Text 11. The story of Mīnā and Gunka Čǎyira

Text 11 was recorded in 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in Gawraǰū village. The narrator, Arūs, is a very good speaker of Gawraǰūyī. At the time of recording, she was about thirty-five years old. Her daughter was also present at the recording.

The story is a traditional narrative (*dāstān*) about a girl who endures great misfortune but finds her reward in the end.

(1)   mawu   ya   dita-yēk,
         be.PRS.3SG a_1   daughter/girl-INDF_1

         ān = īč   ha   dwāra   bāwažan = iš   mawu
         DIST_1 = ADD_1   just again_3   stepmother = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

         There is a girl, she also just again has a stepmother.

(2)   ya   dita   tir = iš   mawu
         a_1 daughter/girl   another = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

         She has another daughter.

(3)   dita-ka   bē   dāyka-ka   mīnā esm = iš   mawu
         daughter/girl-DEF without_3 mother_4-DEF   Mīnā name_1 = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

         The girl without the mother, Mīnā is her name.

(4)   bāwažan-aka = š   ya   dita = š   mawu,
         stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3   a_1 daughter = 3SG_3   be.PRS.3SG

         gunka_čāyira = š   esm = iš   mawu
         Gunka.Čāyira = 3SG_3   name_1 = 3SG_3   be.PRS.3SG

          (As for) her stepmother, she has a daughter, Gunka Čǎyira is her name.[299]

(5)   šawakī   řūž = wa-w   mawu,   tā   ēwāra   ya gūra = šan mawu
         early.morning   day_3 = PTCL#-NA   be.PRS.3SG until evening_2 a_1 calf = 3PL be.PRS.3SG

         It is from early in the morning (?), until evening, they have a calf.

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[299] The function of = *iš* on *gunka čāyira* is not clear.

(6)   ya   tašī = u   xurī-ya   ma-tī = ya   wa   das   dita-ka = wa
        a_1   yarn = and   spindle-NA   IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR   to_6   hand_2   girl-DEF = POSTP#_3

        ka   mīnā   esm = iš = ē,
        COMP   Mīnā   name_1 = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

        bāwažan-aka,   m-wāy   bi-řaw   tā   ēwāra
        stepmother-DEF   IND-say.PRS.3SG   SBJV-go.PRS_1   until   evening_2

        ī   tašī = ya   mawu   bi-řs-ī,
        PROX.DEM.ADJ   yarn = DEM.PTCL#_1   be.PRS.3SG   SBJV-spin.PRS.2SG

        piř = iš   b-ār-ī = wa,   bandřasī   īsa,
        full_2 = 3SG_3   SBJV-bring.PRS.2SG = PTCL#   spinning   now_6

        gūra-ka = yš   sēr   bi-kar-ī
        calf-DEF = ADD_2   full_1   SBJV-do.PRS_1-2SG

One gives a yarn and spindle to the girl whose name is Mīnā, the stepmother, she says: "Go, until evening, you must spin this yarn, (you must) bring it back full, spinning now, as for the calf, (you must) feed it full."

(7)   mīnā = yč   šawakī   ma-šu   tā   ēwāra,   bēčāra
        Mīnā = ADD_1   early.morning   IND-go.PRS.3SG   until   evening_2   poor.one_2

        dī   wa_qay   kū = wa,   tašī   ma-řs-ē = u
        then_2   upon_4   mountain = POSTP#_3   yarn   IND-spin.PRS.3SG_8 = and

        gūra   ma-lawřn-ē
        calf   IND-cause.to.graze-3SG_8

As for Mīnā, early morning she goes until evening, poor child, then upon the mountain, she spins the yarn and has the calf graze.

(8)   ma-wram-ē = u   dāya   ma-ka-y,   m-wāy
        IND-cry.PRS.3SG_8 = and   mother_5   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8   IND-say.PRS.3SG

        xwā,   ařā   dāyka = y   ēma = t   kušt = ē,
        God_2   why   mother_4 = EZ_1   1PL_2 = 2SG   kill.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1

        ī   ǰūr = a   min   {#bēčāra}
        PROX.DEM.ADJ   way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1   1SG   {hardship}

        ī   hamka-y   bēčāra = ya   bi-kēš-im
        PROX.DEM.ADJ   much-NA   hardship = DEM.PTCL#_1   SBJV-pull.PRS_2-1SG

She cries and calls her mother, she says: "O God, why have you killed our mother, in this way {#hardship} I should suffer this much hardship?"

(9)   ya   řūž-ēk   wā   m-āy,   ma-tī = ya
        one_1   day_3-INDF_1   wind_2   IND-come.PRS.3SG   IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR

        wa   tašī-yaka = š = ay,   ma-yar-ē = š
        to_6   yarn-DEF = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_1   IND-take.PRS.3SG_8 = 3SG_3

One day, the wind comes, it hits her yarn, it takes it (away).

(10)   īnī   bēčāra   wa_šün tašī = u   xurī-yaka = ya
            PROX_2   poor.one_2   after_2   yarn = and   spindle-DEF = POSTP#_1

            ha   ma-řam-ē,   ha   ma-řam-ē,   ha   ma-šu
            always   IND-run.PRS-3SG_8   always   IND-run.PRS-3SG_8   always   IND-go.PRS.3SG

            She, poor child, always runs after the yarn and spindle, she always runs, she always goes.

(11)   kam ma-šu   fra   ma-šu,   ma-wīn-ē,
            little   IND-go.PRS.3SG   much   IND-go.PRS.3SG   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

            xurī = u   tašī-yaka = š   ya_dafayī, ya   darwač   wāz bē,
            spindle = and   yarn-DEF = 3SG_3   suddenly   a_1   small.door   open   COP.PST.3SG_1

            řaft = a   dile wā
            go.PST = DIR   into   in.it

            She goes little (i.e., a little ways), she goes a lot (i.e., a long ways), she sees, her spindle and yarn, suddenly, a small door was open, she went into it.

(12)   řaft = a   dile wā, īnī   ma-šu = wa   wār
            go.PST = DIR   into   in.it   PROX_2   IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   down

            She went into it, she (also?) goes down.

(13)   ma-šu = wa   wār, ma-wīn-ē   yak kaywānū qał,
            IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   down   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8   a_1   lady   big(?)

            hām = wa   dam = iš = wa
            come.PST_2 = DIR   close.presence = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_3

            She goes down, she sees a big (?) lady, she came up to her (i.e., to welcome her).

(14)   {#wiřīsa}, m-wāy   waš hāma = y,   ā   mīnā,
            {xxx}   IND-say.PRS.3SG   well   come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.2SG   oh   Mīnā

            wa   xayr   b-āy,   īna   čü   hāma = y   īrā,
            with   goodness   SBJV-come.PRS.3SG   PROX_4   how_1   come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.2SG   here

            kā   ma-š-ī,   m-wāy   wałā,
            where   IND-go.PRS-2SG   IND-say.PRS.3SG   by.God_2

            wa_šün tašī = u   xurī-yaka = yim   hāma = ym
            after_2   yarn = and   spindle-DEF = 1SG   come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.1SG

            {xxx}. She says: "You are welcome, O Mīnā, may you come with blessing (i.e., welcome), so it is, how have you come here? Where are you going?" She says: "By God, I have come after my yarn and spindle.

(15)   bāwažan-ka = m   ma-k(u)š-ē = m,
       stepmother-DEF = 1SG   IND-kill.PRS-3SG_8 = 1SG

       das = it   dar(d)   na-ka-y,
       hand_2 = 2SG   pain   NEG_2-do.PRS_1-NA

       tašī = u   xurī-yaka = m   bīya   tā
       yarn = and   spindle-DEF = 1SG   SBJV.give.PRS.DIR   so.that

       bi-yar-m = iš = u   bi-š-im = wa
       SBJV-take.PRS-1SG = 3SG_3 = and   SBJV-go.PRS-1SG = PTCL#

       My stepmother beats (lit., kills) me, thank you, give me my yarn and spindle so that I may
       take them and I may go back."

