond ke man -ā come.NPST 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH= DIST master CLM PN.1SG OBJ kašš'tage kaššt -ag =epull.PST PP =PC.3SG

The girl gave her bangle [and] said, "Take this bangle of mine, whenever you make... [if one of you makes] an identical copy of this bangle; then I will be his; if it is not made, then you know, that one himself should come, that master who has pulled me up [from the well]."

ē'šīā ... 'dōl 'dōm bī 52 'nī ē'šānī sīr ēšī -ā dōl dōm b -ī ēš nī -ānī sīr now PROX.DIR OBL drum echo become.NPST 3SG PROX GEN.PL wedding ẽ bor'ta zarga'rānī 'tōk 'tōk ẽ ba ... -ānī tōktōk -a ba =  $\tilde{e}$ zargar =  $\tilde{e}$ bort =COP.NPST.3SG goldsmith GEN.PL clunk =COP.NPST.3SG take.PST PP FRAG dā'ta 'petā ga'war kīma'tī močč ã ke 'nī o =o močč =ã ke dāt -a pet -ā gawar kīmatī nī valuable now =FOC wrist =COP.NPST.3PL CLM give.PST PP father OBL gem ha'mē san'gawe 'ţāhe 'add 'bekã 'harčī ham= ţāh add bekã -Ø harčī sangaw -е EMPH= PROX bangle GEN single GEN make SBJV do.NPST 3SG whatever 'jante ē o'šī 'ē san'gawe 'maţţ 0 ē ĭan -t =eē ΟŠ -ī =0sangaw matt hit.NPST 3SG PROX =FOC bangle 3SG =PC.3SG PROX say.NPST GEN identical copy 'nē 'nī 'šar ẽ ē'šīyā 'mazīr nī  $\tilde{s}$ ar  $= \tilde{e}$ ēšī zīr -Ø nē -yā ma-NEG.COP.NPST.3SG now fine =COP.NPST.3SG PROX.DIR OBL PROH take.NPST 2SG

po 'do 'add kanễ o'šī ē'šā de'ge 'trā mã -ễ dege trā po do add kan οš -ī mã ēš -ā another PN.2SG.OBJ for two make do.NPST 1PL say.NPST 3SG PN.1SG PROX OBL 'lōţã 'nazīrẫ wa'tīgā -ã -ã -ā lōt nazīr watīg NEG take.NPST OBL.PL own OBL want.NPST 1SG

Now he... there was drumming; their wedding was upcoming (lit. is); there was the beating of the goldsmiths; he brought... the father had given now there were a lot of valuable gems to make the other bangle in the pair; whatever they made (lit. hit); [but] she said, "This is not the same as the bangle"; [someone said] "Alright, do not take this, we will make another two for you"; she said, "I do not want this, I want mine."

53 'nī ē'šẫ ha'mē ha'mē ran'gā 'dẫke 'ā ran'gā nī ēš -ã ham =ē rang -ā ham =ē rang -ā dãke ā OBL.PL EMPH= PROX kind OBL EMPH= PROX kind now PROX OBL until DIST ba'čak raw dã čā'rī yak sī'morgē dã bačak raw -Ø čār -Ī yak sīmorg  $=\bar{e}$ boy go.NPST 3SG you know look.NPST 3SG one fabulous bird =IND sī'morge čok'k ã čō 'ĭrende ē'dā sīmorg  $\check{c}okk = \tilde{a}$ čō ĭrend =eēdā GEN chick =COP.NPST.3PL you know self =PC.3SG here fabulous bird 'čokke dalen'tagã ha'mē 'nayẽ čokk dalent nay-=  $\tilde{e}$ =e-ã ham =ē -ag =COP.NPST.3SG chick =PC.3SG fall down.PST PΡ 3PL EMPH= NEG **PROX** čok'kānī wa'ragā po 'mārē 'kayt čokk  $=\bar{e}$  k--ānī wār -ag -ā po mār ay -t child GEN.PL eat.NPST INF OBL for snake =IND IMP.k come.NPST 3SG ha'mē čok'kẫ ẽ 'wart raw -ã čokk -Ø =  $\tilde{e}$ ham =ē -t wār raw =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH= PROX chick OBL.PL eat.NPST 3SG go.NPST 3SG

