

The beggar king

Langue: Northern Tat

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Source: Maqsud Hacıyev *Düta birar* ('Two brothers'; Baku: Azərənəşr, 1993).

- (1) *yä padša bü*
one king be₂:PST:3
'Once upon time, there was a king.'
- (2) *häf vilayät=ä padša=yü bü*
seven province=OBL king=POSS:3 be₂:PST:3
'He was the king of seven provinces.'
- (3) *in padša=yä säyäl=ü nä-bü*
this king=OBL child=POSS:3 NEG-be₂:PST:3
'The king had no children.'
- (4) *šöü ruz fikir bā-saxt-ānbü ki öülād=mä nist xištān=män=iš qujā*
night day idea IPFV-do₂-IMPF:3 SUB offspring=POSS:1SG NEG.COP self=POSS:1SG=ADD old
bir-am
be₂-PRF.1SG
'Day and night, he thought: "I have no children and I have grown old.'
- (5) *in täxt tağ=mä bā ki bistān ras-ü*
this throne crown=POSS:1SG LOC who PROSP MOD:reach₁-3SG
'Whom will my throne and my crown go to?'
- (6) *vardöülāt=mä qäy xištān=mä yāzuq=üm*
wealth=POSS:1SG much self=POSS:1SG unfortunate=COP:1SG
'I have much wealth but I am unfortunate.'
- (7) *in padša bā xäyäl fikir-az bart-an bā yä čül biyaban*
this king LOC dream idea-with IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 LOC one forty wasteland
'Thinking this, the king goes out into a wild steppe.'
- (8) *bā-dir-än ki bākinar in čül yä dāxmā hist*
IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB next to this forty one hut COP:EXIST
'He sees a hut on the outskirts of the steppe.'
- (9) *bart-än dār āni dāxmā=yä bakard-än bā-daraft-än bā xunä*
IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 door of this hut=OBL IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 IPFV.enter₂-PRS:3 LOC home
'He goes ahead and opens the door into the hut and goes inside.'
- (10) *bā-dir-än ki unjä yä dārviš ništ-e*
IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB there one dervish sit₂-PRF:3
'He sees a dervish sitting there.'
- (11) *bā yä dās=ü täsbih bā yä dās=ü=riš qurʿan hist*
LOC one hand=POSS:3 prayer beads LOC one hand=POSS:3=ADD Koran COP:EXIST

'The dervish holds prayer beads in one hand and a copy of the Koran in the other hand.'

- (12) *salam bā-dār-än salam b-astar-an*
 hello IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 hello IPFV-get₂-PRS:3
 'They greet each other.'
- (13) *padša dārd xištän=ä bā dārviš bāt-än ä talih xištän gileygüzar*
 king pain self=OBL LOC dervish IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 from destiny self lament
bā-saxt-än ki här çiz=mä hist änjaq öülad=mä nist
 IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 SUB each thing=POSS:1SG COP:EXIST only offspring=POSS:1SG NEG.COP
 'The king tells the dervish about his miseries and complains about his fate (saying): "I have everything but I have no children.'
- (14) *böhü giira aftar-am bā in čül-a*
 LOC.3SG by fall₂-PRF.1SG LOC this steppe-PL
 'This is why I have been roaming these steppes.'
- (15) *dārviš bā dārd dül padša guš bakard-än bāšdä bāt-än*
 dervish LOC pain heart king ear IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 then IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 'The dervish listens to the king's problems and says.'
- (16) *ey padša*
 VOC king
 'O King!'
- (17) *tü=rä yä čare=tü hist*
 you=OBL one remedy.BS=POSS:2SG COP:EXIST
 'There is a solution for you.'
- (18) *här čü=tü hist ä xāznä güft-ä tā bā xunä xari mal*
 each what=POSS:2SG COP:EXIST from treasury seize₂-PTCP until LOC home ground property
häyvan hämmälä=yü=rä tin bā jāmāšät dül kasib-kusub=ä šar
 animal all=POSS:3=OBL MOD:give₁:2SG LOC people heart poor-REDUP=OBL happy
san xištän=tü bu-ra bā väčänümi
 MOD:do₁:2SG self=POSS:2SG MOD-go₁:2SG LOC begging
 'Give away everything you possess, from your treasury to your house, lands, property, and cattle, to bring joy to the needy; and as for you, embrace a life of begging for yourself.'
- (19) *bā jāmāšät dār-ä nu bāxčä-yaz yašämiš baš*
 LOC people give₂-PTCP bread pack-with living MOD:be₁:2SG
 'Sustain yourself by relying on the food provisions given by the people.'
- (20) *xuda=yä bähü rāhm=ü miye yä sal bāšdä sähäbyä kuk maš-i*
 God=OBL LOC.3SG mercy=POSS:3 vt.come₁:3 one year after owner one son vt.be₁-2SG
 'God will have mercy on you and a year later, you will have a son.'
- (21) *padša bā gaf in dārviš guš bakard-än*
 king LOC word this dervish ear IPFV.open₂-PRS:3

'The king listens to what the dervish says.'

- (22) *bart-an här çü=yü hist bä jämäſät baxſ bä-saxt-än xiſtani bä*
 IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 each what=COP:3 COP:EXIST LOC people offering IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 self:3 LOC
zän xiſtän-az b-aftar-an bä xunä xunä väčäniimi saxt-än
 woman self-with IPFV-fall₂-PRS LOC home home begging do₂-INF
 'He proceeds to donate everything he possesses to the people, and together with
 his wife, he begins to go from house to house, begging for money.'
- (23) *hiç yä sal nä-bä-giraſt-än ki bä küškä çuyin-ä dāxme=ſun ki*
 at_all one year NEG-IPFV-pass₂-PRS:3 SUB LOC small.ATTR wooden-ATTR hut.BS=POSS:3PL SUB
ä ädämi-ha dur bä kinar yä arakärä be xiſtani-ha dürüs saxt-ebü hä
 from person-PL far LOC edge one river LOC self:3-PL right do₂-Pqp:3 FOC
unjä=yiſ zän märd bä-zist-änbiür-und yä ſäyäl bä dünya b-amar-än
 there=ADD woman man IPFV-live₂-IMPF-3PL one child LOC world IPFV-come₂-PRS:3
xiſtän=iſ gädä
 self=ADD boy
 'Within a year, a child - a boy - was born to the husband and wife who lived in a
 secluded little wooden hut on the riverbank, away from the rest of the people.'
- (24) *zän märd num kuk xiſtani-ha=yä aslanſa bä-nar-än-und*
 woman man name son self:3-PL=OBL PN IPFV-put₂-PRS-3PL
 'The wife and the husband name their son Aslanshah.'
- (25) *kuk padſa ki bä in dur-ä di hämmälä in zän märd=ä aqasde*
 son king SUB LOC this far-ATTR village all this woman man=OBL as
väčäniim bä-ſünaxt-änbiür-und kälähä bä-bir-än bä yä yaraſuqlü-yä
 beggar IPFV-be acquainted₂-IMPF-3PL big IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 LOC one handsome-ATTR
ſayil bä-gäſt-än
 young IPFV-walk₂-PRS:3
 'The king's son grows up and turns into an handsome young man in this faraway
 village where everyone considered the wife and the husband beggars.'
- (26) *ü hiç nä-bast-anbü ki ſahzadä=yü*
 3SG at_all NEG-IPFV.know₂-IMPF:3 SUB prince=COP:3
 'He did not know at all that he was a prince.'
- (27) *may piyär=ü bä ü bä in barä hiçiz nä-guftir-ebür-und*
 mother father=POSS:3 LOC 3SG LOC this subject nothing NEG-say₂-Pqp-3PL
 'His parents never told him a word about this matter.'
- (28) *yä ruz aslanſa bä ſäyäl-un di-yaz bä hüzüm avard-än bart-än*
 one day PN LOC child-PL village-with LOC firewood bring₂-INF IPFV.go₂-PRS:3
 'One day Aslanshah goes to collect firewood with the village children.'
- (29) *panjdä-ta ſäyäl bä-bir-än-und*
 fifty-CLS child IPFV-be₂-PRS-3PL
 'There are fifteen children altogether.'

- (30) *bä öüşä hüzum bäçir-än-und kulä bä-bäst-än-und bä-ništ-än-und bä*
 LOC forest firewood IPFV.collect₂-PRS-3PL bush IPFV.close₂-PRS-3PL IPFV.sit₂-PRS-3PL LOC
nu xard-än
 bread eat₂-INF
 ‘They collect firewood in the forest, tie it together and sit down to eat.’
- (31) *här ki här çü bä kise xištän avard-ebü bä-känd-än bä-nar-än*
 each who each what LOC sack.BS self bring₂-Pqp:3 IPFV.take out₂-PRS:3 IPFV.put₂-PRS:3
bäsär süfrä bä mingä ki nu xištäni-ha=yä beki xar-und
 on tablecloth LOC middle SUB bread self.3-PL=OBL together MOD:eat₁-3PL
 ‘Everyone takes out whatever was brought with in their sack, places it on the cloth, right in the middle, so that they can eat everything together.’
- (32) *nu äni řäyäl-un gändümin-ä nu xurak=řun gušt kärg pänir ruqan*
 bread of this child-PL wheat-ATTR bread meal=POSS:3PL meat hen cheese oil
bä-bir-än aslanřa=yä nun=ü xüřk-ä řüyin-ä nu xištän=iř
 IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 PN=OBL bread=POSS:3 dry-ATTR made of barley-ATTR bread self=ADD
yavanluq-süz
 side dish-Priv
 ‘The other children’s food consists of wheat bread, chicken meat, cheese, and butter, while Aslanřah’s food is dry barley bread, and on top of that, unaccompanied.’
- (33) *aslanřa nu xištän=ä bä mingä bä-nar-än-i řäyäl-un ü=rä*
 PN bread self=OBL LOC middle IPFV.put₂-PRS-2SG child-PL 3SG=OBL
řüyin-ä xüřk-ä nun=ü=rä bängüft-än-und bä-řund-än-und bä
 made of barley-ATTR dry-ATTR bread=POSS:3=OBL IPFV.take₂-PRS-3PL IPFV.throw₂-PRS-3PL LOC
kinar
 edge
 ‘When Aslanřah shares his food, the other children take his dry barley bread and throw it aside.’
- (34) *aslanřa hiçiz nä-bät-än bart-an nu xištän=ä ä xari*
 PN nothing NEG-IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 bread self=OBL from ground
bängüft-än bä yä kinar bä-ništ-än giräřt-ä giräřt-ä xüřk-ä nu xištän=ä
 IPFV.take₂-PRS:3 LOC one edge IPFV.sit₂-PRS:3 cry₂-PTCP cry₂-PTCP dry-ATTR bread self=OBL
bä-xard-än
 IPFV-eat₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanřah does not say anything, goes and picks up his bread, sits down away from the other and eats his bread, crying.’
- (35) *řäyäl-un di=yiř čařt-ä nu xištäni-ha=yä bä-xard-än-und*
 child-PL village=ADD late morning-ATTR bread self.3-PL=OBL IPFV-eat₂-PRS-3PL
hüzum=a xištäni=yä bängüft-än-und bart-an-und bä di
 firewood=OBL self.3=OBL IPFV.take₂-PRS-3PL IPFV.go₂-PRS-3PL LOC village
 ‘The village children finish their brunch, take their firewood and go to the village.’

