iran\_baloch\_coastal Text B, from Nourzaei (2017). Note the page no's do not match the published version exactly

# A. Text Corpus

# A.1 Text 1: The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi

## The King's Daughter, female, Coastal Balochi Bādšāhay Janek

recounted by KD.f

## KD.f:1

'rōčē	rōz'gāre	$'bar\iota$	bād'šāhē	bād'šāhe
rōč=ē	rōzgār=e	b-ī	bādšāh=ē	bādšāh=e
day=IND	time=IND	become.NPST-3SG	king=IND	king=PC.3SG

l	ba'yã	'hapt	ja'nễ 'čok	'hapt	mar'dễ 'čok	ya	ja'nễ 'čoke
ł	oay-ã	hapt	janễčok	hapt	mardễčok	ya	janễčok=e
ł	become.NPST-3PL	seven	daughter	seven	son	one	daughter=IND

Once upon a time there was a king; the king had seven daughters... seven sons and a daughter (lit. there were seven sons and a daughter for the king).

### KD.f:2

= $\tilde{a}$ 

=COP.NPST.3PL

1110,11.2						
	ja'nễ 'čoke		'yake	'šāht	'nabīte	
ē	janễčok=e		yak=e	šāht	na-b-īt=	e
PROX	daughter=	PC.3SG	one=IND	happy	NEG-be	come.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
'nayāpt	e	ke		ja'nễ		mardễ'čok
nayāpt=	=e	ke	yak=e	janễ	hapt	mardễčok
valuabl	e=PC.3SG	CLM	one=IND	daughter	seven	son
ã						

This girl of his [was] the only girl; he was very protective (lit. he is not happy); she was valuable to him since he had only one girl [and] seven sons.

#### KD.f:3

 $'n\bar{\iota}$ 'šo 'rōčē 'māta ha'bar ko va šo-Ø rōč=ē habar ko-Ø nī māt-a ya do.PST-3SG now go.PST-3SG one day=IND mother-OBL word

bād'šāh 'to 'ē ja'nek 'tī 'vake go'šī bādšāh ē to janek tī yak=e goš-ī say.NPST-3SG king PN.2SG PROX daughter PN.2SG.GEN one=IND

*'šāht 'nabī 'bare* šāht na-b-ī Ø-bar-∅=e

happy NEG-become.NPST-3SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

 $nen'd\bar{e}ne$   $w\bar{a}'nag\bar{a}$   $\varnothing$ -nendēn- $\varnothing$ =e  $w\bar{a}n-ag-\bar{a}$ 

IMPV-place.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG read.NPST-INF-OBL

You know, one day the mother went [to the father and] talked, she said, "Your majesty, this your daughter is the only one; you are protective (lit. not happy); take (lit. take, place) her to study."

#### KD.f:4

'goštī'man'nadārãwā'nagākegošt=īmanna-dār-ãwān-ag-ākesay.PST=PC.3SGPN.1SGNEG-hold.NPST-1SGread.NPST-INF-OBLCLM

mol'lāja'nantehak'kaldayante'manāmollājan-ant=ehakkalday-ant=eman-āMullahhit.NPST-3PL=PC.3SGshoutinggive.NPST-3PL=PC.3SGPN.1SG-OBJ

*'šāht 'nabī 'šī 'barī* šāht na-b-ī š-ī ∅-bar-∅=ī

happy NEG-become.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

He said, "I won't send (lit. hold) her to study since the Mullah punishes her [and] shouts at her; so I do not like it (lit. happiness is not for me)."; [still] she said, "Take her."

#### KD.f:5

'ē 'ba nendē'nīte 'hamōdā mollā'yānī ē ba-∅ nendēn-īt=e ham=ōdā mollā-yānī PROX take.NPST-3SG place.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG EMPH=there Mullah-GEN.PL

ker'rā'ēkenendē'nīte'hamōdākerrāēkenendēn-īt=eham=ōdābesidePROXCLMplace.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGEMPH=there

wā'nage wān-ag-e read.NPST-INF-GEN		wās'tā wāstā I for the sak				ze'renge zereng=e clever=IND		'R
ze'renge zereng=e clever=IND	<i>bī</i> b-ī becon	ne.NPST-3SG	sajj	<i>'jễ</i> ſễ ATTR	janek	wā'nagā wān-ag-ā read.NPST	-INF-OBL	'ē ē PROX
dros'tān drost-ān all-OBL.PL	<i>če</i> če from	zereng'ter zereng-ter clever-CMP	<i>ẽ</i> =ẽ =cc	P.NPS	T.3SG			

This one took (lit. takes and places) her there to the Mullahs; when this one took her there to study, she [proved to be] very clever... she was very clever; this one was the cleverest of all the girl students.

## KD.f:6

'nī	'ešīa	go'šī	ke	ja'nek	čār'et	mol'lā
nī	ešīa	goš-ī	ke	janek	čāret	mollā
now	PROX.OBL	say.NPST-3SG	CLM	girl	look.PST	Mullah

čā'rī zeren'gēnē čār-ī zereng-ēn=ē look.NPST-3SG clever-ATTR=IND

Once this one... it says /that/,... the girl looked... the Mullah found (lit. looked) [that] she was clever.

## KD.f:7

ya	'rōčē	neš'ta	dros'tâ	sa'bak	'dã
ya	rōč=ē	nešt-a=∅	drost-ã	sabak	dã-Ø
one	day=IND	sit.pst-pp=cop.npst.3sg	all-OBL.PL	lesson	give.NPST-3SG

 ${}^{\prime}e\check{s}\bar{\imath}a$   ${}^{\prime}nad\tilde{a}$  eš $\bar{\imath}a$  na-d $\tilde{a}$ - $\varnothing$ 

PROX.OBL NEG-give.NPST-3SG

One day, he was sitting [and] teaching all the students, [but] he did not teach this one.

## KD.f:8

'ē	go'šī	'mnā	sa'bak	'beday
ē	goš-ī	mnā	sabak	be-day-∅
PROX	say.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG.OBJ	lesson	IMPV-give.NPST-2SG

'mnī	wa'tī	sa'bak	'yād	$ ilde{e}$	'ta
mnī	wat-ī	sabak	yād	=ẽ	ta
PN.1SG.GEN	REFL-GEN	lesson	know	=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG

'mnāsa'bak'nadaygo'šī'toyamnāsabakna-d-aygoš-ītoyaPN.1SG.OBJlessonNEG-give.NPST-2SGsay.NPST-3SGPN.2SGone

'barē 'sabr 'kã bar=ē sabr ∅-kã-∅

time=IND patience IMPV-do.NPST-2SG

This one said, "Teach me; I know my lesson; [why] don't you teach me?"; he said, "Wait a little."

## KD.f:9

```
saj'jêjane'kâtā'tīldãsajjêjanek-âtātīldã-\emptysetall.ATTRgirl-OBL.PLdismissalgive.NPST-3SG
```

He dismissed all the girls.

## KD.f:10

mol'lāhe	'del	$'n\bar{\iota}$	da'ġā	$ ilde{e}$	'gō̄	ja'neka
mollā-he	del	nī	daġā	= <b>e</b>	gō	janek-a
Mullah-GEN	heart	now	cheating	=COP.NPST.3SG	with	girl-OBL

You know, the Mullah was cheating the girl.

## KD.f:11

$'n\bar{\imath}$	o'šī	'ta	'sabr	'kã	ran'dā
nī	oš-ī	ta	sabr	Ø-kã-Ø	randā
now	say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG	patience	IMPV-do.NPST-2SG	after

'tarā sa'bak da'yẫ ta-rā sabak day-ẫ

PN.2SG-OBJ lesson give.NPST-1SG

Then he said, "You wait; later I will teach you."

## KD.f:12

$'n\bar{\imath}$	ke	saj'j̃ể	ja'nek	tā'tīl	ka'nã	ra'wã	$'n\bar{\iota}$
nī	ke	sajj̃e	janek	tātīl	kan-ã	raw-ã	nī
now	CLM	all.ATTR	girl	dismissal	do.NPST-3PL	go.NPST-3PL	now

'hame	<i>ya</i>	yak	'paš	ka'pī		$'nar{\iota}$	'kay	
ham=e	ya	yak	paš	kap-ī		nī	k-ay-Ø	
EMPH=PRO	x one	one	behind	fall.NPS	г-3sg	now	IMP.k-come.NPS	ST-3SG
'ešī	sa'bak	dã		'ešī		sa'bak	dã	'ē
ešī	sabak	dã-∅		ešī		sabak	dã-∅	ē
PROX.OBL	lesson	give.N	IPST-3SG	PROX.	OBL	lesson	give.NPST-3SG	PROX
$w\bar{a}'n\bar{\imath}$	'ra	wt	go'!	ā 'nī	'kay			
wān-ī	rav	√-t	gor	ā nī	k-ay	r-Ø		
read.NPST-3	SG go.	NPST-3	SSG ther	n now	IMP	.k-come	.NPST-3SG	
	_							
ge'rītī		'6	lastā					
ger-īt=ī		d	ast-ā					
take.NPST-3	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG hand-OBL							

Then, when all the girls were dismissed [and] went away; only this one [girl] was left [in the class]; he came [and] taught her; he taught her; this one read [and] went on; then he came and touched her hand.

## KD.f:13

ge'rītī		'dastā	$'ar{e}$	'dast	'nadantī
ger-īt=ī		dast-ā	ē	dast	na-dan-t=ī
take.NPST-3SG=	=PC.3SG	hand-OBL	PROX	hand	NEG-give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
ta'čī	mol'lāe	ker'rā	če	ta'čī	
tač-ī	mollā-e	kerrā	če	tač-ī	
run.NPST-3SG	Mullah-G	EN beside	from	run.N	PST-3SG

*'kay* k-ay-∅ IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

He touched her hand [but] this one did not give him [her] hand [and] she came running (lit. runs, runs, comes) [home] from the Mullah's.

### KD.f:14

'kay	'hame	'pete	$lar{o}'gar{a}$	'peta
k-ay-∅	ham=e	pet-e	lōg-ā	pet-a
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	EMPH=PROX	father-GEN	house-OBL	father-OBL

 $egin{array}{lll} 'g \bar{\delta} & 'n \bar{a}m & 'nager \bar{\imath} \\ g \bar{\delta} & n \bar{a}m & na-ger - \bar{\imath} \\ with & name & NEG-take.NPST-3SG \\ \end{array}$ 

She came to her father's house; she did not tell [her] father.

#### KD.f:15

'nagerīta'pīgbīnād'rābīna-ger-ītapīgb-īnādrāb-ī

NEG-take.NPST-3SG feverish become.NPST-3SG sick become.NPST-3SG

tā 'čenčo rō'ča tā čenčo rōč-a until several day-OBL

She did not tell [her father]; she got a fever; she fell ill for several days.

#### KD.f:16

'padā 'māt ha'bar kant o'šī 'čok 'do 'rōč padā māt habar kan-t oš-ī čok do rōč again mother word do.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG child two day

 $\tilde{e}$   $ta'p\bar{r}g$   $b\bar{t}ta$  'to  $=\tilde{e}$   $tap\bar{r}g$   $b\bar{r}t-a=\emptyset$  to =COP.NPST.3SG feverish become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG

'naborta 'čī wās'ta 'bebarī na-bort-a čī wāsta be-bar-∅=ī

NEG-take.PST-PP what for the sake of IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

Again the mother spoke [to her father] she said, "The girl has had a fever for two days; why haven't you taken her [to school]; take her!

#### KD.f:17

 $^{\prime}bebar\overline{\iota}$   $^{\prime}pad\overline{a}$   $^{\prime}pet$   $^{\prime}b\overline{a}rt\overline{\iota}$  be-bar-∅= $\overline{\iota}$  pad $\overline{a}$  pet b $\overline{a}r$ -t= $\overline{\iota}$ 

IMPV-take.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG again father take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Take her!" Again, the father took her.

## KD.f:18

'dẫke hap'tage 'padā 'pet 'bārtī 'do hap'tage haptag=e dẫke padā pet bār-t=ī do haptag=e again father take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG then week=IND two week=IND

'padāwā'nīša'rīyesa'rāpadāwān-īšar-ī-yesarāagainread.NPST-3SGgood-NMLZ-GENon

Again, the father took her, then she studied well for one or two weeks.

## KD.f:19

```
wā'nīt
                 'ē
                                                           'kant
                         'padā
                                      'rōčē
                                                 'hančō
                                va
wān-īt
                 ē
                                      rōč=ē
                                                 hančō
                                                           kan-t
                         padā
                                ya
read.NPST-3SG
                                                 like this
                                                           do.NPST-3SG
                PROX
                         again
                                one
                                      day=IND
ẽ
=\tilde{e}
=COP.NPST.3SG
```

She studied, again, this one did the same thing [to the girl].

## KD.f:20

<i>'hančō</i> hančō	dros	' <i>tẫ</i> t-ẫ	sa'bak sabak	dã-∅				dã-∅	e.NPST-3SG
like ulis	an-C	JBL.PL	lesson	give.Ni	21-38G	PROX.	OBL NE	G-giv	c.NPS1-38G
<i>čā'rī</i> čār-ī	- 2-	<i>'ē</i> ē			ko'šī koš-ī		'mnā mnā		'wālla wālla
look.NPS	T-3S0	3 PRO	X PN.13	SG.OBJ	K1II.NF	PST-3SG	PN.1SG.	OBJ	by God
sa'bak sabak lesson	Ø-de			′ē ē PROX	nī	'torsa tors-a fear-OBL	delāp	=ẽ	OP.NPST.3SG
	be	ezān -zān-Ø IPV-kno	w.NPST-	ţā	1 =6	ë COP.NPS	'č ā T.3SG D		<i>rō'čī</i> rōč-ī day-ADJZ
'manā man-ā PN.1SG-0		sa'bak sabak lesson		ag=ī	PP=PC.3	'nī nī SG now	padā	marč	žī
<i>'manā</i> man-ā PN.1SG-0	OBJ	sabak			PC.3SG				

Like this, he taught all [his students] [but] he did not teach this one; she thought (lit. saw) this one would kill her; by God teach me! this one was very scared; [she said to herself] "Well, you know, he is proud; that day he didn't teach me; now again, he didn't teach me today."

#### KD.f:21

```
saj'jễ
'ē
        'nī
               'dēr
                    ẽ
                                                  ja'nek
                                                           tā'tīl
                                                                       kanã
                                        sajjê
        nī
              dēr
                    =\tilde{e}
                                                  janek
                                                           tātīl
                                                                       kan-ã
                                        all.ATTR
                                                           dismissal
PROX now
              late =COP.NPST.3SG
                                                  girl
                                                                      do.NPST-3PL
```

'ešīā sa'bak 'dã ešīā sabak dã-∅

PROX.OBL lesson give.NPST-3SG

Now it was late; all the girls were dismissed [and then] he taught this one.

#### KD.f:22

 $egin{array}{lll} 'ar{e} & 'raw & 'padar{a} \\ ar{e} & raw-\varnothing & padar{a} \\ PROX & go.NPST-3SG & again \\ \end{array}$ 

Again this one went.

#### KD.f:23

'nadantī 'padā ta'čī ta'čī na-dan-t=ī padā tač-ī tač-ī

NEG-give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG again run.NPST-3SG run.NPST-3SG

 $ta'\check{c}\bar{\imath}$   $'kawn\check{s}e$   $'t\bar{a}e$   $ka'p\bar{\imath}t$   $\tilde{e}$   $ta\check{c}-\bar{\imath}$   $kawn\check{s}-e$   $t\bar{a}=e$   $kap-\bar{\imath}t$   $=\tilde{e}$ 

run.NPST-3SG shoes-GEN match=PC.3SG fall.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG

She went [and] he touched her hand; this one did not give him [her] hand; again she kept running (lit. runs, runs, runs) [home]; one of her shoes fell [off].