Now the story goes on (lit. like this, like this), until that boy went; you know, he saw, there was a fabulous bird, there were the fabulous bird's chicks; you know, it itself was not here; its chick fell down; a snake was coming to eat these chicks; it ate these chicks [and] went. take it in your article

54 'ē ba'čak 'rawte ha'mē sī'morge bačak raw =  $\tilde{e}$ ham= ē -t ē sīmorg -е PROX boy go.NPST 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH= PROX fabulous bird **GEN** wa'ragā čō'bī čīpo'kānī 'naylītẽ čīpok -ānī wār -ā čōbī nayel -īt =  $\tilde{e}$ -ag chick GEN.PL eat.NPST INF OBL you know NEG allow.NPST 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG ha'mē 'mārā 'mārā zī'rī 'ĭant ko'šī ham =ē mār -ā mār -ā zīr -ī ĭan -t koš -ī EMPH= PROX snake OBL snake OBL take.NPST 3SG hit.NPST 3SG kill.NPST 3SG This boy went [and] you know, did not allow this snake to eat the fabulous bird's chicks; he took

This boy went [and] you know, did not allow this snake to eat the fabulous bird's chicks; he took [and] killed the snake (lit. he takes, beats, kills).

55 'nī 'hančō 'zār ẽ ham 'sāl sī'morg pē'dāg ẽ nī pēdāg = ẽ hančō zār =  $\tilde{e}$ ham sāl sīmorg then fabulous bird visible =COP.NPST.3SG like this angry =COP.NPST.3SG ADD year ē'šī 'ham 'bezã čōrokã ha'mē 'mār zã -ã ham be--Ø čōrok ē ēšī ham =mār PROX.GEN ADD SBJV know.NPST 3SG chick OBL.PL EMPH= PROX snake wa'ragẽ

wār  $-ag = \tilde{e}$ 

eat.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3SG

(lit. they were under the sun).

Then the fabulous bird was coming; it was very angry; you know, every year this snake was eating its chicks.

56 yak čö'rokē ham pa ē'šī wās'tā 'naya ha'me 'sar yak čōrok ham pa ēšī ham=  $=\bar{\mathsf{e}}$ wāstā sar =ae nay-=IND ADD for PROX.GEN for the sake of head NEG =COP.PST EMPH= one chick **PROX** 'nī ba'čakā 'čō čā'der dāš'ta ha'mē gen'dī ke ke bačak -ā čō čāder dāšt -a = o ham =nī gend -ī ē you know see.NPST 3SG CLM boy OBL like chador hold.PST PP =and EMPH= **PROX** čō'rok 'čō ha'mē čā'dere sāh'egā ko'tagante čorok čo ham = čāder sāheg kot -ā -ag -ant =echick like EMPH= PROX chador **GEN** shadow OBL do.PST PP 3PL =PC.3SG 'rōče sa'rā ã rōč -е sarā = ã GEN on =COP.NPST.3PL day

It did not leave even one for it; you know, it saw /that/, the boy held something like a mantle (lit. chador) and put these chicks like this in the shadow of this mantle; they were [hidden] from the sun

balāhễ 57 'ē 'čent 'dōkē māt gen'dī balāh -ễ ē māt gend -ī čen -t dōk  $=\bar{e}$ PROX mother see.NPST 3SG pick.NPST 3SG big ATTR stone =IND 'ē 'bzẫ 'manī čō'rok go'šī zã -ī ē b--ī čōrok goš -Ø man say.NPST 3SG PROX SBJV know.NPST 2SG PN.1SG GEN chick hamē'šīyā wār'tagã ham =-yā ēšī wārt -ag -ã EMPH= PROX.DIR OBL eat.PST PP 3PL This mother saw [this]; it picked up a big stone, you know; it said, "He has eaten my chicks. 58 bor'tagantī 'ē čo'rok may'dan kanã go'šī bort ē čōrok maydān kan -ag -ant  $=\bar{1}$ -ã goš -ī take.PST PP 3PL =PC.3SG PROX chick step do.NPST 3PL say.NPST 3SG 'mē balā'hễ ē'šīyā 'mārā ne'jāt dāta 'mārē -rā nejāt dāt balāh -ễ ēšī -yā mā -a mē mār  $=\bar{e}$ OBJ save give.PST PROX.DIR OBL PN.1PL PP PN.1PL.GEN big ATTR snake =IND koš'tagī bīta 'nī 'māt bīt  $=\emptyset$ košt  $=\bar{1}$ nī māt -a -ag become.PST PΡ =COP.NPST.3SG kill.PST PΡ =PC.3SG then mother 'mārā gen'dī 'kay gen'dī 'nī kay -Ø mār -ā gend -ī gend -ī nī IMP.k come.NPST 3SG snake OBL see.NPST 3SG see.NPST 3SG then o'šī 'arz 'beka 'mã pū'ro tī ar'zā οš -ī arz beka -Ø mã tī -ā pūro arz 3SG wish SBJV do.NPST 2SG PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN wish OBL filled sav.NPST kanã