(16)   īnī   m-wāy,   ayar   min   tašī = u   xurī-yaka = t
       PROX_2   IND-say.PRS.3SG   if_7   1SG   yarn = and   spindle-DEF = 2SG

       bi-tī-m   wan = it = u   bi-yar-ī = wa
       SBJV-give.PRS_2-1SG   to.goal = 2SG = and   SBJV-take.PRS-2SG = PTCL#

       She says: "If I give your yarn and spindle to you and you take them away,

(17)   {# ē}   dö   sē   kār   mawu   arā = m   bi-kar-ī
       {eh_2} two three task must_2   for = 1SG   SBJV-do.PRS_1-2SG

       āsā   ma-tī-m = iš   wan = it,   m-wāy   bāšad,
       then   IND-give.PRS_2-1SG = 3SG_3   to.goal = 2SG   IND-say.PRS.3SG   all.right

       tu   har_čī   b-wāy,   arā = t   anǰām   ma-tī-m
       2SG   all   SBJV-say.PRS.2SG   for = 2SG   fulfillment   IND-give.PRS_2-1SG

       you must (first) do {xxx} two (or) three tasks for me, then I give them to you." She says:
       "All right, everything you say, I will fulfill for you."

(18)   m-wāy   bi-řaw   až   ā   ka
       IND-say.PRS.3SG   SBJV-go.PRS_4   in_2   DIST.DEM.ADJ   house_1

       tāw = im   haw   nāt = ē = u,
       swing = 1SG   up   hang.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 = and

       dö   sē   gila   tāw   bi-kar = a   arā   īštan = it,
       two three unit_1   swing SBJV-do.PRS_1 = DIR   for   RFL_1 = 2SG

       b-awrāw   bi-zān   tāw-aka = y   min   waš = ē,
       SBJV-(?)   SBJV-find.out.PRS   swing-DEF = EZ_1   1SG   pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1

       yā   tāw-aka = y   bāwažan = it
       or   swing-DEF = EZ_1   stepmother = 2SG

       She says: "Go, in that house, I have hung up a swing and swing two (or) three times, simply
       (lit., for yourself), come back (?), find out, is my swing pleasant or the swing of your
       stepmother?"

(19) waxtē m-āy   ma-šu
     when   IND-come.PRS.3SG   IND-go.PRS.3SG

     ma-šu = wa   dile otāq = wa   ma-wīn-ē,
     IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   into room = POSTP#_3   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

     panǰ šaš   gila   mār = iš   kard = ē   dār = ay
     five   six_2 unit_1 snake = 3SG_3   do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 wooden.beam = POSTP#_1

     When she sets off (lit., comes, goes), she goes into the room, she sees (that) she has hung five
     (or) six snakes in the beams.

(20) xulāsa dita-ka   wa_qay dah bīs   daqa   ma-nīš-ē,
     in.short girl-DEF upon_4   ten twenty minute IND-wait.PRS-3SG_8

     m-āy   ma-šu = wa,   m-wāy   ā   mīnā,
     IND-come.PRS.3SG   IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   IND-say.PRS.3SG oh Mīnā

     m-wāy   baɫē, m-wāy
     IND-say.PRS.3SG yes   IND-say.PRS.3SG

     tāw-aka = y   min waš   bē,
     swing-DEF = EZ_1   1SG pleasant COP.PST.3SG_1

     tā   īna-ya = y   bāwažan = it
     than PROX_4-NA = EZ_1 stepmother = 2SG

     In short, the girl waits in there ten (or) twenty minutes, she comes, goes back. She says: "O
     Mīnā!" She says: "Yes?" She says: "Was my swing (more) pleasant than this one of your
     stepmother?"

(21) m-wāy   tāw-aka = y   tu   waš   bē   dāya,
     IND-say.PRS.3SG swing-DEF = EZ_1   2SG pleasant COP.PST.3SG_1 mother_5

     tāw-aka = y   tu   narm bē,
     swing-DEF = EZ_1   2SG soft   COP.PST.3SG_1

     pūs = e   guɫ_guɫī = u   qašang = šān   bē
     skin = EZ_1 flowered = and beautiful = 3PL COP.PST.3SG_1

     She says: "Your swing was pleasant, Mother, your swing was soft, they had a flowered and
     beautiful skin.

(22) walī tāw-aka = y   bāwažan = im,   řisan = ē,
     but_1 swing-DEF = EZ_1   stepmother = 1SG spun = COP.PRS.3SG_1

     bū   bāzig = ē,   wa   kār   ni-m-āy,
     smell bad(?) = COP.PRS.3SG_1 at_4 work NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG

     čiz   ma-tī = ya
     barb IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR

     But the swing of my stepmother, it is spun, it is (i.e., has) a bad (?) smell, it is not practical,
     it stabs (i.e., it has barbs)."

(23) xulāsa   kaywānū-waka   dī   hüč   ni-m-wāy,
      in.short lady-DEF   else   nothing NEG_1-IND-say.PRS.3SG

      m-wāy   ā   mīnā, m-wāy   baɫē
      IND-say.PRS.3SG   oh   Mīnā   IND-say.PRS.3SG   yes

      In short, the lady does not say anything else, she says: "O Mīnā!" She (Mīnā) says: "Yes?"

(24) m-wāy   bi-řaw
      IND-say.PRS.3SG   SBJV-go.PRS_4

      ya kam āw   až koɫangadān-aka   ařā=m   hay bi-kaš,
      a_1 little water in_2 goatskin.bucket-DEF for=1SG just SBJV-pull.PRS_3

      kuna-ka,   b-ār   tā   b-war-im
      goatskin.sack-DEF   SBJV-bring.PRS   so.that SBJV-eat/drink.PRS-1SG

      She says: "Go, just draw a little water in the goatskin bucket for me, the goatskin (water) sack, bring (it) so I may drink."

(25) waxtē ma-šu,   ma-wīn-ē,   āw   haw bi-kar-ē,
      when IND-go.PRS.3SG   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8   water up   SBJV-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

      ma-wīn-ē   baɫē, ī   koɫangān=š=a
      IND-see.PRS-3SG_8   indeed PROX.DEM.ADJ   goatskin.bucket=3SG_3=DEM.PTCL#_1

      fra   tārīk=ē   wahšatnāk,
      much   darkness=COP.PRS.3SG_1   dreadful

      āna=š=a   wa   ǰā=y   īštan=iš,
      DIST_4=3SG_3=DEM.PTCL#_1   at_4 place_3=EZ_1   RFL_1=3SG_3

      bar   kuna-ka=š-ī
      front   goatskin.sack-DEF=3SG_3-NA

      dubāra yak   gila   mār=iš   bast=ē   wāna
      again_1 one_1 unit_1 snake=3SG_3   tie.PST_2=COP.PRS.3SG_1   to.it

      When she goes, she sees, she may pull up water, she sees, indeed, this goatskin bucket has much darkness, dreadful, there in its own place, in front of the (opening of the?) goatskin sack, she has tied one snake to it again.

(26) m-wāy   xwāyā
      IND-say.PRS.3SG   O.God_1

      min či   ǰür   bar ī   kuna   wāz   kar-im,
      1SG what_2 manner_2 front PROX.DEM.ADJ   goatskin.sack   open do.PRS_1-1SG

      ī   āw=a   ařā=y   ī   žan=a
      PROX.DEM.ADJ   water=DEM.PTCL#_1 for=EZ_1 PROX.DEM.ADJ   woman_2=DEM.PTCL#_1

      a(ž) ī   kuna   bi-yar-im
      from PROX.DEM.ADJ   goatskin.sack   SBJV-take.PRS-1SG

      She says: "O God, how can I open the front (or: top?) of this goatskin sack, take this water for this woman from this goatskin sack?"