#### KD.f:24

 $egin{array}{lll} 'ar{e} & 'kawnreve{se} & 'tar{a} & ka'par{\imath}t & ilde{e} & 'e \\ ar{e} & kawnreve{s-e} & tar{a} & kap-ar{\imath}t & =ar{e} & e \\ PROX & shoes-GEN & match & fall.NPST-3SG & =COP.NPST.3SG & PROX \\ \end{array}$ 

 $\begin{tabular}{lll} \it 'kay & \it 'kay \\ \it k-ay-\varnothing & \it k-ay-\varnothing \end{tabular}$ 

IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

This one of her shoes fell [off]; this one kept coming.

## KD.f:25

'kay $ra's\bar{\imath}$  $m\bar{e}'taga$ ' $pad\bar{a}$  $ta'p\bar{\imath}g$ k-ay- $\varnothing$ ras- $\bar{\imath}$ mētag-apadātap $\bar{\imath}g$ IMP.k-come.NPST-3SGarrive.NPST-3SGvillage-OBLagainfeverish

$bar\iota$	ka'pī	'hameda	de'lāp	$b \bar{\imath}$
b-ī	kap-ī	ham=eda	delāp	b-ī

become.NPST-3SG fall.NPST-3SG EMPH=here scared become.NPST-3SG



She arrived (lit.comes [and] arrives) [home]; again, she got a fever; she stayed (lit. falls down) there (lit. here); she got scared, the poor girl.

#### KD.f:26

'nī 'pet 'jos kante nī pet jos kan-t=e now father question do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Then the father asked her [what had happened].

#### KD.f:27

'pet	'j̃ostī	kã	'peta	$gar{ ilde{o}}$	'heč
pet	j̃ost=ī	kã-∅	pet-a	gō	heč
father	question=PC.3SG	do.NPST-3SG	father-OBL	with	anything

'nagošī na-goš-ī NEG-say.NPST-3SG

The father asked her; she did not say anything to the father.

#### KD.f:28

'nagošī	'dẫke	mol'lā	'wat	'kay	'kawnše
na-goš-ī	dẫke	mollā	wat	k-ay-∅	kawnš-e
NEG-say.NPST-3SG	then	Mullah	REFL	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	shoes-GEN

 $'t\bar{a}e$   $z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}$  'kay  $t\bar{a}=e$   $z\bar{\imath}r-\bar{\imath}$   $k-ay-\varnothing$ 

match=PC.3SG take.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

She did not say [anything] until the Mullah himself came; he took her shoe [and] came.

## KD.f:29

go'šī'byā'tawbād'šāhēmaza'nễgoš-īby-ā- $\varnothing$ tawbādšāh=ēmazan-ễsay.NPST-3SGIMPV-come.NPST-2SGPN.2SGking=INDbig-ATTR

nām'dārē	mol'kānī	bad	l'šāh	ay	ta'ī	ja'nek
nāmdār=ē	molk-ānī	bac	lšāh	=ay	ta-ī	janek
famous=IND	land-GEN	.PL kin	g	=COP.NPST.2SG	PN.2SG-GEN	daughter
			_			_
čo'šễ	'kāre	ran'dā	$ ilde{e}$			
čoš-ễ	kār-e	randā	$=$ $\tilde{e}$			
such-ATTR	work-GEN	after	=CC	OP.NPST.3SG		

He said, "Look, you are a famous king, king over [many] countries; your daughter is doing such and such a thing.

## KD.f:30

ta'ī ta-ī PN.2SG	G-GEN		čoš-		<i>'kārē</i> kār-ē work	5	pe'lān pelān so and so	<i>'jāh</i> jāh place	'mã mã PN.1SG
dī'ta dīt-a see.PST		'mã mã PN.1SG	ra'nda randa after	<i>kapta</i> kapt-a fall.PS			$\tilde{e}$ = $\tilde{e}$ =COP.NF	PST.3SG	<i>'kawnše</i> kawnš-e shoes-GEN
'tā tā match	<i>hã</i> hã ADD	kap'tag kapt-ag fall.PS'	,	.3sg					

Your daughter [is doing] such and such a thing; I have seen her in such and such a place; I followed her; here is her shoe that fell [off]."

## KD.f:31

'ē	'pet	'hančō	pare'šān	$b\bar{\imath}$		ja'nek	yake	'mã
ē	pet	hančō	parešān	bī-∅		janek	yak=e	mã
PROX	father	very	sad	becom	e.PST-3SG	daughter	one=IND	PN.1SG
$'n\bar{\imath}$	če'taw	'bekanã		$'nar{\iota}$	lōṭā'ēnī	brā	'tẫ	
nī	četaw	be-kan-ẫ		nī	lōṭāēn-ī	brāt	:-ã	
now	how	SBJV-do	.NPST-1SG	now	call.NPST	-3sg bro	ther-OBL.PI	

This father got very sad; [he said to himself] "She is [my] only daughter; what should I do now?" Then he called the brothers.

#### KD.f:32

'goštī	'byā	$\bar{e}$	<i>ja</i>	go'hāra	o'tīga
gošt=ī	by-ā-∅	ē	jа	gohār-a	otīg-a
say.PST=PC.3SG	IMPV-come.NPST-2SG	PROX	FRAG	sister-OBL	yours-OBL

'bare'hanč $\tilde{e}$ jā'hīyako'šeØ-bar-ehanč $\tilde{e}$ jāh= $\bar{i}$ -yaØ-koš-e

IMPV-take.NPST-2PL such.ATTR place=IND-OBL IMPV-kill.NPST-2PL

'dawr dayetī ţēla'gẫ kaš'še dawr  $\emptyset$ -day-et= $\bar{i}$  ţēlag- $\tilde{a}$   $\emptyset$ -kaš'se

throwing IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG eye-OBL.PL IMPV-pull.NPST-2PL

 $^{\prime}$ byāre  $^{\prime}$ manā  $^{\prime}$   $^{\prime}$ da $^{\prime}$ yetī by-ār-e  $^{\prime}$  man-ā  $^{\prime}$   $\emptyset$ -day-et= $\bar{1}$ 

IMPV-bring.NPST-2PL PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

He said, "Come this gi.... take your sister to such a place; kill her [and] throw her away; pull her eyes out; bring [and] give them to me."

#### KD.f:33

'nī 'brāt 'say na'par ba'yã nī brāt say napar bay-ã now brother three person become.NPST-3PL

You know, the brothers were three persons.

### KD.f:34

 $z\bar{\imath}r'ant\bar{\imath}$   $ra'w\tilde{a}$   $ra'w\tilde{a}$  ya  $gy\bar{a}'ban\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}$   $z\bar{\imath}r-ant=\bar{\imath}$   $raw-\tilde{a}$   $raw-\tilde{a}$   $raw-\tilde{a}$  ya  $gy\bar{a}ban=\bar{\imath}-y\bar{a}$  take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG go.NPST-3PL go.NPST-3PL one desert=IND-OBL

The brothers were very protective (lit. not happy for the brothers); they had [only] one sister; they took her; they kept going [with her] to a desert.

## KD.f:35

'dannīyā ra'wã dann=ī-yā raw-ã desert=IND-OBL go.NPST-3PL

They went to a desert.

#### KD.f:36

'nī ja'nekā  $z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}$ zī'rã va'las davã nī ĭanek-ā zīr-ī zīr-ã yalas day-ã give.NPST-3PL girl-OBL take.NPST-3SG take.NPST-3PL released

ko'narē čan'dā konar=ē čanḍ-ã

Jujube=IND shake.NPST-3PL

You know, they left her [in the desert] (lit. they take the girl, they take [and] release her); they shook a Jujube-tree.

#### KD.f:37

$'ar{e}$	lag'gī	ko'nare	če'na	agā	o'šī
ē	lagg-ī	konar-e	čen-	ag-ā	oš-ī
PROX	start.NPST-3S0	3 Jujube-	GEN pick.	NPST-INF-OBL	say.NPST-3SG
to	'hamdã	ko'nar 'd	čen	'mā	re'hễ
to	hamdẫ	konar Ø	Ø-čen-Ø	mā	re-hễ
PN.2SC	G EMPH.here	Jujube II	MPV-pick.N	IPST-2SG PN.	1PL go.NPST-1PL
'ā	ko'nara čo	an'ḍễ			
ā	konar-a ča	anḍ-ễ			

This one started to pick Jujube-fruits; [one of them] said, "Pick Jujube-fruits here; we

## KD.f:38

'to	'hamdẫ	'čen	'ē
to	hamdẫ	Ø-čen-Ø	ē
PN.2SG	EMPH.here	IMPV-pick.NPST-2SG	PROX

DIST Jujube-OBL shake.NPST-1PL

will go [and] shake that [other] Jujube-tree.

ce'nage	e	brat	ta'ca
čen-ag=ē	ē	brāt	tač-ã
pick.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG	PROX	brother	run.NPST-3PL

Pick them up here." This one was picking [them] up; these brothers ran away.

## KD.f:39

ra'wã	ge'rã		ya	'āskē	'āska	ko'šã	'padā
raw-ã	ger-ã		ya	āsk=ē	āsk-a	koš-ã	padā
go.NPST-3	PL take.NPS	T-3PL	one	deer=IND	deer-OBL	kill.NPST-3PL	again
'āske	ṭela'gẫ	kaš'šã		kā'rã		da'yã	
āsk-e	țelag-ã	kašš-ã	i	k-ār-ã		day-ã	
deer-GEN	eve-OBL.PL	pull.N	PST-31	PL IMP.k-	bring.NPST	-3PL give.NPS	T-3PL



They went [and] took a deer; they slaughtered the deer; then they pulled out the deer's eyes; brought [them], [and] gave [them] to the father.

#### KD.f:40

'pet pet father	<i>jos</i> jos questic	ka	inte in-t=e ).NPST-3SG=	=PC.3PL	o'šī oš-ī say.N	PST-3SG	'mā mā PN.1PL	<i>'košt</i> košt-∅ kill.PST-3SG
<i>te'lag</i> telag eye	kašš'ta kaššt-a pull.PS		<i>'zāna</i> zāna you know	'hameš ham=eš EMPH=		$\tilde{e}$ $=\tilde{e}$ $=$ COP.N	PST.3SG	ār'ta ārt-a bring.PST-PP
'trā trā PN.2SO		<i>dā'tag</i> dāt-ag give.P						

The father asked them; [One of them] said, "We have killed [her] [and] pulled [her] eyes out; you know, here they (lit. these are) we have brought [them] [and] given [them] to you."

## KD.f:41

IXD.I.	. 71									
ya	'do	'say	'waht		gwa'zī		'ē	U		mōdā
ya	do	say	waht	ke	gwaz-ī		ē	janek	han	n=ōdā
one	two	three	time	CLM	pass.N	PST-3S	G PRO	OX girl	EM	PH=there
baz'z	ag	$b\bar{\imath}$			āzī'yat	$b\bar{\imath}$			'hamë	2
bazza	ag	b-ī			āzīyat	b-ī			ham=	ē
mise	rable	becom	ne.NPST	-3sg	botherin	ng bec	ome.N	PST-3SG	EMPI	H=PROX
	ire				čent		o	'wā		'āp
kona		čērā			en-t		$=_{\mathbf{O}}$	wā-∅		āp
Jujub	e-GE	N und	er Juju	ıbe p	ick.NPS	г-3sg	=and	eat.NPST	-3sg	water
'čent		į	baz'zag	<u>'ham</u>	ōdā	hã	'wā		'dega	'heč
čen-t		1	oazzag	ham=	=ōdā	hã	wā-∅	j	dega	heč
pick.	NPST	-3sg <sub>1</sub>	poor	EMP	H=there	ADD	eat.N	PST-3SG	other	anything
wa'ra	ag 'e	ŗšīe	-	οā		araw				
wara	g e	šīe	lāp	-ā	na	-raw-∅				
food	P	ROX.GI	EN sto	mach-	OBL NI	EG-go.N	IPST-3	SG		

After some time (lit. two three), this girl was miserable there; she was uncomfortable under that (lit. this) Jujube-tree; she picked Jujube-fruit and ate; the poor girl drank

(lit. picks) water there; she didn't eat anything else (lit. no other food goes into her stomach).

## KD.f:42

'naraw	'dẫke	'sālē	gwa'zī	'ešīe	'god	'mod
na-raw-∅	dẫke	sāl=ē	gwaz-ī	ešīe	god	mod
NEG-go.NPST-3SG	then	year=IND	pass.NPST-3SG	PROX.GEN	cloth	echo

'jān	de'rã	jānda'rā	$b\bar{\imath}$	'hamōdā	ko'nare
jān	der-ã	jāndarā	b-ī	ham=ōdā	konar-e
body	tear.NPST-3PL	naked	become.NPST-3SG	EMPH=there	Jujube-GEN

čē'rā

čērā

under

She did not eat (lit. it does not go); until one year passed; her clothes were torn; she was naked there under the Jujube-tree.

## KD.f:43

'dâke	'dege	bā'zāre	'dege	'molke	'dege	ya	bād'šāhe
dẫke	dege	bāzār-e	dege	molk-e	dege	ya	bādšāh=e
then	another	market place-GEN	another	land-GEN	another	one	king=IND

'kay

k-ay-Ø

IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

[This was the situation] until from another town, from another country, another king came.

#### KD.f:44

'kay	gen'dīte	'ē	en'sānē
k-ay-∅	gend-īt=e	ē	ensān=ē
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	see.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	PROX	human=IND

mar'domē	$'ar{e}$	'čīyē	'edā	$'ar{e}$	'raw	'padā	'otī
mardom=ē	ē	čī=yē	edā	ē	raw-Ø	padā	otī
people=IND	PROX	what=IND	here	PROX	go.NPST-3SG	again	REL.GEN

'lōgā

lōg-ā

house-OBL

He came, [and] saw her; [he said to himself], "Is this one a human?; A person?; What is this one here?"; This one went back to his house.

## KD.f:45

'raw raw-∅ go.NPST-3SO	wa'rag warag G food	aḍ=a	<i>kã</i> kã-∅ do.NPST-3	<i>kā'rī</i> k-ār-ī SG IMP.k-b	ring.NPST-3SG
īrān-ī to	<i>ō'kā 'kã</i> ōkā kã-⊊ n do.♪	'n ⊘ ni NPST-3SG no	ī konar-e	čērā	<i>'ēr</i> ēr PREV
kante kan-t=e do.NPST-3SO	G=PC.3SG	'wat 'raw wat raw- REFL go.N	-Ø la	<i>ap'pī</i> app-ī ide.NPST-3S0	3

He went [and] cooked food [and] brought [it] and put [it] into a dish; then he left it under the Jujube-tree; he himself went [and] hid.

## KD.f:46

'wat	'raw	lap'pī	'ē	'kay
wat	raw-Ø	lapp-ī	ē	k-ay-∅
REFL	go.NPST-3SG	hide.NPST-3SG	PROX	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

He himself went [and] hid; this one came.

## KD.f:47

'ē 'kay ē k-ay- PROX IMP.k	Ø c-come.NPST-3SG	<i>'hame</i> ham=e EMPH=PROX	<i>ī'rānī</i> īrān-ī dish-GEN	<i>da'pā</i> dap-ā lid-OBL	'pāč pāč open
kã kã-∅ do.NPST-3SG	lag'gī lagg-ī start.NPST-3SG	<i>grē'wagā</i> grēw-ag-ā cry.NPST-INF-	go'šī goš-ī ·OBL say.N	pst-3sg	'lāle lāle brother
<i>'manī</i> man-ī PN.1SG-GEN	'pete 'mo pet-e mā father-GEN mo		ag hančễ	ГTR	
<i>bī'tagã</i> bīt-ag=ã become.PST-I	PP=COP.NPST.3PI	mã wā	r'tagã rt-ag-ã .PT-PP-3PL	lag'gī lagg-ī start.NPS	T-3SG

## grē'wagā

grēw-ag-ā cry.NPST-INF-OBL

This one came, [and] opened the dish [and] started to cry; she said, "Oh dear, (lit. brother) my father's and mother's food were like this [and] I ate it"; she started to cry.