-ã kan

do.NPST

1SG

He has taken them"; the chicks came running [and] said, "He has saved us, there was this big snake of us; he has killed it"; then the mother came [and] saw the snake; it saw the dead snake (lit. it); then it said, "Make a wish, I will fulfill your wish."

59 go'šī 'manā de'ge 'arzē 'heč 'neste  $=\bar{e}$  heč goš -ī man -ā dege arz nest =e=IND nothing NEG.be.NPST say.NPST 3SG PN.1SG OBJ another wish =COP.NPST.3SG 'hapt ta'bakā za'mīnā b ... 'bar 'manā 'sar hapt tabak Øman -ā sar zamīn -ā Ъ bar -Ø OBJ seven floor OBL onto earth OBL FRAG **IMPV** PN.1SG take.NPST 2SG

za'mīn ẫ 'sar za'mīnā 'man 'zer 'manā  $zam\bar{n} = \tilde{a}$ man zer man -ā sar zamīn -ā PN.1SG under earth =COP.NPST.1SG PN.1SG OBJ onto earth OBL 'bebar bebar -Ø **IMPV** carry.NPST 2SG

He said, "I do not have any other wish (lit. there is no wish for me) [but] take me seven floors to the ground; I am under the ground; take me onto the ground."

60 'šī 'čō mã 'trā 'bort 'nakanẫ š -ã -ī čō mã trā bort nakan 3SG like PN.1SG PN.2SG.OBJ take.PST NEG do.NPST 1SG 'borō 'hapt 'herr ... pe'lān 'bečā jā'hā bohapt herr pelān -Ø rō -Ø ĭāh -ā bečā SBJV go.NPST 2SG seven baby camel so and so place OBL IMPV look.NPST 2SG oš'ter ča'rag 'hapt 'herr 'bekoš ã hapt herr ošter čar  $-ag = \tilde{a}$ bekoš -Ø kill.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3PL seven baby camel IMPV camel graz.NPST 2SG

It said, "I am not able to take you like this; go; seven baby camels... look in a certain place the camels are grazing; kill seven baby camels."

61 'ē 'rawte ha'mē her'rẫ -ã ē raw -t =  $\tilde{e}$ ham= ē herr PROX baby camel PROX go.NPST 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH= OBL.PL 'hapt 'herr ko'šī ge'rī ger -ī hapt herr koš -ī take.NPST 3SG seven baby camel kill.NPST

He went [and] took these baby camels; he killed seven baby camels.

62 'nī o'šī pōs'tẫ 'zī 'āp 'mān nī ΟŠ -ī pōst -ã Ø-ΖĪ -Ø āр mān then say.NPST 3SG skin OBL.PL SBJV seize.NPST 3SG water filled kã ĭō'nẫ drōs'tẫ 'manī gar'denā Ø--ã -ã kã -Ø jōn drost man -ī garden -ā 2SG carcasse OBL.PL all OBL.PL PN.1SG **IMPV** do.NPST GEN neck OBL 'ladd

Ø- laḍḍ -Ø IMPV move.PR 2SG

Then it said, "Take their skins; fill [them] with water, [and] load all the carcasses on my neck.

ra'wẫ 63 mã ya 'sarē ya 'jōnē ya 'pōstē -ã mã sar  $=\bar{e}$  raw ya jōn =ē ya pōst  $=\bar{e}$ ya PN.1SG one head =IND go.NPST 1SG one carcasse =IND one skin =IND 'dawr 'manī da'pā beday dawr beman -ī dap -ā d -ay PN.1SG GEN mouth OBL throwing IMPV give.NPST 2SG

[When] I go one floor (lit. head) [up]; put one carcass [and] one skin [filled with water] into my mouth."