(27) xulāsa   wa   har   jür-ē   mawu
in.short   by   every   way_2-INDF_1   be.PRS.3SG

dī   xwāyā kūmak=iš   ma-kar-ē,
so.then   God_4   help=3SG_3   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

wa   tuk   čukul-ēk   mār-aka   hay   ma-nā
with   head   stick-INDF_1   snake-DEF   just   IND-put.PRS_3

až   bar   kuna-ka   āw-aka=š   hay   ma-kar-ē
from   front   goatskin.sack-DEF   water-DEF=3SG_3   bit.by.bit   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

piř   ya   jām   až   nö,   bar   kuna-ka   dwāra
full_2   a_1   bowl_1   from   anew   front   goatskin.sack-DEF   again_3

wa   {#mā}   mār-aka   m-ār-ē   qay=š-ī   wa   čū-waka
at_4   {xxx}   snake-DEF   IND-bring.PRS-3SG_8   on_5=3SG_3-NA   with   wood_3-DEF

In short, it is in any way, so God helps her, with the end of a stick she just puts (i.e., removes) the snake from the front of the goatskin sack, bit by bit she fills a bowl with the water, again, (from) the front of the goatskin sack, again she brings (out) {xxx} the snake, upon it with the wood (i.e., in order to remove it from the front of the hole).

(28) bar-aka=š   ma-yas-ē=u   m-āy=a   bān
front-DEF=3SG_3   IND-close.PRS_2-3SG_8=and   IND-come.PRS.3SG=DIR   upstairs

āw   ma-tī=ya   wan,   m-wāy
water   IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR   to.goal   IND-say.PRS.3SG

das=it   dar(d)   na-ka-y   sīr   āw=im   wa(rd),
hand_2=2SG   pain   NEG_2-do.PRS_1-NA   full_1   water=1SG   drink.PST

m-wāy   nūš=e   gīyan=it   dāya
IND-say.PRS.3SG   suitability=EZ_1   body_2=2SG   mother_5

She closes its front (or: its top?), and she comes upstairs, she gives the water to her, she says: "Thank you, I drank my fill of water." She says: "May it bless (suit) your body, Mother."

(29) m-wāy   hay   řūła,   m-wāy   bałē,   m-wāy
IND-say.PRS.3SG   O   dear.child   IND-say.PRS.3SG   yes   IND-say.PRS.3SG

bi-řaw   ya   čika   qazā=m=īš   durus   kard=ē,
SBJV-go.PRS_4   a_1   bit_1   food=1SG=ADD_2   prepare   do.PST_1=COP.PRS.3SG_1

až   ā   ka=ya
in_2   DIST.DEM.ADJ   house_1=DEM.PTCL#_1

She says: "O dear child!" She says: "Yes?" She says: "Go, I have cooked a bit of food, in that house.

(30)   ya   kam   haɫwā = m   kard = ē,   bi-zān-a
       a_1   little sweet.pastries = 1SG   do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1   SBJV-find.out.PRS-2PL_1

       haɫwā-ka = y   min   waš = ē
       sweet.pastries-DEF = EZ_1   1SG   delicious = COP.PRS.3SG_1

       tā   īna = y   bāwažan = it
       than   PROX_4 = EZ_1   stepmother = 2SG

       I have made a little sweet pastry, find out, is my sweet pastry (more) delicious than this of
       your stepmother?"

(31)   {no text}
       —

       {no text}

(32)   waxtē   m-āyē   ma-šu
       when   IND-come.PRS.3SG_8(?)   IND-go.PRS.3SG

       timāšā = y   haɫwā   ma-kar-ē,   ma-wīn-ē
       look = EZ_1   sweet.pastries   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

       ī   haɫwā   hay   sifīd   sifīd = ē,
       PROX.DEM.ADJ   sweet.pastries   however   white   white = COP.PRS.3SG_1

       asɫan   surx = iš = wa   na-kard = ē
       at.all   fry = 3SG_3 = PTCL#   NEG_2-do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

       When she comes, goes, she looks at the sweet pastry, she sees (that) this sweet pastry is
       however very white, she has not fried it at all.

(33)   xulāsa   ya   zařa   wa   xātir   diɫ   kaywānū-ka   ažin
       in.short   a_1   slightest.bit   to_6   benefit   heart   lady-DEF   from.source

       m-war-ē,   m-wāy   qay = iš   nīya,
       IND-eat/drink.PRS-3SG_8   IND-say.PRS.3SG   problem_2 = 3SG_3   NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

       xo   ni-ma-k(u)š-ē = m
       all.right   NEG_1-IND-kill.PRS.3SG_8 = 1SG

       In short, she eats a little bit of it because of the lady's heart (i.e., feelings?), she says (i.e.,
       thinks): "No problem, all right, it does not kill me."

(34) ya   zařa   ažin   m-war-ē,
a_1 slightest.bit from.source IND-eat/drink.PRS-3SG_8

m-āy   ī   dīm,
IND-come.PRS.3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ side_2

m-wāy   hałwā-ka=y   min waš   bē
IND-say.PRS.3SG sweet.pastries-DEF=EZ_1 1SG delicious COP.PST.3SG_1

tā   hīn-aka=y   tu,
than thing_4-DEF=EZ_1 2SG

m-wāy   hīn-aka=y   tu fra waš   bē,
IND-say.PRS.3SG thing_4-DEF=EZ_1 2SG very delicious COP.PST.3SG_1

dāya   (h)īn-a=y   bāwažan=im   wa kār ni-m-āy
mother_5 that.of-NA=EZ_1 stepmother=1SG with work NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG

She eats a little bit of it, she comes to this (other) side, she says: "Is my sweet pastry (more) delicious than the (sweet pastry) belonging to you?" She says: "The (sweet pastry) belonging to you was very good (i.e., delicious), Mother! That (sweet pastry) belonging to my stepmother was not suitable."

(35) ma-šu   m-wāy   ni-ma-zān-im,
IND-go.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-1SG

ča=y   tir   m-wāy
what_4=EZ_1 other IND-say.PRS.3SG

She goes, she says {narrator says to herself}: I do not know what else she says.

(36) ārē   hay   ī   qar=a   kār,
yes_1 just.only PROX.DEM.ADJ amount=DEM.PTCL#_1 work

m-wāy   xo,   hīn,   mīnā, m-wāy   bałē,
IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right thing_4 Mīnā IND-say.PRS.3SG yes

m-wāy   ayar min witī-m,
IND-say.PRS.3SG if_7 1SG sleep.PST-1SG

āw   hīn-ay   m-āy   řay   mawu
water thing_4-NA IND-come.PRS.3SG pass be.PRS.3SG

Yes, just this much work, she says: "All right, thing, Mīnā!" She says: "Yes?" She says: "If I sleep (lit., slept), the water of thing comes, it passes by.

(37) waxtē āw-ak-ān   hāma   řay bīsin,
      when   water-DEF-PL_1   come.PST_1 pass COP.PST.3PL

      āw   tałā = u   nuqra-ka až dile = š   nīšt,
      water gold = and silver-DEF in_2 inside = 3SG_3 sit.PST

      hāma   řay bē,   das   bi-nya
      come.PST_1 pass COP.PST.3SG_1 hand_2 SBJV-put.PRS_2

      qay = š = o   až xāw = im   bi-ka,
      on_5 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_3 from sleep = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS_1

      na-yz-ī   řay bo
      NEG_2-allow.PRS-2SG pass SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2

      When the waters come (lit., came), (when) they pass (lit., passed), (when) the water of gold
      and silver stay (lit., stayed) in it, (when) it comes (lit., came), (when) it passes (lit., passed),
      touch that, wake me up! Do not let it pass by.”