#### KD.f:48

'dẫke 'ā grē'wagā bād'šāh 'kay doz'zīya dẫke grēw-ag-ā ā k-ay-Ø bādšāh dozzī-ya DIST IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG cry.NPST-INF-OBL until king stealing-OBL

balā'hễ čā'derē gō čā'dera o'tagī ke balāh-ễ čāder=ē čāder-a gõ ot-ag=ī ke chador-OBL big-ATTR chador=IND with become.PST-PP=PC.3SG CLM

 $\begin{array}{cccc} 'per & d\tilde{a} & ge'r\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath} \\ per & d\tilde{a}-\varnothing & ger-\bar{\imath}t=\bar{\imath} \end{array}$ 

PREV give.NPST-3SG take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

[She started] to cry, until, that one, the king, came in secret; he had a large chador with him; when he covered her with the chador he [also] captured her.

#### KD.f:49

 $ge'r\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}$   $go'\bar{s}\bar{\imath}$  'to  $en's\bar{a}n\bar{e}$  e  $ger-\bar{\imath}t=\bar{\imath}$   $go\bar{s}-\bar{\imath}$  to  $ens\bar{a}n=\bar{e}$  =e

take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG human=IND =COP.NPST.2SG

PN.2SG people=IND =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG genie=IND =COP.NPST.2SG

'čīye 'harčī ye 'bogoš čī=ye harčī =ye bo-goš-∅

what=COP.NPST.2SG whatever =COP.NPST.2SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

*'manā* man-ā

PN.1SG-OBJ

He captured her; he said, "Are you a human?; Are you a person?; Are you a genie?; What are you?; Whatever you are tell me?"

#### KD.f:50

 $go'š\bar{i}$  'mã 'hančể en'sāne  $\tilde{a}$ goš- $\bar{i}$  mã hančể ensān=e  $=\tilde{a}$ 

say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG such.ATTR human=IND =COP.NPST.1SG

ta'ī rang'ễ ta-ī rang-ễ PN.2SG-GEN kind-ATTR

She said, "I am a human like you."

#### KD.f:51

$'n\bar{\imath}$	$z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}$	'bārte	'otī	'molkā
nī	zīr-ī	bār-t=e	otī	molk-ā
now	take.NPST-3SG	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	REL.GEN	land-OBL

Then he took (lit. takes and takes) her to his country.

#### KD.f:52

'otī	'molkā	'bārtī	'hamōdā
otī	molk-ā	bār-t=ī	ham=ōdā
REL.GEN	land-OBL	take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	EMPH=there

 $d\bar{a}'r\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}$   $bal'lok\bar{e}$   $b\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}$   $ballok=\bar{e}$   $b-\bar{\imath}t=\bar{\imath}$ 

hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG grandmother=IND become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

bal'loka'dantī'oštī'ešīaballok-adan-t=īošt=īešīagrandmother-OBLgive.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGsay.PST=PC.3SGPROX.OBL

*'dār* ∅-dār-∅

IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG

He brought her to his country; he kept her there; he had a grandmother (lit. there is a grandmother for him); he gave her to the grandmother [to take care of her] [and] said, "Take care of this one."

## KD.f:53

'ē	bal'lok	'jān	'māna	šō'dītī	'ē	'god
ē	ballok	jān	mān-a	šōd-īt=ī	ē	god
PROX	grandmother	body	echo-OBL	wash.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG	PROX	cloth

gwa'rā dantī 'sara ran'dītī gwar-ā dan-t=ī sar-a rand-īt=ī

chest-OBL give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG head-OBL comb.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

This grandmother washed her body; this one dressed her up [and] combed her hair (lit. head).

#### KD.f:54

'nī 'harčī kantī 'čok 'ĭost 'to 'kayī nī harčī jost kan-t=ī to kay-ī čok now whatever do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG PN.2SG who-GEN child question

e 'nagoš $\bar{i}$  = e na-goš- $\bar{i}$ 

=COP.NPST.2SG NEG-say.NPST-3SG

Then, however much she asked her whose daughter (lit. child) she was; she did not tell.

#### KD.f:55

'harkada 'jost kanante 'čōbī 'gošī 'na harkada ĭost kan-ant=e čōbī goš-ī na however much question do.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG you know say.NPST-3SG no

However much they asked her; you know, she did not tell (lit. she said no).

#### KD.f:56

'nī 'hame bād'šāh 'padā ne'kā kantī
nī ham=e bādšāh padā nekā kan-t=ī
now FMRH=DROY king again betrothal do NDCT 35C=RC

now EMPH=PROX king again betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Then, after this, this king married her.

## KD.f:57

 $ne'k\bar{a}$  $kant\bar{1}$  $'s\bar{i}r$  $k\tilde{a}$ 'hame $nek\bar{a}$  $kan-t=\bar{1}$  $s\bar{i}r$  $k\tilde{a}-\emptyset$ ham=ebetrothaldo.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGweddingdo.NPST-3SGEMPH=PROX

*ja'neka*  $g\tilde{o}$ janek-a  $g\tilde{o}$ girl-OBL with

He married her; he married this girl.

#### KD.f:58

'hame ja'neka 'čōbī 'do 'say 'čok ham=e janek-a čōbī čok do say child girl-OBL you know EMPH=PROX two three

'bītī

 $b-\bar{\imath}t=\bar{\imath}$ 

become.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

You know, this girl gave birth to two, three children (lit. there are two three children for this girl).

## KD.f:59

bād'šāh 'čok 'bī 'sōbe 'tēmā 'say ke čok ke b-ī sōb-e bādšāh say ţēm-ā three child CLM become.NPST-3SG morning-GEN time-OBL king 'raw ne'māza 'ā 'dēm ne'māza če tar'rī raw-Ø nemāz-a dēm nemāz-a če ā tarr-ī face go.NPST-3SG pray-OBL DIST pray-OBL from turn.NPST-3SG 'kay neš'ta 'čoke 'gōn k-ay-Ø nešt-a=∅ čok=e gōn IMP.k-come.NPST-3SGsit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG child=PC.3SG with ã grē'wag ẽ = $\tilde{a}$ grēw-ag = $\tilde{e}$ 

=COP.NPST.3PL cry.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.3SG

When she had three sons, in the morning, the king went to pray; when he came back

### KD.f:60

'ē 'lōge 'tāke da'pa dārī če 'gōš ē lōg-e tāk-e dap-a če dār-ī gōš house-GEN window-GEN mouth-OBL hold.NPST-3SG PROX from ear

(lit. returns, comes) from there, prayer; [he saw that] she was sitting; her children

This one listened from [behind] the window.

## KD.f:61

He listened [and] she was crying.

IMPV-say.NPST-2SG PN.1SG-GEN

were with her; she was crying.

## KD.f:62

ars'ẫ 'ē ke 'kay gwa'zī 'lōga ē ke k-ay-Ø gwaz-ī lōg-a ars-ã PROX CLM IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG pass.NPST-3SG house-OBL tear-OBL.PL 'pāk kã 'šī 'nī lag'gī jos'ta jost-a kã-∅ lagg-ī š-ī pāk nī clean do.NPST-3SG now start.NPST-3SG question-OBL say.NPST-3SG 'bogoš 'manī 'māta 'trā ĭa'ta bo-goš-∅ man-ī māt-a trā jat-a

mother-OBL PN.2SG.OBJ

hit.PST-PP

ha'bar	kota	bal'loka	'trā	ha'bar	kota
habar	kot-a	ballok-a	trā	habar	kot-a
word	do.PST-PP	grandmother-OBL	PN.2SG.OBJ	word	do.PST-PP

go'hāra ma'nīngā 'harčīyā 'trā ha'bar kota gohār-a manīng-ā harčī-yā trā habar kot-a sister-OBL mine-OBL whatever-OBL PN.2SG.OBJ word do.PST-PP

*'manā 'bogoš* man-ā bo-goš-∅

PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

When this one came (lit. comes, passes) into the house, she cleaned her tears; then he started to ask, he said, "Tell me, has my mother beaten you?; has she argued [with you]?; has my grandmother argued with you?; [has] my sister [argued with you]?; whatever [human being] has argued with you, tell me."

#### KD.f:63

go'šī	'mana	'hečkasa	ha'bar	'nakota
goš-ī	man-a	hečkas-a	habar	na-kot-a
sav.NPST-3SG	PN.1SG-OBJ	no one-OBL	word	NEG-do.PST-PP

She said, "No one has argued with me."

## KD.f:64

go'šī	'trā	'hatman	ya	parešā'nīye	tan'gīye
goš-ī	trā	hatman	ya	parešānī=ye	tangī=ye
say.NPST-3SG	PN.2SG.OBJ	sure	one	sadness=IND	trouble=IND

*'manā 'bogoš* man-ā bo-goš-∅

PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

He said, "For sure, you have a problem, [a] trouble (lit. there is a problem, sadness for you); tell me."

#### KD.f:65

go'šī	'manā	'heč	'dega	'nē
goš-ī	man-ā	heč	dega	nē
Say NDST-3SC	DN 1SG-OBI	anything	other	NEG COD NDST 3SG

say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ anything other NEG.COP.NPST.3SC

'manaza'hīrkanag $\tilde{e}$ 'otīman-azahīrkan-ag $=\tilde{e}$ otīPN.1SG-OBJhomesicknessdo.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SGREL.GEN

'pete'mātewās'tāpet-emāt-ewāstāfather-GENmother-GENfor the sake of

She said, "I do not have any problem; I miss my father and mother."

#### KD.f:66

'šī 'šarr ẽ 'tī 'pet 'kay š-ī šarr  $=\tilde{e}$ tī pet kay say.NPST-3SG fine =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG.GEN father who ẽ 'šī ẽ pe'lān bād'šāh š-ī =ẽ pelān bādšāh =ẽ =COP.NPST.3SG say.NPST-3SG so and so king =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, "Alright, who is your father?"; she said, "It is king so-and-so."

## KD.f:67

'ē dōs'tễ 'manī mar'domē 'to o'šī 0 oš-ī ē dōst-ễ mardom=ē  $=_{0}$ man-ī to PN.1SG-GEN friend-ATTR people=IND say.NPST-3SG PROX =FOC PN.2SG

'nagošta 'goṛā pē'sara 'čīye wās'tā 'mana wāstā goŗā pēsara čī-ye man-a na-gošt-a then for the sake of PN.1SG-OBJ before what-GEN NEG-say.PST-PP

'berễ 'tra 'barễ be-r-ễ tra bar-ễ

SBJV-go.NPST-1PL PN.2SG.OBJ take.NPST-1SG

He said, "This one is my friend, why haven't you told me before?; let's go; I will take you."

#### KD.f:68

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She said, "Alright, let's go."

#### KD.f:69

 $egin{array}{lll} 'ar{e} & 'od\bar{a} & \check{c}e & 'dar & kay \\ ar{e} & od\bar{a} & \check{c}e & dar & k-ay-\varnothing \\ PROX & there & from & PREV & IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG \\ \end{array}$ 

This one left (lit. comes out) from there.

#### KD.f:70

'dar 'ē bād'šāh kay  $b\bar{a}$ ... 'wat 'dega va ē dar k-ay-Ø bā bādšāh wat dega ya PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG one FRAG PROX king REFL other naw'kare  $z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}$ 'čōbī go'lāme gō 'dega 0 nawkar=e čōbī gō golām=e zīr-ī dega =0servant=IND you know male slave=IND take.NPST-3SG with =and other

ya mol'lāe <mark>'ē mol'kīgī</mark> zī'rī ya mollā=e ē molk-īg-ī zīr-ī one Mullah=IND PROX land-ADJZ-GEN take.NPST-3SG

He left, one ki... this king, took a servant with him, you know, a slave, and he took a Mullah from that (lit. this) country.

#### KD.f:71

'ē gen'dī ke mol'lāe 'gōn ẽ 'ešīe ē gend-ī ke mollā=e gōn  $=\tilde{e}$ ešīe PROX see.NPST-3SG CLM Mullah=IND with =COP.NPST.3SG PROX.GEN

'bas'delena'pas'rawbaz'zagebasdel-enapasraw-∅bazzag-ejustheart-GENbreathgo.NPST-3SGpoor-GEN

When this one saw that a Mullah was with them, immediately she, the poor girl, got scared (lit. this one heart's breath goes).

#### KD.f:72

'raw 'nī 'ōdā če 'dar kāyã raw-Ø nī ōdā če dar k-ā-yã go.NPST-3SG now there from PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

kā'yã 'sak 'ē 'molk 'dīr go'šī 'pete k-ā-yã sak goš-ī ē molk dīr pet-e IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL very say.NPST-3SG PROX father-GEN land far

 $\tilde{e}$ = $\tilde{e}$ =COP.NPST.3SG

She got scared (lit. goes); now they left from there; it is said this father's country was very far away.

## KD.f:73

'ē rā'ha ba'yã 'jāhīya 'šap va ē rāh-a bay-ã jāh=ī-ya šap ya PROX way-OBL become.NPST-3PL one place=IND-OBL night

 $ge'r\bar{\imath}te$   $\check{s}a'p\bar{a}$   $d\bar{a}'r\tilde{a}$   $ger-\bar{\imath}t=e$   $\check{s}ap-\bar{a}$   $d\bar{a}r-\tilde{a}$ 

take.NPST-3SG=PC.3PL night-OBL hold.NPST-3PL

These were on their way; night fell at a [certain] place; they stopped overnight.

#### KD.f:74

ša'pā dā'rã 'sōb  $b\bar{\imath}$ 'čōbī mar'dom šap-ā dār-ã sōb b-ī čōbī mardom night-OBL hold.NPST-3PL morning become.NPST-3SG you know people

'hāl kanã go'šī bād'šāh bād'šāhe 'lōg ja'nag hāl kan-ã goš-ī bādšāh bādšāh-e lōg jan-ag news do.NPST-3PL say.NPST-3SG king king-GEN house hit.NPST-INF

bītagã

bīt-ag=ã

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

They stopped overnight you know; it was in the morning; the people informed [the king]; [one of them] said, "Your majesty, there was a burglary in the king's houses.

#### KD.f:75

bād'šāhe'lōgja'nagbītagã'hamābādšāh-elōgjan-agbīt-ag=ãham=āking-GENhousehit.NPST-INFbecome.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PLEMPH=DIST

'marde'mardtar'rī'goštīmol'lāyamard=emardtarr-īgošt=īmollā-yahusband=PC.3SGhusbandturn.NPST-3SGsay.PST=PC.3SGMullah-OBL

go'šī go'lāma 'goštī ja'nēna goš-ī golām-a gošt=ī janēn-a say.NPST-3SG male slave-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG wife-OBL

 $\begin{tabular}{lll} \it 'bare & \it pe'l\bar{a}n & \it 'j\bar{a}h\bar{a} & \it ra's\bar{e}nete \\ \it \varnothing-bar-e & \it pel\bar{a}n & \it j\bar{a}h-\bar{a} & \it \varnothing-ras\bar{e}n-et=e \\ \end{tabular}$ 

IMPV-take.NPST-2PL so and so place-OBL IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

'mã ra'wẫ mã raw-ẫ PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG

There was a burglary in the king's houses."; that husband of hers, the husband came back; he said to the Mullah; he said to the slave; he said, "Take [my] wife to such and such a place; I will go [back]."