64 'nī 'kanẫ kante 'hančo ha'mē -ã hančo kan kan -t =  $\tilde{e}$ ham= ē nī you know like this do.NPST OBL.PL do.NPST 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG EMPH= **PROX** hap'tễ herrã ko'šī pōs'tāne kaš'šī -ã hapt -ễ herr koš -ī pōst -ān =ekašš -ī seven CLASS baby camel OBL.PL kill.NPST 3SG skin OBL.PL =PC.3PL pull.NPST 3SG 'čont 'wakt lag'gī 'nī na nī čont wakt lagg -ī na you know some time start.NPST 3SG right?

You know, he kept doing like this; he killed these seven baby camels, [and] removed their skin; you know, it took some time.

65 ta'yokā bī
tayok -ā b -ī
alone OBL become.NPST 3SG

He was alone.

66 'nī 'ē herr'ã pōs'tẫ zī'rī 'āp 'mān -ã nī ē herr zīr -ī pōst -ã āp mān then PROX baby camel OBL.PL take.NPST OBL.PL water filled 3SG skin 'hamē ka 'ĭōnẫ 'hamē pōstã -ã ka -Ø ham= ē ĭōn ham= pōst do.NPST 3SG EMPH= PROX carcasse OBL.PL EMPH= PROX skin OBL.PL sī'morge gar'denā 'wat hẫ nen'dī dã garden wat hẫ nendēn -ī sīmorg -е -ā dã -Ø fabulous bird GEN neck OBL give.NPST 3SG REFL ADD place.NPST 3SG ha'mē gar'denā 'nī 'ē 'dar sī'morge ham= garden -ā nī ē dar sīmorg -е EMPH= PROX fabulous bird OBL you know PROX PREV GEN neck 'dar ka'nānī kan'ānī 'ka 'ka kan -ān  $=\bar{1}$ ka -Ø dar kan  $=\bar{1}$ -ān ka =PC.3SG do.NPST 3SG PREV do.NPST =PC.3SG do.NPST do.NPST OBL.PL OBL.PL

-Ø

3SG

'rawtẽ yak 'sarēā yak 'jonē yak yak sar  $=\bar{e}$ yak jon -ā raw -t =  $\tilde{e}$ =ē yak one head =IND OBL go.NPST 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG one carcasse =IND one 'pōstē 'dawr 'dã ha'mē dawlā 'dẫke āxe'rī dawr dã -Ø ham= dawl -ā dåke axer pōst  $=\bar{e}$ ē  $=\bar{1}$ skin =IND throwing give.NPST 3SG EMPH= PROX manner OBL until last =PC.3SG ha'mē bā'rīg bī čo'bī 'gōšt ka'pī 'pōste 'āp bārīg b -ī ham =ē čobī gōšt kap -ī pōst āp turn become.NPST 3SG EMPH= PROX you know meat fall.NPST 3SG skin **GEN** water da'pā 'rawte dap -ā -t =  $\tilde{e}$ raw 3SG =COP.NPST.3SG mouth OBL go.NPST

Then he took these baby camels, [and] filled the skins with water; he put (lit. gave) these carcasses [and] these skins on the neck of the fabulous bird, [and] he himself sat on the neck of the fabulous bird as well; you know, it kept [climbing up to] take him out; it kept [climbing up to] take him out; it went up one man's height; he threw one carcass [and] one skin [into its mouth]; [he did] this way until it was the last turn; you know, this meat fell down [but] the skin of water came into its mouth.

