

### The miller and the fox

Langue: Northern Tat

ID: nort2643\_05\_millrandfox

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

- (1) *yä řäşyouči bü*  
one miller be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
'Once upon a time, there was a miller.'
- (2) *ü=rä ä řäşyou=yü başqä hiçiz=ü nä-bü*  
3SG=OBL from mill=POSS:3 except nothing=POSS:3 NEG-be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
'All he had was a mill.'
- (3) *nä zän=ü bü nä řäyäl=ü nä=yiş xune=yü*  
no woman=POSS:3 be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 no child=POSS:3 no=ADD home.BS=POSS:3  
'He had no wife, no children and no house.'
- (4) *bä řäşyou bä-xisir-änbü unjä=yiş nu xiştän=ä bä-xard-änbü*  
LOC mill IPFV-sleep<sub>2</sub>-IMPF:3 there=ADD bread self=OBL IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-IMPF:3  
'He would sleep at the mill, where he would also eat.'
- (5) *yä ruz bädöru tonur nu nar-ebü ki büržun-ü yä ruva ama*  
one day inside oven bread put<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3 SUB MOD:cook<sub>1</sub>:-3SG one fox come<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
*başlämiş saxt bä řäşyouči-yaz bä ixtilat*  
starting do<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 LOC miller-with LOC talk  
'One day, as he was baking bread in the oven, a fox arrived and struck up a conversation with the miller.'
- (6) *řäşyouči di ki ä dunluq řäşyou gändüm varast-e raft bä dunluq*  
miller see<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 SUB from hopper mill wheat end<sub>2</sub>-PRF.3 go<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 LOC hopper  
*täxül ruz-ü*  
crop MOD:flow<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
'The miller noticed that there was no more wheat in the hopper, so he loaded crops into the hopper.'
- (7) *ü tazä-lä raft-ebü ki ruva ä tonur nun=ä bängüft-än berixt-än*  
3SG new-DIM go<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3 SUB fox from oven bread=OBL IPFV.take<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.flee<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'Immediately after he leaves, the fox snatches the bread from the oven and flees.'
- (8) *řäşyouči in=ä dir-ä bädä bärüz ruva bä-doyist-än ki nun=ä ä*  
miller this=OBL see<sub>2</sub>-PTCP after following fox IPFV-run<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB bread=OBL from  
*däs=ü astan-ü amma bä ruva nä-bä-rasir-än*  
hand=POSS:3 MOD:get<sub>1</sub>-3SG but LOC fox NEG-IPFV-reach<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'On seeing this, the miller runs after the fox in order to retrieve the bread but he does not catch it.'
- (9) *ruva nun=ä bä-bärd-än bä-xard-än*  
fox bread=OBL IPFV-carry<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3

'The fox runs away with the bread and eats it.'

- (10) *yä ruz=iš in řäsyouchi yära=yiš bä tonur nun väřund-ebü*  
one day=ADD this miller once=ADD LOC oven bread throw in<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3  
'On another occasion, the miller, once again, had put bread into the oven.'
- (11) *in ruva aziř b-ämar-än bä-payist-än bätän tonur*  
this fox again.ADD IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-stand<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 near oven  
'The fox comes along again and stands next to the oven.'
- (12) *řäsyouchi bät-än*  
miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The miller says.'
- (13) *äy düzd-ä ruva*  
VOC thief-ATTR fox  
'Thievish fox!'
- (14) *bu-ra äz inřä rad bař čän qädä tü=rä nä-zär-am*  
MOD-go<sub>1</sub>:2SG from here away MOD:be<sub>1</sub>:2SG how many CLS you=OBL NEG-hit<sub>2</sub>-PRF.1SG  
*nä-küřt-am*  
NEG-kill<sub>2</sub>-PRF.1SG  
'Get out of here before I shoot you and kill you.'
- (15) *tü un ruz nun=män-ä düzdir-i bärd-i*  
you that day bread=POSS:1SG-OBL steal<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG carry<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG  
'The other day you stole my bread.'
- (16) *ruva bä řäsyouchi bät-än*  
fox LOC miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The fox says to the miller.'
- (17) *äy řäsyouchi*  
VOC miller  
'Miller!'
- (18) *tü=rä nun=tü=rä düzdir-ä ruva üzgä=yü män un ruva*  
you=OBL bread=POSS:2SG-OBL steal<sub>2</sub>-PTCP fox other=COP:3 I that fox  
*nist=üm*  
NEG.COP=COP:1SG  
'The one who stole your bread was a different fox; I am not that fox.'
- (19) *män xas-ä ruva=yüm amar-am bä tü-raz söhbät ixtilat san-üm*  
I good-ATTR fox=COP:1SG come<sub>2</sub>-PRF.1SG LOC you-with conversation talk MOD:do<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
'I am a good fox; I have come here to have a chat with you.'
- (20) *män hič nun=iř nä-bä-xard-än-üm*  
I at<sub>a</sub>ll bread=ADD NEG-IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG  
'I do not even eat bread.'