#### KD.f:76

```
'ē
       ra'wã
                    ra'wã
                                  'dega ya
                                             men'zeleya
                                                            dā'rã
ē
       raw-ã
                    raw-ã
                                  dega
                                             menzel=e-ya
                                                            dār-ã
                                        ya
PROX go.NPST-3PL
                    go.NPST-3PL
                                 other
                                             stop=IND-OBL
                                                            hold.NPST-3PL
                                        one
```

These kept going (lit.go [and] go), and stopped [at night] in another [certain] place.

## KD.f:77

 $d\bar{a}'r\tilde{a}$  'sap  $b\bar{\iota}$  dar- $\tilde{a}$  sap  $b-\bar{\iota}$  hold.NPST-3PL night become.NPST-3SG

They stopped; it was night.

#### KD.f:78

 $men'zeley\bar{a}$  $d\bar{a}'r\tilde{a}$ ' $n\bar{\imath}$ 'kay $b\bar{a}d'\bar{s}ah...$  $menzel=e-y\bar{a}$  $d\bar{a}r-\tilde{a}$  $n\bar{\imath}$  $k-ay-\varnothing$  $b\bar{a}d\bar{s}ah$ stop=IND-OBLhold.NPST-3PLnowIMP.k-come.NPST-3SGking

'šapā wap'sã mol'lā 'kay **ja'nēne** šap-ā waps-ã mollā k-ay-∅ janēn-e night-OBL sleep.NPST-3PL Mullah IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG woman-GEN

## ker'rā

kerrā

beside

They stopped in a [certain] place, you know; the king came... they slept at night; the Mullah came to the woman.

#### KD.f:79

You know, he said, "Allow me."

#### KD.f:80

*ja'nēn go'šī 'na na'zīka 'mayā* janēn goš-ī na nazīk-a may-ā-∅

woman say.NPST-3SG no near-OBL PROH-come.NPST-3SG

say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG.GEN child-OBL kill.NPST-1SG say.NPST-3SG

*'hanī 'bekošī* hanī be-koš-⊘=ī

right now SBJV-kill.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

The woman said, "No, do not come close [to me]."; he said, "I will kill your child."; she said, "Kill him right now."

### KD.f:81

ya 'čoke ko'šītī ya čok=e koš-īt=ī

one child=PC.3SG kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

He killed one of her children.

## KD.f:82

'čokekeko'šītī'kaydo'mīčok=ekekoš-īt=īk-ay- $\varnothing$ do-mīchild=PC.3SGCLMkill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGIMP.k-come.NPST-3SGtwo-ORD

## men'zela

menzel-a stop-OBL

When he had killed (lit. kills) her child, he came to the second stop.

#### KD.f:83

do'mī men'zela 'hančō 'padā 'čē 'kantī 'padā do-mī menzel-a hančō padā čē kan-t=ī padā two-ORD stop-OBL like this again what do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG again

'dege 'čokī ko'šī 'manī ġay'rata če... dege čok=ī koš-ī man-ī ġayrat-a če another child=PC.3SG kill.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-GEN honour-OBL from

'mana 'otī ġay'rat dōst'ter ẽ ča ča man-a otī ġayrat döst-ter  $=\tilde{e}$ PN.1SG-OBJ REL.GEN honour friend-CMP =COP.NPST.3SG from



At the second stop, again he did what... again he killed another child of hers; [she said] "Because of my honour, I love my honour more than my children."

#### KD.f:84

```
^{\prime}pad\bar{a} ^{\prime}kay say^{\prime}m\bar{\imath} men^{\prime}zela say^{\prime}m\bar{\imath} ^{\prime}cok\bar{a} padā k-ay-\oslash say-mī menzel-a say-mī čok-ā again IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG three-ORD stop-OBL three-ORD child-OBL
```

ko'šītī koš-īt=ī kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Again they (lit. he) came to the third stop; he killed her third son.

#### KD.f:85

$'n\bar{\imath}$	$b\bar{\imath}$	čār'mī	men'zel
nī	b-ī	čār-mī	menzel
now	become.NPST-3SG	four-ORD	stop

Then it was the fourth stop.

#### KD.f:86

$'n\bar{\imath}$	'drō	moč'čễ	wap'tagã	$'n\bar{\iota}$
nī	drō	močč-ễ	wapt-ag=ã	nī
now	all	all-ATTR	sleep.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL	now

'kay	'ešīe	gwa'rā	'goštī	'šarr
k-ay-Ø	ešīe	gwarā	gošt=ī	šarr
IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	PROX.GEN	by	say.PST=PC.3SG	fine

$ ilde{e}$	'ta	'waps	'mã	ra'wẫ
=ẽ	ta	Ø-waps-Ø	mã	raw-ã
=COP.NPST.3SG	PN.2SG	IMPV-sleep.NPST-2SG	PN.1SG	go.NPST-1SG

'mã	kā'yẫ	'hanī	'manī	jā'hānī	sa'rā
mã	k-ā-yẫ	hanī	man-ī	jāh-ānī	sarā
PN.1SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG	right now	PN.1SG-GEN	place-GEN.PL	on

'waps 'mã 'hanī kā'y $\tilde{a}$ ∅-waps- $\emptyset$  mã hanī k-ā-y $\tilde{a}$ IMPV-sleep.NPST-2SG PN.1SG right now IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

intev-sicep.ives1-25d Fiv.15d light now liver.k-conic.ives1-15d

Now everyone was asleep you know; then he came near her; she said, "Alright, you

lie down, I will go... I will come; now lie down in my bed; I will come right now."

## KD.f:87

'ēja'nēn'čōbī'darkayējanēnčōbīdark-ay-∅PROXwomanyou knowPREVIMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

You know, this woman went (lit. comes) out.

#### KD.f:88

'ē ja'nēn 'dar kav 'rawt 'otī ē janēn dar k-ay-Ø raw-t otī IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG woman PREV go.NPST-3SG REL.GEN 'sarā  $z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}$ sar-ā zīr-ī head-OBL take.NPST-3SG

This woman went (lit. comes) out [and] went all alone (lit. takes her head and goes).

#### KD.f:89

'dẫ 'rawt 'rawt 'molkē ge'rī 'āda ya dẫ āda raw-t raw-t molk=ē ger-ī ya land=IND go.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG until one take.NPST-3SG there 'dẫke 'ā 'pād 'kay 'sōbā 'nī go'lāmā sōb-ā golām-ā dẫke ā pād k-ay-Ø nī IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG male slave-OBL foot morning-OBL then DIST now dege  $'dr\bar{o}$ mol'lā 'byāe o'šī go'šī dege drō oš-ī mollā goš-ī by-ā-e other all Mullah say.NPST-3SG IMPV-come.NPST-2PL say.NPST-3SG do'šī mēn'zela 'say 'čok bād'šāhe jen'nâ 'say došī say mēnzel-a say čok bādšāh-e jenn-ã last night three child genie-OBL.PL stop-OBL three king-GEN ġay'bẫ bor'ta koš'tagã mar'čī 'jende ġayb-ã bort-a košt-ag-ã marčī ĭend=e fairy-OBL.PL kill.PST-PP-3PL today self=PC.3PL take.PST-PP

She kept going (lit.goes, goes) until she arrived (lit. takes) in a country; there in the morning, they (lit. he) got up; it is said; the Mullah said, to the slave, you know, the others, all, the Mullah said, "Look, last night..., at three [nightly] stops, the genii, the fairies have killed the king's three children [and] today they have taken her herself."

## KD.f:90

$'nar\iota$	'ē	ja'nēn	'padā	'ā	dega'rẫ	'gap	'nakã
nī	ē	janēn	padā	ā	degar-ã	gap	na-kã-∅
now	PROX	woman	again	DIST	other-OBL.PL	talk	NEG-do.NPST-3SG

Well, again this woman did not tell the others.

#### KD.f:91

'dẫke	'ē	janēn	'kay		'kay	V		ya
dẫke	ē	janēn	k-ay-∅		k-a	y-Ø		ya
you know	PROX	woman	IMP.k-co	me.NPST-3SG	IMI	k-come.	NPST-3SG	one
'čātē	$b\bar{\imath}$		'ēr	kapī	'	čāte	tō'kā	
čāt=ē	b-ī		ēr	kap-ī	č	āt-e	tōkā	
well=IND	become	e.NPST-3S	G PREV	fall.NPST-3SC	3 V	vell-GEN	in	
o'tī	'sāyā	dā'r	$ar{\imath}$					
otī	sā-yā	dār-	-ī					
REL.GEN	breath-0	OBL hold	d.NPST-3S	G				

Then, this woman kept coming (lit.comes, comes); there was a well; she went inside the well; she saved herself (lit. she holds her breath).

## KD.f:92

'dẫke	'sōb		$b\bar{\imath}$		'ā	$'n\bar{\imath}$
dẫke	sōb		b-ī		ā	nī
until	morn	ing	become.N	PST-3SG	DIST	now
'sar	'sar	ja'n	ıã	ja'nã		
sar	sar	jan-	-ã	jan-ã		
head	head	hit.	NPST-3PL	hit.NPST	-3PL	
	dẫke until 'sar sar	<i>'sar 'sar</i> sar sar	dẫke sōb until morning 'sar 'sar ja'n sar sar jan-	dẫke sōb b-ī until morning become.N 'sar 'sar ja'nã sar sar jan-ã	dẫke sōb b-ī until morning become.NPST-3SG  'sar 'sar ja'nã ja'nã sar sar jan-ã jan-ã	dẫke sōb b-ī $\bar{a}$ until morning become.NPST-3SG DIST 'sar 'sar ja'nã ja'nã

'nagendantī na-gend-ant=ī NEG-see.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG

She hid [herself] until it was morning, you know; those looked; they kept looking for [her] (lit. look, look), [but] they did not find her.

## KD.f:93

$'n\bar{\iota}$	'sōb	'bī	'kay	ya	ra'magīyē
nī	sōb	b-ī	k-ay-∅	ya	ramagī=yē
now	morning	become.NPST-3SG	IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG	one	shepherd=IND

Then, in the morning (lit. it becomes morning), a shepherd came.

## KD.f:94

```
ra'magīyē
                    'kay
                                           čā'rī
                                                            'ēdā
                                                                 'čāte
va
                                           čār-ī
                                                           ēdā
                                                                 čāt-e
     ramagī=yē
                    k-ay-Ø
ya
     shepherd=IND
                    IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
                                           look.NPST-3SG
                                                           here well-GEN
tō'kā mar'domē
                   neš'ta
tōkā
      mardom=ē
                   nešt-a=∅
      people=IND
                   sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
in
```

A shepherd came, he looked [and saw that] a person was sitting there (lit. here) inside the well.

#### KD.f:95

```
'nī
     sa'rok
                kã
                               čā'rī
                                               'jostī
nī
      sar-ok
                 kã-Ø
                               čār-ī
                                               jost=ī
now
     head-DIM
                do.NPST-3SG
                              look.NPST-3SG
                                               question=PC.3SG
kã
              go'šī
                             'to
                                      čō'nēne
                                                            ay
                                      čōn-ēn=e
kã-Ø
              goš-ī
                             to
                                                            =ay
do.NPST-3SG
              say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG
                                      what kind-ATTR=IND =COP.NPST.2SG
                          an'čễ
'goštī
                 'mã
                                     mar'dome
                                                   en'sānē
                          ančễ
                                     mardom=e
gošt=ī
                 mã
                                                   ensān=ē
say.PST=PC.3SG
                PN.1SG
                         such.ATTR
                                     people=IND
                                                  human=IND
ã
=\tilde{a}
=COP.NPST.1SG
```

You know, he looked [inside the well]; he looked; he asked her; he said, "What are you?"; she said, "I am such a person, a human."

## KD.f:96

'šī š-ī say.NPST-	-3sg		$\tilde{e}$ $=\tilde{e}$ $=$ COP.NPST.3	SG	'tra tra PN		'māt māt mother	$=_{0}$	go'hār gohār sister
mar'dom mardom people	ha=	-	OP.NPST.3SG	<mark>′ē</mark> ē PR	OX	ramagī	_	ST-3SG	<i>'drō</i> drō all
<i>'manā</i> man-ā		<i>ha</i> ha=∅							

She said, "Fine, do you have a mother, sister, relative?"; this shepherd said, "I have all of them."

PN.1SG-OBJ be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

## KD.f:97

go'šī 'gorā 'berễ goš-ī gorā be-r-ễ

say.NPST-3SG then SBJV-go.NPST-1PL

She said, "So let's go.

#### KD.f:98

'manā'bar'otīlō'gaman-ā $\varnothing$ -bar- $\varnothing$ otīlōg-aPN.1SG-OBJIMPV-take.NPST-2SGREL.GENhouse-OBL

Take me to your place."

## KD.f:99

'ē'bārtī'hamōdābal'lokegwa'rāēbār-t=īham=ōdāballok-egwarāPROXtake.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGEMPH=theregrandmother-GENto

## o'tīya

ot-ī-ya

**REFL-GEN-OBL** 

This one took her there to his grandmother.

#### KD.f:100

bal'lokegwa'rābal'lokegwa'rā'hamōdāballok-egwarāballok-egwarāham=ōdāgrandmother-GENtograndmother-GENtoEMPH=there

 $d\bar{a}'r\bar{\imath}$ 

dār-ī

hold.NPST-3SG

To his grandmother, to his grandmother, she stayed there.

## KD.f:101

'nī 'pete 'molk bī naz'zīk enī nī pet-e molk bī nazzīk =en=ī now father-GEN land also near =COP.NPST.3SG=PC.3SG

Now, her father's country was also close now.

## KD.f:102

 $egin{array}{lll} \hbox{\it 'hame} & ya'k ilde{\hat{e}} & bar{a}'zar{a}r & ilde{e} \ \hbox{\it ham=e} & yak- ilde{\hat{e}} & bar{a}zar{a}r & = ilde{e} \ \end{array}$ 

EMPH=PROX one-ATTR market place =COP.NPST.3SG

It was in the same town.

#### KD.f:103

'hamebā'zāra'nī'rawbal'lokeham=ebāzār-anīraw-Øballok-eEMPH=PROXmarket place-OBLnowgo.NPST-3SGgrandmother-GEN

ker'rā bal'loka dā'rītī 'nī 'bīs 'šap kerrā ballok-a dār-īt=ī nī bīs šap grandmother-OBL hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG beside now twenty night

In the same town, [now] she went to the old lady; the old lady took care of her, you know, [for] twenty nights.

## KD.f:104

hã 'dẫke 'ā kā'yã ra'sã 'čōbī ā hã dẫke k-ā-yã ras-ã čōbī arrive.NPST-3PL DIST ADD then IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL you know

bād'šāhe 'mard ham 'hame mē'tagā go'lām 'padā ham=e bādšāh-e mētag-ā mard ham golām padā EMPH=PROX king-GEN village-OBL man ADD male slave again

'mard 'padā tarre'tã 'ā 'dega mol'lā 'drō 'padā dega mollā drō mard padā tarret-ã ā padā all husband again turn.PST-3PL DIST other Mullah again

 $k\bar{a}'y\tilde{a}$   $'\bar{e}$  'pete  $l\bar{o}'g\bar{a}$  ' $\bar{e}$  k- $\bar{a}$ -y $\tilde{a}$   $\bar{e}$  pet-e  $l\bar{o}g$ - $\bar{a}$   $\bar{e}$  IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX father-GEN house-OBL PROX

'nagošã 'odā 'nām 'nagerī 'mard ke 'mã na-goš-ã odā na-ger-ī mard ke mã nām NEG-say.NPST-3PL there name NEG-take.NPST-3SG husband CLM PN.1SG

'čīyewās'tā...'šī'mā'wattar'ragačī-yewāstāš-īmāwattarr-ag-awhat-GENfor the sake ofsay.NPST-3SGPN.1PLREFLturn.NPST-INF-OBL

```
at'kagễ
atk-ag=ễ
come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL
```

When they arrived (lit.come [and] arrive) you know in this king's place, the husband, the slave then the husband came back; that other Mullah [came back]; everyone, they came to this father's house; these did not say [anything] there; the husband did not mention why they (lit. we) [had come]... he said, "We ourselves have come to pay a visit."

