

Serge Axenov

# The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan

*A corpus-based grammatical description*



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**Abstract**

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This dissertation is a synchronic description of the Balochi language as spoken in Turkmenistan. The dissertation consists of three main parts: sound structure, word and phrase level morphosyntax and clause structure. The purpose of the present study is to describe the basic phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of the Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan in accordance with the principles of descriptive linguistics. This method has been chosen in order to present synchronic data on various language levels and to lay the basis for further studies of this variety of the Balochi language, as well as for comparative studies in Iranian linguistics. The language data are presented in the book in such a way as to make it accessible also to non-specialists in Iranian languages.

The oral texts used as language data have been written down or recorded during seven trips to Turkmenistan in the period between 1989 and 2000. The main part of the material consists of folktales, recordings of common speech and ethnographic texts. Folktales written down in the Latin and Cyrillic scripts by the Baloch themselves have also been used as linguistic data for the dissertation.

During the last twenty years the Baloch have started to leave their national settlements and actively migrate within the territory of Turkmenistan because of lack of water and the soil salination. In the future this migration is likely to bring about diverging Balochi dialects in the territory of Turkmenistan. The majority of migrants from the Baloch settlements, however, seem to switch from Balochi to Turkmen in all linguistic domains, including the home.

In this context the recording of speech samples of the Balochi language in Turkmenistan and linguistic descriptions of the language seem to be of special importance.

*Keywords:* Balochi, dialectology, phonology, morphology, syntax, descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics, unwritten languages, fieldwork, Iranian languages

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*To the memory of my father, Victor Axenov...*

## A.1 Text samples with translations

### A.1.1 xānbādurr

1. *yakk pādīsāe at, šit, say zāg dāšt. say zāg dāšt, činka waxt büt u ē zāg tū būtant u watī kamālā rastant. 2. watī kamālā rastant u piss-i ša ešān-a soj ku ki: ay bābā, man šmārā gis-a daīn. čunēn jāe šmārā gis-a daīn? 3. gušt-i: ay bābā, ammā say, say čē wan, say brās an. say gwār būtēn ša yakk pissā u ša yakk māsā. ma-bīt um, tūēn tūēnay, gwanḏēn gwanḏēnay, gwanḏtirēn am gwanḏtirēnay? ma-bīt um – na-bīt.*
4. *xayr, šar: ē bādīsā gašt u gašt u gašt u gašt, amē rūh-i zamīnayā gašt. gujā int? γīt int diga ā rangēn! kamm int, kamm int ki paydā-a kanay. 5. yakk jāe šut u yakk bādīsāe amā rang say jīnikk dāšt, pad-u-dūmē, pad-u-dūmē. šut, kāsīdī kurt u amē watī jīnikkānā ar saynānā dāt bi amē bādīsāy say zāgā. 6. guḏā ē gušt-i ki: ay bādīsā sāīb, mašmā ta um astay pādīsāie, man um astum pādīsāie, mašmay ar say zāg u jīnikkānī ārōs yakk rōčā bīt u labbē u muččē u kārē u muččēn yakk gaštā bīt. muččē yakk gaštā bīt. gušt-i: bāz jwān int, ta har cōn kan, kanay.*
7. *ē bādīsā āt u, gisā u gušt-i: ay bābā, šmārā zāmās kurtun. 8. annūn brawan ki šmārā gis-a daīn. laškar u watī bādīsāia muččā jam-i ku, laškar u xalγā u maxlūkā u muččēnā, u rādag būtant. rādag būtant, watī zāgānā um zurt. 9. amē gwanḏēn zāgay nāmī xānbādurr at. amē xānbādurr gu ki: man-a na-rraīn. man-a na-rraīn, mni zāmā bar u mni jīnēnā gōmē mni zāmā nikē kan u bzūr u byāi.*
10. *bādīsā gušt-i, bādīsā piss-i soj ku ki: pačē tī zāmā barīn? gušt-i: ta pādīsāe way, am dōst dāray, am dušman dāray. ta gō watī pādīsāia raway, pādīsāia tīa kay-a sāitī ša paday ē ki bayt, xarāba kant u billit u brawt? 11. gušt-i: ān, amē zāg mni aglīēn jwānēn zāgē. amē gwanḏ-u-gwanḏēn zāg int-i. bīt, gušt-i, braīn.*
12. *ē š-amidīnā rādag būtant, rādag büt u čē ku, šut. šut pādīsā, gušt-i: maga raway ki š-āškā ki bir gaštay u gis dātay u ātay, plāna jāa amādīnā, bi-mā digāray, bi-mā, mānand-i plāna dikkayā, plāna jāgaā, bi-mādā ēr ma-kanay.*
13. *š-amā jāa bgwazay u guḏā ēr kanay. amādā ēr ma-kanay, ma-waspay. š-amādā ki gwastay, guḏīnā čē-a kanay, guḏīnā ...*
14. *[gō watī pissā ā gušt-i?] ān, watī pissā gu: amādā ēr ma-kanay. gō watī pissā gušt-i: bi-mādā ki gis dātay u mni brāsānā gō mni jīnēnā u gō laškarā ātay, amādā ēr ma-kanay. š-amā ādā bgwaz u guḏā byā. gušt-i: bīt.*
15. *ē šut, ar gujāmīay say-say rōč, say šap u say rōč jīta-jīta dōl u surnā u tamāsā u ešānī gis dāt u tūēnā tūēnayā u wārīā gwanḏēnā gwanḏēnayā, a gwanḏtirēnay gwanḏtirēnayā. 16. ar gujāmīā āwānā gō watī jīnday nikē dāt. amē watī zāgā gō čēwā nikē ku, gō zāmāy u š-amādā zurt u bir gašt u āt.*

17. *šapē jāe, rōčē ā jāe, hamā jāga ki amā xānbādurr guštāt ki ēr ma-kanay, šapī šap gīpt u na-zānt u amādā ēr-i ku. 18. ēr-i ku, šapī ki sarā ištāt u wap-tant, tāri ustātāt ta xāna-i xarāb – yakk aždīyāe amēšānī ēšk-u-āškā alxa jāta!*