- (21) *Ƨäsyouçi ki in=ä bā-šunör-än yä kām ärxayin bā-bir-än bā ruva*  
 miller SUB this=OBL IPFV-hear<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 one little assured IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC fox  
*bät-än*  
 IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 ‘When the miller hears this, he feels slightly reassured and says to the fox.’
- (22) *xub bü ki guftir-i*  
 good be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 SUB see<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG  
 ‘I am glad you said that.’
- (23) *män häçü danist-üm ki tü hä ü ruva=yi*  
 I FOC.such.DIST know<sub>2</sub>:PST-1SG SUB you FOC 3SG fox=COP:2SG  
 ‘I thought you were that same fox.’
- (24) *tü yä kām injä niş män bu-ram bā qurd Ƨäsyou täxül ruz-üm*  
 you one little here MOD:sit<sub>1</sub>:2SG I MOD-go<sub>1</sub>:1SG LOC throat mill crop MOD:flow<sub>1</sub>:1SG  
*biyam bāšdā söhbät ixtilat mi-san-im*  
 MOD.come<sub>1</sub>:1SG then conversation talk vt-do<sub>1</sub>-1PL  
 ‘Sit here for a bit while I go and feed more crops into the mill and come back;  
 then we shall chat.’
- (25) *Ƨäsyouçi tazä-lä dur bir-ebü ki in ruva nun=ä ä tonur bā-känd-än*  
 miller new-DIM far be<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3 SUB this fox bread=OBL from oven IPFV-take out<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
*bä dandu xiştän bängüft-än berixt-än bart-än*  
 LOC tooth self IPFV.take<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.flee<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 ‘The miller barely walks away when the fox takes the bread from the oven, grabs  
 it with its teeth and runs away.’
- (26) *Ƨäsyouçi yära=yiş yä xeyli bärüz=ü-raz bā-doyist-än anjaq bā ruva*  
 miller once=ADD one plenty following=POSS:3-with IPFV-run<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 only LOC fox  
*nä-bast-än ras-ü*  
 NEG-IPFV.know<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 MOD:reach<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
 ‘The miller once again chases it for a while but cannot catch up to the fox.’
- (27) *Ƨäsyouçi vamund-a domund-ä b-amar-än bā Ƨäsyou yära=yiş xämir*  
 miller be tired<sub>2</sub>-PTCP be stuck<sub>2</sub>-PTCP IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC mill once=ADD dough  
*bä-güft-än bā tonur nun bā-šund-än*  
 IPFV-seize<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC oven bread IPFV-throw<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 ‘The miller comes back to the mill exhausted, prepares dough and puts bread in  
 the oven.’
- (28) *in växt yära=yiş ruva b-amar-än bā-payist-än bätän tonur*  
 this time once=ADD fox IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-stand<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 near oven  
 ‘At that moment, the fox comes back and stands next to the oven.’
- (29) *Ƨäsyouçi in=ä ki bā-dir-än bā ruva bät-än*  
 miller this=OBL SUB IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 ‘The miller sees it and says.’

- (30) *ä ruva bu-ra äz injä män tü=rä mü-kuf-üm mü-küş-üm*  
 VOC fox MOD-go<sub>1</sub>;2SG from here I you=OBL vt-beat<sub>1</sub>-1SG vt-kill<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
 "Fox, get out of here, or else I shall beat you and kill you."
- (31) *ruva bät-än be čü*  
 fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS;3 LOC what  
 "The fox says: "Why?"
- (32) *dü ra män=ä nun=män=ä düzdir-äyi bärd-äyi*  
 two road I=OBL bread=POSS:1SG=OBL steal<sub>2</sub>-PRF.2SG carry<sub>2</sub>-PRF.2SG  
 "You have stolen my bread twice."
- (33) *ruva bät-än*  
 fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS;3  
 "The fox says:'
- (34) *tü=rä nun=tü=rä düzdir-ä ruva üzgä=yü ü män nist=üm*  
 you=OBL bread=POSS:2SG=OBL steal<sub>2</sub>-PTCP fox other=COP;3 3SG I NEG.COP=COP:1SG  
 "The fox that has stolen your bread is different; it is not I."
- (35) *män hič nun nä-bä-xard-än-üm*  
 I at<sub>a</sub>ll bread NEG-IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG  
 "I do not even eat bread."
- (36) *šäsyučü xäbär b-astar-än*  
 miller news IPFV-get<sub>2</sub>-PRS;3  
 "The miller asks:'
- (37) *päs tü čü bä-xard-än-i*  
 Advers:INTER you what IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS-2SG  
 "What do you eat then?"
- (38) *ruva bät-än*  
 fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS;3  
 "The fox says:'
- (39) *män ä gušt bäšqä hičiz nä-bä-xard-än-üm*  
 I from meat except nothing NEG-IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG  
 "I eat nothing except meat."
- (40) *šäsyučü bät-än*  
 miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS;3  
 "The miller says:'
- (41) *bašgun tü injä pay män bin sähät b-amar-än-üm*  
 okay you here MOD:pay<sub>1</sub>;2SG I LOC.this hour IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG  
 "Alright, stay here and I shall be back immediately."
- (42) *bädörü tonur nun nar-am*  
 inside oven bread put<sub>2</sub>-PRF.1SG

'I have put bread in the oven.'