- (36) *hiç aslanša=yä gal=iş nä-bä-zär-än-und ki biya bu-rayim bä xunä*
 at_{all} PN=OBL call=ADD NEG-IPFV-hit₂-PRS-3PL SUB MOD.come₁;2SG MOD-go₁IPL LOC home
 ‘They do not even call Aslan Shah to come home with them.’
- (37) *tü mä-gun aslanša nu xiştän=ä xard-ä bāfdä un qädä giräst-ebü ki*
 you PROH-say₁;2SG PN bread self=OBL eat₂-PTCP after that CLS cry₂-Pqp:3 SUB
vamund-ebü ü=rä xou bärd-ebü
 be tired₂-Pqp:3 3SG=OBL sleep carry₂-Pqp:3
 ‘It turns out that after finishing his bread, Aslan Shah cried so much that he became tired and fell asleep.’
- (38) *čüm xiştän=ä bä kişne äs bakard-än*
 eye self=OBL LOC neigh.BS horse IPFV.open₂-PRS:3
 ‘He opens his eyes on (hearing) a horse’s neigh.’
- (39) *bä čüm-ay xiştän inanmiş nä-bä-bir-än*
 LOC eye-PL.BS self believing NEG-IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 ‘He does not believe his eyes.’
- (40) *häč bast-an ki xou bä-dir-än*
 FOC.such.DIST IPFV.know₂-PRS:3 SUB sleep IPFV-see₂-PRS:3
 ‘It is as if he were dreaming.’
- (41) *čüm-ay xiştän=ä säxt säxt bä-sour-än yära=yiş bakard-än bä-dir-än*
 eye-PL.BS self=OBL hard hard IPFV-rub₂-PRS:3 once=ADD IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 IPFV-see₂-PRS:3
ki nä in xou nist
 SUB no this sleep NEG.COP
 ‘He rubs his eyes briskly, looks again and sees that indeed, this is not a dream.’
- (42) *bäzir kälävälğ-ä köür-ä palud dar ki aslanša bä dib=ü xisir-ebü*
 under big-leaved-ATTR blue-ATTR oak tree SUB PN LOC bottom=POSS:3 sleep₂-Pqp:3
yä kähär-ä äs bä tamam yähär ousar-az bä säliqä sähman-az
 one bay-ATTR horse LOC complete saddle halter-with LOC arrangement order-with
payist-e
 stand₂-PRF:3
 ‘Underneath a green broad-leaved oak tree, where Aslan Shah had been sleeping, a bay horse stood neatly, adorned with a saddle and a halter.’
- (43) *kälä čüm-ay xiştän=ä bä ü duxt-e bä pişeyin-ä pay xiştän-az*
 big.ATTR eye-PL.BS self=OBL LOC 3SG sew₂-PRF:3 LOC front-ATTR foot.BS self-with
xari=yä jırmaq bä-zär-änbü
 ground=OBL scratch IPFV-hit₂-IMPF:3
 ‘It stares at him with its big eyes and digs the ground with its hoof.’
- (44) *aslanša bä in kar mäftäl bä-mund-än bäsär pa bexişt-än ousar*
 PN LOC this work perplexed IPFV-stay₂-PRS:3 on foot IPFV.get up₂-PRS:3 halter
äs=ä bä-güft-än
 horse=OBL IPFV-seize₂-PRS:3
 ‘Surprised by the sight, Aslan Shah gets up and seizes the halter of the horse.’

- (45) *bä-xast-än ki pa-ha xištän=ä bä zangü bü-ü bä äs suvar*
 IPFV-want₂-PRS:3 SUB foot-PL self=OBL LOC stirrup MOD.leave₁-3SG LOC horse mounted
baš-ü bä-dir-än ki bä kämär äs yä kisä bäst-ä bir-e
 MOD:be₁-3SG IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB LOC lower back horse one sack close₂-PTCP be₂-PRF:3
 ‘He wants to put his feet in the stirrups and mount the horse but notices a sack attached to the horse’s back.’
- (46) *kisä=yä bakard-än bä-dir-än ki bädörü in kisä yä däs tazä alat*
 sack=OBL IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB inside this sack one hand new clothes
hist ki lap bä libas šazadä-ha bašir-än
 COP:EXIST SUB completely LOC attire prince-PL IPFV.resemble₂-PRS:3
 ‘He opens the sack and discovers in the sack a set of new clothes that very much resemble a prince’s outfit.’
- (47) *alat-a=yä bä-dägüft-än bä äs suvar bä-bir-än*
 clothes-PL=OBL IPFV.put on₂-PRS:3 LOC horse mounted IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 ‘He puts on the clothes and mounts the horse.’
- (48) *qirmaĵ-a ki bä säqri äs bäst-ä bir-ebü bakard-än bä äs yä qirmaĵ*
 lash-PL SUB LOC croupe horse close₂-PTCP be₂-Pqp:3 IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 LOC horse one lash
bä-käšir-än äs ä ĵige xištäni lup šund-än kimi čüm-ay aslanša
 IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 horse from place.BS self:3 hopping throw₂-INF as soon as eye-PL.BS PN
tarikı b-avard-än
 darkness IPFV-bring₂-PRS:3
 ‘He unties the lash that has been tied to the horse’s croupe, gives it a whip and as soon as the horse jerks forward, Aslanšah’s eyes sees are engulfed by darkness.’
- (49) *tamam ätraf=ü bä miräqaz zulmat bä-gäšt-än*
 complete surroundings=POSS:3 LOC daylight darkness IPFV-walk₂-PRS:3
 ‘Darkness replaces daylight everywhere.’
- (50) *yä växt čüm xištän=ä bakard-äni bä-dir-än ki äs bä yä kour-ä*
 one time eye self=OBL IPFV.open₂-TEMP IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB horse LOC one blue-ATTR
čül-az aqasde bärq bart-än
 steppe-with as flare IPFV.go₂-PRS:3
 ‘When he finally opens his eyes, he sees the horse racing across a big green field.’
- (51) *in čül šimran bü*
 this forty PN be₂:PST:3
 ‘This was the Šimran Steppe.’
- (52) *äs bä-doyist-än bä-doyist-än bäsda aqasde mix bä xari bäst-ä*
 horse IPFV-run₂-PRS:3 IPFV-run₂-PRS:3 then as nail LOC ground close₂-PTCP
bä-bir-än bä-payist-än
 IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 IPFV-stand₂-PRS:3
 ‘The horse keeps running, then stops and stands as if nailed to the ground.’

- (53) *aslanša här čü bā-saxt-än här čü dās pay bā-šund-än äs ä jige*
 PN each what IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 each what hand foot IPFV-throw₂-PRS:3 horse from place.BS
xištän dābarmiš nā-bā-bir-än ki nā-bā-bir-än ä jige xištän
 self moving NEG-IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 SUB NEG-IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 from place.BS self
nā-bā-ǰumist-än
 NEG-IPFV-move₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanshah does everything, explores every possibility but the horse just will not move and will not leave this spot.’
- (54) *untä bir-ä bāšdä aslanša hürsin bā-bir-än bā zārb-az bā äs dü*
 that way be₂-PTCP after PN angry IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 LOC force-with LOC horse two
sä-ta qirmaǰ bā-kāšir-än
 three-CLS lash IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3
 ‘Seeing this being the case, Aslanshah becomes infuriated and with all his force, whips the horse two or three times.’
- (55) *äs hič yä vižä=yiš ä jige xištän häräkät nā-bā-saxt-än aqade ädämi*
 horse at₀ll one inch=ADD from place.BS self movement NEG-IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 as person
bā zuhun b-amar-än bāt-än
 LOC tongue IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘The horse does not move by an inch and says to him in a human-like voice.’
- (56) *ey kuk väčänüm*
 VOC son beggar
 ‘‘Beggar’s son,’’
- (57) *tü=rä piyār=tü padša=yü xištän=tü=riš šazadä=yi*
 you=OBL father=POSS:2SG king=COP:3 self=POSS:2SG=ADD prince=COP:2SG
 ‘your father is a king and you yourself are a prince.’
- (58) *üzüm män här čü guftür-üm bā ü guš vakun*
 now I each what see₂-PST-1SG LOC 3SG ear MOD:open₁:2SG
 ‘Now listen to everything I am about to say.’
- (59) *bāzir pay=mä bir-ä xari=yä väkän vin čü*
 under foot.BS=POSS:1SG be₂-PTCP ground=OBL MOD:take out₁ MOD:see₁:2SG what
bā-dir-än-i
 IPFV-see₂-PRS-2SG
 ‘Dig the soil under my hooves and see what emerges.’’
- (60) *aslanša zu ä äs bā-firnar-än bāzir pay äs bir-ä jigä=yä qazmiš*
 PN fast from horse IPFV-descend₂-PRS:3 under foot.BS horse be₂-PTCP place=OBL digging
bā-saxt-än bāqänšäl=ü yä dār bā-dürmar-än
 IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 in front=POSS:3 one door IPFV-exit₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanshah quickly descends from the horse, digs the ground beneath the horses’s hooves and finds a door.’
- (61) *šazadä dār=ä dāstä=yü=rä bā-kāšir-än dār babir-än*
 prince door=OBL handle=POSS:3=OBL IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 door IPFV.open₂-PRS:3
bā-daraft-än bā dörün
 IPFV-enter₂-PRS:3 LOC inside

'The prince turns the handle on the door, the door opens, and he goes inside.'

- (62) *bä-dir-än ki injä yä kälä ütaq=ü*
IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB here one big.ATTR room=COP:3
'He sees a big room.'
- (63) *bä un sär ütaq yä nurani-yä qujä ništ-e*
LOC that head room one radiant-ATTR old sit₂-PRF:3
'On the other side of the room sits an honourable elderly man.'
- (64) *qujä aslanša=yä dir-än kimi bät-än*
old PN=OBL see₂-INF as soon as IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
'When the elderly man sees Aslanšah, he says.'
- (65) *ey šazadä*
voc prince
'Prince!'
- (66) *in äs=ä bä bätän=tü bir-ä alat-a-yaz män be tü fürsär-am*
this horse=OBL LOC near=POSS:2SG be₂-PTCP clothes-PL-with I LOC you send₂-PRF.1SG
'I was the one who sent you the clothes that were attached to the horse.'
- (67) *in-ha ältü=rü*
this-PL yours=COP:3
'They are for you.'
- (68) *tä'ä'üb mä-san*
surprise PROH-do₁:2SG
'Do not be surprised.'
- (69) *in-ha bä qanun qaydä-yaz xüsusi mal xištän=tü=rü än hičkäs nist*
this-PL LOC law rule-with special property self=POSS:2SG=COP:3 of no one NEG.COP
'They are rightfully yours and no one else's.'
- (70) *čän sal=ü ki in äs in alat-a tü=rä čüm bä-dašt-änbür-und*
how many year=COP:3 SUB this horse this clothes-PL you=OBL eye IPFV-hold₂-IMPF-3PL
'For many years, this horse and these clothes have awaited you.'
- (71) *üzüm in šämšir=ä vägi bu-ra*
now this sword=OBL IMP:take₁:2SG MOD-go₁:2SG
'Now take this sword and go.'
- (72) *bä härjä ki bä čatuni aftar-i in šämšir=ä käš ü tü=rä*
LOC everywhere SUB LOC difficulty fall₂:PST-2SG this sword=OBL MOD:pull₁:2SG 3SG you=OBL
ä här bälä nijat bistän tün-ü
from each tragedy rescue PROSP MOD:give₁:3SG
'Wherever you run into trouble, take out this sword, and it is going to save you from all danger.'

- (73) *bä in tü suvar bir-ä äs=iş tabih baş ü tü=rä bä härjä*
 LOC this you mounted be₂-PTCP horse=ADD obeying MOD:be₁;2SG 3SG you=OBL LOC everywhere
bärd bu-ra pusova mä-gärd
 carry₂:PST:3 MOD-go₁;2SG ahead PROH-walk₁;2SG
 ‘Obey the horse you are riding; go wherever it takes you and do not look back.’
- (74) *bä yä gaf=män=iş guş vokun*
 LOC one word=POSS:1SG=ADD ear MOD:open₁;2SG
 ‘Abide by this one rule that I am revealing to you.’
- (75) *ägär zän astar-i häf ruz bä in zän=tü künd maftan häf*
 if woman get₂:PST-2SG seven day LOC this woman=POSS:2SG close PROH.fall₁;2SG seven
ruz-gä bäsda bä ü-raz xis bä arzu=tü ras
 day-FOC after LOC 3SG-with MOD:sleep₁;2SG LOC wish=POSS:2SG MOD:reach₁;2SG
 ‘If you get married, refrain from physical intimacy with your wife for seven days; and after the seven days have passed, you can sleep with her and fulfil your dream.’
- (76) *qujä hiç ä jige xiştän nä-växişt-ä bä şazadä xeyrdüa bä-där-än bä*
 old at_all from place.BS self NEG-get up₂-PTCP LOC prince blessing IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 LOC
ra b-ängäst-än
 road IPFV-insert₂-PRS:3
 ‘The elderly man blesses the prince without even moving from where he was and and bids him farewell.’
- (77) *aslanşa ä där bä-dürmar-än där hä xiştän bäst-ä bä-bir-än sär*
 PN from door IPFV-exit₂-PRS:3 door FOC self close₂-PTCP IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 head
där=ä xak pur bä-saxt-än
 door=OBL soil full IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanshah exits through the door; the door then shuts on its own and becomes covered with soil.’
- (78) *aslanşa şämşir xiştän=ä bä kämär xiştän bä-bäst-än bä äs suvar*
 PN sword self=OBL LOC lower back self IPFV-close₂-PRS:3 LOC horse mounted
bä-bir-än bä ra b-aftar-an
 IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 LOC road IPFV-fall₂-PRS
 ‘Aslanshah ties his sword to his waist, mounts the horse embarks on his journey.’
- (79) *äs ü=rä bä yä şähär bä-rasund-än bart-an lap bäkinar şähär*
 horse 3SG=OBL LOC one city IPFV-deliver₂-PRS:3 IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 completely next to city
bir-ä yä kasib-ä xunä=yä bäqänşäl=ü bä-payist-än
 be₂-PTCP one poor-ATTR home=OBL in front=POSS:3 IPFV-stand₂-PRS:3
 ‘The horse brings him to a city and proceeds directly toward a humble dwelling, where it stops.’
- (80) *bä in xunä yä qäri pirezä bä-zist-änbü*
 LOC this home one old woman old woman IPFV-live₂-IMPF:3
 ‘In this house lived an elderly woman.’