#### KD.f:105

'šī	'mā	tar'raga	at'kagê
š-ī	mā	tarr-ag-a	atk-ag=ễ
say.NPST-3SG	PN.1PL	turn.NPST-INF-OBL	come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1PL

He said, "We have come to pay a visit."

#### KD.f:106

'nī 'šap bī nī šap b-ī now night become.NPST-3SG

Then it became night.

#### KD.f:107

$'n\bar{\imath}$	'goštī	'hamā	bād'šāh	lōṭā'ēnī	saj'jēn
nī	gošt=ī	ham=ā	bādšāh	lōṭāēn-ī	sajjēn
now	say.PST=PC.3SG	EMPH=DIST	king	call.NPST-3SG	all.ATTR

mē'tage	bā'zāre	mardo'mã	go'šī
mētag-e	bāzār-e	mardom-ã	goš-ī
village-GEN	market place-GEN	people-OBL.PL	say.NPST-3SG

*'byāe kes'saw 'j̃ane* by-ā-e kessaw ∅-j̃an-e

IMPV-come.NPST-2PL story IMPV-hit.NPST-2PL

Then he said... that king called all the people of the village, the town, [and] said, "Come [and] tell stories.

## KD.f:108

'byāekes'saw'jane'nīby-ā-ekessawØ-jan-enīIMPV-come.NPST-2PLstoryIMPV-hit.NPST-2PLnow

'hamešẽ saj'jēn mar'dom rom'bã ham=eš=ẽ sajjēn mardom romb-ã all.ATTR move in group.NPST-3PL EMPH=PROX=COP.NPST.3SG people ra'wã 'ē 'janek go'šī 'ballo 'mã 'hã raw-ã ē janek ballo hã goš-ī mã grandmother go.NPST-3PL PROX girl say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG ADD ra'wẫ raw-ã go.NPST-1SG

Come [and] tell stories". Well, all the people went in [large] groups; this girl said, "Grandmother, I will go too."

#### KD.f:109

'šī 'to ja'nēnē o'šī е š-ī janēn=ē oš-ī to =esay.NPST-3SG PN.2SG woman=IND =COP.NPST.2SG say.NPST-3SG 'mā nemā'sage go'dẫ 'de 'otī god-ã Ø-de-Ø mā otī nemāsag-e grandson-GEN REL.GEN cloth-OBL.PL IMPV-give.NPST-2SG EMPH.DIST mardē'nīya 'per kanã 'mã hã ra'wẫ mardēn-ī-ya per kan-ã mã hã raw-ã man-ADJZ-OBL PREV do.NPST-1SG PN.1SG go.NPST-1SG ADD han'čễ 'manā kes'sawē 'hastẽ hančễ kessaw=ē hast=ẽ man-ā such.ATTR PN.1SG-OBJ story=IND be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG

She said, "You are a girl (lit. woman)"; she said, "Give me those clothes of your grandson; I will dress up as a man [and] go too; I have such a story (lit. there is such a story for me)."

#### KD.f:110

 $egin{array}{lll} 'ar{e} & mardar{e}nar{r}'ar{\hat{e}} & go'dar{\hat{a}} & gwa'rar{a} & kar{a} \\ ar{e} & mardar{e}n-ar{i}-ar{\hat{e}} & god-ar{\hat{a}} & gwarar{a} & kar{a}-arnothing \\ PROX & man-ADJZ-ATTR & cloth-OBL.PL & on & do.NPST-3SG \\ \end{array}$ 

This one dressed up as a man.

## KD.f:111

 $gwa'r\bar{a}$   $k\tilde{a}$  'raw  $gwar\bar{a}$   $k\tilde{a}$ - $\emptyset$  raw- $\emptyset$ on do.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG

She dressed up [and] went.

#### KD.f:112

<i>'raw</i> raw-∅ go.NPST-3SG	<i>saj'jễ</i> sajjễ all.ATTR	mar'dom mardom people	'otī otī REL.C	]	<i>kessa'wẫ</i> kessaw-ẫ story-OBL	jа	a <i>'nã</i> in-ã it.NPST-3PL	
'nī āke'rī nī āker-ī now end-ATT	na'par napar TR person	b-ī	NPST-3	g	g <i>oštī</i> gošt=ī ay.PST=P0	c.3sg	'sabr sabr patience	
kanet ∅-kan-et IMPV-do.NPST	<i>tā</i> tā ?-2PL unti	<i>ya'barē</i> yabar=ē l moment		mã		ya ya one	kes'sawē kessaw=ē story=IND	
<i>ja'nã</i> jan-ã hit.NPST-1SG	<i>'harkasā</i> harkas-ā whoever-0	<i>ke</i> ke OBL CLM	<i>'pād</i> pād foot	ā-ya	g-ī=ẽ	F-3SG	=COP.NPST.3S	SG.
hanī pāo	<i>id 'byāyet</i> d by-ā-ye ot IMPV-c	t		<i>ta</i> ta when	'mã mã PN.1SG	<i>ke</i> ke CLM	kes'sawe kessaw-e story-GEN	
kaš'šaga kašš-ag-a pull.NPST-INF	lagg	•	heč	ka	<i>isā</i> s-ā rson-OBL	<i>ejā'za</i> ejāza perm		
<i>'nēstẽ</i> nēst=ẽ		<i>'pād</i> pād	<i>byā</i> y by-ā			'pā pād		

'mayāyã may-ā-yã PROH-come.NPST-3PL

She went; all the people told their stories; then she was the last person; she said, "Wait for a moment; I will tell a story too; whoever wants to leave, leave right now [since] when I start to tell the story no one is allowed to stand up [and leave]; they should not stand up [and leave]."

NEG.be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-3PL foot

	_		•	-	_	•
K	ı	1	۰	1	1	3

1110.11.110									
bād'šāhā	'mardā	'petā		'čōbī	'g	oštī		'pād	
bādšāh-ā	mard-ā	pet-ā		čōbī	go	ošt=ī		pād	
king-OBL	man-OBL	fathe	r-OBL	you kno	w sa	y.PST=1	PC.3SG	foot	
ā'yag	'heo	ž	'kasa	e	jā'za	'n	$e^{ar{e}}$		
ā-yag	heč		kas-a	e	jāza	në	ē		
come.NPST	T-INF any	thing	person		ermiss	sion N	EG.CO	P.NPST	7.3sg
ham'ešī		pet	ē'lām		kã		'ha	rkasā	'pād
ham=ešī	1	oet	ēlām		kã-⊄	<b>y</b>	har	kas-ā	pād
EMPH=PR	OX.GEN	father	annou	ncement	do.N	PST-3S	G wh	oever-C	OBL foot
$\bar{a}'yag\bar{\imath}\tilde{e}$ $'han\bar{\imath}$ $'p\bar{a}d$ $ay$ $\bar{a}$ -yag- $\bar{\imath}$ = $\tilde{e}$ han $\bar{\imath}$ p $\bar{a}d$ $\varnothing$ -ay- $\varnothing$ come.NPST-INF-ADJZ=COP.NPST.3SG right now foot SBJV-come.NPST-3SG									
'pād 'nay	ay			'randā	'pād	ā'yag			
pād nay-	ay-Ø			randā	pād	ā-yag			
	SBJV-con	ne.NPS	г-3sg	after	foot		NPST-I	INF	
'nē		$'n\bar{\imath}$	'hamē		do′ễ	1	mol'lā		
nē		nī	ham=ë	ē	do-ễ	1	mollā		
NEG.COP.	NPST.3SG	now	<b>EMPH</b>	=PROX	two-A	ATTR ]	Mullah	l	
neš'tagã nešt-ag=ã sit.PST-PP=	=COP.NPST	г.3pl	nī	<i>'watī</i> wat-ī REFL-GE	ke	es'sawe essaw-e ory-GEN	<i>'otī</i> otī N REI	GEN	sa'ra sara on
at'kag			e	'nī	lag	'oī		kaš'šag	·a
atk-ag=Ø			e	nī	lag	_		kašš-ag	
come.PST-	PP=COP N	PST.3S				-			ST-INF-OBL
		- 52.50						r11	ODL

You know, the king, the husband, the father said, "No one is allowed to leave."; you know, well, her father declared, "Whoever wants to leave should leave right now [if] he doesn't leave [right now], later he won't be allowed to leave (lit. there is no standing up)."; you know, now these two Mullahs were sitting [there]; then she started to tell her story, [what] had happened to her.

## KD.f:114

'goštī	'rōčē	rōz'gāre	$'bar\iota$	ya	bād'šāhē
gošt=ī	rōč=ē	rōzgār=e	bī-∅	ya	bādšāh=ē
say.PST=PC.3SG	day=IND	time=IND	become.PST-3SG	one	king=IND

She said, "Once upone a time (lit. there was a day, a time), there was a king.

## KD.f:115

bād'šāha bīt-a=∅ 'hapt mar'dễ 'čok ya king-OBL become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG seven son one

*ja'nễ 'čokē*, janễčok=ē daughter=IND

The king had seven sons [and] one daughter.

#### KD.f:116

'ēja'nek'hečapo 'šāhteējanekheč-apo šāht=e

PROX girl anything-OBL for happy=PC.3SG

bīt-ag=ī become.PST-PP=PC.3SG

He was very protective (lit. he is not happy for anything); this girl was an only child (lit. valuable) to him.

### KD.f:117

'ē šo'ta mol'lāe ker'rā ē šot-a=∅ mollā-e kerrā PROX go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Mullah-GEN beside

nen'dēntī nendēn-t=ī place.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

This one went (lit. has gone) [and] placed her at the Mullah's [to study].

#### KD.f:118

'ēmol'lāyabor'ta...han'čểze'rengēmollā-yabort-ahančểzerengPROXMullah-OBLtake.PST-PPsuch.ATTRclever

bīta dros'tē šāger'dā če bīt-a=∅ drost-ē šāgerd-ā če become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG all-ATTR student-OBL.PL from

lesson

give.PST-PP-3PL PROX

če zereng'ter bī'ta mollāay'gān mollā-ay-gān če zereng-ter bīt-a=∅ Mullah-GEN-OBL.PL from clever-CMP become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG saj'jē sa'bak dā'tagã 'ē mol'lāya sa'bak sajjê sabak mollā-ya sabak dāt-ag-ã ē

'nadātagī na-dāt-ag=ī NEG-give.PST-PP=PC.3SG

all.ATTR

lesson

This Mullah took (lit. has taken) her... she was (lit. has been) very clever; she was (lit. has been) the most clever student of the Mullah; the Mullah taught (lit. has taught) all [the students], [but] he did not teach (lit. has not taught) this one.

### KD.f:119

Mullah-OBL

'ēja'nekīsa'bak'nadātaējanek=īsabakna-dāt-aPROXgirl=PC.3SGlessonNEG-give.PST-PP

He did not teach (lit. has not taught) this girl.

### KD.f:120

 $'n\bar{\imath}$ ā'kera 'ē ĭa'nekē sa'bak dā'ta ĭa'nek nī āker-a ē janek=ē sabak dāt-a janek girl=PC.3SG now end-OBL PROX lesson give.PST-PP girl

 $ra'wag\bar{a}$  $b\bar{\imath}ta$ ke $'ot\bar{\imath}$  $raw-ag-\bar{a}$  $b\bar{\imath}t-a=\emptyset$ ke $ot\bar{\imath}$ go.NPST-INF-OBLbecome.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SGCLMREL.GEN

ko'rāna 'ēr bekã mol'lāya gep'ta 'dasta dast-a korān-a ēr be-kã-∅ mollā-ya gept-a Mullah-OBL hand-OBL Koran-OBL PREV SBJV-do.NPST-3SG take.PST-PP

'dast 'nadāta mol'lāya če at'ka dast na-dāt-a mollā-ya če atk-a=∅

hand NEG-give.PST-PP Mullah-OBL from come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

Then, at the end [of the day] he taught (lit. has taught) this girl; the girl was (lit. has been going) going to put down her Koran; the Mollah took (lit. has taken) her hand; she did not give (lit. has not given) her hand for [the Mullah to touch]; she came (lit. has came) [home] from the Mullah's.

### KD.f:121

```
'd\tilde{a}ke d\tilde{a}... hap'tag\bar{e} ta'p\bar{\imath}g b\bar{\imath}ta d\tilde{a}ke d\tilde{a} haptag=\bar{e} tap\bar{\imath}g b\bar{\imath}t-a=\emptyset until until week=IND feverish become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
```

You know, until... she got (lit. has been) a fever for a week.

#### KD.f:122

```
'padā
       'māta
                    ha'bar
                            kota
                                         'nī
                                              bād'šāh
                                                        hay'rã
padā
       māt-a
                    habar
                            kot-a
                                        nī
                                              bādšāh
                                                        hayrã
again
       mother-OBL word
                                              king
                                                        wondering
                            do.PST-PP
                                        now
b\bar{\imath}
                  'ē
                              'manī
                                             'sarā
                                                        kes'saw
                         ра
                                             sar-ā
bī-∅
                  ē
                              man-ī
                                                        kessaw
                         pa
                              PN.1SG-GEN
become.PST-3SG PROX for
                                            head-OBL
                                                       story
```

```
'jatī 'a mol'lā 'hanī lar'zagē
jat=ī ā mollā hanī larz-ag=ē
hit.PST=PC.3SG DIST Mullah now tremble.NPST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG
```

```
de'l\bar{a}p \tilde{e} del\bar{a}p =\tilde{e} scared =COP.NPST.3SG
```

Again, the mother talked (lit. has talked); then the king was wondering, [thinking that] this one was telling about him; now that Mullah was trembling; he was scared.

### KD.f:123

```
'n\bar{\imath}
        'padā
                                              'goštī
                 b\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}...
                                                                     'padā
                                                                               'peta
                 bīt=ī
        padā
                                              gošt=ī
                                                                     padā
                                                                              pet-a
nī
        again
                                                                              father-OBL
                 become.PST=PC.3SG
                                              say.PST=PC.3SG
                                                                     again
```

bor'ta bort-a take.PST-PP

You know, it happened like this...; [the mother] told [the father to take the girl to the Mullah and] again the father took (lit. has taken) her.

## KD.f:124

'padā	do'bāre	'hančo	mol'lāha	sa'bak	'nadāta	'hančō
padā	dobāre	hančo	mollā-ha	sabak	na-dāt-a	hančō
again	again	like this	Mullah-OBL	lesson	NEG-give.PST-PP	like this

baz'zag  $\bar{a}z\bar{\imath}'yat$ kota 'hančō gep'tagī 'padā hančō bazzag āzīyat kot-a gept-ag=ī padā miserable bothering like this take.PST-PP=PC.3SG do.PST-PP again

'ē ja'nek at'ka 'padā nād'rā atk-a=∅ ē janek nādrā padā sick come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG **PROX** girl again bīta ta'pīg bīta bīt-a=∅ bīt-a=∅ tapīg feverish become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG mol'lā 'padā at'ka goš'ta padā mollā atk-a=Ø gošt-a again Mullah come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG say.PST-PP 'byā  $'t\bar{\imath}$ ja'neke 'kār 'čoš by-ā-Ø tī janek-e kār čoš IMPV-come.NPST-2SG PN.2SG.GEN daughter-GEN work like this ã 'ā bād'šāhē bī'ta 0 bādšāh=ē = $\tilde{a}$ ā =0bīt-a=∅ =COP.NPST.3PL DIST =FOC king=IND become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG saj'jēn mol'kānī bad'šāh  $b\bar{\imath}'ta$ 'āīā bīt-a=∅ sajjēn molk-ānī badšāh āīā all.ATTR land-GEN.PL king become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG DIST.OBL 'ē 0 ha'bar 0 'āīe wās'tā 'avb ē habar āīe wāstā ayb =0=0for the sake of defect PROX word DIST.GEN =FOC=FOC

### bī'ta

bīt-a=∅

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

Again, the Mullah did not (lit. has not taught) teach her; you know he made (lit. has made) her uncomfortable [and gave] her a hard time; he took (lit. has taken) her [hand] like that; again she came (lit. has come); this girl got (lit. has been) sick; she got (lit. has been) a fever; again the Mullah came (lit. has come) [to the king] [and] told (lit. has told), "Look, what your daughter is doing (lit. what your daughter's actions are)."; that one was (lit. has been) a king; he was (lit. has been) the king over [many] countries; this word caused (lit. has been) a bad reputation for that one.