67 'nī 'gōšt la'košt 'zī ... čā'retī sī'morge nī ΖĪ -Ø čāret  $=\bar{1}$ gōšt lakošt sīmorg -е =PC.3SG meat fall down.PST fabulous bird then take.NPST 3SG look.PST **GEN** da'pā 'našo zī'rīt 'ē baz'rāne 'gōštē dap -ā našo zīr -īt ē bazrān gōšt  $=\bar{e}$ mouth OBL NEG go.PST take.NPST 3SG PROX thigh **GEN** meat =PC.3SG 'dante bor'rī zī'rī 'dape ga'paṛē -ī -ī dan gapar  $=\bar{e}$  borr zīr -t =edap -е 3SG take.NPST big =IND cut.NPST 3SG give.NPST 3SG =PC.3SG mouth **GEN** tō'kā tōkā

Then he took... he saw /that/, the meat fell down; it did not go into the fabulous bird's mouth; he took [and] cut a big [piece of] meat from this thigh of his; took [and] put it into its mouth.

68 'ā zī'rī da'pā dā'rīte o'šī ā -ī dār οš -ī zīr dap -ā -īt =eDIST take.NPST 3SG mouth OBL hold.NPST =PC.3SG say.NPST 3SG 3SG ensā'nī 'gōšt ẽ 'nawa ē'šīyā  $g\bar{o}$ št  $=\tilde{e}$ -Ø ensān ēšī wā -yā na-GEN meat =COP.NPST.3SG PROX.DIR OBL NEG human also 3SG It took [and] kept it in its mouth; It said, "It is human meat"; it didn't eat [it].

into

69 'nī 'bartī 'dannā o'šī bar -t  $=\bar{1}$ dann -ā οš -ī nī you know take.NPST 3SG =PC.3SG outside OBL say.NPST 3SG 'boro bo'raw o'šī 'na 'taw 'šī š boraw -Ø οš -ī na taw boro -Ø -ī 3SG no PN.2SG IMPV go.NPST **IMPV** go.NPST 2SG say.NPST 2SG say.NPST 3SG 'dẫke 'taw 'mã 'narawã ka'dam 'najanay -ã dåke taw kadam namã naraw jan -ay go.NPST 1SG until PN.2SG step PN.1SG NEG NEG hit.NPST 2SG

You know, it took [him] outside; it said, "Go."; he said, "No, you go."; it said, "I won't go until you walk [away]."

70 'dītī ra'wag ẽ 'čō 'lang kanagẽ -ag =  $\tilde{e}$ dīt  $=\bar{1}$ raw čō lang kan -ag =  $\tilde{e}$ see.PST =PC.3SG go.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3SG like limp do.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3SG 'gōšt pa'dā 'kaštī 'če ha'mē da'pā ē'šī 'pādā ham= gōšt padā kašt dap -ā če  $=\bar{1}$ ēšī pād -ā EMPH= PROX meat again pull.PST =PC.3SG mouth OBL what PROX.OBL foot OBL 'pād ha'mā 'jate ē'šī 'pād 'bī 'lagge ĭat =eēšī pād ham = pād bī -Ø lagge ā hit.PST =PC.3SG PROX.OBL foot EMPH= DIST foot become.PST 3SG start.PST ra'wagā raw -ā -ag

It saw, he was walking [but] he was limping like this; it took out this meat from its mouth again [and] put it on his leg; his leg became alright [and] he started to walk.

go.NPST

**INF** 

OBL

71 'šo 'ōdā 'raw zarga'rānī gwa'rā 'nī čā'rī šo -Ø ōdā raw -Ø zargar -ānī gwarā nī čār -ī 3SG there go.NPST 3SG goldsmith then look.NPST go.PST GEN.PL to 3SG 'tōk 'tōk ẽ zarga'rā ... zarge'rī ka'nag S ţōkţōk -ī =  $\tilde{\mathsf{e}}$ zargar -ā S zarger kan -ag =COP.NPST.3SG goldsmith ADJZ do.NPST clunk OBL FRAG goldsmith INF ã 'sor ja'nag ã 'āngo dōlẫ =  $\tilde{a}$ sor jan āngo dōl -ã  $-ag = \tilde{a}$ =COP.NPST.3PL gold hit.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3PL other side drum OBL.PL na'zānẫ 'say 'māh ẽ 'čār māh nazān -ã say māh =  $\tilde{e}$ čār māh =  $\tilde{e}$ NEG know.NPST 1SG three month =COP.NPST.3SG four month =COP.NPST.3SG

dō'lānī 'tawār a'sa 'band 'nabī bād'šāhe 'čoke dōl -ānī band nab bādšāh čok tawār asa -ī -е -е drum GEN.PL sound never stop NEG become.NPST 3SG king GEN child **GEN** 'bale san'gaw 'aḍḍ 'sīr ẽ 'nabī sīr =  $\tilde{e}$ bale sangaw add -ī nawedding =COP.NPST.3SG but bangle make NEG become.NPST 3SG