(38) m-wāy   bāšad,   wa_bān čaš
      IND-say.PRS.3SG   all.right upon_3 eye_1

      She says: “All right, it will be done (lit., upon the eyes).”

(39) ma-wīn-ē   āw   sīya, āw   xün,
      IND-see.PRS-3SG_8   water black water blood

      āw   čiłk īnāna   giš m-āy   řay mawu
      water dirty PROX.PL_3 all IND-come.PRS.3SG pass be.PRS.3SG

      She sees black water, the water of blood, the dirty water, this all comes, it passes by.

(40) až_šün = iš   ma-wīn-ē
      after_7 = 3SG_3   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

      āw   tałā = u   līra = u   nuqra m-āy
      water gold = and lira.gold.coin = and   silver IND-come.PRS.3SG

      After that she sees, the water of gold and gold coins and silver comes.

(41) īnī   das   ma-nya   qay   kaywānū-ka m-wāy
      PROX_2   hand_2 IND-put.PRS_3.3SG.DIR(?) on_5 lady-DEF   IND-say.PRS.3SG

      dāya   dāya,   m-wāy   bałē, m-wāy
      mother_5   mother_5 IND-say.PRS.3SG yes   IND-say.PRS.3SG

      āw   tałā = u   nuqra hām = ē,
      water gold = and silver come.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

      haw b-ayz-a = w,   kār = it   ča   bē
      up SBJV-get.up.PRS-2PL_1 = NA   work = 2SG what_4 COP.PST.3SG_1

      She touches the lady, she says: “Mother, Mother!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “The water of
      gold and silver has come, get up, what was your work (i.e., what did you want)?”

(42) haw m-ayz-ē=u
      up   IND-get.up.PRS-3SG_8=and

      īnī   ha   až   sar-ī   ma-nam-ē   dita-ka,
      PROX_2 just from head-OBL IND-grab.PRS-3SG_8 girl-DEF

      ma-ny-ē=š=a   dile   āw   tałā=u   nuqra
      IND-put.PRS_2-3SG_8=3SG_3=DIR into water gold=and silver

      She gets up and she grabs the girl just from the head, she puts her into the water of gold and
      silver.

(43) waxtē ka   m-āy=a   dayšt,
      when   COMP IND-come.PRS.3SG=DIR out

      mīnā wišk=e   tałā=u   līra   mawu
      Mīnā dry=EZ_1 gold=and lira.gold.coin be.PRS.3SG

      When she comes out, Mīnā becomes dry (gilded?) with gold and gold coins.

(44) yānē   dī   ī   qar=a   qašang mawu,
      it.means so.then PROX.DEM.ADJ amount=DEM.PTCL#_1 beautiful be.PRS.3SG

      āyam   waš=iš   m-āy,   timāšā=š   bi-kar-ē
      person pleasant=3SG_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG look=3SG_3 SBJV-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

      It means, then, she becomes this beautiful, (such that) a person (i.e., everybody) is pleased to
      look at her.

(45)   xulāsa   kār = im   nīya   tašī = u   xurī-yaka
       in.short   concern = 1SG   NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG   yarn = and   spindle-DEF

       ma-tī = ya   das = š = o = u   m-wāy
       IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR   hand_2 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_3 = and   IND-say.PRS.3SG

       bi-šu   ařā = y   ka = y   bāwažan = it
       SBJV-go.PRS.3SG   to_7 = EZ_1   house_1 = EZ_1   stepmother = 2SG

       walī   wa_šün   gūra-ka = y   n-āy,
       but_1   after_2   calf-DEF = POSTP#_1   NEG_2-come.PRS.3SG

       ařā = y   īštan = it   ma-šu = wa   ya   otāq = wa,
       for = EZ_1   RFL_1 = 2SG   IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   a_1   room = POSTP#_3

       qisa = y   wa_gard   bāwažan = t = ay   ni-ma-kar-ī,
       speech = EZ_1   with_4   stepmother = 2SG = POSTP#_1   NEG_1-IND-do.PRS.1-2SG

       ān   har_čī = š = a   wāt,   tu   hüč   ma-wā,
       DIST_1   all = 3SG_3 = DEM.PTCL#_1   say.PST   2SG   nothing   PROH-say.PRS_1

       dar   ka-ka = t   kilīl   ka = u   bi-nīš-a   ažin
       door_3   house_1-DEF = 2SG   key   do.PRS_1 = and   SBJV-sit.PRS-2PL_1   in.location

In short, it is not my concern (i.e., I leave this aside).[300] She gives the yarn and spindle to her and says: "Go to the house of your stepmother, but do not come after the calf, you simply go in a room, you do not talk with your stepmother, that (one?) all she said, do not say anything, lock the door of your house and sit (or: wait) in it."

(46)   īnī   m-āy   ma-šu   ya   otāq = wa
       PROX_2   IND-come.PRS.3SG   IND-go.PRS.3SG   a_1   room = POSTP#_3

       a   ī   ǰür = a = u   ařā = y   īštan = iš,
       PROX.PTCL#   PROX.DEM.ADJ   way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 = and   for = EZ_1   RFL_1 = 3SG_3

       dī   až   ā   otāq = a   zendegī   ma-kar-ē
       so.then   in_2   DIST.DEM.ADJ   room = DEM.PTCL#_1   life   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

She comes, goes in a room, just this way and simply (lit., for herself), so then, she lives in that room.

(47)   har_čī   bāwažan-ka = š   m-wāy = a   wan,
       whatever   stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3   IND-say.PRS.3SG = DIR   to.goal

       m-wāy   ni-m-āy-im = a   dayšt
       IND-say.PRS.3SG   NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG-1SG = DIR   out

Whatever her stepmother says to her, she says: "I am not coming out."

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[300] The narrator refers to herself in this clause.

(48)   bāwažan-aka = š   walē   ma-wīn-ē = š
         stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3   but_1   IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 = 3SG_3

         ka   wišk   tałā = u   nuqra = yē
         COMP   dry   gold = and   silver = COP.PRS.3SG_1

         Her stepmother, however, sees her, that she is dry (i.e., gilded? with) gold and silver.

(49)   dī   fra   nārāhat   mawu,
         so.then   very   insulted   be.PRS.3SG

         har   řūž   dita-ka = y   īštan = iš   ma-k(u)š-o,
         every   day_3   daughter-DEF = EZ_1   RFL_1 = 3SG_3   IND-kill.PRS-3SG_7

         tašī = u   xurī-yaka   ma-tī = ya   das = š = o,
         yarn = and   spindle-DEF   IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR   hand_2 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_3

         m-wāy   tu   bi-řo,   tā   bi-zān-im,
         IND-say.PRS.3SG   2SG   SBJV-go.PRS_3   so.that   SBJV-know.PRS-1SG

         tu = yč   jür   mīnā,
         2SG = ADD_1   like   Mīnā

         ī   jür   bū = y   tałā = u   līra   b-āy = wa
         PROX.DEM.ADJ   like   scent = EZ_1   gold = and   lira.gold.coin   SBJV-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#

         So then she becomes very upset, every day she beats (lit., kills) her own daughter, she gives
         her the yarn and spindle, she says: "You go, so that I may know if you too like Mīnā, this
         way you come back (with) the scent of gold and gold coins."