19. *annūn čē, ša gujā-a gwazay? sapsēm amē laškaray, amē gīrday ēšk-u-āškā, muččā amē rang gīpta-i diga. ē aždīyā gu ki: pačē ta ... amē bādīsāa tawār ku ki ... bādīsāa tawār ku ki: ay bādīsā, – gušt-i, man gō ta kār na-dārīn. 20. xānbādurrī jīnēnā bill u, bill u bra. bill-i, watī γōšunā bzūr u bra. magar xānbādurrī jīnēnā bill u bra. gujā ki raway tī dil-a kaššit, bra. 21. š-amidīnā majbūr büt āxtīēn xānbādurrī jīnēnā išt u rādag büt u šut. xalγā zurt u išt u šut. amā xānbādurrī jīnēnā išt.*

22. *ē billī xānbādurrī jīnēn amīdā gō aždīyāā mānīt, ē āt, āt čēwayā ... āxtīēn watī jā u mukāmā u watī bādīsāia sar-u-bār-u-mārānī ēr kurt. 23. ā zāg-i āt ki: ay bābā! guj-i, – gušt-i, mni jīnēn? 24. gušt-i: tī jīnēnā aždīyā gardēnt-i. 25. amā pulāna jāa ki ta guštay ēr ma-kan, man ēr kurtun. 26. amādā am aždīyā gušt-i: xānbādurrī jīnēnā ma-illay, š-amē tī laškarīān man hičč-a na-illīn, muččānā alās-a kanīn. byā ... amē rang, amē rang, amē rang.*

27. *gušt-i: napa ē ta way u ē tī pādīsāie. man šutun. 28. gušt-i: laškar u γōšunā ... gušt-i: laškar u γōšunā um na-barīn man. 29. laškar um mni pakār na-int, tī γōšun um mni pakār na-int. ičč tī mni pakār na-int, man wat-a raīn, tānā.*

30. *š-amīdā bgwāzēn, nānē pakkit u kulūčāe u watī aspay pastarkā bast u swār büt u šapē jāe u rōčē jāe, u šapē jāe u rōčē jāe, āt-i bi-mā manzilā aždīyāyā. 31. aždīyāyā ki āt, aždīyā b-ēšī dēmā dar büt, b-ēšī dēmā dar büt. dēmāy dar büt u, gušt-i ay ... [wāpēntay, na?] āt u bi-mē āxtīēn aždīyāyā sar büt. aždīyāy γārā tawār jāt, aždīyā dar büt. 32. čē maxsad dāštay ki ... čē maxsad dāštay ki ta mni jīnēnā gardēntay? pa čē maxsadā, pa čē wāsītā, pa čēā? 33. gušt-i: man maxsadē dāštun jwānēn ki tī jīnēnā gardēntun. 34. jīnēnā um tawār ku, gō ā gušt-i: bguš ki bi-mē tī piss ki pādīsāe būta, trā amē xizmatīnā kurta? ta soj-i kan. 35. amē xizmatīē ki man kurta un, amē tī jīnēnay piss-i kurta-i? 36. bādīsā ē bi watī jīnēnā ... na-kurta, na.*

37. *xayr, gušt-i: annūn watī maxsadā bgu. 38. gušt-i: man bi pulāna jāa, aždīyā um gu, bi yakk jīnikkē āšīy un ki bi dēb-i aptsarī dastā int. amā dēb apt sar dārīt. 39. gušt-i ki bi amāi dastā int-a. 40. annūn man, mni maxsad amā int ki ta amāyārā pamman byāray, amā jīnikkā, man diga maxsad um ... 41. man razm kurta u nujūm kurta un, bi-mē mni nujūmā ša-tta-i diga kass nēšt.*

42. *ē amīdā watī jīnēnā išt-i gōmē aždīyāā, jīnd-i rādag büt. 43. šapē jāe, rōčē jāe, yakk jāe šut tā šwānagē. 44. šwānagē ē bundā-a kaššit amē rang ša rēšagā irr-a dant ingu, ā bundā-a kaššit, amē ... irr-a dant amē ... āngu. 45. āt-i, gušt-i: aw, xayr-i ta kant, lālāw? ta čē, ē pālāwāmīnā pačē-a kanay?*

46. gušt-i: e pälawānīānā man pa xānbādurrī wāsītā-a kanīn. 47. yakk rōčē bīt, ki xānbādurr š-amē rāhā-a kayt u gwazīt. 48. man hamē pälawānīānā pa amāi wāsītā-a kanīn. gušt-i: xānbādurr u man un, gīs sōtag. 49. gušt-i ki: ta way ... napa amē ... yakk brāsē ta um yakkē ... u duwumiēn um man, byā ki du bayan. 50. yēla ku amē ramagā amidā gallēnt, yēla ku, šut, rādag büt gō xānbādurr, kašš ku u šut.

51. čunt šap u rōč-i diga šutant, yakk jāē šutant tā yakkē diga e kōhā-a zūrīt, jant bi ā kōhā, ā kōhā-a zūrīt, jant b-e kōhā. 52. ā ta čē, ... xāna-i xarāb? 53. gušt-i ki: e pälawānīānā pačē-a kanay tā e kōhānā bačd-a kanay? 54. e kōhā-a sinday, janay bi ā kōhā, ā kōhā-a sinday, janay b-e kōhā? e pälawānīānā pa kī wāsītā? 55. gušt-i: ay, e pälawānīānā man-a kanīn ki š-amē rāhā yakk waxtē kayt xānbādurr-a gwazīt. man pa xānbādurrī wāsītā-a kanīn. 56. gušt-i: xāna-i xarāb, xānbādurr u man un, xānbādurr u man un. 57. gušt-i: ay kī, du šmā it u sayumiēn brās u man un, brawan.