### KD.f:125

'ešī 'hameš ẽ ĭa'nek dā'ta 'otī ešī ham=eš = $\tilde{e}$ janek dāt-a otī PROX.OBL EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG girl give.PST-PP REL.GEN

 $mard \tilde{e}'\dot{c}ok \tilde{a}$  $'go \check{s}t\bar{l}$  $'baret\bar{l}$  $pe'l \tilde{a}$  $mard \tilde{e}\dot{c}ok - \tilde{a}$  $go \check{s}t = \bar{l}$  $\varnothing$ -bar-et= $\bar{l}$  $pel \tilde{a}$ son-OBL.PLsay.PST=PC.3SGIMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SGso and so

*'jāha 'koše 'dawr dayetī* jāh-a ∅-koš-e dawr ∅-day-et=ī

place-OBL IMPV-kill.NPST-2PL throwing IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

 $tela'g\tilde{a}$ 'kašše'byāre'manā $telag-\tilde{a}$  $\emptyset$ -kašš-eby-ār-eman-āeye-OBL.PLIMPV-pull.NPST-2PLIMPV-bring.NPST-2PLPN.1SG-OBJ

*day'etī* Ø-da-yet=ī

IMPV-give.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG

You know, this one gave (lit. has given) the girl to his sons; he said "Take her to such and such place, kill her [and] throw away [her body]; pull out her eyes; bring [and] give them to me."

#### KD.f:126

brā'tā̂ 'šāht 'nabīta brāt-ã̂ šāht na-bīt-a=∅

brother-OBL.PL happy NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

They took this girl; you know, the brothers were very protective (lit. have not been happy) of this girl.

### KD.f:127

ja'nek'šāht'nabītabrā'tãjanekšāhtna-bīt-a= $\emptyset$ brāt-ã

girl happy NEG-become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG brother-OBL.PL

'hameš\tilde{e}brā't\tilde{a}bor'taya'lasham=eš=\tilde{e}brāt-\tilde{a}bort-ayalasEMPH=PROX=COP.NPST.3SGbrother-OBL.PLtake.PST-PPreleased

dā'tayakko'narēečē'rādāt-ayakkonar=ē-ečērāgive.PST-PPoneJujube=IND-GENunder

The brothers were very protective (lit. have not been happy) of the girl; well the brothers left (lit. have taken [and] have released) her under a Jujube-tree.

'brāt 'wat tat'kã šota'gã. brāt wat tatk-ã šot-ag=ã

brother REFL run.PST-3PL go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

The brothers themselves ran away (lit. ran, have gone).

#### KD.f:129

ja'nek 'hameš ẽ bor'ta 'hamōdā 'dawr janek ham=eš  $=\tilde{e}$ bort-a ham=ōdā dawr girl EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG take.PST-PP EMPH=there throwing

 $d\bar{a}'tag\bar{\imath}$   $'\check{c}\bar{o}b\bar{\imath}$  ya'las  $d\bar{a}'tag\bar{\imath}$  'wat  $d\bar{a}t-ag=\bar{\imath}$   $\check{c}\bar{o}b\bar{\imath}$  yalas  $d\bar{a}t-ag=\bar{\imath}$  wat give.PST-PP=PC.3PL you know released give.PST-PP=PC.3PL REFL

šota'gã tat'kã 'brāt 'padā 'otī 'molkā molk-ā šot-ag=ã tatk-ã brāt padā otī land-OBL REL.GEN go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL run.PST-3PL brother again

ẽ 'peta 'hameš goš'ta ke em... ham=eš = $\tilde{e}$ pet-a gošt-a ke em EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG say.PST-PP father-OBL CLM FRAG

You know, they took (lit. has taken) the girl [and] left (lit. have thrown away) her there; you know, they released (lit. have released) her [and] they themselves went away (lit. have gone, ran) to their town; the brothers, you know, they told /that/,...

## KD.f:130

'nī 'hameš ẽ 'dawr dā'tae nī ham=eš =ẽ dawr dāt-a=e

now EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG throwing give.PST-PP=PC.3PL

'čōbī 'brāt šo'tagã čōbī brāt šot-ag=ã

you know brother go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

You know, they left her (lit. have thrown her away); you know, the brothers went away (lit. have gone).

#### KD.f:131

 $^{\prime}br\bar{a}t$   $^{\prime}so^{\prime}tag\tilde{a}$   $^{\prime}rand\bar{a}$   $^{\prime}hame\check{s}$   $\tilde{e}$   $^{\prime}br\bar{a}t$   $^{\prime}sot-ag=\tilde{a}$   $^{\prime}rand\bar{a}$   $^{\prime}hame\check{s}$   $=\tilde{e}$ 

brother go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL after EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG

'ē	ja'nek	'hamodā	'hamē	ko'nare	čē'ra
ē	janek	ham=odā	ham=ē	konar-e	čēra
PROX	girl	EMPH=there	EMPH=PROX	Jujube-GEN	under

*bī'ta* bīt-a=∅

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

The brothers went away (lit. have gone); well after that, this girl was (lit. has been) there under this Jujube-tree.

### KD.f:132

bīta 'dẫke 'hamīngo baz'zag bīt-a=∅ dẫke ham=īngo bazzag become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG until EMPH=here miserable

 $b\bar{\imath}'ta$   $\bar{a}z\bar{\imath}'yat$   $b\bar{\imath}'ta$   $b\bar{\imath}t-a=\varnothing$   $\bar{a}z\bar{\imath}yat$   $b\bar{\imath}t-a=\varnothing$ 

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

'ešī 'ĭāna 'god der'tagã 'sarī 'pōnj pa'lānj dert-ag-ã pōnj ešī ĭān-a god sar=ī palānĭ body-OBL cloth tear.PST-PP-3PL head=PC.3SG untidy echo PROX.GEN

'randā  $'n\bar{\imath}$ čē bī'tagī ke 'dega 'molkēa bīt-ag=ī randā ke nī dega molk=ē-a čē become.PST-PP=PC.3SG after other land=IND-OBL from CLM now

bād'šāh at'ka ko'nare mar'domē čē'ra va bādšāh atk-a=Ø konar-e mardom=ē čēra ya king come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Jujube-GEN under one people=IND

 $p\bar{u}'r\bar{o}$   $tar'rag\tilde{e}$   $'e\bar{s}\bar{\imath}a$   $'d\bar{\imath}r$   $d\bar{\imath}'ta$   $p\bar{u}r\bar{o}$   $tarr-ag=\tilde{e}$   $e\bar{s}\bar{\imath}a$   $d\bar{\imath}r$   $d\bar{\imath}t-a$  real turn.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG PROX.OBL far see.PST-PP

 $\check{care'ta}$  'padā šo'ta  $\check{caret-a}$  padā šot-a= $\varnothing$ 

look.PST-PP again go.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She was (lit. has been) [there] and (lit. until) she was (lit. has been) sad; she was (lit. has been) in trouble, [and] her clothes were torn (lit. have been), her hair was (lit. has been) untidy, you know; after a while, a king from another country came (lit. has come) [and saw that] a real human being was walking around under the Jujube-tree; this one saw (lit. has seen) [this] from afar, looked (lit. has looked); after that he went (lit. has gone).

šo'ta'otī $l\bar{o}'g\bar{a}$ 'hameššot-a= $\emptyset$ otī $l\bar{o}g-\bar{a}$ ham=ešgo.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SGREL.GENhouse-OBLEMPH=PROX

 $ilde{e}$  wa'rag ma'rag  $'ad\bar{\iota}$  kota  $=\tilde{e}$  warag marag  $ad=\bar{\iota}$  kot-a =COP.NPST.3SG food echo make=PC.3SG do.PST-PP

āwor'tagī āwort-ag=ī bring.PST-PP=PC.3SG

He went (lit. has gone) to his house, you know; he cooked (lit. has cooked) some food [and] brought (lit. has brought) [it].

### KD.f:134

ko'nare āwor'ta 'ērī kota čē'rā 'wat kot-a konar-e āwort-a ēr=ī čērā wat bring.PST-PP PREV=PC.3SG do.PST-PP Jujube-GEN under REFL

lappe'ta lappet-a hide.PST-PP

He brought (lit. has brought) [it]; left (lit. has left) [it] under the Jujube-tree [and] he himself hid (lit. has hidden).

### KD.f:135

lappe'ta 'ē bād'šāh zor'ta 'ē ko'nar... 'ē 'nī lappet-a ē bādšāh zort-a ē konar ē nī hide.PST-PP now PROX king take.PST-PP PROX Jujube PROX

šo'tawara'gānīker'rā $\overline{\imath}'$ rānī'pāčšot-a= $\emptyset$ warag-ānīkerrā $\overline{\imath}$ rān= $\overline{\imath}$ pāčgo.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SGfood-GEN.PLbesidedish=PC.3SGopen

kota 'šī 'lāle 'manī māte 'pete lāle kot-a š-ī man-ī māt-e pet-e do.PST-PP say.NPST-3SG brother PN.1SG-GEN mother-GEN father-GEN

 $egin{array}{lll} \hbox{\it 'batt} & \~a & \hbox{\it 'm\~a} & \hbox{\it 'našamoštag\~\^a} \ \hbox{\it batt} & =\~a & \hbox{\it m\~a} & \hbox{\it na-šamošt-ag=\~\^a} \ \end{array}$ 

rice =COP.NPST.3PL PN.1SG NEG-forget.PST-PP=COP.NPST.1SG

He hid (lit. has hidden); then, this king took (lit. has taken) this Jujube-tree... this one went (lit. has gone) towards the food, opened (lit. has opended) the dish [and]

said, "Oh my dear, (lit.brother), I haven't forgotten my mother's, father's rice ."

## KD.f:136

```
'hameš
                                             'ē
'pade
       'nī
                           ẽ
                                                     bād'šāh
pade
             ham=eš
                           =\tilde{e}
                                             ē
                                                     bādšāh
       nī
             EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG
                                                    king
again
       now
                                            PROX
```

'kay

k-ay-Ø

IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

Again, you know, this king came.

### KD.f:137

```
kantē
ge'rītī
                        'nī
                              bād'šāh
                                        'jost
ger-īt=ī
                        nī
                              bādšāh
                                        ĭost
                                                  kan-t=ē
                        now
take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
                              king
                                        question
                                                  do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
                        čō'nễ
go'šī
               'taw
                                          'kasē
                                                       е
                        čōn-ễ
goš-ī
               taw
                                          kas=ē
                                                       =e
say.NPST-3SG
               PN.2SG
                        what kind-ATTR person=IND =COP.NPST.2SG
'bogoš
                     o'šī
                                     'mã
                                              mar'domē
                                                           en'sānē
bo-goš-∅
                     oš-ī
                                              mardom=ē
                                                           ensān=ē
                                    mã
IMPV-say.NPST-2SG say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG
                                             people=IND
                                                           human=IND
ã
=\tilde{\hat{\mathbf{a}}}
=COP.NPST.1SG
```

He captured her; then the king asked her, he said, "Who are you? tell me"; she said, "I am a person, a human."

## KD.f:138

'š $\bar{i}$  'gor $\bar{a}$  'ber $\tilde{e}$  'm $\tilde{a}$  'tar $\bar{a}$  ' $\bar{s}$ - $\bar{i}$  gor $\bar{a}$  be-r- $\tilde{e}$  m $\tilde{a}$  ta-r $\bar{a}$  say.NPST-3SG then SBJV-go.NPST-1PL PN.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ

*ba'rẫ* bar-ẫ

take.NPST-1SG

He said, "Then let's go; I will take you [with me]."

 $\it 'hame \check{s}$   $\it \tilde{e}$   $\it z \bar{i} r' \bar{i} t \bar{i}$   $\it ham= e \check{s}$   $\it = \tilde{e}$   $\it z \bar{i} r - \bar{i} t = \bar{i}$ 

EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

*'bārtī 'otī bal'loka... bal'lokē* bār-t=ī otī ballok-a ballok-ē

take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG REL.GEN grandmother-OBL grandmother=PC.3SG

'dante 'goštī 'ballo 'to dan-t=e gošt=ī ballo to give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG say.PST=PC.3SG grandmother PN.2SG

'dārī

 $\emptyset$ -dār- $\emptyset$ = $\bar{i}$ 

IMPV-hold.NPST-2SG=PC.3SG

Well he took her with him (lit. he takes and brings) to his grandmother...; he gave her to his grandmother [to take care of her]; he said, "Grandmother, take care of her.

## KD.f:140

'ešīā'dār'dākemaz'zan...'čīešīā $\emptyset$ -dār- $\emptyset$ dãkemazzančīPROX.OBLIMPV-hold.NPST-2SGuntilbigFRAG

kanay... 'eš bal'loke gwa'rā bī  $\emptyset$ -kan-ay eš ballok-e gwarā b-ī

SBJV-do.NPST-2SG PROX grandmother-GEN by become.NPST-3SG

 $\begin{array}{lllll} \textit{d\bar{a}'r\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}} & \textit{bal'lok} & \textit{š\bar{o}'d\bar{\imath}te} & \textit{'j\bar{a}n} \\ \textit{d\bar{a}r-\bar{\imath}t=\bar{\imath}} & \textit{ballok} & \textit{š\bar{o}d-\bar{\imath}t=e} & \textit{j\bar{a}n} \\ \textit{hold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG} & \textit{grandmother} & \textit{wash.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG} & \textit{body} \\ \end{array}$ 

'māna 'mara ran'dītī baz'zag 'sar  $'n\bar{\imath}$ 'jos rand-īt=ī mān-a sar mar-a bazzag nī jos echo-OBL comb.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGecho-OBL head poor now question

question do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG grandmother-OBL with NEG-say.NPST-3SG

ã ke 'mã pelā'nīe 'čok bād'šāh čok = $\tilde{\hat{\mathbf{a}}}$ bādšāh ke mã pelān-ī-e so and so-NMLZ-GEN child =COP.NPST.1SG CLM PN.1SG king

'j̃ostī	kã	mar'dom	bā'zārī	'j̃os
j̃ost=ī	kã-∅	mardom	bāzār=ī	jos
question=PC.3SG	do.NPST-3SG	people	market place=PC.3SG	question
kanã 'es	'asan	'namannī	ko 'mê	ĭ

kanã'eš'asan'namannīke'mãkan-ãešasanna-mann-īkemãdo.NPST-3PLPROXactuallyNEG-accept.NPST-3SGCLMPN.1SG

Take care of this one until she grows... what should..." This one was with the grandmother; she took care of her; the grandmother washed her body, [and] she combed her hair (lit. head), the poor one, then she asked the girl [who she was]; she did not tell the grandmother /that/, I am such and such person's daughter (lit. child); the king asked her; the people of the town asked her; this one did not tell at all /that/, whose daughter she was (lit. I am).

#### KD.f:141

'da bā'dsāh ne'kā kantī da bādsāh nekā kan-t=ī until king betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

After that, the king married her.