(50)   xulāsa   mināł-ān   pādšā   m-ā-yin,   masan   kuřa = y   pādšā
         in.short   child-PL_1   king_2   IND-come.PRS-3PL_1   for.example_2   son = EZ_1   king_2

         wa_gard   čan   kuřa   tir = ay   m-āyē
         with_4   some   young.man   other = POSTP#_1   IND-come.PRS.3SG_8(?)

         až   bān   ka = y   dita-ka   ma-nīš-in = a
         on_6   roof   house_1 = EZ_1   girl-DEF   IND-sit.PRS-3PL_1 = DIR

         pāsūr-ān   kard-a
         card(s)-PL_1   do.PST_1-PART

         In short, the children of the king come, for example, the son of the king comes with some
         other young men on the roof of the house of the girl (Mīnā), they sit to play (lit., do) cards.

(51)   bāzī   kard-a
         play   do.PST_1-PART

         To play.

(52)   waxtē   ka   yak   waraq   až   pāsūr-ak-ān = šān
       when   COMP one_1 sheet.card of_2   card(s)-DEF-PL_1 = 3PL

       ma-kat-ī = ya   dile   ka-ka
       IND-fall.PRS-3SG_8 = DIR   into   house_1-DEF

       When one sheet (i.e., card) of their cards falls (down) into the house,

(53)   {#ē}   īnī   m-wāy,   až   sar-ī   yak   kunāwaǰā   mawu
       {eh_2} PROX_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG   from top-NA   a_1   small.ceiling.hole   be.PRS.3SG

       {xxx}he says: "From above there is a small hole.

(54)   qadīm   āsā   m-wāč-ān   kunāwaǰā,
       old.times at.that.time IPFV-keep.saying(?)-3PL_2   small.ceiling.hole

       bān   ka   ya   kunā = š   biya
       roof   house_1   a_1   hole = 3SG_3   COP.PRF.3SG

       In the old times, at that time they would call it the 'kunāwaǰā', the roof of the house had a hole."

(55)   {xxx}
       {xxx}

       {xxx}

(56)   waraq   pāsūr-aka,   pīyā-ka   až   sar-ī   čiřya = š = ī
       sheet.card card(s)-DEF   man_2-DEF from   top-NA   call.PST = 3SG_3 = NA

       wāčē   har_ka   hē   ī   ka = ya
       kept.saying.3SG   whoever_2   exist.3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ   house_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1

       das = iš   dar(d) na-kar-ē,
       hand_2 = 3SG_3   pain   NEG_2-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

       waraq   pāsūr-aka   hēz bi-tī = ya
       sheet.card card(s)-DEF   NA   SBJV-give.PRS.2SG = DIR

       tā   min   až   das = iš   bi-san-im = iš
       so.that   1SG   from hand_2 = 3SG_3   SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG = 3SG_3

       The sheet (i.e., single card) of the card(s), the man called from above, he kept (or: keeps?) saying: "Everyone who exists (or: is) in this house, thank you, pick up a card of the card(s) so that I can take it from your hand."

(57) īnī waxtē ǰa dile kunā-ka = wa ma-nüř-ē,
      PROX_2 when from.within hole-DEF = POSTP#_3 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

ma-wīn-ē ya dita-ē dile ī ka = ya,
IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 a_1 girl-INDF_1 in PROX.DEM.ADJ house_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1

arē xwayā na b-war-ī, na bi-nüř-ī
yes_1 God_3 NEG SBJV-eat/drink.PRS-2SG NEG SBJV-look.PRS-2SG

faqat tamāšā = y sāq = e gardan = e ī dita
only_2 look = EZ_1 straight = EZ_1 neck = EZ_1 PROX.DEM.ADJ girl

bi-kar-ī
SBJV-do.PRS_1-2SG

He, when he looks from within (?) the hole, he sees a young woman in this house, yes, O God! You do not need to eat, not to look, only look upon the straight-necked (beauty) of this girl.

(58) kuřa = y pādšā āšiq dita-ka mawu
      son = EZ_1 king_2 in.love girl-DEF be.PRS.3SG

The son of the king falls in love with the girl.

(59) xulāsa waraq pāsūr až das = iš ma-san-ē = u
      in.short sheet.card card(s) from hand_2 = 3SG_3 IND-get.PRS-3SG_8 = and

m-āy = a wār,
IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down

dī bāzī = š ni-ma-kar-ē,
any.longer play = 3SG_3 NEG_1-IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

m-āy = a wār ařā ka-yaka = u
IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down to_7 house_1-DEF = and

dam = a nixün ma-řamīya
mouth = COMPD down IND-lay.down.PRS.3SG.DIR

In short, he gets the card from her hand and comes down, he does not play any longer, he comes down to the (i.e., his) house and lays (?) down.

(60) bāwka = š   m-wāy   ā   řūɫa,   m-wāy   baɫē,
      father_4 = 3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG oh dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes

      m-wāy
      IND-say.PRS.3SG

      ařā   ī   ǰür = a   wana = t   hām = ē,
      why PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 to.goal = 2SG come.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

      har_čī   tu   b-wāy   ařā = t   tahya   ma-kar-im,
      whatever 2SG SBJV-say.PRS.3SG for = 2SG prepare IND-do.PRS_1-1SG

      har_čī = t = ē   garak = it   bo,
      whatever = 2SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1 want = 2SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2

      ařā = t   ma-san-im
      for = 2SG IND-buy.PRS-1SG

      His father says: "O dear child!" He (i.e., the son) says: "Yes?" He (i.e., the father) says:
      "Why has it happened to you like this? Whatever you say, I will prepare for you, whatever it
      is (that) you may want, I will buy for you."

(61) m-wāy   hüč = im   garak nīya,
      IND-say.PRS.3SG nothing = 1SG want   NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

      faqat   fiɫān-a   dita = y   ā   ka = ya
      only_2 a.certain-NA girl = EZ_1 DIST.DEM.ADJ house_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1

      min garak = im bo
      1SG want = 1SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2

      He says: "I do not want anything, I only want a certain girl of that house.

(62) walē hā
      but_1 take.note

      īna   dī   ī   qa   qisa   ařā = t   bi-kar-im
      PROX_4 then_2 PROX.DEM.ADJ amount speech to_7 = 2SG SBJV-do.PRS_1-1SG

      až_īnā bi-man-ē,
      here_1 SBJV-remain.PRS_2-3SG_8

      tā   bi-š-ām = a   sar   dita = y   žan-aka
      until SBJV-go.PRS-1PL_4 = DIR about girl = EZ_1 woman_2-DEF

      bi-zān-a   ča   wan   m-āy
      SBJV-find.out.PRS-2PL_1 what_4 to.goal IND-come.PRS.3SG

      But take note, so it is then, I tell you this much, let us stay here, until we go to the (matter)
      of the girl of the woman, find out what is happening to her."

(63)   dita = y   žan   ha   ā   firm = a
         girl = EZ_1   woman_2   exactly   DIST.DEM.ADJ   manner = DEM.PTCL#_1

         dwāra   wā   ma-tī = ya   wa   tašī = u   xurī-yaka = š-ī
         again_3   wind_2   IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR   at_4   yarn = and   spindle-DEF = 3SG_3-NA

         ma-yar-ē = š-ī = u
         IND-take.PRS-3SG_8 = 3SG_3-NA = and

         ma-šu = wa   ařā   kunā   {#wāǰa   masan}   darwač-aka
         IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   to_7   hole   {xxx   for.example_2}   small.door-DEF

         The girl of the woman, exactly (in) that manner, again the wind beats the yarn and spindle, it takes it and goes to the hole {xxx for example} the small door.

(64)   ma-šu   lā = y   kaywānū-waka
         IND-go.PRS.3SG   presence = EZ_1   lady-DEF

         She goes to the lady.

(65)   kaywānū-waka   m-wāy   řūła,   m-wāy   bałē
         lady-DEF   IND-say.PRS.3SG   dear.child   IND-say.PRS.3SG   yes

         The lady says: "O dear child!" She says: "Yes?"