58. e wati kōhbačdītā išt amidīnā. 59. rādag bütant, čunt šap u čunt rōč-i diga burritant, yakk jāē šutant tā digarē yakkē amē rangēn, yakk čizē. 60. e kōhā gō ā dastā gipta, e kōhā gō ā dastā gipta. amē du kōhā gō du dastā amē rang gipta, gō pāday čē ... ampānē dārīt, kār-a kant. 61. ampān ... gō wati dapā am sing-a kant, zāmē jōr-a kant, zāmē jōr-a kant. gō-mē dapā int u amē rang amēsā tačīt-a kant, amidīnā u amidā ešā-a muššit, sing-a kant u ippit u jōr-a kant. 62. gušt-i: xāna-i xarāb, ta e pälawānīā pa kī wāsītā-a kanay? gušt-i: man amidā nujum kurta un u bi-mē nujūmā āta ki xānbādurr-a kayt, š-amē rāhā-a gwazīt. 63. ān, man amē pälawānīānā pa xānbādurrī wāsītā-a kanīn. 64. gušt-i: xānbādurr u man un. 65. gušt-i: ay, say šmā it u čarumiēn man un. 66. eš um prēnt wati kārā u rādag büt gō xānbādurr.

67. rādag bütant, šapē jāē, rōčē jāē, yakk jāē šutant, e yakk tačūtē dāšt, ā kull dēb atant diga, wārtant-i diga ešī aspukkā, ēr burtant. 68. yakk jāē guš-nag bütant, amidīnā u ... yakkērā zarr dāt-i xānbādurr š-amēšān u e mučč pälawān dēb ant diga, e mardum na-ant, ādamī na-ant diga. 69. e šut u gušt-i: bra š-amē sārā, š-amidā, š-amē pi ... š-amē nān ... ša nānwāā nān zin. 70. āt, nānay marazīnā āt, nānwā āt-i, dukkānā āt. gušt-i: day nā nānē. 71. ay yē ingu, āngu ku ki bi-mē jāē ki nān-a pačant diga. 72. ingu āngu ku, gušt-i: aw, ta mnā day, nān day. 73. nān na-dāt-i, yēšā jat bāzēnē, harčī ki bi-mē nānwāyay tā nān atant, ešānā bačd-i kurt u āwurt-i u amidīnā u ... čē ku idīnā, diga āwurt bi-mē āxtiēn wati amrānīā.

74. amrānīā amidā āwurt ki nān bōrant. 75. gušt-i: yakk ātišē bīt ki yakk čizē kanan. 76. gušt-i ki: hamingu dūtē. 77. wati yakk amrānīā dēm-i dāt ki: ta bra, š-amā dūtayā ātišē byār. 78. e šut ta amidīnā dūtītē. bāzēn katamērā bun dāta yakkē u sarbaray kaptia u gadday čērā kirm jāta, maga badan-i muččēn kirmē ki yulyul-a kant ša kirmā. 79. e sōj-i ku ki: ay pīramard, tī āl pačē e rang int? e kirm u e čiz, e pačē e rang badāl int? 80. gušt-i: ay, hičč kassē nē ki amē mnī dastā gīt u mnā bāl arīt u yakk kumakkē kant ki š-amē nī jāā ... 81.

gušt-i: man-a girīn tī dastā, bāl-a kārīn. 82. gušt-i: byā, gir, bāl ār. 83. e yakk gaddē dārīt tūēnē ki amā gadday čērā int ešī kapp amāngur int, amā gadday čērā int. 84. e hamē ki gipt dastay ki "man trā bāl-a kārīn", gipt u ešī saragā um wati gadday čērā šikkē dāt, wati kūnpadā um gadday čērā kapt.

85. āxtiēn amrā-i sayl-a kanant, xānbādurr gō wati amrānā sayl-a kant ta damē kayt u sāatirē kayt u munūtē kayt, ay na-a. na-a, i-i-ičč! 86. ečga amrāē dēm dāt. āt-i, tā padā amā kirmukkī kaptia, hamidā nāl-nāl int. čē ē? 87. ay, amē rangēnē kaptia un u kirm u badāl un u kassē na-int ki mnī bāzulā gīt u mnā š-amē dīgārā bāl arīt yā da santī u pačē santī ki awā dūt. 88. gušt-i: man bāl-a kārīn. e ki ančō putrīt, dastay gīt ki bāl-a kārīn, ešī saragā um gīt u ešā um gadday čērā šikk-a dant u killīt amādā.

89. damē, sāatirē ništant, tā - na. sayumiēnā dēm-i dant, ā šwānagā dēm-i dāt: ta bra, xāna-i xarāb, ešā čē būt? 90. e āt, allā, ājabēn gaddē kaptia kirmukkī. 91. eš um hamā rang hamā rāzā gušt-i. 92. gušt-i: man bāl-a kārīn. gušt-i: bāl ār, bass. 93. ešī saragā am gīt, šikk-a dant amādā, sayā idā-a bandīt.

94. xānbādurrī jind mant. dīst-i ... byā, idā sayl kan. 95. e šut: e daūs, - gušt-i, - mašīn jīstant. 96. jīstant, na, amā yakk damē ... sāatirē ništ, dīst-i - na-bīt. 97. amē yakk gadd u madd u γōš u nān u arčī ki ešānī bār u bunag, ešā muččānā patāpt u bačd kurt u čō pa ajāibē āt. 98. āt, bi-mē dūtūyā āt. 99. āt, γōšā yēr ku ta xāna-y xarāb, idā sayl kan, e čōn kirmukkē! 100. gušt-i: ay, pīramard, ta čē, xāna-i xarāb? 101. gušt-i: ay, ša mnī ālā sōj ma-kan. man amidā kirm jāta un, činka sāl int kaptia, kassē nē mnī dastā gīt u nā bāl arīt. 102. čō badgumān e gušt-i, ... zānt-i, gušt-i: harčī ki kurt, nī amrānā amē ku, amē xāna-i xarāb ku. 103. gušt-i: man bāl-a kārīn trā. gušt-i: byā, bāl ār. 104. e ančō ki gipt dastay ki "bāl-a kārīn trā", na, dastā prēnt bi ešī čugā, na, ešā gō-mē gadd-madday šamidā irr-i dāt, ā-ā-ādā gō-mē wati gaddā kapt. 105. ta wāwaylān, ā nē - ā sayēnānī čamm am amādā zururant gadday čērā. 106. ar say dar bütant.

107. dar bütant, ša ādā irr-i dāt ešā. gušt-i: ta ē, xāna-i xarāb, e pälawānī u e čizānā pačē-a kanay? 108. gušt-i: man-a kanīn pälawānīānā ki yakk rōčē bīt ki xānbādurr-a kayt, š-amidīnā ... gwazīt. man pamāi wāsītā-a kanīn ki amā xānbādurr ki kayt, man gō-m-āi yagwa amrā-a bašn. pa xānbādurrī wāsītā-a kanīn. 109. gušt-i: xānbādurr u man un. 110. gušt-i: hō, čār šumā it u pačūmiēn man, daway.