#### KD.f:142

ne'kā 'kantī 'do 'do 'eda 'sāl gwa'zī 'say nekā kan-t=ī do do eda say sāl gwaz-ī betrothal do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG here two three year pass.NPST-3SG

three child=PC.3SG become.PST-3SG

He married her; then (lit. here), two, three years passed; she gave birth to two, three children.

### KD.f:143

 $'n\bar{\imath}$ 'rōčē a'yāla ka'pī va go'šī rōč=ē ayāl-a kap-ī goš-ī nī ya now one day=IND imagination-OBL fall.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG

lag'gī grē'waga bād'šāh 'raw ne'māza 'ā lagg-ī grēw-ag-a bādšāh raw-Ø nemāz-a ā start.NPST-3SG cry.NPST-INF-OBL king go.NPST-3SG pray-OBL DIST

'dẫke dē'ma če 'kay 'gōš dā'rī k-ay-Ø dẫke dēm-a če gōš dār-ī face-OBL from IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG then hold.NPST-3SG ear

'manī ja'nễ grē'wagẽ man-ī janễ grēw-ag=ẽ

PN.1SG-GEN wife cry.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

Then, one day she remembered; it is said she started to cry; the king went to pray; [when] he returned from there, prayer, then, he listened [and heard that] his wife was crying.

## KD.f:144

'ē 'grēt  $'n\bar{\imath}$ 0 zahī'rīg ĭã 'grēt ē grē-t zahīrīg ĭã-Ø grē-t nī =0PROX cry.NPST-3SG = and sad song hit.NPST-3SG cry.NPST-3SG now

This one cried and sang sad songs; she cried, then the king came (lit. comes, passes) [inside]; she stopped [crying].

### KD.f:145

'nī bād'šāh sā'eb go'šī 'čī wās'tā 'to nī bādšāh sāeb goš-ī čī wāstā to king say.NPST-3SG what for the sake of PN.2SG now majesty grē'wag 'to bogoš' е grēw-ag =e to bo-goš-∅ cry.NPST-INF =COP.NPST.2SG PN.2SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG

Then his majesty the king said, "Why are you crying?; tell me."

#### KD.f:146

 $go'š\bar{\imath}$   $'m\tilde{a}$  wa  $'nagr\bar{e}ta$   $go'š\bar{\imath}$   $go\check{s}-\bar{\imath}$   $m\tilde{a}$  wa  $na-gr\bar{e}t-a=∅$   $go\check{s}-\bar{\imath}$  say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG POC PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG Say.NPST-3SG

togrē'wagābī'tage'to'hatmantogrēw-ag-ābīt-ag=etohatmanPN.2SGcry.NPST-INF-OBLbecome.PST-PP=COP.NPST.2SGPN.2SGsure

ya	ha'barē		'yakē	ya		gå	Š	'ta		ha'b	ar	kota	aga
ya	habar=ē	:	yak=	ē-ya		gā	5	ta		haba	ır	kot-a	aga
one	word=II	ND	one=	IND-	OBL	W	ith	PN	.2sg	wor	1	do.PST-PP	if
ja'ta		'to		'mai	na		'b	ogo	Š			'šī	
jat-a		to		man	ı-a		bo	o-go	oš-Ø			š-ī	
beat.	PST-PP	PN.	2sg	PN.	1sg-c	BJ	IN	ИPV	-say.N	IPST-	2sg	say.NPST	-3sg
									-			•	
'man	а	'he	čkasa		ha'ba	ır	hã		'nako	ta		'mana	
man-	a	heò	kas-a		habai	r	hã		na-ko	t-a		man-a	
PN.1	SG-OBJ	no	one-C	BL	word		AD	D	NEG-	do.PS	T-P	P PN.1SG-	OBJ
'naja	ta		'ma	na		za	'hīr			$b\bar{\imath}t$			
na-ja	t-a		mar	ı-a		za	hīr			bīt-⊘	j		
NEG-	-beat.PST	-PP	PN.	lsg-	OBJ	ho	mes	sick	ness	becon	ne.	PST-3SG	
'baya	ıgẽ						mar	·'čī	'peta	ı		рō	
bay-a	_						mar	čī	pet-a	a	-	pō	
•	me.NPST	-INI	=COI	NPS	ST.3SC	<b>G</b>	toda	ay		er-OB		for	
								•					

She said "I have not cried."; he said, "You were crying; for sure someone has argued with you, or [if someone] has beaten you; tell me?"; she said, "No one has argued with me or beaten me; I miss... today, my father."

# KD.f:147

110,11,1								
'šī	'šarr	$t\bar{\iota}$		'pet	'kay	$ ilde{e}$		
š-ī	šarr	tī		pet	kay	$=$ $\tilde{e}$		
say.NPST-3SG	fine	PN.25	G.GEN	father	who	=COP	.NPST.3SG	
'šī	pe'lān			ẽ		'šī		way
š-ī	pelān	b	ādšāh	$=$ $\tilde{e}$		<b>š-</b> ī	Ī	way
say.NPST-3SG	so and	so k	ing	=COP.N	NPST.3	SG sa	y.NPST-3SG	oh
'ē 'manī		0	dōs'té	õ	mar'd	omē	'berễ	
ē man-ī		$=_0$	dōst-	ã	mardo	om=ē	be-r-ễ	
PROX PN.15	G-GEN	=FOC	friend	l-ATTR	peopl	e=IND	SBJV-go.Nl	PST-1PL
<i>'tarā</i> ta-rā	<i>ba'rẫ</i> bar-ẫ							
PN.2SG-OBJ	take.NP	ST-1S	3					

He said, "Alright, who is your father?"; she said, "It is king so-and-so."; he said, "Oh this one is my friend; let's go, I will take you [to him]."

 $b\bar{a}d'\bar{s}ah$  ya mol'l $a\bar{e}$  go'l $am\bar{e}$  č $\bar{o}$  b $ad\bar{s}ah$  ya moll $a\bar{e}$  gol $am\bar{e}$  č $\bar{o}$ 

king one Mullah=IND male slave=IND you know

'ōdẫ  $z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}$ ba'yã če 'say 'čār na'par ōdẫ zīr-īt=ī čār bay-ã če say napar three four become.NPST-3PL from take.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG person there

*'dar kāyã* dar k-ā-yã

PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL

The king took a Mullah, a slave, you know; they were three, four persons; they left from there.

#### KD.f:149

 ${}^{\prime}$ dar  $k\bar{a}$ y $\tilde{a}$   $k\bar{a}$ 'y $\tilde{a}$  ya men'zel $\bar{e}$  dar k- $\bar{a}$ -y $\tilde{a}$  k- $\bar{a}$ -y $\tilde{a}$  ya menzel= $\bar{e}$  PREV IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL one stop=IND

 $d\bar{a}'r\tilde{a}$  'padā a 'ōdā čē 'hāl kay dār-ã padā a ōdā čē hāl k-ay- $\varnothing$ 

hold.NPST-3PL again from there from news IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

 $b\bar{a}d'\bar{s}aha$  'goštī 'tī lōg pros... prō'šag bādšāh-a gošt=ī tī lōg pros prōš-ag

king-OBL say.PST=PC.3SG PN.2SG.GEN house FRAG break.NPST-INF

 $b\bar{\imath}'tag\tilde{a}$  ja'nag  $b\bar{\imath}'tag\tilde{a}$   $b\bar{\imath}t-ag=\tilde{a}$  jan-ag  $b\bar{\imath}t-ag=\tilde{a}$ 

become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL hit.NPST-INF become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL

*'taw 'byā* taw by-ā-∅

PN.2SG IMPV-come.NPST-2SG

They left (lit. leave, come]; they stopped in a certain place; then, from there news came [and a messenger] said to the king, "Your houses were broken into; there was a burglary, come."

#### KD.f:150

 $b\bar{a}d'\bar{s}ah$  'pada  $tar'r\bar{\imath}$  'raw 'e $\bar{s}an$  b $\bar{a}d\bar{s}ah$  pada  $tarr-\bar{\imath}$  raw- $\varnothing$  e $\bar{s}-\bar{a}n$ 

king again turn.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG PROX-OBL.PL

```
ĭa'nễ
'dante
                        o'šī
                                        'manī
                                                             'šome
dan-t=e
                        oš-ī
                                                      ĭanễ
                                                             šome
                                        man-ī
give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG
                        say.NPST-3SG
                                        PN.1SG-GEN
                                                      wife
                                                             PN.2PL.GEN
                          ba'retī
ma'yār
        ẽ
                                                         'petā
mayār
                          Ø-bar-et=ī
                                                         pet-ā
        =\tilde{e}
                          IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG
                                                         father-OBL
honour =COP.NPST.3SG
rasē'netī
Ø-rasēn-et=ī
IMPV-take.NPST-2PL=PC.3SG
```

Then, the king returned (lit. returns, goes) [and] gave her to them; he said, "My wife's honour is in your hands (lit. my wife is your honour); take her to her father."

## KD.f:151

```
'ā
      bād'šāh
                'raw
                               'ē
                                      zī'rante
ā
      bādšāh
                raw-Ø
                               ē
                                      zīr-ant=e
DIST
      king
                go.NPST-3SG
                              PROX
                                      take.NPST-3PL=PC.3SG
kā'yã
                        'molk
                               0
                                      'sak
                                             'dīr
                                                  ẽ
                                                                    'čōbī
                                                                    čōbī
k-ā-yã
                       molk
                               =0
                                      sak
                                             dīr
                                                  =\tilde{e}
IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL
                       land
                               =FOC
                                      very
                                            far
                                                  =COP.NPST.3SG
                                                                    you know
'do
     'say
            men'zel šī
                                     dā'rag
                                                     lō'tī
do
     say
            menzel
                                     dār-ag
                                                     lōt-ī
                     say.NPST-3SG
                                     hold.NPST-INF
                                                     want.NPST-3SG
two
     three
            stop
ša'pā
                            n\bar{\imath}
                                  mol'lāh
           dā'rã
                                           'kay
šap-ā
           dār-ã
                                  mollāh
                                           k-ay-Ø
                            nī
night-OBL
           hold.NPST-3PL
                            now
                                  Mullah
                                           IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG
               dros'tã
                            'hameš
                                           ẽ
                                                            hamrā'hẫ
go'šī
                           ham=eš
                                                            hamrāh-ã
               drost-ã
goš-ī
                                           =ẽ
say.NPST-3SG
               all-OBL.PL
                           EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG
                                                            travel-mate-OBL.PL
wāb'band
             kã
wābband
             kã-Ø
put to sleep
            do.NPST-3SG
```

That king went; these came with her (lit. take, come]; the country was very far away, you know; it is said it was necessary to [make] two, three [overnight] stops; they stopped at night you know; the Mullah came [to the woman], it is said, you know, he put all the travel-mates to sleep [magically].

wāb'band 'ā ke kã go'šī ja'neka  $n\bar{\imath}$ ke wābband kã-Ø ā nī goš-ī janek-a put to sleep do.NPST-3SG girl-OBL DIST CLM now say.NPST-3SG

go'šī... 'kay ja'neke ja'neka gō gwa'rā k-ay-Ø janek-e janek-a gō goš-ī gwarā girl-OBL say.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG girl-GEN to with

ar'čī 'kã ja'nek go'šī 'mnī na'zīka kã-Ø nazīk-a arčī janek goš-ī mnī whatever do.NPST-3SG girl PN.1SG.GEN near-OBL say.NPST-3SG

'mayā

may-ā-∅

PROH-come.NPST-2SG

When that one put [them] to sleep, then, he said to the girl... it is said, he came to the girl; whatever he did with the girl; the girl said, "Do not come close to me."

## KD.f:153

o'šī 'mã 'tī 'čokē ko'š $\tilde{a}$ oš-ī mã tī čok=ē koš- $\tilde{a}$ say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN child=IND kill.NPST-1SG

'šī 'manī ġay'rata čē... 'man 'otī ġay'rat š-ī man-ī ġayrat-a čē man otī ġayrat honour-OBL from PN.1SG-GEN PN.1SG REL.GEN honour say.NPST-3SG

 $\check{c}\bar{e}$   $'\check{c}ok$   $d\bar{o}s'ter$   $\tilde{e}$   $\check{c}$   $\check{c}$   $\check{c}$   $\check{c}$   $\check{d}$   $\check{o}s$ -ter =  $\check{e}$ 

from child friend-CMP =COP.NPST.3SG

He said, "I will kill one of your children."; she said, "From my honour... I love my honour more than my children."

### KD.f:154

*'bas 'čokā ko'šītī* bas čok-ā koš-īt=ī

just child-OBL kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

So he killed her child.

## KD.f:155

ko'šītī 'čok mardo'mẫ sō'bā ma'law wa čok mardom-ã koš-īt=ī sōb-ā malaw wa kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG morning-OBL early child people-OBL.PL REFL

 $mol'l\bar{a}$ ' $p\bar{a}d$  $k\tilde{a}$  $go'\bar{s}\bar{i}$ ' $p\bar{a}d$  $\bar{a}ye$  $moll\bar{a}$  $p\bar{a}d$  $k\tilde{a}$ - $\varnothing$  $go\bar{s}$ - $\bar{i}$  $p\bar{a}d$  $\varnothing$ - $\bar{a}$ -ye

Mullah foot do.NPST-3SG say.NPST-3SG foot SBJV-come.NPST-2PL

 $d\bar{o}$ ' $\bar{s}\bar{i}$  'jenn  $b\bar{i}$ 'tag $\tilde{a}$  'ġayb do $\bar{s}\bar{i}$  jenn  $b\bar{i}$ t-ag= $\tilde{a}$  ġayb last night genie become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3PL fairy

 $b\bar{\imath}$ 'ta jen'nã koš'ta bīt-a=∅ jenn-ã košt-a become.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG genie-OBL.PL kill.PST-PP

He killed her child; early in the morning, himself, the Mullah, woke the children [and] the people up; he said, "Get up; last night, there were genii; there were fairies [here]; one of the king's child was killed; the genii killed [him]."

#### KD.f:156

'ē 'nī 'hamedā 'jā 'dapnī ka'nã 'dar ē ham=edā nī ĭā dapn=ī kan-ã dar burial=PC.3SG do.NPST-3PL PROX EMPH=here place **PREV** 

'ē kāyã ja'nê 'padā 'nām 'nagerī ē k-ā-yã ĭanễ padā nām na-ger-ī IMP.k-come.NPST-3PL PROX woman again name NEG-take.NPST-3SG

'āhamrā'hâgỗāhamrāh-ãgỗDISTtravel-mate-OBL.PLwith

Then, these buried him there (lit. here); they left; again this woman did not tell those travel-mates [anything].

#### KD.f:157

 $ra'w\tilde{a}$   $d\bar{i}'ge$   $men'zel\bar{e}$   $raw-\tilde{a}$   $d\bar{i}ge$   $menzel=\bar{e}$ go.NPST-3PL another stop=IND

They went to another stop.

dros'tã wāb'band dī'ge men'zelē 'hančō 'padā kã dīge hančō drost-ã wābband kã-Ø menzel=ē padā do.NPST-3SG another stop=IND like this again all-OBL.PL put to sleep

# hamrā'hẫ

hamrāh-ã

travel-mate-OBL.PL

Another stop, in the same way again he put all the travel-mates to sleep.

### KD.f:159

wāb'band 'ē kã 'kay ja'nēne wābband kã-Ø k-ay-Ø ē janēn-e put to sleep do.NPST-3SG IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG **PROX** woman-GEN 'mã  $'t\bar{\imath}$ de'ge gwa'rā ja'nēna o'šī oš-ī dege gwarā janēn-a mã tī another to woman-OBL say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG PN.2SG.GEN 'čokē ko'šã ja'nēna goš'ta 'manī 'čoka čok=ē koš-ã čok-a janēn-a gošt-a man-ī kill.NPST-1SG child=IND woman-OBL say.PST-PP PN.1SG-GEN child-OBL 'bekoš 'bale 'manī naz'zīka 'mayā be-koš-∅ bale man-ī nazzīk-a may-ā-∅ IMPV-kill.NPST-2SG but PN.1SG-GEN near-OBL PROH-come.NPST-2SG

He put them to sleep; he came to this woman; he said to the woman, "I will kill another one of your sons."; the woman said (lit. has said), "Kill my son, but do not come close to me."