- (81) *aslanša bā qāri bāt-än ki inšöü män=ä qunaq mi-dar-i ya nä*
 PN LOC old woman IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB tonight I=OBL guest vt-give₂-2SG or no
 ‘Aslanshah says to the elderly woman: “Would you or would you not accommodate me as a guest tonight?”’
- (82) *pirzä javab bā-dār-än ki äxi män=ä be xard-än=tü hičiz=mä*
 old woman answer IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 SUB end I=OBL LOC eat₂-INF=POSS:2SG nothing=POSS:1SG
nist
 NEG.COP
 ‘The elderly woman replies: “But I have nothing for you to eat.’
- (83) *bätän=mä mun-i gisnä-yä šiqām bistän xisi*
 near=POSS:1SG MOD:stay₁-2SG hungry-ATTR stomach PROSP sleep₂-PST:3
 ‘If you stay with me, you are going to sleep on an empty stomach.’”
- (84) *aslanša bāt-än ki čümmašü maš-ü mi-xar-üm nämmaš-ü*
 PN IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB please vt.be₁-3SG vt-eat₁-1SG NEG.vt.be₁-3SG
nä-m-xar-üm
 NEG-vt-eat₁-1SG
 ‘Aslanshah says: “Please, I shall eat if there is food available, and I shall not eat if there is none.’
- (85) *xuda danist-ä xas=ü*
 God know₂-PTCP good=COP:3
 ‘God knows best.’”
- (86) *qāri be mund-än=ü razi bā-bir-än*
 old woman LOC stay₂-INF=POSS:3 content IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 ‘The woman agrees to let him stay.’
- (87) *aslanša äs xištän=ä bā dār xunä bā-bäst-än bā xunä bā-daraft-än*
 PN horse self=OBL LOC door home IPFV-close₂-PRS:3 LOC home IPFV-enter₂-PRS:3
bā-xisir-än-und
 IPFV-sleep₂-PRS-3PL
 ‘Aslanshah ties his horse in the yard, enters the house, and they go to bed.’
- (88) *ä xisir-än piša qāri bā aslanša bāt-än ki šöü tanä bā burun*
 from sleep₂-INF front old woman LOC PN IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB night lonely LOC outside
mä-düra äz män ijazä vägi bāfdä bu-ra bā būrun
 PROH-exit₁:2SG from I permission IMP:take₁:2SG after MOD-go₁:2SG LOC outside
 ‘Before going to sleep, the elderly woman says to Aslanshah: “Do not venture out alone at night. Seek my permission before going out.”’
- (89) *šöü=yä yä växt=ü aslanša fikir bā-saxt-än ki yara vün-üm be čü*
 night=OBL one time=POSS:3 PN idea IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 SUB once MOD:see₁-1SG LOC what
in qāri bā burun raft-an=män=ä qädäqän bā-saxt-än
 this old woman LOC outside go₂-INF=POSS:1SG=OBL ban IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 ‘At one point at night, Aslanshah wonders: “Let me see why this elderly woman is forbidding me to out outside.’

- (90) *hā tanā xābār-süz bistān bu-ram bā burun vün-üm çü xābār=ü*
 FOC lonely news-Priv PROSP MOD-go₁-1SG LOC outside MOD:see₁-1SG what news=POSS:3
 ‘I am going to go outside all alone and without telling her and I am going to see what this is about.’
- (91) *aslanša yavaš-lā mungütürsüz bā-dürmar-än bā bürun*
 PN slow-DIM silently IPFV-exit₂-PRS:3 LOC outside
 ‘Slowly and quietly, Aslanshah goes outside.’
- (92) *bā-dir-än ki šähär-ä yā taraf=ü zulmat tariki=yü yā*
 IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB city=OBL one direction=POSS:3 darkness darkness=COP:3 one
taraf=ü rişini mirāqāz
 direction=POSS:3 light daylight
 ‘He sees that part of the city is engulfed in darkness, while the other part is illuminated by daylight.’
- (93) *ä tarik-ä taraf mung giryä ah nalä b-ämar-än ä rişin-ä taraf*
 from dark-ATTR direction sound crying ITJ moan IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 from light-ATTR direction
xändä şari
 laughter happiness
 ‘Sounds of cries and moans emanate from the dark side, while sounds of laughter and happiness resonate from the light side.’
- (94) *aslanša bā in kar mäftäl bā-mund-än*
 PN LOC this work perplexed IPFV-stay₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanshah is left perplexed.’
- (95) *čänäm bā bürun mung-süz ätär-süz dürmar-ebü hä untä=riş bā xunä*
 how LOC outside sound-Priv news-Priv exit₂-Pqp:3 FOC that way=ADD LOC home
bā-daraft-än bā jige xiştän be xisir-än duraz bā-bir-än
 IPFV-enter₂-PRS:3 LOC place.BS self LOC sleep₂-INF long IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 ‘Just as he had left without making a sound, he returned inside in the same manner and lay down in his bed to sleep.’
- (96) *hā tazä-lä läfäf=ä bäsär xiştän kăşir-ebü ki qäri bā tariki xābār*
 FOC new-DIM blanket=OBL on self pull₂-Pqp:3 SUB old woman LOC darkness news
b-astar-an
 IPFV-get₂-PRS:3
 ‘He has barely covered himself with the blanket when he hears the elderly woman ask in the darkness.’
- (97) *be çü äz män ijazä-süz bā burun dürmar-i çü dir-i*
 LOC what from I permission-Priv LOC outside exit₂-PST-2SG what see₂-PST-2SG
 ‘“Why did you go outside without asking me, what did you see?”’
- (98) *nä-tärsir-i ki äy jayil*
 NEG-fear₂-PST-2SG FOC VOC young
 ‘Were you not scared, young man?’

- (99) *aslanša javab bā-dār-än ki yä taraf šähär rišin=ü ädämi-ha=yü*
 PN answer IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 SUB one direction city light=COP:3 person-PL=POSS:3
šadi šari bā-saxt-än-und yä taraf=ü tarik zulmat jämäfät=iš bā
 happiness happiness IPFV-do₂-PRS-3PL one direction=POSS:3 dark darkness people=ADD LOC
giryä aftar-and ah nalä bā-saxt-än-und
 crying fall₂-PRF.3PL ITJ moan IPFV-do₂-PRS-3PL
 ‘Aslanshah replies: “One part of the city is illuminated; the people are revelling happily; the other side is pitch-dark, and the people are crying and moaning.’
- (100) *män tärsir-än=ä nä-tärsir-üm amma säxt täšäjäblü-yä kar=ü*
 I fear₂-INF=OBL NEG-fear₂-PST-1SG but hard surprising-ATTR work=COP:3
 ‘As for being scared, I was not scared but this is an awfully strange matter.’
- (101) *qäri bā aslanša bät-än*
 old woman LOC PN IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘The elderly woman says to Aslanshah.’
- (102) *in šähär=ä bākinar=u yä därya hist*
 this city=OBL next to=COP:3 one sea COP:EXIST
 ‘There is a sea outside of the city.’
- (103) *unjä yä häft-ä sär-ä äzdärha bā-zist-än*
 there one seven-ATTR head-ATTR dragon IPFV-live₂-PRS:3
 ‘There is a seven-headed dragon living there.’
- (104) *xurak äni äzdärha haruz yä javan-ä duxtär dü-ta gou yä sad*
 meal of this dragon every day one young-ATTR girl two-CLS bull one hundred
lavaš=ü
 flatbread=COP:3
 ‘This dragon’s daily food is a young woman, two bulls and one hundred flatbreads.’
- (105) *bä ühde jämäfät in taraf šähär här čü aftar-ebü dār-and ä*
 LOC responsibility.BS people this direction city each what fall₂-Pqp:3 give₂-PRF.3PL from
qärd xištäni-ha varast-and
 debt self.3-PL end₂-PRF.3PL
 ‘The people living on this side managed to get out of the debt by giving away everything that was in their possession.’
- (106) *üzüm šari bā-saxt-än-und xunä-hay xištäni=yä rišneyi saxt-and bā*
 now happiness IPFV-do₂-PRS-3PL home-PL.BS self.3=OBL light do₂-PRF.3PL LOC
käf=und
 pleasure=COP.3PL
 ‘Now they are celebrating, illuminating their houses and enjoying themselves.’
- (107) *un taraf šähär ki tü ü=rä tarik zulmat dir-i ü mähälle*
 that direction city SUB you 3SG=OBL dark darkness see₂-PST-2SG 3SG neighbourhood.BS
padša=mun=ü
 king=POSS.1PL=COP:3

'The other side of the city, where you saw darkness, is our king's neighbourhood.'

- (108) *säbähin ü=rä nöübät=ü=rü gärah duxtär xištän=äfürs-ü be äni*
 the next day 3SG=OBL turn=POSS:3=COP:3 should girl self=OBL MOD:send₁-3SG LOC of this
äzdärha
 dragon
 'Tomorrow it is his turn; he must send his daughter to that dragon.'
- (109) *ü=riš kuk=ü nist aman zaman yä duxtär-le=yü hist*
 3SG=OBL.ADD son=POSS:3 NEG.COP mercy time one girl-DIM.BS=POSS:3 COP:EXIST
 'And he has no sons; his only hope is his daughter.'
- (110) *böhü giura uşun bä tariki ah nalä bä-saxt-än-und*
 LOC.3SG by they LOC darkness ITJ moan IPFV-do₂-PRS-3PL
 'This is why they are sobbing in the darkness.'
- (111) *säbäh bä-bir-än*
 morning IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 'Morning comes.'
- (112) *şazadä äs xištän=ä bä-nar-än bä dār xune qäri şämşir=ä bä*
 prince horse self=OBL IPFV-put₂-PRS:3 LOC door home.BS old woman sword=OBL LOC
kämär bä-bäst-än peyrä bart-an batarafşähär
 lower back IPFV-close₂-PRS:3 on foot IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 toward city
 'The prince leaves his horse by the elderly woman's door, ties his sword to his
 waist and goes on foot towards the city.'
- (113) *b-amar-än bä-dürmar-än bäsär ouşun bāzır ouşun=iş yä dārya*
 IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 IPFV-exit₂-PRS:3 on waterfall under waterfall=ADD one sea
 'He arrives at a waterfall, underneath which there is a sea.'
- (114) *be qurban-hay äzdärha bä kinar dārya yä xunä saxt-ä bir-äbü*
 for sacrifice-PL.BS dragon LOC edge sea one home do₂-PTCP be₂-PRF:3
 'On the seashore, there is a small house made for the dragon's sacrifice.'
- (115) *bä-dir-än ki bäqänşäl in xunä dü-ta dar hist*
 IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB in front this home two-CLS tree COP:EXIST
 'He sees two trees in front of the house.'
- (116) *bä yä dar yä javan-ä şabaz-ä duxtär bäst-ä bir-e bunyäki*
 LOC one tree one young-ATTR beautiful-ATTR girl close₂-PTCP be₂-PRF:3 LOC.the other one
dar yä jüft gou bä dār xunä=yiş çar-ta qärzinkä lavaş-ä nu nar-ä
 tree one pair bull LOC door home=ADD four-CLS basket flatbread-ATTR bread put₂-PTCP
bir-e
 be₂-PRF:3
 'A beautiful young girl is tied to one of the trees, and a pair of bulls is tied to the
 other tree, while by the door of the house, someone has left a basket of
 flatbreads.'