- (43) *čüm dar nä-suz-ü*  
eye MOD:hold<sub>1</sub>:2SG NEG-MOD:burn<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
'Make sure it does not burn.'
- (44) *šäsyučü ä tonur dur bir-än kimi ruva asta asta b-amar-än bätän*  
miller from oven far be<sub>2</sub>-INF as soon as fox slow slow IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 near  
*tonur*  
oven  
'As soon as the miller steps away from the oven, the fox slowly approaches the oven'
- (45) *qir bā-bir-än bā tonur ki nun=ä vägir-ü virüz-ü*  
crooked IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC oven SUB bread=OBL MOD:take<sub>1</sub>-3SG MOD:flee<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
'and bends down toward the oven in order to grab the bread and run away.'
- (46) *šäsyučü ä püšt ü=rä bā-güft-än bašlämiš bäst-än ruva=yä bā*  
miller from back 3SG=OBL IPFV-seize<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 starting IPFV.do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 fox=OBL LOC  
*kuft-än*  
beat<sub>2</sub>-INF  
'The miller grabs it by the back and starts beating the fox.'
- (47) *ruva bā šäsyučü lava bäst-än ki män=ä mä-kuf mä-küš*  
fox LOC miller imploring IPFV.do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB I=OBL PROH-beat<sub>1</sub>:2SG PROH-kill<sub>2</sub>:2SG  
*quspan-d-un=tü=rä mi-čarun-üm*  
sheep-PL=POSS:2SG=OBL vt-herd<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
'The fox begs the miller: "Do not beat me, do not kill me, I shall herd your sheep.'
- (48) *ü ä šäsyučü xäbär b-astar-än*  
3SG from miller news IPFV-get<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'It asks the miller:'
- (49) *čän-ta quspan-d=tü hist=ü*  
how many-CLS sheep=POSS:2SG COP:EXIST=COP:3  
'"How many sheep do you have?"'
- (50) *šäsyučü šavab bā-där-än*  
miller answer IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The miller replies:'
- (51) *dübistdäpanŷ-ta*  
fifty-five-CLS  
'"Fifty-five."
- (52) *ruva bät-än*  
fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The fox says:'

- (53) *başgun uşun=ä bä män qädäqä tin män uşun=ä xärj-süz para-süz*  
 okay they=OBL LOC I task MOD:give<sub>1</sub>:2SG I they=OBL expense-Priv money-Priv  
*hävayi çarün-üm be tü*  
 free MOD:herd<sub>1</sub>-1SG for you  
 "Alright, entrust them to me, and I shall herd them free-of-charge for you."
- (54) *Şäyouçi razi bä-bir-än bart-an quspan-d-un xiştän=ä b-avard-än*  
 miller content IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 sheep-PL self=OBL IPFV-bring<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
*bä-şümärd-än quspan-d-un=ä be çarund-än bä-där-än bä ruva*  
 IPFV-count<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 sheep-PL=OBL LOC herd<sub>2</sub>-INF IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC fox  
 'The miller agrees, goes and brings his sheep, counts the sheep and gives them to the fox for herding.'
- (55) *ruva quspan-d-un=ä bä-çarund-än ä yä qal=iş uşun=ä bä-xard-än be*  
 fox sheep-PL=OBL IPFV-herd<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 from one side=ADD they=OBL IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC  
*xiştän*  
 self  
 'The fox herds the sheep but at the same time helps itself to them, too.'
- (56) *yä växt bä-dir-än ki quspan-d-un Şäyouçi varast-e*  
 one time IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB sheep-PL miller end<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3  
 'At some point it realises that the miller's sheep were no more.'
- (57) *dohädo b-ämar-än ruva bätän Şäyouçi bät-än*  
 running IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 fox near miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The fox comes running toward the miller and says.'
- (58) *päraq=tü vaçarist-e quspan-d-un=tü virixt-e gürg-un quspan-d-un=tü=rä*  
 yard=POSS:2SG tumble<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 sheep-PL=POSS:2SG flee<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 wolf-PL sheep-PL=POSS:2SG=OBL  
*xard-and varast-and*  
 eat<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3PL end<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3PL  
 "It is over for you! Your sheep have run away and the wolves have eaten all of your sheep.'
- (59) *päraq=ä bä-saxt-äni saxt nä-saxt-äyi güna hä bä xiştän=tü=rü*  
 yard=OBL IPFV-do<sub>2</sub>-TEMP hard NEG-do<sub>2</sub>-PRF:2SG sin FOC LOC self=POSS:2SG=COP:3  
 'When you were locking the yard, you did not lock it well, so it is your fault entirely.'
- (60) *Şäyouçi b-ämar-än bä-dir-än ki ä suri=yü yä quspan mund-e*  
 miller IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB from flock=POSS:3 one sheep stay<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3  
*ü=rış yaralu*  
 3SG=ADD injured  
 'The miller arrives and discovers that only one sheep remains from the entire herd, and it is injured.'
- (61) *ü=rä bä-küşt-än pust=ü=rä bä-känd-än guşt=ü=rä*  
 3SG=OBL IPFV-kill<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 skin=POSS:3=OBL IPFV-take out<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 meat=POSS:3=OBL  
*bä-där-än bä ruva ki xan be tü*  
 IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC fox SUB IMP:eat<sub>1</sub>:2SG for you

'He slaughters it, skins it and offers its meat to the fox, saying: "Help yourself to it."