### KD.f:160

'padā 'ē 'čokā ko'šītī

padā ē čok-ā koš-īt=ī

again PROX child-OBL kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Again, this one killed her child.

# KD.f:161

ko'šītī'padā'bīsay'mīmen'zelkoš-īt=īpadābī- $\varnothing$ say-mīmenzelkill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGagainbecome.PST-3SGthree-ORDstop

He killed him; again, it was the third stop.

### KD.f:162

say'mī 'čoka hã 'padā ko'šītī say-mī čok-a hã padā koš-īt=ī three-ORD child-OBL ADD again kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG

Then he killed the third child too.

#### KD.f:163

'hančê 'padā say'mī 'čokā ko'šītī 'nī padā say-mī čok-ā koš-īt=ī nī hančễ again three-ORD child-OBL kill.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG now such.ATTR

'bī čār'mī men'zel 'sar kay 'nī b-ī čār-mī menzel sar k-ay-Ø nī become.NPST-3SG four-ORD stop head IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG now

'hameš $\tilde{e}$ ja'nēna...'kayham=eš= $\tilde{e}$ janēn-ak-ay- $\varnothing$ 

EMPH=PROX =COP.NPST.3SG woman-OBL IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG

*ja'nēne* gwa'rā ja'nēn o'šī 'wasp janēn-e gwarā janēn oš-ī ∅-wasp-∅

woman-GEN to woman say.NPST-3SG IMPV-sleep.NPST-2SG

'manī jā'hānī sa'rā 'mã 'hanī kā'yā man-ī jāh-ānī sarā mã hanī k-ā-y $\tilde{a}$ 

PN.1SG-GEN place-GEN.PL on PN.1SG right now IMP.k-come.NPST-1SG

Then he killed the third child, you know; the story goes on; the fourth stop was left, you know, to the woman... he came to the woman; the woman said, "Lie down in my bed, I will come right now."

### KD.f:164

*ja'nễ 'hameda wap'sī* janễ ham=eda waps-ī

woman EMPH=here sleep.NPST-3SG

The woman lay down (lit. here)...

#### KD.f:165

ĭa'nễ 'ĭane... 'ā wap'sī 'rawt 'otī sa'ra jane ā waps-ī janê raw-t otī sar-a FRAG sleep.NPST-3SG woman go.NPST-3SG REL.GEN head-OBL DIST

dã  $z\bar{\imath}'r\bar{\imath}t$ 'rawt 'rawt bā'zāra va dã raw-t raw-t bāzār-a zīr-īt ya until market place-OBL take.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG go.NPST-3SG one

'hamābā'zārena'zīka'raw'hamēham=ābāzār-enazīk-araw-∅ham=ēEMPH=DISTmarket place-GENnear-OBLgo.NPST-3SGEMPH=PROX

# ba'zāra

bazār-a market place-OBL

The wom... that one lay down; the woman left; she kept going (lit. goes, goes) all alone (lit. she takes her head), to a town, close to that (lit. this) town.

## KD.f:166

'hamodā naz'zīka 'čātē 'ēr kapī 'čāte tō'kā ham=odā nazzīk-a čāt=ē ēr kap-ī čāt-e tōkā well=IND fall.NPST-3SG well-GEN EMPH=there near-OBL PREV in

[There was] a well near there; she went inside the well.

### KD.f:167

'čāte tō'kā ka'pī 'ā 'nī 'sōb 'ēr čāt-e tōkā ēr kap-ī ā nī sōb well-GEN fall.NPST-3SG morning in **PREV** DIST now

'byāe  $d\bar{o}'\check{s}\bar{\imath}$ bād'šāhe ĭa'nễ jen'nẫ bor'ta dōšī bādšāh-e ĭanễ bort-a by-ā-e jenn-ã last night king-GEN wife take.PST-PP IMPV-come.NPST-2PL genie-OBL.PL

She went inside the well, you know; in the morning (lit. it becomes morning) they left; [the Mullah] said, "Look last night, the genii have taken the woman.

### KD.f:168

jen'nã bor'ta mar'dom 'hančō parē'šâ ba'yã jenn-ã bort-a mardom hančō parēšã bay-ã genie-OBL.PL take.PST-PP people like this sad become.NPST-3PL 'mā 'čī ja'wāb 'davễ bād'šāhe sa'yễ 'čok čī jawāb Ø-da-vễ bādšāh-e say-ễ čok mā SBJV-give.NPST-1PL PN.1PL what answer king-GEN three-ATTR child

ko'šag		bī'tã		bād'šāhe				$'nar{\iota}$
koš-ag		bīt-ã		bādšāh-e	janễ	gār	bī-∅	nī
kill.NPST-	INF	become	e.PST-3PL	king-GEN	I wife	lost	become.PST-3SG	now
'mā '	'ōdā	'če	ja'wāb	'dayễ		'nī	ra'wã	'nī
mā ā	ōdā	če	jawāb	Ø-day-ễ		nī	raw-ã	nī
PN.1PL t	there	what	answer	SBJV-give.	NPST-1PI	nov	v go.NPST-3PL	now
	ol'lā	hã	lar'zag		$ ilde{e}$			
	ollā	hã	larz-ag		$=$ $\tilde{e}$			
PROX M	Iullah	ADD	tremble.	NPST-INF	=COP.NI	PST.3S	G	

The genii have taken [her]"; the people became very sad, [and they said] "What should we tell (lit. answer) [since] the king's three children were killed, the king's wife disappeared; now what should we tell [the king] there"; then they went; Now this Mullah was trembling too.

### KD.f:169

'zānt zān-t know.1	NPST-3SG	<mark>′ē</mark> ē PROX	habar		sarā	eš	$\tilde{e}$ = $\tilde{e}$ =COP.NPST.3SG
aḍ	<i>bī'ta</i> bīt-a=∅ become.Pa	ST-PP=C	COP.NPS	г.3sg			

You know, he knew that the (lit. this) story was about him.

## KD.f:170

'ēmol'lāhãlar'zagēēmollāhãlarz-ag=ẽPROXMullahADDtremble.NPST-INF=COP.NPST.3SG

This Mullah was trembleing too.

#### KD.f:171

'sōbe	sa'ra	rama'gīē
sōb-e	sara	ramagī=ē
morning-GEN	on	shepherd=IND

Now it so happened that in the morning, a shepherd came.

pa'dā rama'gī 'kay 'ĭos kante padā ramagī k-ay-Ø kan-t=e jos again shepherd IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG question do.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG 'tra mar'dom go'šī 'ha mardom ha=Ø goš-ī tra say.NPST-3SG PN.2SG.OBJ people be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG 'nē go'šī 'mana 'hastẽ hast=ẽ nē man-a goš-ī be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ

Then the shepherd came; she asked him, she said, "Do you have relatives or not?"; he said, "I do."

### KD.f:173

ča 'čātī tō'kā 'ā rama'gī 'jos kã 'to čāt-ī ča tōkā ā ramagī ĭos kã-Ø to from well-GEN shepherd question do.NPST-3SG PN.2SG in DIST 'čōnēnē av 'čāte tō'kā 'goštī čōn-ēn=ē čāt-e tōkā =ay gošt=ī what kind-ATTR=IND =COP.NPST.2SG well-GEN say.PST=PC.3SG in ã mar'domē 'mã 'tarā 'mātē go'hārē mardom=ē =ã mã ta-rā māt=ē gohār=ē PN.1SG people=IND =COP.NPST.1SG PN.2SG-OBJ mother=IND sister=IND 'ē 'kasē 'ha 'nē kas=ē ha=Ø nē ē be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG NEG.be.NPST.3SG PROX person=IND 'hastẽ go'šī 'mana 'goṛā go'šī goš-ī hast=ẽ goš-ī man-a goŗā say.NPST-3SG PN.1SG-OBJ be.NPST=COP.NPST.3SG then say.NPST-3SG 'mana 'bar 'hamodā Ø-bar-Ø ham=odā man-a

That shepherd asked her from inside the well, "What are you?"; she said [from] inside the well, "I am a human; do you have a mother, a sister, a relative [or] not."; this one said, "I do"; Then she said, "Take me there."

PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-take.NPST-2SG EMPH=there

## KD.f:174

'erama'gīkaš'šī'bārte'otīeramagīkašš-ībār-t=eotīPROXshepherdpull.NPST-3SGtake.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGREL.GEN

bal'lokelō'gāballok-elōg-āgrandmother-GENhouse-OBL

This shepherd pulled her up [and] took her to his grandmother's place.

### KD.f:175

bal'lokelō'ga'ābal'lok'hamešballok-elōg-aāballokham=ešgrandmother-GENhouse-OBLDISTgrandmotherEMPH=PROX

 $\tilde{e}$   $ne\check{s}'ta$   $\bar{a}$   $b\bar{a}d'\check{s}\bar{a}h$   $h\tilde{a}$   $=\tilde{e}$   $ne\check{s}t-a=\emptyset$   $\bar{a}$   $b\bar{a}d\check{s}\bar{a}h$   $h\tilde{a}$  =COP.NPST.3SG sit.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG DIST king ADD

'kaytra'sītbād'šāhãk-ay-tras-ītbādšāhãIMP.k-come.NPST-3SGarrive.NPST-3SGkingADD

at'ka'nīras'ta'ēatk-a= $\emptyset$ nīrast-a= $\emptyset$ ēcome.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SGnowarrive.PT-PP=COP.NPST.3SGPROX

mol'ka 'ā mol'lā bād'šāhe 'drō bād'šāh 'pād  $n\bar{\imath}$ ĭа... molk-a mollā bādšāh-e ā drō ĭа bādšāh pād nī king-GEN land-OBL DIST Mullah all now FRAG king foot

kay 'pet k-ay-∅ pet IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG father

To his grandmother's place, you know; that grandmother was sitting [there]; that king (i.e. the husband-king) arrived (lit. comes, arrives), and now the king came (lit. has come, has arrived) to this king's country; now that Mullah, all wo... the king stood up, the father.

### KD.f:176

'pet 'pād 'nī gōlā'ešī kã kav pet pād k-ay-Ø nī gōlāeš=ī kã-Ø father foot IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG now embrace=PC.3SG do.NPST-3SG

'goštī	'ē	kes'saw	'to	'kojā	če	āwor'ta
gošt=ī	ē	kessaw	to	kojā	če	āwort-a
sav.PST=PC.3SG	PROX	storv	PN.2SG	where	from	bring.PST-PP

The father stood up; now he hugged her; he said, "From where have you brought this story?"

#### KD.f:177

'goštī 'mana 'bele 'jŏs gošt=ī man-a b-el-e jŏs say.PST=PC.3SG PN.1SG-OBJ IMPV-allow.NPST-2PL question

'makane

ma-kan-e

PROH-do.NPST-2PL

She said, "Leave me alone; don't ask me."

### KD.f:178

go'šī 'bogoš 'e kes'saw 'manī 'sar bo-goš-∅ goš-ī e kessaw man-ī sar say.NPST-3SG IMPV-say.NPST-2SG PROX story PN.1SG-GEN head ẽ 'nī 'mard kay ham 'pād = $\tilde{e}$ k-ay-Ø nī mard ham pād foot IMP.k-come.NPST-3SG =COP.NPST.3SG now man ADD 'šī 'šarr ã. 'to 'kay 'ē ay š-ī šarr =ẽ kay ē to =ay fine =COP.NPST.3SG PN.2SG who =COP.NPST.2SG PROX say.NPST-3SG kes'saw ē kes'saw 'mē do'ēnānī sa'ra kessaw ē kessaw do-ēn-ānī mē sara story PROX story PN.1PL.GEN two-ATTR-GEN.PL on

*at'ka* atk-a=∅

come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

He said, "Tell me, this story has happened to me (lit. this story is on my head)"; then her husband stood up; he said, "Alright, who are you?; this story, this story, has happened to both of us."

### KD.f:179

'e do'ēnānī 'goštī 'šome sa'ra kes'saw do-ēn-ānī gošt=ī kessaw šome sara e PN.2PL.GEN two-ATTR-GEN.PL say.PST=PC.3SG PROX story on

'nayatka 'manī 'watī sa'ra nay-atk-a=∅ man-ī wat-ī sara NEG-come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG PN.1SG-GEN REFL-GEN on

at'ka atk-a=∅ come.PST-PP=COP.NPST.3SG

She said, "This story has not happened to the two of you; it has happened to me."

## KD.f:180

'mã <mark>'hamā</mark>	bād'šāh	<mark>a</mark> 'ešī	'peta	go'šī
mã ham=ā	bādšāh-a	a ešī	pet-a	goš-ī
PN.1SG EMPH=	DIST king-OB	L PROX.GEN	father-OBL	say.NPST-3SG
/ ≈ / <sub>4</sub> =	1 = 1-	$ ilde{\hat{i}}$	ja'nek â	ř
'mã 'taī			J	
mã ta-ī		=ã	3	-ã
PN.1SG PN.2SG	G-GEN child =	COP.NPST.1SG	daughter =	COP.NPST.1SG
'e 'ḍawl	'e 'ḍawlā	'to	goš'ta	'hameš
e dawl	e ḍawl-ā	to	gošt-a	ham=eš
PROX manner	PROX manne		-	EMPH=PROX
ã	mol'lā do'ễ	'neštagã		'nī 'pād
$=$ $\tilde{a}$	mollā do-ễ	nešt-ag=	ēã	nī pād
=COP.NPST.3PL	Mullah two-	ATTR sit.PST-	PP=COP.NPST	.3PL now foot
kāyã	'mard	1	o 'mard	'pād
k-ā-yã	mard	do pet	=o mard	pād
IMP.k-come.NPS	T-3PL man	two father	=and man	foot
1 - ~	1.12	11-1 ~	, ~	
kāyã	do'ễ	mollā'yẫ	ge'rã ~	
k-ā-yã	do-ễ	mollā-yẫ	ger-ã	_
IMP.k-come.NPS	T-3PL two-AT	TR Mullah-OB	L.PL take.NP	ST-3PL
ge'rã	zī'rã	sa'ra do	ē'nānī	bor'rã
~	zīr-ã		-ēn-ānī	borr-ã
-	take.NPST-3PL		o-ATTR-GEN.I	

I ... she said to that king, her father, "I am your child, your daughter; you told [that things should be] this this way, you know, both Mullahs are sitting [here]."; then they stood up, the man... both the father and husband stood up; they took both Mullahs; they cut off (lit. take, take, cut off) the heads of both of them.

## KD.f:181

bor'rã ba'rã  $'n\bar{\imath}$ 'padā ča'gal dayante borr-ã bar-ã čagal day-ant=e nī padā cut.NPST-3PL take.NPST-3PL throwing give.NPST-3PL=PC.3PL now again

'pet bād'šāh 'padā 'sīr 'dante 'hame bādšāh padā sīr dan-t=e ham=e pet father king again wedding give.NPST-3SG=PC.3SG EMPH=PROX

bād'šāhā gō 'sīrī dã 'otī ker'rā bādšāh-ā gō sīr=ī dã-Ø kerrā otī king-OBL with wedding=PC.3SG give.NPST-3SG REL.GEN beside

dā'rītī'basdār-īt=ībashold.NPST-3SG=PC.3SGfinish

They cut them off [and] threw them away; then, the father, the king again married her off to that (lit. this) king; he married her off [and] kept her at his [own place]; that's all.