(66)   gunka_čāyir,   m-wāy   bałē,   m-wāy   bi-řo,
         Gunka.Čāyira   IND-say.PRS.3SG   yes   IND-say.PRS.3SG   SBJV-go.PRS_3

         ya   čika   tāw = im   haw   nāt = ē,   tāw   bi-ka,
         a_1   bit_1   swing = 1SG   up   hang.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1   swing   SBJV-do.PRS_1

         bi-zān   tāw-aka = y   min   waš = ē
         SBJV-find.out.PRS   swing-DEF = EZ_1   1SG   pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1

         tā   hīn-aka = y   dāyka = t
         than   thing_4-DEF = EZ_1   mother_4 = 2SG

         "Gunka Čāyir!" She says: "Yes?" She says: "Go, I have hung up a bit of a swing, swing! Find out, is my swing (more) pleasant than the one belonging to your mother?"

(67)   m-āy = a,   timāšā   ma-kar-ē
         IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR   look   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

         ma-wīn-ē   mār = ē,
         IND-see.PRS-3SG_8   snake = COP.PRS.3SG_1

         ma-řam-ē   ma-šu = wa   ařā   lā   dāya_kaywānū
         IND-run.PRS-3SG_8   IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR   to_7   presence   old.lady

         She comes to (it), she looks, she sees it is a snake, she runs, she goes to the old lady.

(68) m-wāy   waš   bē   tāw-aka,
      IND-say.PRS.3SG pleasant COP.PST.3SG_1 swing-DEF

      m-wāy   ča = u   fiłān-a   bāwka   hāma = ya,
      IND-say.PRS.3SG what_4 = and such-NA father_4 come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_3

      tāw = it   bē,   tu   mār = it   kard = ē   dār-ī,
      swing = 2SG COP.PST.3SG_1 2SG snake = 2SG do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 tree-OBL

      min ču   tāw   ma-kar-im,   biła_bił zwān = šan   bē,
      1SG how_1 swing IND-do.PRS_1-1SG flicking tongue = 3PL COP.PST.3SG_1

      waxta bē   bi-tī-n   wan = im,
      almost COP.PST.3SG_1 SBJV-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 to.goal = 1SG

      āxir = iš = im   b-ūř-o
      end = 3SG_3 = 1SG   SBJV-cut.PRS-3SG_7

      She says: "Was the swing pleasant?" She says: "Something and such has come to (your)
      father (i.e., expletive)! What a swing you had! You have put snakes in the tree, how can I
      swing? Their tongues were flicking (all the time) (or: they had flicking tongues?), they almost
      bit me, destroyed me!"

(69) dī   qisa   wa   kaywānū-ka ma-ka-y,
      so.then speech to_6 lady-DEF   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

      kaywānū-waka hüč   ni-m-wāy,   m-wāy
      lady-DEF   nothing NEG_1-IND-say.PRS.3SG   IND-say.PRS.3SG

      ay   bi-řaw,   ya čika hałwā = m   kard = ē,
      well.then   SBJV-go.PRS_4 a_1 bit_1 sweet.pastries = 1SG do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

      až   hałwā-ka   b-war
      from   sweet.pastries-DEF SBJV-eat/drink.PRS

      So then she says (bad) words to the lady, the lady does not say anything, she says: "Well
      then, go, I have made a bit of sweet pastry, eat (some) of the sweet pastry."

(70) ma-šu   m-wāy
      IND-go.PRS.3SG   IND-say.PRS.3SG

      ča = u   fiłān wan   hāma = ya
      what_4 = and such to.goal come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_3

      ha   ārd-aka = š   kard = a   kinār mangał-aka m-wāy   bi-řaw
      just flour-DEF = 3SG_3 do.PST_1 = DIR   edge   bowl_3-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS_4

      ažin   b-war,   āna   kay   hałwā = n
      from.source SBJV-eat/drink.PRS DIST_4 when_2 sweet.pastries = COP.PRS.3SG_2

      She goes, says: "(The bad woman) something and such has come to (?) (i.e., expletive), she
      just put the flour next to the bowl, she says: "Go, eat from that". (But) that, when is (that)
      sweet pastry?

(71) {xxx} xirāw   ařā īštan = it = u   ařā hałwā-ka = t,
      {xxx} destroyed_4 for RFL_1 = 2SG = and for sweet.pastries-DEF = 2SG

      dī   qisa   wa   kaywānū-ka ma-kar-ē
      anyways speech to_6 lady-DEF   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

      {xxx} destroy (?) for yourself and for your sweet pastry." Anyways (?), she says bad things
      to the lady.[301]

(72) xulāsa m-wāy   bi-šu   āw   ařā = m   b-ār,
      in.short IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS.3SG water for = 1SG SBJV-bring.PRS

      ma-šu   āw   m-ār-ē   ma-wīn-ē
      IND-go.PRS.3SG water IND-bring.PRS-3SG_8 IND-see.PRS.3SG_8

      bar   kunā-ka   wajē īna   tik   āw   ni-m-ār-ē,
      front hole-DEF NA   PROX_4 drop_1 water NEG_1-IND-bring.PRS-3SG_8

      m-āy = wa   m-wāy
      IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL# IND-say.PRS.3SG

      In short, she says: "Go, bring water for me." She goes, she brings water, she sees, (the snake)
      in front of the small hole, so it is, she does not bring a drop of water, she comes back, she
      says:

(73) ča = u   fiłān wana   hāma = y   ya   mār = iš
      what_4 = and such to.goal come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_3 a_1 snake = 3SG_3

      basī = ya   bar   kunā-ka ařā īna   bi-tī = ya
      tie.PST = DIR front hole-DEF for PROX_4 SBJV-give.PRS.3SG = DIR

      wa   das = im = wa
      at_4 hand_2 = 1SG = PTCL#

      (The bad woman) something and such has come (?) (i.e., expletive), tied a snake in front of
      the hole, in order for this, it may bite my hand."

(74) m-wāy   pas   tu,
      IND-say.PRS.3SG then_4 2SG

      tu = š   {#lā}   liyāqa = t = e   hüč = it   nīya,
      2SG = 3SG_3 {xxx} deserving = 2SG = EZ_1 nothing = 2SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

      ha   īsa   mawu   jür mīnā tu = š   bi-yar-m = a   tałā, naxayr
      just now_6 be.PRS.3SG like Mīnā 2SG = 3SG_3 SBJV-take.PRS-1SG = DIR gold no_2

      She says: "Then you, you (too?) do not {xxx} deserve anything, is it just now possible that I
      take (fool you) you (too?) like Mīnā with gold? No!"

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[301] It is not clear if the woman's speech ends in sentence 70 or 71.

(75) xulāsa   {xxx, child speaks:} šīr   nīya
      in.short {xxx}   milk   NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

      In short {child speaks: xxx} "There is no milk.

(76) {Child speaks:} m-wāy   ař̌ā=t   b-ār-im   ya   gila
      {xxx}   IND-say.PRS.3SG   for=2SG   SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG   one_1   unit_1

      {Narrator speaks:} na   kuř̌a-ka=m,   das=it   dard na-kar-ē
      {xxx}   NEG   son-DEF=1SG   hand_2=2SG   pain NEG_2-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

      {Child speaks:} (one?) says: "(Do you want) that I bring one (packet) for you?" {Narrator
      speaks:} "No, my son, thank you."