- (117) *aslanša bā kündi in duxtär b-ämar-än*
 PN LOC proximity this girl IPFV-come₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslan Shah approaches the girl.’
- (118) *in duxtär ü=rä dir-än kimi jıra bā-zär-än*
 this girl 3SG=OBL see₂-INF as soon as scream IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3
 ‘As soon as the girl sees him, she screams.’
- (119) *äy jayil=ä kuk*
 VOC young=OBL son
 ‘Young man!’
- (120) *tü injä čü bā-saxt-äni be čü injä amar-äyi*
 you here what IPFV-do₂-TEMP LOC what here come₂-PRF.2SG
 ‘What are you doing here, why have you come here?’
- (121) *zu äz injä bu-ra*
 fast from here MOD-go₁:2SG
 ‘Leave this place immediately.’
- (122) *üzüm äzdärha ä darya bistän düre tü=rä mü-xar-ü*
 now dragon from sea PROSP MOD:exit₁:3 you=OBL vt-eat₁-3SG
 ‘The dragon is about to come out of the sea; it will devour you.’
- (123) *män=ä diyä bā män čarä nist*
 I=OBL already LOC I remedy NEG.COP
 ‘For me, there is no longer any hope.’
- (124) *män=ä dār-and be xard-än bā äzdärha*
 I=OBL give₂-PRF.3PL for eat₂-INF LOC dragon
 ‘I have been given to the dragon to be devoured.’
- (125) *imruz imun=ä nöübät=mu bü*
 today we=OBL turn=POSS:1PL be₂-PST:3
 ‘Today, it was our turn.’
- (126) *piyär=män=iš bāqänšäl jämäšät nöübät xištän=ä puzmiš nä-saxt*
 father=POSS:1SG=ADD in front people turn self=OBL ruining NEG-do₂-PST:3
 ‘And my father did not evade his turn in front of the people.’
- (127) *šämr nä-saxt ki bā jige yä tanä-yä duxtär=ü ä sä čar-ta*
 order NEG-do₂-PST:3 SUB LOC place.BS one lonely-ATTR girl=POSS:3 from three four-CLS
duxtär=ü bir-ä räšyät-un=ü yeki duxtär xištän=ä be in äzdärha
 girl=POSS:3 be₂-PTCP commoner-PL=POSS:3 one:HEAD girl self=OBL LOC this dragon
fürs-ü
 MOD:send₁-3SG
 ‘He did not command any commoner who had three or four daughters to offer one to the dragon instead of me, his only daughter.’

- (128) *gufti ki be padša xub-ä kar nist ki ä jämäſät xištän=ä jüra*
 say.PST:3 SUB LOC king good-ATTR work NEG.COP SUB from people self=OBL separated
san-ü xištän=ä zörä gür-ü
 MOD:do₁-3SG self=OBL above MOD:seize₁-3SG
 'He said that it would not be appropriate for a king to treat himself differently from others and to act superior.'
- (129) *padša-yä piyär=mä gufti ki jämäſät čänäm män=iš untä*
 king-ATTR father=POSS:1SG say.PST:3 SUB people how I=ADD that way
 'My father the king said: 'I shall do as my people.'
- (130) *nöübät älmän=ü üzüm män bistän duxtär=män=ä bä äzdärha sädäqä*
 turn mine=COP:3 now I PROSP girl=POSS:1SG=OBL LOC dragon alms
san-üm
 MOD:do₁-1SG
 'It is my turn, therefore I am going to sacrifice my daughter (by offering her) to the dragon.'
- (131) *ü=rü ki män=ä šöü avarđ-and bä in dar bäst-and ki in zalum-ä*
 3SG=COP:3 SUB I=OBL night bring₂-PRF.3PL LOC this tree close₂-PRF.3PL SUB this tyrant-ATTR
ädämixar-ä äzdärha män=ä xar-ü
 maneater-ATTR dragon I=OBL MOD:eat₁-3SG
 'Thus, they brought me here at night, tied me to this tree so that the horrible man-eating dragon can devour me.'
- (132) *üzüm bä xatur xuda tü bu-ra tü hälä jayil=i zist-äni-yä*
 now LOC grace God you MOD-go₁:2SG you still young=COP:2SG live₂:PST-GRDV-ATTR
ruz-ay=tü hälä bä piša=yü
 day-PL.BS=POSS:2SG still LOC front=COP:3
 'Now, for the love of God, go away, you are still young, you have a whole life ahead of you.'
- (133) *män=ä talih=mä intä avarđ äz älmän tä bä injä bü*
 I=OBL destiny=POSS:1SG this way bring₂:PST:3 from mine until LOC here be₂:PST:3
 'This is my fate; my life has been destined to last this much.'
- (134) *aslanša bä duxtär padša dül tuxtaq bä-där-än bät-än ki tü*
 PN LOC girl king heart support IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB you
fkir=män=ä mä-san
 idea=POSS:1SG=OBL PROH-do₁:2SG
 'Aslanšah reassures the girl and says: "Do not worry about me.'
- (135) *män injä bistän bätän=tü mun-üm*
 I here PROSP near=POSS:2SG MOD:stay₁-1SG
 'I am going to stay here with you.'
- (136) *mä-tärs*
 PROH-fear₁:2SG

'Do not be afraid.'

- (137) *män tü=rä bistän xulas san-üm*
I you=OBL PROSP salvation MOD:do₁-1SG
'I am going to save you.'
- (138) *gaf aslanša hälä ä duhun=ü nä-varast-ebü ki ou därya bä läpä*
word PN still from mouth=POSS:3 NEG-end₂-Pqp:3 SUB water sea LOC wave
ama ädörü därya äzdärha=yä yä sār=ü dūrma duraz bü
come₂:PST:3 from within sea dragon=OBL one head=POSS:3 exit₂:PST:3 long be₂:PST:3
bätaraf duxtär
toward girl
'Before Aslanshah said this, the sea rose in waves; out of the sea came one of the dragon's heads and stretched toward the girl.'
- (139) *duxtär padša sār äzdärha=yä dir-än kimi yä diil varzund-ä jıra*
girl king head dragon=OBL see₂-INF as soon as one heart demolish₂-PTCP scream
käši ä xištän raft sār=ü afta bä sine=yü
pull₂:PST:3 from self go₂:PST:3 head=POSS:3 fall₂:PST:3 LOC chest.BS=POSS:3
'When the king's daughter saw the dragon's head, she let out a heartbreaking scream and lost her consciousness, her head falling on her chest.'
- (140) *aslanša ki bāpüšt dar pana bir-ebü šämšir xištän=ä bä-käšir-än bä duxtär*
PN SUB after tree hidden be₂-Pqp:3 sword self=OBL IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 LOC girl
rasir-ä sār äzdärha=yä bä-zār-än b-ängäst-än bä xari
reach₂-PTCP head dragon=OBL IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3 IPFV-insert₂-PRS:3 LOC ground
'Aslanshah, who was hiding behind the tree, draws out his sword and severs the head that has been stretching toward the girl and allows it to fall on the ground.'
- (141) *bä in qaydä-yaz här sār äzdärha ä ou bä-dürmar-äni bätaraf duxtär*
LOC this rule-with each head dragon from water IPFV-exit₂-TEMP toward girl
duraz bä-bir-äni šazadä ü=rä bä-zār-än bä-nar-än bätän äni
long IPFV-be₂-TEMP prince 3SG=OBL IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3 IPFV-put₂-PRS:3 near of that
yeki sār
one:HEAD head
'In a similar manner, just as with the first head, the prince swiftly severs and lets fall, one after another, every dragon head that emerges from the water and stretches toward the girl.'
- (142) *bä in qaydä-yaz aslanša här häf sār äzdärha=yä bä-zār-än bä-bur-an*
LOC this rule-with PN each seven head dragon=OBL IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3 IPFV-cut-PRS:3
'In this manner, Aslanshah severs all of the dragon's seven heads.'
- (143) *ä pust äzdärha yä qäyiš dürüs bä-saxt-än här häf sār äzdärha=yä*
from skin dragon one belt right IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 each seven head dragon=OBL
bä-girund-än bä in qäyiš bääzär-än ä bülünd-ä lüve dar
IPFV-exchange₂-PRS:3 LOC this belt IPFV.hang₂-PRS:3 from high-ATTR branch.BS tree
'He fashions a belt out of the dragon's skin, attaches every dragon head to the belt and suspends it from a tall tree branch.'

- (144) *duxtar padša bexišt-än b-ämar-än čüm xištän=ä bakard-än*
 girl king IPFV.get up₂-PRS:3 IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 eye self=OBL IPFV.open₂-PRS:3
bä-dir-än ki ä xun äzdärha ru darya aqasde šaqaqa vakard-ä čül
 IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB from blood dragon face sea as poppy open₂-PTCP forty
čämän qipqirmizi bir-e
 meadow very red be₂-PRF.3
 ‘The king’s daughter regains her consciousness, opens her eyes and sees that the dragon’s blood has turned the sea completely red, like a field covered in poppies.’
- (145) *bä sär b-aftar-än ki in jayil gädä äzdärha=yä küšt-e ü=riš*
 LOC head IPFV-fall₂-PRS:3 SUB this young boy dragon=OBL kill₂-PRF.3 3SG=ADD
žämäšät=iš ä zulum in xunxar-ä mäxluq varast-e
 people=ADD from tyranny this bloodthirsty-ATTR creature end₂-PRF.3
 ‘She realises that this young man has slain the dragon, which meant that the people have been liberated from the tyranny of this bloodthirsty creature.’
- (146) *aslanša duxtar=ä bä dar bäst-ä rismun=ä bä-bur-an duxtar padša=yä*
 PN girl=OBL LOC tree close₂-PTCP string=OBL IPFV-cut-PRS:3 girl king=OBL
azad bä-saxt-än
 free IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanšah cuts the rope that had bound the girl to the tree and frees the king’s daughter.’
- (147) *ü jüft-ä gou-hun=iš bakard-än sərbänd=šun=ä bä-där-än bä*
 3SG pair-ATTR bull-PL=OBL.ADD IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 headband=POSS:3PL=OBL IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 LOC
däs duxtar padša bät-än
 hand girl king IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘He also releases the pair of bulls, gives their halter to the king’s daughter and says.’
- (148) *män be in mämläkät=šmu yä bala bir-ä in äzdärha=yä küšt-üm*
 I LOC this country=POSS:2PL one tragedy be₂-PTCP this dragon=OBL kill₂-PST-1SG
in=iš ü=rä häft-ä sär-ü vazar-am ä lüve dar
 this=ADD 3SG=OBL seven-ATTR head=POSS:3 hang₂-PRF.1SG from branch.BS tree
 ‘In your land, I have slain this dreadful dragon; behold its seven heads hanging from the tree branch.’
- (149) *üzüm tü gou-hay=tü=riš vägi käš bär bä xunä*
 now you bull-PL.BS=POSS:2SG=ADD IMP:take₁:2SG MOD:pull₁:2SG MOD:carry₁:2SG LOC home
 ‘Now take your bulls and lead them back home.’
- (150) *bä padša gun ki yä ädämi ama äzdärha=yä küšt raft*
 LOC king MOD:say₁:2SG SUB one person come₂:PST:3 dragon=OBL kill₂:PST:3 go₂:PST:3
 ‘Tell the king that a man came, killed the dragon and left.’
- (151) *amma män mi-dan-üm in ädämin=ä aft-än*
 but I vt-know₁-1SG this person=OBL find₂-INF

'But that you know how to find that man.'

- (152) *ü=rä qilinĵ=ü=rä qilaĵ=ü mund-e yä tay=iš göüš=ü*
 3SG=OBL sword=POSS:3=OBL sheath=POSS:3 stay₂-PRF.3 one match=ADD shoe=POSS:3
 'He has left behind the sheath of his sword and one of his shoes.'
- (153) *yäk=iš här ki in häĵ-ta sär äzdärha=yä häĵ ra äz in dar*
 one=ADD each who this seven-CLS head dragon=OBL seven road from this tree
kän-ü bā ĵigä=yü bil-ü dan ki un ädämi in
 MOD:take out₁-3SG LOC place=COP:3 MOD.leave₁-3SG MOD:know₁:2SG SUB that person this
äzdärha=yä küšt-e
 dragon=OBL kill₂-PRF.3
 'Also, if anyone takes down these seven dragon heads from the tree seven times and reattaches them in their rightful place, know that it is the man who slew the dragon.'
- (154) *bä piyär=tü gun ki här ki gun-ü ki in äzdärha=yä män*
 LOC father=POSS:2SG MOD:say₁:2SG SUB each who MOD:say₁-3SG SUB this dragon=OBL I
küšt-am gäräk in tay göüš=iš bā pa=yü baš-ü qilinĵ=ü=riš bā
 kill₂-PRF.1SG should this match shoe=ADD LOC foot=POSS:3 MOD:be₁-3SG sword=POSS:3=ADD LOC
in qilaĵ daray
 this sheath MOD:enter₁,3
 'Tell your father that whoever claims to have slain the dragon must wear a shoe matching this one and his sword must fit in this sheath.'
- (155) *aslanša in-ha=yä bā duxtär guĵtir-ä bāĵdä qilaĵ šämšir xištän=ä yä*
 PN this-PL=OBL LOC girl say₂-PTCP after sheath sword self=OBL one
tay=iš göüš pay xištän=ä bā-där-än bā duxtär b-ängäst-än bā ra
 match=ADD shoe foot.BS self=OBL IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 LOC girl IPFV-insert₂-PRS:3 LOC road
 'Aslan Shah says this to the girl, then gives her his sword sheath and a shoe he was wearing and departs.'
- (156) *xištän=iš багаšt-än bā xune qäri ki imšöü unĵä mund-ebü*
 self=ADD IPFV.return₂-PRS:3 LOC home.BS old woman SUB tonight there stay₂-Pqp:3
äs=ü=riš bā där=ü bäst-ä bü
 horse=POSS:3=ADD LOC door=POSS:3 close₂-PTCP be₂:PST:3
 'He arrives at the elderly woman's house, where he spent the previous night and tied his horse to the door.'
- (157) *duxtär padša gou-hun xištän=riš bā-käšir-än b-amar-än bā xune piyär*
 girl king bull-PL self=OBL.ADD IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 LOC home.BS father
xištän
 self
 'The king's daughter leads her bulls and returns home to her father.'
- (158) *piyär=ü be duxtär xištäni un qädä giräst-ebü ki ä čüm ĵärs=ü*
 father=POSS:3 LOC girl self.3 that CLS cry₂-Pqp:3 SUB from eye tear=POSS:3
alat=ü tar bir-ebu
 clothes=POSS:3 wet be₂-Pqp:3

'Her father has cried so much because of his daughter that his clothes were wet from his tears.'