- (62) *pust=iš bā-dār-än bā ruva ki äz in be män yä pustin duz*  
 skin=OBL.ADD IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC fox SUB from this LOC I one fur coat MOD:sew<sub>1</sub>:2SG  
*bā zumustun dägür-üm*  
 LOC winter MOD:put on<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
 'He gives the skin to the fox, too, and says: "Make a fur coat for me so I can wear it in the winter.''
- (63) *yä müddät girašt-ä bāšdä ruva nime pust=ä bā-xard-än b-amar-än*  
 one period pass<sub>2</sub>-PTCP after fox half.BS skin=OBL IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
*bätän šäsyučü bät-än ki bā män dār-ä pust=tü pusir-ebu*  
 near miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB LOC I give<sub>2</sub>-PTCP skin=POSS:2SG rot<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3  
 'Some time later, the fox devours half of the skin, approaches the miller and says: "The skin you have given me has rotten.'
- (64) *äz ü pustin nä-maš-ü*  
 from 3SG fur coat NEG-vt.be<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
 'One cannot make a fur coat out of it.'
- (65) *šäsyučü bät-än*  
 miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The miller says:'
- (66) *üzüm čü san-im män pustin-süz mund-üm*  
 now what MOD:do<sub>1</sub>-1PL I fur coat-Priv stay<sub>2</sub>:PST-1SG  
 "What shall I do now; I am left without a fur coat."
- (67) *ruva bät-än*  
 fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The fox says:'
- (68) *fikir mä-san pustin nä-dürma papax mü-düre*  
 idea PROH-do<sub>1</sub>:2SG fur coat NEG-exit<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 hat vt-exit<sub>1</sub>:3  
 "Do not worry. A fur coat is not possible but a hat is possible.'
- (69) *be tü yä xas-ä papax bisän duz-üm*  
 LOC you one good-ATTR hat PROSP MOD:sew<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
 'I am going to make a nice hat for you.'
- (70) *šäsyučü razi bā-bir-än ruva bart-än*  
 miller content IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 fox IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The miller agrees and the fox leaves.'
- (71) *yä müddät bāšdä ruva äz in pust yä kām=iš bā-xard-än b-amar-än*  
 one period after fox from this skin one little=ADD IPFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
*bätän šäsyučü bät-än ki*  
 near miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB

'Some time later, the fox devours some more of the skin, comes back to the miller and says:'

- (72) *ä mund-ä pust papax=iš nä-dürma bähü güra ki pust pusir-ebü*  
 from stay<sub>2</sub>-PTCP skin hat=ADD NEG-exit<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 LOC.3SG by SUB skin rot<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3  
 "No hat can be made out of the remaining skin because the skin has rotten.'
- (73) *änjaq fikir mä-san män äz un mund-ä yä tikä be tü dü-ta astin*  
 only idea PROH-do<sub>1</sub>:2SG I from that stay<sub>2</sub>-PTCP one piece LOC you two-CLS glove  
*mi-duz-iim*  
 vt-sew<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
 'But do not worry: I am going to make you a pair of gloves from the remaining piece.'
- (74) *ou säšyou=yä bakard-äni bä-bäst-äni däs=tü=rä xünüik*  
 water mill=OBL IPFV.open<sub>2</sub>-TEMP IPFV-IPFV.do<sub>2</sub>-TEMP hand=POSS:2SG=OBL cold  
*nä-baş-ü*  
 NEG-MOD:be<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
 'That way when you let the water in and out of the mill, your hands will not get cold.'
- (75) *säšyouči razi bä-bir-än*  
 miller content IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The miller agrees.'
- (76) *ruva mund-ä pust=iš xard-ä bädä b-amar-än bätän säšyouči ki*  
 fox stay<sub>2</sub>-PTCP skin=OBL.ADD eat<sub>2</sub>-PTCP after IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 near miller SUB  
 'After eating what is left of the skin, the fox approaches the miller, saying:'
- (77) *üz un tikä pust=iš be tü astinluq nä-dürma pust lap*  
 from that piece skin=OBL.ADD LOC you suitable for a glove NEG-exit<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 skin completely  
*pusir-ebü*  
 rot<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3  
 "That piece of skin is no good for gloves; the skin has completely rotten."
- (78) *säšyouči in=ä šünör-ä bädä hürsin bä-bir-än ruva=yä bä-güft-än*  
 miller this=OBL hear<sub>2</sub>-PTCP after angry IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 fox=OBL IPFV-seize<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
*bašlämiš bä-saxt-än ü=rä bä kuft-än bät-än*  
 starting IPFV-do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 3SG=OBL LOC beat<sub>2</sub>-INF IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'When the miller hears this, he beomes angry; he grabs the fox and starts beating it and saying:'
- (79) *tü män=ä qäy firmund-äyi*  
 you I=OBL much trick<sub>2</sub>-PRF.2SG  
 "You have deceived me plenty.'
- (80) *nun-hay=män=ä düzdir-i quspand-un=män=ä xard-i axirinji*  
 bread-PL.BS=POSS:1SG=OBL steal<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG sheep-PL=POSS:1SG=OBL eat<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG last  
*pust=iš xard-i*  
 skin=OBL.ADD eat<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG



'You have stolen my bread, devoured my sheep and even consumed the last skin (I owned).'