111. e āxtiēn nānānī čē ... ā nānukkānā dēm-a dayant, lapāštant, wārtant u rādag bütant. 112. rādag bütant, yakk jāē šutant tā yakk pādīšāi, yakk pādīšāi āpā aždīyāē band kurta ki rōčē na-zānīn činka jīnikk-a lofīt, čē-a lofīt ... jīnikkānā amidīnā. 113. gučān e gušt-i, šut u gušt-i ki: e čēē, e jīnikkānā, e say jīnikkā, gušt-i, rōčē, say jīnikk u say buršāb u say uštir u say čē u ... 114. gučān amā-a guštir: gučān amē jīnikkānā gō-mē čēān ... pādīšā



watī jīnikkānā ... marōčtēn očur um amē pādīšāy jīnday jīnikkānī int diga. jīnday jīnikkānī bāid byāant u amēšanā um dant. 115. gušt-i ..., guđān xānbādurr gušt-i kī: amēšanā man čē-a kanin? amē aždīyāay jawābkār man. kušin-ī, šmā ma-yāt. guđān amē jīnikkānā agar dait. 116. ay, čē kurtant, guštant: š-āi kī čē bīt, - guštant, - dayan.

117. šut u xānbādurr amā aždīyāā kušt u ... kušt-i-t-ī u š-amēšī silumē zurt u āt u pādīšāā sī kurtant kī amē rangēn mardumē āt u aždīyāā kušt u amē rangēn pālāwānē u pa-mē rangēn jīnikkē. 118. gušt-i: bayt kī say jīnikk man dārīn, ar sayēnānā man-a dain-ī. 119. āpā-iš ēla ku, diga āp āt, āp bi rawā bīt diga, ēla-i ku.

120. š-īdinā kī ē bādīšā āt u gušt-i: šarr, kī ta wati jīnikkānā kī dayay, man patta say pālāwān-a killīn. amē wati say jīnikkā amē nī say brāsā day. 121. amē say brās na-ant, amē say brāsā-a dain. 122. yakkē ā kī šwanagā, yakkē kōhbađdā, yakkē ā zāmay ustāā, yakkē ā zāmay ustāā bday. 123. ar sayēnānā gīs-i dāt u amidinā u bi-mē bādīšāā ē say brāsā išt-i amidā.

124. guđān ā brās guštant: ay lālā, ay lālā, tī sarā balkēn sakkīē bīt, ammā čōn bzānan? tī sarā balkēn sakkīē bīt, ammā amē say brās čōn bzānan? 125. gušt-i: allā, ay lālā, mni zāntīn, ā ... āsān int. amē mni čallaway bzūrīt gō wat, ar kadēn kī amē mni čallaway nigēnag ... nigēnag-ī ōnē bīt, zānay kī man na-un. yā astun yā nēstun. 126. mudām amē, amē mni čallaway nigēnagā sayl kanit. agar hamē čallaway nigēnag ōnē bīt, amā waxtā-a zānit kī man yā astun, yā nēstun. 127. xayr, xayr. ešānā bill-i amidinā, ē say brās amidā gīs dāt, ā u xarxašan, āxtīēn pīramarday nām xarxašan int. xarxašanā š-amidā zurt u šut.

128. šapē jāē u rōčē jāē u šapē jāē u rōčē jāē šut kī bi dēb-i aptsarī ḡalāā rast. 129. dēb-i aptsaray ḡalāā kī rast, amidinā gušt-i kī: ay, ta činka parsax rā ... đīgār ičč šōr u jarr u iččī sabz na-kurtat. ičč xīlīēn jarr u iččī na-int. 130. ay, ḡaraz kī šutant, bi-mā yakk šārē kī hamā dēb-i aptsar xarāb kurta u amā bādīšāay ḡalāā u jīnikk u muččānā wāundi kurta kī i-i-ičč čiz nē kī ādinā ...

131. ē šut u amādinā gō xarxašan u amā zangē dāšt, amā zangā jat, jīnikkō bi gīsē tā ḡulp int diga. 132. amā yakk čē ... zangē, yakk čē dāšt, amāyārā jat-ī, gīsay dap karakk u pāč bīt u jīnikkō đīst xānbādurrā. awal andit u guđān grēt-ī. 133. gušt-i: ay jīnikk, pačē grētay u guđān pačē anditay? 134. gušt-i: ay warnā, činka sāl at kī man ādamī na-đīsta un! annūn kī trā đīstun, tī sarā āšīy būtun u ā bēđīnay ōšā kaptun kī annūn bayt u trā bkušīt, magar tā kyāmattay rōčā man patī ḡamān xudā bzānt kī čōn baīn. 135. gušt-i: ay panā gō xudāā, kassē kī ... kassē kī ā čē-a kant, ā čē, p-āi parwā-a na-kant.

136. ē amidā gō wat gwāzī-a kurtant, ar du jīnikkō u čōrīka gō wat gwāzī-a kurtant, warnā atant diga. 137. āxtīēn kay gušt-i, xarxašan gu kī: ay, šmā amē dēb ša gujām rā-a kayt? mnā amā rāā nišan bđait. dēb ša gujām rā-a kayt, mnā amā rāā nišan bđait. āxtīēn xarxašan um bunīādāmē nē, ā um dēbē

diga. 138. jīnikkō gušt-i: bāid kī š-amē, š-amē rōdarātā š-amidā bayt. ē šut, amāđā rā-a sāitī.

139. bill kī ē gō wati kayp u ašrattā bayant. gōš kašš ša xarxašan u ša čē-wā ... ša ... ša dēb-i aptsar, dēb-i aptsarā. 140. yakk wāxtē bēga bīt u š-amāngu diga jata bāzēn, xudā-a zānt, čē balāē u ... ē wārta u gārīt u kayt. 141. xarxašan um dar bīt dēmay, gušt-i: dūr bay ša mni dēmā. 142. gušt-i: man na-yāta kī ša-tī dēmā dūr baīn. bass. 143. amidā lōr būtant. amidā lōr būtant, say šap u say rōč jang kurtant dēb-i aptsar u xarxašan. bē xūt u bē čiz.