- (159) *ü duxtär xištän=ä dir-än kimi bā täšviš-az xäbär b-astar-an ki čü*
 3SG girl self=OBL see₂-INF as soon as LOC hurry-with news IPFV-get₂-PRS:3 SUB what
bir-e duxtär=mä
 be₂-PRF.3 girl=POSS:1SG
 'Upon seeing his daughter, he asks her worriedly: "What happened, my daughter?'
- (160) *tü xištän=tü=rä ä dar vakard-äyi virixt-äyi*
 you self=POSS:2SG=OBL from tree open₂:PST-PRF.2SG flee₂-PRF.2SG
 'Have you untied yourself from the tree and fled?'
- (161) *üzüm imu čü bistän san-im*
 now we what PROSP MOD:do₁-1PL
 'What are we going to do now?'
- (162) *xune=mu fičarist*
 home.BS=POSS:1PL tumble₂:PST:3
 'Our life is over.'
- (163) *gisnä-yä äždärha üzüm ä därya bistän düre aftan-ü bā jan šähär*
 hungry-ATTR dragon now from sea PROSP MOD:exit₁:3 MOD:fall₁-3SG LOC soul city
yä ädämin=iš nä-bistän zündä büil-ü
 one person=OBL.ADD NEG-PROSP alive MOD.leave₁-3SG
 'The hungry dragon is now going to come out of the sea and punish the people; he is not going to leave a single person alive.'
- (164) *xuda äsär jämäfät=mä ä mämläkät=mä bälä=yä käm*
 God from the top of people=POSS:1SG from country=POSS:1SG tragedy=OBL little
nä-bä-saxt-än
 NEG-IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 'God is not alleviating the troubles of my people and my kingdom.'
- (165) *xuda bemu kümäg baš-ü*
 God LOC.we help MOD:be₁-3SG
 'May God help us.'
- (166) *duxtär qäzyä=yä bā piyär xištän ixtilat bā-saxt-än bät-än ki*
 girl incident=OBL LOC father self talk IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB
 'The girl recounts the story to her father and says.'
- (167) *päs intä=yü untä=yü yä ädämi äždärha=yä küšt häf*
 Advers:INTER this way=POSS:3 that way=POSS:3 one person dragon=OBL kill₂:PST:3 seven
sär=ü=rış ä dar vüzä virixt raft
 head=POSS:3=ADD from tree hang₂:PST:3 flee₂:PST:3 go₂:PST:3
 'This is how it unfolded: a man slew the dragon, hung its seven heads from the tree and departed.'

- (168) *in=iš ü=rä qilinĵ=ü=rä qilaf=ü in=iš yä tay gäuš=ü*
 this=ADD 3SG=OBL sword=POSS:3=OBL sheath=POSS:3 this=ADD one match shoe=COP:3
 ‘Here is his sheath and here is his shoe.’
- (169) *padša bä ĵämäſät-az b-amar-än-und bä kinar därya*
 king LOC people-with IPFV-come₂-PRS-3PL LOC edge sea
 ‘The king and the people gather on the seashore.’
- (170) *bä-dir-än-und ki ĵändäk äždärha=yä nime=yü bädörü ou nime=yü bä*
 IPFV-see₂-PRS-3PL SUB carcass dragon=OBL half.BS=POSS:3 inside water half.BS=POSS:3 LOC
xüški aftar-e häf sär=ü=riš bä yä pust qäyiš girund-ä bir-e
 dryness fall₂-PRF.3 seven head=POSS:3=ADD LOC one skin belt exchange₂-PTCP be₂-PRF.3
väzär-ä bir-e ä yä lüve dar
 hang₂-PTCP be₂-PRF.3 from one branch.BS tree
 ‘They see half of the dragon’s corpse in the water and half ashore, while its seven heads are attached to a leather belt and are hanging from a tree branch.’
- (171) *padša ĵar bä-käſir-än ki bä in mämläkät=mä bir-ä hämälä*
 king publicity IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 SUB LOC this country=POSS:1SG be₂-PTCP all
ĵayil=a biyand uſun=ä ä sinaq giran-üm
 young=OBL MOD.come₁-3PL they=OBL from test MOD:pass₁-1SG
 ‘The king proclaims: “Let all the young men from my country gather so I can test them.’
- (172) *här ki in häf sär äždärha=yä häf ra ä lüve in dar zirava*
 each who this seven head dragon=OBL seven road from branch.BS this tree below
biyar-ü zöürä bär-ü väzän-ü bä ĵige=yü in göüſ bä
 MOD.bring₁-3SG above MOD:carry₁-3SG MOD:hang₁-3SG LOC place.BS=POSS:3 this shoe LOC
pa=yü baſ-ü qilinĵ=ü bä in qilaf daray duxtär=män=ä bä
 foot=POSS:3 MOD:be₁-3SG sword=POSS:3 LOC this sheath MOD:enter₁-3 girl=POSS:1SG=OBL LOC
ü biſtän tün-üm
 3SG PROSP MOD:give₁-1SG
 ‘Whoever can remove these seven dragon heads from the tree branch seven times and then reattach them securely in their rightful places, whoever wears a shoe that matches this one and whoever possesses a sword that fits this sheath, I shall let him marry my daughter.’
- (173) *ĵayil-a mämläkät be duxtär padša=yä astar-an bä bähſäbähſ yeki*
 young-PL country LOC girl king=OBL get₂-INF LOC competition one:HEAD
b-amar-än-und piſava ki män äždärha=yä küſt-am
 IPFV-come₂-PRS-3PL ahead SUB I dragon=OBL kill₂-PRF.1SG
 ‘The young men of the country, eager to marry the king’s daughter, race each other to come forward and say: “I killed the dragon.’
- (174) *amma hičkäs nä-bast-än ä ühde in sä ſart biye*
 but no one NEG-IPFV.know₂-PRS:3 from responsibility.BS this three condition MOD.come₁:3
 ‘But no one can fulfil the three conditions.’

- (175) *bä padša xəbär bā-dār-än-und ki diyä bā in mämläkät jayil=ä gädä*
 LOC king news IPFV-give₂-PRS-3PL SUB already LOC this country young=OBL boy
nä-mund
 NEG-stay₂-PST:3
 ‘The king is informed that there are no more young men left in the country.’
- (176) *xəbär b-amar-än ki bā kinar šähär yä daxma hist unjä yä qäri*
 news IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 SUB LOC edge city one hut COP:EXIST there one old woman
bä-zist-än
 IPFV-live₂-PRS:3
 ‘News arrives that outside of the city, there is a hut where an elderly woman lives.’
- (177) *ü=rä bā xunä=yü ä yä üzgä vilayät yä jayil=ä gädä amar-e*
 3SG=OBL LOC home=POSS:3 from one other province one young=OBL boy come₂-PRF:3
 ‘A young man has arrived at her house from a different province.’
- (178) *üz ü başqä diyä jayil nä-mund-e*
 from 3SG except already young NEG-stay₂-PRF:3
 ‘Apart from him, there are no more young men remaining.’
- (179) *padša sämr bā-saxt-än ki ü=rış biyar-ind bā imtähan*
 king order IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 SUB 3SG=OBL.ADD MOD.bring₁-2PL LOC experiment
 ‘The king orders: “Bring him over to be tested as well.”’
- (180) *qaravaş-a padša bart-an-und in javan=iş b-avard-än-und*
 servant-PL king IPFV.go₂-PRS-3PL this young=OBL.ADD IPFV-bring₂-PRS-3PL
 ‘The king’s servants go and bring this young man, too.’
- (181) *ü häf ra häf sār äzdärha=yä ä lüve dar bā-känd-än yära=yiş*
 3SG seven road seven head dragon=OBL from branch.BS tree IPFV-take out₂-PRS:3 once=ADD
bä jige=yü bääzär-än göüş=ä bā-dägüft-än qilinǰ xiştän=ä bā
 LOC place.BS=POSS:3 IPFV.hang₂-PRS:3 shoe=OBL IPFV-put on₂-PRS:3 sword self=OBL LOC
qilaf=ü bā-nar-än
 sheath=POSS:3 IPFV-put₂-PRS:3
 ‘He removes the dragon’s seven heads from the tree branch seven times and then reattaches them in their place, puts on the shoe and places his sword in the sheath.’
- (182) *duxtär padša bāt-än ki in jayil män=ä ä däs äzdärha varast-e*
 girl king IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB this young I=OBL from hand dragon end₂-PRF:3
 ‘The king’s daughter says: “This young man saved me from the dragon.”’
- (183) *jämäsät=mun=ä jan=ü=rä mal=ü=rä ä zulum=ü niyat*
 people=POSS:1PL=OBL soul=POSS:3=OBL property=POSS:3=OBL from tyranny=POSS:3 rescue
där-e ädämixar-ä äzdärha=yä bā jähännäm vasil saxt-e
 give₂-PRF:3 man-eater-ATTR dragon=OBL LOC hell condemning do₂-PRF:3
 ‘He has saved our people’s lives and property from tyranny and condemned the man-eating dragon to hell.’

- (184) *padša aslanša=yä bä xune xištän bä-bärd-än qunaq bä-dašt-än*
king PN=OBL LOC home.BS self IPFV-carry₂-PRS:3 guest IPFV-hold₂-PRS:3
'The king brings Aslan Shah into his home and makes him his guest.'
- (185) *bäfdä duxtär xištän=riš bä-där-än bä ü*
then girl self=OBL.ADD IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 LOC 3SG
'Then he marries his daughter off to him.'
- (186) *häf ruz häf šöü färsi bä-saxt-än bä jämäfät xištän nu bä-där-än*
seven day seven night wedding IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 LOC people self bread IPFV-give₂-PRS:3
šiqäm yetim yesir=ä kasib-kusub=ä sir bä-saxt-än
stomach orphan orphan=OBL poor-REDUP=OBL replete IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
'He celebrates their wedding for seven days and seven nights, feeds his people and fills orphans' stomachs with food.'
- (187) *häf ruz-gä bäfdä padša dumar xištän=ä bä duxtär xištän-az bä-fürsär-än*
seven day-FOC after king son-in-law self=OBL LOC girl self-with IPFV-send₂-PRS:3
bä yä tanä-yä xunä ki bä duxtär xištän där-ebü
LOC one lonely-ATTR home SUB LOC girl self give₂-Pqp:3
'Seven days later, the king sends his son-in-law with his daughter to a separate house that he had given his daughter as a gift.'
- (188) *šangum bä-bir-än*
evening IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
'Evening falls.'
- (189) *javän-ä zän aslanša nalin läfäf b-ängäst-än bä bališ fätir*
young-ATTR woman PN cushion blanket IPFV-insert₂-PRS:3 LOC pillow odour
bä-šund-än bä sine xištän mišk änbär bä-sour-än bä dirnaq-ay
IPFV-throw₂-PRS:3 LOC chest.BS self musk ambergris IPFV-rub₂-PRS:3 LOC fingernail-PL.BS
xištän xinä bä-nar-än čänäm may=ü zänd-ebü untä
self henna IPFV-put₂-PRS:3 how mother=POSS:3 give birth-Pqp:3 that way
lütämänna bä-bir-än b-amar-än bä-daraft-än bázir subrä
naked as a jaybird IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 IPFV-enter₂-PRS:3 under white.ATTR
ätirlü-yä läfäf aslanša=yä gal bä-zär-än bätän xištän
fragrant-ATTR blanket PN=OBL call IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3 near self
'Aslan Shah's young wife prepares the bed, sprinkles incense on the pillow, applies musk and ambergris on her chest, paints her nails with henna, strips naked like the day she was born, gets under the white fragrant sheets and calls Aslan Shah to join her.'
- (190) *aslanša=yiš alat xištän=ä bä-känd-än bä tän=ü še šälval duraz*
PN=ADD clothes self=OBL IPFV-take out₂-PRS:3 LOC body=POSS:3 shirt trousers long
bä-bir-än bätän zän xištäni
IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 near woman self.3
'Aslan Shah removes his robe and lies down next to his wife wearing a shirt and trousers.'