- (81) *üzüm män tü=rä bistän küş-üm ä pust=tü be xiştän=mä bistän*  
 now I you=OBL PROSP MOD:kill<sub>1</sub>-1SG from skin=POSS:2SG LOC self=POSS:1SG PROSP  
*papax duxt-ä san-üm*  
 hat sew<sub>2</sub>-PTCP MOD:do<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
 'Now I am going to kill you and have a hat made for me from your skin.'
- (82) *ruva lava bā-saxt-än bāt-än*  
 fox imploring IPFV-do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The fox pleads with him.'
- (83) *män=ä mä-küş män duxtär padša=yä m-astun-üm be tü färsi tü=rä*  
 I=OBL PROH-kill<sub>2</sub>:2SG I girl king=OBL vt-get<sub>1</sub>-1SG LOC you wedding you=OBL  
*mi-sam käf san be tü*  
 vt-do<sub>1</sub> pleasure MOD:do<sub>1</sub>:2SG for you  
 "Do not kill me, I shall arrange for the king's daughter to be your wife so you can enjoy yourself."
- (84) *fäsyuči bāt-än*  
 miller IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The miller says.'
- (85) *un qädä tü män=ä firmund-äyi ki män diyä bā tü inaniş*  
 that CLS you I=OBL trick<sub>2</sub>-PRF.2SG SUB I already LOC you believing  
*nä-bä-bir-än-üm*  
 NEG-IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG  
 "You have deceived me so much that I do not believe you anymore."
- (86) *in ruva bāt-än*  
 this fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The fox says.'
- (87) *üzüm yära=yiş bā män inanmiş baş män=ä raha tin bistän*  
 now once=ADD LOC I believing MOD:be<sub>1</sub>:2SG I=OBL free MOD:give<sub>1</sub>:2SG PROSP  
*vin-i ki män=ä gaf=mä rast=ü*  
 MOD:see<sub>1</sub>-2SG SUB I=OBL word=POSS:1SG true=COP:3  
 "Believe me just one more time; set me free and you are going to see that I keep my word.'
- (88) *guftir-e=män=ä här çü baş-ü bisän sam män=ä mä-küş*  
 say<sub>2</sub>-PTCP.BS=POSS:1SG=OBL each what MOD:be<sub>1</sub>-3SG PROSP MOD.do<sub>1</sub>-1SG I=OBL PROH-kill<sub>2</sub>:2SG  
 'I am going to do as I say, do not kill me.'
- (89) *fäsyuči=yä bā ruva yazuqi=yü b-ämar-än ü=rä raha bā-där-än*  
 miller=OBL LOC fox sympathy=POSS:3 IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 3SG=OBL free IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The miller pities the fox and lets it go.'

- (90) *ruva ä däs šasyouči dürmar-än kimi berixt-än bart-än*  
fox from hand miller exit<sub>2</sub>-INF as soon as IPFV.flee<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
‘As soon as the fox is released, it runs away.’
- (91) *ruva b-ämar-än bä saray padša*  
fox IPFV.come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC palace king  
‘The fox arrives at the king’s palace.’
- (92) *xäbär bä-fürsär-än be padša ki män bä-xast-än-üm bätän=tü*  
news IPFV.send<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC king SUB I IPFV.want<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG near=POSS:2SG  
*biyam yasavul qaravul=tü män=ä nä-bä-nar-än-und biyam bä*  
MOD.come<sub>1</sub>-1SG officer guard=POSS:2SG I=OBL NEG-IPFV.put<sub>2</sub>-PRS-3PL MOD.come<sub>1</sub>-1SG LOC  
*saray*  
palace  
‘It sends a message to the king, saying: “I want to come and see you but your guards and officers will not let me into the palace.”’
- (93) *ädämi-hay padša b-amar-än-und bä duhun dävazä bä-dir-än-und ki yä*  
person-PL.BS king IPFV.come<sub>2</sub>-PRS-3PL LOC mouth gate IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS-3PL SUB one  
*ruva payist-e injä bä-xast-än ki bätän padša bu-rey*  
fox stand<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 here IPFV.want<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB near king MOD-go<sub>1</sub>:3  
‘The king’s men arrive at the gate and see a fox standing there and wishing to come and see the king.’
- (94) *padša=yä ädämi-ha=yü xäbär bastar-an-und ki*  
king=OBL person-PL=POSS:3 news IPFV.get<sub>2</sub>-PRS-3PL SUB  
‘The king’s men ask.’
- (95) *tü kist=i äjä b-ämar-än-i bäjä bart-än-i čü*  
you COP:INTER=COP:2SG from where IPFV.come<sub>2</sub>-PRS-2SG where IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS-2SG what  
*bä-xast-än-i*  
IPFV.want<sub>2</sub>-PRS-2SG  
‘“Who are you? Where do you come from and where you are going? What do you want?”’
- (96) *ruva bät-än ki män väzir än padša unyäki mämläkät=üm*  
fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB I vizier of king the other one country=COP:1SG  
‘The fox says: “I am the vizier of another country’s king.’
- (97) *bä-xast-än-üm ki duxtär padša=yä astun-üm be padša=mä*  
IPFV.want<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG SUB girl king=OBL MOD:get<sub>1</sub>-1SG LOC king=POSS:1SG  
‘I want your daughter to marry my king.’
- (98) *bä älčigäri amar-am*  
LOC matchmaking come<sub>2</sub>-PRF.1SG  
‘I have come here to ask for her hand in marriage.’
- (99) *be padša xäbär bart-än ki yä ruva amar-e bä-xast-än ki tü=rä*  
LOC king news IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB one fox come<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 IPFV.want<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB you=OBL  
*duxtär=tü=rä astun-ü be padša xištän*  
girl=POSS:2SG=OBL MOD:get<sub>1</sub>-3SG LOC king self

'The king is informed that a fox has come requesting the hand of his daughter in marriage for its king.'