144. ē billi kī xānbādurr hamidinā gō-mē jīnikkōā ... hamē tamāšā, gwāzī u tamāšā u ičč ḡamā u ōšā na-int. ša dēb-i aptsarī ... čār saray guđđita.

### Khanbadur

1. There was a king, so they say, who had three sons. He had three sons. Time passed by and these sons grew up and matured. 2. They matured and their father started asking them: "Oh sons, I will marry you off. Where can I marry you off?" 3. He (one of the sons) said: "Oh father, we are three ... three what are we ... three brothers. If there were three sisters from one father and from one mother. Then couldn't it be that the elder (sister) would be for the elder (brother), the younger (sister) for the younger (brother), the youngest (sister) for the youngest (brother)? If there is not, it won't work".

4. Well, OK. This king searched, searched, searched and searched, searched around the whole world. Where is it? It such a rare thing! There are few, few to be found. 5. He went to a place, (where) a king had three such daughters, one after another, one after another. He went (the former king), arranged a match and this other king gave all his three daughters to the three sons of this king. 6. Then he (the former) said: "Your majesty (lit. oh master the king), we are the same, you are a king (lit. kingdom) and I also am a king (lit. kingdom), let the marriage of our three sons and three daughters be on one day and the paying of the bride-price, all the arrangements and everything let it be at once. Let everything be at once". (The latter king) said: "Very well, do whatever you will do".

7. This king (the former) came (home) and said: "Oh sons, I have made you bridegrooms. Now let us go, I will marry you off". He gathered his army and all his kingdom, the army and people and everything, and they set out. They set out, he took also his sons. 9. The name of his younger son was Khanbadur. This Khanbadur said: "I will not go. I will not go. You take my sword and marry my wife with this sword of mine, (then) take her and bring her back".

10. The king said, the king, his father, asked: "Why do I have to take your sword?" He said: "You are a king, you have both friends and enemies. When you go out with your kingdom, who will protect your kingdom if someone comes then, destroys it, leaves it (in ruins) and goes away?". 11. (The king said: "Yes, this son of mine is a clever and a good son". That is the youngest son of him. "OK", - he said, - "Let me go".

12. They set out from there, he set out and what did he do, he went. The king went, (and Khanbadur) said: "If you go and on your way back home from there, when you have arranged the marriage and come back, do not stay for the night in this certain place, there, on the land which looks like a hill, in this very place, do not stay there for the night. 13. You have to get past this place and then spend the night. You must not stay for the night in that place, don't sleep there. When you get past this place, then you will do what, then . . . ."

14. [He said it to his father?] Yes, he said to his father: "Do not stay there". He said to his father: "There, when you have married off my brothers and come with my wife and the army, do not stay there. Get beyond that place and then come". He (the king) said: "OK".

15. He went, for everyone (of his sons) separately for three days, three nights and three days there were (played) drums and flutes and (there was) a festival, and he married them off. The elder to the elder, the younger, in her turn, to the younger, the youngest to the youngest. 16. He (the king) made a marriage ceremony for everyone of them (i.e. brothers) with their counterparts. For his (youngest) son he made the marriage ceremony with what, with his sword, and took everything away from there and returned and came back.

17. (Travelling on) One place by night, another by day (he reached) that very place about which Khanbadur had said: "Do not stay (there)". All of a sudden it got dark, and without knowing he stayed there. 18. He stayed there, at night they laid down their heads and slept. In the morning they stood up, good heavens, a dragon has surrounded them!

19. Now what? How will you escape? He (the dragon) has totally taken this army, all around it, everything in this way, you know. This dragon said: "Why did you . . .", he cried out to this king . . . he cried out to the king: "Oh king", - he said, - "I do not have any business with you. 20. Leave the wife of Khanbadur and, leave (her) and go. Leave her, take your army and go. But leave the wife of Khanbadur and go. Go wherever you wish, go!". 21. Now as he was forced to, he left the above mentioned wife of Khanbadur and set out and went. He took (his) people and left (her), and went. He left the wife of that Khanbadur.

22. Let the wife of Khanbadur remain with the dragon, but he (the king) came, came where . . . to his aforesaid place and dwelling, and unloaded all

his kingdom and every kind of load. 23. That son of his came: "Oh father, where is", - he said, - "my wife?". 24. He (the king) said: "A dragon has taken away (lit. turned away) your wife. 25. That very place where you said: "Do not stay (there)", I stayed there. 26. Just there the dragon said: "If you do not leave the wife of Khanbadur, I will not leave anyone of these your soldiers, I will finish up all of them". So . . . like that, like that, like that.

27. He (the son) said: "Then it is you and it is your kingdom. I am leaving". 28. He said: "The army and cohort . . .", - he said, - "I will not even take (with me) the army and cohort. 29. I do not need the army, neither do I need your cohort. I do not need anything of yours, I will go by myself, alone".

30. Put it through, he baked a loaf of bread and a pie and attached (it) to the saddle-bag of his horse and rode the horse, one place by night and another by day, one place by night and another day, he came to this stage (of journey) of the dragon. 31. When he came to the place of the dragon, the dragon came out in front of him, came out in front of him. (He) came out in front of him and said: "oh . . .", [did you put yourself to sleep, no?]. He came and arrived to this aforesaid dragon. He cried at the dragons cave, the dragon came out. 32. Which purpose did you have that . . . which purpose did you have that you turned back my wife? For which purpose, for which reason, why? 33. He said: "I had a good purpose to turn back your wife". 34. He called also the wife (of Khanbadur) and said to her: "Tell (me), at the (place) of your father who is a king, did they do you such honour? You ask her. 35. Such honour that I have shown, did the father of your wife ever show to her?" 36. This king to his wife . . . no, he did not.

37. Well, he said: "Now tell me your purpose". 38. He said: "In a certain place I am in love with a girl", - the dragon said, - "who is in the hands of the seven headed demon". This demon has seven heads. 39. He said: "She is in his hands". 40. "Now I, my purpose is that you should bring her for me, that girl, I (do not have) another purpose . . . 41. I made a fight and I made a divination, and in that divination of mine there is nobody but you."