He went there; he went to the goldsmiths; then he looked, there was the goldmsiths' beating...; they were making things (lit. doing goldsmith-work); they were making gold [en things]; they were playing the drums on the other side; I do not know; was it for three months; was it for four months; the sound of drumming never stopped; it was the king's son's wedding; but the bangle could not be (lit. is not) made.

72 'šo 'šī šo'mā 'čē ka'nēt š šo -Ø šomā čē -ī kan -et 3SG say.NPST 3SG PN.2PL what do.NPST go.PST 2PL

He went [there and] said, "What are you doing?"

73 o'šī bād'šāhe ... san'gawē ār'ta o'šī 'ē bādšāh ΟŠ -ī -е sangaw  $=\bar{\mathsf{e}}$ ārt -a oš -ī ē say.NPST 3SG king GEN bangle =IND bring.PST PP say.NPST 3SG PROX san'gawe 'bejanet 'harčī 'maţţā 'nī 'mā sangaw -е maţţ -ā beĭan -ēt nī mā harčī bangle GEN identical copy OBL SBJV hit.NPST 2PL now PN.1PL whatever ka'nễ

kan -ễ

do.NPST 1PL

[One of them] said, "The king... he has brought a bangle and he says; make an identical copy of this bangle; now whatever we are doing..."

74 ā'hān čoše dele'kīnant nī ke 'enčō 'rāhā čošễ delēkīn ā -ant ke -hān nī ā enčō rāh -ā DIST OBL.PL now such believe.NPST 3PL CLM DIST this much way OBL kap'ta 'bas mor'ta na kapt  $=\emptyset$ bas -a mort -a na =COP.NPST.3SG you know die.PST fall.PST PΡ PP right?

They believed /that/, [when] he had fallen down from such a distance; you know, [he] would have died.

75 'nī ẽ 'ē san'gaw 'mārā aḍḍ 'nabayag gõ ē -rā gỗ add nī sangaw mā nabay  $-ag = \tilde{e}$ now PROX bangle PN.1PL OBJ with make NEG become.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3SG go'šī 'byā 'ē sangawā 'man 'aḍḍ goš -ī byā -Ø ē sangaw add -ā man say.NPST 3SG IMPV come.NPST 2SG PROX bangle OBL PN.1SG make kanã -ã kan do.NPST 1SG

Now we are not able to make this bangle (lit. this bangle is not being made with us)"; he said, "Look, I will make this bangle.

hã kī'lōē 76 'byārē 'manā 'bedayet 'pestā by--ā beday -ēt hẫ kīlō ār man pestā **IMPV** bring.NPST 2PL PN.1SG **OBJ IMPV** give.NPST 2PL ADD kilo =IND pistachios kī'lōē bā'dām mã kam kamā ē'šẫ ša'pā zī'rẫ -ã -ã kīlō =ē bādām mã kam kam šap -ā zīr ēš kilo =IND almond PN.1SG little little OBL take.NPST 1SG PROX OBL.PL OBL night koroţ'ţẫ čō'pẫ wa'rẫ 'īngo zarge'rī kanã -ã -ã -ã -ã wār koroţţ čōp īngo zarger -Ī kan break.NPST 1SG crush.NPST 1SG eat.NPST 1SG here goldsmith ADJZ do.NPST 1SG

Give me one kilo of pistachios, one kilo of almonds, little by little I will take [and] break (lit. break, crush) them during the night [and] eat them and I will make the bangle (lit. do goldsmith-work) here."