- (100) *in padša hürsin bā-bir-än ki čänäm yāʿni yā ruva bā-xast-än*  
 this king angry IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB how i.e. one fox IPFV-want<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
*duxtār=män=ä astun-ü be padša xištän*  
 girl=POSS:1SG=OBL MOD:get<sub>1</sub>-3SG LOC king self  
 'The king becomes angry: "What is this about, a fox requesting my daughter's hand in marriage for its king?'
- (101) *bā un māmläkät yā ädāmi nā-bü ki bā xästāgari duxtār=mā*  
 LOC that country one person NEG-be<sub>2</sub>-PST:3 SUB LOC asking for the hand girl=POSS:1SG  
*fürs-und*  
 MOD:send<sub>1</sub>-3PL  
 'Is there not a human in that country to be sent here for a marriage proposal?'
- (102) *rad san-ind bu-ray in ruva=yä ä dār=mā*  
 away MOD:do<sub>1</sub>-2PL MOD-go<sub>1</sub>:3 this fox=OBL from door=POSS:1SG  
 'Get that fox out of here and away from my doorstep.'
- (103) *vāzīr bā-dir-än ki padša hürsin bir-e bāt-än*  
 vizier IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB king angry be<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The vizier sees the king is angry and says.'
- (104) *qiblāyāʿalām saq baš-ü tü in ruva=yä piš mā-san*  
 your majesty alive MOD:be<sub>1</sub>-3SG you this fox=OBL repel PROH-do<sub>1</sub>:2SG  
 'Your majesty, do not chase away that fox.'
- (105) *ü=rä xay bātän xištän=tü bā ü gun ki bu-ra čül*  
 3SG=OBL MOD:want<sub>1</sub>:2SG near self=POSS:2SG LOC 3SG MOD:say<sub>1</sub>:2SG SUB MOD-go<sub>1</sub>:2SG forty  
*bar dāvā zārara atlas parčā biyar bāʿdā duxtār=ä tün-üm bā*  
 load camel brocade satin fabric MOD.bring<sub>1</sub>:2SG after girl=OBL MOD:give<sub>1</sub>-1SG LOC  
*sāhāb=tü*  
 owner=POSS:2SG  
 'Summon it before you and tell it to go and bring forty camels loaded with fabrics, (namely) brocade and satin, and that then you shall let your daughter marry its master.'
- (106) *ruva ki un qādā vardöülät=ä nā-m-dan-ü avard-än un čaq hä xištän rad*  
 fox SUB that CLS wealth=OBL NEG-vt-know<sub>1</sub>-3SG bring<sub>2</sub>-INF that time FOC self away  
*maš-ü mu-ray*  
 vt.be<sub>1</sub>-3SG vt-go<sub>1</sub>:3  
 'A fox will not be able to bring that much wealth; then you may chase it away.'
- (107) *imun=iš biabur nāmmaš-im ki xast-āgar=ä ä dār xunā piš saxt-äyim*  
 we=ADD humiliated NEG.vt.be<sub>1</sub>-1PL SUB want<sub>2</sub>-AN=OBL from door home repel do<sub>2</sub>-PRF:1PL  
 'And we shall not be embarrassed for refusing a suitor who has come here for a marriage proposal.'

- (108) *padša razi bā-bir-än*  
king content IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The king agrees.'
- (109) *ijazä bā-där-än ki ruva biye bätän=ü gaf xištän=ä bi-zän-ü*  
permission IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB fox MOD.come<sub>1</sub>:3 near=POSS:3 word self=OBL MOD-hit<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
'He allows the fox to come before him and say what it has to say.'
- (110) *ruva b-ämar-än bā ädäb-az salam bā-där-än be čü amar-än xištän=ä*  
fox IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC tact-with hello IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC what come<sub>2</sub>-INF self=OBL  
*bā padša bät-än*  
LOC king IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The fox comes in, greets the king politely and tells the king why it has come.'
- (111) *padša äz ü čül bar dävä zärxara atlas bā-xast-än*  
king from 3SG forty load camel brocade satin IPFV-want<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The king requests from it forty camels loaded with brocade and satin.'
- (112) *ruva bät-än padša saq baš-ü*  
fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 king alive MOD:be<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
'The fox says: "Your majesty,"'
- (113) *ägär män kasib bir-änbür-üm hič bätän=tü nä-mmar-üm ki güzäl*  
if I poor be<sub>2</sub>-IMPF-1SG at<sub>o</sub>ll near=POSS:2SG NEG-VL.come<sub>2</sub>:PST-1SG SUB beautiful  
*gürčäk duxtär=tü=rä be padša=mä xay-üm*  
beautiful girl=POSS:2SG=OBL LOC king=POSS:1SG MOD:want<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
'if I were poor, I would not have come before you to ask you to marry off your beautiful daughter to my king.'
- (114) *här čü gun-i bistän biyar-üm*  
each what MOD:say<sub>1</sub>-2SG PROSP MOD.bring<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
'I am going to bring everything you are asking for.'
- (115) *amma šart=mun=iš šart=ü*  
but condition=POSS:1PL=ADD condition=COP:3  
'But an agreement is an agreement.'
- (116) *padša razi bā-bir-än bät-än*  
king content IPFV-be<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
'The king agrees and says.'
- (117) *män aqade yä padša bätän äni väzir väkil gaf bā-där-än-üm ki*  
I as one king near of this vizier lawyer word IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG SUB  
'As a king, I promise before these viziers and lawyers of mine that'
- (118) *ägär tü čül bar dävä män guftir-ä mal=ä avard-i duxtär=män=ä*  
if you forty load camel I say<sub>2</sub>-PTCP property=OBL bring<sub>2</sub>:PST-2SG girl=POSS:1SG=OBL  
*bistän tün-üm bā padša=tü*  
PROSP MOD:give<sub>1</sub>-1SG LOC king=POSS:2SG