42. He left his wife there with the dragon and set out. 43. One place by night, and another by day he reached a place (and saw) a shepherd. 44. The shepherd pulls out this tree trunk, like that, from the root, and flings it here, then pulls out that tree trunk, and . . . flings it . . . there. 45. He came and said: "Oh, what are you doing, brother? Why are you doing these feats of strength?" 46. He (the shepherd) said: "I am doing these feats of strength because of Khanbadur. Some day Khanbadur will come and pass along this way. 48. I am doing these feats of strength because of him". He (Khanbadur) said: "Why, I am Khanbadur, damn it!". 49. He (the shepherd) said: "You are . . . then . . . you are . . . the one brother and I am the second (brother), let us be two." 50. He left the herd, drove it away at once, left it and went, and set out with Khanbadur. He joined him and went.



51. They went for some more nights and days, and reached a place where another (man) takes this mountain and throws it against that mountain, takes that mountain and throws it against this mountain. 52. "What are you ... , damn it?" 53. He said: "Why are you doing these feats of strength? Why are you lifting up these mountains? 54. Why are you pulling up this mountain and throwing it against that mountain, pulling up that mountain and throwing it against this mountain? For whom (are you doing) these feats of strength?" 55. He said: "Oh, I am doing these feats of strength because some day Khanbadur will come and pass along this road. I am doing (it) because of Khanbadur". 56. He said: "Damn it, I am Khanbadur, I am Khanbadur, after all". 57. He said: "Oh, you are the two and I am the third brother too, let us go".

58. At once he left his mountain-lifting. 59. They set off, went (took short) for several nights and days, and reached a place where were another one like that, something. 60. He took this mountain with one hand and that mountain with another hand, in this way he took these two mountains with both hands, and with his foot what ... he has forge bellows and he works. 61. The forge bellows ... he is sharpening with his mouth, making a sword, making a sword. It is in his mouth and he is sharpening it in this way, he is rubbing it here, sharpening and pounding it, making (a sword). 62. He (Khanbadur) said: "Damn it, for whom are you doing these feats of strength?" 63. He said: "I have made a divination here, and in this divination it came out that Khanbadur would come and pass along this road. 63. Yes, I am doing these feats of strength because of Khanbadur". 64. He said: "I am Khanbadur, after all". 65. He said: "Oh, you are three and I am the fourth". 66. He also left his business and went with Khanbadur.

67. They set off, one place by night, and another by day. They reached a place, and he (Khanbadur) had a foal. All the others were demons, so they ate up his little horse, swallowed it up. 68. They became hungry in a place, here and ... Khanbadur gave money to one of them. All these heroes are demons, they are not men, they are not human beings. 69. He went and said: "Go and buy bread in this town, in here, from this ... from this baker". 70. He came, came to the bakery, the baker came out, came to the shop. He said: "Give me some bread". 71. He made it this way, he made it that way in a place where they bake bread. 72. So he said: "Oh, give me, give me bread". 73. He (the baker) did not give him bread, so he (the friend of Khanbadur) beat him a lot, loaded on his back all the bread that was in this bakery and brought it here and ... what did he do here, brought it to the place where those friends of his were.

74. He brought it to the place where his friends were (and said): "Let's eat!" 75. He said: "There should be a fire in order to prepare something". 76. He said: "Over here is some smoke". 77. He sent one of his friends: "Go, bring

fire from that smoke". 78. He went (and saw) that there was a column of smoke. Someone has burnt up a lot of dried manure and fallen upon it, and worms under rags covered him, all his body was full of worms and swarmed with worms. 79. He asked: "Oh old man, why is your condition like that? These worms and these things, why is all this in such a misery?" 80. He said: "Oh, there is nobody who would take my hand and lift me up and help me from this my place ...". 81. He said: "I will take your hand and lift you up". 82. He said: "Come on, take (it), lift (me) up". 83. He has big rags that the half (of his body) is like that, under these rags. 84. As soon as he took his hand (and said): "I will lift you up", he (the old man) seized him and poked his head under his rags and fell on his arse under the rags.

85. Those friends of his are waiting, Khanbadur with his friends is waiting, a moment, an hour and a minute passes by, but there is no (sign of their friend). No, none! 86. He sent another friend. He came (and saw) that that wormy again was lying, there are groans and moans here. What is it? 87. "Oh, I fell like that, and worms, and I am so miserable, and there is nobody who would take my hand (lit. wing) and lift me up from the earth or (at least) for ten or five centimeters (would lift up these rags) in order to ventilate the air. 88. He said: "I will lift up". As soon as he enters and takes his hand in order lift him up (lit. I will lift up), he (the old man) seizes his head too and pokes it under the rags and leaves it there.

89. They sat for a moment, for an hour, and no (sign of their friend). He (Khanbadur) sends the third (friend), he sent this shepherd: "Go, damn it, what happened to him?" 90. He came, oh God, there were strange wormy rags lying there. 91. He (the old man) said the same thing again. 92. He said: "I will lift (you) up". He (the old man) said: "Lift up, and all". 93. He seizes also his head and pokes it there and binds the three of them here.

94. Khanbadur remained alone. He saw ... come on, have a look at this. 95. He went: "These scoundrels probably ran away". 96. Ran away, no, he sat a bit, an hour, and saw that nothing happens. 97. He rolled up all rags and goods and food and everything that was in their load, loaded it up on his back and came in astonishment. 98. He came, came to this column of smoke. 99. He came, let the goods down and, damn it, look at that, how wormy he is! 100. He said: "Oh old man, what (happened) to you, damn it?" 101. He said: "Oh, don't ask (me) about my condition. I am here eaten by worms, so many years (passed) since I fell here! There is nobody who would take my hand and lift me up". 102. He (Khanbadur), as if he suspected (something), said ... he knew, he said: "Whatever he did to my friends, it was him who did it, damn it". 103. He said: "I will lift you up". He (the old man) said: "Come on, lift (me) up". 104. As soon as he took his hand (and said): "I will lift you up", no, he caught his neck, no, flung him with these rags from

here, he fell with his rags over there. 105. Woe, aren't those - the eyes of those three (friends) are blinking under the rags. 106. All the three came out.