(77) baʕd,   aw_šün=iš,   sar=it   wa   dard n-ār-im
      afterwards   after_1=3SG_3   head=2SG   to_6 pain NEG_2-bring.PRS-1SG

      Afterwards, after that, may I not cause pain to your head …[302]

(78) kam_kam   {# dita m-wāy   ā}   kaywānū m-wāy   ā,
      little.by.little {girl   IND-say.PRS.3SG   oh} lady   IND-say.PRS.3SG   oh

      dita m-wāy   bał̌ē, m-wāy
      girl IND-say.PRS.3SG   yes   IND-say.PRS.3SG

      agar   āw   {#ta} tał̌ā=u   nuqra=u   līra   hāma
      if_8   water {xxx} gold=and   silver=and   lira.gold.coin   come.PST_1

      ř̌ay   bī,   niq   ma-ka,   agar   āw=e   čišt   hāma
      pass   COP.PST.3SG_2   murmur   PROH-do.PRS_1   if_8   water=EZ_1   thing_2   come.PST_1

      agar   āw=e   sīya=u   kuwa   hāma
      if_8   water=EZ_1   black=and   dark.blue   come.PST_1

      das   bi-nya   qay=m=o   kār=it   naw
      hand_2   SBJV-put.PRS_2 on_5=1SG=POSTP#_3   work=2SG   NEG.SBJV.be.PRS_3SG

      Little by little {#the girl says: "O (you)!"}, the lady says: "O (you)!" The girl says: "Yes?"
      She (i.e., the lady) says: "If the water of {xxx} gold and silver and gold coins comes (lit.,
      came), passes (lit., passed), do not murmur; if the water of thing comes (lit., came), if the
      black and dark blue water comes (lit., came), put your hand on me, may it not be your concern.

(79) m-wāy   bāšad,   āw   tał̌ā=u   līra   m-āy,
      IND-say.PRS.3SG   all.right   water gold=and   lira.gold.coin   IND-come.PRS.3SG

      birīqa=š   m-āy,   ř̌ay   mawu   niq   ni-ma-kay   dita
      glow=3SG_3   IND-come.PRS.3SG   pass   be.PRS.3SG   murmur   NEG_1-IND-do.PRS.3SG   girl

      She says: "All right." The water of gold and gold coins comes, it glows, it passes, she does
      not murmur anything, the girl.

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[302] The narrator directs this comment to her audience.

(80)   āw   čiłk = u   xün   m-āy,   mi-nāy = š = a   dile = š
        water dirty = and blood IND-come.PRS.3SG   IND-put.PRS_2 = 3SG_3 = DIR   inside = 3SG_3

The dirty and bloody water comes, she puts her into it.

(81)   mi-nāy = š = a   dile = š,   ya   gina_gūšta
        IND-put.PRS_2 = 3SG_3 = DIR   into = 3SG_3 one_1 round.rotten.piece.of.meat

        ī   lā = y   dam = iš = a   sawz mawu,
        PROX.DEM.ADJ side = EZ_1 mouth = 3SG_3 = DEM.PTCL#_1 green be.PRS.3SG

        hay   ma-ǰāw-o = š
        always IND-chew.PRS-3SG_7 = 3SG_3

She puts her into it, one round, rotting piece of meat from this side of her mouth grows up, she chews it all the time.

(82)   gunka_čāyira
        Gunka.Čāyira

Gunka Čāyira.

(83)   birā   xulāsa   m-āy = wa,   m-āy = wa,   ya_dafayī
        brother_1 in.short IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL# IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL# suddenly

Brother, in short, she comes back, she comes back, suddenly.

(84)   dāyka = š   m-wāy   ā   řūła,   m-wāy   bałē,
        mother_4 = 3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG oh dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes

        m-wāy
        IND-say.PRS.3SG

        ařā   ī   ǰür = t = a   pana hām = ē,
        why PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2 = 2SG = DEM.PTCL#_1 to   come.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

        māł   řimīsa,   min wāt-a = m = ē
        house/household destroyed_5 1SG say.PST-PART = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1

Her mother says: "O my child!" She says: "Yes?" She says: "Why has it happened to me in this way, may your house be destroyed, I have said."

(85)   {Narrator speaks with her daughter xxx.}
        {xxx}

{Narrator speaks with her daughter xxx.}

(86)   m-wāy   wāt-a = m = ē
        IND-say.PRS.3SG say.PST-PART = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1

She says: "I have said …

(87)   mašyo   ǰür, ǰür-e   mīnā wišk tałā   mawī   m-āy=wa,
        should like like-NA   Mīnā dry   gold   be.PRS.2SG   IND-come.PRS.3SG=PTCL#

        na-wāt-a (=m=ē),
        NEG_2-say.PST-PART (=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1)

        You should, like, like Mīnā become dry from gold (i.e., gilded?), (then you) come back, I
        have not said."

(88)   {Background talk xxx}
        {xxx}

        {Background talk xxx}

(89)   baʕd   m-wāy   āw=e   {#čišt-e   wan-ē,   kuřa}
        then   IND-say.PRS.3SG water=EZ_1 {thing_2-NA   to.goal-NA young.man}

        wa   tałā   na-yrīs-ī=u   hāma=y=wa,
        to_6 gold   NEG_2-reach.PRS-2SG=and   come.PST_1=COP.PRS.2SG=PTCL#_1

        ya   gila   gūšt=īš=it   lā=y   dam=it   sawz biya,
        one_1   unit_1   meat=ADD_2=2SG   side=EZ_1   mouth=2SG green COP.PRF.3SG

        hanāsā=y   sard=im=u   dī   hüčka   wa patī=š
        breath=EZ_1   cold=1SG=and   any.longer nobody   by naked_2=3SG_3

        ni-ma-yr-ē=t=u   xulāsa   až   īnāna
        NEG_1-IND-bring/take.PRS-3SG_8=2SG=and   in.short in_2 PROX.PL_3

        Then she says: "The water of … {#thing to it, the young man}. You did not reach for the
        gold and you have come back, you have a piece of meat in your mouth, it has grown, my cold
        breath and nobody else wants you any longer even if he does not have anything (to give),
        and" in short, in these (words).[303]

(90)   birā,   ka=y   pādšā   m-ā-yin=a
        brother_1 house_1=EZ_1 king_2 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1=DIR

        dāwā=y   mīnā, m-ā-yin=a   dāwā=y   mīnā=u
        request_1=EZ_1   Mīnā   IND-come.PRS-3PL_1=DIR   request_1=EZ_1   Mīnā=and

        Brother, they come from the house of the king to request (the hand) of Mīnā, they come to
        request Mīnā and …

(91)   žan-aka=yč   {#dita-ka-y}   qawł
        woman_2-DEF=ADD_1   {daughter-DEF-NA}   promise

        dita-ka=y   īštan=iš   ma-tī=ya   wana=šān
        daughter-DEF=EZ_1   RFL_1=3SG_3   IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR   to.goal=3PL

        The woman {#the daughter} also gives the promise of her own daughter to them.

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[303] The placement of the closing quotation marks here is provisional.

(92)   mīnā ma-nya   wa pišt = e   ya   gila   kanü
         Mīnā IND-put.PRS_3.3SG at_4 back_2 = EZ_1 one_1 unit_1 flour.storage.place

         She puts Mīnā in back of one (a) storage place for flour.

(93)   kanü   ka   ma-zān-ī   wa   ča   m-wāž-ān
         flour.storage.place COMP IND-know.PRS-2SG to_6 what_4 IND-say.PRS_1-3PL_2

         (The word) 'kanü', that you know, they say for what …

(94)   baʕd, mīnā ma-nī-n = a
         then   Mīnā IND-put.PRS_1-3PL_1 = DIR

         pišt = e   yak kanü   {#ya_dafayī}
         back_2 = EZ_1 a_1   flour.storage.place {suddenly}

         Then, they put Mīnā in back of a storage place for flour {#suddenly}.

(95)   gunka_čāyir   ma-tī-n = a   šü
         Gunka.Čāyira IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR husband

         They give Gunka Čāyir for marriage.