‘if you bring forty camels with the goods I mentioned, I am going to let my daughter marry your king.’

- (119) *gaf=mä gaf=u ärxayin baš*  
 word=POSS:1SG word=COP:3 assured MOD:be<sub>1</sub>:2SG  
 ‘My promise is firm, be sure.’
- (120) *ruva bart-än bākinar šähär bärmar-än bäsär yä dahar*  
 fox IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 next to city IPFV.rise<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 on one cliff  
 ‘The fox goes to the city outskirts and climbs up a cliff.’
- (121) *fikir bā-saxt-än ki in čül bar dāvā zārxara atlas=ä parča=yä äjā*  
 idea IPFV-do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB this forty load camel brocade satin=OBL fabric=OBL from where  
*bistän af-ü ki ü=rä bär-ü be padša duxtār=ü=rä astun-ü*  
 PROSP MOD:find<sub>1</sub>-3SG SUB 3SG=OBL MOD:carry<sub>1</sub>-3SG LOC king girl=POSS:3=OBL MOD:get<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
*bär-ü be šäsyučī*  
 MOD:carry<sub>1</sub>-3SG LOC miller  
 ‘It contemplates where it could find forty loads of brocade and satin in this steppe to take them to the king and win his daughter’s hand for the miller.’
- (122) *hä tazä bā fikir raft-ebü ki bā-dir-än yä karvan bā čül bar dāvā-yaz ki*  
 FOC new LOC idea go<sub>2</sub>-Pqp:3 SUB IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 one caravan LOC forty load camel-with SUB  
*bar=ü=riš tup tup zārxara atlas bü b-amar-än batarafšähär*  
 load=POSS:3=ADD ball ball brocade satin be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 toward city  
 ‘It has just started thinking when it sees a caravan of forty camels heavily laden with brocade and satin, making its way towards the city.’
- (123) *fikir bā-saxt-än ki xuda xištāni in karvan=ä be=yü fursär-e*  
 idea IPFV-do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB God self.3 this caravan=OBL for=POSS:3 send<sub>2</sub>-PRF.3  
 ‘The fox believes that God has sent this caravan specifically for this purpose.’
- (124) *amma čänäm san-ü ki karvanbaši=yä firmun-ü*  
 but how MOD:do<sub>1</sub>-3SG SUB caravaneer=OBL MOD:trick<sub>1</sub>-3SG  
 ‘But what can it do to trick the caravaneer?’
- (125) *ruva fikir bā-saxt-äni bā-dir-än ki karvanbaši papax xištän=ä känd*  
 fox idea IPFV-do<sub>2</sub>-TEMP IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB caravaneer hat self=OBL take out<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
*äräq káčäl-ä sär xištän=ä bā däsmal-az tämiz saxt*  
 sweat bald-ATTR head self=OBL LOC towel-with clean do<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
 ‘While thinking, the fox notices the caravaneer take off his hat and wipe the sweat off his bald head with a towel.’
- (126) *karvanbaši ä may amar-ä káčäl bü*  
 caravaneer from mother come<sub>2</sub>-PTCP bald be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
 ‘The caravaneer was bald since birth.’
- (127) *zu bā-firmar-än äsär dahar bā-doyist-än batarafkarvan*  
 fast IPFV-descend<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 from the top of cliff IPFV-run<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 toward caravan  
 ‘The fox quickly descends from the cliff and runs towards the caravan.’