- (191) *ü bā jige xištān duraz bir-ān kimi šāmšir xištān=ā bā-nar-ān*
 3SG LOC place.BS self long be₂-INF as soon as sword self=OBL IPFV-put₂-PRS:3
bāminge xištāni-ha bā xou bart-an
 among self.3-PL LOC sleep IPFV.go₂-PRS:3
 ‘As soon as he lies down on the bed, he places his sword between them and falls asleep.’
- (192) *duxtār padša=yā fikir xāyal bāngüft-ān*
 girl king=OBL idea dream IPFV.take₂-PRS:3
 ‘The king’s daughter is left wondering.’
- (193) *bā dül xištān bāt-ān*
 LOC heart self IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘She says to herself.’
- (194) *in čü kar=ü in be čü bāaray=mun xānjāl šāmšir bā-nar-ān*
 this what work=COP:3 this LOC what between=POSS:1PL dagger sword IPFV-put₂-PRS:3
 ‘What is this? Why is he putting daggers and swords between us?’
- (195) *bālkā in hič mārđ nist hā yā qujaqi=yü hist=ü*
 maybe this at_all man NEG.COP FOC one snuggling=POSS:3 COP:EXIST=COP:3
 ‘Perhaps he is not even a man, and all he can do is snuggle.’
- (196) *xuda axir=ü=rā xeyr se*
 God end=POSS:3=OBL use MOD:do_{1,3}
 ‘I pray to God that this ends well.’
- (197) *sābāh šöü=iš in kar tākrar bā-bir-ān*
 morning night=ADD this work repeat IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 ‘The same thing happens the next night.’
- (198) *šāš šöü šāš ruz javan-ā zān mārđ bāaray=šun šāmšir bā-xisir-ān-und*
 six night six day young-ATTR woman man between=POSS:3PL sword IPFV-sleep₂-PRS-3PL
 ‘For six days and six nights, the young woman and the young man sleep with a sword placed between them.’
- (199) *aslanša bā zān xištān nā-bāt-ān ki häf ruz bā zān künd*
 PN LOC woman self NEG-IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB seven day LOC woman close
bir-ān=ā yā qujā-yā dārviš bā ü qādāqān saxt-e
 be₂-INF=OBL one old-ATTR dervish LOC 3SG ban do₂-PRF:3
 ‘Aslanshah does not tell his wife that an old dervish has forbidden him from being physically close to his wife for seven days.’
- (200) *duxtār padša häftümin šöü=yā bādärün=ü nā-bast-ān tab saxt-ān*
 girl king seventh night=OBL inside=POSS:3 NEG-IPFV.know₂-PRS:3 patience do₂-INF
äsār qilin’ki bāminge=šun nar-ā bir-ebü bā-girašt-ān
 from the top of sword SUB among=POSS:3PL put₂-PTCP be₂-Pqp:3 IPFV-pass₂-PRS:3
 ‘During the seventh night, the king’s daughter can no longer endure this and crosses over the sword that has been placed between them.’

- (201) *aslanša=yä qujaq bä-zär-än bä murad bä-rasir-än*
 PN=OBL lap IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3 LOC aim IPFV-reach₂-PRS:3
 ‘She hugs Aslanshah and fulfils her dream.’
- (202) *šöü bä-xisir-än-und säbäh bä-bir-än*
 night IPFV-sleep₂-PRS-3PL morning IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 ‘They sleep through the night, and morning comes.’
- (203) *aslanša čum xištän=ä bakard-äni bä-dir-än ki bä hüzüüm kurä saxt-ä*
 PN eye self=OBL IPFV.open₂-TEMP IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB LOC firewood pile do₂-PTCP
öüşä ništ-e bä qänšäl=ü yä šalä hüzum bä däs=ü xüşk-ä
 forest sit₂-PRF.3 LOC front=POSS:3 one bundle firewood LOC hand=POSS:3 dry-ATTR
jäyin-ä nu bätän=ü hä un ävvälin-ä küünä alat-ey=ü
 made of barley-ATTR bread near=POSS:3 FOC that first-ATTR old clothes-PL.BS=POSS:3
 ‘When Aslanshah opens his eyes, he sees himself sitting in the forest where he was collecting firewood, with a bundle of firewood next to him, a piece of dry barley bread in his hand and wearing the same old clothes.’
- (204) *aslanša bä in kar lap mäštäl bä-mund-än*
 PN LOC this work completely perplexed IPFV-stay₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanshah is completely puzzled by this.’
- (205) *bä dül xištäni fikir bä-saxt-än*
 LOC heart self.3 idea IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 ‘He says to himself.’
- (206) *in čü kar=ü*
 this what work=COP:3
 ‘What is this?’
- (207) *äxi män bä äs suvar bir-am bä xune yä qäri raft-am*
 end I LOC horse mounted be₂-PRF.1SG LOC home.BS one old woman go₂-PRF.1SG
 ‘Did I not mount a horse and go to the house of an elderly woman.’
- (208) *bäfdä häfsär-ä äždärha=yä küšt-am duxtär padša=yä bä zäni*
 after seven-headed-ATTR dragon=OBL kill₂-PRF.1SG girl king=OBL LOC wifehood
vägüft-am
 take₂-PRF.1SG
 ‘then slay a seven-headed dragon and marry the king’s daughter?’
- (209) *in-ha hämäälä=yü xou bir-e čüst=ü*
 this-PL all=POSS:3 sleep be₂-PRF.3 COP:INTER=COP:3
 ‘Was this all a dream or what?’
- (210) *fikir bä-saxt-än ki in-ha ä xou bäsqä üzgä yä čiz nä-bir-e*
 idea IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 SUB this-PL from sleep except other one thing NEG-be₂-PRF.3
 ‘He thinks that all of this could be nothing but a dream.’
- (211) *aslanša bädäri fikir xäyal bil mun-ü hä injä bädörü öüşä*
 PN inside idea dream MOD.leave₁:2SG MOD:stay₁:3SG FOC here inside forest

'Let Aslanshah remain with his thoughts right there in the forest.'

- (212) *bešmu ä ki xäbär tün-üm ä duxtär padša*
 LOC.ye from who news MOD:give₁-1SG from girl king
 'Whom shall I tell you about? About the king's daughter.'
- (213) *säbäh afta ä pänjärä b-aftar-ani duxtär padša bä häzar bəxtävəri-yaz*
 morning sun from window IPFV-fall₂-TEMP girl king LOC thousand luck-with
ä xou aga bä-bir-än bä xuši-yaz naz-az gärnäšmiš
 from sleep awake IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 LOC pleasantness-with coquetry-with stretching
bä-bir-än bä-xast-än ki aslanša=yä qujaq bi-zän-ü mač quč san-ü
 IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 IPFV-want₂-PRS:3 SUB PN=OBL lap MOD-hit₁-3SG kiss hug MOD:do₁-3SG
bä dähšät b-aftar-an
 LOC horror IPFV-fall₂-PRS
 'In the morning when the sun shines into the window, the king's daughter, happy as she can get, wakes up, stretches pleasantly and coyly and wants to give Aslanshah a hug and snuggle with him but (instead) is horrified.'
- (214) *bä-dir-än ki jige šivär=ü ti=yü ä aslanša äsär űalamät*
 IPFV-see₂-PRS:3 SUB place.BS husband=POSS:3 empty=COP:3 from PN trace trace
nä-mund-e
 NEG-stay₂-PRF.3
 'She sees that her husband's (side of the bed) is empty and that there is no trace of Aslanshah.'
- (215) *ü giräst-ä giräst-ä bätän piyär xištän bart-an qäzyä=yä bä ü*
 3SG cry₂-PTCP cry₂-PTCP near father self IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 incident=OBL LOC 3SG
bät-än
 IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 'She goes to see her father in tears and recounts the story to him.'
- (216) *be piyär xištän gaf bä-saxt-än ki šivär=mä vir bir-e*
 LOC father self word IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 SUB husband=POSS:1SG lost be₂-PRF.3
 'She tells her father: "My husband is gone.'
- (217) *där xunä ädörün qifil pänjärä ädörün bäst-ä xištän bä xunä nist*
 door home from within lock window from within close₂-PTCP self LOC home NEG.COP
 'The front door is locked, the window is latched from the inside, but he is not home.'
- (218) *ü čänäm dürmar-e bäjä raft-e bä sär nä-b-aftar-an-üm*
 3SG how exit₂-PRF.3 where go₂-PRF.3 LOC head NEG-IPFV-fall₂-PRS-1SG
 'How did he leave, where did he go; I do not understand.'
- (219) *äs=ü=riš ki bä dar bäst-ä yähär=ü bä xari*
 horse=POSS:3=OBL.ADD SUB LOC tree close₂-PTCP saddle=POSS:3 LOC ground
 'His horse is still tied to the door and the saddle is on the ground.'

- (220) *män äz in sir sār nä-bä-känd-än-üm*
 I from this secret head NEG-IPFV-take out₂-PRS-1SG
 'I cannot comprehend this mystery.'
- (221) *män üzüm čü sam*
 I now what MOD.do₁-1SG
 'What shall I do now?'"
- (222) *padša bä duxtär xištän bät-än*
 king LOC girl self IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 'The king says to his daughter.'
- (223) *duxtär=mä*
 girl=POSS:1SG
 "My daughter!"
- (224) *xištän tü dan*
 self you MOD.know₁:2SG
 'It is up to you.'
- (225) *ü šivär=tü=rü in=iš tü*
 3SG husband=POSS:2SG=COP:3 this=ADD you
 'That is your husband and this is you.'
- (226) *ägär xast-i bu-ra-yi bapüšt=ü ü=rä af-i män bä tü pul*
 if want₂:PST-2SG MOD-go₁-2SG after=POSS:3 3SG=OBL MOD:find₁-2SG I LOC you money
nükär mü-tün-üm
 servant vt-give₁-1SG
 'If you want to go after him and find him, I shall give you money and servants.'
- (227) *ušun bä tü be šivär=tü=rä aft-än kümäg mi-sand*
 they LOC you LOC husband=POSS:2SG=OBL find₂-INF help vt-do₁-3PL
 'They will help you find your husband.'"
- (228) *duxtär razi bä-bir-än*
 girl content IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
 'The daughter agrees.'
- (229) *padša bä duxtär xištän sad bar äs qizil gümüš sad bar dävä mal*
 king LOC girl self hundred load horse gold silver hundred load camel property
döülät sad silahlü-yä nükär bä-där-än bä ra b-ängäst-än ušun=ä
 wealth hundred armed-ATTR servant IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 LOC road IPFV-insert₂-PRS:3 they=OBL
 'The king gives his daughter a hundred horse loads of gold and silver, a hundred
 camel loads of provisions and a hundred armed servants and sees them off.'
- (230) *duxtär padša bä tän=ü alat mard ä di bä di ä šähär bä*
 girl king LOC body=POSS:3 clothes man from village LOC village from city LOC
šähär ä ülkä bä ülkä be šivär xištän=ä aft-än bä-gäšt-än
 city from country LOC country LOC husband self=OBL find₂-INF IPFV-walk₂-PRS:3

'Dressed in male attire, the king's daughter travels from one village to another, from one city to another, from one country to another, looking to find her husband.'

- (231) *bä härjä bart-än bä jämäŷät pul bāxšiš bä-där-än hürmät*
 LOC everywhere IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 LOC people money gift IPFV.give₂-PRS:3 respect
bä-saxt-än šir=šun=ä pänir ruqan=šun=ä bä jige yä äbasi
 IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 milk=POSS:3PL=OBL cheese oil=POSS:3PL=OBL LOC place.BS one twenty kopecks
bä dä qiymät ba-xir-an
 LOC ten price IPFV.buy-PRS:3
 'Wherever she goes, she gives people money and gifts, respects everyone, pays for their milk and cheese ten times above asking price.'
- (232) *bä hämälä bäbare šüvār xištän qaf bä-saxt-än amma hičkäs*
 LOC all about husband self word IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 but no one
šüvār=tü=rä dür-üm nä-bät-än äz un märd nišanä
 husband=POSS:2SG=OBL see₂-PST-1SG NEG-IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 from that man sign
nä-bä-där-än
 NEG-IPFV.give₂-PRS:3
 'She asks everyone about her husband but no one says "I have seen your husband" or gives any information about the man.'
- (233) *yä ruz bä yeki ä šähär-a xäbär bä-rasir-än ki yä varlü=yä tajir*
 one day LOC one:HEAD from city-PL news IPFV-reach₂-PRS:3 SUB one rich=OBL merchant
hist=ü amar-e bä šähär bä hämälä kümäg bä-saxt-än
 COP:EXIST=COP:3 come₂-PRF:3 LOC city LOC all help IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 'News arrives from cities that a wealthy merchant has arrived and is helping everyone.'
- (234) *ä däs hämälä bä-güft-än bä šir jämäŷät dä qiymät bä-där-än*
 from hand all IPFV-seize₂-PRS:3 LOC milk people ten price IPFV.give₂-PRS:3
 'He lends everyone a helping hand and pays them ten times the value for their milk.'
- (235) *aslanša=yiš bä in šähär bä-zist-änbü bä zäŷmät xištän-az dulanmiš*
 PN=ADD LOC this city IPFV-live₂-IMPF:3 LOC effort self-with turning
bä-bir-änbü
 IPFV-be₂-IMPF:3
 'Aslan Shah lived in this city and worked there to make a living.'
- (236) *xäbär šir xir-a tajir=ä bä-šünör-äni aslanša yä qaq lä šir bängüft-än*
 news milk buy-PL merchant=OBL IPFV-hear₂-TEMP PN one jug milk IPFV.take₂-PRS:3
bart-an bä un karvansara ki duxtär padša bä nükär-ay xištän-az unjä
 IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 LOC that caravanserai SUB girl king LOC servant-PL.BS self-with there
aftar-ebü
 fall₂-Pqp:3
 'When he hears about the milk-buying merchant, he grabs a jug of milk and goes to the city inn where the girl and her servants were staying.'