(96)   gunka_čāyir   ma-tī-n = a   šü,
         Gunka.Čāyira IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR husband

         ma-tī-n = a   ħaft sāz = u   ħaft   dahoł
         IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR seven stringed.instrument = and seven percussion.instrument

         ka = y   pādšā ʕarūsī ařā kuřa-ka = šān ma-kar-in
         house_1 = EZ_1 king_2 wedding for son-DEF = 3PL IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

         They give Gunka Čāyir for marriage, they beat on seven stringed instruments and seven drums, the (members of the) house of the king have a wedding for their son.

(97)   waxtē ka   m-ā-yin   ʕarūs bi-yar-in,   ma-wīn-ē
         when COMP IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 bride SBJV-take.PRS-3PL_1 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

         bałē,   ʕarūs-aka ha   qawča = y   dam = š   m-āy
         indeed bride-DEF always so.much_2 = EZ_1 mouth = 3SG_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG

         When they come (so that) they may take the bride, they (lit., sg.) see, indeed, the bride always chews so much (i.e., all the time).

(98)   kałašēr-ēk = īč   dile   pača-ka = šān   mawu,
       rooster-INDF_1 = ADD_1   in   small.place.for.animals-DEF = 3PL   be.PRS.3SG

       ma-qüln-ē   m-wāy,   qūqūlī_qūqū,
       IND-cause.to.crow-3SG_8   IND-say.PRS.3SG   crowing.sound.of.rooster

       danük = e   pādšā   wa   gū,   gunka_čāyira = š   dā-n = a   šü,
       beak = EZ_1   king_2   at_4   dung   Gunka.Čāyira = 3SG_3   give.PST-NA = DIR   husband

       zangoł = a   ziřa   hā   pišt = e   kanü
       bell = COMPD   swinging   take.note   back_2 = EZ_1   flour.storage.place

       There is also a rooster in their place (or: stall) for animals, it crows, it says: "Qūqūlī qūqū,
       the beak of the king in dung, one (or: they?) gave Gunka Čāyira for marriage, the swinging
       bell, hey, is in the back of the storage bin of flour."

(99)   qūqūlī_qūqū,   dü   sē   dafa   tikrār = iš   ma-kar-ē,
       crowing.sound.of.rooster   two_2   three   time_4   repetition = 3SG_3   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

       kuřa = y   pādšā-y   ha   gūš   ma-tank-ē,
       son = EZ_1   king_2-NA   just   ear   IND-listen(?).PRS-3SG_8

       m-wāy   yānē   ča   ī   qisa
       IND-say.PRS.3SG   it.means   what_4   PROX.DEM.ADJ   speech

       "Qūqūlī qūqū", two (or) three times (the rooster) repeats it, the son of the king just listens,
       he says: "What does it mean, this speech?"

(100) ya   qayr-ē   xās   {#timāšā}   gūš = e   kałašēr   ma-tī = ya
       a_1   bit-INDF_2   well_4   {look}   ear = EZ_1   rooster   IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR

       ka   bałē   ī   suāl = a   tikrār   ma-kar-ē
       COMP   indeed   PROX.DEM.ADJ   question = DEM.PTCL#_1   repetition   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

       For a bit, he listens {#look} well to the rooster, that indeed, it repeats this question.

(101) {#nūr}   timāšā = y   žan-aka   ma-kar-ē,
       {xxx}   look = EZ_1   woman_2-DEF   IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

       ma-wīn-ē   bałē   ina   ān-ē   nīya
       IND-see.PRS-3SG_8   indeed   PROX_4   DIST_1-NA   NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

       {xxx} He looks at the woman, he sees (i.e., realizes), indeed, this is not that one.

(102)   ānī   ha   až_ānā   ma-nam-ē   taɫā=u   ǰawāhir-ē
         DIST_2 just there_3 IND-get.PRS-3SG_8 gold=and jewel-NA

          ka   ařā=y   mil   ʕarūs-aka   san-a=š=ē
          COMP for=EZ_1 neck bride-DEF buy.PST-PART=3SG_3=COP.PRS.3SG_1

          bar=iš   m-ār-ē,
          forth=3SG_3 IND-bring.PRS-3SG_8

          ma-kar-ē=š=a   mil kaɫašēr-aka
          IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8=3SG_3=DIR neck rooster-DEF

          He just there (then?) gets the gold and jewels that he has bought for the neck of the bride, he brings them forth, he puts them on the neck of the rooster.

(103)   m-wāy   das=it   dar(d) na-kar-ē
          IND-say.PRS.3SG hand_2=2SG pain   NEG_2-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

          ka   kūmak=im=it {#kar}   kard=ē,   kaɫašēr qirmiz
          COMP help=1SG=2SG {do.PST_1} do.PST_1=COP.PRS.3SG_1 rooster red

          He says: "Thank you that you {xxx} have helped me, red rooster."

(104)   xulāsa āna   dī,   āna   ma-řaw-ē   řā=wa,
          in.short DIST_4 then_2 DIST_4 IND-go.PRS_4-3SG_8 way=POSTP#_3

          ma-š-ē   řā=wa,   dī   ya_dafayī
          IND-go.PRS-3SG_8 way=POSTP#_3 so.then suddenly

          In short, he then, he goes on the way, he goes on the way, then suddenly …

(105)   dita ma-rz-ē   yāga,   ma-šu=wa,
          girl IND-leave.PRS-3SG_8 place_4 IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR

          ma-šu=wa   m-wāy   ī   dita=m=a
          IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR IND-say.PRS.3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ girl=1SG=DEM.PTCL#_1

          garak nīya   min, īna
          want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG 1SG PROX_4

          īna   ā   dita nīya   min garak=m=ē
          PROX_4 DIST.DEM.ADJ girl NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG 1SG want=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1

          He leaves the girl in her place, he goes, he goes, he says: "I do not want this girl, this one, this one is not that girl I want."

(106) m-ā-yin   ka=y   pādšā, žan-aka   ka   masan,
       IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 house_1=EZ_1 king_2 woman_2-DEF COMP for.example_2

       bāwažan-aka=y   mīnā-y   wa_gard dita-ka=y
       stepmother-DEF=EZ_1 Mīnā-NA with_4   daughter-DEF=EZ_1

       īštan=š=ay   ma-tī-n=š=a-y
       RFL_1=3SG_3=POSTP#_1 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1=3SG_3=DIR-NA

       dim qātir=a   šēt=wa
       tail mule=COMPD insane=PTCL#

       har tīka-yēk-i=šān   wana   (a?) sar ya ǰāda
       each little.piece-INDF_1-EU=3PL to.goal (?)   on   a_1 street_4

They come to the house of the king, the woman that, for example, the stepmother of Mīnā
with her own daughter, they tie (lit., give) them to the tail of the crazy mule, each piece of
them falls on a street (i.e., they are cut in pieces).

(107) baʕd   pišt   sar=a   āna   ma-tī-n=a
       afterwards after_5 head=COMPD DIST_4 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1=DIR

       ħaft   sāz=u   ħaft   dahoł
       seven stringed.instrument=and seven percussion.instrument

Afterwards, after that, they beat on seven stringed instruments and seven drums.

(108) ʕarūsī   mīnā ařā kuřa-ka=šān ma-kar-in
       wedding Mīnā for   son-DEF=3PL   IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

They do the wedding of Mīnā for their son.

(109) čapa=y   guł=u   čapa=y   nargiz,
       bouquet=EZ_1 flower=and bouquet=EZ_1 narcissus.flower

       marg=it   na-wīn-im   hargiz-ā=y   hargiz
       death=2SG NEG_2-see.PRS-1SG never_3-NA=EZ_1 never_3

A bouquet of flowers and a bouquet of narcissus, may I not see your death, never, never.