- (128) *karvanbaši ruva=yä bä-dir-än ki bä dohädo b-ämar-än*  
 caravaneer fox=OBL IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 SUB LOC running IPFV-come<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The caravaneer sees the fox approaching in haste.'
- (129) *ruva bä ü bä-rasir-äni xəbär b-astar-an*  
 fox LOC 3SG IPFV-reach<sub>2</sub>-TEMP news IPFV-get<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'When the fox reaches him, he asks.'
- (130) *ay ruva čü bir-e be čü intä bä-doyist-än-i*  
 VOC fox what be<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 LOC what this way IPFV-run<sub>2</sub>-PRS-2SG  
 "Fox, what happened, why are you running like this?"
- (131) *ruva bät-än*  
 fox IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The fox says.'
- (132) *padša in šähär řämr dār-e ki här ki káčäl=ü sār=ü=rä bur-ind*  
 king this city order give<sub>2</sub>-PRF:3 SUB each who bald=COP:3 head=POSS:3=OBL cut-2PL  
*řun-ind bāpiře quduz-ä säg-un=mä*  
 MOD:throw<sub>1</sub>-2PL in front.BS rabid-ATTR dog-PL=POSS:1SG  
 'The king of this city has issued a decree that everyone who is bald must be beheaded and thrown to rabid dogs.'
- (133) *män=iř bä sār=mä káčäl=i hist ä tārši řan=mä*  
 I=ADD LOC head=POSS:1SG bald=COP:2SG COP:EXIST from fear soul=POSS:1SG  
*berixt-än-üm*  
 IPFV.flee<sub>2</sub>-PRS-1SG  
 'And since I have baldness on my head, I am fleeing for my life.'
- (134) *karvanbaši in gaf=ä řünör-ä bāřdä ousar bä piřä bir-ä dāvā=yä raha*  
 caravaneer this word=OBL hear<sub>2</sub>-PTCP after halter LOC front be<sub>2</sub>-PTCP camel=OBL free  
*bä-dār-än berixt-än bä čül*  
 IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV.flee<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC forty  
 'On hearing this, the caravaneer lets go of the halter of the front camel and flees into the wilderness.'
- (135) *ruva sār karvan=ä bä-güft-än bä-kāřir-än b-avard-än bä saray padša*  
 fox head caravan=OBL IPFV-seize<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-pull<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-bring<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC palace king  
*bä padša bät-än*  
 LOC king IPFV.say<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 'The fox takes control of the caravan, leads it into the king's palace and says.'
- (136) *řart=mu řart=ü*  
 condition=POSS:1PL condition=COP:3  
 "Our agreement is an agreement.'
- (137) *in=iř čül bar dāvā zārbaft zār xara parčä*  
 this=ADD forty load camel gold-woven fabric brocade fabric  
 'Here are forty camel loads of gold-woven fabric and brocade.'

- (138) *üzüm duxtär=ä bä yä äs suvar san tin bä män*  
 now girl=OBL LOC one horse mounted MOD:do<sub>1</sub>:2SG MOD:give<sub>1</sub>:2SG LOC I  
*bär-um ü=rä be padša=mä*  
 MOD:carry<sub>1</sub>:2SG-1SG 3SG=OBL LOC king=POSS:1SG  
 ‘Now have your daughter mount a horse and hand her over to me so I can take her to my king.’
- (139) *padša in vardöülät=ä bä-dir-än bä in tup tup bahalü-yä parčä-ha däs*  
 king this wealth=OBL IPFV-see<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC this ball ball expensive-ATTR fabric-PL hand  
*bä-zär-än lap mähtäl bä-mund-än*  
 IPFV-hit<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 completely perplexed IPFV-stay<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3  
 ‘The king sees this wealth, touches the vast collection of expensive fabrics and is filled with astonishment.’
- (140) *karvan=ä qäbul bäst-än duxtär xištäni=yä bä yä qirmizi yähär=ä*  
 caravan=OBL acceptance IPFV.do<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 girl self.3=OBL LOC one red saddle=OBL  
*äs suvar bäst-ä b-ängäst-än bäpiše ruva*  
 horse mounted close<sub>2</sub>-PTCP IPFV-insert<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 in front.BS fox  
 ‘He welcomes the caravan, puts his daughter on a red-saddled horse and tells her to follow the fox.’
- (141) *ruva sär äs=ä bä-güft-än bä-bärd-än bä Säsyöu duxtär padša=yä*  
 fox head horse=OBL IPFV-seize<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 IPFV-carry<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC mill girl king=OBL  
*bä-där-än bä in Säsyöučü*  
 IPFV-give<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC this miller  
 ‘The fox guides the horse toward the mill and delivers the king’s daughter to the miller.’
- (142) *xištäni=yiş bart-än bä yä di bäpiüst kärg -märg xard-än xištän*  
 self.3=ADD IPFV.go<sub>2</sub>-PRS:3 LOC one village after hen REDUP eat<sub>2</sub>-INF self  
 ‘As for itself, it makes its way to a nearby village to continue its usual pursuit of hens and other prey for food.’
- (143) *hä injä näqül=mun=iş tamam bü öüsine=mun=iş varast*  
 FOC here story=POSS:1PL=ADD complete be<sub>2</sub>:PST:3 tale.BS=POSS:1PL=ADD end<sub>2</sub>:PST:3  
 ‘This is where our tale ends.’

## Abbreviations

1 first person	BS bound stem
2 second person	CLS classifier
3 third person	COP copula
ADD additive	DIM diminutive
AN agent noun	DIST distal
ATTR attributive	EXIST existential

<b>FOC</b> focus	<b>PRF</b> perfect
<b>IMP</b> imperative	<b>PROH</b> prohibitive
<b>IMPF</b> imperfect	<b>PROSP</b> prospective
<b>INF</b> infinitive	<b>PRS</b> present
<b>INTER</b> interrogative	<b>PST</b> past (preterite)
<b>IPFV</b> imperfective	<b>PTCP</b> participle
<b>LOC</b> locative	<b>REDUP</b> reduplication
<b>MOD</b> modal	<b>SG</b> singular
<b>NEG</b> negative	<b>SUB</b> subordinator
<b>OBL</b> oblique	<b>TEMP</b> temporal converb
<b>PL</b> plural	<b>VOC</b> vocative
<b>POSS</b> possessive	

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