- (237) *ü qaqlə šir xištāni=yä bā yeki ä nükär-a bā-där-āni duxtär padša*
 3SG jug.BS milk self.3=OBL LOC one:HEAD from servant-PL IPFV-give₂-TEMP girl king
ü=rä bā-dir-än
 3SG=OBL IPFV-see₂-PRS:3
 ‘When he gives his jug of milk to one of the servants, the king’s daughter notices him.’
- (238) *fikir bā-saxt-än ki in märd čänäm bā šüvār=män bašir-än*
 idea IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 SUB this man how LOC husband=POSS:1SG IPFV.resemble₂-PRS:3
häč dan ki yä sib=ä bā dü jığä saxt-and
 FOC.such.DIST MOD:know₁:2SG SUB one apple=OBL LOC two place do₂-PRF.3PL
 ‘She thinks: “This man resembles my husband so much that one could say they are two halves of the same apple.”’
- (239) *yeki ä nükär-a=yä bā-fürsär-än ki in märd=ä biyar*
 one:HEAD from servant-PL=OBL IPFV-send₂-PRS:3 SUB this man=OBL MOD.bring₁:2SG
bätän=mä
 near=POSS:1SG
 ‘She sends one of her servants to fetch the man and bring him before her.’
- (240) *jämäšät šir pänir xištän=ä bā-füruxt-än barast-än*
 people milk cheese self=OBL IPFV-sell₂-PRS:3 IPFV.end₂-PRS:3
 ‘The people finish selling their milk and cheese.’
- (241) *šangum bā-bir-āni duxtär padša bā aslanša bät-än ki*
 evening IPFV-be₂-TEMP girl king LOC PN IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 SUB
 ‘When night falls, the king’s daughter says to Aslanšah.’
- (242) *tü kist=i äjä amar-äyi yä käm bemä bābare xištän=tü*
 you COP:INTER=COP:2SG from where come₂-PRF.2SG one little LOC.I about self=POSS:2SG
ixtilat san
 talk MOD:do₁:2SG
 ‘Who are you, where do you come from? Tell me a bit about yourself.’
- (243) *aslanša javab bā-där-än ki män bābare xištän=mä bā tü čü gaf*
 PN answer IPFV-give₂-PRS:3 SUB I about self=POSS:1SG LOC you what word
san-üm
 MOD:do₁-1SG
 ‘Aslanšah replies: “What shall I tell you about myself?”’
- (244) *may piyär=mä vāčänüm bir-and xištän=män=iš yä kasib-ä ädāmi*
 mother father=POSS:1SG beggar be₂-PRF.3PL self=POSS:1SG=ADD one poor-ATTR person
 ‘My parents were beggars and I myself am a poor man.’
- (245) *ä öüşä hüzum -müzum b-avard-än-üm bā-füruxt-än-üm yätähär nimä*
 from forest firewood REDUP IPFV-bring₂-PRS-1SG IPFV-sell₂-PRS-1SG somehow half
sir nimä gisnä bā-zist-än-üm be xištän=mä
 replete half hungry IPFV-live₂:PST-PRS-1SG for self=POSS:1SG

'I collect firewood in the forest, sell it and manage a living by myself, half-full half-hungry.'

- (246) *duxtär padša ki bā alat tajir-ä mard bü äz ü xäbär*
 girl king SUB LOC clothes merchant-ATTR man be₂:PST:3 from 3SG news
b-astar-an ki
 IPFV-get₂-PRS:3 SUB
 'The king's daughter, still wearing male clothes, asks him.'
- (247) *bälkä tü=rä bā sār=tü yä qäzyä yä kar amar-e*
 maybe you=OBL LOC head=POSS:2SG one incident one work come₂-PRF.3
 "Perhaps something happened to you?"
- (248) *bälkä yä xou dir-äyi ki aqasde häqiqät qäbul saxt-eyi inanmiš*
 maybe one sleep see₂-PRF.2SG SUB as truth acceptance do₂-PRF.2SG believing
bir-eyi bäsädä dir-äyi ki in hämälä xou bir-e bā häqiqät bā
 be₂-PRF.2SG after see₂-PRF.2SG SUB this all sleep be₂-PRF.3 LOC truth LOC
aslügäri hičiz nä-bir-e
 reality nothing NEG-be₂-PRF.3
 'Perhaps you had a dream that you thought was reality, and you believed it; but then you realised that it was all a dream, and in reality, none of that happened'
- (249) *be män gaf san bā tü häqipul mü-tün-üm*
 LOC I word MOD:do₁:2SG LOC you salary vt-give₁-1SG
 'Talk to me; I shall reward you with money.'
- (250) *aslanša yä kām bā fikir bart-an bäsädä ädörü düil xištän yä ah*
 PN one little LOC idea IPFV.go₂-PRS:3 then from within heart self one ITJ
bä-käšir-än bā sār=ü amar-ä=yä be in javan-ä tajir gaf
 IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 LOC head=POSS:3 come₂-PTCP=OBL LOC this young-ATTR merchant word
bä-saxt-än
 IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 'Aslanshah thinks for a bit, then lets out a sigh and tells this young merchant what happened to him.'
- (251) *ä äždärha=yä küšt-än xištän ä sä šart ki xištäni bā duxtär padša*
 from dragon=OBL kill₂-INF self from three condition SUB self.3 LOC girl king
guftir-ebü ä šärsi ä =šun bā qilinž-az xisir-än
 say₂-Pqp:3 from wedding from between=POSS:3PL LOC sword-with sleep₂-INF
 'about him killing the dragon, about the three conditions he fulfilled to marry the king's daughter, about them sleeping with a sword between them.'
- (252) *hintä ki aslanša bät-än gaf dārviš=ä zän=mä puzmiš saxt*
 this way SUB PN IPFV.say₂-PRS:3 word dervish=OBL woman=POSS:1SG ruining do₂:PST:3
bä häf ruz yä ruz mund-ä äsär šämšir girašt bätän=mä
 LOC seven day one day stay₂-PTCP from the top of sword pass₂:PST:3 near=POSS:1SG
 'Aslanshah thus says: "My wife disobeyed the dervish's instruction and crossed over the sword one day before it had been seven days.'

- (253) *imun=iš zän mǎrd bir-im sǎbāhin=ü ä xou bexišt-āni*
 we=ADD woman man be₂:PST-1PL the next day=POSS:3 from sleep IPFV.get up₂-TEMP
dür-üm ki yāra=yiš bā öüşä=yüm hāmūn un šālā hūzum
 see₂:PST-1SG SUB once=ADD LOC forest=COP:1SG the same.DIST that bundle firewood
bāqānšāl=mā xüşk-ä jüyin-ä nu bā dās=mā
 in front=POSS:1SG dry-ATTR made of barley-ATTR bread LOC hand=POSS:1SG
 ‘We spent the night as husband and wife and when I woke up in the morning, I found myself once again in the forest, with the same bundle of firewood in front of me and a dry piece of barley bread in my hand.’
- (254) *bāšdā danist-üm ki bāzīr dar xisīr-am in-ha=yä bā xou dīr-am*
 then know₂:PST-1SG SUB under tree sleep₂-PRF.1SG this-PL=OBL LOC sleep see₂-PRF.1SG
vässālam
 that is all
 ‘Then I realised that I had fallen asleep under a tree and that all that was a dream, that is all.’
- (255) *taǰīr ki in=ä bā-šünör-ān bāsār pa bexišt-ān bā tǎn=ü*
 merchant SUB this=OBL IPFV.hear₂-PRS:3 on foot IPFV.get up₂-PRS:3 LOC body=POSS:3
bir-ä alat mǎrd=ä bā-kānd-ān libas zān bā-dägüft-ān bāqānšāl
 be₂-PTCP clothes man=OBL IPFV.take out₂-PRS:3 attire woman IPFV.put on₂-PRS:3 in front
aslanša bā-payist-ān bāt-ān
 PN IPFV-stand₂-PRS:3 IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘Upon hearing this, the merchant gets up, takes off the male clothes he was wearing, puts on a woman’s dress and stands in front of Aslanšah, saying.’
- (256) *aslanša*
 PN
 ‘Aslanšah!’
- (257) *tü guftir-ä-ha hāmāle=yü rast=ü xou nist*
 you say₂-PTCP-PL all.BS=POSS:3 true=COP:3 sleep NEG.COP
 ‘What you said was all true and not a dream.’
- (258) *in-ha bir-e*
 this-PL be₂-PRF.3
 ‘This did happen.’
- (259) *mān=iš tü=rä zān=tü=rüm ä dās äzdārha varast-ä duxtār*
 I=ADD you=OBL woman=POSS:2SG=COP:1SG from hand dragon end₂-PTCP girl
padša=yüm
 king=COP:1SG
 ‘And I am your wife, the king’s daughter whom you saved from the dragon.’
- (260) *tü bā mān āgār qādāqān dārviš=ä guftir-ānbir-i mān=iš bā väšdä yä ruz*
 you LOC I if ban dervish=OBL say₂-IMPF-2SG I=ADD LOC deadline one day
mund-ä bātān=tü nā-amar-ānbür-üm bā sār=mu in dārsār
 stay₂-PTCP near=POSS:2SG NEG-come₂-IMPF-1SG LOC head=POSS:1PL this worry
nā-mma
 NEG-VL.come₂:3

‘If you had told me about the dervish’s restriction, I would not come at you one day before the deadline, and this would not have happened to us.’

- (261) *üzüm xuda=yä şükür yäki=yä aft-üyim*
 now God=OBL gratitude one:HEAD=OBL find₂-PRF.1PL
 ‘Now thanks be to God, we have found each other.’
- (262) *män be tü=rä aft-än ä di bä di ä ülkä bä ülkä aftar-am*
 I for you=OBL find₂-INF from village LOC village from country LOC country fall₂-PRF.1SG
libas=män=ä dägiş saxt-am ki häç dan-und män
 attire=POSS:1SG=OBL exchanging do₂-PRF.1SG SUB FOC.such.DIST MOD:know₁-3PL I
märd=üm xiştän=män=iş yä varlü=yä tajir
 man=COP:1SG self=POSS:1SG=ADD one rich=OBL merchant
 ‘To find you, I have travelled from village to village, from country to country, I have changed clothes so that they think I am a man and a wealthy merchant, all the while.’
- (263) *aslanşa äz in qäy şar bä-bir-än zän xiştän=ä maç quç bä-saxt-än*
 PN from this much happy IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 woman self=OBL kiss hug IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanşah is very happy to hear this; he hugs and kisses his wife.’
- (264) *bängüft-än bä-bärd-än ü=rä bä vilayät xiştäni-ha bä daxme may*
 IPFV.take₂-PRS:3 IPFV-carry₂-PRS:3 3SG=OBL LOC province self.3-PL LOC hut.BS mother
piyär xiştän ki bä kinar arakärä bä yä daxma bä väçänümi-yaz dulanmiş
 father self SUB LOC edge river LOC one hut LOC begging-with turning
bä-bir-änbür-und
 IPFV-be₂-IMPF-3PL
 ‘He takes her to his home province, to the hut on the river bank where his parents eked out a living through begging.’
- (265) *nükär nayib duxtär padşa=yiş bä vardöülät-az bä karvan qizil gümüş-az*
 servant governor girl king=OBL.ADD LOC wealth-with LOC caravan gold silver-with
b-aftar-an-und bärüz=şun
 IPFV-fall₂-PRS-3PL following=POSS:3PL
 ‘The king’s daughter’s servants follow them along with all the wealth and a caravan full of gold and silver.’
- (266) *uşun dä ruz dä şöü ra bart-an-und b-amar-än-und bä-rasir-än-und bä*
 they ten day ten night road IPFV.go₂-PRS-3PL IPFV-come₂-PRS-3PL IPFV-reach₂-PRS-3PL LOC
xune piyär aslanşa
 home.BS father PN
 ‘They travel for ten days and ten nights and arrive at Aslanşah’s father’s house.’
- (267) *aslanşa küünä dār piyär xiştän=ä bä-zär-äni ädörü xunä yä zaşif-ä*
 PN old door father self=OBL IPFV-hit₂-TEMP from within home one weak-ATTR
mung b-amar-än
 sound IPFV-come₂-PRS:3
 ‘When Aslanşah knocked on his father’s old door, the sound of a faint voice emanated from the other side.’