77 ē'šẫ ha'mē 'ko 'dātante 'ēš ran'gā -ã ēš ham =ē dāt ēš rang -ā ko -ant =ePROX OBL.PL EMPH= PROX kind OBL do.PST give.PST 3PL =PC.3SG PROX ā'hẫ ha'mē 'pōst čōp'ta 'wārtã goš'ta ... ā -hẫ ham= pōst čōpt -a wārt -ã gošt -a EMPH= PROX skin crush.PST PP eat.PST 3PL DIST OBL.PL say.PST ā'hẫ čōp'ta 'majge kaš'ta 'wārtante čōpt =ekašt ā -hẫ -a majg -a wārt -ant =ecrush.PST PP brain =PC.3SG pull.PST PP eat.PST 3PL =PC.3SG DIST OBL.PL goš'ta 'balke 'sor jan'ag ẽ 'mārā po gošt -a balke sor jan  $-ag = \tilde{e}$ mā -rā po PP maybe gold hit.NPST INF =COP.NPST.3SG PN.1PL OBJ for say.PST

They did like this; they gave them to him, he... peeling these skins [and] ate them; they said... he crushed [and] took their nuts [and] ate them; they said, "Maybe he is making gold for us."

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78 'dẫke 'wakte 'rōč bī
                                           do'ēn
                                                        sangaw 'šošt
                                                                          ta'mīz ko
                                           do
   dẫke wakte rōč b
                                     -ī
                                                 -ēn
                                                        sangaw šošt
                                                                          tamīz ko
   then when day become.NPST
                                     3SG two
                                                 CLASS bangle wash.PT clean do.PST
dā'tantī
                           bor'tantī
                                                     je'nekā
                                                                    dā'tantī
dāt
           -ant
                  =\bar{i}
                          bort
                                             =\bar{1}
                                                     ĭenek
                                                             -ā
                                                                    dāt
                                     -ant
                                                                              -ant
                                                                                      =\bar{1}
give.PST
           3PL
                  =PC.3SG take.PST
                                      3PL
                                             =PC.3SG girl
                                                              OBL give.PST
                                                                              3PL
                                                                                     =PC.3SG
ĭe'nekā
                      ha'mē
                                                            'harčīvā
                                                                            'add kota
              'go
                                      san'gawe
                                                      ke
                                                           harčī
jenek
        -ā
              go
                      ham =
                                ē
                                      sangaw
                                                 -е
                                                      ke
                                                                       -yā
                                                                            add
                                                                                  kot
                                                                                            -a
girl
        OBL say.PST EMPH=
                                PROX bangle
                                                 GEN CLM whoever
                                                                       OBL
                                                                            make do.PST
                                                                                            PP
ha'mē
                san'gawe
                                xodā'bondā
                                                   'byāre
                                                                             'šī
                                                                                        -ī
ham=
                sangaw
                                xodābond
                                             -ā
                                                   by-
                                                                             š
                           -е
                                                           ār
                                                                        -е
EMPH=
          PROX bangle
                           GEN owner
                                             OBL
                                                  IMPV
                                                           bring.NPST
                                                                        2PL say.NPST
                                                                                         3SG
'mā
        'ārtage
                                  'šī
                                                   'šomay
                                                               'kār 'nē
                                                                                        'šomā
                                  š
                                              -ī
                                                   šomay
mā
        ārt
                          =e
                                                              kār
                                                                    nē
                                                                                        šomā
                   -ag
                                              3SG PN.PL.GEN work NEG.COP.NPST.3SG PN.2PL
PN.1PL bring.PST
                   PΡ
                         =PC.3SG say.NPST
'say
      'māh
             ẽ
                              'nabī
                                                          šo'mārā
                                                                        gõ
                                                                             'add
                                    b