107. They came out, he flung him from over there. He (Khanbadur) said: "Damn it, why are you doing these feats of strength and these things?" 108. He said: "I am doing feats of strength because there will be a day when Khanbadur will come and ... pass along this road. I am doing these feats of strength because of him. When Khanbadur comes, I will make friends with him. I am doing it because of Khanbadur". 109. He said: "I am Khanbadur, after all". 110. He said: "Oh, you are four and I am the fifth, come on".

111. What with those aforementioned loaves ... they are sending these little loaves of bread, gobbled (them) up, ate (them) and set off. 112. They set off, reached a place where a kingdom was. A dragon shut off the water of the kingdom, and I don't know how many girls he wants daily, what does he want ... girls here. 113. Then he said, he went and said: "What is it?" He (wants) the girls, these three girls, he said, he (wants) daily three girls and three plates and three camels and three what ... 114. Then he says: "Then these girls with these what ...". The king to his daughters ... today's turn is of the king's own daughters. His own daughters have to come and he has to give them. 115. He said ... then Khanbadur said: "What shall I do with them. I am responsible for this dragon. I will kill him. Don't go. Then, if you give (me) these girls". 116. Oh, what did they do? They said: "What (harm) could come of it", they said: "We will give (you the girls)".

117. He (Khanbadur) went and killed that dragon. He killed ... he killed him and took a strip of skin from him (i.e. from the skin of the dragon), and came, and they informed the king that such a man came and killed the dragon, and he is such a hero, and he (asks) for such a girl. 118. He (the king) said: "Let him come, I have three daughters and I will marry off all three of them". 119. He released their water, and the water came, the water began to flow, he released it.

120. When the king came from here, he (Khanbadur) said: "Well, if you give your daughters, I will leave three heroes for you. Give your three daughters to my three brothers. 121. Aren't these three brothers, I will give (them) to these three brothers. 122. Give one (daughter) to the shepherd, one (daughter) to the mountain lifter, one (daughter) to the sword master, give one (daughter) to that sword master". 123. He (the king) married off all the three (daughters), and (Khanbadur) left (his) three brothers here in this kingdom. 124. Then those brothers said: "Oh brother, oh brother, if you probably have troubles how we should know (about that)? How we, three brothers, should know if you probably have troubles?" 125. He said: "Oh God, brothers, it is easy to know about me. Take with you this ring of mine, whenever the gem ... the gem of this ring of mine becomes blood, you will know that I don't

exist (anymore). I am either alive or dead. 126. Always look at the gem of this ring of mine. If the gem of this ring becomes blood, then you will know whether I am alive or dead". 127. Well, well. Leave them in here, he married off three brothers, he and Kharkhashan, the name of the aforesaid old man is Kharkhashan. He took Kharkhashan from here and went.

128. He went on, one place by night, another by day, one place by night, another by day and reached the fortress of the seven-headed demon. 129. When he reached the fortress of the seven-headed demon, he said at once: "Oh, so many parasang of the way ... the earth (has) no movement and no bush, and nothing had grown (on it). No kind of a bush, there is nothing". 130. In short, when they went (they saw) there a town which the seven-headed demon destroyed, and took possession of the fortress of that king and of (his) daughters and of everything, so that there is nothing there ...

131. He went there with Kharkhashan, and he had a bell, he rang the bell. The girl is locked in a house, after all. 132. He had something, he had a bell, he rang that (bell). The door of the house half-opened (lit. made a chink) and opened, and the girl saw Khanbadur. At first she laughed and then she cried. 133. He said: "Oh girl, why did you cry and why did you laugh then?" 134. She said: "Oh young man, I have not seen a human being for so many years! Now that I saw you, I fell in love with you and recalled that unbeliever who has to come now and kill you, but God knows how I will be sad about you until the day of resurrection". 135. He said: "God forbid", someone who ... someone, what does he do, he doesn't worry about him.

136. They kept on playing there with each other, both the girl and the fellow kept on playing with each other, they are young, after all. 137. The aforesaid who said, Kharkhashan said: "Oh, you, which road this demon will go? Show me that road. The road on which the demon will go, show me that road". The aforesaid Kharkhashan is not a human being, he is a demon, after all. 138. The girl said: "He must come here from this, from the east". He went and kept (an eye) outside.

139. Let them continue with their joy and pleasure. Listen about Kharkhashan and about what ... about ... about the seven-headed demon. 140. The evening came and from there a battle sound was coming, God knows what a calamity ... he has eaten, he comes and belches. 141. Kharkhashan went out in front of him and said: "Get out from in front of me". 142. He (the seven-headed demon) said: "I have not come in order to get out from in front of you. That's all". 143. They grappled at once. They grappled at once, the seven-headed demon and Kharkhashan fought for three nights and three days. Without food and without anything.

144. Leave Khanbadur over here with this girl ... this enjoyment, playing and enjoyment, they are not worried about anything and don't remember



anything. He (Kharkhashan) chopped off four heads of the seven-headed demon.

#### A.1.2 bādīšāy say zāg

1. yakk bādīšāē dāšt-i say zāg, yē watī zāgānā tawār-i ku, gušt-i: byāit, bābā, ki bād-i sar-i man šmā brait, pa wat dīlīēn gīs jōr bkanit, dīlīēn gīs. 2. yēšānā āwurt, yakk yakkā swār-i kurt u š-amidā bill ki yakkē xurjīn zarr am dat-i yēšānā. 3. brait, gušt-i, pa wat dīlīēn gīs wadī kanit, jōr kamit. 4. yē š-amidā šūtant u yakk rāē at mānand-i say jā büt amē rā. say jā büt, gwanđēn yakk rāē šūt, myāntāyēn yakk rāē šūt, tūēn um yakk rāē. 5. ē amidinā gō wat muslaait kurtant, amidā yakk čizē kurtant ki arka ki bayt, amēšā... [watī nišāniā sayl kant] watī nišāniā sayl kant ki kay mānand-i āt u kay anga amingur int, [manta] manta.

6. guđān š-amidā bill ki ē tūēn brawt u bi yakk bēgānagēn jāē ki hi-i-ičč hičč čirikā nā-int, tawār nā-int, amādinā wastāā lōit u pa wat jwānēn dīlxāiēn gīs jōr kurt. 7. pa wat jwānēn gīs jōr ku. tilang-tilang-a kanant. [yastē.] ān.