- (268) *ay mǎrd vǎxi dǎr=ǎ vakan*
 VOC man IMP:get up₁:2SG door=OBL MOD:open₁:2SG
 ‘Husband, get up and open the door.’
- (269) *in kuk=mu aslanša=yü amar-e*
 this son=POSS:1PL PN=COP:3 come₂-PRF.3
 ‘It is our son Aslanshah; he has arrived.’
- (270) *bä balay=mä qurbun baš-üm*
 LOC baby.BS=POSS:1SG sacrifice MOD:be₁-1SG
 ‘May I be sacrificed for my baby’s sake!’
- (271) *mǎrd bät-ǎn*
 man IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘The man says.’
- (272) *ǎäqül=tü=rǎ bä sär=tü kurǎ san zǎn*
 intelligence=POSS:2SG=OBL LOC head=POSS:2SG pile MOD:do₁:2SG woman
 ‘Come to your senses, woman.’
- (273) *aslanša čüst amar-ǎn čüst*
 PN COP:INTER come₂-INF COP:INTER
 ‘Aslanshah coming here?’
- (274) *tü=rǎ bä sär=tü hava amar-e čüst=ü*
 you=OBL LOC head=POSS:2SG air come₂-PRF.3 COP:INTER=COP:3
 ‘Have you gone mad or what?’
- (275) *kuk=mu čǎn sal=ü vir bir-e xǎbǎr=ü nist*
 son=POSS:1PL how many year=COP:3 lost be₂-PRF.3 news=POSS:3 NEG.COP
 ‘Our son has been lost for many years, there is no news of him.’
- (276) *zǎn dǎs nǎ-bǎ-kǎšir-ǎn bä lava-yaz bät-ǎn*
 woman hand NEG-IPFV-pull₂-PRS:3 LOC imploring-with IPFV.say₂-PRS:3
 ‘The woman will not let it go; she begs.’
- (277) *mǎn=ǎ bä dül=mä dammiš bir-e ki in kuk=mun=ü*
 I=OBL LOC heart=POSS:1SG dripping be₂-PRF.3 SUB this son=POSS:1PL=COP:3
 ‘I have a strong feeling that it is our son.’
- (278) *ü=rǎ buy=ü=rǎ vǎgüft-üm*
 3SG=OBL smell=POSS:3=OBL take₂:PST-1SG
 ‘I have caught his smell.’
- (279) *dül may hič vǎxt duri nǎ-m-gun-ü*
 heart mother at_all time lie NEG-vt-say₁-3SG
 ‘A mother’s heart never lies.’

- (280) *tü växi dār=ä vakan bistän vin-i ki in*
 you IMP: get up₁:2SG door=OBL MOD: open₁:2SG PROSP MOD: see₁-2SG SUB this
kuk=mun=ü bāzır pa=yü qurbun bir-ä aslanša=mun=ü yä danä
 son=POSS:1PL=COP:3 under foot=POSS:3 sacrifice be₂-PTCP PN=POSS:1PL=POSS:3 one CLS
šayäl-lä=mä
 child-DIM=POSS:1SG
 ‘Get up and open the door; you will see that it is our son, it is our Aslanšah, my only son, may I sacrifice myself for him!’
- (281) *ä qujāyi rišnāyi čüm=ü raft-ä kur bir-ä padša bātän=ü jındır-a alat*
 from old age light eye=POSS:3 go₂-PTCP blind be₂-PTCP king near=POSS:3 rag-ATTR clothes
vāčänüm duvar=ä güft-ä güft-ä b-amar-än dār=ä bakard-än
 beggar wall=OBL seize₂-PTCP seize₂-PTCP IPFV-come₂-PRS:3 door=OBL IPFV.open₂-PRS:3
 ‘The blind king, who has lost his eyesight from old age, clad in tattered beggar’s attire and relying on his hands to navigate, moves forward and opens the door.’
- (282) *aslanša kur-ä piyār xištän=ä qujaq bā-zār-än bā-giräst-än*
 PN blind-ATTR father self=OBL lap IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3 IPFV-cry₂-PRS:3
 ‘Aslanšah hugs his blind father and cries.’
- (283) *ä däs piyār xištän mač bā-saxt-än däs=ü=rä bā qābāq xištän*
 from hand father self kiss IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 hand=POSS:3=OBL LOC forehead self
bā-zār-än
 IPFV-hit₂-PRS:3
 ‘He kisses his father on the hand and places his father’s hand on his own forehead.’
- (284) *ä čüm šärs=ü yä tüq b-aftar-an bäsär däs piyār=ü*
 from eye tear=POSS:3 one drop IPFV-fall₂-PRS on hand father=POSS:3
 ‘A tear falls from his eye on his father’s hand.’
- (285) *padša šärs kuk=ü tüq zār-ä püšt däs xištän=ä bā-sour-än bā čüm-ay*
 king tear son=POSS:3 drop hit₂-PTCP back hand self=OBL IPFV-rub₂-PRS:3 LOC eye-PL.BS
xištän
 self
 ‘The king wipes his eyes with the back of his hand, where his son’s tear had fallen.’
- (286) *piyār=ü=rä kur-ä čüm-a=yü xas babir-än yära=yiš bā-dir-än*
 father=POSS:3=OBL blind-ATTR eye-PL=POSS:3 good IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 once=ADD IPFV-see₂-PRS:3
pa-ha=yü xas babir-än šäft-ä kāmār=ü dürüs bā-bir-än
 foot-PL=POSS:3 good IPFV.open₂-PRS:3 crooked-ATTR lower back=POSS:3 right IPFV-be₂-PRS:3
bā-gäšt-än bā yä javan-ä mārđ
 IPFV-walk₂-PRS:3 LOC one young-ATTR man
 ‘The father’s eyes become healed, he can see again, his legs regain strength, his bent back straightens and he turns into a youthful man.’

- (287) *padša řarius xiřtän=riř ä qäbäq=ü mač bä-saxt-än ä däs aslanša*
king bride self=OBL.ADD from forehead=POSS:3 kiss IPFV-do₂-PRS:3 from hand PN
bä řarius-az bä-güft-än bä-bärd-än bätän azalü-yä zän xiřtän
LOC bride-with IPFV-seize₂-PRS:3 IPFV-carry₂-PRS:3 near ill-ATTR woman self
‘The king kisses his daughter-in-law on the forehead, grabs Aslanšah and the
daughter-in-law by the hand and takes them to his ailing wife.’
- (288) *may aslanša=yä näfäs=ü bä zür-az b-amar-än*
mother PN=OBL breath=POSS:3 LOC strength-with IPFV-come₂-PRS:3
‘Aslanšah’s mother can barely breathe.’
- (289) *üstüqun-ha=yü dürmär-e pust ru=yü bä yä tikä hälou gäřt-ebü*
bone-PL=POSS:3 exit₂-PRF.3 skin face=POSS:3 LOC one piece rug walk₂-Pqp:3
pa-ha=yü=rä var güft-e ü=rä bä nalin läřäř ängäřt-ebü
foot-PL=POSS:3=OBL wind seize₂-PRF.3 3SG=OBL LOC cushion blanket insert₂-Pqp:3
‘Her bones protrude, the skin of her face resembles a rug, he legs are swollen as
she lies on the sheets.’
- (290) *zän aslanša qir bä-bir-än azalü-yä xüsürzän xiřtän=ä mač*
woman PN crooked IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 ill-ATTR mother-in-law self=OBL kiss
bä-saxt-än
IPFV-do₂-PRS:3
‘Aslanšah’s wife bends down and kisses her mother-in-law.’
- (291) *ä yäxe xiřtän güllü-yä däsmal xiřtän=ä bä-känd-än bä ru däs*
from collar.BS self flowery-ATTR towel self=OBL IPFV-take out₂-PRS:3 LOC face hand
pay may aslanša bä-sour-än
foot.BS mother PN IPFV-rub₂-PRS:3
‘She removes a flower-patterned scarf from her neck and rubs it on Aslanšah’s
mother’s face and hands.’
- (292) *may aslanša älüřti xas bä-bir-än bäsär pay bexiřt-än*
mother PN instantly good IPFV-be₂-PRS:3 on foot IPFV.get up₂-PRS:3
‘Aslanšah’s mother immediately regains her health and rises from her bed.’
- (293) *aqasde yä řavan-ä zän bä-doyiřt-än bä quřaq aslanša ki bäkinar gärdän*
as one young-ATTR woman IPFV-run₂-PRS:3 LOC lap PN SUB next to neck
xiřtän=ä qir saxt-ä yäzuq yäzuq bä dül varzund-ä ähval
self=OBL crooked do₂-PTCP unfortunate unfortunate LOC heart demolish₂-PTCP mood
may xiřtän bä-däniřir-änbü
mother self IPFV-look₂-IMPF:3
‘She rushes like a young woman to embrace Aslanšah, who has been standing
nearby, his head down, and looking at his mother’s state with a heavy heart.’
- (294) *may bala xüsürmärd řarius yäki=yä quřaq bä-zär-än-und ä řari*
mother baby father-in-law bride one:HEAD=OBL lap IPFV-hit₂-PRS-3PL from happiness
bä-giräřt-än-und
IPFV-CITY₂-PRS-3PL

‘The mother hugs the son, the father-in-law hugs the daughter-in-law, and they cry from happiness.’

- (295) *bäŷdä duxtär padša avar-d-ä mal döülät=ä qizil gümüş=ä bä karvan-az*
 then girl king bring₂-PTCP property wealth=OBL gold silver=OBL LOC caravan-with
bä sad nükär nayib-az bängüft-än-und bart-an-und bä šähär
 LOC hundred servant governor-with IPFV.take₂-PRS-3PL IPFV.go₂-PRS-3PL LOC city
 ‘Then they take the goods, the gold and silver and the servants that the king’s daughter has brought with her and make their way to the city.’
- (296) *ŷämäŷät bä hämälä xubi saxt-ä padša xištän=ä bä-šünaxt-än*
 people LOC all goodness do₂-PTCP king self=OBL IPFV-be acquainted₂-PRS:3
 ‘The people recognise the king that was once so kind to everyone.’
- (297) *kurä bä-bir-än-und ü=rä yära=yiš padša sečmiš bä-saxt-än-und aslanša=yiš*
 pile IPFV-be₂-PRS-3PL 3SG=OBL once=ADD king choosing IPFV-do₂-PRS-3PL PN=ADD
ü=rä väzir=ü häm=iš väliähd=ü
 3SG=OBL vizier=POSS:3 also=ADD heir=POSS:3
 ‘They get together and elect him king once again, Aslanšah becoming his vizier and also his heir.’
- (298) *tä bä axir ŷümüir xištäni-ha xušbäxt bä-zist-än-und sähäb ŷäyäl nävä*
 until LOC end life self.3-PL happy IPFV-live₂-PRS-3PL owner child grandchild
bä-bir-än-und
 IPFV-be₂-PRS-3PL
 ‘Until the end of their lives, they live happily and have children and grandchildren.’
- (299) *uŷun unŷä bä xub-ä ruz bä-rasir-än-und išmun=iš inŷä bä subrä ruz*
 they there LOC good-ATTR day IPFV-reach₂-PRS-3PL ye=ADD here LOC white.ATTR day
ras-ind
 MOD:reach₁-2PL
 ‘They fulfil their life’s journey, and may you too find fulfilment in yours.’

Abbreviations

1 first person	DIST distal
2 second person	EXIST existential
3 third person	FOC focus
ADD additive	GRDV gerundive
ATTR attributive	HEAD head
BS bound stem	IMP imperative
CLS classifier	IMPF imperfect
COP copula	INF infinitive
DIM diminutive	INTER interrogative

IPFV imperfective
ITJ interjection
LOC locative
MOD modal
NEG negative
OBL oblique
PL plural
PN proper noun
POSS possessive
PRF perfect

PROH prohibitive
PROSP prospective
PRS present
PST past (preterite)
PTCP participle
REDUP reduplication
SG singular
SUB subordinator
TEMP temporal converb
VOC vocative

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