                                                    -ī
                                                                    -rā gõ
say
      māh
              = \tilde{e}
                                                          šomā
                                                                             add
                              na-
three month =COP.NPST.3SG NEG
                                    become.NPST
                                                    3SG PN.2PL
                                                                   OBJ with make
'nabī
                                                        šo'mā 'add ko
                            yak'kēn
                                          ša'pā
                                          šap
                                                              add ko
na-
       b
                       -ī
                            yakk
                                    -ēn
                                                  -ā
                                                        šomā
NFG
       become.NPST
                       3SG one
                                    ATTR night
                                                 OBL PN.2PL make do.PST
In the morning (lit. then, when it was day) he cleaned (lit. washes, cleans) both bangles [and] gave
them [to one of the goldsmiths]; they took them [and] gave them to the girl; the girl said, "Whoever
has made this bangle, bring the maker (lit. owner) of this bangle"; he said, "We have brought it"; she
said, "No, it is not your work, for three months you have not been able to make it (lit. it is not made
by you); [how] did you make it in one night?"
79 go'šī
                    'enna 'ē
                                                                                 'harčī
                                sangawā
                                                 'mā
                                                         'wat 'add kota
                                                        wat add
                                                                    kot
                                                                              -a harčī
   goš
              -ī
                   enna ē
                                sangaw
                                           -ā
                                                mā
                                                PN.1PL REFL make do.PST
   say.NPST
              3SG no
                          PROX bangle
                                           OBL
                                                                              PP whatever
ko'te
                  ĭe'nekā
                                ka'būl
                                            'nako
                                                          'gošī
kot
          =e
                  jenek
                          -ā
                                kabūl
                                            na-
                                                   ko
                                                          goš
                                                                      -ī
                                                   do.PST say.NPST
do.PST
         =PC.3PL girl
                          OBL acceptance NEG
                                                                      3SG
'bore
                        'byāretī
b-
                        by-
                                              -ēt
                                                    =\bar{1}
        or
                   -е
                                ār
IMPV
        eat.NPST
                   2PL IMPV
                                bring.NPST
                                             2PL
                                                   =PC.3SG
He said, "No [that is not true]; we ourselves have made this bangle."; however much they insisted
(lit. whatever they did); the girl did not accept [what they said]; she said, "Go and bring him."
80 'šot
                                      ĭe'nekā
                 ā'orte
                                                    0
                                                                      āwo
                                                          paj'jā
   šot
            -Ø
                 āort
                             =e
                                      <u>jenek</u>
                                              -ā
                                                          pajjā
                                                     =0
                                                                      āwo
```

go.PST

3SG bring.PST

=PC.3SG girl

OBL =FOC recognition bring.PST

They went [and] brought him; the girl recognized him.

81 'nī 'hameš ẽ je'nekā 'ā brā'tẫ go'šī -ã nī ham =eš =  $\tilde{e}$ ĭenek -ā ā brāt goš -ī then EMPH= PROX =COP.NPST.3SG girl OBL DIST brother OBL.PL say.NPST 3SG ō'tī 'kīnnā bo'nā 'kanē ja'neke xodā'bond 'wat otī kīnn -ā bonā Ø--ē janek xodābond wat kan -е REFL.GEN anus OBL down IMPV do.NPST 1PL girl **GEN** master **REFL** 'ātka

ātk -a come.PST PΡ

Then you know the girl said to those brothers, "Sit down (lit. do your anus down); the owner of the girl himself has come."

82 'nī hame'šī 'dōl 'dōm bīt 'sīr bī nī ham= ešī sīr Ъ -ī dōl dom bīt -Ø 3SG drum echo become.PST now EMPH= PROX.GEN wedding become.NPST 3SG wa'rag ča'rag bīt 'kōš 'prōš bīt 'man 'taw prōš bīt warag čarag bīt -Ø kōš -Ø man taw echo become.PST 3SG slaughtering echo become.PST 3SG PN.1SG PN.2SG food 'har kasā ē'šīyā 'baţţ o 'gōštē 'čet 'wārt 'sīr harkas -ā batt = o gošt $=\bar{e}$ čet wārt ēšī -yā sīr everybody OBL PROX.DIR OBL rice =and meat =PC.3SG pick.PST eat.PST wedding a'lās bī alās b -ī

finish become.NPST 3SG

Then it was her wedding party; there was drumming; there was food; there was slaughtering, I, you, everybody, he took [and] ate rice and meat; the wedding party finished.

83 'dāte 'manā 'zarrē 'zarr mã ko 'herrē dāt =eman -ā zarr =ē zarr mã ko herr  $=\bar{e}$ =IND gold PN.1SG do.PST baby camel =PC.3SG PN.1SG OBJ gold =IND 'herr 'čātā 'mo 'ka herr ka -Ø čāt -ā mo baby camel fall.PST 3SG well OBL die.PST

I got (lit. he gave me) some money; I bought a baby camel with that money (lit. I made the money a baby camel); the baby camel fell down into the well and died.