8. ādga myāntāyēn um amā rang šūt bi yakk jāē, bi yakk... pa wat gīs jwānēn jōr kurt ki a-a-y, čirikā nē ēšk u āškā. 9. gō-mēšt ē bill ki tā waxtēn jōr kanant ē pa wat jwānā u jōr kurtant u ē gwanđēn š-amidā ki masalan ki swār atat aspā ki dēm-i gašt, [jitā büt] jitā büt, šūt masalan bi kalimīn, misāl. bi kalimīn šūt masalan. 10. ōdā lōit amē watī amrangēn jāhīlānā, muččēnānā, xayrātxāna-a dant, dant pa xudāay nāmā. [āxtīēn zarrānā.] ān. 11. šūt masalan bi āškay, kay, tōpxānā, tōpxānā um amā rang. šūt ki bi sundūryāčīē, masalan amē rang, š-ādā āt ki misāl tā kuškī, xayrātxāna-a ku. 12. bi-mē čunt waxt u bi-mē čunt rōčā š-āngu dēm-i gašt [padākāi] padākāi am amā rang. 13. tā waxtēn ki padā bi-mē watī rāyā ātant u ta-mā waxtān watīān ālat-iš kurt u ātant, āt, dist-i ki brās tānga na-yātagant, brās na-yātagant. 14. bārēn yēširā amē rā ki amē ki gindant amē warnā-kadag ēšt dēmā dar-a bayant, ēšā bagalkašt-i-a kanant, na-zānant ki gujā mnādēnant. ā āt, amā int.

15. š-amidinā bill ki brawt annūn wadī-i kurt watī brāsānā. [har dukēnāniā šūt-i?] har dukēnāniā. [yakkē ant.] 16. tā amēš ant ki ā am jōr kurtant u tayār kurtant u diga annūn š-amādā jōrētant u dēm-iš gašt, ā ātant. 17. šūtant, šūtant bi watī gīsā. [amā pīramardayā šūtant?] pīramardayā šūtant. 18. pīramardayā ki šūtant, amā int, salām datant u alaykē uškītant u amidā xošgapī kurtant, gušt-i: a-a-ay, zāgān, bābā, ātit pa xayrē? 19. ātan. gīs jōr kurtit pa wat? jōr kurtan. dīlīēn gīs jōr kurtit? gušt-i: ān. gušt-i: jwān int, napa, mašmā... rawan pa āwāni saylā pa xayrē. 20. ā š-amidā tāriēnā swār būtant asp, har yakke yakk asp swār-i büt. bādīšā-zādag ant diga. [pīramard um gō āwān gōn int?] pīramard gōn int, ān. 21. šūtant awal tūēn zāgay jānā sayl-i ku, [imārattānā] imārattānā sayl-i ku ta xāna-i xarāb ki čūnēn gīs ant

zabrēn, gušt-i: bēxi zōrākēn gīs ant, ay bābā. zabrēn gīs ant ki dīlxāiēn gīs ant.

22. šūt myāntāyēn zāgay nipādānā sayl-i ku ta ō-hō-hō... ē čī bađdīta? š-āi bađtirēn, jwānēn jōr ku. 23. gušt-i: ān. š-ādā ātant, gušt-i: annūn brawan gwanđēn zāgayā, bārēn ē čōn kurta. 24. gwanđēn zāgay kaššā ki šūtant ki amē xaly mučč b-ēšāni dēmā dar büt-i, ō-hō-hō, ki mašmay brās gō watī piss u brāsān-a kayt, ki bagalkaštī ēširā čē pa izzatt... yēšānā nān u āp u... tā jāē ki rawant, annūn [bi-mā purm] bi-mā purm yēšānā izzatt-a dayant.

25. š-ādā ki bir gaštāgant annūn bi-mā purm āwānā rādag-a kanant u... pa kapp u... kārant. [šānpurr...] ān. 26. idā ātant, bi gīsā ki sar būtant, gušt-i: a-a-ay, bābā. man šmārā nā-gu ki šmā brait, gīlīēn gīs jōr pkanit. man šmārā gu ki šmā brait, dīlīēn gīs jōr pkanit, ān. 27. šmā šuta it, ša glīā by-ā bērānagā pa būmukkān gīs jōr kurta it. 28. ōdā kay int-a? ōdā čē, pa čēā jōr kurta it ādinā? ā gīs ant, ta annūn am mantant, dūnyāay xarj u xarājātā kurtit, ā um bē darakkā mantant.

29. gušt-i: āxiray mni jānišīn amē gwanđēn zāg int ki mānand-i bād-i sar-i man... bād-i sar-i man amē bādīšāiā, amē gwanđēn zāg bi rāh bārt, bīt. 30.

pačē ki... ta sayl kan ki xalqay dīlā gō wat kaššit, gō xalyā watrā wasl ku. 31. nā-šūt bi bērānagā, gušt-i, ōdinā ša glīā gīsē jōr-i nā-ku. akl... akl amā rangēn čizē. ē aklay kissāā u kārant. 32. annūn čē, annūn čē bgušīn man pa šmā, diga ziyātīēn, ā diga...

#### The king's three sons

1. A king had three sons. He called his sons and said: "Come on, sons, after me (i.e. after my death) (let's see if) you go and build the house of your heart's desire for yourselves, the house of your heart's desire": 2. He brought them, seated everyone of them on horses, and, let it from this place, gave them also a saddle-bag (full) of money. 3. "Go", he said, - "find for yourselves a house of your heart's desire, and make it steady. 4. They went from there, and there was a road in front of them, this road as if it separated into three roads. The three roads were (in front of them), the younger (son) son took the one road, the middle (son) took another road, and the elder (son) took another road. 5. They made an agreement between themselves there, and hurried something so that whoever would come, this one... [would see his mark] would see his mark that who had as if returned and who still [stayed] stayed there.

6. Then let the elder brother go from here to a distant place, where there is nobody (lit. not even a rustle), not even a voice (of a man is heard), there he called a master and built for himself a good desired house. 7. He built a good house for himself. They are clanging (building the house). [A palace.] Yes.